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SEXISM IN WOMEN'S JUDGMENTS OF ARGUMENTS
BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN

By

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ABSTRACT

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Naturalistic observations, feminist psychological theories and a substantial body of research suggested that women are more loyal to men than to other women. In the case of an argument between a woman and a man, women with traditional sex-role ideologies were expected to side with the man, while pro-feminist women were predicted to side with the woman.

Groups of female college students received one of three projective leads briefly describing a lovers' quarrel. One lead included only the information that the argument was occurring, one lead specified that the argument outcome was negative in terms of the couples' relationship, and the third lead specified that the argument outcome was positive. The subjects wrote a TAT-type story in response to the projective lead, and subsequently rated the story characters on a Likert-type Story Character Evaluation Scale (SCES) designed for this study. (Reliability coefficients for SCES subscales were high.) The subjects also completed a demographic questionnaire and the Spence Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS).

Subjects were classified as pro-feminist liberals, moderates or traditionalists, based on their AWS scores. A multivariate analysis of variance was performed, using the SCES scores as dependent variables.

The results were that women favored the woman over the man regardless of subjects' sex-role ideology and regardless of what they were told about the outcome of the argument. Groups of subjects did not differ significantly from each other in degree of bias. Pro-female, anti-male bias was found in attributions of credit and blame for the argument. In ratings on positive and negative personality traits subjects rated both the woman and the man favorably, but rated the woman more favorably than the man.

Many subjects regarded the argument itself as an event which should have been prevented, irrespective of the outcome specified in the projective leads. The belief that the argument should have been prevented was correlated positively with attribution of blame to the woman, but was not related to ratings of the man. These correlations provided modest evidence that women are blamed for arguments, despite the pro-female favoritism found in the rest of the data.

The results were consistent with those of a small number of studies showing pro-female favoritism among women. A greater number of studies, however, show that women have pro-male and anti-female attitudes. Possible explanations for this inconsistency in reported data include cultural changes, variations in the stimuli eliciting prejudice, variations in sample characteristics, and differences between women's self-ratings and ratings of other women.

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INTRODUCTION

The formation of solidarity groups by people with common goals and class identifications is an essential step towards the attainment of social power. In American society, political powerful groups have typically been composed of white males, while women and minorities have not until recently formed potentially enduring alliances among themselves.

One reason why white men have maintained a monopoly on such political alliances is that they have reserved for themselves access to resources and employment situations which facilitate the development of effective groups. A second reason is that white male groups have discouraged and even prohibited the formation of self-interested organizations among women and non-whites. These prohibitions have been enforced by techniques ranging from public ridicule to legal harassment and physical coercion.

These external factors would not, however, be sufficient to prevent a rebellion by oppressed classes, were it not for an additional disrupting force arising from the oppressed themselves. People who have been victims of prejudice often seem to internalize the prejudicial beliefs of their oppressors and act them out at each others' expense (Allport, 1954, p. 151). During the past two decades, this mechanism has been readily observable in both the black power and feminist movements. At times, conservative women and blacks have

been even more strident than white males in criticizing their respective radical companions, and in enforcing conformity to the status quo.

The focus of this dissertation is the operation of this divisive dynamic in women's groups, and the resulting polarization of women into those who are willing to attack male privilege in order to advance women's rights and those who support male privilege at the expense of women. The fact that a significant number of women and men are now willing to promote women's rights indicates that radical changes have already occurred. Previously, the movement for women's rights was not considered to be a serious political issue, and solidarity among women was viewed by many people as unimportant, unnecessary and even unattainable.

Popular myth asserts that women do not like each other, that they are competitive and critical of each other, and that they are unable to work cooperatively towards common goals. The opposite behaviors are expected of men. Men are encouraged to develop "team spirit," through which they support each other and overcome external opposition.

The history of women's political movements partially supports the myth, in that they have been few in number and have seldom endured beyond the attainment of specific, circumscribed goals. Many important female political groups have championed the cause of other oppressed people, as in the case of the Abolitionists, or the cause of moral reform, as in the case of the Christian Temperance Union. The Suffrage movement was a notable exception in that women were working for the benefit of women, but this thrust stopped with the

realization of universal suffrage. In contrast, men's groups have traditionally included not only those organizations officially designated as such, but also the entire established government and most high status professional groups. The ruling bodies of our society have functioned as exclusive men's clubs both socially and politically, and have served primarily the needs of their white male constituents.

Women have not only failed to form self-interested political groups, they have been in the forefront of opposition to women's rights organizations and legislation. Examples of recent organizations which oppose an increase in women's legal rights are the Right-to-Life movement and the various groups working against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. A recent article (Wohl, 1976) reported that women in New York who voted against the ERA often cited opposition to feminism as a motive for rejecting the ERA. The women expressed a desire to dissociate themselves from the negative stereotypes of feminists popularized by the mass media. The attitude that women's liberation is a ridiculous and shameful endeavor supported by neurotic, frustrated, man-hating women discourages many conventional women from supporting women's rights.

Some female opponents of feminism have a more sophisticated grasp of ideological differences between liberationists and traditionalists, and fear the social changes which feminists actually advocate. Anti-feminists derive their sense of importance and self-esteem from the home, and from their ability to serve the needs of their husbands and children. They fear that a broadening of women's roles will undermine the family structure upon which they depend. Anti-feminists

therefore insist upon a determined loyalty to their mates and children, and to the male supremacist status quo.

Because women have been compelled under threat of social disapproval to support men and male dominance, the most insulting label which has been applied to feminists is "man-hater." Not only do women fear becoming feminists lest they grow to hate men or be seen as hating men, but even avowed feminists sometimes moderate their rhetoric to avoid being so labelled. This repressive attitude is in marked contrast to the typical response to anti-female sentiment, which is either overlooked because it is so normative, or is actively reinforced and perpetuated.

By the mid-1970's, the issue of whether to include men in feminist organizations, or whether to relate to them at all, became the most divisive and universally-debated topic in feminist meetings. Moderates proposed that feminism should be for all people instead of being for women exclusively, that women have a responsibility to educate men, or simply that men might be hurt by being left out. Radicals argued for a separate women's space, the desirability of a more selfish stand, and claimed that the presence of men was stifling.

The fact that moderate groups sometimes invited men to critique women's panels and participate in women's meetings permitted informal observations of conflicts among women who responded either hostilely or protectively towards the men. Frequently when the men were criticized, other women in the group leaped to their defense even before the men themselves could respond. The female critics were in effect ostracized and their remarks ignored by many of the other feminists

present. After an especially heated meeting, a man's defenders could sometimes be observed clustering around him, offering support and repudiating his critics.

Chesler (1972, p. 275) seems to be describing the same phenomenon when she speaks of women "policing" women. According to Chesler, women are socialized to idealize and support male heroes, while female heroes are starved for protection and nurturance. Women further help men by enforcing upon other women standards for appropriate feminine behavior, which includes self-sacrifice and compulsory compassion for men.

Chesler (1972, p. 267) believes that the cultural ideal of the warm, self-sacrificing wife and mother is hypocritical, since only men benefit from women's compassion. She attributes the discrepancy between women's nurturant response to men and harsh response to women to the difference in men's and women's social status.

Traditionally, women as well as men expect or demand another woman's help or sacrifice more quickly and easily than they demand a man's sacrifice or even his co-operation . . . Psychologically it represents our cultures higher evaluation of men, as well as the assigned female role of "policing" other women in the service of male supremacy.

Women mistrust and men destroy those women who are not interested in sacrificing at least something for someone for some reason. Rather than achieve at least half or all of Caesar's power, many women, including some feminists, would prefer to leave it in Caesar's hands altogether and, . . . sacrifice their individual advancement for the sake of less fortunate women, Third World people, one's biological children, one's weary husband, etc. (p. 277)

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore more systematically the ways in which sexist prejudices may influence women's views of arguments between women and men. Stereotypic perceptions of the sexes will be examined, and the role of conflict between men and women

in exacerbating biases will be considered. Finally, two research studies will be presented in which women's reactions to an argument between a woman and a man were examined in a laboratory setting.

COMPONENTS OF THE PROBLEM

An argument between a woman and a man involves a number of different interpersonal behaviors and attitudes; the addition of a third party as a judge of the argument adds yet another dimension. First and most obviously, an argument is one type of interpersonal conflict. The particular arguments being examined here are verbal rather than physical conflicts. They are accompanied by anger on the part of one or both persons, and usually involve assertive or aggressive behavior. Arguments have some common features with other aggressive acts, and are so judged by outside observers. A person's fighting style or inhibitions against fighting in an argument are related to that person's general attitude about self-assertion, aggression, and self-defense.

Among the major instigating factors behind most arguments are disagreements of opinion, or frustration of the felt needs of one or both parties. "Winning" an argument generally consists of having one's point recognized as valid, or of influencing some course of action, or both. "Losing" consists of admitting that one is in the wrong, of submitting to the opponents' behavioral prescriptions, or of accepting frustration. A successful verbal fighter must have a propensity for competitive behavior, together with the cluster of personality traits, values and attitudes which facilitate a competitive stance. In this respect, arguments have features in common

with other situations in which one may succeed or fail in a competitive struggle for self-gratification.

Successful competition requires those personality traits described as "agentic" (Bakan, 1966), such as assertiveness, dominance and egoism. "Communal" traits, like sensitivity to people's feelings and altruism, are associated with a spirit of co-operation and compromise rather than competition. Girls and women in this culture are socialized into communal roles and communal personality traits to the almost complete exclusion of agentic roles and traits (Donelson, 1977b). The reverse is true for boys and men.

The arguments observed in women's groups occurred between a woman and a man, with secondary conflicts erupting among women. The sex of the interactants seemed to be an important factor in triggering the conflicts. Attributions of who deserved to win and who was to blame may therefore have been affected by sexism, which is one type of prejudice. Knowledge of how prejudice operates in other situations may help in understanding how sexism influences the judgements made about these arguments.

Definitions

The term prejudice has several accepted meanings; Allport (1954) includes at least six different definitions in his discussion of the concept. The most literal definition is "a judgment formed before due examination of the facts." In an interpersonal context, prejudice is a favorable or unfavorable attitude formed towards a person "prior to, or not based on, actual experience" (Allport, 1954, p. 6). Allport explains that, although prejudice may be favorable

or unfavorable, the term more commonly refers to "an aversive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group" (Allport, 1954, p. 7). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, prejudice will be defined as either a favorable or unfavorable attitude formed towards a person because of an extraneous characteristic defining that person as a member of a particular group.

Sexism is prejudice in which sex is the relevant variable defining group classification. The term sexism came into vogue in the early 1970's, and is therefore not defined in dictionaries or other literature written before the current decade. Allport (1954) uses the term "anti-feminism" to refer to prejudice based on sex; this term has acquired a more specific meaning, however, because of the renewed visibility of the feminist movement in recent years.

Actually, the term "sexism" was intended to correspond to "racism," a concept with which people were already familiar by the late 1960's. The Random House Dictionary defines racism as:

A belief that human races have distinctive characteristics that determine their respective cultures, usually involving the idea that one's own race is superior and has the right to rule others.

By substituting the word "sex" or "gender" for race this definition becomes an accurate description of sexism, the key element of which is the assumption that men should dominate the family, the society, and women.

The belief that men have the right to rule family and society because of the superiority of the male sex is the basis of the social

system called patriarchy. Anthropologists generally agree that all societies are, and probably always have been, patriarchies rather than matriarchies or even egalitarian systems. That is, in every known society women are excluded from certain privileged economic or political activities, and husbands have more publicly recognized powers and prerogatives than do their wives (Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1974).

The fact that patriarchy is probably a cultural universal means that the term "ruler" implies maleness both linguistically and in practice. This system implies some devaluation of women relative to men, in that women as a group are judged as being unfit to rule. Most societies, however, go beyond this level of devaluation in their attributions of an inferior and undesirable nature to women. The power to defile or destroy is often attributed to women, who are then restricted by taboos designed to counteract "bad magic" (Rosaldo, 1974; Hays, 1964). Women are also regarded as subhuman in societies where maleness and humanity are equated. In our own society there are a large number of animal terms applied to women, such as "bitch," "chick," and "filly."

The attribution of superior qualities to men and inferior qualities to women is an example of stereotypic thinking, which often functions to support prejudice. Allport (1954, p. 191) defines stereotype as "an exaggerated belief associated with a category," the function of which is to "justify conduct in relation to that category." The process of overcategorization, which is essential to stereotypic thinking, consists of generalizing certain attributions to all members of a category, like sex or race, rather than evaluating people as individuals (Allport, 1954, p. 8). Stereotypes may be

based upon completely false assumptions, or they may be generalizations based upon a kernel of truth. Groups who are victims of prejudice may unintentionally validate stereotypes by acting out characteristic "victim behaviors," or by internalizing and acting out the stereotypes themselves (Allport, 1954, p. 142).

Sex-role stereotyping is one aspect of sexism in which certain roles and traits are selectively attributed to men and other roles and traits are attributed to women. Masculinity usually connotes dominance and aggression both in terms of the prescribed masculine personality and in terms of men's actual position in patriarchal societies. Femininity connotes relative passivity and helplessness. Interactions involving women and men may be perceived and judged in terms of these stereotypes and cultural role prescriptions. If individuals in arguments conform to cultural expectations, men may be likely to dominate women because of men's socialization into dominant roles. If individuals do not conform to the usual sex-role stereotypes, they may be judged negatively by other people. Observers' judgments of the antagonists are likely to be related to the degree of consistency between the actual behavior of the people in the argument and the observers' stereotypes about the nature of women and men, as well as the extent to which the observer idealizes or rejects these stereotypes.

In the arguments initially observed in women's groups, some women supported members of their own sex while other women supported men. Loyalty to a group other than one's own is often seen in victims of prejudice. Identification with the dominant group is one way in which self-hate is expressed by the subordinated group

(Allport, 1954, p. 150).

Not all people behave in this manner, however. Members of oppressed groups may adopt a militant posture towards the dominant class, and may also sympathize with other victims of prejudice (Allport, 1954, p. 154). Even people who have not been victims themselves may champion underdogs. Thus, there have always been individual men who have struggled to improve the lot of women. In recent years the feminist movement has increased public awareness of sexism to the point where women as a group are now seen by many people as being victims of prejudice. Support for women as underdogs may therefore become more prevalent.

In summary, arguments between women and men involve several components of interpersonal behavior, including assertiveness, competition, and agentic or communal attitudes. Judgments made about these arguments may also be influenced by a number of observer variables. Some of the more salient observer variables which may be relevant are prejudice for or against women, sex-role stereotypes held by the observer, attitudes toward assertive and aggressive behavior, attitudes toward success and failure by women and men, and the observer's tendency to consistently identify with either social victims or their oppressors.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To date there have been no published studies directly concerned with peoples' reactions to ordinary arguments between women and men. There are an increasing number of studies, however, which have reported data which may be helpful in understanding the argument situation.

The most directly relevant research concerns reactions to sexist humor, in which a member of one sex is made the butt of a joke by a member of the other sex. Studying reactions to jokes about conflict between women and men is a desirable way to study sexism for several reasons. Humor is a socially acceptable way to express hostility and therefore reveals hostile attitudes without triggering inhibitions against socially undesirable forms of aggression. This is particularly true of anti-female humor, since sexist jokes are a popular means for expressing anti-female sentiment, as in mother-in-law stories and lockerroom humor. Sexist jokes provide researchers with naturally disguised material for exciting emotional reactions without simultaneously eliciting defensiveness and socially desirable responses.

Studies of serious, real life conflicts between women and men have focussed primarily on physical aggression. Feminist groups have recently been compiling statistics on crimes in which women are the usual victims and men the attackers, as in rape and wife-beating.

One additional study reviewed below (Cookie, 1974), examines "jurors'" judgments of conjugal murder in a simulated trial, in which either a woman or a man is presented as the alleged assailant. A few studies using "shock machines" have also considered sex differences in physical aggression directed at the other sex.

There is other recent research which does not directly examine judgments about people in conflict, but which does examine attitudes about women and men in other competitive contexts. The practical need to improve women's social status and economic lot has led to an intense interest among feminist psychologists in women's achievement motivation. Included in this general area of research are studies of peoples' reactions to success and failure, studies of womens' performance in competitive achievement situations, and studies of discrimination in ratings of female and male workers and their products. Since an argument is a competitive encounter in which outcomes may be classified as successes or failures, achievement-related data may help in understanding women's and men's behavior during arguments.

Yet another area of research which focuses on evaluations of women and men is the study of sex-role stereotypes. Data in this area reveal attitudes towards men and masculinity versus women and femininity, and therefore suggest what judgments would be made when women and men are compared with one another. An additional benefit of research on sex-role stereotypes is that it clarifies the role of assertiveness and fighting behaviors in culturally defined masculinity and femininity. Studies of sex-linked stereotypes therefore contribute to an understanding of attributions made about women and

men both within the argument situation and in abstract comparisons occurring outside of any situational context.

The primary findings of all of the above research areas will be reviewed in the next section. Following the literature review, some theoretical formulations will be presented in an attempt to offer a dynamic explanation of the initial observations in women's groups and of the relevant research findings.

Hostile Humor

Researchers interested in hostile humor have generally reported two kinds of findings, either an anti-female bias shown by both sexes, or prejudice in favor of the subjects' own sex. The difference in the findings may be attributable in part to the content of the jokes used; if the male and female interactants in a humorous story are involved in a dominance-submission relationship, sex prejudice seems to become more evident in subjects' evaluations of the joke.

Priest and Wilhelm (1974) presented college students with forty jokes, twenty of which used either a man or a woman as the butt of the joke and twenty of which were not hostile in content. Male subjects preferred jokes in which women were the victims over other jokes, while female subjects preferred jokes in which men were the victims. When subjects were divided according to their scores on a self-actualization scale, however, women and men with high scores were more pro-female than were women and men with low scores. Priest and Wilhelm conclude that this finding is consistent with other data reporting an anti-authoritarian bias among self-actualizers. The cultural association between maleness and authority suggested to the

researchers that self-actualizers might make a point of championing women as social underdogs.

Losco and Epstein (1975) designed four cartoons depicting a hostile act by a member of one sex against a victim of the other sex. These four cartoons were duplicated with the sexes of the victim and attacker reversed. Separate groups of subjects rated each set of cartoons for degree of funniness. Subjects were also asked to rate a list of adjectives for how well they applied to most men, most women, the ideal man and the ideal woman.

