A CROSS CULTURAL INVESTIGATION OF GENDER

Gender stereotypes of English and Xhosa undergraduate students

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts (Psychological Research)
of Rhodes University

BY

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January 1990

ABSTRACT

This study begins with the assertion that gender-role stereotypes exist in society, and that these influence the way the members of society perceive themselves and others. These stereotypes consist of sex-typed personality traits, attitudes, interests and behaviours, and they vary to a greater or lesser extent according to the culture that they originate in. Just as ordinary members of society are influenced by these stereotypes, so too are researchers, although this is not something that is often readily admitted. A great deal of research has been undertaken on gender-roles in past years, but researchers have tended to re-use existing conceptualisations of gender without examining whether they are in fact salient for the culture or generation under study. This study begins with the premise that (in South Africa as much as anywhere) before truly accurate assessment of the distributions of gender roles in a culture can be initiated, the culturally specific content of its gender-roles must be discovered. This firstly involves the description of the culture's gender-role stereotypes. Such explication would hopefully also help researchers to avoid making biased interpretations as a result of the stereotypes. Secondly, the relationship between stereotypes and self-perceptions must be established to see if scales based on the former are valid for use on the latter. This study's aim was to begin to investigate these two areas in English and Xhosa students. 94 white English speaking, and 48 black Xhosa speaking undergraduate students

responded to an open ended, and a Likert-type questionnaire on various traits, attitudes and behaviours, by rating each for the "typical" male and female as well as themselves. Descriptions of stereotypes and self-ratings were obtained from performing within culture t-tests, comparing ratings of typical males and females, and male and female self ratings. Data from the open ended questionnaires was used to fill out these descriptions, which were then compared across sexes and across cultures. Gender stereotyping proved to be salient in both cultures, and gender stereotypes of the two cultures shared some similarities but also had menaingful differences. In both cultures, stereotypes and self-descriptions paralleled one another in some areas, but also differed significantly. It was concluded that the same gender-role scale would not be equally valid for use in the two cultures, and that scales based on stereotypes would not be altogether valid for assessing self-perceptions. Various issues and implications arising from the results are discussed critically, including the proposal for a redefinition of the terms "stereotype" and "culture" to suit South African society.

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Thanks : to my supervisor, Prof. D.E. Edwards for both his guidance and encouragement; to Shafeek Sha without whom I would have remained P.C. illiterate; to Allan Frost for support and diversion; to Kim & Nigel Lowe for the timely loan of a P.C.; and to my parents Mr and Mrs Robinson for providing for most of my education.

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW:

"WEBS OF SIGNIFICANCE"

(Geerts,1971, in
Retief,1987, p.47)

Especially over the last two decades, gender has received considerable attention from psychological researchers. According to Morawski (1985) however, in spite of a seemingly enormous amount of effort, the equal and real value or usefulness of presently held conceptualisations for all members of society is debatable. Especially in the area of gender roles , little real progress appears to have been made in the formulation of truly adequate conceptualizations. One of the major reasons for this would appear to be that in spite of "expert" status, psychologists often appear to be as influenced by prevailing stereotypes as the rest of society (Morawski, 1985).

Definitions of sex, sex roles, gender, gender roles, and so on are not always standard or unambiguous in the research literature. This may well be a result of the numerous and conflicting demands on psychologists by various segments of society. One has only to look up "gender roles" in psychological abstracts and be referred to "sex differences" to get some idea of this lack of perspicuity.

In its present sense, gender was appropriated by American

feminists to describe or refer to the social quality of distinctions between the sexes as opposed to the biological distinction. More adequate terms for either type of gender than "masculine" and "feminine" do not appear to be in existence (Hare-Mustin and Marecek 1988). For the purposes of this study, "sex" will refer to the physical and hormonal characteristics of men and and women. "Gender" will refer to the behaviour, traits, aptitudes and roles commonly ascribed to one or another sex in a particular culture.

It is also often unclear what is meant by such terms as "stereotype" and "role". For example, Archer (1980) defined gender stereotype as the (prescriptive or descriptive) consensual personality differentiation between men and women, and sex role concept as the differential occupations and interests of the two sexes. Stoppard (1981) however, challenged this, writing that a stereotype was the (descriptive) belief in the existence of differences between the sexes, and that a role was the (prescriptive) belief in the desirability or requiredness of such differences. In this review, Stoppard's definition will be used. Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988) provide an insightful analysis of the issue of cultural meanings of gender roles influencing psychological research, which will be used as a framework for much of this review. Discussion will begin with a focus on the culture-specific use of language and its meaning as a vessel for the maintenance of the valued norms of the present power structure. Here concern will be specifically with the influence

of this on norms for gender roles and stereotypes in society. The way in which stereotypical interpretations and descriptions of humans and their behavior, personality attributes, and roles have been maintained to support the existing status quo will be discussed, and there will be some reference to inter-cultural variation. Discussion will extend from this into showing how psychologists studying gender have been prey (albeit seemingly unawaredly) to this connection between meaning and power. The influence of stereotypical interpretations on past research and theory formulation will be outlined. In conclusion, and in confirmation of Hare-Mustin and Marecek's argument, the review will show how the present state of affairs points to a need for a new or a **re**newed focus on meanings within the field of gender, as well as a need for within- and cross-cultural formulations or **re**formulations of these meanings. What has been previously taken for granted needs to be made explicit, so that once aware, researchers and theorists can stand back and view the field with a clarity that comes from the recognition of their own susceptibility.

Cultural representations of gender

As Joffe (1985) writes, it is important to understand the meaning of gender in relation to patriarchy, which can be described as a way of organizing society so that males and females are differentiated from one another, and thereafter accorded unequal power. (Joffe does not detail this distribution of power, but of course in patriarchy as opposed to matriarchy, the power is mostly in the hands of males.)

The connection between meaning and power has been a focus of post modernist thinkers : language is a process of representation, "the medium of cognitive life and communication ... not simply a mirror of reality" (Hare-Mustin and Marecek, 1988, p.455). As such, it structures one's experience of reality. Throughout history men, being "in power", have had a greater influence over language, and have given much of it evaluative meanings that support a male dominated reality (Hare-Mustin and Marecek, 1988). The resulting experience of the developed stereotypes has been described to be :

> as if all the adjectives in the human language have been divided up, and most of the desirable ones which represent anything anybody would like and want and admire have been assigned to men, and most of the left over adjectives nobody really thinks well of have been assigned to women .... men are sometimes assigned a few "bad" adjectives .... women at times are assigned a few "good" ones.... But still, the male profile as drawn by adjectives seemed to look pretty mostly glorious, and the female profile drawn by adjectives pretty disgusting! (Holly, 1982, p.91).

The present author acknowledges that this is a rather extreme description, and readers may argue that it is not true to their

own experience. However, the impact of such a quote is sometimes neccesary in order to jolt one's consciousness into a clearer and more critical view of what is often taken for granted.

Referring to the context of scale design, but nevertheless relevant to the focus of this review, is the observation by Block, Lewis and Thorn (1979) that to the extent that language is an efficient means of communicating calibrated understandings, individuals will or can come to agree on their use of terms to describe or integrate or summarize the behaviours of other people. These "consensual structurings of interpersonal experience" (p.1071) are the basis for many learned cultural constructs. In this case then, concerning gender roles and stereotypes, one would expect all adults to have a similar idea of those roles and stereotypes, consciously or not, at least for their own society (Bem, 1979; Morawski, 1985).

According to Baumeister (1988), what he terms as sex differences (including sex **and** gender apparently) have been explained in a number of ways, such as social oppression, hormones, physical stature, past exposure to role models, personal ideas and so on. The point is, that whilst it is obvious that men and women **do** differ genetically, evolved **meanings** of gender have become a sociocultural development which goes far beyond the natural state (Joffe, 1985). On the whole research indicates that adult gender differences in most areas are **not** innate, and in any case it is practically impossible to really consider the influence of genetic constitution on psychological

differences between the sexes since genetic effects cannot be sorted out from the effects of men and women's social position (Lewis, 1985). According to Locksley and Colten (1979) sex and gender differences are for most of us, an immediately perceptible aspect; And it is virtually impossible to escape the social consequences of one's sex, since it evokes stereotypes in others. As these writers put it:

> sex is a structural feature of situations and of ongoing organizations of life experiences, in that settings and ongoing organizations are characterized by sex differentiated behavioral norms, cost/reward contingencies and access to resources (p. 1029).

In spite of the empirical overlap so often observed, men and women still tend to be viewed as opposites. A network of associations that is linked together under the "umbrella of gender" (Deaux, 1985, p.68) has been shown to influence judgement (Deaux, 1985; Bem, 1979). Children begin very early to understand that there are culturally specific display patterns which regulate the social acceptability of emotional expressiveness, for example (Brody, 1985). This extends to other areas of human experience :

> Boys and girls are expected to acquire sex specific skills, they are also expected to acquire sex specific self concepts and personality attributes, to be masculine or feminine as defined by that particular culture.(Bem, 1981, p.354)

Bem (1981) has based her Gender Schema theory on this idea, highlighting how "the male-female distinction is insinuated in totally gratuitous ways into the society's curriculum for the developing child" (p.363). Assumptions of these differences have

been used to argue for the kinds of roles that women and men should and should not play in their culture. People tend to comform to such social desirability pressures, and cognitive styles arise in adaption to these cultural conditions (Carlsson, 1983; Kelly and Worrel, 1977; Lewis, 1985).

Alternative understandings of the self could conceivably derive from different experiences of the self in relation to others (Stewart and Lykes, 1985). However, where a society tends to treat or perceive each sex in a particular manner, members of one sex are going to receive a lot of similar interpersonal "input". It is something of a "given" of human existence that interpersonal relations are significantly affected by larger institutional and socially structured connections, and thus it is that gender cannot be studied independently of sociocultural and familial variables, that is, of some sort of comprehensive social context (Brody, 1985; Morawski, 1985).

The "dichotomous personality signifiers" (Morawski, 1985, p.197) which make up gender stereotypes indicate behaviour norms for social relations between individuals. It has been argued that this sex-typing has disadvantaged men as much as women, but writers like Locksley and Colten (1979) dispute this. "Liberated" individuals may argue that men are the worse for having to suppress "feminine" qualities, but in a society where for the large majority, such qualities are for the most part devalued, or at least less valued than the masculine, the average male is unlikely to feel particularly disadvantaged! A differential

status, with resulting differential expectations will naturally affect social interaction, and this tends to foster behaviour that confirms expectations. Human culture seems to of necessity involve an "inherent human morality" (Lewis, 1985, p.156), and there are sex differences in how this morality is experienced. If masculine attributes are valued more, they will tend to lead to more positive outcomes and, one might infer, greater self esteem (Kelly and Worrel, 1977; Lewis, 1985; Mc Hugh, Koesk and Frieze, 1986).

Behaviour may actually depend more on **role** than gender, and only correlate with gender because society does assign specific roles to each sex. When people are allowed to assume alternative roles, they tend to behave as would be predicted by the role, not their sex (Siderits, Johannsen and Fadden, 1985). Seen from this angle, one can observe that stereotypically feminine characteristics could be legitimately described as ones attributed to any lower status, low power group, regardless of the actual gender of its members (Deaux, 1985; Siderits, Johannsen and Fadden, 1985). Thus far society has not been all that sucessful at the "separate but equal" idea, whether it be for sex or race. Becoming liberated usually seems to be equated with copying whoever is most dominant, rather than being free to "be oneself" (Deaux, 1985; Hendrix and Johnson, 1985; Holly, Scheurer, 1983; Sekaran, 1986).

The cultural specificity of gender stereotypes

To further complicate the matter, there does not seem to be any one general dimension for these male - female differences in socialization (Hendrix and Johnson, 1985). There are clear indications that sex role stereotyping is a function of ethnicity, social class and socioeconomic status (Brody, 1985; Siderits, 1985). It will have been noted that throughout this review, what has been said about stereotypes has been qualified by reference to society or culture. According to Hendrix and Johnson, whilst most societies do have sex differences in socialization, variation is often far greater between societies than between sexes. As Bem (1981) writes, gender schema refers to a process rather than content, in terms of **whatever definitions of male and female one's culture happens to provide.** For the individuals living under this process, "cultural myths become self fulfilling prophecies" (p.356). Cultural constructs are often "evolved from living in the world" (Block, Weiss and Thorn, 1989, p.1055), but their content will depend on what part of the world one is living in! Therfore, when considering gender stereotypes, besides including "society" <u>per se</u> in ones conceptualization, one must specify the identity and nature of the culture involved.

Definitions of what a culture is vary, but as Rohner (1984) (cited in Seagall, 1986, p.527) states, we do need a "shared sentiment" of what "culture" means . Broadly, one may define culture as humanity's unique evolved adaptation to life (Lewis,

1985), but for the purposes of this study something more specific is needed. In this study, culture will be defined as following : the totality of equivalent and complementary learned meanings maintained by a human population, or by identifiable segments of a population and transmitted from one generation to another" (Rhoner, 1984, in Seagall, 1986, p.527). This definition has been chosen because it suits the present focus on meaning. Each culture then, tends to have its own perception of a single reality, concerning gender roles as much as anything.

Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988) describe a "philosophy" - Constructivism - which challenges this idea of a single reality. Constructivism challenges the positivist tradition that reality is fixed and can be observed directly, uninfluenced by the observer. Values and attitudes cannot be separated from what are termed "facts" since they actually determine what **are** facts. According to constructivism, meanings are historically situated and are constructed and then reconstructed through the medium of language. From this perspective, according to Hare-Mustin and Marecek, we do not **discover** reality already in existence so much as we **invent** it, that is, we actively construct the meanings that frame and organise our perception and experience of life. In this view, "our understanding of reality is a representation,that is, a re-presentation not a replica of what is 'out there'" (Hare-Mustin and Marecek, p.455). Shared meanings of gender then, derive from language, history and culture. Research, existing in

culture, cannot be disinterested or politically neutral. However hard they may try to be neutral, researchers simply by being humans in society since birth, are "implicated" in the way society re-presents reality. Kuhn (1962) describes this, showing how formal laws and theories are explanations based on a set of social conventions.

Constructivism focuses our attention on representations of gender, rather than on gender itself, since some "real nature" of masculinity and femininity cannot really be determined objectively in any case (Hare-Mustin and Mareck, 1988). Psychological research has held on to the construction of gender as difference, whether to stress or to de-emphasize it, although even what constitutes difference depends on the focus of the study (e.g. is it based on means, overlap of areas, differential variation, qualitative analysis etc. ?). This has led, according to Hare-Mustin and Marecek, to two widely held representations of gender in psychological research : seeing and seeking to prove 1) few differences (or "Beta bias") and, 2) profound differences (or "Alpha bias") (p.455). Before following these writers' thoughts further in this direction (with reference to other appropriate literature), a discussion beginning at a more general level and leading on to the specific field of gender research, of how researchers are influenced by the ideological climate of their work will be useful.

Obstructions to research

Greenwald, Leippe, Pratkanis and Baumgardner (1986) provide a thought provoking description of how theory can actually obstruct the progress of research. Theory will here be defined as "statements that express relationships amongst concepts" (Greenwald et al., p.217). Which operationalizations the concepts are linked to is determined by what Greenwald et al. term "rules of correspondence" (p.217). Research then, is carried out using these operationalizations but is described in terms of the corresponding concepts. Choice of concepts, operationalizations and their links depends on the researcher, who is most often guided by past research.

The problem is, according to Greenwald et al (1986), that these choices are all too often influenced by what they call "confirmation bias" (p.217). A valued form of research is "theory testing" (p.219), and if the theory is supported, all's well. If not, the researcher is faced with a "disconfirmation dilemma" (p.219). In this situation, the researcher can proceed as if the the theory is incorrect, or at least has weaknesses, or can maintain faith in the theory ,and continue "testing" it, modifying procedures until the prediction is supported. This is more accurately described as "theory confirmation" (p.219). Since the evolved procedure is seldom documented, the actual dependence of the confirmation upon the modified procedure is unlikely to be detected, acknowledged or questioned.

Greenwald et al (1986) observe that researchers often appear unwilling to prepare reports of disconfirming findings for publication. They write that overgeneralized conclusions are inevitable in any case, because of the necessary incompleteness of the researcher's control or observation of all variables in the research setting, and this worsens the process of confirmation bias. The "social system of research" (p.222) does not appear to be adequately self correcting in this respect according to Greenwald et al, since "existing practices, faulty though they may be, have powerful appeal" (p.222). Confirmation bias therefore delays the finding of support for beliefs other than those presently held. It reinforces itself, according to Greenwald et al, and helps to reinforce the establishment that practises it. It does not help to dispense with theories altogether however, since they are, to quote Greenwald et al, "the essential containers of scientific knowledge", and thus, "the work of science may best be regarded as approving or disapproving theories rather than proving or disproving them" (p.226). To summarize the writers' argument then, "theory obstructs research progress when the researcher is an ego-involved advocate of the theory and may be willing to persevere indefinitely in the face of prediction-disconfirming results" (p.227).

Specifically in the field of gender, confirmation bias has unfortunately had a profound influence. The theories being tested or confirmed are, as this review will attempt to outline, often

as bound by the cultural stereotypes as the individuals being described or studied.

A Brief History

Many authors, for example Deaux (1985), Jacklin (1989), Kelly and Worrel (1977), Locksley and Colten (1979), Morawski (1985), Myers and Gonda (1982), Pedhazur and Tetenbaum (1979) and Prinsloo (1989), have presented detailed critical descriptions of the history of research in gender. A similar (and repetitive) explication will not be attempted here, but for the purposes of this review, a brief overview will be necessary, framed in terms of Hare-Mustin and Mareceks' (1988) conceptualiation of "Alpha" and "Beta" bias (p.455).

As previously noted, Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988) write that the history of research in the broad field of gender has led to the development of two widely held but incompatible representations of gender. The first they have termed Alpha bias and this refers to the exaggeration of differences. They write that the vision of male and female as different, opposite and having mutually exclusive qualities has deep roots in western culture. Psychoanalytic theories placing the masculine as the "standard" with traits such as outer focus and dominance, and the feminine as what is "not-male" (P.457), are a good example of this, according to Hare-Mustin and Marecek.

Early research tended to mostly focus on investigating se

differences in anything that could be measured. Broadly, there were two theoretical approaches - biological or genetic theories, and social or cognitive ones (Brody, 1985; Deaux, 1985). No more will be said concerning the former approach, since this study is firmly (although critically) located in the latter one.

What has been a fairly uniform presuppositon in gender research is that the generalized categories used in research are consistent within individuals, and that individuals sincerely desire to manifest them as is appropriate (Morawski, 1985). A reasonable place to start in an overview of gender research is with Terman and Miles who were active in scale construction in the 1940's (cited in Morawski, 1985, and in most reviews of gender research). Their premises were supported for approximately the next 25 years, and can be summarized as follows : 1) masculinity and femininity existed, at a level not readily identified by the ordinary observer, 2) these attributes were so psychologically charged that subjects had to be deceived, lest they fake, and 3) masculinity and femininity were distinct qualities, related to psychological stability and deviancy (Morawski).

Other prominent researchers of this stage were Guilford and Guilford (1936), who designed the Guilford Masculinity Scale, Strong (1936) who produced the Strong MF Scale, and the developers of the California Personality Inventory who included an "F" (femininity) scale (cited in Morawski, 1985, and Myers and Gonda, 1982). Common concerns were that "cultural biases"

(Morawski, p.210) could "contaminate" subjects' responses (no one apparantly considered that the responses could be culture-bound by definition) and that there was a possibility that subjects would deceive themselves and testers, "given the ostensible common tendancy to obscure issues of sex identity" (Morawski, p.210).

The attributes considered relevant did not vary much from test to test (chapter 2, provides a listing of the type of traits most usually included). Masculinity and Femininity were considered "bipolar opposites" (Orlofsky and O'Heron, 1987), and the constructs were seen as "knowable but not without calculated pursuit" (Morawski, 1985). Choice of content was based on anything that distinguished the sexes, and the meaning of masculinity and femininity was defined in terms of these areas (Kelly and Worrel, 1977; Myers and Gonda, 1982). Since it was easy to administer the tests and inventories, there was a proliferation of investigations of every conceivable sex difference (Deaux, 1985).

The sex role theory of Parsons (cited in Hare-Mustin and Marecek, 1988) dominated the 50's and 60's, with its emphasis of the instrumental/expressive difference between masculinity and femininity. It was taken to be the "scientific basis for separate (occupational) spheres for men and women" (Hare-Mustin and Marecek, p.457), and was even considered reasonable criteria for distinguishing normal individuals from pathological ones!

The resultant state of research and theory in the field at this stage is aptly summed up by Morawski who writes that " what several decades of research apparently had disclosed is that males and females differed in some psychological measures and were similar in others, and that the decisive experiment for ascertaining the essence of gender, while resembling a nonsexist environment, was unfeasible" (p.200).

Constantinople (1973) provided an influential critique of existing Masculinity/Femininity (MF) scales, and concluded that they were generally theoretically and psychometrically inadequate. The basic problems she outlined can be summarized in the following three points: 1) The use of sex differences in performance or response as the **only** criteria for the definition of the constructs of masculinity and femininity was limiting, 2) The assumption of bipolarity was questionable - there was enough evidence for the existence of separate masculine and feminine dimensions, and 3) Masculinity and femininity each also appeared to be multidimensional, and existing conceptualizations were too simplistic.

During the 60's and 70's there was also an increasingly strong feminist challenge to traditional conceptualizations. In existence before, but in a much less "vocal" state, feminism now actively questioned the existing perceptions of roles, and "deconstructed" (Prinsloo, 1989, p.3) the meanings of masculinity and femininity. In addition, technological and economic developments since the 30's saw more and more women working in

nontraditional roles, with an increasing criticism of traditional norms (Morawski, 1985). The study of gender became a "hot topic" (Deaux, 1985, p.51), and the emerging critique has had two major influences on the field of research which are relevant to this study.

In the increasingly influential outcry against discrimination against minority groups, be it based on gender, race or creed for example, gender has become one of a number of sensitive issues (Scarr, 1988). There has been a tendency on the part of some researchers to rather avoid the issue, or, should any sex differences emerge (analysed as "an afterthought" (Scarr, p.56)), pretend they were unexpected, thus staying away from dangerous ground. The idea is, as Scarr says, to avoid "potentially harmful data" (p.56) from emerging. Baumeister (1988) is an advocate of this stance, arguing that no matter how unbiased the researcher may be, results may still be used in discriminatory ways by others, and that therefore any focus on sex differences should be abandoned. Scarr calls this attitude "misguided protectionism " (p.59) which prevents research which could benefit socially disadvantaged groups. The problem is, as Scarr sees it, in assuming that the white, middle-class male's performance is the ideal standard against which all other groups should be compared. This issue will be discussed in more detail at a later point in the review.

The other area of development relevant here was th development of androgyny theories of gender put forward as a

alternative to the traditional theories. Proponents of this approach tended to retain much of the content of masculinity and femininity assumed so far, but with some important modifications. Gender was conceptualized as two-dimensional rather than bipolar; and orthogonal, so that it was possible for a person to score on **both** dimensions. Masculinity and femininity were considered to be best described as socially rather than biologically determined, and there was a strong reliance on trait theory, with an acceptance of the two dimensions as core personality dimensions (Morawski, 1985; Myers and Gonda, 1982; Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979). Two examples of questionnaires developed at this stage are the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), (Bem, 1974), and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ), (cited in Locksley and Colten, 1979). According to Bem (1974), people were motivated to maintain a particular gender related image.

Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988) term this newer trend Beta bias - the attempt to minimalise differences - seeing it as a less prominent but still important factor in the history of the field. In the past "norms" were based on male samples mostly and this overlooked the social context and the social evaluation of behavior in play. Beta bias has attempted to challenge this male norm but has failed to see that encouraging masculine traits in women assumes that social response will be the same irrespective of the sex of actor. Hare-Mustin and Marecek describe how androgyny theory has seen a balance of masculine and feminine as most adaptive in a person, and officially therefore consider the

two categories as equal in status at least (whether they really do has been questioned), ignoring the fact that in society people will be judged differentially on the basis of their sex as well as their behaviour.

It can be seen that the "two-dimensional" conceptualizers maintained many of the assumptions of content of their "bipolar" predecessors, and that definitions of gender were therefore still strongly based in societal norms of sex role expectations. Feminine traits were still more often generally undesirable ones, and it appears that what was generalized as masculine and feminine were in fact better described as the more limited traits of instrumentality and expressivness. It can be argued that as a result, much of this later work is not necessarily any more valid than what had gone before (Deaux, 1985; Heerboth and Ramaniah, 1983; Hendrix and Johnson, 1985; Kelly and Worrel, 1977; Locksley and Colten, 1979; Morawski, 1985; Myers and Gonda, 1982; Orlofsky and Ramsden, 1982; Pedazur and Tetenbaum, 1979). The type of measures used have generally been rather similar, with an assumption that scales based on general ratings of typical or desirable traits are relevant to self ratings (Myers and Gonda, 1982). The result is that methods may actually have been more likely to be measuring traits in relation to the social milieu rather than individual manifestations of them (Jackson, 1985).

Leading on from this, cultures were generally treated a equivalent (Hendrix and Johnson, 1985). Even where the aim ha

ostensibly been cross-cultural **comparison** this has been the case, as instruments have been simply administered across cultures on the assumption that the instruments are equally valid. There **are** some similarities between cultures, but also important differences (Deaux, 1985, Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979), and there is a need for different norms to be employed in research across different cultures (Yarnold and Lyons, 1987).

Some researchers/theorists have begun to try to resolve some of the existing contradictions or ambiguities of the field. In the study of stereotypes there has been a move towards not merely studying their existence, but also carefully analysing the processes and components involved (Deaux, 1985). Orlofsky and Ramsden (1982) have developed a scale which includes not only personality traits but behaviours, social interaction, vocational and recreational interests and marital relationships, in an attempt to get at a fuller definition of societal gender roles. Kelly and Worrel (1977) support this wider focused approach. There is still some lack of clarity about the consistency of gender role enactment across behaviour areas and often a blurring between behaviour and personality traits (Orlofsky and Ramsden, 1982; Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979). Jackson (1985) noted the importance of considering physical attributes when investigating gender stereotypes. Ravinder (1987) has developed a scale (in India) which can supposedly be used cross-culturally to assess the extent to which sex roles are salient, but **within** this scale it appears that the nature of the sex roles is predetermined.

The influence of the Ideological climate

It would appear then, that there has consistently been a significant influence of societal norms on researchers whether they have been the traditional or the more recent androgyny conceptualizers, or in fact anyone whose research has involved the study and interpretation of men and women. Especially for those trained in scientific methods it is not easy, or sometimes permissible to acknowledge how scientific rationality is itself fallible, but in reality, within research, "the grounds of reality are derived by social consensus" (Morawski, 1985, p.216).

There appears to exist what Baumeister (1988) describes as a naive interest in sex differences - they excite curiosity, but a curiosity which may actually arise from sex stereotypes. As described in Morawski (1985), the history of gender theorizing "illustrates how psychologists participation in and reflection upon cultural life can affect the primary stipulations in their work" (p.216). It is necessary to understand the historical situational influences in research, in terms of the questions thought of, the theoretical frameworks adopted, and the topics that values and experiences lead researchers to consider worthy of study (Stewart and Healy, 1989). People do not typically consider social information in "a rational and judicious manner" (Higgins and Bargh, 1987, p.370), because internal factors influence perception. According to Higgens and Bargh, it is arguable that people do also take environmental factors into account, but the point is that the environment influences those

"internal factors" in any case. Researchers are supposed to be a lot more "judicious" than laypeople, but in the field of gender research this is a moot point.

Gender Theory - The inadequacy

Firstly, according to certain writers,the theory in existence is inadequate, and explanatory models are seldom precise enough (Mc Hugh, Koesk, and Freize, 1986). Many womens' processes of self definition cannot be understood using most existing personality theories, for example (Stewart and Lykes, 1985). Brody describes much research in sex and gender differences as brief attempts to explain these differences on the basis of post hoc theories - a "hodge podge of theories about gender differences never systematically tested" (p.107). The effect of this on the narrower field of gender roles and stereotypes is that the same unfounded or untested assumptions are carried over. Havelock Ellis wrote in **1894** that "our present knowledge of men and women cannot tell us what they might be or what they ought to be, but what they actually are under the conditions of civilization" (cited in Morawski, 1985, p.198), and it seems that in almost a century we have not progressed any further and often appear to be less clear-sighted about the status of our knowledge than Ellis was. Even when "theory testing" is supposedly being undertaken, certain basic assumptions continue to be made, for example that instrumentality is masculine and expressiveness is feminine (e.g. Yarnold and Lyons, 1987; Helmriech, Spence and Holohan, 1979).

Gender Theory - Reflecting cultural stereotypes

Our professional interpretations of sex differences and roles are profoundly influenced by the ideological climate in which we make them (Stewart and Lykes, 1985). Certain stipulations have been defended and maintained, and it is important to note the procedures through which this has happened, as well as the way these categories have actually "bolstered prescriptions for appropriate social behavior" (Morawksi, 1985, p.197). Holly (1982) states that psychological academics have unquestioningly presented these stereotypes as scientific truth. Baumeister (1988) would go as far as saying that simply by persisting in talking about sex and gender differences we perpetuate and legitimize the masculine/feminine distinction. Masculine and feminine are defined as opposites, what is masculine is not feminine, and this holds for the definition of traits in androgyny theory as well as in traditional "bipolar" theories. Only nominal categories are used rather than a graded continuum, and this extrematises the nature of gender categories (Kelly and Worrel, 1977).

Common assumptions made place the roots of the stress experienced by those who fail to fit the societal norms firmly in the area of individual dynamics rather than cultural conditions (Fine, cited in Rosenblum, 1988). It is assumed also that progress and societal change will automatically eliminate the current problems facing women.

Androgyny is fundamentally tied to the realms of masculinity

and femininity, and is conceptualised solely with reference to them. Androgyny models no longer tie gender role to biological sex, but they retain the already established constructs of masculinity and femininity, and the cultural values ascribed to them. Traditional scales were based on (culturally) "known" differences, and androgyny has tended to rely on past literature for choice of content for gender constructs (Morawksi, 1985; Myers and Gonda, 1982). Androgyny has also been posited as an ideal state (Lubinski, Tellegen and Butcher, 1983), and this could replace the prescription to be masculine **or** feminine with "the doubly incarcerating prescription to be masculine **and** feminine" (Bem, 1981 p.363). Bem writes that this would then present the individual with not one but two potential sources of inadequacy to cope with. Further, according to Morawski, the implicit objectives of androgyny theory mirror the "virtues of corporate democracy where self-contained individualism and role flexibility (behavioral inconsistency) are desired" (p.215).

It is an indication of the impoverished state of theory that the early models of researchers such as Bem were so readily adopted and maintained unrevised (even when the originators revised their work!), according to Deaux (1985), and that internal/personal factors continue to be relied on, with little attention paid to structural and situational factors. Strong adherence to Bem's constructs limits research (Benkart and Wittenbaker, 1980), and "the concept (of androgyny) itself has not been examined thoroughly, and in the interim has been asked

to bear too much conceptual baggage" (Deaux, 1984, p.109). Spence (1983) supports this claim, by writing that some researchers have been "so captured by an implicit theory whose assumptions have been largely unanalysed that they literally do not comprehend that alternative interpretations are possible" (p.442).

Investigators often tend to view gender belief systems in static terms, but as Deaux (1985) writes, "sex differences ebb and flow with changes in situational focus, and stereotypes, it has been shown, vary to some degree across both time and culture" (p.69). Thus, it is important to avoid making assumptions about the stability of the variables observed (Mc Hugh, Koeske and Freize, 1986). This is one of several aspects where the link between existing theory and research practice is also influenced by the ideological climate. Another is that where research has shown differences between the sexes to be insignificant, this is something that "common sense and universal experience refuse to allow" and is "seen as a mark of inadequacy of the psychological test not to get at the most important features" (Morawski, 1985, p.201). Morawski writes that some psychologists have ignored conflicting evidence, intimating that psychology merely has not yet emerged as a true science, so that they, as professionals would "proffer scientific expertise on an important social issue" (p.200) by publishing theoretical statements on the psychology of the sexes. He describes this as "what could charitably be called a benign neglect of empirical evidence" (p.201), and states that, "given the rather ad hoc theorizing without supporting 'facts' or

without any facts, it appears that some psychologists were engaging in sex role stereotyping" (Morawski, 1985, p.202).

Reearch Practice - Reflecting Cultural Stereotypes

The history of research practice in the field of gender roles shows bias during all stages of the research process, from initial design, to interpretation of results to drawing conclusions (Deaux, 1985; Denmark, Russo,Freize and Sechzer 1988). Like theory development, research practices have often, it would appear, been constructed to foster certain interests, and certain desired "realities" (Morawski, 1985). Masculine norms are taken as the standard, and results do not really appear to have equal relevance to both the sexes (Mc Hugh et al, 1986).

Many studies have only used male subjects (Baumeister, 1988; Rosenblum, 1988), or else have dropped the females from the sample whenever there have been unanticipated results (Denmark and Russo, 1988). Tasks used for differentiation purposes have often been very stereotyped and have not been validated in any case (Helmreich and Spence, 1979).

Morawski (1985) describes the research pattern in the field of gender as one where appeals to the hypothetical constructs of masculinity and fenininity are invoked in order to locate the constructs which were posited initially - a little like using a word to define itself - and if this seems to be tautological to the reader, then it effectively reveals the state of suc research! Tellegen and Lubinski (1983) state that the terms

Masculinity and Femininity are definitely overinclusive, but that researchers still continue to use them. Existing measures, based on these concepts, contain implicit information about the "nature of cognitive representations of world knowledge" (Locksley and Colten, 1979, p.1031), and as Morawski points out, scales developed have at times afforded prescriptions for a "normal" order. Evaluative labelling is often used, (Denmark and Russo, 1988), resulting in a vicious circle of research reinforcing theory reinforcing cultural stereotypes.

The assumption that research is value free regarding gender roles has meant that often in research design no steps are taken to avoid or even to assess the risk of existing stereotypes affecting the research (Rosenblum, 1988). This is no less true once the study reaches the analysis of results stage. Morawski (1985) writes that researchers have displayed a wariness of everyday interpretations, seeing them as a bias to be minimalized through deception. This by implication suggests that the researchers "know better" than lay people, and are not influenced by social norms. This in itself needs to be questioned. The approach prevents much discovery of participants' true experiences, (Mc Hugh et al, 1986), and distances research from everyday life, basing itself on past literature rather than a person's own experiences (Morawski; Myers and Gonda, 1982). According to Retief (1987), **especially** where more than one culture is involved, but also generally, it is an open question whether the communication between the

investigator and subjects is well enough developed for global conclusions to be made.

Morawski (1985) asks how, in the face of contradictory evidence have the existing gender categories (plus content) been so firmly maintained? Scientific knowledge has often been "rendered dubious in order to uphold the reality of the categories" (p.196). McHugh et al (1986) also see this happening, and write that "researchers eager to argue for the importance of one set of factors often examine available data with an eye to the construction of a convincing case rather than to establish scientific validity" (p.882). There is more concern with demonstrating relationships between phenomena - which the researcher already firmly believes in - than with really trying to understand them (Retief, 1987).

Investigators' personal values affect how they perceive results; they "frame questions based on their own preconceptions about the world. The positive or negative value attached to particular observations is often very much in the eye of the beholder" (Scarr, 1988, p.57). Androgyny researchers have been at fault here too - the male androgyne tends to be valued more, and is seen as the ideal human being. Masculine and Androgynous people often do equally "well" in studies, which would seem to indicate that these studies use criteria for valued or successful behaviour which is patriarchially biased in the same way that it is in society (Holly, 1982; Kelly and Worell, 1977; Lee and Scheurer, 1983).

Outcomes are often framed in terms of what is wrong with a group (in comparison to the white male middle class norm) be it in androgyny **or** or traditional research, so that results naturally tend to be negative (Scarr, 1988). Hansson, O'Conner, Jones and Milhetich (1980) report that studies finding masculine people better adjusted may just reflect a culture that values and differentially awards agentic characteristics whilst taking communal ones for granted. Since these characteristics have been sex typed as masculine and feminine respectivly, the evaluation ends up strongly linked to gender.

There has been a tendency to report results in a way that focuses on or emphasises differences (Jacklin, 1989). An example from androgyny research - which supposedly emphasizes **similarities** between men and women (Hare-Mustin and Marecek, 1988) - would be in factor analysis studies being quoted in order to support the "two-dimensional" hypothesis for the structure of gender. The emergence of two "meaningful" factors is assumed to be the "proof" of this. However, these studies in actual fact usually each found **four** significant and meaningful factors rather than two. (Myers and Gonda, 1982).

In cross cultural research there has been an outstanding flaw in that sex role scales, (e.g. the BSRI) have been used without first investigating the appropriateness of the items, and therefore without modificaton to suit the country or culture in question. These scales have almost invariably been based on American college student samples (Ravinder, 1987; Ward and Sethi,

1986). Hendrix and Johnson (1985) write that there has been an assumption that the content of masculinity and feminity has been the same across cultures. This has largly been based on the work done by Barry, Bacon and Child (cited in Hendrix and Johnson) in the mid fifties, which supposedly "proved" the cross cultural equivalence. Hendrix and Johnson point out how flawed the study was and say that their own work has revealed cross cultural variation. Not only must one question if the definitions are cross culturally valid, but also if the terms used in the measures are interpreted similarly (Ward and Sethi, 1986; Yarnold and Lyons, 1987). Even Bem (1979) has always specified that the definitions of gender roles vary from culture to culture, with individuals conforming to whatever roles their particular culture specifies. In their eagerness to produce the much valued "global" theory, researchers seem often to have ignored this. The problem is not limited to gender research, of course. Reteif (1987) describes how generally tests or scales which are used cross culturally with very little or no reference to the important role played by constructions of meaning, rarely retain their reliability. Tests are systems of meaning, according to Retief and generally represent :

> the feelers of the whole body of Western philosophical and scientific thought, and the history of cross cultural psychology thus far represents the record of the reaction of other cultures to those feelers (p.48)

The study of masculinity and femininity then, seems to depict a curious re-occurence of the interpretations of these same concepts in the culture, exemplifying a repetition - with

minor modifications - of central stipulations about the nature of masculinity and femininity (Morawski, 1985). We cannot be "indifferent to the peculiarities in which our findings arise" (Stewart and Lykes, 1985, p.97). Morawski provides a statement which effectivly summarizes the argument thus far, saying that the fact that "these practises confirmed the mundane realities of social life, makes it surprising that psychologists even had the troubles they did in locating masculinity and femininity" (p.198). Whether the intention has been to stress or to deemphasise differences, the field has been strongly influenced by society in its assumption that gender and the content of categories thus far in use, need be conceptualized in terms of differences,

Consequencial areas of incertitude for interpretation

To return to Hare-Mustin and Marecek's (1988) discussion, it is important to realise that it is futile to simply argue whether the alpha or beta representations of gender are more accurate. Constructivism looks at what is more **useful**, focusing on both utility and consequences in its review of gender.

Alpha bias can be seen to mask inequality and conflict between men and women. Qualities such as rationality and relatedness are construed as essentially male and female respectively, ignoring or concealing the fact, according to Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988), that they may stem from the unequal power relations that are usually the case. The principles that

men reason with were developed to promote their interests, and when one has a lack of power, the natural coping response is to be acquiescent and flexible. Alpha bias also minimalizes within group variability of minority groups - "men are viewed as individuals but women are viewed as women" (p.459). According to Hare-Mustin and Marecek, most psychological theories of gender have not concerned themselves with differences among women that are due to race, class, age, marital status and social cicumstances, and all these factors would also affect the form that stereotypes take. The stress on a binary opposition is "not merely the result of faulty definitions, but of prevailing ideology" (p.459). The writers point out that inequality can only be maintained if the possibility of interrelationships is denied. Alpha bias "has its source not in some accidental confusion of logical typing, but in the dominant group's interest in preserving the status quo" (p.459). The author would like to point out that this then would extend beyond the dominant gender group to dominant socioeconomic and racial groups too. There have been some positive effects according to Hare-Mustin and Marecek, in that Alpha bias has allowed some theorists to assert the positive worth of some "feminine" qualities to counter cultural devaluation, but this influence has been limited.

Beta bias on the other hand, has **entitled** women to gain greater access to educational and occupational opportunities - whether this works out in real life is of course another issue. Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988) write that it has also distracted

attention from men and women's special needs, as well as differences in power and resources. They give as one example "equal" divorce settlements which end up placing women at greater strain, as does "equal" maternity leave, simply because male needs and behaviours are still used to set the norm. Representation is never neutral. "Theories of gender can be seen as representatons that construct our knowledge and inform social and scientific practice" (p.460).

Resulting from this are a number of areas which can be seen to be especially problematic in terms of the way the meanings of gender have been constructed in psychological research.

Preconceptions built into design

Concerning overall approach to design, Mc Hugh et al (1986) write that influenced as they are by past research as well as social norms, researchers often are unable to view the subject matter in a way that is open to new interpretations. These writers express this well, saying that "to the extent that researchers enter a research project with set hypotheses or assumptions, they will remain outsiders who fail to elicit critical insider information, or to recognise the potential harm of their approach" (p.880).

Locksley and Colten (1979) point out that construct validity cannot be established by demonstrating predictive validity. This is especially so in an area so fraught with socially evaluative meanings as gender is, but even so, researchers have often taken

this approach in establishing theories. Because the criteria chosen for measures being studied in conjunction to gender (for example "coping" or "adaptability") can reflect differential cultural values, conclusions reached are equally biased. Downing and Nevill (1983) report an interesting finding in that the sex role of a rater did not significantly influence the degree of stereotyping in ratings of others. They state that it would appear that people have one set of standards for themselves, and another more stereotyped set for others. The raters in this study were psychologists, thus showing the argument that psychologists are not influenced by social norms in the way that others are, to be not only fallacious but also dangerous. It is difficult to make valid generalizations because of this built in bias (Brody, 1985). The tendency of individuals who are subjects to conform to social pressures may also confound or influence any interpretations of the data (Brody, 1985).

Theoretical interpretations are complicated by the fact that from the start, several fine but essential distinctions are seldom made. For example, Brody (1985) points out that lack of the **expression** of an emotion does not mean lack of experience of that emotion by a person. It may simply not be socially acceptable to admit to it. Another example is that personality traits may be only one possible component of a person's global self concept (Myers and Gonda, 1982). Orlofsky et al (1982) write that there is conflicting evidence as to the correlation between traits, attitudes, interests and behaviours, as well as their

cross-situational stability.

There has been an assumption that gender type is equal to the covariation between individual traits and traits popularly held to be differentially desirable or typical of men and women, according to Locksley and Colten (1979), but the distinction between actual and stereotypically held sex differences is an important one. A review of the literature shows that - when specified at all - the different interpretations of stereotype and role described in the beginning of this review are not the only conceptualizations used. Research often blurs these sorts of definitions:

> Regardless of the relative merits of the different types of sex role research, failure on the part of the researcher to use an unambiguous definition of the type of sex role being investigated is bound to result in the construction or use of measures of dubious validity, as well as in ambiguities in the conceptualization and execution of the research. (Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1 p.996)

Scales used

Concerning the use of scales in gender research, measures such as the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ, cited in Locksley and Colten, 1979) and Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI, Bem, 1974) do seem to have some construct and predictive validity, but are largely limited to measuring instrumentality and expressiveness, and it is not clear if they are really related to other "masculine" and "feminine" behaviour and attributes (Helmreich et al, 1979; Spence, 1983). In the BSRI the traits chosen (by simple *t* tests for significant differences in ratings

of desirability for the sexes) may not be necessarily desirable for one sex but just **less undesirable**, (Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979). Research by Heerboth and Ramanaiah (1985) showed items supposedly desirable for one sex to be desirable for both sexes, and the researchers point out that "more desirable" does not necessarily mean "more typical". Scales usually only use supposedly positively valued items, but what about negatively valued sex-typed traits? According to Kelly and Worell (1977) this "raises the question of whether these measures of sex role orientation assess functional sex roles or only the positively valued components of such roles" (p.1106). Related to this is the problem of determining the relationship between self ratings and other/desirability ratings. (Locksley and Colten, 1979; Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979).

Nicholls, Licht and Pearl (1982) point out that observed correlations between scales can sometimes stem from an overlap of content. One could test for this by removing the repeated or similar items and seeing if the correlation changes, but as Nicholls et al say those items are supposed to contribute to the overall construct of each of the separate scales. Removing them then, would influence the validity of the measure. The dilemma lies in whether to doubt the construct or the scale. Concentrating on just the construct one is trying to measure without studying the item content of the scale in question leaves the researcher unaware of such potentially validity threatening issues.

Interpretations and analyses

Areas covered by scales are limited to those **perceived** to be linked to gender (Locksley and Colten, 1979), and it may be that people have often been forced to respond to items which are not really salient to them (Myers and Gonda, 1982). Further, the polarizing of scores by grouping them into categories rather than allowing for a graduated scale, loses information. The relation between masculinity and femininity, and the categorization of an individual according to them depends on the scale and the norms used. Simply scoring masculine and feminine items separately does not in itself validate the assumption of orthogonality (Myers and Gonda; Kelly and Worell, 1977). Androgyny scores are in a sense paradoxical, because to be classed masculine for example, implies a high masculine and low feminine score, and this tends to polarise the dimensions as opposites. It is only in androgynous and undifferentiated individuals, who score high and low respectively on both dimensions that they can be seen as orthogonal and "not-opposites".

There are also problems with drawing conclusions from "samples of convenience" (Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979, p.1102), and presenting these conceptualizations as norms (Pedhazur and Tetenbaum; Eagly and Carli, 1981). Gender constructs in use would appear to be too global. Researchers assume they can interpret results as if the factors in an analysis using a particular method, scale and sample reflect an underlying structure of a construct. The method, scale and sample variation are ignored,

but in fact both the researcher's and the individual's own definitions of the construct need to be examined to assess the meaning of that construct in the research and cultural situation (Myers and Gonda, 1982). The sociocultural levels of the subjects used, as well as the people that the results could possibly be applied to need to be considered, because meanings and experiences will vary (Locksley and Colten, 1979).

Related to this, the practice of dismissing from samples individuals who are inconsistent as "sources of uninteresting error varience" (Bem, 1981, p.362) prevents anyone who does not fit the prevailing pattern from being conceptualized. Bem writes that even though as researchers, we may come across such "inconsistent" individuals in everyday life, they have been "strangely absent from our journals" (p.362). Bem of course argues that the advent of androgyny has changed this - which can be challenged - but also notes that researchers could make androgyny as prescriptive as the traditional "bipolar" theories' formulations.

Future research directions

One might ask why study gender at all, if the topic is so susceptible to cultural bias? Because it **is** such an influential factor in the way people are perceived, gender roles and stereotypes justly deserve the continued attentions of researchers. However, as intimated above, there are many shortcomings which researchers need to beware of, and many

ambiguities which need to be reexamined and clarified. Some areas which the literature reviewed has revealed as calling for future research will be outlined below, followed by a rationale for the present study's focus.