Cartoons with male victims were rated as less funny than neutral cartoons, and cartoons with female victims were rated as more funny than neutral cartoons by subjects of both sexes. Anti-female prejudice was more marked among male subjects, especially in response to a cartoon showing one person attempting to dominate another, only to become a victim of the other's retaliation. When the man was shown first dominating and then being the butt of the joke, male subjects rated this cartoon as the least funny in the set, whereas women rated it as about average. When the woman was dominant, men rated the cartoon as funnier than average, while women again rated it as average.

Losco and Epstein (1975) then divided the subjects into three groups, according to whether they preferred jokes in which men were the butt, jokes in which women were the butt, or neither, and examined their responses on the adjective list. Subjects of both sexes who preferred female targets attributed more competence and related qualities to "most men," and more nurturance and related qualities to "most women." Women who preferred male targets exaggerated this

pattern, which the authors attribute to a hypersensitivity to sexist injustice. Men who preferred male targets did not assign high levels of positive qualities to either sex, suggesting a general alienation from people.

Cantor (1976) designed two versions of jokes in which a member of one sex "one-ups" a member of the other sex. Both men and women preferred jokes in which the man had the last word over those in which the woman had the last word, but male subjects were the more prejudiced of the two sexes. Cantor (1976) conducted a second experiment which included same-sexed dyads along with male-female dyads in the stimuli, and also asked subjects to rate the dominant character on several personality dimensions. Subjects again found it funnier to have the woman be the butt of the joke than to have the man be the butt, but female subjects were more prejudiced than men against the woman in this study. A female character who insulted a male character was also rated as more critical, cruel, and domineering than was a man who insulted a woman. People who dominated members of the other sex were, however, rated as more intelligent than those who dominated members of their own sex.

Chapman and Gadfield (1976) presented subjects with cartoons involving sexual innuendos, some of which were also sexist. Male subjects generally appreciated sexual humor more than did female subjects, but their greater appreciation was attributable to men's greater positive response to anti-female sexist humor. Women did not appreciate either anti-female or anti-male sexist humor, although they enjoyed sexual humor which was not sexist. Women and men who reported sympathizing with feminism found female target items unfunny

and male target items funnier than average.

Zillman and Stocking (1976) played an audiotaped humor routine in which a man put down either himself, a friend of his, or an enemy. Subjects then evaluated the disparager's personality. Both women and men rated the self-disparager as less intelligent and secure than the person who disparaged others. Women found it funnier, however, for the man to disparage himself than to disparage others, whereas men found it funnier for him to disparage others.

In a second experiment, Zillman and Stocking (1976) added materials in which women were disparagers and materials in which women were disparaged. Men enjoyed hearing disparagement of a woman by others, but they disliked self-disparaging women even more than they disliked self-disparaging men. Women enjoyed hearing people of either sex disparage themselves and rated self-disparagers as "appealing."

Although degree of appreciation of hostile humor has generally been interpreted as a measure of hostility towards the person who is the butt of the joke, one study indicates that researchers should be cautious in equating these variables. Grote and Cvetkovich (1972) found that women who listened to an anti-female humor monologue rated it as funnier than did women who listened to a neutral humor monologue by the same comedian. After listening to the taped monologues, subjects were given an opportunity to present any number of arguments they could think of in favor of a woman's right to choose a non-traditional vocation. Women who had listened to the anti-female routine presented more arguments than any of the other groups of subjects, including women who had listened to excerpts from

Sisterhood is Powerful. The researchers concluded that women in the anti-female group were actually angered by the monologue, despite the high funniness rating they assigned to it.

Women may inhibit angry, aggressive responses to insults and attempt to pass them off as jokes. This interpretation is consistent with observation of female psychotherapy clients, who often laugh when discussing incidents which angered them. The adaptive value of this behavior is obvious, in that a victim who laughs at herself is more likely to diffuse an attackers' hostility than is a victim who counterattacks.

Allport (1954, p. 147) includes self-directed humor as one of the behaviors frequently practiced by minorities and social victims. Women's adoption of the submissive, self-ridiculing posture is strongly reinforced by the frequently expressed criticism that "women's libbers have no sense of humor." In contrast, men may more likely to react to ridicule of themselves with anger. Men's hostile humor towards outside groups may be an expression of dominance, which helps to explain why men favor humor which disparages others and women favor humor which disparages themselves. Dominance over others is viewed as appropriate behavior for men, but inappropriate behavior for women. Future research in this area should take into account the fact that, while women and men both rate a sexist joke as funny, they may do so for different reasons.

In summary, findings of studies on humorous conflicts between the sexes are mixed with respect to the direction of prejudice. Many studies report in-group favoritism, with women preferring anti-male humor and men preferring anti-female humor. Other studies report

anti-female prejudice on the part of both sexes. Anti-female prejudice seems to be most marked in contexts where a woman one-ups a man, reversing the usual power relationship between the sexes. Women respond more favorably to people who laugh at themselves than to people who laugh at others, while men show the opposite pattern. The degree to which women laugh is, however, not a straightforward indicator of the direction of their hostilities. Women's laughter may represent a learned defense against their own and men's hostility, as well as a capacity for good-humored self-criticism.

Physical Conflict

Judgments made about people involved in real life physical conflicts are also influenced by the sex of the judges and the antagonists. Sexism may affect physical aggression in a more complex way than it affects verbal aggression, however, because of marked sex differences in physical aggressiveness. Generally, boys and men are more physically aggressive than girls and women (Feshbach, 1970). This difference, which may have some genetic or hormonal basis, is accentuated by socialization so that physical attacks by women are viewed as shockingly uncommon while physical attacks by men are viewed as normative. In this culture men are discouraged from attacking women, a prohibition which may operate more effectively in public than in private.

The most common naturally occurring incidents of physical violence between the sexes are rape, wife-battering and conjugal assault. The volume of literature on these crimes has mushroomed in recent years, and has generally emphasized the existence of anti-female bias

in the legal processing of rape and wife battering cases. One expression of this bias is that there are few prosecutions of rapists relative to the number of reported crimes, and few convictions relative to the number of prosecutions. In most cases, the female victim has been blamed for the attack. (For a more complete discussion of rape and sexism, see Brownmiller, 1976).

Gingold (1976) reports that physical abuse of wives by husbands is more common than rape, with as few as one percent of reported cases resulting in prosecution. The low number of prosecuted cases has been attributed to wives' reluctance to press charges, and to anti-female bias on the part of police and other authorities involved in "domestic" cases (see also Martin, 1976).

Domestic murder may be a different story. Cookie (1974) reports that many judges and attorneys believe that female defendants accused of any crime are judged more leniently than male defendants accused of the same crime. Cookie tested this hypothesis by conducting a simulated trial, in which the defendant was either a man accused of murdering his wife, or a woman accused of murdering her husband. Male and female "jurors" were told that the instigation for the crime was a love triangle situation. Subjects could deliver a verdict of innocence, or a verdict of guilty for charges varying in degree of gravity from manslaughter to pre-meditated murder. Cookie found that subjects were less likely to convict, and less likely to convict of a higher charge, if the defendant was of their sex than if the defendant was of the other sex. The male defendant was, however, generally viewed as more of a "victim of circumstance" than was the woman.

Cookie (1974) points out that an alleged murderess may be judged more harshly than other female defendants because she violates sex-role expectations. Another factor which may have influenced the results was the nature of the instigating circumstances. Women jurors might be expected to sympathize with another woman who was wronged in a love situation more than with a woman whose crime occurred in another context.

Most experimental studies of physical aggression involve the use of an "aggression machine" with which a subject may deliver real shocks of varying intensity to another subject, or simulated shocks which the subject believes to be real to an experimental confederate. Taylor and Epstein (1967), who used real shock with same-sex and cross-sex dyads of subjects, found that men gave and received more intense shocks than did women. Initially some of the women subjects verbalized the expectation that men would not shock a woman. When the men violated their expectations, the women were infuriated, and retaliated at twice the shock levels used by the men. The male victims became verbally abusive and threatening towards their unseen female attackers, but did not raise their shock intensities beyond earlier levels.

Jaffe, Malamuth, Feingold and Feshbach (1974) also found that men gave more intense shocks than women. Their results conflicted with Taylor's and Epstein's, however, in that people were willing to deliver more intense shocks if they thought the victim was of the other sex than if they thought the victim was of their own sex.

Women may actually be quite effective in inhibiting male aggression, including intermale aggression. Borden (1975) found that

male victims in a shock paradigm under-retaliated against male aggressors if they were being observed by a person presented as a pacifist or by a woman of unknown persuasion. They over-retaliated if they were observed by a man of unknown persuasion or by a woman thought to value aggression.

Some findings of shock studies are consistent with Zillman's and Stocking's (1976) results of research on self-disparaging humor. Women are more likely than men to shock themselves, and are also more likely than men to avoid shocking others, even as a retaliation. For example, Hokanson, Willers and Koropsak (1968) measured restoration of physiological equilibrium following responses to shock. Men reached equilibrium more rapidly if they responded with countershock, while women reached equilibrium more rapidly if they gave their opponent a reward point. The researchers found that both women and men could be conditioned to respond in the manner customary for the other sex, suggesting that the original pattern was at least partially a response to social conditioning. The researchers found it easier to condition women to countershock than to condition men to give a friendly response to shock.

Wallington (1973) measured the intensity of self-administered shocks following an experimentally elicited "transgression" against the rules of the experiment. People who thought they had transgressed gave themselves more intense shocks than people who had not transgressed, but women also gave themselves more intense shocks than did men regardless of whether or not they had transgressed.

One possible explanation of this sex difference is that women suffer from a chronic sense of guilt for which they seek punishment.

While this is a plausible hypothesis, the data suggest another interpretation. The shock portion of the Wallington experiment was not presented as punishment, it was presented as an opportunity to help the experimenter calibrate the shock machines. There is some supporting data (reviewed below) which suggests that women are more likely than are men to give aid to others even when the gift results in sacrifices for themselves.

In general, the experimental data on physical aggression indicate that women prefer a non-violent stance both for themselves and for men, even where violence could be interpreted as justifiable defense. There is little experimental data showing how women judge people of either sex who do become violent, but there is some suggestion that women may permit "unladylike" levels of aggression against men who fail to act like "gentlemen." Also, same-sex favoritism seems to be a more consistent finding in studies involving physical aggression than in studies of hostile humor.

In naturally occurring physical conflicts there may be traditional sexist crimes by which men affirm their dominance over women. In these cases, men tend to be excused and women blamed. Crimes of violence which are not usually associated with traditional male-female roles may be judged differently by observers.

Sex-Linked Stereotypes

Traditional Femininity and Masculinity

Judgments about women and men in conflict are related in two ways to sex-linked stereotypes. First, men and masculinity are valued more than women and femininity, regardless of the context in

which the comparisons are made (Fernberger, 1948; Kitay, 1940; Dinitz, Dynes and Clarke, 1954; Lynn, 1959; McKee and Sherriffs, 1957, 1959; White, 1950; Sherriffs and Jarrett, 1955; Sherriffs and McKee, 1957; Smith, 1939). Secondly, aggression, competitiveness and dominance are consistent with the approved masculine role and inconsistent with the approved feminine role, so that women who argue with men may be viewed as deviant and abnormal as women.

A recent study by Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosenkrantz (1972) indicates that the stereotypes endorsed by subjects in earlier research are still idealized by women and men of various ages and education levels. Broverman et al. asked women and men to list characteristics which differentiate women and men. Forty-one items were selected on which seventy-five percent of the sample agreed as to which pole was more characteristic of the average man than the average woman, or vice versa. Two different samples of college students then indicated which pole of each of the forty-one dimensions was the more socially desirable one. The masculine pole was chosen as more desirable in twenty-nine cases. That is, the list of feminine characteristics included twenty-nine considered to be undesirable and twelve considered to be desirable, while the list of masculine characteristics showed the opposite pattern.

The desirable masculine items seemed to Broverman et al. to constitute a "competency" cluster, and included traits like aggressiveness, dominance, independence and skill. The desirable feminine items made up a "warmth and expressiveness" cluster, and included items like gentleness and awareness of others' feelings.

One of the most interesting items on the list is the following

polarity: "Always thinks women are superior to men" versus "Always thinks men are superior to women." Women and men agreed that the former pole is an attitude characteristic of women and the latter pole characteristic of men. Women and men also agreed however, that the belief in male superiority was more socially desirable than the belief in female superiority.

The researchers expected that women would ascribe to themselves the positive feminine characteristics and deny resemblances between themselves and the negative feminine characteristics, the twenty-nine items describing a lack of competence. This prediction was not borne out; women ascribed the negative aspects of femininity to themselves along with the positive.

Men responded very differently to positive and negative traits than did the women. A sample of college men agreed that almost all of the desirable masculine traits were more appropriate for the ideal man than for the ideal woman, but also rated forty percent of the positive feminine characteristics as equally desirable for a man or for a woman. This finding suggests that the definition of ideal masculinity is becoming more flexible, such that it now incorporates most of the positive qualities attributed to either sex. The definition of femininity is not, however, undergoing a corresponding positive change, at least in the ideologies of this male sample. Femininity in this case consists of those qualities which men reject, plus a few positive qualities which men do not reserve for themselves. The positive traits which have traditionally been limited to the feminine role, and from which many traditional women have derived a sense of unique worth, are now ascribed to men also. Men, however, continue

to affirm their special privilege by reserving a long list of positive qualities for themselves exclusively.

Some research results reported since the Broverman et al. (1972) article suggest that the definition of American masculinity may indeed be changing to include some "softer" qualities. Peterson (1975) asked women college students to rate six categories of people on a list of six female-valued and six male-valued adjectives. The categories included the subjects themselves, their mothers, their fathers and close male peers, the subjects' perceptions of their mothers' image of women, the subjects' perception of the image of women held by their fathers and close male peers, and the category "career woman." Surprisingly, the women subjects rated their close male peers as being about as sensitive as themselves, and generally rated their fathers and close male peers positively. Nevertheless, subjects attributed a relatively negative opinion of women to the same men.

Other interesting findings of the Peterson study were that ratings were generally more positive on female-valued items than on male-valued items, and that the perceptions of various categories of women were differentiated by scores on male-valued items but not by scores on female-valued items. Feminist subjects responded differently than did non-feminist subjects, in that feminists rated themselves and their mothers more similarly, and also rated themselves as being more like their mothers' image of women than did non-feminist subjects.

Some data suggest that attributions and evaluations of women and men vary with subjects' age. Rothbaum (1977) found that boys attributed more nurturance to men than to women, but that aging was

accompanied by increased adherence to the usual stereotypes. Parish and Bryant (1978) found that when children aged six to nineteen were divided by age, the younger children favored their own sex, while the older children were more balanced in evaluations of the sexes. There was a fairly consistent tendency, however, for female subjects to favor their own sex regardless of age. Boys' development was characterized by a progressively more favorable evaluation of females, and a progressively less favorable evaluation of males, so that older males actually preferred females to males.

Der-Karabetian and Smith (1977) also obtained findings which were different in part from those reported by Broverman et al. (1972). Adolescent subjects rated adjectives as masculine, feminine, or not sex-typed, and found the usual stereotypes. Female subjects showed less tendency to sex-type the adjectives than did males. Female subjects showed a pro-female bias, however, when asked to evaluate the adjectives as positive or negative, whereas male subjects were more egalitarian. Females judged feminine adjectives to be positive in greater proportion than masculine adjectives, and assigned a greater number of negative adjectives to the masculine than to the feminine category.

The above results may indicate that people of different ages vary in their evaluations of women, men, masculinity and femininity regardless of their sex-role ideologies as adults. On the other hand, children might also be expected to show the effects of changes in sex-role socialization more than adults at the present time. Future studies should be attentive to the age of the sample in drawing conclusions about cultural changes.

Since changes in sex-role ideologies should be more apparent among feminists as well as young people, studies which separate subjects by degree of feminist sympathies are also helpful in measuring the development of new cultural attitudes about women and men. In addition to the Peterson (1975) study cited above, Nielsen and Doyle (1975) also found data suggesting that feminists may have a stronger identification with women in general than do non-feminists, and that feminists evaluate women more positively than do non-feminists. Nielsen and Doyle found relatively few women in their college sample who identified themselves as members of the women's movement (16 out of 137 subjects in 1970). The subjects described themselves, their ideal woman, women and men in general, and women's movement women on a list of adjectives. Non-feminists rated "women in general" negatively compared to their self-ratings, while feminists rated women in general more negatively than themselves only on the traits of dominance and rationality. Feminists rated their ideal woman as less dominant than themselves, but as more dominant than women in general. Non-feminists rated feminists as very dominant and also rated them negatively on other qualities, whereas feminists rated movement women positively on both male-and female-valued traits. Feminists rated men more negatively than did non-feminists.

Goldberg, Gottesdiener and Abramson (1975) also found that college students have negative stereotypes of feminists. Photographs of feminists and non-feminists were taken and rated blind by college students for degree of attractiveness. No difference in attractiveness was found between the two groups of photos. Then a second group of students were shown the photos and were asked to identify which were

supporters of the women's movement. Male and female subjects chose the less attractive women as probable supporters of feminism, regardless of the subjects' own attitudes towards the feminist movement.

The researchers note that the derogation was directed only at a specific group of women rather than to women in general. However, they explain that antipathy for feminists may be a disguise for a more general misogyny, just as anti-Zionism may be a cover for anti-Semitism. Anti-feminism may indicate not only an internalization of media stereotypes regarding "womens' libbers," but also a desire to punish or ostracize women who dare to try to improve their lot.

Sex-Role Stereotypes and Mental Health

Since the literature has consistently reported a positive relationship between the social desirability of behaviors and the clinical ratings of the normality or healthiness of the same behaviors, Broverman et al. (1972) decided to test whether clinician's concept of a healthy adult corresponded more to stereotypic masculinity than femininity. They selected a sample of seventy-nine practicing clinicians, including both women and men, and representing the fields of psychiatry, clinical psychology and psychiatric social work. The clinicians were given one of three sets of instructions, asking them to indicate which pole of the list of stereotypic traits better characterized a "mature, healthy, socially competent" man, woman or adult.

The clinician's ratings of a healthy adult did not differ from their ratings of a healthy man. Healthy women were perceived as more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, less

objective, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more excitable in minor crises, more emotional, more easily hurt, and more conceited about their appearance than the healthy adult or the healthy man. Broverman et al. concluded that men alone are encouraged to attain the adult standard of health, while women are encouraged to adopt behaviors which are considered to be unhealthy in an adult of unspecified sex.

It is logical to predict that a person who internalizes a majority of negative attributes into her self-concept will suffer from neuroticism and low self-esteem. A number of studies have reported that strong adherence to sex-typed behavior is detrimental to either sex, but is more detrimental to women (Donelson, 1977a). High femininity has been linked to high anxiety, low self-esteem, low acceptance by peers, and low ratings on other kinds of sociometric measures (Gall, 1969; Sears, 1970; Gray, 1957; Johnson, 1963; Webb, 1963; Cosentino and Heilbrun, 1964; Helper, 1955; Heilbrun and Fromme, 1965). Although there is some data which indicates that highly masculine men are also anxious and neurotic (Harford, Willis and Deabler, 1967; Mussen, 1962), masculinity is generally associated with a better psychological adjustment than is femininity. Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1975) found that, although androgynous subjects were higher in self-esteem than sex-typed subjects, masculine subjects of both sexes had higher self-esteem than feminine subjects.

Donelson (1977b) points out that socialization of girls and women emphasizes communal at-one-ness with other people at the expense of a sense of separateness and autonomy. Women consequently remain adaptive to the needs and desires of other people to such an extreme

that they are alienated from their own needs and desires. The definition of self through others leaves a woman vulnerable to depression and loss of a sense of meaning and worth when important other people separate from her physically or psychologically.

It may be added that a woman is also less likely to initiate a psychological or physical separation from an important other person if she has developed her social responsiveness beyond her sense of separateness. In the case of an argument between a woman and a man, a highly socialized woman may be more likely than a highly socialized man to feel anxious about conflict, more likely than he to empathize with her partner's needs, less likely than he to be aware of and to express her own needs, and more likely to be traumatized by a breach in the relationship.

On the positive side, women's socialization results in a moral philosophy which is more consistent with cultural ethical ideals than is the philosophy practiced by many males. Hoffman (1975) found that grade school girls and their mothers were more sophisticated in their moral development than were grade school boys and their fathers. The females were guided by internalized values, such as standards of fairness and concern for consequences of their behavior. Males were more egoistic and external, in that fears of being caught and punished were more salient than concern for other people in controlling men's behavior.

Shopler and Bateson (1965) found that women were more likely than men to respond to other peoples' needs when the compassionate course involved self-sacrifice. Subjects played a competitive game in which speed of performance sometimes increased and sometimes did

not affect the players winnings. The subjects' partner, (actually the experimenter's confederate), pleaded in a distressed tone that the subject "slow down." Women slowed down regardless of whether they decreased their pay-offs by doing so, while men responded only when speed was irrelevant to amount of winnings.

Although the positive aspects of female social responsiveness bestow an element of moral superiority upon feminine behavior, social responsiveness still serves the needs of other people more than the needs of the women who practice it. In this respect women are disadvantaged by incorporating the positive feminine traits as well as by incorporating the negative feminine traits.

The positive aspects of the masculine role are generally egoistic traits, so that even if a sex-typed man suffers from the exclusion of communal traits, he still is relatively free to pursue self-gratification. In an argument with a woman the man has a definite advantage in terms of culturally approved behaviors. His primary disadvantage is that he is prohibited from open displays of weakness or need, whereas the woman may openly appeal for mercy. Even this is actually not as much of a disadvantage as it first appears to be. Because women are trained to anticipate others' needs, a man does not actually have to express his needs in order to have them gratified.

Probably the most deleterious effect of masculine behavior in an argument is upon the type of resolution adopted. The competitive masculine male views an argument as a win-lose situation, in which only one person can win. The feminine stance emphasizes co-operation and compromise for the good of the whole, so that a resolution which

benefits both parties is favored.

In summary, the literature on sex-role stereotypes has several implications for the argument situation being studied. First, whenever a woman is compared with a man she is likely to be evaluated more negatively than is he, regardless of the situation. Second, the agentic traits manifested during an argument, like aggression, competition, and expression of anger are considered to be appropriate for an ideal man and inappropriate for an ideal woman. A man observed arguing is hence likely to be seen even more positively than he would be outside the argument context, while the woman is likely to be seen more negatively. Third, women are trained to strive for harmony and fusion whereas men are trained to strive for autonomy. A female judge, like a female antagonist in an argument, may perceive conflict as undesirable. Furthermore, the female observer may believe that the woman is more responsible than is the man for restoring harmony. A male judge may be more permissive with respect to open expression of anger in an argument, but he may also be more rigid than a female judge with respect to norms for appropriate sex-typed behavior.

Recent research suggests that sex-role stereotypes may be changing, or at least the traditional stereotype of masculinity may be expanding, and the traditional stereotype of femininity may be evaluated more favorably. Younger people may show these changes of attitude more than older people. Negative stereotypes of feminists do, however, indicate that women are still being criticized and rejected for seeking the same opportunities and powers that men have traditionally sought.

Androgyny

The feminine stereotype includes a few of the traits considered to be desirable for an adult, and the masculine stereotype includes a majority of the traits considered to be desirable for an adult. A person who is not typed into either role but who can freely utilize behaviors typed as either masculine or feminine may theoretically possess all of the traits considered to be desirable for an adult. The concept of androgyny is therefore being suggested by an increasing number of theorists as a new ideal for the behavior of both women and men.

Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1975) found that subjects of either sex who scored high on both masculinity and femininity also scored higher on self-esteem measures than other subjects. Of the remaining subjects, those who were high in masculinity but low in femininity were second highest in degree of self-esteem, those who were high in femininity but low in masculinity were third, and those who were low in both dimensions scored lowest on self-esteem measures. This finding led the researchers to distinguish between androgynous people, who manifest a high degree of masculine and feminine traits, from undifferentiated people, whose identities seem relatively undeveloped.

Bem and Lenny (1976) found that androgynous individuals could engage in activities typed as appropriate for the other sex without losing self-esteem. Sex-typed individuals reported feelings of discomfort and loss of self-esteem after performing cross-sex activities. If the experimenter was of the other sex, sex-typed subjects also reported feeling less likeable and less attractive after performing activities typed as appropriate for the other sex.

Androgynous children have been found to score higher on measures of intelligence than sex-typed children (Maccoby, 1966), and androgynous young adults score higher on measures of maturity than their sex-typed counterparts (Haan, Smith & Block, 1974). Creative individuals also are more likely to have characteristics typical of the other sex than are non-creative people (Donelson, 1973; Dellas & Gaier, 1970).

Success and Failure

The data on sex-linked stereotypes helped to clarify how women and men are evaluated as people, and how women and men are evaluated as participants in a conflict. The literature on success and achievement further clarifies how people respond to women and men who achieve academically and vocationally. Findings in this area not only reveal how people judge a woman who assertively and competently advances herself, but also help in predicting how much credibility will be granted to a woman's ideas and arguments.

A large body of studies concerned with women's achievement motivation focuses upon the motive to avoid success (often called fear of success). This phenomenon was first described by Horner (1972). Horner presented college students with a projective sentence stating that either "Anne" or "John" finds her/himself at the top of her/his medical school class. Female subjects responded to the Anne cue by writing a projective story, and male subjects responded to the John cue. Horner found that ninety percent of the stories written by men were "unambivalently positive" in terms of attributions made about John and about his future. Responses to the Anne cue were

strikingly different in that sixty-five percent of them involved negative attributions about Anne or her future. Women predicted that Anne would have subsequent problems, that she would give up her success, or even suggested that her success was not her doing. In one case, the subject wrote that Anne was actually a code name for a group of male medical students who were taking exams in her name. Moreover, John's success was often supplemented by a happy marriage while Anne's success was associated with affiliative failures and losses. Horner concluded that women might have a "motive to avoid success," manifested by their association of negative story themes with women's achievements.

Horner (1972) reports that her findings have been replicated by other researchers (some conflicting findings are reviewed below), with the exception that negative responses were more frequent among men in the later studies. Hoffman's (1974) data supports Horner's conclusions regarding an increase in men's negative responses. Hoffman attributes this finding to a change in values, such that men are beginning to question the success ethic which has traditionally been a central aspect of American masculinity. Women in Hoffman's study did not manifest a similar cynicism about success, but rather continued to be concerned about affiliative losses by the successful woman.

Monahan, Kuhn and Shaver (1974) replicated Horner's findings for boys and girls aged ten to sixteen. The boys responded more negatively than did the girls to the successful female cue.

Feather and Simon (1973) report conflicting findings. They did not obtain the high percentage of negative responses to a female

cue that Horner reported and the percentage of negative response made by men to the male cue was almost equivalent to the percentage of negative responses made by women to the female cue. Feather and Raphelson (1974) found that negative stories told by men to the female cue reached forty-nine percent, but negative stories told by women to the female cue reached only twenty-seven percent.

The fear of success concept has also been criticized by Condry and Dyer (1976), who reviewed the research in the area and concluded that the phenomenon has not been reliably demonstrated and may not exist. Condry and Dyer also point out that women's association of negative consequences with academic and vocational successes may reflect their realistic appraisal of current attitudes towards women rather than a projection of underlying conflicts regarding achievement. Attributing women's failure to advance academically to internal conflicts rather than to external discrimination may amount to "blaming the victim." Gullahorn (1977) has made the same point.

Another body of achievement research which is more directly relevant to the present study concerns attribution of causation for positive and negative outcomes. Several studies in this area suggest that part of the discrepancy in responses to women's and men's successes is attributable to the belief that men are more responsible than are women for success and positive outcomes, while women are more responsible than are men for failure and negative outcomes. Deaux and Emswiller (1974) found that men's performance was rated higher than women's performance for identical work, regardless of whether the task was typed as masculine or feminine. Anyone's performance on masculine tasks was rated as being superior to performance

on feminine tasks. Men were seen as being more skillful than women when their performance was identical. When women performed successfully on masculine tasks, their success was attributed to luck, while men's success was attributed to skill. Male success on feminine tasks, however was attributed to skill.

Nicholls (1975) obtained similar results when fourth grade boys and girls evaluated their own successes and failures. Girls more than boys attributed their failures to poor ability, while boys more than girls attributed failures to bad luck. Girls showed more of a tendency to link failure and ability than to link success and ability.

Feather and Simon (1975) found that their female subjects gave males more personal credit for academic success than they gave to women. Women's successes more than men's successes were attributed to external factors, such as lack of task difficulty, rather than to intrinsic ability. Women's failures were more often attributed to personal deficiencies than were men's failures. Men's successes were attributed to high ability, while men's failures were blamed on external factors rather than on intrinsic lack of ability.

Furthermore, subjects in this study predicted that men who succeeded were likely to have brighter futures than women who succeeded, and men who failed were seen as likely to have brighter futures than women who failed. Regardless of the masculine or feminine typing of a task, people of unspecified sex who succeeded were seen as more "powerful" and less "feminine" than those who failed. Males were evaluated more positively and seen as being more powerful if they succeeded, but females were evaluated more positively and seen as

being more powerful if they failed.

The authors do not explain the apparent contradiction in the findings that successful people and successful men were seen as powerful, but women who failed were seen as powerful. The implication is that men obtain power directly through success while women obtain power in a less obvious indirect manner through failure. One possible explanation is that the subjects are assuming that women and men seek power in different spheres; for example, he is concerned with conventional concrete achievements and she is concerned with interpersonal achievements (Donelson & Gullahorn, 1977). That is, she "stoops to conquer" him, sacrificing a less valued academic goal in order to obtain his approval. Women who fail are probably also more likely to be seen as participants in the "feminine mystique" (Friedan, 1963), and hence as possessors of all manner of fantasied powers, ranging from mundane psycho-social skills to mystical intuition (Neumann, 1963).

Women not only accept more responsibility for failures than do men, women also blame themselves more for destructive outcomes than do men. Fernberger (1948) presented male and female subjects with a list of traits and asked them to identify which were more characteristic of either women or men. Both sexes of subjects agreed that women rather than men are "the cause of trouble." Both sexes also agreed that men rather than women are more "dependent on the opposite sex." The two attributions taken together suggest that men are in a rather precarious position. Nevertheless, women and men also agreed overwhelmingly that men are superior to women, a judgment which was apparently made independently of the attribution of power to women.

Lansky, Crandall, Kagan and Baker (1961) report supporting evidence that adolescent girls accept more responsibility for destructive outcomes than do adolescent boys. Hoffman's (1974) finding that girls and women are more prone to guilt and to worrying about the consequences of their behavior than are boys and men also seems consistent with the above data.

In summary, men are assigned more credit for positive outcomes than are women, while women are assigned more blame for negative outcomes than are men. In this respect, both women and men are seen as powerful, but creative power is attributed to men and destructive power is attributed to women.

These findings generate a number of predictions regarding judgments about a woman and man in conflict. First, a woman's ideas are less likely to be seen as valid than are a man's ideas. Even if her arguments are granted credibility, judges may look for uncomplimentary explanations for her successes. To the extent that the judge views an argument itself as a failure or destructive outcome in the interpersonal sphere, a woman is more likely to be blamed than is a man. Finally, men are more likely than are women to be seen as victims of external pressures, so even if the man is perceived to be at fault, his character and virtue are implicated less than is the case with a woman.

: Competition and Conflict with Men

Responses to Horner's (1972) projective cues and the negative attributions made about women's successes indicate that women have reason to fear losing social approval if they compete with men for

other rewards. The findings of Broverman et al. (1972) support the conclusion that women who adopt the assertive, competitive behaviors necessary for success in arguments as well as academia run the risk of devaluation and rejection as women.

Hoffman (1972) theorizes that women must choose between the achievement of love and approval and the achievement of other goals. For many women interpersonal rewards are considered to be more valuable and attractive than other successes, so that women's willingness to pursue other goals may be contingent upon the approval of significant other people. Women who have relatively strong needs for social approval are less likely to achieve in non-traditional areas than are women with less need for social approval.

An argument between a woman and a man seems to be the epitome of conflict situations for the woman for two reasons. First, winning an argument against a man, like winning a competitive game played with a man, requires that the woman choose to succeed rather than to court male approval. Moreover, a woman arguing with a man must not only defeat the man relative to an external goal, she must actually direct negative feelings and criticisms at him. The chances that he will be alienated are maximized, and in many cases he is the primary person from whom she desires approval.

There is evidence in much of the previously reported data supporting the hypothesis that there is a minority of women subjects who deviate from the norm in their willingness to compete with men for the dominant or winning position. The women who enjoyed hostile humor directed at men fall in this category. Horner (1972) also reports that she found a small group of women who were low in fear of

success relative to other women. Women who were either high or low in fear of success were selected for testing in both a mixed-sex competitive achievement situation and a non-competitive achievement situation. Women high in fear of success performed better in the non-competitive condition but women low in fear of success performed better in the competitive condition. Condry and Dyer (1976) report, however, that replications of this experiment have obtained mixed results with respect to the relationship between fear of success and performance in mixed-group achievement situations.

A study by Lansky, Crandall, Kagan and Baker (1961) suggests that a certain group of adolescent girls are differentiated from other girls by their greater willingness to compete, achieve, aggress and to forego social approval. Girls and boys were evaluated on a variety of personality measures, including questionnaires, projective tests, and behavioral observations by an interviewer. The main sex differences found were consistent with the trends usually reported. Boys scored higher than girls on need Autonomy and on aggressiveness measures. Girls scored higher than boys on measures of need Affiliation, and were also more likely than boys to accept responsibility for destructive action.

The most interesting finding was that the aggression variables such as amount of expressed criticism of parents and transgression against authorities, played a more important role in girls' overall personalities than in boys. Aggression variables correlated with few other personality variables for boys, so that relatively "aggressive" boys were not consistently different in other ways from "non-aggressive" boys. The reverse was true for girls. Girls who

scored high on aggression variables differed from non-aggressive girls on most of the other personality variables, so that girls could be differentiated into two internally similar groups depending upon whether they were aggressive or not.

Aggressive girls showed a personality pattern which was more similar to that found among boys than that found among non-aggressive girls. The aggressive girls had less need for social acceptance and conformity, more need for achievement and recognition, were more critical of both parents, had less desire to comply with authority, and were less likely to feel guilty about transgression against a male authority than were the majority of girls in the study.

Because assertion, aggression and achievement are excluded from the feminine role girls and women who retain any of these behaviors may develop a general tendency to scorn social approval in favor of a very independent, even rebellious stance. The same does not hold true for boys and men, whose self-assertion and achievement behaviors are compatible with needs for social conformity and approval.

It is not surprising that feminists share common features with the aggressive girls described by Lansky et al. Feminists have been found to rate higher on measures of aggression and autonomy than non-feminist women (Van de Reit, 1972), and to place less value on obedience, politeness and self-control than traditional women (Mahoney, 1975). Feminists rate themselves as being more dominant than other women, and as ranking high on male-valued as well as female-valued traits (Nielsen & Doyle, 1975).

Arnott (1973) compared members of a feminist group and an

anti-feminist group on a variety of measures, and obtained findings which are particularly relevant to the present study. The major difference between the groups was in the ways the women reported handling conflicts with their husbands. Feminists were more tolerant of tension, and were more likely to favor open discussions about the sources of tension. Feminists were also more inclined to expect their husbands rather than themselves to yield in the event of differences of opinion. Anti-feminists reported that they preferred to prevent the occurrence of open conflict, and were more likely than feminists to cite their husbands' wishes as a primary motive for choosing their current lifestyles.

There will probably be an increasing degree of overlap between feminists and women who have non-traditional personality traits or aspirations. The literature shows that feminists tend to be a subgroup of assertive women. It is also likely that more and more assertive women and achieving women will ally themselves with feminism since the women's movement is one of the few sources of support and approval for them.

Summary of Previous Research

The concept that there is prejudice against women and in favor of men is generally supported by research in several areas. Studies on achievement and success fairly consistently report that men are seen as more competent, more credible and more deserving of success than are women. A majority of female subjects as well as male subjects manifest this prejudice in achievement areas traditionally typed as feminine as well as in those typed as masculine.

Findings of research on hostile humor are more mixed with respect to direction of prejudice. Some studies report same-sex favoritism and others report anti-female prejudice. In cases of anti-female prejudice, findings also vary as to which sex is more prejudiced against women. The conflicts in data may be partially attributable to the content of jokes being rated by subjects. When a hostile encounter between a woman and man also involves a dominance-submission relationship, prejudice in favor of male dominance and against female dominance may be especially prevalent.

Studies of physical conflict between women and men yield even more complex results. Men's socialization permits more physical aggression than women's socialization, but also imposes more guidelines on men's aggression with respect to permissible targets and intensity of attack. Women generally disapprove of physical aggression, but may attack in an uncontrolled way if provoked. Judgments about women and men involved in physical conflict may be influenced by sex-role expectations regarding masculine and feminine behavior and male dominance over women.