Rather than being frightened off by the state of the field as described above, "eschewing frustration and beliefs that sex and gender can never be clearly depicted, the investigator might do just as well to acknowledge the variability and ponder just what this malleability of behavior signifies" (Deaux, 1985, p.62). In describing the process by which beliefs can change, Higgens and Bargh (1987) write that "when people are motivated to be accurate or to understand and predict the behavior of another person, they will expend the effort to modify their beliefs to suit the data" (p.386). One might argue that this is generally speaking idealistic, but it nevertheless aptly describes what is needed in gender research, with the emphasis lying very much in being "motivated to be accurate"!

Existing confusions need to be clarified. Morawski (1985) suggests a reconsideration of the process of developing theory, beginning with a critical and historical framework. It needs to be critical in holding that all attempts to establish knowledge claims should be evaluated not simply in terms of their simple empirical confirmation, but also by questionning the very criteria of reliable knowledge or rationality that is attributed to the researcher. Reconsideration needs to be historical because knowledge claims have to be understood as historical products,

according to Morawski, or as constructions guided by particular sociocultural interests and problems. Morawski goes on to say it is necessary to replace the conceptions about human nature that have distorted research on gender, and to "audit our inventory of artifacted and conventional beliefs" (p.218). Researchers need therefore, to be aware of the values they bring with them to the research situation.

In relation to appropriate approaches to, or forms of the re-examination of representations of gender, Mustin and Marecek (1988) suggest the use of an approach they term "deconstruction". This approach claims that language need not have a single fixed meaning, and offers a means of examining the way it operates below our everyday level of awareness to create meaning. Language is not simply a "stable system of correspondence of words and objects" (p.460). Western thought has been based on a series of hierarchical oppositions, according to the philosopher Derrida (cited in Hare-Mustin and Marecek) such as reason-emotion and male-female, and these terms take their meaning from their opposition. Each is defined in terms of what the other is not, and one is usually valued more. Derrida points out that each term contains elements of the other, depending for its meaning on the other. Thus the meaning of a text depends in part on what it does not say. Deconstruction focuses on gaps, inconsistencies, and contradictions in language, to reveal meanings present but outside of our everyday levels of awareness.

In relation to gender, Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988) hold

that psychological research serves to "simplify and purify the concept... it obscures the complexity of human action and shields both men and women from the discomforting recognition of inequality" (p.461). Many paradoxes emerge from conventional representations of gender, which conceal at the same time they reveal, according to these writers. Deconstruction focuses attention on "hidden meanings in culturally embedded metaphors" (p.462). Hare-Mustin and Marecek therefore recommend a focus on existing meanings of gender in order to disrupt prevailing opposite and evaluative constructions of what is meant by "male" and "female".

An example of a specific issue that needs further clarification is the relationship of behaviours and interests to traits and attitudes, where various assumptions seem to be often made without any empirical validation. Orlofsky et al (1982) suggest the assessment of behaviours and interests in conjunction with as well as separately from role traits and attitudes. Tellegen and Lubinski (1983) describe the confusion that has arisen from the use of "gender" scales which in fact have a very limited content, usually related to the specific traits of agency/instrumentality and relatedness/communality. They claim that confusion will continue until such scales are "formally renamed and corresponding changes in the authors' theoretical views are explicitly cited" (p.448).

Mc Hugh et al (1986) state that sex-related differences should be tested for as a matter of course, so that if they

occur, the relevant theory can be examined for gender bias in the generalizations it has made. They also suggest an inclusion of the exact proportion of variance accounted for by sex, to facilitate objective judgement about the amount of influence that it really has on a specific topic. Rosenblum (1988) writes that rather than ignoring sex and gender differences, a focus could highlight similarities, thus eliminating unfounded assumptions and stereotypes about gender and gender roles. In addition, it is important to frame hypotheses in such a way that they **can** be falsified, and to be willing to accept results in the event of falsification occuring (Scarr, 1988).

Referring to the "misplaced protectionism" described earlier, Scarr (1988) describes issues of social discriminaton and disadvantage as dangerous questions, saying that for this reason they are hardly trivial research topics. There is a need to investigate areas of real social value to disadvantaged groups. Deaux (1985) calls for more descriptive methods, and Scarr says that by asking **how** a group does something, we will have learnt something valuable, instead of merely comparing the group to some standard (in this case the white, western middle class male). Ignoring prejudice will not make it go away, and since it is usually based on broad categories like sex, it becomes necessary to invoke such distinctions in order to study them (Baumeister, 1988).

Another highly relevant area requiring further attention from researchers is that of gender stereotypes. The realization

that expectations and in turn attributions can be linked to some very basic beliefs about men and women calls for a closer look at such stereotypes. Although they have been recognised, little work has actually been done on precisely defining them (Deaux, 1984). Deaux (1985) says that research indicates a shift to a more egalitarian attitude twards men and women in society, and research has moved towards making more systematic attempt to describe and understand the structure of these attitudes. She goes on to say that more recently research conceptualisations of stereotypes has shifted away from that of an inherently negative and prejudicial cognition, to seeing it as consisting of potentially neutral categories operating in the same way as other cognitive categories. Research needs to clarify which, of the older or the newer conceptualisations of stereotypes is the most useful in any given culture. Deaux (1985) writes that there is much to be learned from a careful analysis of the **process** of gender presentation in people's cognitive structures, and cites Goffman in emphasizing the element of **choice** in people's portrayal of gender. It is important, according to both Deaux and Goffman that there be a focus on to this process rather than static elements. Deaux also writes that more recently there is a realisation amongst researchers that the interrelationship between various **components** of stereotypes needs examination, as well as the level of categorisation (narrow or broader) at which gender stereotypes function

We can argue eternally about whether gender differences are innate or socialized, trying to prove one or the other stances.

The point is that the differentiated concepts of masculinity and femininity are so well established in our culture that we cannot fail to use them in the way we perceive and relate to other people. Before we can objectively research the (non)differences between gender categories we have to research the conceptual frameworks already in use - whether or not they are justified - and make them explicit. This completed, we can remain aware of them and their potential biasing effect as we continue to research the area.

What is needed is a perspective recognising the repeated similarities between research's outcomes and prevailing cultural concepts, to "appreciate the virtual reification of the existence, contents and evaluative dynamics of masculinity and femininity concepts" (Morawski, 1985, p.197). Bearing in mind that researchers are themselves individuals existing in society, they should be prepared to not ignore the experience of a social history of the subjects they study (Segall, 1986). An individual's own conception of gender appears to be a rich and relevant source of information for future research (Myers and Gonda, 1982).

The study of gender differences and perceptions as a function of the cultural context is also needed (Brody, 1985; Locksley and Colten, 1979), as very little empirical investigation of the sociocultural basis of sex role identity appears to have been carried out (Ravinder, 1987). For the application of any scale or theory to be valid, a within-culture

standardizaton procedure needs to be implemented (Leung and Band, 1989). By re-examining gender schemas in society, and focusing on sex as a "social category" (Deaux, 1984, p.110), the gender schematization in theory and research "can be contrasted with the concurrent changes in the social positions of men and women and the alternations and confusions of gender images and roles" (Morawski, 1985, p.208).

Moghaddam (1987) describes how the longstanding domination of "first world" psychology (predominantly American, as defined by productive forces and resources for the field of psychology) is beginning to be challenged. Mainstream social psychology has largely tended to be grounded in North American culture, and this has a very limited applicability to other cultures. "Although first world psychologists clearly recognise the limitations of a monocultural science of psychology... the problem of overcoming this shortcoming remains a major challenge" (Moghaddan, p.914). "Second world" psychology (e.g. the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R) has had the resources to raise the main challenge. In the "third world" of psychology (other countries where psychology is active even if only just) social psychology can be seen to be especially underdeveloped, but there is a growing awareness of the need for relevant psychology. South Africa, with its unique mixture of cultures and problems, of well advanced technology and underdeveloped rural communities is no exception.

There has been little research in South Africa on gender roles and stereotypes, and no localised measuring instrument is

in use as yet (Prinsloo, 1989). It could be argued that in the broad context of South Africa's situation, such a topic is hardly a priority, but this would smack of the patriarchal hold on research thus far described. As expressed by Morawski (1985), "it is necessary to examine how we empower certain voices and not others with inordinate privilege, and how we define authority and rationality" (p.218), and this is surely relevant to South Africa. Should sex role stereotyping prove to be a salient factor in person perception amongst South Africans, and especially should this vary across South African sub-cultures, then it will need to be borne in mind in future research.

The present study

This study aims to "start at the beginning" within the South African context. It is posited that before any ongoing research on distributions of gender roles and their relationship to other behaviours and traits commences, the culturally specific content of these roles needs to be uncovered. To get to this stage however, two tasks need to be completed (and these within each sub-culture). Firstly a description of culturally specific stereotypes needs to be developed, and secondly their relationship (if any) with self descriptions of members of that culture needs to be assessed.

Work must begin with stereotypes for two reasons. Firstly, researchers need to be explicitly aware of their own culture's stereotypes so that they can attempt to avoid being biased by

them. Secondly, gender roles have in the past been based on stereotypes and in order to assess the salience of this, those stereotypes must first be generated. Thus the descriptions of stereotypes will be valuable in themselves as well as possibly being a step towards the ultimate development of valid sex role measures for South African cultures.

This is an enormous task, and this study does not pretend to have done any more than make a start at it. Its aim is to begin to develop working gender stereotypes for two South African cultures. Specification of culture was based on home language, and the two groups focused on were English and Xhosa. Samples were deliberately limited to university students of similar ages to control for extraneous variables such as occupation and "generation gaps". Since the majority of studies on the literature have been on college samples, this would also allow comparison with past work. It is not claimed that stereotypes developed will be generalizable to even qualitatively different groups within each culture, as this is something that only further empirical research would be able to establish. However a start will have been made, in an open frame of mind as is called for in the review above.

CHAPTER 2

THE PILOT STUDY

In a field where the "state of disarray" (Prinsloo, 1989, p.1) is by no means removed from the methodology it has employed, any study proposing to make a move towards clarifying the issues in disarray must carefully assess the method it proposes to use. For this reason, a fairly intensive pilot study was carried out prior to the commencement of the research proper. Four measures were initially designed and tested out on in effort to select one or more which would be suitable for further use. The reader is reminded of the ultimate aim being to generate descriptions of culture-specific sex-role stereotypes.

Sources

An exhaustive review of all the methods used in the field being impossible, a selective investigation of those researchers most often referred to (approvingly or otherwise) in the literature was undertaken. The aim was to note as much as possible of that which seemed to be methodologically and theoretically sound, and to note also weaknesses which could be avoided.

The individual's own sense of Masculinity and Femininity has most typically been operationally defined as their endorsement of certain traits on paper and pencil questionnaires (Myers & Gonda, 1982), and this has most often been the case irrespective

of whether the researchers were the original 'bipolar' conceptualizers of masculinity and femininity, or the later 'two-dimensional' androgeny conceptualizers. Doubts about the ultimate validity of this form of measure had to be supended as an issue too large to be dealt with in the confines of this study.

Concerning content, a fairly finite list of traits was soon discovered. As mentioned in chapter one, the two-dimensional or androgyny researchers maintained much of the content of the gender conceptualizations of their predecessors. The terms used most often in describing masculinity are : adventurous, mechanically and object oriented, aggressive, self asserting, fearless, rough, dominant, powerful, active, steady, strong, self confident, oriented to external/public life, and agentic. The terms used most often to describe femininity are : aesthetically and domestically oriented, sedentary, timid, compassionate, emotional, fastidious, subjective, sympathetic, sensitive, acquiescent, sentimental, cautious, irritable, oriented to internal/private life, jealous, intuitive and nurturant (Bem, 1974, Deaux, 1985, Holly, 1982, Kelly & Worrall, Locksley and Colten, 1979, Myers and Gonda, 1982, Morawski, 1985).

Originally concentration was mostly on personality traits but some psychologists have pointed out that this may cover only one level of gender roles and stereotypes. Orlofsky, Ramsden and Cohen (1981) include activities, interests, social interaction and marital relationships in their inventories. Other writers

have also indicated the need for the inclusion of activities and behaviours (Deaux, 1985, Helmrich, Spence and Holohan, 1979, Kelly and Worrell, 1977), and also physical attributes in measures of stereotypes (Jackson, 1985). Whilst there appears to be some blurring in the distinction between 'behaviour' and 'traits', both components do play a role in both gender roles and stereotypes (Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979). It was decided then, that an attempt would be made to assess a selection of both behaviours and personality traits.

Methods of assessment, even within the 'paper and pencil' range, have been very varied. There have been suggestions that pictorial type "projective tests" would be beyond "cultural noise" (Morawski, 1985, p.210), and this was considered as a possible option. Ratings have frequently been used, including the rating of both self and others (e.g. Bem, 1974,1979, Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979), on both traits and behaviours, most often in terms of desirability (e.g. Bem, 1974) and also for typicality or normality (e.g. Prinsloo, 1989). As Locksley and Colten (1979) write, one must ask if it is feasible to use inventories based on tapping general perceptions of aggregate differences as measures of individual differences. Bem (1981) states that only empirical research will answer this.

It was decided that for generating descriptions of stereotypes, asking for ratings of others would be most appropriate, and in order to assess the relationship, if any, to self perception, self ratings would be elicited too. Since there

is no real grounding for the belief that 'desirable' traits or behaviours are sufficient content for stereotypes, typicality would be the focus rather than desirability. The measures were not expected to be exhaustive, but were aimed at tapping some areas of South African stereotypes, and giving some indication of where further research should aim.

Method

Research on all the questionnaires was carried out in two stages, (stage 1 and stage 2) for which subjects and procedures will be described separately.

Subjects - Stage One

The sample consisted of 36 undergraduate students, aged between 20 and 26 years of age. Of these, 20 were white English speaking students from Rhodes University, 8 females and 12 males. The other 16 were black Xhosa speaking students from Fort Hare University, consisting of 10 females and 6 males.

Subjects - Stage Two

This sample was drawn solely from Rhodes University, and consisted of eight subjects, aged between 20 and 26 years of age. Of these, four were white subjects whose home language is English, and four were black subjects whose home language is Xhosa. Each subgroup had equal numbers of each sex.

Instruments

Four paper and pencil 'questionnaires' were designed to be piloted. These can be found in appendices 2 - 5, with appendix 1 providing the standard introduction to all the questionnaires used. Following is a brief description of each questionnaire, explaining something of its aim.

Questionnaire One (Q1): A list of 78 items describing behaviours, traits, attitudes and beliefs. It contains more items which were expected to be feminine, because as the literature indicates, there appear to be more misconceptions about femininity (Stewart and Lykes, 1985). Rather than simply listing terms for these attributes, they were expressed in sentences, to help ensure consistent interpretations. Subjects were asked to indicate for each item, how typical they thought it was of 1) most young men, 2) most young women, and 3) themselves. The first two categories were included to generate stereotypes, and the last because 1) it seemed that subjects were more likely to generalise about their own sex if they could distance themselves from that generalisation if they wished to, and 2) self ratings could then be compared with typical ratings.

Questionnaire Two (Q2): A list of open ended questions asking if and how 1) the typical male, 2) the typical female, and 3) subjects themselves displayed various behaviours and attributes. The three types of responses were elicited for the same reasons a Q1.

Questionnaire Three (Q3): A set of briefly described situations. Subjects were asked how the different characters would react depending on their sex. The aim was to elicit stereotypical expectations of gender typed behaviour.

Questionnaire Four (Q4): A set of two basic and undetailed pictures of men and women. Subjects were asked to describe what they thought was happening, and what the subjects were thinking and feeling. The aim was to elicit perceptions of the men and women in order to see if they contained stereotypes.

Design

The study was a straightforward descriptive one and thus no groups were compared. Response rates for each of the questionnaires were compared, as well as the rough amount of detail in response that each obtained.

Procedure - Stage One

The researcher personally distributed the questionnaires at Rhodes, and obtained the aid of a staff member at Fort Hare in following a similar procedure there. Twenty copies of each type were distributed at each university. Students were approached at the beginning of their lectures, and the basic aim of the study was explained. The cover page of the questionnaires was used as the basis for the introduction. The type of respondent desired (home language and age range) was also specified. No material incentive was offered but potential respondents were assured of the value of their participation. A large envelope was placed outside the lecture hall for respondents to return their

completed questionnaires to when completed.

Once it was evident that no more questionnaires were going to be returned, those obtained were counted to obtain a return rate for each type, and they were read in order to assess which had obtained the most detailed responses.

Procedure - Stage Two

In this part of the study, the subjects were recruited through an announcement made by the researcher at undergraduate lectures. A request was made for people who would be willing to give an hour of their time to go over some questionnaires in an interview situation for a payment of five rand for the hour. Subjects were selected on a 'first come, first served' basis, filling in the proportions of language and sex as required.

Interviews were conducted with volunteers individually. In the interview, the purpose of the study was explained in full. Then the respondent was given one of the questionnaires to complete. The questionnaires were chosen randomly without replacement, so that each version was completed by one person in each language group. Respondents were encouraged to ask any questions they might have, and the time taken to complete the questionnaire was noted, along with any queries that arose. For the remainder of the hour, the respondents were given the other questionnaires to read through and were asked to indicate anything they found ambiguous, offensive or otherwise off-putting in any way. This was all noted, along with any other comments or suggestions the respondants had to offer. They were finally asked

which version, if any, they would prefer to respond to if approached.

Subjects were also asked if they would consider young people in South Africa whose home language was the same as theirs, to come from the same culture as them. Their thoughts on the matter were noted.

Results

Results will be reported for both parts of the study together, as they were considered to be complementary. Responses were rather varied for the different types of questionnaire, a thus each questionnaire will be described separately.

Questionnaire One (Appendix 2) : 14 out of 20 copies were returned. Completion time was 35 minutes. There were some suggestions for minor wording changes, and 4 of the subjects interviewed said they would prefer to answer this version as it was easy to respond to and interesting.

Questionnaire Two (Appendix 3) : 8 out of 20 copies were returned. Completion time was 45 minutes. There were no suggestions for wording changes, and 3 of the subjects interviewed said they would prefer to answer this version as it allowed them to accurately express their opinion.

Questionnaire Three (Appendix 4) : 8 out of 20 copies were returned. Completion time was 25 minutes. There was some indication that the format of this version was rather confusing. Only one person of those interviewed said they would prefer to

answer it, their reason being that it was "entertaining". The written responses were, however almost invariably very brief, and content was considered "thin".

Questionnaire Four (Appendix 5) : This had the lowest return rate of 6 out of 20 copies. Completion time was 20 minutes. None of the subjects interviewed said they would prefer to answer this version. The reason given was that they had no idea what it was "getting at". Only four of the returned copies were completed in any great detail, and content tended to be mostly limited to describing what the picture actually showed, with little or no extension beyond this level. Also, the pictures had been deliberately kept simple to avoid leading on the subjects, but this simplicity was invariably interpreted as representing a lower socioeconomic class setting, especially for the second picture.

On the basis of the feedback obtained, it was decided to use questionnaire one as the main instrument in the study, and that a smaller number of questionnaire two would also be distributed as a 'back-up' to the main body of the research. Minor changes suggested by the interviewees were incorporated at this stage. The request for "home background" (see appendix 1) was included as some people thought that this might influence the form stereotypes took. In questionnaire one, the definitions for the points on the Likert scale were included on each page to facilitate ease and accuracy of response.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Based on the information obtained in the pilot study, it was assumed that the two samples below represented two different cultures.

Sample one - Home language English :

Subjects were 83 (41 male, 42 female) white undergraduate students of psychology at Rhodes University, recruited as described below. Ages varied between 20 and 25 years of age, with a mean age of 20.8 years.

Sample two - Home language Xhosa :

Subjects were 40 (12 male, 28 female) black undergraduate students of psychology at Fort Hare University, recruited as described below. Ages varied between 21 and 25 years of age, with a mean age of 23.3 years.

Instruments

100 copies of questionnaire one (Q1, appendix 2), and 20 copies of questionnaire two (Q2, appendix 3) were distributed at each university. Each questionnaire began with an introductory page (appendix 1) explaining the purpose of the study, and asking for demographic data. The body of each questionnaire can be seen to be aimed at obtaining gender stereotypes from within a culture,

as well as the average self description for each sex separately for that culture.

Design

The design had two main parts, both of which were based on the gender stereotypes and self-descriptions obtained for each culture group with the instruments mentioned above. Cross-cultural and within cultural comparisons were carried out on both the stereotypes and the self descriptions for each sex.

Procedure

Subjects were recruited during normal lecture periods. A standard address was used at each lecture. No reward was offered for participation, but students were assured of the value of, and appreciation for their participation.

At Rhodes data collection was carried out by the researcher personally. After the address, copies of the questionnaires were left in a box at the back of the lecture hall for students to collect as they left. They were asked to slip completed copies under the researcher's office door at the psychology department the next time they were there. This would help ensure anonymity, and would not be inconvenient to respondents since they normally visit the building at least once a week for practicals, if nothing else. Students were asked to return questionnaires even if they decided not to answer them, so that they could be

redistributed.

A similar procedure was followed at Fort Hare, except that three post graduate students were employed to collect the data. They were paid according to the number of completed questionnaires they returned. This method was chosen after consultation with staff members at Fort Hare, as being the most reliable way of collecting the data. The staff there had to be relied on to choose students who would perform the task exactly as required.

Analysis of results:

The raw data from Q1 was entered into two data files on the Rhodes mainframe computer, one file per culture. In the files, each case listed codings for sex, age, home language, marital status and home background, followed by responses to the items. Finally, each case was coded for whether the ratings were for the typical male (henceforth TM), the typical female (henceforth TF), or a self rating. Since sex of respondent was already specified, a separate code for male or female self rating was unnecessary. For convenience in this report, a male's self rating wil henceforth be "SM" and a female's self rating will henceforth be "SF".

The BMDP statistical package (B.M.D.P. Statistical Software, Inc, 1987) on the Rhodes mainframe was employed for nearly all the statistical analyses. Firstly descriptive data was obtained in the form of means and standard deviations (S.D.) for each of

the items. This was done within each culture for 'TM', 'TF', 'SM', and 'SF'. Within each category an overall mean and S.D. was obtained, as well as broken down by the subgroups in each of the demographic variables.

Statistics were compared across these subgroups to see if there appeared to be any differences (e.g. between different age groups or home backgrounds). Had there been, these would have had to have been tested for statistical significance, and if significant, they would have had to have been treated separately in further analyses. Since scores were very similar (within cultures, of course), this level of analysis could be discarded in the rest of the analysis.

For ease of future reference, the rest of the analysis will be described as a series of steps, showing how the final descriptions were arrived at.

Step one

Using BMDP, t-tests were performed on each of the items, comparing firstly ratings for the TM with the TF and then the SM ratings with the SF ratings. Those items showing a statistically significant difference at the 0.01 level were noted. From these it was noted which had the TM and the TF, or the SM and the SF means on either side of the neutral rating of three on the Likert scale. These items could be considered ones with a statistically significant and menaingful differentiation between the sexes.

Step Two

Next, for those items selected in step one the following procedure was implemented. This procedure was adapted from that documented by Yarnold and Lyons (1987). Using the overall (i.e males and females together in each case) means and standard deviations for the typicality scores and the self rating scores, one half of the S.D. was added and also subtracted from the mean of each item. This provided two scores one S.D. apart and centered about the mean. It was then noted for which items the mean TM or TF (taken separately) and the mean SM or SF (also taken separately), was either equal to or even more extreme than these scores. These items could then be taken to be those where either the stereotypes or the self ratings of the two sexes, being one S.D. apart, were extremely differentiated.

Step Three

The responses from Q2 were dealt with next. Within each culture, the individual responses for TM, TF, SM and SF were combined for each question. Content and terminology were left exactly as they were in the subjects' answers. The combined resposes were then retained to be used as supplementary sources in the content analysis of step four.

Step Four

From the items noted in steps one and two, lists were drawn up for TM, TF, SM and SF. These were based on the items for which those categories showed the higher mean of the pair being compared.

Within each stereotype or self description list, items were ranked in "importance" according to whether they were from the 'one S.D. apart' differentiation (most influential) and according to the size of their t value (the larger t, the more influential it was). A content analysis was performed on each set of ordered "typical" items and this was supplemented with the qualitative data obtained from Q2 and processed in step three. The list of self ratings were also considered, but in less detail, with the major focus being a comparison with the "typical" list for the same sex and culture. This was sufficient for the aims of the present study (to develop stereotypes). The purpose was not to develop descriptions of self perceptions based on self ratings, so the lists will not be described in the same detail as the typical lists. This would have had little validity unless one is willing to propose that all women and all men in a culture see **themselves** similarly, and would amount to falling into a sexist trap of ignoring the reality of within sex variability - in fact stereotyping individuals rather than trying to study the stereotypes that the individuals already possess about men and women in general in society

Step Five

Using the lists of items drawn up for T.M. and T.F., item analyses were performed within each culture.

1) The first analysis was on the data containing the typical ratings. The set of TM items was analysed on the set of ratings for typical males, and the set of TF items was analysed on the

set of ratings for typical females. The alpha coefficient for each set was noted.

2) Next, the TM and TF sets were item analysed using the data containing self ratings. This was done to give some indication of the salience and internal reliability of items chosen from "typical other" ratings for self ratings of males and females considered separately.

Step Six

Next, the descriptions obtained in the above process were compared in a number of ways. No statistical analysis was used for this comparison as the focus was now a qualitative one.

a) Firstly, within each culture, TM and SM descriptions were compared as were TF and SF ones. Comparison was based on the content of the lists, especially of any items falling in both lists. The alpha coefficients from step five for each set of items (TM and TF) from the "typical" ratings were compared with the alpha coefficient of these same lists from the self ratings.

b) Secondly, a cross-cultural comparison was carried out. This consisted of comparing each of the "typical" and "self" descriptions of each sex derived from the English and Xhosa samples with each other. Areas found to be nondifferential were also noted.

The overall aim of the procedure then, can be seen to be a attempt to answer the following questions :

1) What are the culturally specific sex stereotypes? What role do desirable and undesirable characteristics play?

2) Do undesirable characteristics play a role in self descriptions, or do people prefer to present a "socially desirable" image?

3) What if any, is the relationship between self descriptions and stereotypical descriptions? Can a measure based on the one be used to measure the other?

4) How do stereotypical and self descriptions from the different cultures compare? Can a measure developed in one culture be validly used in another?

5) What are the main difficulties most likely to be experienced when one investigates this type of subject matter, at least in the South African setting?

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Demographic groupings

Table 1 presents a breakdown of both samples into the demographic subcategories assessed (see appendix 1). These were not compared in the data analysis since the design was a broadly descriptive one, and also because space and time constraints disallowed an analysis of such dimensions. In any case, a preliminary examination of the data showed that there did not appear to be any significant differences in responses between categories within cultures. The categories are presented because they do indicate how seemingly equivalent samples can vary fairly substantially in different cultures.

Table 1

	English Sample		Xhosa sample	
	Q1	Q2	Q1	Q2
Age	N = 83	N = 11	N = 40	N = 8
20 yrs	50 (61%)	4 (36.3%)	1 (02%)	0 (0%)
21 yrs	19 (23%)	2 (18.2%)	5 (12.5%)	1 (21.5%)
22 yrs	6 (07%)	3 (27.3%)	8 (20%)	0 (0%)
23 yrs	7 (08%)	1 (9.1%)	5 (12.5%)	2 (25%)
24 yrs	0 (00%)	1 (9.1%)	12 (30%)	3 (37.5%)
25 yrs	1 (01%)	0 (0%)	9 (23%)	2 (25%)
Sex				
Male	41 (49%)	6 (54.5%)	12 (30%)	3 (37.5%)
Female	42 (51%)	5 (54.5%)	28 (70%)	5 (62.5%)
Home background				
City	44 (53%)	5 (54.5%)	3 (08%)	2 (25%)
Big town	17 (20%)	3 (27.2%)	8 (20%)	1 (12.5%)
Small "	14 (17%)	1 (9.1%)	14 (35%)	4 (50%)
Village/ farm	5 (06%)	1 (9.1%)	13 (33%)	1 (12.5%)
Missing	3 (04%)	1 (9.1%)	2 (04%)	0 (0%)

Stereotypical and Self Ratings

In each culture, a table listing those items from questionnaire one, (Q1, appendix two) found to be rated as significantly more "typical" or "self-descriptive" for each sex will be presented.

In the case of the typical ratings, this will be followed by a description based on these items, and supplemented by the responses to questionnaire two (Q2, appendix three). The self ratings will be used predonimantly for the purpose of comparison with the stereotypical ratings. Numbers listed in brackets following any statement will refer to items from the list (extracted from Q1), which are relevant to what is being discussed. Responses to Q2 are useful to "flesh out" what the selected items indicate, especially in areas where Q1 has shown a lack of relevant items. Information from responses to Q2 will be identified as such, and the specific question which elicited the response will be noted. Quotes given are from responses to Q2, and are used when one subject managed to capture and clearly express the general perception.

The number of respondents contributing to any cited response from Q2 will be given, expressed as a fraction out of the total number of respondents in the cultural group responding to Q2. Unless specified otherwise, material used from Q2 is based on what was said by a number of respondents in the relevant culture, and not on unique "one-of-a-kind" responses. The responses of males and females to the questions in Q2 were very similar, so no further differentiation between their responses will be made in

the analysis.

Items are not interpreted as having some fixed or absolute meaning, but are considered in the context of the set of items for any given category in a culture, in order to make some overall sense. The reason for this is that respondents must be given credit for having some logical rationale (at least in their own cultural framework) for their choice of items. Therefore the same item may be interpreted differently in the analyses of the two culture's responses, because it appears that the **cultures** interpret them differently and the shift in meaning is the only way to make overall sense of the complete lists chosen by a culture.

An attempt has been made to look at the data in terms of components making up themes. The "breakdown" of themes is not to be seen in a reductionist light, but rather in the sense of going deeper, and avoiding assumptions of any (obviously non-existant) global nature to the dimensions. In descriptions, the most accurate terms have been sought after, but the researcher has also tried to avoid ones which have negative connotations. This is nearly impossible at times, and readers are urged to try, as the researcher has done, to detach themselves from the evaluative connotations of terms in their culture, and to rather focus on what the respondents perceive, and how they value it.

It must be borne in mind that these formulated description are of **perceived** attributes, and make no assumptions about th actual behaviour or traits of members of any of the categories.

Stereotypes of English speaking young South Africans

Following are the results obtained for the English sample from steps one to four, and step five part of the procedure described on chapter three.

The English stereotypical young man

The following items have emerged as being perceived as significantly and exclusively typical of young males by the English sample.

Table 2

English rating of typical males

Items	Mean	t-value	p-value	df
16) Being able to protect oneself from physical attack.	4.27	-21.56	.0000	161.8
61) Being good at mechanical work.	3.96	-21.27	.0000	162
42) Reading books / magazines which describe sex in detail, show pictures etc.	4.14	-17.23	.0000	162
62) Reading "adventure" and "war"novels.	4.32	-14.98	.0000	119.6
2) Getting into physical fights - hitting, kicking, using weapons etc.	3.53	-14.68	.0000	116.4
51) Getting people to do what you want mostly by acting aggressivly, frightening them, causing trouble etc.	3.38	-11.61	.0000	124.5
69) Frequently keeping or looking at pictures of naked or mostly naked people.	3.86	-11.40	.0000	162
24) Being brave.	3.88	-8.46	.0000	162
End of items with one S.D. between mean TM and TF ratings				
48) Being able to look after yourself when your feelings have been hurt by somebody.	3.69	-6.37	.0000	161.9
7) Having sex before marriage to prove one is fertile/potent.	3.19	-6.19	.0000	143.9
64) Saying what your opinion is in front of older people whom you disagree with.	3.53	-4.73	.0000	160.9

(Alpha = 0.6096)

Based on the items actually offered in Q1, the following items can be seen as being considered typical of young English males:

1) The typical young man in the English culture is perceived firstly as possessing a certain amount of "prowess", in that he is seen to be capable and brave. He is seen to be capable in a physical sense -that is, mechanically, and in terms of self defence (16, 61).

This physical capability extends to an area Q1 did not refer to specifically but which emerged in Q2, questions two and four. Men were described as only being able to show empathy with others with **physical** attention (5/11 subjects). Concerning taking care of others, men are seen as willing to do a physical "man's job", for example repairing something, and are described as seeing caring for others as providing for them materially and physically (7/11 subjects, question two). Physical caring appears to be the only socially acceptable form of caring for a masculine image. An individual response is appropriate here - "never in words, only actions". Respondents tended to describe this limiting of caring to the physical/material as something of a weakness (7/11 subjects)

2) He is seen as brave (24), possibly partly as a result of being physically self-sufficient. Responses to question six in Q2 provide a fuller description of this. Respondents write that men are afraid of fewer things than women (5/11 subjects), and are also less likely to show fear when they do feel it (11/11

subjects) . They are described as being likely to put on a show o bravado, and to deny feelings of fear (10/11 subjects). They ar also perceived as exhibiting a value for and interest (throug their reading tastes) in the display of this attribute, and thos described in point one, in others (62)

3) The self sufficiency aspect of the prowess described above carries over to a certain extent to the emotional level (48). The young man is considered to be confident and assertive, emotionally and intellectually (64,48). Responses to Q2's question five describe men as more insistent on having things their own way (10/11 subjects), and one respondent went as far as to say that men demanded their way because it went with the image of being masculine. This self assertion can be aggressive (51). One response to Q2's question five, and numerous responses (10/11 subjects) to Q2's question twelve describe this too, some claiming that men may even go as far as using some form of force or threat (or even physical force) to get their own way (7/11 subjects).

Responses to Q2's question ten do qualify the emotional self sufficiency to some extent, although here there is some conflict between answers, which is not seen elsewhere in the questionnaire. The typical young man was described mostly as being emotionally self contained and independent, (4/11 subjects) but also as needing other people (3/11 subjects). Four respondents acknowledged this contrast however, providing the clues to interpreting it. The overall picture drawn is of

somebody who does need others , but who needs to appear independant. A number of respondents (4/11 subjects) said that in actual fact, in spite of the self-sufficient image presented, young men did need others to be happy, but were unlikely to admit it. It would appear that maintaining the image of self-sufficiency is important to the young man, in order to seem strong. Responses to question six (see point two above) and question eight support this. Men are typically described as unwilling to show "gentle" of "soft" emotions (e.g. fear, uncertainty, sadness) (9/11 subjects) although there is no doubt that they feel them strongly at times (7/11 subjects). Showing it is socially seen as a sign of weakness for the young man (10/11 subjects).

Interestingly, this self confidence was cited by respondents answering Q2's question nine as the reason that males were particularly non-superstitious (9/11 subjects). Superstitious beliefs were described as sentimental and childish (6/11 subjects), an "airy fairy women's trait". This type of response associates the type of emotions linked to superstition as weak, soft, lacking in self-confidence, and hence, not to be shown.

4) In contrast to the above described restraint on "soft" emotions, the typical young man is described by respondents as being quite openly aggressive and capable of expressing this physically (51). In Q2's question one respondents describe men as openly expressing anger (11/11 subjects), initially with verbal abuse and leading on to physical forms of expression (6/11

subjects), or else immediately resorting to physical expression (5/11 subjects), not necessarily towards another person so much as some convenient object (punching of kicking a door for example) (4/11 subjects). Responses to Q2's question three, describe men as seeming to enjoy physical fighting, participating as well as observing (9/11 subjects). This was also described by one subject as being considered a natural phenomenon, running through "the animal kingdom - especially where females are involved". It is described as a way the typical young man proves himself as a male (6/11 subjects). Even though there was some indication that this was considered "natural" respondents tended to view it negatively (8/11 subjects). The enjoyment or value aspect of this, as well as the idea of proving oneself, links to what was described as "prowess" in points one and two, (see items 24, 62 and 16).

5) The typical young man is also perceived as feeling he needs to assert and express his virility (7). He is also seen to display an avid interest in sexuality and sexual performance (42,48). Responses to question 7 of Q2 are very clear on this. The most commonly cited major reason for this was that society expects it of young men - it is the "masculine" way to behave (11/11 subjects). The young man is expected to prove and reinforce his image of masculine sexuality and dominance, according to respondents (9/11 subjects). He is expected to be "experienced" sexually, and this contributes to the overall stereotypical image of a capable, self sufficient, assertive and aggressive person

who must continually assert and reassert this in his behaviour.

6) An area in which Q1 was totally lacking was "masculine appropriate" behaviours indicating attention to physical appearance. Responses to Q2's question 11 describe males as having a significantly different approach to this issue, which warrants mention. The only area mentioned by subjects was dressing (8/11 subjects). The young man was described as dressing well if he wanted to appear successful; Expensive clothes and accessories are considered to be status symbols. It is acceptable for a young man to dress well in order to create a successful impression or to be accepted by a particular crowd (6/11 subjects). He apparently is not expected to dress well as a matter of course - excessive attention to appearance is not considered "masculine". On the everyday level the typical young man is perceived as not bothering with his appearance, and is not expected to either (7/11 subjects).

The attributes making up this stereotype are a mixture of both positively and negatively valued ones. Both are percieved by respondents as equally salient. The perception of social pressure on the young man to be "masculine" extends even to those areas which were described negatively.

The English stereotypical young woman

Table 4.3 (page 83) presents those items chosen as significantly and exclusivly descriptive of young women by young English speaking South Africans.

1) The typical young woman is firstly seen as being very concerned with her physical appearance (57,26,37). Responses to Q2's question eleven support this, describing the young woman as being very conscious of how she looks (11/11 subjects). They also extend the range of concerns/behaviours beyond those listed in Q1's items to concern over body shape (4/11 subjects). There appears to be a subcategory to this stereotype, of women who deliberately neglect their appearance in order to "make a statement" against sexist norms (3/11 subjects). Both alternatives are described by respondents as resulting from the same factor, which is that society is male dominated, and males expect females to try to look nice (9/11 subjects). Within the stereotype the above two alternatives were the **only** ones described as possible or likely. There was little evidence of positive or negative valuation of this characteristic.

2) The typical young woman is also perceived as somewhat fearful (58,27,34), and openly admitting of this (37, see point 3). In Q2's question six, women are described as feeling and showing fear more often (9/11 subjects) and of more things (7/11 subjects) than men . They are seen to be willing to show fear physically as well as verbally (5/11 subjects). Interestingly, this was described by one respondent as a way of maintaining a

Table 3

English rating of typical females

Items	Mean	t-value	p-value	df
57) Wearing lipstick, eyeshadow or other makeup.	4.55	31.15	.0000	162
32) Reading "love story" novels.	4.27	30.38	.0000	151.7
66) Showing sadness or hurt through crying.	4.31	29.35	.0000	162
26) Wearing earrings, rings, bangles, necklaces or other jewellery.	4.84	19.56	.0000	100.5
37) Admitting when you are afraid.	4.12	19.46	.0000	162
73) Seeing having nice soft hands and long nails as important or desirable.	4.46	18.83	.0000	133.7
58) Having fear of any of the following: snakes spiders, chameleons, rats or mice.	4.55	18.80	.0000	118.7
27) Feeling afraid of the dark.	3.88	17.59	.0000	162
28) Having sex before marriage to please your partner more than yourself.	3.81	14.35	.0000	162
12) Being good at looking after children.	4.31	14.22	.0000	114.6
45) Wanting or needing to look after children.	3.87	14.19	.0000	162
39) Being honest about how you are feeling emotionally.	3.93	13.44	.0000	162
47) Being good at showing other people that you understand how they are feeling.	4.11	12.96	.0000	128.4
14)Understanding other people's feelings.	4.06	11.12	.0000	149.1
44)Being supported by others financially.	3.98	11.05	.0000	140.9
34) Getting worried, or anxious without any real reason.	3.90	10.74	.0000	162
46) Being good at thinking up new ideas to improve home life.	4.06	9.97	.0000	162
3) Relying on the feelings one has about something rather than the facts one knows when making a decision.	3.78	8.98	.0000	162
36) Being good at looking after other people, making them comfortable etc.	4.01	8.97	.0000	157.8
68) Giving into other people's desires, ignoring your own wants.	3.22	8.35	.0000	118.7
23) Having a very strict set of rules that one lives ones life by.	3.41	8.10	.0000	161.7
End of items with one S.D. between mean TH and TF ratings				
65) Needing or wanting to make other people comfortable.	3.99	7.36	.0000	149.8
35) Speaking out about your feelings when with students in a social occasion.	3.59	7.29	.0000	149.5
38) Shouting, screaming, calling names and so on when fighting with someone.	3.94	7.22	.0000	157.6
67) Keeping quiet, not showing when you are angry.	3.43	6.74	.0000	162
5) Carrying a good luck charm.	3.41	8.10	.0000	148
60) Not having sex before marriage for religious reasons.	3.18	5.88	.0000	154.5
71) Avoiding arguing with other people.	3.30	5.54	.0000	162
6) Being shy/embarrased when one is with people one does not know well.	3.55	4.79	.0000	161
25) Believing that others have more control over your life than you do.	3.14	4.57	.0000	160.3
52) Feeling good about the way you are only if other people approve of you.	3.59	4.12	.0001	153
22) Being willing to trust other people.	3.57	4.01	.0001	159.3
43) Relying more on other people's opinions than ones own feelings when making choices.	3.25	3.96	.0001	162
76) Being clever at speaking your own and other languages.	3.43	3.43	.0008	162
40) Saying you agree with friends' decisions even when in your mind/heart you don't agree.	3.10	3.33	.0011	162
74) Believing in ghosts or spirits.	3.06	2.93	.0038	162

(Alpha = 0.8008)

feminine image "in the eyes of protective males". Except for this last point, which was described very negatively, responses seemed to be mostly neutral or only slightly negative about this attribute.

3) There is also a dimension to the stereotype which could be termed emotional expressiveness (66,37,39,35). The first two items describe the expression of the "soft" emotions of sadness and fear, whilst the second two describe a general expressiveness. Responses to Q2's question 8 describe women as showing "gentle" or "soft" emotions more often and more expressively than men, and finding this very easy to do (11/11 subjects). The young woman is also described as being able to express herself physically and verbally equally well (5/11 subjects). This was given a very positive valuation by respondents.

However, young women are even described by two respondents as sometimes actually being "melodramatic", and going "overboard" in "showing the emotion to be more intense than it really is".

Item 32 could perhaps indicate a perceived interest in this emotional side to human experience, or it may be simply a perceived romanticism. The researcher thinks the two are very likely linked in any case in the stereotype, especially considering point four below.

4) The young woman is also perceived to be emotionally empathic (47,14). This is reinforced by answers to question four of Q2,

where all respondents describe a young woman as willing and able to show empathy (11/11 subjects). She is seen as showing she understands other people's feelings mostly verbally (8/11 subjects), but also physically (5/11 subjects). Generally empathy was regarded positively. However this perceived ability was described by some repondents as limited to a certain extent by the young woman's tendency, when personally involved, to let her own emotions override her understanding of others (4/11 subjects). This tendency to let personal emotions override empathy was clearly described as a weakness.

5) Linked to this peception of empathy is a view of the typical young woman as nurturant (12,45,36,65,46). This can be seen as an image which consists of both the exhibition of a high frequency of appropriate behaviour, as well as the perceived underlying **need** to behave thus. Responses to Q2's question two describe the young woman as being very caring, both physically and emotionally (10/11 subjects). She is described as "showing the mothering touch", seeming to enjoy the role (5/11 subjects), and being very willing to take on this kind of responsibility (6/11 subjects). The value of this appeared to be neutral.

An interesting (and totally unexpected) subcomponent of this, considered by three respondents to be relevant, is that caring for someone involves "being there" for them and also includes becoming what the person they care for wants them to be. These responses implied a submissiveness and a flexibility to take on a particular role. This provides a link with what is

described in point five following.

6) There is also a dimension to the stereotype which can be loosely termed "non-assertion". Within this are incorporated a number of aspects. This consists firstly of a pliability, and a tendency to give into the desires of others (28,68,40). Q2's question five produces a description of a woman who wants her own way as much as anyone (7/11 subjects), but who is bound into a flexible "listening" role. She is usually forced to give in to others, especially to men (9/11 subjects). The young woman may assert herself subtly, according to three respondents, for example in her choice of clothes or in the decoration of her home, as this is considered acceptable by others. This could provide help in understanding the inclusion of item 46 in the stereotype, linking up the young woman's perceived nurturance to showing acceptable forms of assertion. This also ties up with what was mentioned at the end of point five, about the young woman's adoption of acceptable or expected roles as a part of her caring for others.

The typical young woman is also perceived as depending on others for the maintenance of her self esteem (52,43). This is perhaps best described as an "external locus" of standards for self-approval. Responses to Q2's question 10 can be seen to add to this, as responses here describe women as depending on other people in order to be happy (9/11 subjects). Respondents tended to view this as a weakness in the young woman.

There is also an image of passivity (67, 71, 25). Q2's

question 12 elicits a more specific description of this. The young woman is not expected to be openly assertive (8/11 subjects). She is unlikely to make demands unless it is really of importance to her (2/11 subjects), but is seen as often resorting to more subtle passive-aggressive methods such as emotional blackmail, or "subtle verbal maneouvers" (7/11 subjects). This non-assertion was mostly seen as a weakness, but one which was at times unavoidable due to social pressures. However the "emotional blackmail" was strongly criticised by all subjects mentioning it.

At first the inclusion of both items 67 and 38 in the stereotype appeared to be contradictory, but in the light of the above descriptions, it would appear that the former has its most basic interpretation in passivity, and the latter in verbal expressivness - when the young woman does get into a fight, this is how she expresses herself.

7) Q1 did not cover the area of passive aggression at all, but responses to Q2's questions three and five do clearly describe this. Respondents differentiated very clearly between typical men and women in these questions. Respondents wrote that because the young woman usually expresses her emotions more freely (but non-violently), pressure does not build up in her in the way it does in the young man, and is therefore unlikely to explode into a violent show of anger (6/11 subjects). She is percieved as being more likely to sulk or attack the other person verbally with "bitchy comments" (10/11).

The young woman is not perceived as non-aggressive, but as generally using (relatively) passive methods to channel her anger, and to get her own way.

8) The young woman is also seen as likely to be financially dependent on others (44). Q1 was somewhat lacking in items referring specifically to dependency - emotional or material - although items such as 52 and 43 (see point six) may partly imply emotional dependency. The young woman is described as needing other people to make her totally happy, and depending on others for support (10/11 subjects) (see point six) In responses to question ten of Q2, a perception of a general dependency is indicated. There was some indication that this is socially expected of the young woman (7/11 subjects).

9) The researcher found the inclusion of item 60 interesting, as the only "not having sex before marriage..." item chosen. A number of alternative reasons for abstention were included in items in Q1 as it was thought that these reasons could vary according to the sex stereotypes . It was expected that where religion was the reason, there would not be a difference between the sexes; Instead this was the **only** area of perceived difference! If the relevant dimension was a straightforward one of "chastity" or "health consciousness", some of the other items would probably have been included. Possible interpretations are that the typical female is perceived as being **more** religious, and avoiding sex before marriage is one result of this. This could also be part of a general underlying dimension of

"integrity" or adherence to a personal code, which would be supported by the inclusion of item 23 in the stereotype, with this and item 60 both being perceived results of the dimension.