The literature on sex-linked stereotypes is fairly consistent in reporting that men and masculinity are valued more than women and femininity. Characteristics considered to be ideal for women over-emphasize social responsiveness at the expense of self-gratification. Ideal masculine characteristics over-emphasize self-assertion, dominance and fighting skills, which are prohibited for the ideal women. Recent research suggests that the definition of masculinity may be softening, however, and that women and femininity may be valued more highly than has been true in the past.

A minority of women and men deviate from subjects with traditional values in that they support women more than men, and advocate a more androgynous ideal for the behavior of both sexes. Some women also seem to differ from other women in their willingness to compete with men, and to engage in both aggressive and achievement-oriented behaviors. Women with non-traditional values may find that they must choose between social approval and self-advancement in traditionally male areas.

All these findings suggest that observers of a woman and man arguing are likely to favor the man and criticize the woman, both because men are usually favored over women and because males alone are permitted to engage in fighting behavior. In addition, a disproportionate amount of destructive power is attributed to women despite women's relatively powerless social position, and despite the belief that women are inferior to men. The common stereotype that men are strong and effective while women are weak and ineffective may actually mask an underlying stereotype that men are powerfully creative and women powerfully destructive. In the argument situation, therefore, the woman may be more likely than the man to be seen as the cause of problems and as the more damaging partner, while the man may be more likely to receive credit for positive results of the conflict.

DYNAMIC FORMULATIONS

Several different explanations may be offered as to why women might side with a man in conflict with a woman. Two primary motives seem most salient. One is that a woman's loyalty to a man is an expression of her belief that men are superior to women and are more worthy of support than are women. The second is that women are perceived as possessing a destructive power which men cannot withstand on their own. In the first case, loyalty to the man is an act of deference to him, while in the second case loyalty to the man is an act of protective dominance, perhaps, a "maternal" impulse. Several arguments can be presented in favor of either hypothesis. Actually, the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive.

The data reviewed above indicates that most women accept as a fact the assumption that men are superior to women. A simple internalization of this belief could result in loyalty to a man rather than to a woman in a conflict situation. The literature suggests that this loyalty might involve not only a general belief in his superiority, but also a host of specific attributions about his greater credibility, rationality, and right to win the argument. It is plausible that acceptance of cultural beliefs regarding male superiority occurs irrespective of the impact of this acceptance on women's self-esteem, and that this simple dynamic is sufficient to explain women's loyalty to men rather than to women.

There may, however, be an additional motive for women's self-effacing acceptance of male supremacy. People who are oppressed and victimized by other individuals more powerful than themselves may be motivated to identify with the aggressors (A. Freud, 1936) rather than with members of their own oppressed class. Basically, the original theory states that a child who feels victimized or threatened by a powerful parent adopts the behaviors and attitudes of the parent as a way of participating in her or his greater power. In the process of imitation, the child feels less anxiety and more control over the situation. Although identification with the aggressor is not universally accepted as a valid construct by psychologists, the theory explains a behavior pattern which has been observed in a number of natural settings.

Allport (1954) described a similar mechanism which he believed to operate among groups of people who are victims of prejudice. The oppressed class members experience shame and self-hate because of their group identity. They sometimes defend themselves against this self-hate by attempting to deny their group membership, imitating members of the dominant class, and discriminating against members of their own group. The practice of skin-bleaching and hair-straightening among black Americans is an example of imitation of whites (K. Clark, 1965; Donelson, 1973, p. 454), while the attempt to "pass" as white is an example of denial of group membership (Allport, 1954). Anti-Semitism among Jews may have a similar basis (Sarnoff, 1951).

Donelson (1977b) believes that the concept of identification with the aggressor may be very relevant to the psychology of women,

even though psychoanalysts originally developed the theory to explain the boy's identification with a feared father. Donelson cites evidence showing that children who have experienced harshness or restrictiveness are especially prone to identify with punitive models. Research on sex differences in socialization tends to support the notion that girls experience more restrictions than do boys. Donelson concludes, therefore, that girls and women may be more likely to identify with powerful and oppressive figures than are boys.

Some victims derive a lot of gains through defensive identification with the aggressor, especially if the defense was triggered by some sort of hazing ritual. In these cases the status differential between aggressor and victim is only temporary, and the identification with the aggressor may be deliberately fostered as a means of promoting solidarity within a homogeneous group. Fraternity hazing rites and puberty rites are familiar examples of this type of process, in which the groups are homogeneous with respect to sex but stratified with respect to age and experience level. In men's groups initiation rites are frequently the means by which lower status males gain admission to high status men's organizations. The loyalty of the initiates is facilitated by the defensive identification with the aggressor which commonly arises during grueling rites.

In social caste systems, however, the status discrepancy between the aggressor and the victim is permanent, and is justified by some reference to the victim's physical nature and appearance. No amount of imitation of the aggressor will result in the victim's eventual admission into the high status spheres of a society. Usually the high status class even places limits upon the amount of imitation they

will permit or encourage. Low-status people who adopt the views of the dominant class may be approved more than the average low-status person. Low-status people who imitate the authority roles of the dominant class are more seen as "uppity" or downright dangerous, especially if they are seeking power outside of their families.

Not all members of low-status groups identify with the views of the high-status group. Some people adopt militant postures, strong in-group ties, and sometimes even prejudice against the dominant group (Allport, 1954, p. 154). Militants who have decided to pay the costs involved in not submitting to the dominant group are often very critical of low status people who seem to be seeking the dominant group's approval. Derogatory terms used for people who identify with the aggressor are commonly found in the rhetoric of militants. For example, in black American culture the term "Oreo" is an insult which suggests that the person is "black on the outside" and "white on the inside," like the cookie of the same name.

The relative proportions of people within an oppressed group who identify with the aggressor or with the victim seem to vary over time and social conditions. Until recently, black Americans did not generally speak publicly about their anger regarding white racism. Then a few militants began to use the phrase "Uncle Tom" as a derogatory term for black people who were submissive to whites. Although some black people initially rejected the militant accusation, by the mid-1970's many black people and white people as well began to use the term "Uncle Tom" as an insult. Behaviors suggesting submission and identification with white people are now widely disapproved in liberal black and white circles, whereas such behaviors were

accepted and approved not long ago.

The experience of victimization may not be necessary to facilitate identification with a dominant person or class. Possibly the most important characteristic of a model promoting learner identification is the model's perceived power (Donelson, 1973, p. 450-456). Bandura, Ross, and Ross (1963) found that an adult's power to control resources facilitated imitation in young children, regardless of whether the children were reinforced by receiving resources from the model. Boys in the study showed evidence of sex-role conditioning by making statements like, "Mommy never really has things that belong to her." Boys were also sometimes critical of the women with resources who failed to share them with her adult male confederate. The experimenters found that power may have been attributed to the male adult even when he was not presented to the children as having resources.

In addition to identification with the aggressor and identification with powerful people, there are still other reasons why people might be more loyal to high-status than to low-status groups. Some people favor members of a socially dominant class because they believe that privileged people deserve their rewards and victims deserve their punishments. Lerner and Simmons (1966) attribute this belief to the assumption that the world is just. According to this assumption the existing order is by definition the right order, so inequalities must reflect the relative worth of the various social classes.

It has been shown experimentally that people are likely to devalue a person whom they thought was receiving painful shocks, but only to the extent that she was not adequately compensated for her

ordeal (Lerner, 1971). Cialdini, Kenrick and Hoerig (1976) report that this devaluation effort occurred in their replication of the Lerner paradigm only if the experimental subjects felt responsible for the victims' plight. Hence, the researchers concluded that devaluation of victims may be derived from needs for self-justification rather than belief in a just world. Either dynamic could lead to a devaluation of women as a class, since most members of society have contributed in some way to the oppression of women.

A Cross-Cultural Perspective

Devaluation of a woman involved in an argument with a man may be derived not only from negative attributions made about women in general, but also from specific prohibitions against aggression by women. These prohibitions may again reflect the fact that men as a class are dominant over women. One important consequence of male dominance is that women are "domesticated," in that they are restricted to household roles and in that they are expected to tame their behavior.

Rosaldo (1974) argues on the basis of cross-cultural data that the degree of legitimized status and power of women in a society is related to the extent of their participation in public work roles as well as domestic roles, and to the extent of men's participation in domestic roles as well as public roles. Where women are associated exclusively with domestic roles and men disdain domestic roles, the status of women is low and men wield authority both publicly and domestically. Definitions of femininity and masculinity then constitute polarities, and femininity involves the role of a nurturant

mother or erotic playmate (Collier, 1974). Women are forced by dominant males to maintain control over power strivings and aggressive impulses, while the men are granted much more freedom to be "wild" rather than "domesticated."

A related aspect of this type of social system is that the father-daughter and husband-wife relationship is either actually or symbolically a master-slave relationship. The historical basis of female slavery was the practice of exogamy, in which men sold their daughters into marriages with men of other groups, procuring goods and political alliances in exchange (for example, see Denich, 1974). Remnants of this system are still found in traditional marriages, where the wife promises to "obey" her husband and to serve him physically and emotionally. In master-slave systems of all types, "good slaves" are those who make no trouble for their masters. Aggression in such a relationship flows downwards and not upwards in the power hierarchy.

When women are excluded from the public sphere and relegated to a domestic servant role they cannot gain status in the way that men do, through achievement in the public sphere. In order to define status within their own group, women adopt a separate system of status criteria. In many cultures women's status criteria are based upon beliefs regarding purity and pollution (Rosaldo, 1974). Purity is usually attained by cultivating a certain prescribed physical appearance and style of behavior, which suppresses whatever traits are considered to be polluted. Central to the concept of purity in many societies is control of female sexuality and reproductive functions, but purity may in addition include other aspects

of "ladylike" behavior. Little attention has been paid to the relationship between the concept of purity and control of anger, although in our society there is a clear association between correct ladylike behavior and suppression of all aggressive impulses.

The use of purity-pollution beliefs to differentiate status within women's groups has some disadvantages. First, such behavioral norms originally serve to further men's interests rather than women's interests. For example, women are strongly prohibited from extra-marital affairs where husbands wish to identify with certainty their legitimate male heirs. Women in these patrilineal societies then elaborate the male-imposed sexual restrictions into fine distinctions between "good" and "bad" women, and enforce the norms upon each other even more avidly than do the men.

Another disadvantage of purity-pollution norms is that they implicate a woman's moral character and physical-emotional being in status differentiations. Men's status hierarchies are based more on performance criteria, or doing, than on being. In this respect, a man's success or failure in the masculine role is more external to his sense of self than is a woman's success or failure in the feminine role. Women's competition may thus be more likely than men's competition to involve "character assassination" and bitter conflicts. This situation could perhaps be remedied if women gained access to other status hierarchies and reward systems usually monopolized by men.

All of the above theoretical formulations are consistent with the concept that men are dominant in society and are so perceived. The hypothesis that women are perceived as destructively dominant,

and men as vulnerable to women's destructive power, seems at first to be inconsistent with these formulations. In fact, belief in the destructive power of women and vulnerability of men may be most pronounced in societies where the actual relative status of women is lowest.

In cultures where men's status is partially dependent upon their ability to dominate and control women, women's real psychological power to deflate men's sense of adequacy is very great. This potential is recognized and feared by men, who frequently resort to extreme forms of intimidation to prevent the women from acting against men (Collier, 1974; Denich, 1974).

On a broader level, women as a class are potentially disruptive to the existing social system to the extent that they are barred from public power positions (Rosaldo, 1974; Collier, 1974; Denich, 1974). Since the existing system depends upon a careful distribution of authority among members of a male hierarchy, the intrusion of women into the structure can only disrupt the fragile balance of power among the competitive males. Hence, men sometimes fear that a change in women's social status may jeopardize the men's own economic and political positions.

Finally, since women in strongly patriarchal societies are the sole involved parents of young children, mothers have more power than fathers during the developmental period when boys are most helpless and vulnerable. Indeed, the same situation has existed in the elementary education systems in our society, where traditionally the teachers and even the administrators have been female. When adult males acquire the physical power and the political support of other males, they may

attempt to subjugate the females whom they previously feared. That is, the domination of women compensates for the underlying belief in female omnipotence, derived partially from men's experiences of infancy.

Cross-cultural evidence indicates that there is also a positive relationship between the amount of quarrelling and competition among women and the degree of male dominance in a society (Lamphere, 1974; Denich, 1974; Collier, 1974). Women who are excluded from public authority roles find ways to achieve power by forming alliances with male sponsors. In their attempts to manipulate their sponsors into competing and succeeding in the male world, the women also come into conflict with each other. In contrast, societies which esteem women's roles or which do not dichotomize men's and women's roles tend to favor more solidarity among women (Leis, 1974; Lamphere, 1974).

Roles of Women in Mythology

Where men fear disruption of their monopoly on power, control of women is achieved not only by physical coercion but also by the promulgation of myths about women. Bamberger (1974) reports that in many patrilineal societies, there is a myth about the creation of the world which asserts that "in the beginning" a woman or women had great power. The women abused this power and caused a catastrophe for the whole civilization. Men then seized power and forced women into submission in order to prevent more destruction. The myth functions to justify male supremacy and casts doubt on the moral character of powerful, noncompliant women. The Adam and Eve story is of course one example of this type of myth.

Jung and his followers (especially Neumann, 1963) argue that there is another reason why Western myths imply, however indirectly, that women are more powerful than men. During the Neolithic era and to some extent until the rise of Classical Greece, women had relatively high status in actuality as well as in myth. In fact, a goddess of the moon and of fertility was revered as the supreme deity in most cultures, and was only later replaced by male sun gods (Neumann, 1963; Campbell, 1970). When invaders with male supremacist philosophies crushed the original fertility religions, they retained only the negative aspects of the goddess' powers in their myths. This phenomenon is clearly shown in the Eve myth, the primary symbols of which are obviously borrowed from the creation myth of the goddess (Neumann, 1963).

As the original positive and negative attributes of the Goddess were suppressed, through holy wars in many cases, remaining images of the mythical powerful woman took on vile, shameful connotations. For example, Aeschylus' Furies of The Oresteia are degraded representatives of a previously revered Moon Goddess. Neumann (1963) attributes this change in connotation to the fact that images of powerful women in patriarchal societies exist only as unconscious fantasies, and so became associated with the dark, dangerous, subterranean aspect of the unconscious as it is perceived by the conscious ego.

This process may indeed be traced from the Neolithic to the present time in the image of Woman as Plant Cultivator. In ancient times, women's mundane role as planters and processors of plants led to their role as experts in herbal medicine. Images of the ancient

Mother Goddess usually include the attribution of Healer, from Neolithic through Classical times (Neumann, 1963). By the Middle Ages, women's expertise in this area was labelled as "witchcraft," and was regarded as a dangerous, evil and ugly practice. By modern times, women were virtually excluded from the healing arts which they once dominated, and were thus degraded still further to the status of invisibility.

Despite the wholesale and deliberate suppression of powerful women, images of powerful women and belief in women's powers, remnants of the earlier beliefs still linger on. Folklore attributes a number of the ancient powers to women in sayings like "Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned," and "The female is the deadlier of the species." The belief in "women's intuition," which supposedly enables her to see through people and control them, is also probably derived from Neolithic myths in which the power of intuition was a central attribute of the Goddess (Neumann, 1963).

These myths about grandiose powers are seductive to both women and men. Many traditional women have embraced the identity of "Carrier of the Species" with its associated cluster of maternal powers tinged with mysticism. Although they might not care to admit it, women may also be attracted to the notion that a woman's anger is an omnipotent destructive force. To the extent that these beliefs are not tested in reality, by a display of anger against a man for example, women may continue to think that they possess secret powers.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the validity of some of the above theories. Women will be presented with a situation which resembles the arguments between women and men initially observed in women's groups. It will be ascertained whether they tend to side more with the woman or the man, and whether they attribute more blame for destructive outcomes to the woman. Finally, possible motives for their alliances with one or the other sex will be examined, with special emphasis on the distinction between acceptance of superficial stereotypes about the sexes and acceptance of underlying beliefs of a seemingly contradictory nature. A pilot study will be discussed in the next section, followed by a second study aimed at a deeper exploration of the hypotheses.

PILOT STUDY

A pilot study was conducted to examine in a more systematic manner women's reactions to an argument between a man and a woman. The study was designed so as to reproduce as closely as possible the natural, ordinary aspect of the arguments originally observed in women's groups. Since prejudice is acted out primarily in the context of everyday interactions, these situations were considered to be ideal stimuli for research.

College women were presented with a case of an argument between a fictitious woman and man, Lisa and Brian, using a written lead line as a projective stimulus. The subjects were asked to write a TAT-type story about the argument and to respond to a list of questions asking for evaluations of the antagonists in the story.

Two independent variables were predicted to influence results. Femininity versus non-femininity was a dimension along which subjects already varied at the start of the experiment. Another variable was introduced by the experimental design, which segregated subjects into three conditions. In the first condition, (A), subjects were given no information in the projective lead except that an argument was in process. In the second condition, (B), subjects received the additional information that the man had started the argument. In the third condition, (C), subjects were told that the woman had started the argument.

The dependent variables were the subjects' evaluations of the story characters. An overall evaluation could be positive, negative or neutral, depending on the relative percentages of positive and negative statements made about the character.

The primary hypothesis was that the man would be evaluated more positively than the woman. This effect was predicted to be attributable to the responses of feminine subjects, who were expected to constitute the majority of the total sample of women. Non-feminine subjects were expected to judge the story characters objectively, in accordance with the circumstances described in their stories. Since the projective lead allowed subjects to create any kind of stories they wished, it was expected that there would be a roughly equal number of stories favoring Lisa and stories favoring Brian.

The three experimental conditions were introduced because it was thought that attributions of blame would be influenced by information about who started the argument. The most severe criticism of the woman was expected to be found in the condition where she was labelled as the initial aggressor. Feminine women would be most critical in this condition because Lisa was violating sex-role expectations by aggressing. Non-feminine women would be critical to a lesser degree because people are likely to attribute blame to a person who starts an argument.

Anti-male sentiment was predicted to be strongest in the condition where Brian was labelled as the initiator. Lisa's role in this condition could be interpreted as that of a victim, which is consistent with the approved feminine role, while Brian's behavior could be interpreted as "ungentlemanly." Anti-Brian sentiment in

Condition B was, however, expected to be less marked than anti-Lisa sentiment in Condition C, because of anti-female prejudice.

Instruments

Two sets of measurements were needed, one to assess the subjects' degree of femininity and another to assess the subjects' judgments of a man and woman in an argument. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI; Appendix A) was chosen as a measure of femininity. A TAT-type projective test was designed to present subjects with a male-female conflict situation.

Bem Sex-Role Inventory

The BSRI was constructed by Bem (1974) as an alternative to existing sex-role inventories. The BSRI has several advantages over the older scales. The BSRI includes separate scales for assessing Masculinity and Femininity rather than a single composite scale as is typical of other sex-role measures. Using the BSRI, a composite Androgyny score may be calculated by subtracting Masculinity from Femininity. Bem (1974) gives a method for converting the obtained composite score into a standardized t score, by simply multiplying the raw Androgyny score by 2.322.

Another advantage of the BSRI is that a third scale measuring Social Desirability is embedded in the sex-role scale. This enables the researcher to assess how needs for social desirability are related to subjects' endorsement of traditionally sex-typed character traits, without administering an independent measure.

The Androgyny score has been found to differentiate high and low-conforming men and women from one another (Bem, 1974). Bem (1976)

found that the Androgyny score also differentiated subjects willing to perform tasks typed as appropriate for the opposite sex from subjects who constrained themselves to sex-appropriate tasks.

The BSRI was developed by Bem (1974) and several students, who began by selecting a pool of 200 sex-typed personality traits and 200 neutral traits. An item was regarded as sex-typed if it was considered to be more socially desirable for men than women, or more desirable for women than for men.

An independent group of 100 judges, equally divided by sex, then rated the 400 items on a seven-point scale for social desirability for men and for women. An item was subsequently labelled as Masculine if both male and female judges rated it as significantly ($p < .05$) more desirable for men than women. Bem (1974) chose 20 Masculine items and 20 Feminine items by this process. The 20-item Social Desirability Scale was constructed from those items which were rated as no more desirable for one sex than the other, and which were not rated differently by male and female judges.

The resulting 60-item BSRI was administered to 444 male and 279 female students at Stanford University, and to 117 male and 77 female students at Foothill Junior College.

The correlations between Masculinity scores and Femininity scores for male and female subjects are given below:

<u>Stanford Univ.</u>		<u>Foothill J.C.</u>
men	$r = .11$	$r = -.02$
women	$r = -.14$	$r = -.07$

Both Masculinity and Feminity correlated with Social Desirability, but Androgyny did not correlate with Social Desirability.

In both the Stanford and Foothill samples, males scored higher than females on Masculinity ($p < .01$), and females scored higher than males on Femininity ($p < .01$). Men also scored on the Masculine side of zero for Androgyny and women scored on the Feminine side of zero. Mean scores for the two samples are given in Table 1a.

Table 1a. BSRI Means for Stanford and Foothill Samples

BSRI Scores	Stanford		Foothill	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Masc.	4.97	4.57	4.96	4.55
Fem.	4.44	5.01	4.62	5.08
SD	4.91	5.08	4.88	4.89 (ns)
Andro.	-0.53	0.43	-0.34	0.53
Andro <u>t</u>	-1.28	1.10	-0.80	1.23

All sex differences are significant ($p < .001$) except for Social Desirability in the Foothill sample.

Bem (1974) classified individuals as significantly sex-typed if the Androgyny t score was significant ($|t| < 2.025$, $df = 38$, $p < .05$). They were classified as Androgynous if the absolute value of t was less than or equal to one. On the basis of these norms, subjects in the Stanford and Foothill samples were classified according to the percentages of sex-typed and androgynous individuals, with the results shown in Table 1b.

Table 1b. Sex-Typing of Bem Subjects

BSRI Class	Stanford		Foothill	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Feminine	6	34	9	40
Near Feminine	5	20	8	8
Androgynous	34	27	44	38
Near masculine	19	12	17	7
Masculine	36	8	22	8

Projective Instrument

A projective instrument was designed to present subjects with an argument scene between a man and a woman. The format was modeled after the TAT, with some modifications. In place of the standard TAT pictures, a short verbal description of an argument was presented to the subjects. Subjects were asked to write projective stories according to the TAT manual instructions, then were given a series of questions eliciting evaluations of the story characters.

Three sets of experimental stimuli were designed. The "neutral stimulus" (Experimental Condition A) consisted of the following statement:

Lisa and Brian, a young married couple, are engaged in a heated argument with each other.

The second stimulus lead (Condition B) reproduced the first stimulus, but added the statement: "Brian started it." The third stimulus

lead (Condition C), included the Condition A statement plus the statement: "Lisa started it."

The projective test forms consisted of a blank page headed by one of the three stimulus descriptions. Under the scene descriptions were printed the standard TAT plot instructions in question form, as shown below:

What is going on in the scene?
What led up to the scene?
What are the characters thinking and feeling?
How will the scene turn out?

A sample test form and sample story were presented to subject to insure that the instructions were understood. The stimulus statement and sample story were composed by the experimenter, and were intended to be neutral with respect to sex-role themes. The sample shown below (Appendix B) was used with all three forms of the actual test.

The standard TAT includes stimulus cards designed to elicit relatively realistic content and cards designed to elicit relatively fantastic themes from subjects. This distinction was thought to be relevant to the pilot study in that subjects might write two types of stories about a man and woman arguing. One type might consist of stories based on actual fights the subjects had seen, and the other type might consist of wish-fulfilling fantasies. Subjects were therefore asked to write two stories in succession using the identical written leads. Subjects were not told they would be asked to write a second story until they had finished the first one.

The instructions given for the first story were:

Try to make your story realistic rather than unusual.
For example, write about a situation that could easily

happen in everyday life, but don't write about the kind of situations described in news headlines.

After completing this story and the series of accompanying questions, the subjects were given instructions for the second story.

The instructions for the second story were as follows:

Part 2 will be the same as Part 1, except that the second story doesn't have to be realistic like the story in Part 1. Use your imagination as much as you like, and write whatever kind of story you want to.

A series of thirteen questions was designed to explore subjects' evaluations of their story characters. The questions were constructed to measure perceptions of victimization of one character by another as well as perceptions of justification, moral character and dominance.

The complete list of questions was as follows:

1. Who started the argument? How?
2. If Lisa and Brian were friends of yours and were having the same argument in front of you, would you want to do or say anything? What? Do you think you actually would do or say anything? What?
3. In the actual situation described above, which person would you feel like defending? What would you actually do? Why?
4. Do you approve of the way Brian (Lisa) acted in your story? Explain.
5. Which person could have prevented the argument from happening? Explain.
6. Should Brian or Lisa have prevented the argument from happening? How? Why?
7. Which person in your story has the stronger personality?
8. Which person has more of a temper?
9. Which person is more sensitive to other peoples' needs and feelings?
10. In Lisa and Brian's marriage, which person is dominant?

C

C

S

S

b

In

20

fr

20

Pr

11. In your story, which person is nervous or afraid during the argument?
12. Which person has hurt feelings during the argument?
13. Which person wins the argument, in your opinion? Explain.

Subjects were given fifteen minutes in which to write a story and answer the above questions. The complete instructions, as they were presented to the subjects are given in the Experimenter's Manual (Appendix C).

Demographic Questionnaire

Acceptance of traditional sex-role values and attitudes towards a man and woman in conflict may be linked to subject variables such as age, religiosity, socioeconomic and ethnic background. The pilot study hypotheses were developed with the statistically normative American woman in mind. In the usual college sample, the normative student is white, less than twenty-five years old, and is from a middle class background. Demographic data on subjects was needed to identify subjects who deviated from this norm, and to examine possible relationships among test response variables and demographic variables. The brief questionnaire shown in Appendix D was developed for this purpose.

Procedures

Introduction to Experiment

A few introductory remarks were composed to explain the purpose of the experiment to the subjects. The explanation acknowledged that the experiment was concerned with judgments about interpersonal conflict, but disguised the fact that sex-role attitudes were the primary focus of the investigation. The explanation from the

Experimenter's Manual (Appendix C) is given below:

I am Sande Pinches and I am a Graduate student in clinical psychology. The experiment in which you are participating is part of my doctoral research on peoples' reactions to interpersonal conflict. Some of you already heard what the experiment is about because I made an announcement in your class. For the rest of you, here is an explanation of what I am doing.

Recently, more and more social scientists have been interested in the psychology of human aggression and conflict. It is apparent that people often differ in their reactions to the same conflict situation, in terms of how they describe what is going on, what judgments they make about it and so forth. I am interested in looking at the different points of view people take towards conflicts they have seen or heard about.

In order to do this I am going to describe some situations to you and ask you to write brief stories about them. This part of the experiment will last about half an hour. When this part is completed, I will ask you to fill out some questionnaires about yourself and your background. The entire experiment will last about an hour.

Summary of Procedure. The entire experiment was designed to be completed in a single hour long session. Following the explanation of the experiment and instructions, thirty minutes were allowed for the projective test. Subjects then completed the demographic questionnaire and the BSRI in that order.

Subjects

Subjects were recruited from women students in beginning level psychology courses at Michigan State University, who obtained extra credits toward their course grades by participating in the experiment. Since the pilot study was conducted during the latter part of the University's summer session, there were few students available who had not already completed their research requirement. A total of thirty-five subjects signed up for the experiment, and twenty-three actually participated.

Subjects were tested in group sessions. The first subject who arrived for the experiment and every third subject thereafter was assigned to experimental Condition A. The second subject was assigned to Condition B, the third to Condition C, and so forth.

Androgyny scores on the BSRI were calculated. Those who obtained an Androgyny t score greater than one were considered to be feminine, while those who obtained an Androgyny t score less than one were considered to be non-feminine. Twelve subjects were classified as feminine and nine as non-feminine.

Note that non-feminine corresponds to Bem's Androgyny category. Using Bem's categories, the percentage of feminine subjects in the pilot study sample (33) was very close to the percentage of feminine subjects in Bem's sample (34). The percentage of androgynous subjects in the pilot sample (24) was also very close to the distribution reported by Bem (27 percent).

The demographic data collected in the questionnaire revealed that there was a relatively large percentage of "atypical" students in the sample. The age range was from eighteen to thirty-eight years, with a median age of twenty-five years.

Twelve subjects had been raised in a Protestant religious atmosphere, while the remaining subjects had been raised in the Roman Catholic tradition. Current religiosity varied from a self-rating of "one" to a rating of "four" on a five point scale. "Five" was labelled on the scale with the explanation "central in my life," while "one" was labelled with "totally unimportant." Median religiosity in the sample was "three."

Economic background seemed more typical for a college population

than other background variables. Subjects described their socio-economic status as ranging from "lower class" to "upper-middle class," with "middle class" being the median.

Three subjects were black, the rest white. The black students were evenly distributed across experimental conditions by chance.

Results

When the data were processed, the first methodological problem which became apparent was that subjects had lacked sufficient time to fully respond to the story questions and BSRI. The last four questions were answered less adequately than the previous questions in many cases, and two subjects did not answer the last questions at all. Fortunately, these questions were less directly relevant to the hypotheses than were the first nine questions.

The questions varied considerably in their power to stimulate affective, elaborated responses from subjects, and in their power to elicit differentiated judgments about the story characters. The most effective questions were (3), (4), (6), (8) and (9), (see page 68).

Responses to question (3) indicated that the majority of subjects felt like defending Lisa in the first story, but tended to defend Brian in the second story. Loyalty to Brian was most evident in Condition A, and was especially marked in responses to Story 2 in that condition.

Responses to question (4) revealed that Lisa received both more approval and more disapproval than Brian. Lisa was favored most in Condition B, where Brian was the aggressor, while Brian was favored most in Condition A.

Question (6) was the item most likely to elicit attributions of blame, and also was most likely to elicit opinions about the value of arguing and expressing anger. Subjects stated about half the time that the argument should have been prevented, with a tendency for a given subject to maintain the same stance for both stories. Subjects differentiated to some degree the person who was to blame for the argument from the person who should have prevented the argument.

Responses to questions (8) and (9) reflected the general evaluation made of the story character on other dimensions. Brian was strongly favored on both questions in Condition A, Story 2.

Scoring

Subjects' responses to questions (3), (4), (6), (8) and (9) were pooled to yield positive and negative overall scores. A positive evaluation of a character was indicated if the character was defended (3), approved (4) and seen as sensitive to others (9). A negative evaluation was indicated if the character was disapproved (4), should have prevented the argument (6) and was seen as having a temper (8).

A scoring system was devised which would yield an objective measure of praise and criticism written about the story characters. The responses to questions (3), (4), (6), (8) and (9) usually consisted of one or both of the characters' names. If a character was named in response to (6) or (8), she/he received one negative point. Question (4) often elicited both praise and criticism for each character. The presence of an approving remark was scored with one positive point, and the presence of critical remarks was scored as one negative point. These points were summed across subjects to

yield a total score for each question. These totals were then summed across questions (3), (4) and (9) and across (4), (6) and (8) to yield a positive evaluation score and negative evaluation score, respectively.

Two subjects were eliminated before scoring was begun. One subject in Condition A and one in Condition B generally refrained from making choices between one or the other story characters. The comments accompanying their responses suggested in one case that the subject was opposed to the experiment because of a very high degree of aggression-anxiety and in another case that the subject was reluctant to commit herself to making choices. The data from these subjects consisted primarily of "Both" and "Neither" responses to the questions, and did not therefore contribute any individualized data to the results.

Since the total number of comments made about the characters varied, the raw evaluation scores were not useful in comparing Lisa to Brian. Therefore, the positive and negative evaluation scores were converted into percentages of the total number of comments made about each character across subjects. A balanced evaluation was represented by fifty percent positive and fifty percent negative comments.

The transformation into percentages lost a certain amount of information obtainable from the absolute scores. The primary finding apparent from the quantity of raw data was that the female character received more attention from the subjects than did the male character, both in terms of praise and criticism.

The operationalized hypotheses and the results are summarized below.

Hypothesis I: Main Effect (Ss and experimental conditions are pooled)

- A. Lisa is evaluated negatively
- B. Brian is evaluated positively

Results: The results are shown in Table 2. The evaluations were very close to balanced (50-50), for both story characters and for both stories. One unanticipated effect revealed by the Table is that the total number of comments made about Lisa is greater than the number made about Brian.

Table 2. Main Effect (N = 21)

	<u>Story 1</u>			<u>Story 2</u>			<u>Story Totals</u>		
	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.
Brian	46	50	50	59	47	53	105	48	52
Lisa	75	53	47	62	48	52	138	51	49

Hypothesis II: Effect of Femininity of Ss (Experimental conditions are pooled)

- A. Lisa is evaluated negatively by feminine Ss.
- B. Lisa receives a balanced evaluation by non-feminine Ss.
- C. Brian is evaluated positively by feminine Ss.
- D. Brian receives a balanced evaluation by non-feminine Ss.

Results: The results are shown in Table 3. The evaluations were very close to being balanced, for both story characters, for both stories, across Ss.

Table 3. Effect of Femininity vs. Non-Femininity of Subject

	<u>Story 1</u>			<u>Story 2</u>			<u>Totals</u>		
	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.
<u>Fem.</u> (N = 12)									
Brian	28	50	50	32	47	53	60	48	52
Lisa	45	55	45	36	47	53	81	52	48
<u>Non-Fem.</u> (N = 9)									
Brian	19	47	53	27	45	55	46	46	54
Lisa	33	51	49	26	50	50	59	51	49

Hypothesis III: Effect of experimental condition (Feminine and non-feminine Ss are pooled).

A. Condition A (no information)

1. Lisa is evaluated negatively.
2. Brian is evaluated positively.

B. Condition B (Brian started it)

1. Lisa is evaluated positively.
2. Brian is evaluated negatively.

C. Condition C (Lisa started it)

1. Lisa is evaluated negatively.
2. Brian is evaluated positively.

Results: Table 4 shows the results for Hypothesis III.

The hypothesis was supported for both characters in Condition A.

Hypothesis B (2) was supported, but Hypothesis B (1) was not, as

Lisa received approximately the same amount of praise and criticism. This balanced evaluation was, however, more positive than the evaluation of Lisa in Condition A, as expected. Condition C hypotheses were not supported in the data, but there was a shift from a positive to a negative evaluation of Brian across stories 1 and 2. The effect of story order apparent from preliminary inspection of the data also was apparent in the percentage tallies. In most cases, there is a greater difference between positive and negative percentage points for Story 2 evaluations, but the differences are in the same direction as for Story 1. The sole exception is in Condition C, where the evaluation of Brian changes from a positive to a negative trend.

Hypothesis IV: Interaction effect of femininity of Ss and experimental conditions

- A. Non-feminine Ss will be balanced in evaluation of both story characters across experimental conditions.
- B. Feminine Ss will show the effect of experimental condition described under Hypothesis III.

Results: Table 5 shows the breakdown of data by femininity of Ss and by experimental condition. Because of the extremely small sample sizes, this table must be interpreted with caution. Hypothesis IV was not generally supported. Non-feminine Ss as well as feminine Ss reacted primarily to experimental condition, with a minimal interaction between independent variables. However, there were some cases where feminine and non-feminine women in the same condition differed in their evaluations of one or the other character.

In Condition A, Story 1, feminine Ss evaluated Brian positively as predicted whereas non-feminine Ss evaluated him neutrally. For

Table 4. Effect of Experimental Condition

	<u>Story 1</u>			<u>Story 2</u>			<u>Totals</u>		
	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.
<u>Cond. A</u> <u>(N = 7)</u>									
Brian	14	64	36	23	74	26	37	70	30
Lisa	28	46	54	17	24	76	45	38	62
<u>Cond. B</u> <u>(N = 7)</u>									
Brian	17	29	71	16	19	81	33	24	76
Lisa	22	55	45	26	57	43	48	56	44
<u>Cond. C</u> <u>(N = 7)</u>									
Brian	15	60	40	20	40	60	35	48	52
Lisa	26	58	42	21	52	48	47	55	45

 : 20 or more points difference between % negative and % positive scores

Table 5. Effect of Femininity of Subject x Experimental Condition

	<u>Story 1</u>			<u>Story 2</u>			<u>Totals</u>		
	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.	# of scores	% pos.	% neg.
<u>Condition A-Fem. (N = 4)</u>									
Brian	7	71	29	14	64	36	21	67	33
Lisa	17	47	53	8	25	75	25	40	60
<u>Condition A-Non-Fem. (N = 3)</u>									
Brian	7	57	43	9	88	22	16	75	25
Lisa	11	45	55	9	22	88	20	35	65
<u>Condition B-Fem. (N = 3)</u>									
Brian	9	22	88	6	17	83	15	20	80
Lisa	7	71	29	11	64	36	18	67	33
<u>Condition B-Non-Fem. (N = 4)</u>									
Brian	8	37	63	10	20	80	18	28	72
Lisa	15	46	54	13	62	38	28	53	47
<u>Condition C-Fem. (N = 5)</u>									
Brian	11	64	36	12	42	58	23	52	48
Lisa	19	52	48	17	46	54	36	50	50
<u>Condition C-Non-Fem. (N = 2)</u>									
Brian	4	50	50	8	37	63	12	42	58
Lisa	7	71	29	4	75	25	11	73	27

 : 20 or more points difference between % positive and % negative comments

Story 2, however, both groups of Ss evaluated Brian positively and Lisa negatively, as was hypothesized only for the feminine Ss.