To make interpretation of the area even more complex, responses to Q2's question seven provided distinctions not allowed for by the selection of items in Q1. It would appear, considering the responses of all eleven respondents together, that there is still a double standard in society. Officially it is acceptable for a young woman to have premarital sex, and in some groups it is even expected (5/11 subjects), but there is still something of a stigma attached to the young woman openly admitting to doing this (9/11 subjects). The more stable the relationship, the more acceptable premarital sex becomes, apparently (6/11 subjects). Societal expectations seem to play a great role in influencing the frequency and openness of premarital sex. It may be partly owing to these double standards that the young woman is seen as using religion as her reason for abstention.

10) The typical young woman is seen as being somewhat superstitious (5,74), as well as possibly intuitive, relying more on feelings than facts (3). This intuition can be seen to fit in with point three, giving the overall stereotype a strong "emotion over reason" dimension. Responses to Q2's question nine described a young woman as being rather superstitious, and more so than a young man (9/11 subjects). She was seen as tending to have lucky charms, and little rituals to perform for luck (8/11 subjects).

All respondents (men and women) saw this as being "silly".

11) The young woman is also seen as being good at languages (76). Linked to point three, a dimension of ease and frequency of verbal expressivness seems to be a salient part of the stereotype.

Like the typical male stereotype, there is a mixture of positively and negatively valued attributes. One could say that broadly the typical female is seen to be emotional, (even excessively so at times), nurturant and nonassertive, but it is difficult to reduce the above areas into fewer underlying dimensions. To do so would deny the complexity of the type of stereotype which has emerged. This complexity may well be a tribute to the modern upheaval in views of femininity. Compliance to social pressures has become a part of the stereotype, replacing the older simplistic "natural inclination" interpretation of men and women's behaviour.

Comparisons with self ratings

Following are the results for the English sample obtained from steps five (b) and six (a) of the procedure described in chapter three.

Males

Table 4 shows those items which significantly more English male subjects rated as descriptive of themselves.

Table 4

English males self-rating

Items	Mean	t-value	p-value	df
16) Being able to protect oneself from physical attack.	3.43	-5.37	.0000	65.1
End of items with one S.D. between mean SM and SF ratings				
24) Being brave.	3.78	-4.64	.0000	62.6

As can be seen, only two items from Q1 were selected. Both do also appear on the "typical" list, but on the self ratings the means are much lower. Also, only item 16 remains above the one S.D. threshold. Both items belong to the "prowess" element described in the discussion of the typical males, so it would appear that this is the only part of the stereotype which significantly more males feel is typical of themselves. Interestingly, both items belong to a positively valued part of the stereotype, and no negatively valued items were chosen. However, a number of the positively valued areas have also not been selected.

When the list of "typical male" items was subjected to an item analysis using the males' self ratings, the resulting Alpha coefficient for the "scale" was 0.0549. For self ratings then, the list of typical items has as good as no internal reliability. The only two items which correlated with the list even moderately, were item 64 (0.3475) and item 48 (-0.3370). Items 16 and 24 had extremely low correlations of 0.15 and 0.08 respectivly.

The pictures presented by typical and self ratings are very different. It must also be concluded that the list of typical items has very little internal reliability when male subjects rate themselves.

Females

Table 5 (page 92) presents those items which significantly more female subjects rated as descriptive of themselves.

Most of the items chosen were ones which were positively or neutrally valued in the stereotype. The only exception is item 44, and item 18 possibly, which was not in the TF list but which would fit in with the "dependent" dimension, and thus be negatively valued. Although the dependence was negatively valued, it was nevertheless socially expected.

Two thirds of the items fall on the typical female list. Without exception however, the mean scores of these items are lower than on the typical ratings, and for a number of them, the difference is quite large. (Differences range from 0.12 to 1.39,

Table 5

English females self-rating

Items	Mean	t-value	p-value	df
57) Wearing lipstick, eyeshadow or other makeup.	3.57	8.32	.0000	78.6
26) Wearing earrings, rings, bangles, necklaces, etc.	4.05	7.27	.0000	59.4
73) Seeing having nice soft hands and long nails as important or desirable.	3.07	7.17	.0000	63.6
30) Acting like your same sex parent.	3.53	5.62	.0000	74.1
End of items with one S.D. between mean SM and SF ratings				
37) Admitting when you are afraid.	4.00	4.11	.0001	79.3
66) Showing sadness or hurt through crying.	3.76	3.98	.0002	81
34) Getting worried, or anxious without any real reason.	3.43	3.11	.0026	75.4
58) Having fear of any of the following: snakes, spiders, chameleons, rats or mice.	3.53	2.88	.0051	81
44)Being supported by others financially.	3.29	2.87	.0053	81
13) Being able to think up new ideas to improve one's work place.	4.00	2.79	.0069	68.3
18) Needing other people to approve of one.	3.38	2.74	.0076	81
21) Having lots of energy, being very busy.	3.76	2.65	.0095	81

for six items being greater than 0.5). The relative order of importance varies in places too. Attention to physical appearance is still high (57,26,73), in fact higher and more tightly grouped than on the typical list. The "fearful" (37,34,58) items are also closer together here, but their overall position is slightly lower than in the typical list.

The respondents rate themselves as emotionally expressive (37,66), but with fewer items than the typical list. Item 44 appears again, but whether this is due to the nature of the

sample (are more female students supported by others?) remains to be seen.

The item analysis of the "typical female" items using the self ratings of females produced an Alpha coefficient of 0.5328, which is much lower than for the typical ratings. Considering the large number of items and respondents, the alpha value indicates the list is not highly internally reliable at all when used for self ratings, even though it is much more reliable than the typical male list. Individual correlations of the items were generally low, the highest being item 35 at 0.43. With the exception of item 34 (0.3418), all the items falling also on the self rating list had exceptionally low correlations on the typical list, with the highest being 0.19.

Whilst there are some similarities between English females' self ratings and the stereotypes of females, the relationship is not close enough to warrent the use of a scale based on the latter in order to measure the former.

Stereotypes of young Xhosa speaking South Africans

Following are the results obtained for the Xhosa sample, using steps one to four, and step five part (a) of the procedure described in chapter three.

Owing to the exceptionally low return rate from the Xhosa sample, the results can only be interpreted very tentatively. They can be used to give some indication of the salient issues, but without further research any conclusive generalizations concerning the "true" nature of Xhosa sex role stereotypes would be unwise to make. However there is at least enough evidence to show that they do differ qualitatively from English stereotypes.

The Xhosa stereotypical young man

Table 6 (page 95) lists those items chosen by the Xhosa sample as being significantly and exclusively typical of young men in their culture.

This set of items is difficult to summarise into themes because most of the items appear to represent different areas. The following description is mostly based on the "order of importance" of the items.

1) Firstly a characteristic of bravery is listed (24). Responses to Q2's question 6 provide information relevant to this that qualifies the perception. The stereotype of bravery appears to be situationally determined. Respondents describe young men as being willing to own up to feeling fear when with other men, and

Table 6

Xhosa rating of typical males

Items	Mean	t-value	p-value	df
24) Being brave.	4.40	-17.74	.0000	64.1
61) Being good at mechanical work.	4.70	-14.24	.0000	53.5
62) Reading "adventure" and "war" novels.	4.50	-13.06	.0000	78
77) Reading mystery/crime novels.	4.10	-7.46	.0000	78
End of items with one S.D. between mean TM and TF ratings				
51) Getting people to do what you want mostly by acting aggressivly, frightening them, causing trouble etc.	3.90	-6.74	.0000	78
67) Keeping quiet, not showing when you are angry.	3.50	-5.04	.0000	78
16) Being able to protect oneself from physical attack.	4.10	-3.91	.0002	78
69) Frequently keeping or looking at pictures of naked or mostly naked people.	4.10	-3.85	.0003	55.6
21) Having lots of energy, being very busy.	4.30	-3.72	.0004	66
63) Doing things which you haven't been told to do, but have thought up yourself as being useful.	4.30	-2.94	.0043	78

(Alpha = 0.6774)

feeling free to attempt to elude the source of the fear (4/8 subjects). However when females are present, the young Xhosa man apparently feels obliged to put on a show of bravado, or to admit only to feeling "uneasy" (8/8). Valuation of this attribute tended to be mixed. Bravery per se seemed to be positively valued (3/8 subjects), but the situational nature of the young man's display of it was regarded with some cynicism (3/8 subjects).

2) Next an aptitude is described, that of being mechanically

proficient (61). Further down the list, the typical young man is also described as being able to defend himself physically (16), and it could be that the two proficiencies are linked in a perception of physical capability. Some responses to Q2's question two described the young man as likely to be capable of taking care of practical and physical tasks (3/8 subjects). In addition, responses to question three of Q2 described the young man as quick to get into fights (see point four), and being expected to acquit himself well when in one (5/8 subjects). This, linked to Q1's item 16 would support the idea that the young man is expected by society to be generally physically proficient. Except for the element of proving oneself in fights, the more general physical capability was described in a very positive light.

3) The inclusion of items 62 and 77, describing a taste for "adventure and "crime" literature could perhaps indicate a perception of the typical young man's interest in the display of point one's and two's "masculine" areas of behaviour.

4) Next aggressive self assertion is described (51). Input from questions 1,3, and 12 of Q2 show this to be an important part of the stereotype. The typical young man is described as being "bossy" in order to get his own way (5/8 subjects). He is seen as being very quick to show his anger or discontent in a situation, if things are not as he would like them to be.

He is also described as quick to get into a fight; using

aggressive language, banging of furniture, and hitting out at the cause of the anger - including another person if this person is considered weaker (8/8 subjects). This very strong stereotyping in responses to Q2 clashes with the complete list of items selected from Q1, since most items in this questionnaire describing this characteristic were **not** selected. It may be that this aggressive behaviour is perceived as limited to situations involving conflict of desires. In this case, item 67 (see below) is being interpreted as referring more generally to the expression of anger. This must remain as just a guess at this stage however.

5) Considering the above description of aggressive behaviour, the inclusion of item 67 was initially surprising. It seems likely that it is not being interpreted in the same way as it is by English speakers. The researcher would hazard a guess that bearing in mind the set of items as a whole, and the fact that none of the "emotionally expressive" items appear, this item is here interpreted as an inner containment of emotion. Responses to Q2's question eight would support this, as here the young man is described as being socially pressurised into not showing emotion (6/8 subjects), and into appearing "strong and protective". Howvever, this must remain an area of doubt at this stage, and until further research clarifies the issue. Respondents appeared to view this restriction of emotional expression neutrally, although some (3/8 subjects) described it as an enforced limitation on the young man.

6) The inclusion of item 69 could indicate a perceived interest in sex and sexuality. This is described in responses to Q2's question seven, and appears to be expected of the young man; Being very sexually active is considered the norm (8/8 subjects), and he is expected to gain as much sexual experience as he can (6/8 subjects). Inclusion of item 69 could be a natural result of this expectation then, as well as describing one way of displaying a "natural" masculine interest in sexuality.

7) Items 21 and 63 do appear to complement one another, indicating a perceived innovativeness and show of initiative. These two items seem to contribute to the element of perceived capability and self sufficiency mentioned above (see points 1 and 2). This can be seen to tie up the possible emotional level (24 and 67) with the physical (61,16,21,63) and with an interest in and appreciation for these attributes (62,77).

Again, the list of attributes is well mixed concerning positively and negatively valued attributes. The researcher is unwilling to "reduce" the items any further without more empirical support. It is unnecessary to do so in any case, and the items can stand simply as an indication of some of the kinds of attributes that young Xhosa people consider typical of young Xhosa men.

The Xhosa stereotypical young woman

The following items, Table 7 (page 100) were chosen by the Xhosa sample as being typical of young women in their culture.

1) The young Xhosa woman is firstly seen as paying great attention to her physical appearance (57,26,73,29). Responses to Q2's question 11 describe the young woman as going out of her way to look good and "appealing physically" (8/8 subjects). This was a positively valued characteristic (6/8 subjects), but one respondent did say that whilst young woman **should** be like this, they should now also improve themselves intellectually, "keeping abreast" of current affairs; It was implied that there was a tendency for it to be often considered "enough" , or a sufficient alternative if a young woman was decorative (4/8 subjects).

2) The young woman is also described as both needing to, and being good at looking after children. These items cannot be decisively generalised to a global nurturance, since excepting for item 46 which it could be argued conveys nurturance, none of the other items in the scale which could possibly be interpreted as "nurturant" were chosen by the sample. Answers to question 2 in Q2 show that this question was interpreted by all but one person in the Xhosa sample with "caring" referring to emotional attachment, so most of the material from this question cannot be used in the present context. The exception in the sample described the young woman as being soothing, and using her hands.

3) She is described as expressing aggression in a verbal manne

Table 7

Xhosa rating of typical females

Items	Mean	t-value	p-value	df
57) Wearing lipstick, eyeshadow or other makeup.	4.70	19.41	.0000	57.2
12)Being good at looking after children.	4.60	17.72	.0000	78
26) Wearing earrings, rings, bangles, necklaces, etc.	4.70	16.55	.0000	78
38) Shouting, screaming, calling names and so on when fighting with someone.	4.40	13.49	.0000	51.6
27) Feeling afraid of the dark.	3.90	13.10	.0000	78
37) Admitting when you are afraid.	4.00	12.97	.0000	78
73) Seeing having nice soft hands and long nails as important or desirable.	4.30	11.12	.0000	78
45) Wanting or needing to look after children.	4.50	10.41	.0000	78
66) Showing sadness or hurt through crying.	4.30	10.13	.0000	78
58) Having fear of any of the following: snakes, spiders, chameleons, rats or mice.	4.60	9.85	.0000	53.9
29) Following fashion in your choice of clothes.	4.50	7.90	.0000	47.6
34) Getting worried, or anxious without any real reason.	3.70	7.76	.0000	69.8
14)Understanding other people's feelings.	4.10	6.67	.0000	64.6
50) Doing things just to get the approval of others.	4.10	6.14	.0000	78
46) Being good at thinking up new ideas to improve home life.	4.70	5.82	.0000	62.1
43) Relying more on other people's opinions than one's own feelings when making choices.	3.70	5.44	.0000	78
59) Being afraid of the types of things listed in (58) so much that you hate even seeing pictures of them.	3.70	5.26	.0000	78
47) Being good at showing other people that you understand how they are feeling.	3.90	5.17	.0000	69.8
End of items with one S.D. between mean TM and TF ratings				
32) Reading "love story" novels.	4.00	4.68	.0000	70.1
60) Not having sex before marriage for religious reasons.	3.00	4.54	.0000	67.4
6) Being shy/embarrassed when one is with people one does not know well.	3.80	4.29	.0001	78
5) Carrying a good luck charm.	3.50	4.28	.0001	78
44)Being supported by others financially.	3.80	4.27	.0001	78
35) Speaking out about your feelings when with students in a social occasion.	3.50	3.71	.0004	78
28) Having sex before marriage to please your partner more than yourself.	4.20	3.70	.0005	59.4
74) Believing in ghosts or spirits.	4.30	3.56	.0006	78
55) Believing that fate, or good or bad luck has the most control over ones life.	3.80	3.33	.0013	78
52) Feeling good about the way you are only if other people approve of you.	3.90	3.30	.0015	78
39) Being honest about how you are feeling emotionally.	3.70	3.26	.0016	78
53) Feeling "down", "depressed", or "sad" a lot of the time.	3.30	2.95	.0042	72.9
40) Saying you agree with friends' decisions even when in your mind/heart oyu don't agree.	3.30	2.95	.0041	78
72) Feeling comfortable only if one is acting as everybody else is acting.	3.80	2.81	.0063	78

(Alpha = 0.7795)

(38). The high position of this item on the list is backed up by responses to Q2's question one, where the young woman is described as showing anger verbally (7/8 subjects) or even by crying, shouting and screaming (4/8 subjects). It was also mentioned that women did not show anger as often as men (3/8 subjects) and that the "tone" differed from men's use of verbal expression (2/8 subjects). Unfortunately this was not elaborated upon. Answers to question three support this picture of open verbal expression of anger, saying that when a fight gets very heated up, females will shout and swear (7/8 subjects). In extreme cases, especially when there is an audience a young woman may even resort to physical fighting as well, according to some respondents (3/8 subjects). It was noted also by the researcher, that the perception of this type of extreme behaviour was situational, being limited to certain areas of dispute with other women, the most likely being over boyfriends and husbands. In other areas expression of anger was much less heated, but still verbally expressed (3/8 subjects). General expression of anger and aggression was seen in a neutral light (6/8 subjects), but the more extreme forms of display were when mentioned, more negatively viewed.

4) The typical young woman is also described as being rather fearful, (27,58,34,59), and usually admitting to this (37). Responses to Q2's question six describe a young woman as almost always owning up to feeling afraid, and expressing fear physically and verbally (7/8 subjects). This ties up with the

emotional expressiveness described below. The expression of fear was also described by a few respondents (3/8 subjects) as being expected of the young woman, as appearing vulnerable would make men appear "stronger" in contrast. This appeared to be slightly negatively valued.

5) Emotional expressiveness or openness is also described as being typical (37,66,35,39). Item 35 is here interpreted as emotionally expressive, rather than assertive (as originally seen by the researcher) because considering the whole body of data on the typical Xhosa young woman, this appears to be the only way to make logical sense of its inclusion alongside numerous clearly "nonassertive" items (see point seven below). In Q2's question eight, all eight respondents describe the typical young woman as being good at expressing her emotions - and it appears that this is a positivly valued trait. 6/8 subjects also wrote that showing the sort of "soft" emotions listed in the question is actually expected of women; it is, to quote one respondant, "a woman's field". Responses to Q2's question two describe the young woman as also being very expressive of her emotional attachment to others (7/8 subjects).

The typical young woman is also described as being depressed a lot of the time. Only one item on this subject was included in Q1, (unless one considers item 34, which describs worrying, relevant) and no relevant comments were obtained from Q2, except what has already been noted above, so little more can be ascertained on this topic. It seems possible that this may be

part of the perceived general emotionality.

6) Following on from the above, the typical young woman is seen as being empathic to other people's emotions (14,47), both in understanding others' feelings and in showing that she does. All eight respondents to Q2's question four describe the young woman as being both extremely sensitive to others, and willing to show this. 5/8 subjects described the young woman as likely to relate how she has felt similar feelings in different settings, even concerning personal or sensitive subjects. One respondent said that when it came to empathy, woman gave a lot more than they received. An element of the verbal expression of empathy was fairly constant (6/8 subjects). Item 32 could be interpreted as expressing this interest in and value for human emotions, and thus be linked to both this point and point five.

7) The typical young woman is also seen as being generally non-assertive, and relying largely on others for choice of criteria for acceptable behaviour, and for self approval. This could otherwise be described as an external locus of control (50,43,28,52,40,72). This would appear to be a fairly important dimension, considering the relatively large number of items, although only the first two fall above the "one S.D apart" threshold. Responses to a number of questions from Q2 are useful to aid understanding here. Responses to question five describe the young woman as generally getting a "raw deal" when it comes to having things the way she would like them to be (7/8 subjects). It would appear that she is non-assertive because it

is not socially acceptable for her to be otherwise. Two respondents qualified this however, writing that where she was the elder, the young woman could remind others of the age gap, and "earn respect in this way". From question twelve the young woman is described as rarely being "bossy" or "pushy" (6/8 subjects), and often lack of choice appears to be a very strong reason behind this "non-assertion".

Including item 28 as non-assertive receives support from responses to Q2's question seven. Sex before marriage is described as becoming more acceptable for a young woman (5/8 subjects). However, 5/8 subjects also wrote that if the young woman had and wanted to keep a boyfriend, she often had little choice but to have sex with him, and one subject even said that if the young woman refused, she could end up being physically forced. Two other respondents wrote that if remaining a virgin had served a purpose in the past, it no longer did, and in fact could even be disadvantageous to the young woman.

It would seem that the shyness expressed in item 6 could be a perceived natural result of the above described non-assertion, and the lack of self confidence which would arise from this. When one largely relies on others for self approval then one is bound to be wary of others especially when one does not know them. The percieved fearfulness may also be linked to this, as well as the depression. Non-assertion was not described as a weakness in the young woman by any of the respondents, but rather as the only response to an unfortunate fact of life for many women.

8) If one extends what has been described in point seven to a general external locus of control then what follows would be another component of this. There is a certain fatalism (55) and superstition (5, 74) seen in the typical young woman. This interpretation, and the link to the material of point seven, is supported by responses to Q2's question nine which described the young woman as believing in lucky charms and being generally very superstitious (8/8 subjects). The word "depend" was frequently used and an overt contrast with the young man, who was too "self confident" to have to be superstitious was made (5/8 subjects). Four respondents qualified what was said by writing that although fairly superstitious in a general way, the typical young woman was **extremely** so when it came to "matters concerning love and marriage".

9) The young woman is also described as being supported by others financially (44). No comment related to this was elicited by any part of Q2 so little can be said about the issue.

Regarding emotional dependence, in response to Q2's question four, the young woman was described as more willing to depend on other women for emotional support than men (7/8 subjects), since men "take more than they get" (3/8 subjects).

What has been presented is rather a complex picture, and one which definitely needs further research. What has been gathered thus far as very clear, is that the Xhosa stereotype of a young woman is of someone who is largly bound to conform to social

expectations for "normal" behaviour in a number of differentially valued areas. She is concerned with her physical appearance, is emotionally expressive - generally verbally, fearful, empathetic, non-assertive and conformist.

Comparisons with self ratings

Following are the results obtained for the Xhosa sample usin steps five part (b), and six part (a) of the procedure describe in chapter three.

Males

Table 8 presents the items which significantly more Xhosa male rated as descriptive of themselves than did women.

Table 8

Xhosa males self-rating

Items	Mean	t-value	p-value	df
61) Being good at mechanical work.	4.33	-7.86	.0000	37.8
62) Reading "adventure" and "war" novels.	4.00	-5.78	.0000	38
54) Believing it is very important to follow what community leaders say and do.	4.00	-4.77	.0000	38
76) Being clever at speaking your own and other languages.	4.33	-4.61	.0000	37.6
16) Being able to protect oneself from physical attack.	4.33	-3.44	.0015	35.5
19) Getting people to do what one wants by talking to them, persuading them with words.	4.33	-3.28	.0023	36.5
41) Being able to talk to people you don't know well.	4.33	-3.28	.0023	36.5
77) Reading mystery/crime novels.	3.67	-3.24	.0060	13.8
End of items with one S.D. between SM and SF ratings				
49) Being able to calm people down and stop them before they start fighting or arguing.	4.00	-3.06	.0050	27
17) Getting people to stop fighting / arguing.	3.67	-3.04	.0043	38

Two fifths of the items also fall in the typical list but **which** items do and do not is interesting. The items repeated refer to physical capability (61,16) or to reading interests which in the discussion on typical ratings were interpreted as showing an interest in and value for physical capability and ingenuity. The aggressive items are all missing as are the innovative/active and sexual interest ones. The overall pictures presented by the two lists are very different - both present physical capability but in the typical list this is combined with open aggression, and in the self ratings it is combined with fluent verbal persuasiveness and the ability to pacify. The self ratings do not consist of any areas which have emerged as negatively valued.

The items which overlap also receive different stress, although except for item 77, relative positionings in the order of importance are fairly equivalent. Item 16 has a higher mean in the self rating list, but the other three's means are lower.

The Alpha coefficient for the typical list analysed using the males' self ratings is -0.7297, by far the most startling of all the results from this part of the analysis. From this item analysis, items falling on the list of self ratings (61,62,16,) have high positive correlations (0.5, 0.866, 0.8910) but the majority of the other items have moderate to very high negative correlations, ranging from -0.5 to -0.9177. The list of typical items does have a high internal consistency for self ratings, but the negative sign indicates that males tend to rate themselves

very low on the characteristics described as typical of Xhosa males in general!