In Condition B, feminine and non-feminine Ss evaluated Brian negatively. Both feminine and non-feminine Ss evaluated Lisa positively, but this trend was stronger among non-feminine Ss.

In Condition C, non-feminine Ss evaluated Lisa very positively, while feminine Ss evaluated her neutrally. This result did not support the hypothesis that feminine Ss would be most critical of Lisa in this experimental condition, and it also suggested that non-feminine Ss may be pro-female rather than neutral in their evaluation of a female aggressor.

Discussion

The pilot study data somewhat supported the general hypothesis that women observing a conflict between a woman and a man make sex-linked value judgments about the interactants. Contrary to predictions, however, pro-male and anti-female prejudice was most marked in the absence of any information about who instigated the fight, and was lessened to the extent that the initial aggressor was identified. Amount of information provided about the initial aggressor was the most important variable affecting subjects' apparent sex preferences, but this information sometimes had a different impact on feminine and non-feminine subjects.

When given no information about the initial aggressor, both feminine and non-feminine subjects manifested a pro-male stance by judging the male interactant very positively and the female interactant very negatively. This effect was most apparent in responses

to the second story.

The content of both stories was realistic and mundane in almost every case, despite the instructions to write a realistic story first and "any kind of story you want" second. A few subjects included remarks in their stories indicating that they viewed the second story as a second argument between the same people. If this was the general view taken by subjects, then the responses to the second story may represent an intensification of sex preferences found in the first story. Many subjects commented that the female interactant should have prevented the arguments, suggesting that she would be more blameworthy with an increasing number of arguments. Interestingly, the no information condition was the only experimental condition which resulted in markedly negative evaluations of the woman. Other experimental conditions affected evaluations of the man, but resulted in balanced evaluations of the woman.

When told that the man was the initial aggressor, subjects in general were very critical of him, but evaluated the woman in a balanced manner. Feminine subjects evaluated the woman somewhat positively in this "victim" role. Again, these effects were more pronounced in the second story, supporting the hypothesis that subjects regarded the two arguments as sequential incidents in one marital relationship.

Most surprising were the data obtained when subjects were informed that the woman was the initial aggressor. The most marked pro-male prejudice was expected under this condition. Feminine and non-feminine subjects responded differently to the instructions, but neither group was critical of the woman. A somewhat positive

evaluation of the man was made by feminine subjects on the first story, and a somewhat negative evaluation of him was made by non-feminine subjects in the second story. The woman was strongly supported by non-feminine subjects in both stories.

The demographic and BSRI data suggest that subjects in Conditions A and C were not well matched. Condition A subjects were generally more traditional and more feminine than condition C subjects. The marked difference in the degree of prejudice shown by these groups may therefore be attributable to subject variables rather than to the difference in experimental conditions. If the results are replicated with matched samples, then the difference in the effect of the two conditions on sex-linked prejudices requires an explanation.

It is possible that Conditions A and C actually posed two different emotional tasks for subjects. In Condition A, subjects had to write stories in which they chose which character would start the argument. This requirement may have elicited anxiety and guilt in so far as creating a story about an aggressive woman is a means for a female subject to be aggressive. The associated guilt may then have triggered a defensive rejection of Lisa as a symbol of the subjects' desire to aggress against a man. In Condition C, the experimenter chose the initial aggressor, so that subjects were presented with the task of justifying or not justifying an aggressive act which had already occurred, and for which the subjects could not be held "responsible." The easiest way to reduce aggression-anxiety in this situation would be to write a story in which Lisa's aggression was justifiable.

In all three experimental conditions, subjects frequently

criticized both the man and the woman for being angry, regardless of whether the anger was provoked. Feminine subjects in particular were highly critical of expressions of anger, and seemed prone to state that arguments are destructive, anxiety-provoking and unnecessary. This need to prevent conflict probably increased the tendency to blame one or both interactants for participating in the argument, regardless of the issues involved in the dispute.

Subjects responses to the question, "Who has more of a temper?" suggested that this attribution was made independently of attribution of blame for the argument. In the neutral condition particularly, the female interactant was seen as having more of a temper than the male, even if the argument was considered to be his fault.

This pattern is consistent with the finding or previous research that undesirable outcomes result in negative attributions about a woman's character, while a man's behavior is more likely to be attributed to external pressures. In a natural setting, the implication is that a woman observed fighting with a man may be judged negatively as a person regardless of whether her complaints were considered to be justified. The same is not true for the man. Sex-linked prejudice may be more evident in attributions made about the personalities of the antagonists than in attributions made about blame for specific events.

Subjects overwhelmingly named the man rather than the woman as the dominant partner in the marriage. This attribution did not affect subjects' expressed desire to defend either Lisa or Brian, so dominance was apparently not associated with greater power to hurt the other person or control the outcome of the argument. Several

subjects attributed the occurrence of the argument to an undesirable need on the womans' part to "dominate" the man. The man was also criticized for authoritarian behavior by several subjects. Inspection of the data suggested that these criticisms might be related to the sex-role ideologies of the subjects. Many women wrote stories which seemed to be vehicles for feminist ideas. Most of these stories involved arguments between feminist wives and traditional husbands, who were demanding too much of their wives, in the subjects' opinions. These were the subjects who were most likely to see the man as too authoritarian. Women who criticized the woman for being "too dominant" did not write feminist stories.

The results of the pilot study were used to develop a refined design for use with a larger sample. The revised design was intended to reduce ambiguities in the pilot study, and to provide data which could be more easily classifiable as either praise or criticism for each story character.

METHOD

The data from the pilot study provided some tentative support for the hypothesis that women are inclined to defend a man against a woman in an argument. A larger sample and a more refined projective instrument was needed to help verify and identify more clearly the possible motives for pro-male or pro-female prejudice.

The primary hypotheses from the pilot study were retained. The principal effects expected were that the women subjects would attribute negative qualities to the female interactant and positive qualities to the male interactant in the argument. The criticisms of the woman were predicted to reflect the belief that women are responsible for negative outcomes. The subjects' loyalty to the man was expected to be manifested as a defense of him against the woman, who would be viewed as a threat to him.

It was predicted that a majority of subjects would show the above pattern, but also that an identifiable minority would show a pro-female pattern. Favoritism toward the woman was expected to be associated with a conscious feminist orientation. The pro-female pattern would consist of blaming the male interactant and supporting the woman, regardless of the outcome of the argument.

The nature of the criticisms of either interactant was also expected to differ across pro-female and pro-male subjects. Pro-male women were predicted to support a traditional sex-role

philosophy with respect to expressions of anger, so that they would attribute more blame to both interactants for arguing than pro-female subjects.

In the pilot study it was hypothesized that pro-male subjects could be identified on the basis of the degree of sex-role conformity shown in their self-descriptions. The content of the data suggested, however, that the presence or absence of feminist sympathies might be more important than degree of femininity or masculinity in differentiating pro-female from pro-male subjects. In the present experiment a scale measuring attitudes toward women's roles was substituted for the sex-role inventory (BSRI) used in the pilot study.

Like the pilot study the new design includes three projective leads defining the experimental conditions, but the content of the leads was revised. In the pilot study the person who started the argument was identified in two of the leads because subjects were expected to assign responsibility and blame for the argument in accordance with this information. This turned out not to be the case. Attributions of responsibility for initiating and perpetuating the argument were often made independently of attributions of blame.

Studies of attribution of responsibility in achievement contexts suggested that attribution of credit and blame might be more closely related to the direction of the outcome of the argument than to the identity of the person who started it. In the achievement research, responsibility for negative outcomes was more likely to be attributed to the woman, while responsibility for positive outcomes was more likely to be attributed to the man. The concepts of success and failure could be interpreted in various ways within the argument

context. For the purposes of the present study, the outcome of an argument was considered to be positive if the couples' relationship was strengthened, and negative if their relationship was weakened by the conflict. Thus, three new leads defining experimental conditions were devised.

Subjects in Condition A were given the following instructions, which include no information about the outcome of the argument.

Lisa and Brian are going together. Right now they are involved in a heated argument about something. Write a brief story describing what the argument is about, what led up to it, what Lisa and Brian are thinking and feeling, and how the argument turns out.

In Condition B, additional information was given in the projective lead specifying that the outcome of the argument was negative or destructive. This information was expected to elicit attributions of destructive power to one or both story characters. The lead for Condition B was:

Lisa and Brian are going together. Right now they are involved in a heated argument about something. At the end of the argument nothing is resolved, and Lisa and Brian are farther apart than they have ever been.

The lead in Condition C, included the basic information given in Condition A, plus a sentence specifying that the outcome of the argument was positive.

Lisa and Brian are going together. Right now they are involved in a heated argument about something. At the end of the argument the issue is resolved, and Lisa and Brian are closer together than they ever have been.

Design

The final design of the present study consisted of one experimental manipulation, argument outcome, as specified by one of the

three leads described above, and one assessed variable, subjects' attitudes about women's roles. The dependent variables were subjects' ratings of the woman and man described in their stories. The ratings were made on a Story Character Evaluation Scale (described below), which measures attribution of credit and blame for the argument, degree of sympathy felt by the subject for the character, and attribution of positive or negative personality traits to each story character.

Instruments

Projective Instrument

The changes in the projective leads described above were made for theoretical reasons, so that the experimental manipulation would more effectively elicit attributions of credit or blame to one or the other characters. A number of minor revisions were also made in the projective instrument for practical reasons. Most of the latter modifications were suggested by information obtained from the pilot study.

First, the projective lead was modified to delete the reference to Lisa and Brian's marriage, (Pilot study lead: "Lisa and Brian are a young married couple, . ."). Pilot study subjects wrote a large number of stories about housework conflicts, budget conflicts, and other issues pertinent to couples who co-reside. Women who wrote about situations experienced by couples who "go together" often showed more originality, emotional intensity and empathic identification with the story characters than did those who wrote about married couples. Since many of the subjects were probably unmarried, the

marital situation may have been less familiar to them than other kinds of intimate relationships with men.

The instructions to write two stories were changed so that subjects were asked to write only one story. The first of the two stories in the pilot study was to be a realistic story and the second was to be unrestricted as to content. The instructions did not seem to affect story content to an appreciable degree, but more extreme evaluations of the story characters sometimes appeared in response to the second stories.

One plausible explanation for the more extreme judgments made about the characters in the second story is that subjects viewed the two arguments as successive incidents in the same marriage. When presented with repeated incidents of conflict, the subjects may have concluded that arguing was a frequent and chronic pattern for the couple. The story characters were perhaps more likely to be seen as chronically hostile or blameworthy than if the argument was a response to a particular situation.

A second possible explanation for women's responses to the second story is that the subjects were irritated by the experimental task. During the experiment, several women did in fact show irritation when they were asked to write a second story to almost the same lead. Inspection of the data also revealed that many subjects were less verbose and imaginative in their second stories and in their answers to the second set of story questions.

The irritation shown by subjects suggests that the experiment was effective in eliciting hostility, and that the projective instrument was sensitive enough to register the increase in hostile impulses.

Attribution of blame to the woman could, however, be derived from the subjects' hostility toward the female experimenter. The purpose of the study was to measure the reactions of women to an argument which did not directly involve the observers' own needs, so frustration of the subjects was more likely to confuse interpretation of the results than to intensify the predicted effect. The second story was hence dropped from the design, in order to reduce the time and effort required in the experiment, and to maximize the probability that subjects would involve themselves in the projective task.

The instructions for the remaining story were revised to elicit realistic stories and identification with the female character. The revision consisted of following the TAT instructions with the statement, "If you like, you may base your story on a real incident you have been involved in or have heard about." This modification was made for two reasons. First, the study was an attempt to replicate the important aspects of the natural settings in which the first observations were made, and to better understand women's responses to real life conflicts between women and men. Second, a correspondence between a subject's self-image and image of other women was expected to be found, based on the review of theory and research on sex-role stereotypes.

Story Character Evaluation Scale

The Story Questions of the pilot study, which asked subjects to evaluate the woman and man described in their stories, were replaced by a Story Character Evaluation Scale (SCES; Appendix E) devised for the purposes of the present study. The SCES calls for a

a separate rating of each story character on sixty-two Likert-type items with four-point scales. The first part of the instrument consists of eight statements attributing credit or blame to the person for their role in the argument. The second part of the instrument is a list of fifty-four personality traits which were included either for theoretical reasons or because the traits appeared frequently in pilot study data. In addition to the credit-blame statements and trait list, two items were also included to assess subjects' opinions about whether arguments should be prevented from occurring, and whether the particular argument described in their stories should have been prevented.

Advantages of the SCES. The SCES has a number of advantages over the story questions used in the pilot study. First, the SCES permits subjects to evaluate each story character separately. Forced comparisons of the woman and the man had elicited resistance to making judgments on the part of some pilot study subjects, who wrote that blame for an argument is always shared by both people involved. Women were also sometimes reluctant to assign blame in an absolute sense, but were more willing to rate people on a continuum of credit and blame.

Another advantage of the SCES is that it can be completed with less time and effort than the Story Questions. It was hoped that the SCES would be less potentially irritating to subjects, and hence would also be more likely to maximize ego-involvement in the experimental task.

The subjects' responses on the credit-blame statements of the

SCES may be studied separately from their responses on the personality trait list, yielding both a measure of conscious attribution of blame and a more subtle measure of subjects' attitudes toward the story characters. Women were expected to respond similarly to the two types of items, but the adjective list was expected to be the more sensitive measure of prejudice, if any existed. The adjective list would hopefully not be as affected by the subjects' possible desire to appear "fair" as would the blame items. The trait list was also expected to register sexist attitudes in cases where the subject was consciously trying to act exclusively on feminist values in her attribution of credit and blame for the argument.

Attribution of credit and blame. Three items for which agreement constitutes attribution of credit and three items for which agreement constitutes attribution of blame were scrambled together and presented as the first items to be rated by subjects. The positive and negative evaluations of the woman were completed by subjects before the evaluations of the man. The first three statements shown below were designated as the Positive Attitude Scale (ATTP), and the next three statements were designated as the Negative Attitude Scale (ATTN).

- 1.&(7.) Lisa (Brian) was basically right in what she (he) did and said during the argument.
- 2.&(8.) Lisa (Brian) did her (his) best for the sake of her (his) relationship.
- 4.&(10.) Lisa (Brian) was helpful and constructive during the argument.

3.&(9.) Lisa (Brian) was hurtful and destructive during the argument.

5.&(11.) Lisa (Brian) was at fault in the argument situation.

6.&(12.) Lisa (Brian) created trouble between Brian (Lisa) and herself (himself).

Women rated the above statements on a four-point scale ranging from (1), strong disagreement, to (4), strong agreement.

For the next group of statements on the SCES, the subjects were instructed to imagine themselves in a real situation observing the woman and man arguing. The subjects rated the statements on a four-point scale ranging from (1), "I would not feel at all as the statement indicates," to (4), "I would feel strongly as the statement indicates." The first two items assessed the subjects' feelings about the story characters, and the second two items assessed the subjects' feelings about arguments.

13.&(15.) If I were present at the argument, I would feel like defending Lisa (Brian).

14.&(16.) I would feel like criticizing Lisa (Brian).

17. I would feel that this argument should have been prevented.

18. I believe that most arguments should be prevented.

Personality trait list. After responding to the above items, subjects rated first the woman then the man on a list of fifty-four adjectives describing interpersonal behavior. The subjects rated the items on a four-point scale according to whether they viewed the trait as (4), very true of the person rated, (3), somewhat true of the person,

(2), rather unlike the person, or (1), very unlike the person rated. Thirty-one of the traits on the list were taken from the Gough Adjective Checklist (ACL; Gough & Heilbrun, 1971), which is described below. Twenty-three adjectives were added to focus on personality traits which were of interest for theoretical reasons or because they were mentioned frequently by pilot subjects. The complete list of adjectives with Gough items identified is shown in Table 6.

The trait items were designed to assess attributions in six areas of personality functioning considered to be important for theoretical reasons. These areas were: the amount of admiration shown for a character, the attribution of constructive personal traits to a character, the attribution of legitimate needs to a story character, and the degree to which the story character was criticized for hostility, for domineering behavior, and for undesirable dependency.

Six clusters of nine items each were formed to reflect each of the above areas of attribution. Table 7 gives a description of each cluster; the constituent items are shown in Table 6. The clusters form the positive and negative poles of three dimensions; self-ascendence (DOM), love versus hostility (LOV), and dependence on other people (DEP). All of the items of the SCES may also be combined to yield an overall positive sum (POS) and negative sum (NEG) for each person rated.

Inter-Rater Reliability of the SCES

Three judges independently assigned the items of the personality trait list to the SCES clusters, as described in Table 7. Agreement was reached by all judges on at least eight out of nine items in each

Table 6. SCES Scales (G = Gough ACL Item)

1. <u>Ego-strength (DOMP)</u>	3. <u>(Continued)</u>
G (1). capable	G (5). gentle
G (2). fair-minded	G (6). honest & sincere
G (3). outspoken, assertive	G (7). dependable, trustworthy
(4). "together"	G (8). reasonable, co-operative
G (5). strong	G (9). kind, compassionate
G (6). rational, clear-thinking	4. <u>Hostility (LOVN)</u>
(7). a leader type	G (1). touchy & defensive
G (8). responsible	G (2). hostile
G (9). dominant	G (3). cold
2. <u>Destructive Dominance (DOMN)</u>	G (4). critical, fault-finding
G (1). nagging, complaining	(5). rejecting
G (2). stubborn	(6). has a hot temper
G (3). conceited, egotistical	(7). attacking, hurtful
G (4). rigid, authoritarian	G (8). too aggressive
(5). controlling, manipulative	G (9). has a cruel streak
G (6). bossy, domineering	5. <u>Appeal (DEPP)</u>
(7). restrictive, confining	(1). likeable
(8). overpowering	(2). needs gentle treatment
G (9). demanding	(3). vulnerable
3. <u>Love (LOVP)</u>	(4). needs understanding
(1). loving	(5). inspires sympathy
G (2). forgiving	(6). needs encouragement
G (3). generous, giving	(7). childlike, appealing
G (4). sensitive to others' feelings	(8). tries to please

Table 6. (Continued)

5. <u>(Continued)</u>	6. <u>(Continued)</u>
(9). needs protection	G (5). confused, unaware
6. <u>Immaturity</u>	(6). spoiled, self-indulgent
(1). silly	(7). too dependent
G (2). immature	(8). neurotic, maladjusted
G (3). self-pitying	(9). makes excuses for self
(4). runs from problems	

Table 7. Description of SCES Clusters

1. Ego-Strength

The person who is rated highly on these items is seen as strong and admirable. She/he has a good sense of her/his rights and abilities, without infringing on the rights of others.

2. Destructive Dominance

The high scorer on these items is seen as having a strong personality coupled with a lack of appreciation for the rights of others. The person is pushy, coercive and negative in approach to other people.

3. Hostility

The person who is highly rated on these traits is seen as unfriendly to antagonistic in relations with others. She/he is seen as angry and abrasive.

4. Love

The high scorer is seen as a caring and nurturant person. She/he may be sought out by people in need.

5. Appeal

The high scorer resembles a well-liked child. She/he tends to elicit support from others by showing a neediness which others see as positive and deserving of a response.

Table 7. (Continued)

6. Immaturity

The high scorer is criticized for being childish in the negative sense. She/he appears weak, incompetent, and needy in a way that elicits disapproval rather than support.

cluster, and at least forty-eight out of fifty-four items in the scale. The items for which agreement was not reached varied across judges. The level of agreement reached was of course considered to be adequate, especially since the multivariate analysis of variance can accommodate to intercorrelated dependent variables.

When the data were gathered and scored, however, the reliability of these theoretically-based clusters was too low to justify using the existing organization of items in the analysis of variance. An empirically-based method of organization was used to modify the previous system of clustering. The decisions involved in this process are discussed in greater depth below.

The Gough ACL. The Gough ACL from which some of the SCES items were taken is a three hundred item adjective checklist prepared in 1952 from earlier versions of the scale (Gough & Heilbrun, 1971). Scores may be calculated for twenty-four scales, fifteen of which represent the basic human needs outlined by Murray (1938) and interpreted by Edwards (1954). The ACL was originally devised to record professional observers' reactions to a person undergoing psychological assessment.

The reliability data available for the Gough ACL reflect the

fact that the instrument was intended to assist in making objective ratings of a real person. Since the SCES was developed for a very different purpose, to serve as a projective instrument, the reliability coefficients reported for the ACL are not relevant to the SCES. With these reservations in mind, however, it is worth noting that adequate reliability has been demonstrated for the ACL in test-retest data and in assessments of individuals judged by independent raters (Gough & Heilbrun, 1971).

Attitudes Toward Women Scale

The Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence & Helmreich, 1972a, b; Appendix F) is a fifty-five item Likert scale assessing the degree of liberalism or traditionalism in peoples' standards for appropriate behavior for women. The areas of behavior included in the scale are: (1) vocational and intellectual roles, (2) freedom and independence, (3) dating and courtship etiquette, (4) drinking, swearing and dirty jokes, (5) sexual behavior, and (6) marital relationships. Subjects may respond to each scale item on a four-point continuum ranging from strongly disagree (0), reflecting a traditional sex role ideology, to strongly agree (3), representing a pro-feminist position. A subject's score is the sum of scores on all items, with the scores on the traditional items reflected. The possible range of sum scores is zero to 165 points, with a high score denoting liberalism (feminism).

The original sample tested by Spence and Helmreich (1972) included 713 male and 768 female students at the University of Texas. In this sample the mean of men's scores was 89.3 (SD = 22.5), and

the mean of women's scores was 98.2 (SD = 23.2). Significant differences between women's and men's scores were reported for 47 out of the 55 items, using t tests. Generally, the differences were in the direction of greater liberality among women than among men.

The scale was factor-analyzed for both male and female responses. Three main factors were extracted for men: attitudes about male superiority and the patriarchal family, attitudes toward equality of opportunity for women, and attitudes about appropriate behavior in the context of social-sexual relationships between the sexes. For the women subjects two factors emerged: appropriate behavior in relation to men, and equal opportunity in vocational and educational pursuits.

Construct validity of the AWS. The construct validity of the AWS is reflected in data reported by Spence and her associates, and by other researchers who have used the scale. Spence and Helmreich (1972) collected data from 524 parents of the original sample, and found that women's AWS scores were more liberal than men's for both generations. The sex differences were smaller in the older sample. The scores of both women and men students were more liberal than the scores of their same-sexed parents (cited by Dunbar, 1975).

Spence and Helmreich (1972b) used the AWS in a study of the relationship between competence, sex and interpersonal attraction. Subjects were presented with four taped simulated job interviews in which the female applicant was portrayed as either competent or incompetent, and as either masculine or feminine in her interests. Subjects were tested on the AWS and also on the Femininity scale of the California Personality Inventory.

Subjects in this sample included 267 male and 343 female students from the University of Texas. The mean AWS score for men was 86.8 and the mean score for women was 96.9, both of which are close to the means reported for the original sample. The AWS scores were not related to the CPI Fem scores for either sex (men: $r = .07$, women: $r = .05$).

The general finding of the Spence and Helmreich (1972b) study was that women and men subjects both rated the competent woman with masculine interests as more likeable, attractive and desirable for the work position than the feminine applicant or the incompetent masculine applicant. Subjects were then classified as either pro-feminist, moderate or traditional according to whether their scores on the AWS were in the upper, middle or lower third of the sample. The AWS scores did not differentiate the female subjects in terms of applicant preferences; women in all three AWS categories preferred the applicant with masculine interests to the applicant with feminine interests, and the competent applicant to the incompetent one. Men's preferences were differentiated by AWS scores. Traditional men strongly disliked the incompetent masculine woman, whereas pro-feminist men were more tolerant of her. Traditional men preferred the incompetent feminine woman to the competent feminine woman, while the reverse was true for liberal males. Pro-feminist men were most critical of the feminine incompetent applicant.

Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1975) tested 248 men and 282 women with the AWS, the Texas Social Behavior Inventory (a measure of self-confidence), and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire derived from Broverman's (1972) Sex Role Stereotype Questionnaire. The Personal

Attributes Questionnaire is divided into three sets of items, male-valued, female-valued and sex-specific items. Female-valued items are those for which the mean ratings of both the "ideal woman" and the "ideal man" were near the feminine pole. Male-valued items are those for which the ideal person of either sex was rated near the masculine pole. Sex-specific items are those for which the ideal person of either sex was rated near the feminine pole and the ideal man was rated near the masculine pole.

Male subjects who scored high in masculinity on the male-valued scale also registered conservative (low score) on the AWS. Women who scored high in femininity on female-valued items and low in masculinity on sex-specific items were also conservative in attitudes toward women's roles. Conservatives of both sexes perceived larger differences between the typical woman and man than did pro-feminists, in terms of the Broverman items.

Lunneborg (1974) suggested that Spence and Helmreich's (1972a & b) norms might reflect the conservative sex role philosophy associated with the South. Lunneborg administered the AWS to students at the University of Washington who were enrolled in a course in which Bardwick's Readings in the Psychology of Women was a required text. Subjects were tested with the AWS before exposure to the text, and again eight weeks later, after exposure.

On the pre-test women attained a mean score of 131.3 (SD = 18.5, N = 56), and on the post-test women attained a mean of 135.9 (SD = 16.8, N = 55). Men attained a mean of 121.4 (SD = 21.2, N = 27) on the pre-test, and a mean of 129.0 (SD = 16.3, N = 19) on the post-test. All these means are considerably higher than those reported for the Texas

samples (Spence & Helmreich, 1972a & b).

Lunneborg (1974) found significant differences between the sexes on only nine items, with women taking the more liberal position on eight of them. The remaining item (40) states that, "There should be no greater barrier to an unmarried woman having sex with a casual acquaintance than having dinner with him." Women disagreed with this statement more than did men, which Lunneborg interprets to mean that even liberal women are still more conservative than men in norms regarding sexual behavior. Another interpretation is possible, in that many feminists are skeptical about the benefits of the "sexual liberation" movement for women. The item in question could be taken to mean that a woman is obligated to have sex with any man who buys her dinner, regardless of her reservations about the situation.

Albright and Chang (1976) used the AWS, the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale and the Berger Self-Esteem measure to assess the relationship between defensiveness, self-esteem and attitudes toward women. Women were more pro-feminist than men on the AWS, and the less defensive women and men were more pro-feminist than their defensive counterparts. Self-esteem was not related to subjects' responses.

Reliability of the AWS. Stein and Weston (1976) obtained some reliability data for the AWS from a female sample enrolled at a small private college. The 297 female subjects were classified by their major field, class status and choice of residence (on or off campus). Residence was not related to scores on the AWS, but the other two variables were related. Upperclasswomen were more pro-feminist than

underclasswomen, and Liberal Arts majors were more pro-feminist than women in the Schools of Business or Education.

In Stein and Weston's (1976) study, mean scores on the AWS ranged from a low of 98.1 (for Education freshmen) to a high of 128.4 (for Liberal Arts seniors). Reliability was calculated using the split-half technique. Scores on the two halves were correlated with the Pearson product-moment formula, followed by the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula. The corrected reliability was .92.

Dunbar (1975) used the AWS with two samples of women students at Michigan State University. In her 1973 sample the mean score obtained was 111.7 (SD = 17.5). In her 1975 sample the mean score obtained was 115.6 (SD = 20.5). Dunbar points out that social changes in the past few years as well as regional differences could account for the elevation in means over those reported by Spence and Helmreich (1972 a & b).

Demographic Information

As in the pilot study, a brief questionnaire was included to obtain demographic information about the subjects (Appendix G). The questionnaire requested information about the subjects' age and class standing, level of education and occupation of the subjects' parents, the subjects' race and religious background.

Subjects

Two hundred and one women were recruited from students enrolled in introductory psychology classes. The students received extra class credits for participating in research conducted in the Department of Psychology. The obtained demographic and other descriptive information

about the subjects is given below.

Procedures

The subjects were tested in groups of about forty women each. The first student to arrive for the experiment was assigned to Condition A, the second to Condition B, and so on. Subjects were recruited until approximately sixty-five women were assigned to each condition.

The women were given an experimental booklet containing the Demographic Questionnaire, a projective story form with instructions for A, B or C Conditions, and the SCES. The experimenter read the instructions shown in Appendix H, and the subjects were given as much time as they needed to complete the story and SCES. When the students finished this part of the experiment, their booklets were collected and the AWS was distributed. When the subjects turned in their AWS answer sheets, their participation in the experiment was completed. Most subjects completed the experiment in one hour.

Ideally, subjects should have been segregated into groups by their relative rankings on the assessed variable (AWS) before the projective task was administered. The subjects' experience of writing the projective stories may have influenced their responses to the AWS in unknown ways. If the women had completed the AWS first, however, their stories might have been even more impacted by the subjects' exposure to material dealing with controversial feminist beliefs. The AWS was therefore administered after the Story Character Evaluation Scale. Possible relationships between the obtained AWS scores and the experimental manipulation are discussed further below.

Hypotheses

A schematic representation of the design is shown in Figure 1 including the actual cell sizes used in the analysis. A mixed-design, multivariate analysis of variance was planned, with the dependent variables consisting of eight SCES subscales (POS, NEG, DOMP, DOMN, LOVP, LOVN, DEPP, DEPN). The subject classification variable was AWS, which has three levels: pro-feminist liberal (lib), moderate (mod) and traditional (trad). The manipulated variable was the type of information the subjects received about the outcome of the experiment. Condition A subjects received no outcome information, Condition B subjects were informed that the outcome was negative in terms of the couples' relationship, and Condition C subjects were informed that the outcome was positive.

Cond	AWS	N	Lisa	Brian
			ATTP, ATTNDEPN	ATTP, ATTNDEPN
A	LIB	21		
	MOD	23		
	TRAD	20		
B	LIB	20		
	MOD	25		
	TRAD	16		
C	LIB	20		
	MOD	16		
	TRAD	23		
TOTAL		184		

Figure 1. Design

The sex of the story character rated (Sex) is treated as the measures factor in a repeated measures design. All subjects evaluated the woman first and the man second on the credit-blame items and on the list of personality traits of the SCES. To compare ratings of the two people on the same subscale, the man's score is subtracted from the woman's, yielding a difference score (DIF).

The general pattern predicted was that for pro-feminist subjects, the direction and magnitude of the DIF scores would favor the woman, while for traditional subjects, the direction and magnitude of the DIF scores would favor the man. Liberal women were expected to be somewhat more egalitarian than traditional women because of the liberals' advocacy of equal rights for women and men.

The experimental manipulation by itself was not predicted to exert a consistent influence on the subjects' loyalties to either the man or the woman. Rather the information about the outcome of the argument was expected to affect pro-feminist and traditional women differently. Liberal women were predicted to favor the woman in Conditions A and B, and to favor no one in Condition C. Liberal women in Condition A were expected to show the most pro-female favoritism of any group. Traditional women were predicted to favor the man in Conditions B and C, but most strongly in Condition B. Traditional women were predicted to favor the man somewhat in Condition C, but they were expected to be more egalitarian in C than in the other conditions. Table 8 provides a simple outline of the predicted relationships.

The hypotheses are stated below in terms of operationalization through the analysis of variance model. Although the design includes

Table 8. Outline of Hypotheses

Argument Outcome	AWS Classification	
	Traditionals	Pro-Feminist Liberals
A	Favor the man	Favor the woman*
B	Favor the man**	Favor the woman
C	Favor the man, or egalitarian	Egalitarian

*Largest DIF in favor of woman

**Largest DIF of any group

liberals, moderates and traditionals, predictions were made only for liberals and traditionals.

I. AWS x Sex Interaction

There will be an AWS \times Sex interaction such that the man will be favored over the woman by traditional subjects, and the woman will be favored over the man by liberal subjects. However, the sex difference for liberals will be less than that for traditionals. The specific relationships predicted are:

1. For trad \underline{Ss} : Brian's POS score > Lisa's POS score
2. For trad \underline{Ss} : Lisa's NEG score > Brian's NEG score
3. For lib \underline{Ss} : Lisa's POS score > Brian's POS score, but the difference will be less than in 1.
4. For lib \underline{Ss} : Brian's NEG score > Lisa's NEG score, but the difference will be less than in 2.

The pattern described above is predicted to occur in Conditions

A and B, thus yielding the significant two-way interaction. A three-way interaction effect is also predicted, because of the varying magnitude of differences between ratings made by liberal and traditional subjects within Conditions A and B, and because Condition C is expected to eliminate differences altogether for liberal subjects.

II. Argument Outcome x AWS x Sex Interaction

A. Condition A (outcome not specified)

The pattern for the two-way interaction will be found, but liberal subjects will be less influenced than traditional subjects by Sex. Thus:

1. For trad Ss: Brian's POS score > Lisa's POS score
2. For trad Ss: Lisa's NEG score > Brian's NEG score
3. For lib Ss: Lisa's POS score > Brian's POS score, but the difference will be less than in 1.
4. For lib Ss: Brian's NEG score > Lisa's NEG score, but the difference will be smaller than in 2.

B. Condition B (negative outcome)

Information that the outcome is negative is predicted to increase the sex differences found with the outcome unspecified. Thus:

- 1.-4. The same pattern will appear as in A. 1.-4. above. The DIF scores will be greater in B than in A.

C. Condition C (positive outcome)

Information that the outcome is positive is expected to ameliorate the effect of Sex of person rated relative to Conditions A and B, and in fact to eliminate sex differences in amount of criticism of the story characters. Thus:

1. For trad Ss: Brian's POS score > Lisa's POS score. The DIF will be smallest in C relative to trades in A and B.
2. For trad Ss: Neither character will be evaluated negatively. There will be no difference between Lisa and Brian.
3. For lib Ss: Lisa's POS score > Brian's POS score. The DIF will be smallest in C, relative to libs in A and B.
4. For lib Ss: Neither character will be evaluated negatively. No difference between Lisa's and Brian's scores is predicted.

D. As the above predictions imply, the groups of subjects predicted to show the most favoritism toward one story character are:

1. Liberals in Condition A will register the largest DIF score favoring the woman.
2. Traditionals in Condition B will register the largest DIF score favoring the man.

III. Secondary Hypotheses

For theoretical reasons discussed above, certain of the SCES subscales are expected to reflect sex-linked prejudice more strongly than others. Predictions are made only for the subscales which seem theoretically most salient.

1. DOMP
 - a. For trad Ss: BDOMP > LDOMP
 - b. For lib Ss: LDOMP > BDOMP
2. DOMN
 - a. For trad Ss: LDOMN > BDOMN
 - b. For lib Ss: BDOMN > LDOMN

3. LOVP

- a. For trad Ss: BLOVP > LLOVP
- b. For lib Ss: LLOVP > BLOVP

4. LLOVN

- a. For trad Ss: LLOVN > BLOVN
- b. For lib Ss: LLOVN = BLOVN, and neither character will be rated negatively on this scale.

5. DEPP

- a. For trad Ss: BDEPP > LDEPP
- b. For lib Ss: LDEPP > BDEPP

6. DEPN

- a. For trad Ss: LDEPN > BDEPN
- b. For lib Ss: BDEPN > LDEPN

The above set of predictions concerning the SCES subscales basically mean that traditional women will perceive the man as a good person who is vulnerable to the hostile attacks of a destructively powerful women. Liberal subjects are expected to criticize the man for displays of weakness, but not to see him as a genuine victim. Liberal subjects are predicted to perceive the woman in a favorable light and the man less favorably. Liberal women are expected to be more permissive than traditionals with respect to arguments, so liberal subjects are also predicted to be less critical than traditional subjects toward either story character for expressing hostility.

RESULTS

Description of the Subjects

Demographic Data

Two hundred and one undergraduate women participated as subjects in the study. The majority of the women (77 percent) were first term students at MSU. There was a smaller number of sophomores (12 percent), juniors (5 percent) and seniors (3 percent). Most of the subjects were seventeen to nineteen years old, although the age range extended up to twenty-six years.

The women in the sample described their race as either "black" or "white" on the demographic questionnaire. The black subsample included twenty women, who were distributed fairly evenly by chance across experimental conditions (N = 5 in Condition A, N = 8 in Condition B, and N = 7 in Condition C).