Females

Table 9 presents those items which significantly more Xhosa females rated as descriptive of themselves than the males.

Table 9

Xhosa females self-rating

Items	Mean	t-value	p-value	df
66) Showing sadness or hurt through crying.	3.71	8.99	.0000	38
57) Wearing lipstick, eyeshadow or other makeup.	3.14	8.22	.0000	27
37) Admitting when you are afraid.	3.71	7.73	.0000	38
23) Having a very strict set of rules that one lives one's life by.	3.43	7.31	.0000	37
35) Speaking out about your feelings when with students in a social occasion.	3.71	7.68	.0000	27
27) Feeling afraid of the dark.	3.71	7.68	.0000	27
26) Wearing earrings, rings, bangles, necklaces etc.	3.14	6.78	.0000	27
29) Following fashion in your choice of clothes.	3.57	6.25	.0000	37.1
11) Feeling comfortable with being alone for a length of time.	3.57	5.83	.0000	27
3) Relying more on the feelings one has about something than the facts one knows when making a decision.	3.57	5.40	.0000	35
30) Acting like your same sex parent.	3.14	4.08	.0004	27
33) Expecting to do well in ones career.	4.57	3.60	.0036	12.1
End of items with one S.D. between mean SM and SF ratings				
14)Understanding other people's feelings.	4.00	3.11	.0035	38
39) Being honest about how you are feeling emotionally.	4.43	3.04	.0043	38
12)Being good at looking after children.	3.57	2.77	.0087	38

This is the longest of all the list of self ratings, and over half of the items fall also in the typical list. The ordering of the items, and hence their relative importance is often very different, implying that the relevance of the areas that they represent in self perceptions differs from the stereotypes. With the exception of items 27 and 39, the means of the self ratings of these items are all lower than on the typical ratings. Only positively or neutrally valued attributes as defined in the typical ratings, are represented in this list.

The first area of overlap appears to be concern with physical appearance, which here is of much lesser importance. Emotional expressivity is present (37,35,39) as is one empathy item (14). However, the rest of the items build up a picture which is rather different to the stereotype. The self ratings present an element of self confidence and intuitiveness (11,33,3) and self discipline (23). This strongly contrasts with the non-assertion and external locus of control of the stereotype.

From the item analysis of the typical items on the females' self ratings, the Alpha coefficient obtained was comparatively high at 0.6664, but still lower than the value for the typical ratings. Most of the items' (66,57,26,14,12) correlations are low, ranging from 0.129 to 0.280, with some negative signs. Three items have moderate correlations (37,27,39) ranging from 0.41 to 0.66, all positive.

Of all the sets of self ratings the one for the Xhosa females has the closest relationship to the stereotype. However, in spite of this closer link, there are also significant and meaningful differences. It is the researcher's belief that the list of typical ratings is still not nearly salient enough to be validly used for self ratings.

Cross-cultural comparisons

This section presents the results from both cultures obtained from following step six (b) of the procedure described in chapter three.

In this study it is not being claimed that the above descriptions - either for self or typical ratings - are representative of any **complete** picture, as content has not been empirically established in absolute terms. This would be unwise to attempt to do in any case since it appears that stereotypes continue to evolve with time. Therefore comparisons will not focus so much on specific content as on indications that there are areas of similarity or difference between the cultures, which would have to be borne in mind in future research.

Stereotypes :

Typical males : Xhosa versus English

There would appear to be some broad similarities between the two stereotypes, but there are a number of differences when one begins to look at specifics.

The elements of prowess, bravery, aggression and assertion of virility fall in both descriptions, but the order in which they appear, which represents order of importance, differs. Also, the kinds of situational specifications which emerge, especially from the open responses to Q2 differ. For example, the English male emerges as more physically aggressive, and more emphasis is placed on asserting virility. For the Xhosa male there is more emphasis on physical capability and innovativeness, and on emotional restraint. Physical capability is also given a more positive valuation than in the English sample. The displayed bravery of the Xhosa male is perceived as more situationally specific than with the English male.

Whilst a superficial overview of areas covered could lead to the conclusion that the English and Xhosa stereotypes are very similar, the closer look at the differential emphases indicates that across these two cultures sex roles cannot be considered equivalent, and that further in-depth research is required.

Typical females : Xhosa versus English

With a superficial overview, again the stereotypes could be considered to be very similar. Perhaps they are **more** similar than the males, but again, there are differences in emphasis.

Attention to physical appearance is equally important in both stereoytypes, but it gets a more overtly positive valuation from the Xhosa respondents. After this, numerous differences emerge. For example, for the Xhosa woman the next factor is "looking after children". In the English stereotype, this was part of a general "nurturance", which only appeared as fifth in the list of attributes. It could not be decisively generalised to nurturance for the Xhosa stereotype, however. Fearfulness was of greater importance in the English stereotype than in the Xhosa, but non-assertion took on much greater significance in the latter. There was more emphasis on passive aggression in the English stereotype, and more on verbal aggression in the Xhosa. Emotional expressiveness appeared much earlier on the list for the English stereotype than it did on the Xhosa. Descriptions of attitudes to premarital sex both mentioned social influence, but the emphases were mostly different in the two cultures. In the English stereotype there was slightly more emphasis on the existence of double standards in society, and in the Xhosa stereotype the emphasis was more on the pressure for the young woman to be submissive. The element of dependence appeared much later on the Xhosa stereotype than it did on the English one.

The above is enough to indicate that like typical males, th

cultural perceptions of "typical females" in each culture do differ in a number of meaningful ways which could easily be missed in a superficial study. These areas obviously require further study, but in the meantime researchers do need to be aware of such differences.

Self ratings :

The lists of self ratings cannot really be validly generalised from in order to produce some description of how most people of one sex in a culture see themselves. Bearing this in mind the following comparisons only aim to investigate whether or not there is a tendency for males and females from the two cultures to rate themselves similarly or not. In order to reach more conclusive interpretations here, an analysis of variance comparing the four groups would be necessary. This was not performed in this study, since the focus here is on stereotypes and their relations to self perceptions, and also because the small amount of time and space which could be afforded would hardly allow one to do justice to such an analysis.

Xhosa males versus English males

There are many more items on the Xhosa list than the English one. Only item 16 falls on both lists. From what is presented, it would appear that the self images vary significantly, and far more than the stereotypes do. The English self rating is limited to one area - physical capability, but the Xhosa self rating

covers this and a number of other areas - verbal persuasiveness and fluency, being a pacifier, and following community leaders. Both cultures are limited to positively valued areas.

The results are certainly clearly an indication that the English and Xhosa male respondents tend to perceive themselves differently. Coupled with what has been said concerning the comparison of typical ratings, it must be concluded that an identical scale for measuring gender roles or identities in both cultures may very well have a limited validity and reliability.

Xhosa females versus English females

These ratings are similar in a lot of ways, but by no means identical. There is a continued emphasis on physical appearance, but this is given more weight in the English sample. However, this is not a clear differentiation, since the Xhosa females list one more item relevant to this attribute (29), but generally have the items much less clustered near the top of the list. The English females also appear to see themselves as more fearful than the Xhosa females do.

Both groups see themselves as acting like their same sex parents and the item is placed in relatively the same position in each list. There is some indication in both lists of emotional expressiveness, but different items have been selected to show this. The English females rate themselves as somewhat more dependent on others, financially and emotionally, whilst the Xhosa females present an image which is much more self confident.

As with the male ratings, there are a number of areas where there are meaningful differences in self representations, as well as in stereotypes. This would indicate that using the same gender role scale in both cultures would be questionable in terms of validity and reliablity.

Since there are some areas of overlap between the two cultures, it may be that a scale could possibly be used if only areas where overlap occured were covered, and these given differential weighting according to their perceived importance in each culture. However, because of those areas which are salient to the one culture and not the other, just how useful or generalizeable such a scale would be remains to be seen.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

This study has succeeded in outlining some components of the perceptions held by young English and Xhosa South Africans of "typical" males and females. It has shown that within these stereotypes, both positively and negatively valued characteristics are salient. Results indicate not only that the stereotypes do exist, but also that they differ across cultures.

Results also show that the content of the stereotypical descriptions of a sex and the content of self ratings by members of that sex share some similarities, but also differ significantly in a number of ways. The internal reliability tends to be reduced when lists of items based on typical ratings are analysed using data from self ratings. The implication is that one must question the use of scales based on "typical" ratings (which indicate gender schema) when one is assessing self ratings (which indicate self schema), at least until further study has been done to investigate this area. There are also indications that the appropriateness and utility of the term "stereotype" needs to be re-examined.

In addition, results indicate that one must question the use of identical scales for gender roles across cultures, since gender stereotypes tend to differ in cultures in some areas. Again, this is an area requiring further research. Related to this, the demographic profiles of the two cultures (Chapter four,

table one) show that the superficial specifications of cross-cultural sampling may sometimes conceal fairly large differences between the cultural groups in demographic distributions which could possibly influence results.

This chapter will discuss firstly certain issues arising from the sampling and methodology of the study. It will go on to consider the most important implications of the above summarised results, and will also outline some of the areas requiring further research to follow on from this study.

Demographic profiles

As table one of chapter four reveals, the demographic categories of the two samples have noticeably different distributions across their subcategories. The specification utilised, that of undergraduate university students between the ages of 20 and 25 may sound adequate on paper, but is in fact vulnerable to substantial variation between sub-samples (i.e. different cultures). The mean age of the Xhosa sample is noticeably higher (by 2.5 years) than that of the English sample. It appears that generally in South Africa, black students do tend to begin university at a later age than whites do, so this difference is hardly surprising. Whilst more English students tended to come from cities or large towns, more Xhosa students tended to come from smaller towns and rural areas. Within cultures, it did not appear that perceptions differed depending on age, or what the home background was, so this is probably not

much of a flaw in the study. However, the Xhosa distribution of home backgrounds could not necessarily be used to generalise to other black student populations. Research at another university could easily reveal a different distribution.

A more serious issue is the different return rates from the two cultures. One explanation could be that the questionnaires were less appealing, or appeared less salient to the Xhosa group. However, there was absolutely **no** indication of this in the pilot study. It seems unlikely that the pilot subjects merely did not voice this lack of appeal, since they generally appeared comfortable with openly expressing their criticisms of the discarded Q3 and Q4.

According to the assistants at Fort Hare, there is a problem with the extremely active student politics on campus, in that boycotts are frequent, not only making students hard to reach, but also making them less than sympathetic to anything construed as "staff linked". This may just be a "given" for research conditions in such a university, which must be anticipated and allowed for, for example by distributing many more questionnaires to begin with. Alternatively, less alienating approaches to requesting the students' participation could also be investigated. To simply dismiss attempting to research such elusive samples is hardly to be recommended, since it would seriously limit the relevence of ones work in the South African setting.

There was also a different sex-ratio of respondents in the Xhosa and English samples which requires discussion. There is little indication of **why** so few Xhosa males returned completed questionnaires, unfortunately, either in the content of the responses or in the Fort Hare assistants' report. It is possible that some aspects of the questionnaires used were less appealing to young Xhosa men, or else that there are some aspects of these men's lives, unknown to the researcher, which make them less approachable for research purposes, or less likely to respond.

The higher proportion of female respondents could arguably have biased the resulting descriptions of both typical males and typical females. If females tended to rate males with more bias, for example, it could be the cause of the male typical and self ratings being so exceptionally different in terms of content. The disparity between the signs of the alpha coefficients for the typical ratings and self ratings data for the list of "typical Xhosa male" items could also be a result of this. To state that the females respondents **were** more biased would involve a challenge to Bems' (1979) statement that one can expect all adults in a culture to have a similar idea of that culture's stereotypes. Observing the results of a detailed comparison of males' and females' ratings of the typical male could be an approach to investigating this. The data shows that female and male responses to Q2 certainly did **not** differ appreciably, which provides support for refuting the above argument.

An alternative explanation exists which can feasibly accoun

for the extreme contrast between Xhosa males' typical and self ratings, between the two abovementioned Alpha scores, and also the low male return rate. This holds that the males who responded were a type of person not really representative of the larger male population, represented if one likes, by the type of males who did not return questionnaires. In this case the extreme, almost bipolar nature of the difference described above would not be so much because of the female bias as because of the nonrepresentative nature of the males! Unfortunately, within the parameters of this small study there is no easy way of resolving beyond all dispute what the case really is . The issue nevertheless remains one of concern, because whatever the cause, the distribution of sexes in the Xhosa sample is clearly not representative of the whole population.

In this study, with its present exploratory nature, the differing distributions have probably not critically affected the overall results. However, there is no guarantee that researchers in South Africa would always be so fortunate. The necessity for cognizance of the "within group variability" that Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988) write of has amply been demonstrated. Not only do the members in different groups vary, but the **way** in which this variation occurs can differ across different groups.

Researchers need to prepare for this, and intensive piloting of methods is certainly imperative, although as shown here, even this does not prepare one for all eventualities.

Openness to alternative, and probably more time consuming and complicated data collection methods is also necessary, with the trade-off between economy and quality of data being weighted on the direction of the latter option!

Greenwald et al.'s (1986) suggestion that one limits the interpretation of ones results carefully in terms of the specific conditions of the study is appropriate here. To ask specifically, as these authors do in the title of their article, "Under what conditions does Theory Obstruct Research Progress", under what conditions certain phenomena are observed would be an appropriate approach, allowing for more limited but more accurate generalisations. In this study, placing emphasis on comparing responses of students from the two specific universities, acknowledging that it is the nature of the two universities to have different distributions, is probably the best approach. It would hardly be valid to insist on selecting samples with similar distributions in demographic categories, since the distribution chosen would probably not be representative of most student populations within at least one of the given cultures.

Questionnaires used

A few points relating specifically to the questionnaires used are relevent at this stage in the discussion. Firstly, in relation to content, there are admittedly more potentially "feminine" items in Q1, but as stated in chapter two, the literature suggests that women have been subjected to more biased

research and unfounded assumptions, and the researcher wished to assess perceptions of femininity carefully. In any case, a number of the items overlapped in covering the same characteristic, and once filled out with the data from Q2, the resulting masculine and feminine stereotypes contain roughly equivalent amounts of detail.

Also in relation to content, it is clear that some areas which should ideally have been included were not (e.g. masculine appropriate items on attention to physical appearance). This means that the content of the descriptions obtained is necessarily limited to those areas offered in the questionnaires. Kelly and Worell (1979) point out that this is often a problem in research on gender, saying that the definition of gender depends on the items and the scoring procedure used. It can also possibly be argued that asking the same subjects to rate **both** men and women could serve to unnaturally exaggerate or encourage the perception of inter-sex differences. However, because of the sizeable number of items which did not receive significantly different ratings for the typical man and woman, it would appear that those items which **were** selected do represent areas relevent to the subjects perceptions' of typical men and women. Therefore, one can safely say that these areas have not been "forced" into existence simply by the nature of the scales used.

The format of the two questionnaires can be considered a strength, where the aim is to elicit the type of data targeted at here. The focus on "typical" rather than "desirable" appears to

be a valuable one, because negatively valued aspects do play a part in the stereotypes, and one cannot always predict whether an attribute is going to be valued positively, negatively or neutrally. The value of the "typical" focus supports Prinsloo's (1989) use of both "normal" and "desirable" ratings in his ongoing study which he introduces in his paper. Allowing respondents to rate **themselves** was also a valuable source of information.

In spite of careful wording and piloting, there were on rare occasions, unexpectedly different interpretations made of phrases in Q2. These occurred mostly, but by no means exclusively in the Xhosa sample. The open format of this questionnaire allowed for the recognition of these alternative interpretations, providing support for Hare-Mustin and Marecek's (1988) assertion that language truly is not a "stable system of correspondence" (p.460). For this reason the researcher would recommend a future use of a larger number of open ended questionnaires such as Q2 since they allow a much more certain assessment of respondents' perceptions. Where a response is merely a numerical rating, there is a chance that it may remain undetected that a respondent has not interpreted the item in the same way as the researcher has, or that as Retief (1987) puts it, that "meanings are not effectively interfacing" (p.48). With an open ended response it is usually more evident what type of interpretation a respondent has made.

Because of this problem of "interpreting interpretations",

the type of operationalisations used in Q1 were valuable. Instead of simply listing the terms for the traits to be rated (as Bem, (1974) did), characteristics were described in longer expressions describing a more specific behaviour, attitude or attribute. Whilst this limits the extent to which one can make global generalisations, it allows a greater clarity as to what the respondent is responding to. To quote Retief again, "a fit of meanings embodied by the test with the cultural meanings of testees" (p.48) is more attainable or at least able to be assessed.

The researcher notes that especially in areas of ambiguity in subjects' responses, where meanings can be described as "unfixed", it can be all too tempting to succumb to "confirmation bias" (Greenwald et al, 1986, p.217). In this case this would refer to picking the most acceptable, or commonly expected interpretation. It would seem far more honest, and certainly more accurate to leave such unfixed meanings as open questions until such time as future research provides clarification. Unfortunately this option is far less prestigious!

Observed stereotypes

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, there is no doubt that some form of gender stereotyping does exist in the two cultures studied. However, these perceptions are by no means as simplistic as an everyday interpretation of the term "stereotype" might imply. Rather they seem to consist of

relatively fine distinctions within components, with situational limitations to many described characteristics.

Stoppard and Kalin's (1981) definition of a gender stereo belief in the existence of differences between the sexes holds at very basic level, but as this discussion will proceed to illustrate, it is not really adequate to the type of cognitions evidenced by the results of this study. For the purposes of this discussion, Brewin's (1988) broad definition of cognition as a mental process that intervenes between a stimulus and response will be used.

Firstly it will be noted that in responses to both Q1 and Q2, the areas considered salient to the stereotypes were not limited to personality traits, but also covered attitudes and behaviours. This provides support for Deaux (1985) who writes that stereotypes contain not only personality traits, but role behaviours and physical characteristics. (As described by writers such as Morawski (1985), and Orlofsky et al (1982), most scales developed have been limited to personality traits.) Some researchers, for example Orlofsky et al have more recently been working on the development of scales to also include interests, behaviours and attitudes and the present results support this. For convenience sake in this review, the broader term "attribute" will be used to describe anything which is ascribed to a gender in its stereotype, whether this is an interest, trait or behaviour.

There was a strong emphasis on social pressure within the descriptions, with men and women described as being pressurised - and complying with this pressure - into conforming to a number of roles. These roles appear to actually be an integral part of the masculine or feminine stereotype. However, this social expectation for the young person to display a particular attribute does not necessarily imply that the characteristic is also positively valued, since certain socially expected attributes receive negative evaluation.

One of the distinctions emerging from subjects' responses was between feeling and expressing emotions. Generally there was little indication that respondents thought that males and females experienced different emotions, or the same emotions to different degrees. The only possible exception to this was fear, but Dillon, Wolfe and Katz (1985) report that excessive fearfulness may be a product of sex-role conditioning, and this may very well explain this exception. The differentiation came in whether, how, and to what degree young men and women **expressed** these emotions. For example both men and women were described as feeling anger and aggression, but they were described as showing it differently. Brody (1985) writes of this saying that there are "display rules" (p.114) for each sex, which are the culture's standards for the exhibition of emotions.

The fact that even in generalised or typical ratings there were often situational specifications is another of the abovementioned distinctions. It is unlikely that subjects were

just trying to avoid making generalised statements, because their statements were **both** general and situational. An example of the formula used would roughly be that "most men/women are **w** when x is the case, but in **y** case they would rather be **z**". To the respondents, then, a simple cross-situational consistency of an attribute does not always exist, since it is the nature of that attribute to be displayed differently according to the particular situation, both in terms of whether it is displayed at all, as well as how it is displayed.

As Brody (1985) points out, it is difficult to generalise about gender because of the numerous influences on it. Researchers would need to remain aware of all the above points as this is one area where the confirmation bias that Greenwald et al (1986) write of could be a very great temptation. Bem (1983) writes of this in his article on the search for cross-situational consistency in traits, when he describes how a nomothetic researcher could actually become idiographic (without admitting it, of course) simply by discarding subjects whom he considers to be inconsistent in their exhibition of the traits under investigation. He goes on to say that the individual's equivalence classes of behaviour representing attributes may simply not match the nomothetic classes which the researcher has defined and imposed, and therefore the individual appears inconsistent.

Brody (1985) writes that researchers must be aware that the interpretation a "judge" in a research project (often the

researcher himself) makes of someone may be very different to what that person is really expressing. The present researcher asserts that this can also occur with a whole class of individuals, either in the same or a different culture to the investigator, whose equivalence classes do not "match". It can further be complicated where, as is evident in this study, certain attributes have situational specifications which the researcher did not expect. If an investigator is not aware that social norms demand different forms of expression of the same attribute in different situations, he may form a very different interpretation of a response compared to its real social meaning. What has been indicated here is in support of Deaux (1985), who comments on the tendency of past theories to rely mostly on internal, personal factors, with relatively little attention to structural and situational influences. This tendency is clearly unwise where, as is the case in this study, the respondents consider those influences to be very salient.

Following on from the above two points, behaviour often depends on the role that the young person happens to be in at any particular time. This partly supports the assertion of Siderits et al (1985) that behaviour displayed is often more related to the role assumed than the gender of the actor, but this needs to be qualified by stating that there are still sex-specific and socially prescribed roles which people are encouraged to assume. This role-relatedness was far more prevalent than assertions that it was simply "natural" for members of a sex to behave in a

particular way. In spite of their awareness of this, most subjects showed that to a greater or lesser degree, they still tended to conform to at least parts of these roles.

In responses to Q2, subjects indicate that people such as themselves are aware of the social pressures to be "feminine" or "masculine", and as stated above, they do not see the behaviours as largely natural or innate. In spite of this, certain areas of the self ratings continue to conform to the stereotypes. Granted, these areas tended to be the more positively valued ones (for both sexes), but there was never any selection of opposite-sex items (according to the typical ratings) in the lists for self ratings either. The fact that in both cultures the females' self ratings tended to be closer to the typical ratings than the males' did is a thought provoking dimension to this area. Some explanation can be obtained from the responses themselves. In the case of the English sample, females rate themeselves as needing others to approve of them, and this would explain the tendency to conform to socially expected roles. In the case of the Xhosa sample, responses to Q2 generally implied that often the young woman had no choice but to behave in a certain way; It was often more trouble free to adopt a certain expected role, and this too could help to explain the similarity of self to typical ratings. Holly (1982) writes on this subject, describing how a woman may under many circumstances of life have to "role-play the stereotyped sex-typed characteristics in order to survive" (p.101).

This would imply that there is **more** pressure on females to conform than there is on males. Certainly from the subjects' responses there is no clear indication of this, but there are some faint hints. In the actual stereotypes of females is described the tendency to conform, or to be less assertive. This could be interpreted as a description of a tendency which is "naturally" "feminine". It could alternatively be considered to be the result of a greater social pressure on females to conform - translated back by a sexist society into seeing the females as naturally conformist (ignoring the existence of greater pressure on them to be so). Deaux (1985) reports studies which exemplify this approach and claim to find women to be "more influenceable" (Deaux, p.60). Deaux points out that lower status and greater pressure may be influencing this. Given the general stress on social pressure in responses, the researcher considers the latter reasoning to perhaps be more likely. This latter interpretation would also be supported by Hirshowitz and Nell's (1985) study on the fear of assertiveness in English speaking female graduates, where social pressure to adopt suitable roles was shown to be important. Also relevant here is the point that in both cultures females were significantly more likely to describe themselves as acting like their same sex parent. This could indicate that there is more of a precedent, as well as more pressure for females to adopt "feminine" roles.

Whilst respondents seem aware of this greater - and more unfair - pressure on women, they also exhibit an attitude which

is more egalitarian than that of the society they describe as exerting this pressure. The amount of negative evaluation of different attributes seemed to be approximately equivalent for descriptions of **both** sexes. This would support Deaux's (1985) noting that more recent studies of attitudes towards the roles of men and women shows a shift to more egalitarian attitudes. Social pressure to act a certain way is still very much present, but individuals such as the respondents in this study would seem to be more free of the patriarchial sex-based evaluation of attributes of past years. The cynic might argue that this is merely evidence of a new social pressure to appear "non-sexist", but if this were the case, subjects would hardly have included any negatively valued attributes in their descriptions.

From the subjects descriptions - in both cultures - it would appear that these individuals have attitudes which are more progressive than the society as a whole, at least when it comes to evaluation of attributes, but that most young people - themselves included - still tend to conform to at least some of society's pressures to adopt certain roles.

The female stereotypes of the two cultures were also far more similar to one another than the male ones were. In spite of the egalitarian shift described above, this may be something of a cross-cultural support for Hare-Mustin and Marecek's (1988) statement that "men are viewed as individuals, but women are viewed as women" (p.459). This is probably not something the respondents are really aware of doing, open minded as they are,

because usually an individual is not in a position to easily compare gender stereotypes of another culture with his own in order to see something like this. To state this is not to fall in to the trap described earlier in this report of psychologists feeling they "know better" than laypeople, since the researcher herself had no previous expectation of this result.

The "difference" perspective of gender

Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988) write that research has tended to cling to the perspective of gender as inherently comprising of differences. Whether this is altogether necessary remains a moot point. Irrespective of whether masculinity and femininity are "naturally" different, the fact is that to varying degrees, most societies continue to regard them as so. Where one is investigating the existence or nonexistence of real differences in males and females (or alternatively, masculine and feminine people) one must decide how to most effectively assess the true state of affairs, and the observation that society uses a "difference" perspective is certainly no excuse to simply do the same, without considering if one is simply contributing to a social myth. When one is actually investigating the perceptions of members of that society, the emphasis changes somewhat. Here one needs to investigate perceptions in such a way that neither the exaggeration nor the lessening of the perception of differences is induced. Whatever the perceptions of the members of a society happen to be, they must be documented accurately, whether or not they tally with the investigator's personal

picture.

The questionnaires used in this study can be described as fulfilling this requirement reasonably well, since subjects were not forced to rate men and women differently **or** similarly. That they rated the sexes similarly on some items and differently on others shows that there was not any tacit biasing in either direction. As already stated, those areas where differences did emerge can be seen as ones where differences really were perceived. The researcher notes that the real difficulty with the Alpha-Beta debate, for the cultures under discussion anyway, is that the cultures' perceptions of men and women at this stage in time appear to be a thorough mixture of both Alpha and Beta stances in different areas!

Self perceptions and stereotypes

Considering more specifically the comparisons of typical and self ratings, one is faced with the problem of assessing the degree to which self ratings are biased by the wish to endorse socially desirable attributes. Brody (1985) writes that the tendency of individuals to conform to such pressures can confound attempts to interpret data on gender differences. The evidence of typical and self ratings for a sex being partly similar and partly different is an example of just how "confounding" this could be. Jackson (1985) writes that self descriptions are mostly gender unrelated desirable traits, but the results of this study present a slightly more complex picture.

The self descriptions tended to contain both items appearing in the typical descriptions, as well as other items, the ratio of the two types of items varying quite substantially across sex and culture. Generally the items which fell in both descriptions tended to be positively valued ones, and this provides support for claims of a social desirability bias. However, there were also positively valued items which did not appear on the self ratings list. This does not mean that they were not endorsed by respondents, but simply that they were not differentially endorsed by males and females. It may well be that there are a number of positively valued attributes which are sex-typed as far as typical ratings go, but which are not sex-typed to any great extent when subjects rate themselves, whilst there are other attributes which are consistently sex-typed. The results of Downing and Nevill's (1983) study help to clarify this, since they show that people appear to have one set of standards for themselves, and a more stereotyped set for others.

One could alternatively credit respondents with not simply choosing positively valued items because they are socially desirable. In this case the items could represent areas where individuals do conform to cultural stereotypes in their behaviour, not just their self ratings on paper. As noted earlier, what is socially expected and even desirable is not necessarily also positively valued in the cultures under study. Display of certain negatively valued attributes is still socially expected. Because of this, one can hardly argue that individuals

do not endorse such attributes because they are not socially **acceptable.** It may be likely that respondents prefer to endorse positively valued traits rather than socially expected but negatively valued ones. If this is the case, then it is a distinction which must be clearly made when considering self-ratings in research.

On the other hand, those areas where the self ratings and typical ratings do not tally also present their own problems. They can be seen to represent areas where one must query the use of scales based on "typical" ratings to assess self perceptions, since they may not be relevent, or at least not structured appropriately. The emergence of these areas in this study echoes a study of Myers and Gonda (1982) which revealed a lack of agreement between self descriptions and the content of the broader, more traditional (based on the generalised ratings of "others") descriptions of masculinity and femininity. This also supports the recent research described by Deaux (1984), on the relationship between sex-related characteristics (indicated as "desirable" or "typical" by subjects in past research) when assessed as subject variables, which has shown that similar types of characteristics are only very moderately correlated in young adults.

The above considerations present a serious problem to the researcher aiming to develop a gender role scale, since the criteria chosen for identifying sex-typed attributes initially will substantially influence the resulting data. If one includes

negatively valued areas, subjects may not endorse them even though they are descriptive, and even socially expected or desired. If one selects only positively valued ones, one must query how valid the measure is, because in this study, negatively valued attributes were shown to be a salient part of gender roles. Also, if not all attributes are sex-typed when used in self-ratings just which attributes are going to be available as valid areas to measure? Careful investigation of this issue appears to be urgently needed.

In this study these questions mean that to assess the relationship between self and typical ratings is no easy task. It is certainly evident that there is no simple relationship between self and typical ratings, and this in itself is enough to call into question the validity of using measures based on the latter to assess the former. It would appear that differently structured schemata are in play in each case.

However there remains the task of discovering if any structure to the relationship can be perceived, in order for research in this area to progress. This study only aimed to make a beginning at investigating these questions, and certainly is not geared to provide complete answers. It would seem that the next step would be to perform more detailed analyses of the typical items using data from self-ratings. This would necessarily include assessing the degree to which supposedly sex-typed negatively valued attributes were endorsed by individuals, irrespective of whether they were differentially endorsed by

members of different sexes. Also useful would be a within sex investigation of which items were significantly more likely to be chosen as self descriptive by a sex, free from any comparison with the other sex.

Reexamining the term "stereotype"

The fact that all the above questions arose at all calls for a careful reexamination of the concept of "stereotype". Stoppard's (1981) definition of a gender stereotype as a belief in the existence of differences between the sexes can still be considered accurate as it stands, but is not nearly detailed enough to do justice to the type of perceptions emerging from this study. Firstly, his definition of a role needs to be incorporated, this being a salient part of the stereotypes held by the respondents in this study. Ascribed roles, as defined by Stoppard, are the beliefs in the desirability or requiredness of such differences as are believed to exist between the sexes. Sideritz and Johannsen (1985) write that in the past what has been attributed to sex differences may in fact be attributed to role, but as this study reveals, the issue is still complex; Because within the stereotypes observed there are sex typed **roles**, one cannot discard altogether the study of gender related behaviour for that of roles.

However, the above definition is still not complete. The problem is that formal and everyday interpretations of "stereotype" differ. In everyday usage - ascertained by asking a

large number of individuals - the term has a very clear connotation of a narrow, not very accurate and negatively prejudiced perception of a type of person. This does not fit the type of descriptions obtained which were neither prejudiced (having both positively and negatively valued attributes), nor particularly narrow (having the potential for cross-situational variabilty), nor totally inaccurate (having certain areas of overlap with the self ratings). Relevant to the discussion at this point is the discussion by Pedhazur and Tetenbaum (1979) of the different definitions of the term "stereotype" ranging from the everyday narrow perjorative one to more complex conceptions concerning accuracy or resistance to change.

If one considers more formal definitions, there is more of a fit with the emerged descriptions. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (ed. Sykes, 1983) defines a stereotype as an "unduly fixed mental impression". The FontanaDictionary of Modern Thought (ed. Bullock and Stallybrass, 1986) provides a more helpful explanation, of a mental image, usually of some category of person, which is oversimplified. This image is shared in its basic features by large numbers of people. The entry goes on to say that stereotypes are "often, but not necessarily, accompanied by prejudice" (p.601). Here prejudice, in the sense of a positive or a negative attitude towards the **category of person**, is not **automatically** assumed. Whilst not even the formal definitions present the type of cognition observed in this study in detail, they are reasonably accurate as far as they go.

Baldwins' (1989) reference to "social cognition" (p.5) as the extension of the cognitive approach to studying the way in which various social stimuli, for example information about oneself and others, are registered and then processed is useful, since the stereotypes elicited could certainly be termed social cognitions. (Baldwin uses the term to refer solely to the study of the area, but there is no apparent reason why it cannot be adapted.) Bem's (1981) term "gender schema" may in fact be more accurate, or else something along the lines of a "gender - role social cognition". One could describe the process as the "sex typing" (Bem, cited in Kelly and Worell, 1977, p.102) of others, sex typing being defined as the classification according to society's sex-typed standards. Deaux (1985) writes of a move by researchers away from the conceptualisation of a stereotype as being inherently prejudicial and negative, to seeing it as a potentially neutral category which operates similarly to other cognitive categories. The results of this study would certainly support such a move, and this new conceptualisation aids the accurate description of the type of "stereotype" presented by the study's respondents.

If one follows the shift described by Deaux (1985) above, than the descriptions obtained by this study can be give a basic structure, at the same time as a new definition of "stereotype" is provided. Some of the ideas that Higgens and Bargh (1987) describe in their article, "Social cognition and social perception" are useful for this purpose. Firstly, Higgens and

Bargh describe how studies have shown that both internal and environmental factors influence the outcome of a perception. It would seem that this study provides evidence for a cyclic structure to this relationship. Internal factors such as stereotypes (or gender schema, or gender - role social cognition) influence the way a person sees others, as well as the kinds of roles they adopt. They also reinforce and are reinforced by the social values and pressures around them - an environmental factor. The subjects in this study were neither totally influenced by, nor totally blind to environmental conditions or events. Deaux and Major (1987) present a model that is relevant here, proposing that the expectancies of others, situational clues **and** self systems all influence both gender related behaviour and attributions about other's behaviour. Gender schemata would fit into this type of cycle.

Secondly, Higgins and Bargh (1987) describe how people can create subtypes within their stereotypes for people who do not fit the original structure, and can make "situational attributions for belief disconfirming evidence" (p.386). The belief structure is actually slowly being modified. The researcher would add to this picture by saying that some of those situational attributions are also then incorporated into the schema, so that the stereotype does have situational qualifications.

Thirdly, Higgins and Bargh (1987) write that such "social knowledge structures" (p.386) provide a certain coherence as well

as a stability to the individual's understanding of their world, but also allow a gradual change or adjustment as the need arises. (That this is so will also prove to be important when one considers the cross-cultural part of this study.) There was largely an agreement between the members of a culture concerning a stereotype, and it would be unreasonable to assume that all respondents just happened to have the same "out of the ordinary" stereotype at the same period in time. Therefore, it can be assumed that the stereotype is one which is shared, and whilst evolving, is reasonably consistently and coherantly held in the group.

The structure of the observed stereotypes can be described in the following way. The type of perceptions described by the data are of an image which is shared by members of the culture. It has some positively and some negatively valued attributes, which are largely seen as due to social pressure to adopt a masculine or feminine **role**, rather than as innate tendencies. Neither sex displayed any prejudice, even though they were quite willing to provide a reasonably fixed generalisation about each sex. Generalisations were situationally qualified, so were not completely fixed, but the qualifications were clear cut and themselves generalised for a particular sex. Generalisations were reasonably stable, but contemporary, seeming to have gradually evolved in accordance to changing norms; Thus they can be described as both influencing perception of the social environment, as well as being influenced by it. Parts of the

"stereotype" clearly paralleled the way members of a sex rated themselves, and so could even be interpreted as reasonably accurate observations.

The problem remaining to be solved is deciding whether gender stereotypes of the prejudiced kind (i.e. as implied by the everyday interpretation) do exist, and are salient in the cognitions of individuals. If this is the case, then the questionnaires used have simply failed to elicit them. To claim that the everyday definition of stereotype is not really salient is not to discount what was said in the introduction (chap. 1), since even without the actual prejudice, individuals are still perceived in a sex-typed way, socially pressurised to conform to particular roles, and judged according to how well they do this. If the everyday interpretation is no longer salient, it must be decided whether to redefine "stereotype" to fit the real nature of the generalisation, or whether to select a new term and define this as required.

The researcher questions the value of a continued search for **prejudiced** cognitions - as implied by the everyday interpretation of stereotype - or the use of trying to induce them in research. The cognitions observed in this study are still worthy of continued attention with the perspective adopted in chapter one, simply because as stated above, of the emphasis on a very real social pressure on individuals to adopt roles.

Now, to use a new term other than stereotype would avoid the

problem of readers automatically using the everyday definition of the word. However, if subjects are not producing schemata anything like this everyday interpretation, at least concerning gender, then what is the point of allowing it to continually be defined this way in research? The understanding of stereotype to include prejudice may in fact be a stereotype of a stereotype! Further research showing whether the form of stereotype discovered here is replicated when using other samples is called for.

Since from the beginning of this study the term stereotype has been used, and since the aim has always been to describe the type of stereotype in existence rather than to prove the existence of a predetermined type, it seems appropriate to continue to use this term, suitably qualified by an explanation as to what exactly is meant. This is mostly for the purposes of the continuation of this report, so terms which might be more appropriate, or less confusing to use in the future will also be suggested. To re-cap what has been said above then, the type of gender stereotype observed is one which is not negatively prejudiced, but which consists of a generalised perception of both positively and negatively valued attributes in members of a sex, which are largely seen as the result of social pressure to conform to sex-typed roles. This perception is not wholly inaccurate since it parallels in places the way members of that sex describe themselves. As already stated, Bems' (1981) term "gender schema" could be a useful substitute term for this type of cognition, as could the abovementioned term "gender-role

social cognition".

Cultural comparisons

It is clearly evident that there are differences in gender stereotypes which are culturally based, or as Brody (1985) terms it, that "sex role stereotyping varies as a function of ethnicity" (p.136), but there are also areas of similarity. Both cultures shared an emphasis on social pressure. Whilst not strictly traditional, there are still clear social expectations of the types of role to be adopted. Culture still plays a part in causing certain differences. Segall (1986) makes a succinctl expressed and relevent comment, stating that "while males and females differ in some ways everywhere, they differ in different ways and to different degrees" (p.458). The fact that both samples are from a more modern university setting means that there will be similarities too.

As pointed out in chapter four, there are enough areas of difference to warrant questioning the use of an identical gender-role scale in both cultures. However, there is another aspect to this that needs to be **carefully** considered, because of the types of conclusions it could possibly lead to. There are some areas where members of both cultures perceive members of a sex similarly. In each stereotype, there are also areas which are similar to the way members of that sex describe themselves, thus here the stereotypes can be considered to be accurate. If these areas are the same across the two cultures, they can be described

as areas where members of one sex are perceived in both a similar and accurate manner in different cultures. Does this allow the interpretation that these are therefore areas where the members of a sex in different cultures really are similar? Further, can one then make the assertion that is implied by Barry, Bacon and Child (cited in Hendrix and Johnson, 1985), that if cross-cultural differences indicate attributes which are learned, then the cross-cultural replication of attributes implies that they are innate?

The easy way out would be to state that the results of the present study are not adequate for answering such questions, and to leave it at that. Whilst it is quite true that the present data cannot provide any complete answers in this area, the fact that it has thrown up such questions means that some attempt must be made to at least face them. As Scarr (1988) expresses it, "one has the responsibility to spell out what one makes of the results" (p.58). In addition when one becomes aware of a way in which certain data **could** be interpreted, one is obliged to deal with this simply so that ones data is not misused or misinterpreted or its significance misquoted!

One must first look at the data resulting from Q1 (Q2 provides good qualitative data, but unfortunately not in the numbers of responses needed for looking at the present question). If one looks for those items which fell in both the typical and self ratings for a sex in **both** cultures, one finds only a small number of items. For males, there is only one item, and this

describes the ability to defend oneself physically. This is not a particularly surprising area for cross-cultural overlap, and apparently would result from the fact that males usually do have a larger, stronger stature, **and** are usually more socialised to develop physical self defense than women are. The "overlap" of items for females describes more areas : physical adornment, admitting fear, and showing grief through crying, with the second two possibly generaliseable as emotional expressiveness. The first area is potentially biased because there were no male - appropriate items on attention to physical appearance, so no more can really be said here. Concerning the second area, it could either be argued that this is innately feminine, or else that in both cultures it fits into the type of feminine role expected of young women.

It has been argued in the past that such attributes result from the "natural" functions of males and females. Morawski (1985) cites some proponents of this view. Thus the fact that females bear children is supposedly the cause of their "nurturance". This discussion will not go into the long established debate over what either sex is really capable of, given the chance, as this is irrelevent to the data. It will suffice to say that the areas of overlap do not cover all the attributes usually considered in such a debate. Relevent here is Jacklin's (1989) comment that gender differences do change over time, and that evidence of a biological base to gender differencs is inconclusive. What can be said about the areas is that they

fit into a more contemporary idea of what is expected of young men and women, at least in the university setting. The fact that there **is** evidence of an evolvution in accordance with contemporary norms would indicate that the relevant areas can hardly be innate!

The researcher would assert then, that whilst the university samples from the two cultures are certainly different enough to require careful investigation of their separate stereotypes, they are not different enough to be used to prove/disprove the hormonal or innate basis to any gender differences. The point is that in this case, the cross-cultural self-typical overlaps appear to be a non-surprising mixture of an accurate perception of the social environment, as well as revealing evidence of the social pressure or socialisation that the environment provides.

Reexamining the definition of "culture"

As mentioned above, such perceptions do evolve over time. It is important to consider this in the present cross-cultural context. This is evident if one goes back to the original definition of "culture" which was used (chap.1). This was "the totality of equivalent and complementary learned meanings maintained by ... identifiable segments of a population, and transmitted from one generation to another" (Rohner, in Segall, 1986, p.527). The first part of this is even more applicable once one considers the results of the study, but the last part requires some discussion in the light of what has previously been

said.

The above definition implies a certain long term stability - trans-generational in fact - in the learned meanings which needs to be queried. The descriptions obtained were certainly highly contemporary, showing evidence of the consideration of, and adaption to present conditions. If one regards only the gender stereotypes held by people of others their own age, it seems natural that these stereotypes will adapt with time as indeed the individuals will. Over time, the stereotypes held by people of a certain age will adapt according to how people of that age group currently are. It may be that were one to consider the gender stereotypes obtained from people of all ages in a culture of a particular age group from it, the picture would be different to the one observed; It also seems reasonable to assume that as norms change so will the perceptions held by most members of a society of members of a particular age group. However, this study does not provide the grounding for this type of conjecture, and it is an issue that deserves future research attention.

The question **here** then, is whether one is to argue that, using the above definition, these stereotypes cannot be considered culturally specific because they are not essentially stable (as in being passed on from one generation to another)? The fact that the respondents from part two of the pilot study certainly considered themselves to be part of a real English or Xhosa culture, as well as the fact that the two cultures in this study produced stereotypes which differed meaningfully from one

another would help to counteract such an argument. There **are** clearly culturally based differences in gender stereotypes.

To return to the issue of a suitable definition for culture, it would seem appropriate at least for the South African situation, to stress that cultures are in a state of evolution. Whilst there is evidence of the complementary and equivalent learned meanings mentioned by Rohner, these **do** change with time. This evolution is gradual enough to warrant the investigation of a culture's members' perceptions at any time, but also steadily continuous enough to call for the awareness that past conclusions must continually be reexamined. Past descriptions, even if they **were** reasonably accurate (often a debatable point) will not necessarily be relevent to future or even present conditions. Morawski (1985) points out that research has at times clung to rather more fixed schematisations of gender than are really evident in society. "Invoking certainty can appear to arrest the flux of an uncertain reality" (Morawski, p.208). In a sense this is just an extreme form of what Higgins and Bargh (1987) describe as a human need for the stability which is provided by such "social knowledge" (p.386), with an extreme lack of the usual accompanying room for adjustment to new contingencies.

In South Africa, It would be appropriate to reformulate the definition of a culture into something along the lines of the following : the totality of equivalent and complementary learned meanings which slowly evolves over time, and which is maintained by identifiable segments of a population. In its **evolving** form,

it is transmitted from one generation to another.

The risks in cross-cultural research

One is all too aware of the the thin ice upon which one is treading when one sets out to do cross-cultural studies, and this ice becomes even thinner when the study is also cross-racial. One becomes very aware of how what one says could be misinterpreted, as one does not want to be perceived as a "racist", "fascist" "conservative" or worse! That this **can** happen, even though irrationally, is evidenced by a written comment by a white female on her returned questionnaire : "you're assuming there are these different groups/cultures in South Africa, but you can't, it's wrong to divide people."

Scarr (1988) writes that researchers must be aware of the values that they bring with them, since research outcomes are framed in terms of the original type of question asked. In this, she provides support for Greenwald **et al**'s (1986) arguments on how theory can influence results. She suggests asking **how** does a group do something, rather than if they do it in the same way as some "standard" group.

Resulting from an awareness of this problem this study has had a very straightforward descriptive approach with no judgemental standard to compare either culture to. However, even having done this, one is still aware that certain "pseudo liberal" (Scarr, 1988, p.56) readers could **ignore** this very real effort to avoid biased judgements, and discount the work all the

same! Baumeister (1988) outlines this problem, warning that one can never be sure of how others will choose to interpret ones results. This is a problem that Scarr fails to touch apon in any detail. However where one believes the questions one is asking to be worthy of research, her appeal to not let such "well intentioned collegues" (p.56) prevent one from doing such research holds all the same .

Thus it is asserted that the cross-cultural study of gender is certainly worthwhile. That it is worthwhile specifically in South Africa is supported by the research of Albert and Porter (1986), which showed that gender stereotypes are salient to South African culture, being well established early in childhood. This present study has also highlighted the difficulties inherent in using identical scales across cultures. Concerning gender roles and stereotypes there are different norms even in samples which can be considered to have some similarities (university students in the same generation). This reinforces the comments of Segall (1986) who writes that whilst there are often some similarities between different cultures' gender-roles, the patterns and the emphases tend to vary a lot. Segall writes that cultures do not exist in isolation, thus aspects of one penetrate others and there are some resulting similarities; However the cultures are still to be considered as distinct.

Arap-Maritin's (1984) study in Kenya showed how different the content in these gender-role social cognitions in different cultures can be, but other researchers, for example Reed-Sanders,

Dodder and Webster (1985) have continued to assert that the same scale, (e.g. the BSRI) is valid in different cultures. A careful investigation of the latter study's results shows them to be by no means conclusive in any case. In South Africa a continued careful investigation of the content and structure of different cultures' gender stereotypes is still needed. This would be valuable for its own sake, as a way of encouraging researchers to beware of their own culturally based tendency to stereotype men and women. Once this has been done then researchers can attempt to develop gender role scales if required, based on these descriptions. It would be wonderful if a global South African gender role scale could be used, but the chances are that quality and validity of data would be sacrificed in the cause of convenience!

What has been asserted here, as a result of a careful consideration of the data from this study is reifying Yarnold and Lyons's (1987) statement that there is a need for the independent establishment of norms in different groups before any attempt is made to compare tham using the usual instruments of research. This is also supported by Leung and Band (1989) who more directly note the importance of within-culture standardisation procedures being performed before there are any cross-cultural considerations. This section is suitably ended by quoting Band (cited in Segall, 1986, p.547) who wrote, "we must be careful to refrain from creating their world in the image of our own".

Conclusion

The most fitting way to conclude this report will be with a call for a continued move forward in the careful reexamination of the field of gender roles and stereotypes in different cultures, and more specifically in South African cultures. As has been shown in this study, even this most basic aim of description will unearth issues highly relevent to both the broader fields of gender and cross-cultural research. Many of these issues are ones which researchers could easily remain unaware of, and thus ones which could bias the results of the work in which the researchers are engaged.

Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988) write that many paradoxes emerge from the conventional representations of gender, in that they conceal as much as they reveal. The present researcher would reiterate Stewart and Lykes's (1985) encouragement of empirical explorations which can give rise to entirely new conceptualisations of the meaning of gender. This would necessitate the constant awareness of society's influence on perceptions of gender. Consequently, what is required is a move away from the threat of confirmation bias, embodied in the tendency to offer "scientific expertise" (Morawski, 1985, p.200) in the form of theoretical conceptualisations without looking for real - culturally specific - empirical evidence.

As mentioned in the literature review, Morawski (1985) comments on an apparent wariness in researchers of the everyday "commonsensical" (p.215) interpretations of subjects. This has

lead to a rigorous striving for "objectivity", with assumptions being made about the causal complexity of human actions, according to Morawski. This study has shown that the human action of stereotyping is certainly complex, but something else must be noted here. Firstly, it was only as a result of investigating individuals' own perceptions and interpretations of what they perceived that this study could record the complexities that it has. Secondly, although there is a realisation in psychological research that there are these basic beliefs or stereotypes about men and women, research in the area is still not adequate (Deaux, 1984). Further, in the research that has been done on how humans stereotype the genders, there is seldom any admission that the researchers themselves, as humans, could also stereotype gender. A noteable exception to this lies in Downing and Nevill's (1983) study, which as already mentioned, shows that psychologists are also prone to stereotyping others. Everyday interpretations are in fact crucial to the accurate study of the area of stereotypes.

This goes back to what has already been said about psychologists at times apparently believing that they somehow 'know better' than laypeople (Morawski, 1985), being immune to certain tendencies. An example of the above is provided by Myers and Gonda (1982) who describe how even when the polarizing of the genders is not done explicitly, it can be implied, for example with Bem's terms "sex-appropriate" and "sex-inappropriate". This needs to be guarded against: clearly society makes such polarizations, the present study presenting evidence of it, but

researchers do **not** have to do the same thing when attempting to investigate the "true" nature of gender.

The present researcher supports Rothblum (1988) who writes that it is important to highlight any unfounded assumptions which have been made about men and women in psychological research. It must be added that it is just as necessary to establish just where these assumptions come from. From this framework it becomes natural to look at the gender stereotypes in different cultures. This study's data shows this to be worthwhile. Related to this, the study provides support for Eagly's comment that if "uncongenial" (p.756) findings (as far as current theories are concerned) are suppressed, one must ask how is one ever to address the question of replicability. If a future study produces results which disagree with the present ones, this simply provides more material for researchers to come to grips with; this is infinately preferable to the assumption that all is already known!

Finally, the reader is reminded that South African society belongs in Moghaddam's (1983) conceptualisation of "Third World psychology" (p.912), with its need to develop its own, relevent social psychology, rather than trying to fit its people into the predetermined conceptualisations of the First World. This is not to say that none of those conceptualisations will be salient, but rather that they must be carefully examined first, and that time must be taken to carefully investigate just what rich evolved meanings make up the cultures of South Africa.

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APPENDIX ONE : FRONT PAGE OF ALL QUESTIONNIARES (full size shown)

THANK YOU FOR AGREEING TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

THIS RESEARCH IS BEING DONE AS AN ATTEMPT TO FIND OUT HOW PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SOUTH AFRICAN CULTURES SEE THEIR YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN. YOU WILL BE ABLE TO GIVE THE VIEWS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN YOUR CULTURE.

IT IS FELT THAT TOO OFTEN RESEARCHERS THINK THEY KNOW HOW A GROUP OF PEOPLE SEE SOMETHING WITHOUT EVER STOPPING TO FIND OUT. YOU ARE ENCOURAGED TO SAY WHAT YOU REALLY THINK - THERE IS NO SINGLE CORRECT ANSWER THAT YOU ARE EXPECTED TO GIVE, SINCE THE AIM IS TO DISCOVER *YOUR* VIEWS.

YOU ARE ASKED TO THINK *GENERALLY* ABOUT MOST YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN IN YOUR CULTURE. OF COURSE, INDIVIDUALS ARE DIFFERENT, BUT YOU ARE ASKED TO DESCRIBE WHAT IS MOST USUAL. YOU DON'T HAVE TO SPEND A LONG TIME ON ANY PART OF THIS - JUST SAY WHAT YOU THINK AT THE TIME.

TO ENSURE CONFIDENTIALITY, YOU DO NOT NEED TO GIVE YOUR NAME. PLEASE FILL IN THE FOLLOWING GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT YOURSELF, AND THEN GO ON TO THE REST OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

AGE : _____

SEX : _____

HOME LANGUAGE : _____

ARE YOU MARRIED? _____

IS YOURHOME (please tick the most appropriate block):

- CITY ☐ - BIG TOWN ☐ - SMALL TOWN ☐ - VILLAGE/FARM ☐

APPENDIX TWO : QUESTIONNAIRE ONE (Q1)
(reduced to 1/2 original size)

Described below are different ways of thinking, feeling and behaving. For each, please say how well you think it describes, or how often it is shown by a) most young men in your culture, b) most young women in your culture and, c) yourself. You can give your answer for each by writing one of the following numbers in the box for each group :

1 if it is never shown, or does not describe the group at all,

2 if it is not often shown, or hardly ever describes the group,

3 if you are not sure (please use this as little as possible)

4 if it is shown quite often, or sometimes describes the group,

5 if it is very often, or always shown, or always would describe the group

The first question below (which is meant to be funny, not serious!) has been included as an example. Filling it in as shown would mean that you thought most young men in your culture never got up early, most young women seldom got up early but that you always got up early.

If any item is not clearly understood, please put a circle around its number as has also been done in the example, but try to answer it anyway.

If you think something depends on the situation, or you want to make a comment on an item, please feel free to write this under that item. If you feel that any groups are the same on a point, this is alright - there does not have to be a difference.

	MEN	WOMEN	YOU	
(1) Getting up early every morning.	1	2	5	
2) Getting into physical fights - hitting, kicking, using weapons etc				2
3) Relying more on the feelings one has about something than the facts one knows when making a decision.				3
4) Openly stating you opinion on something being discussed in a university lecture or tutorial.				4
5) Carrying a good luck charm.				5
6) Being shy/embarrassed when one is with people one does not know well.				6
7) Having sex before marriage to prove one is fertile/potent.				7

1 if it is never shown, or does not describe the group at all,

2 if it is not often shown, or hardly ever describes the group,

3 if you are not sure (please use this as little as possible)

4 if it is shown quite often, or sometimes describes the group,

5 if it is very often, or always shown, or always would describe the group.

	MEN	WOMEN	YOU	
8) Telling lies.				8
9) Relying more on ones own feelings than other people s opinions when making decisions.				9
10) Supporting oneself financially.				10
11) Feeling comfortable with being alone for a length of time.				11
12) Being good at looking after children.				12
13) Being able to think up new ideas to improve one s work place.				13
14) Understanding other people's feelings.				14
15) Using alcohol.				15
16) Being able to protect oneself from physical attack.				16
17) Getting people to stop fighting/arguing.				17
18) Needing other people to approve of one.				18
19) Getting people to do what one wants by talking to them, persuading them with words.				19
20) Feeling good about the way you are, even when some people disapprove of you.				20
21) Having lots of energy, being very busy.				21
22) Being willing to trust other people.				22
23) Having a very strict set of rules that one lives one s life by.				23
24) Being brave.				24

1 if it is never shown, or does not describe the group at all,

2 if it is not often shown, or hardly ever describes the group,

3 if you are not sure (please use this as little as possible)

4 if it is shown quite often, or sometimes describes the group,

5 if it is very often, or always shown, or always would describe the group.

	MEN	WOMEN	YOU
25) Believing that others have more control over your life than you do.			
26) Wearing earrings, rings, bangles, necklaces etc.			
27) Feeling afraid of the dark.			
28) Having sex before marriage to please your partner more than yourself.			
29) Following fashion in your choice of clothes.			
30) Acting like your same sex parent.			
31) Being successful at university or other work.			
32) Reading "love story" novels.			
33) Expecting to do well in ones career.			
34) Getting worried, or anxious without any real reason.			
35) Speaking out about your feelings when with students in a social occasion.			
36) Being good at looking after other people, making them comfortable etc.			
37) Admitting when you are afraid.			
38) Shouting, screaming, calling names and so on when fighting with someone.			
39) Being honest about how you are feeling emotionally.			
40) Saying you agree with friends' decisions even when in your mind/heart you don't agree.			

1 if it is never shown, or does not describe the group at all,

2 if it is not often shown, or hardly ever describes the group,

3 if you are not sure (please use this as little as possible)

4 if it is shown quite often, or sometimes describes the group,

5 if it is very often, or always shown, or always would describe the group.

	MEN	WOMEN	YOU
41) Being able to talk to people you don't know well.			
42) Reading books/magazines which describe sex in detail, show pictures etc.			
43) Relying more on other people's opinions than ones own feelings when making choices.			
44) Being supported by others financially.			
45) Wanting or needing to look after children.			
46) Being good at thinking up new ideas to improve home life.			
47) Being good at showing other people that you understand how they are feeling.			
48) Being able to look after yourself when your feelings have been hurt by somebody.			
49) Being able to calm people down and stop them before they start fighting or arguing.			
50) Doing things just to get the approval of others.			
51) Getting people to do what you want mostly by acting aggressivly, frightening them, causing trouble etc.			
52) Feeling good about the way you are only if other people approve of you.			
53) Feeling "down", "depressed", or "sad" a lot of the time.			
54) Believing it is very important to follow what community leaders say and do.			

1 if it is never shown, or does not describe the group at all,

2 if it is not often shown, or hardly ever describes the group,

3 if you are not sure (please use this as little as possible)

4 if it is shown quite often, or sometimes describes the group,

5 if it is very often, or always shown, or always would describe the group.

	MEN	WOMEN	YOU
55) Believing that fate, or good or bad luck has the most control over ones life.			55
56) Being different from other people in the way you behave when you want to.			56
57) Wearing lipstick, eyeshadow or other makeup.			57
58) Having fear of any of the following : Snakes, spiders, chameleons, rats or mice.			58
59) Being afraid of the types of things listed in (58) so much that you hate even seeing pictures of them.			59
60) Not having sex before marriage for religious reasons.			60
61) Being good at mechanical work.			61
62) Reading "adventure" and "war" novels.			62
63) Doing things which you haven't been told to do, but have thought up yourself as being useful.			63
64) Saying what your opinion is in front of older people whome you disagree with.			64
65) Needing or wanting to make other people happy or comfortable.			65
66) Showing sadness or hurt through crying.			66
67) Keeping quiet, not showing when you are angry.			67
68) Giving into other people's desires, and ignoring your own wants.			68
69) Frequently keeping or looking at pictures of naked or mostly naked people.			69

1 if it is never shown, or does not describe the group at all,

2 if it is not often shown, or hardly ever describes the group,

3 if you are not sure (please use this as little as possible)

4 if it is shown quite often, or sometimes describes the group,

5 if it is very often, or always shown, or always would describe the group.

	MEN	WOMEN	YOU
70) Believing that other people are more able to make you happy than you are yourself.			70
71) Avoiding arguing with other people.			71
72) Feeling comfortable only if one is acting as everybody else is acting.			72
73) Seeing having nice soft hands and long nails as important or desirable.			73
74) Believing in ghosts or spirits.			74
75) Having sex before marriage because both you and your partner enjoy it.			75
76) Being clever at speaking your own and other languages.			76
77) Reading mystery/crime novels.			77
78) Not having sex before marriage for health reasons.			78

APPENDIX THREE : QUESTIONNAIRE TWO (Q2)
(reduced to 1/2 original size)

Below you will find a list of different ways of behaving, thinking and feeling. For each of the following items, please briefly describe how they are shown (if they are shown) in a) most young men in your culture, b) most young women in your culture and, c) yourself.

There is no single correct answer, so please say what you honestly think. If for any items you think that there is no difference between most men and women, then say so and just describe how it applies to both. If you think something changes in different situations, please say how this is so.

1) Feeling and showing anger :

-For most males _____

-For most females _____

-For yourself _____

2) Taking care of other people :

-For most males _____

-For most females _____

-For yourself _____

3) Getting into fights :

-For most males _____

-For most females _____

-For yourself _____

4) Understanding and showing that you understand other s feelings :

-For most males _____

-For most females _____

-For yourself _____

5) Making sure that you have something the way *you* want it to be :

-For most males _____

-For most females _____

-For yourself _____

_____

_____

6) Feeling and showing you are afraid :

-For most males _____

_____

_____

-For most females _____

_____

_____

-For yourself _____

_____

_____

7) Having sex before you are married, and the reasons for this :

-For most males _____

_____

_____

-For most females _____

_____

_____

-For yourself _____

_____

_____

8) Feeling and showing that you feel emotions like love, sadness, joy, (you can talk about them separately if you need to) :

-For most males _____

_____

_____

_____

-For most females _____

_____

_____

_____

-For yourself _____

_____

_____

9) Being superstitious - having lucky charms, doing special things to bring good luck or avoid bad luck :

-For most males _____

_____

_____

-For most females _____

_____

_____

-For yourself _____

_____

_____

10) Depending on other people to make you happy, or depending on yourself :

-For most males _____

_____

_____

-For most females _____

_____

_____

-For yourself _____

_____

11) Attitude to one's physical appearance, and the reasons for this attitude :

-For most males _____

-For most females _____

-For yourself _____

12) Needing to get other people to do what you want, and the ways one uses to make people do something :

-For most males _____

-For most females _____

-For yourself _____

APPENDIX FOUR : QUESTIONNAIRE THREE (Q3)
(reduced to 1/2 original size)

Read each of the following "stories", and think of it happening in your culture and society. Then answer the questions which follow. There is no single correct answer, and if your answer for two parts of a question is the same, this is fine.

1) X was waiting to pay for something in a shop queue. Just as X got to the front, a person Y pushed in front of X to pay for their own things. What would X do if :

a) X was a young man and Y was a young man?

b) X was a young man and Y was a young woman?

c) X was a young woman and Y was a young woman?

d) X was a young woman and Y was a young man?

2) X is being criticised by his/her parents for something X does not think is wrong. How would X react if :

a) X was a young woman?

b) X was a young man?

3) X is at a party with friends from university. X sees a person of the opposite sex that they like very much, even though they have never met before. The person is talking and laughing with people all the time and seems very friendly. What kinds of thing will X be thinking and feeling if :

a) X was a young woman?

b) X was a young man?

Would X do anything to meet this person? If so what would X do it :

a) X was a young woman?

b) X was a young man?

4) X entered a competition. To X's great surprise he/she won R200. What do you think X, as a student, would spend this money on :

a) X was a young woman?

b) X was a young man?

5) X is trying to get their husband/wife to do something that X thinks is important, but their partner does not. How would X persuade their partner to do whatever it was, if :

b) X was a young man? _____

6) X fails a test at university in a subject that he/she has just recently begun. In the class - all new to the subject nobody did very well, but most people did pass. How would X explain his/her own failure if :

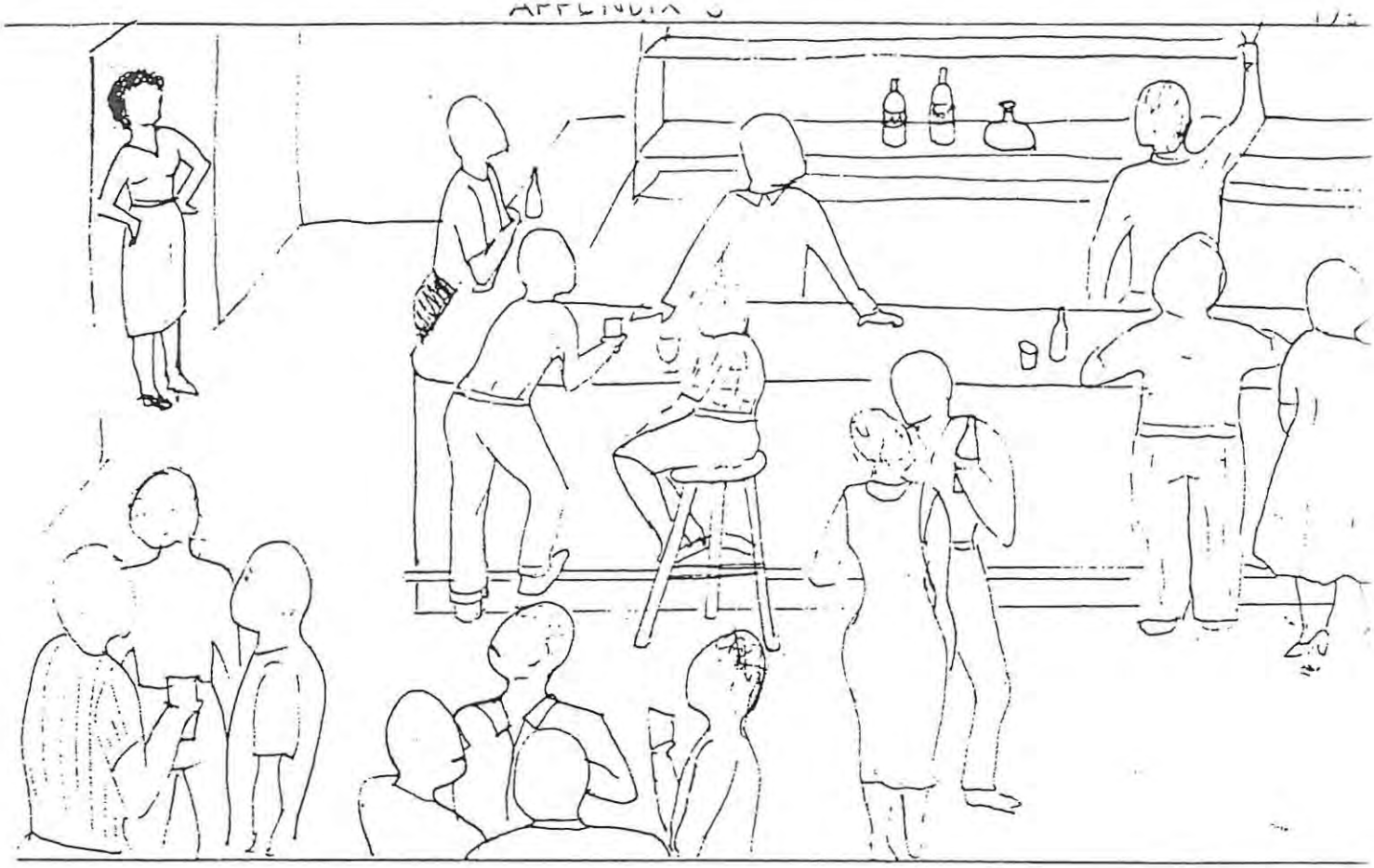
a) X was a young woman? _____

b) X was a young man? _____

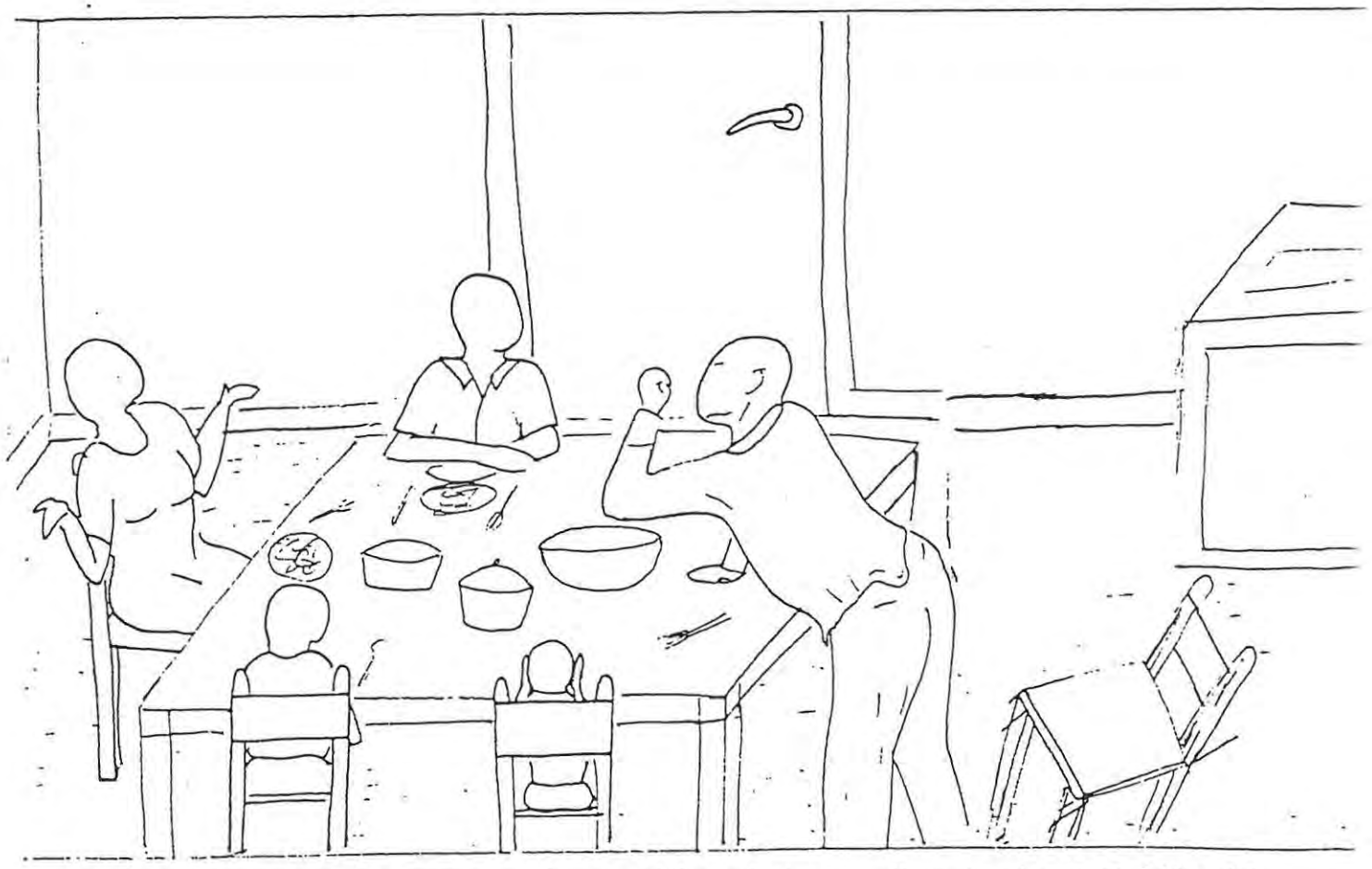
7) X's husband/wife tells X to do something X really does not feel like doing. How would X react if :

a) X was a young woman? _____

b) X was a young man? _____



Write a short story about this picture. You might like to say for example, what is happening now, what happened before, and what is going to happen next. Other things you might like to mention are what different people are thinking and feeling.



Now, write a short story about this picture. You again may like to say what is happening now, what occured before and what will happen after, and also what the people are thinking and feeling.