Most subjects (75 percent) were from a Christian religious background, with approximately equal numbers of women identifying themselves as Protestants or Roman Catholics. Eighteen subjects were from a Jewish background, and three subjects were from various other religions. Nineteen women described themselves as agnostics, atheists, or as having no religious beliefs.

The sample was in summary fairly homogeneous demographically. The women were mostly recent high school graduates who had been attending MSU for one or two months. They were hence expected to be

fairly naive about feminism and other liberal values commonly professed on the university campus.

Attitudes Toward Women's Roles

The distribution of AWS scores for the present sample is very similar to the distribution described by Dunbar (1975) for MSU women tested several years ago. The statistics for the two distributions are shown in Table 9. Although attitudes toward women may have changed within the university community over the past several years, the beliefs of incoming students have remained remarkably stable. The women in both MSU samples registered AWS scores which were more liberal than those reported by Spence and Helmreich (1972) for students at the University of Texas, but which were more conservative than those reported by Lunneborg (1974) for students at the University of Washington. The fact that the differences in regional norms are in the expected directions provides further evidence for the construct validity of the AWS.

Table 9. Distributions of AWS Scores

	Present Study	Dunbar (1975)
Range	62-159 pts	62-160 pts.
Mean	115.71	115.63
SD	18.08	20.50
Reliability	.90	.92

Subject classification by AWS. In previous research using the AWS, subjects were rank-ordered using the AWS total score, then were divided into pro-feminist liberals, moderates and traditionals. In the present study a scoring variation was introduced because the content of one of the AWS items (39) is too closely related to the dependent variables for the item to be used in partitioning the sample.

Item (39) states that "A wife should make every effort to minimize irritation and inconvenience to the male head of the family." Because the AWS was administered after the SCES, subjects' responses to item (39) may have been influenced by their previous experiences in the experiment. Figure 2a shows the distribution of responses to item (39) for subjects in Conditions A, B, and C. Although agreement with the item is elevated slightly in Condition C, the three distributions are very similar.

AWS subtotal scores were calculated by subtracting subjects' scores for item (39) from their AWS total scores. The subtotal scores were then rank-ordered, and the sample was partitioned into thirds. Table 10 shows the range of subtotal scores for the three resulting groups, who were designated liberals, moderates and traditionals.

Table 10. Range of AWS Subtotal Scores

AWS Class	N	Scores	Range
Liberal	66	124-155	31 pts.
Moderate	66	108-123	15 pts.
Traditional	65	62-107	45 pts.

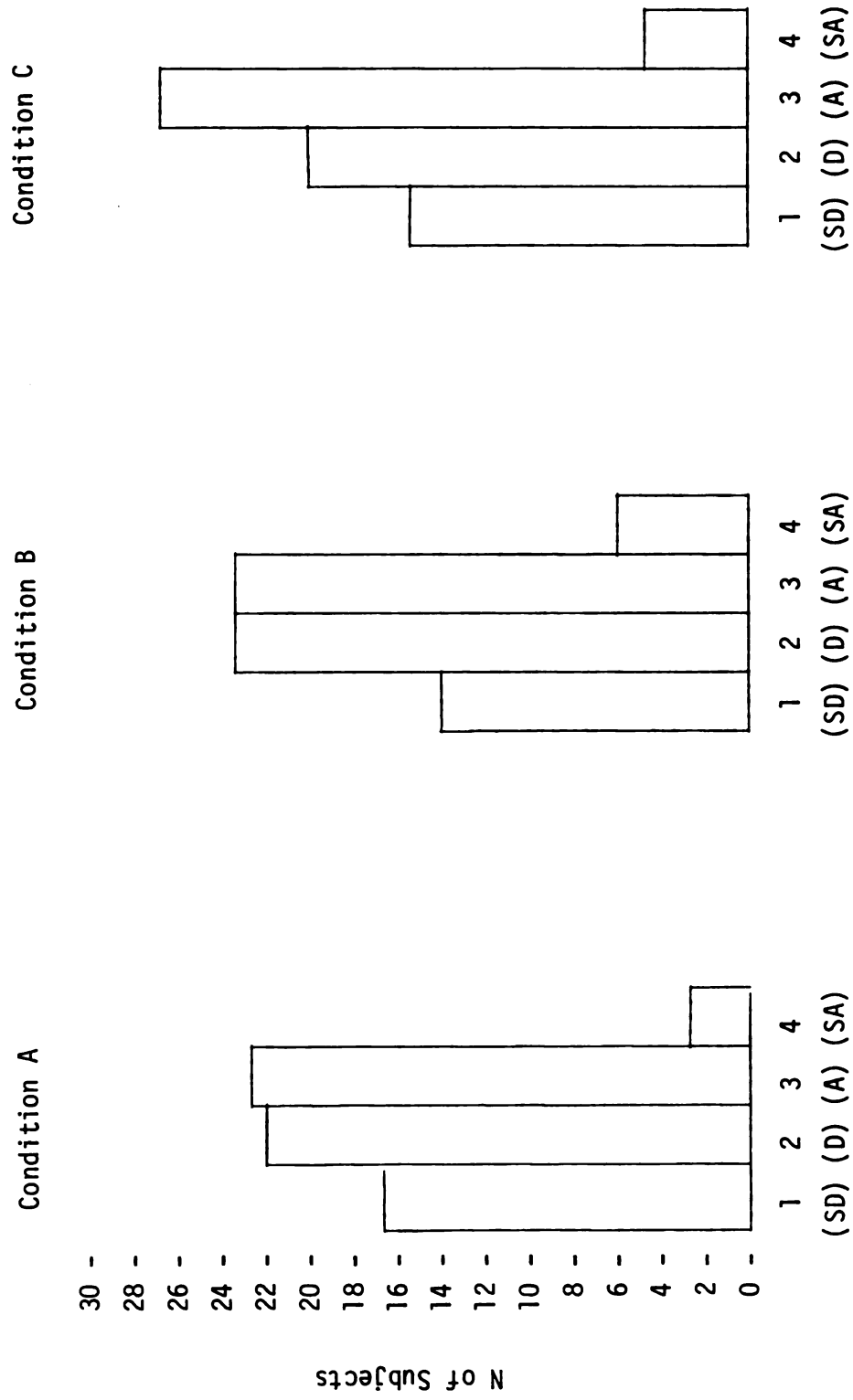


Figure 2a. Responses to AWS Item (39) by Experimental Groups

The distributions of responses to item (39) for each of the three subject groups identified by AWS subtotal scores are shown in Figure 2b. Item (39) is clearly related to subjects' attitudes toward women, as measured by the other AWS items. Although not many women strongly agreed with the item, traditionalists were more likely to do so than liberals. Conversely, liberal women were more likely than traditional women to disagree strongly with item (39).

Missing data on AWS. A number of subjects failed to respond to one or more items of the AWS. Four subjects (two from Condition A, two from Condition C) failed to respond to four items and were deleted from the sample. An additional eleven women left blank no more than one item from each of the two AWS subscales measuring liberal or traditional attitudes. For each of these eleven subjects, a mean score was calculated for responses to liberal items and for responses to traditional items. The appropriate mean was then substituted for the missing value, and the subjects were rank-ordered with the others.

The eleven subjects with missing data were from either Conditions B ($N = 4$) or Condition C ($N = 7$). They included five liberals, three moderates and one traditional. Subjects who failed to respond to AWS items were thus not identifiable by AWS subtotal scores or by membership in a particular experimental condition. Liberal women in Condition C seemed to be slightly more likely than other subjects to leave AWS items blank.

The grammar used in the AWS is in some cases confusing and in other cases rather sophisticated, which probably best explains why some subjects failed to respond. The same items were repeatedly

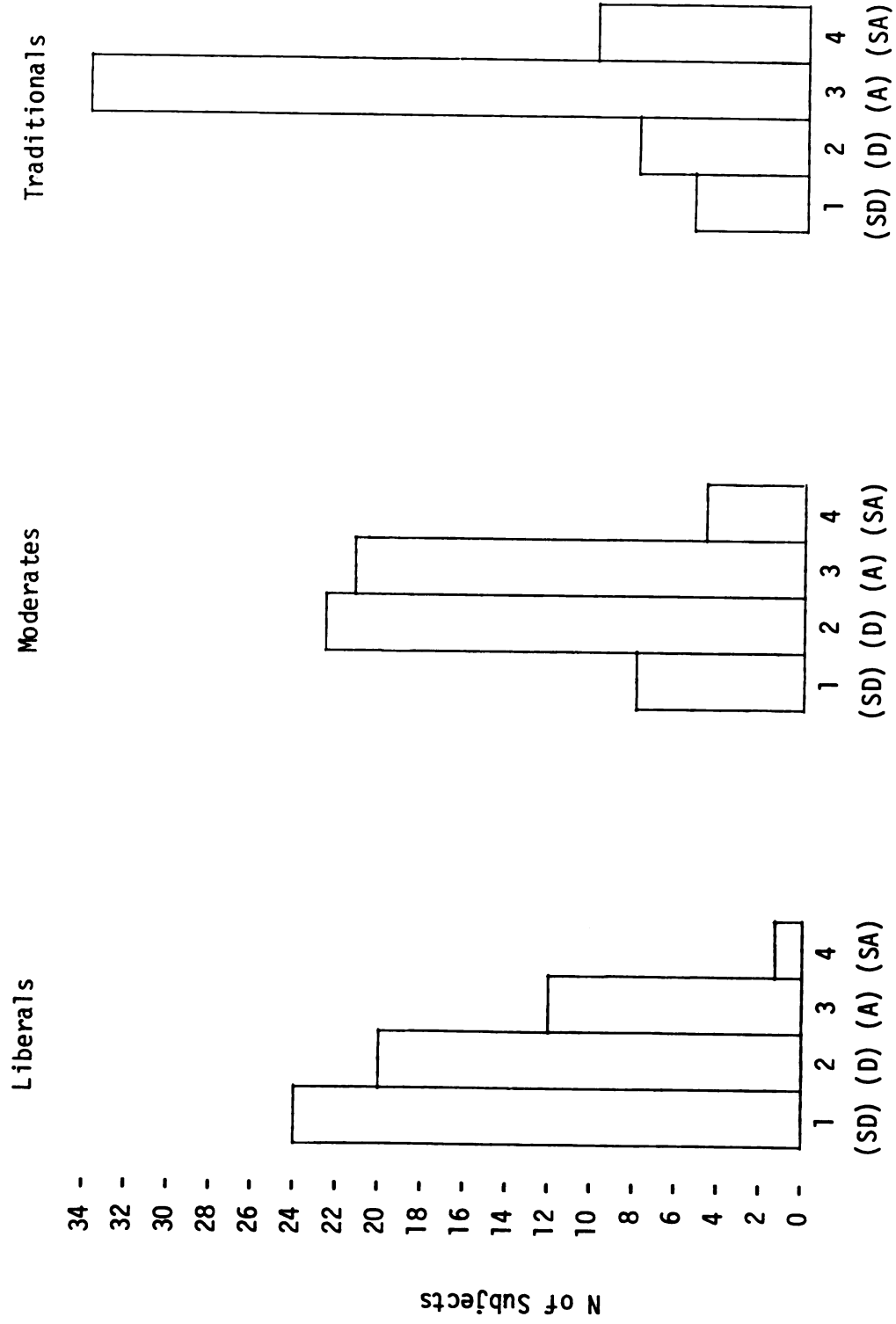


Figure 2b. Responses to AWS Item (39) by Three AWS Groups

left blank, by as many as seven subjects in one case (Item 35: "Wifely submission is an outworn virtue"). A number of subjects also inquired about the meaning of this item during the experiment. The AWS clearly needs to be edited and revised, especially if it is to be used with first-year college students or less educated populations.

Content of Projective Stories

A thorough, formal content analysis was not performed upon the projective stories, but several basic variables were studied for descriptive purposes. These variables were: the cause of the argument, the type of resolution (positive or negative) and the frequency of arguments ending in termination of the relationship. The cause of the argument was studied for the sake of general interest and to better understand the context of the subjects' evaluations of the story characters. The outcome variable was examined to determine the frequency of the positive and negative outcomes written by subjects who received no outcome instructions. The inspection of story outcomes also provided a manipulation check for Conditions B and C, in which the projective lead specified the outcome.

Termination of the relationship is an extreme case of negative outcome. Frequency of terminations was examined because of general interest, particularly regarding the sex of the person who was more likely to suggest dissolution of the relationship as a means of resolving conflict.

Outcome of Argument

Table 11 shows the frequency count of various outcomes in the three experimental conditions. A "full reconciliation" was scored

only if the subject stated that the couple "made up," with no implication that feelings or issues were left unresolved. A separation was scored if the subject implied or stated that the couple broke up permanently. In many stories the couple ended the relationship for a few days, then reconciled, in which case the outcome was scored as a reconciliation. A "negative outcome" was scored if the story explicitly stated that one or both members of the couple experienced residual resentment, distrust or dissatisfaction after the argument, but the relationship presumably continued beyond the incident. In a relatively small number of cases, the stories could not be easily classified into one of the above three categories; these stories are not included in the tables.

Table 11. Distribution of Argument Outcomes

Type of Outcome	Conditions		
	A	B	C
Full reconciliation	26	11	60
Separations			
a. initiated by Lisa	6	11	0
b. initiated by Brian	1	3	0
c. initiated by both	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>
Total Sep.	11	17	0
Negative outcome	<u>23</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>5</u>
Total negative (Sep. & Neg.)	34	56	5

In Condition A, where no outcome was specified in the instructions, subjects included a full reconciliation 40 percent of the time. There were almost the same number of stories with a negative outcome as with a positive outcome, including eleven separations and twenty-three additional cases where issues and feelings were unresolved (total $N = 66$).

Condition B instructions included the statement that the argument outcome was negative for the couples' relationship. Despite this statement, eleven subjects wrote stories in which the negative outcome was only temporary, and was resolved eventually by a full reconciliation. The number of terminations of the relationship rose to seventeen, which was the highest number of terminations for any condition.

In Condition C subjects were told that the outcome was positive, and the subjects generally followed the instructions. The number of full reconciliations increased to 60, which was most of the Condition C sample ($N = 65$). There was only one story in which the outcome was clearly negative, and four in which one or both people experienced residual resentment. No relationships were terminated.

A total of 28 stories ended with the termination of the relationship. In both Conditions A and B the woman was usually the person who initiated the separation. She left the man in 17 cases, he left her in 4 cases, and a mutual agreement was reached in 7 cases.

The relationship between this pattern in subjects' fantasies and the subjects' actual behavior in relationships is of course unknown. The woman's readiness to end her relationship in moments of frustration may represent merely the subjects' projected wish to be in the role of the rejecting party rather than in the role of the person being rejected. The subjects' ages might also have contributed

to an attitude that relationships are easily acquired and ended.

Causes of Arguments

A small number of causes accounted for most of the argument situations described by the subjects. The most frequent causes of arguments were jealousy feelings, stress related to geographic separation, and the couples' sexual relationship, in that order of frequency.

Jealousy. Jealousy as a source of conflict was cited in 87 out of 201 stories. (A story of this type is shown in Appendix I.) Jealousy was usually triggered by one person's suspicions or confirmed awareness that the partner had a sexual interest in other people. In some cases the jealous person reacted to the partner's flirtatious behavior toward other people, but in many cases the jealousy was triggered by the partner's expressed desire to date others.

Table 12 shows the frequency of jealousy stories for each experimental condition. The stories are further subdivided into those in which the man's jealousy initiated the argument, those in which the woman's jealousy triggered the argument, and those in which both people were jealous.

The man's jealousy score is greater than the woman's for several reasons. Subjects more frequently portrayed the man than the woman as being irrationally suspicious and possessive. Second, subjects often described a situation in which the woman expressed a desire to date others and the man opposed it, but relatively seldom described the same situation with the roles reversed. There were 21 stories in which the woman wanted to date others and the man insisted on

Table 12. Distribution of Jealousy Stories

Content	Conditions		
	A	B	C
Brian's jealousy	17	19	15
Lisa's jealousy	10	10	7
Both	6	3	0

monogamy, but only 7 in which he wanted to date others and the woman opposed it.

Influence of geographic separation. Some of the stories about monogamy versus non-monogamy were set in the context of a long distance relationship. These stories probably reflected the fact that most of the subjects had separated from home only one or two months before participating in the experiment. For those who had left behind a high school lover, the experimental stimulus triggered affects derived from current, painful separation conflicts with him. Thirty-five subjects wrote stories dealing with the issue of geographic distance. The typical plot was repeated over and over in much the same form. The example below was written by a traditional woman in Condition A.

Lisa and Brian care for each other and have now for two years. But now things are changing. Lisa is going off to one college and Brian is going off to another. Lisa, although finding it hard to talk about it with Brian, realizes that they are still very young and need to go out with other people. So she tells Brian that she's going to be dating other guys just like she wants him to be dating other girls. It's for the best. Brian, on the other hand, is extremely possessive, and it kills him to think of Lisa going out with

someone other than himself. He does not see her point in wanting to date other guys. He tells her if she really loves him, she won't want to go out with anyone else. Lisa cannot get him to understand the importance of dating as many girls or guys as possible. Finally, she gives up and says, "If you don't want to take me out while I'm going out with other guys, that's your decision. Either you accept my feelings or forget it." Brian refuses to see her point and they go their separate ways.

Despite the similarities in stories of the above type, individual differences among subjects were reflected in the way Lisa responded to Brian's feelings and to her own separation anxiety. Her responses ranged from the extreme of empathy to the extreme of narcissism. The woman in the story also varied in how much she accepted or denied the possibility that the relationship might end before she finished college.

Long distance situations accounted for about half of the total number of jealousy stories (included in Table 12) in which the woman triggered the argument by declaring that she wanted to date others. The same story with the sexes reversed accounted for one of the jealousy stories in which the man declared a wish to date others.

In addition to the stories described above, there were seven other cases of jealousy in the context of a long distance relationship. Other problems arising from geographic separation included location conflicts ($N = 7$), conflicts about future plans ($N = 1$), and various situations in which one person felt slighted by the other during a phone call or visit ($N = 6$).

Sexual issues. After jealousy and separation issues, the third most frequent cause of arguments was the couples' sexual relationship. Out of the total of 25 stories dealing with this theme, 18

described a situation in which the man was pressuring the woman to have sexual intercourse and she was resisting him. In all except two cases, the woman was either a virgin or "not ready" for intercourse with the particular man. When the woman cited moral reasons or the fact that it was "too soon" for intercourse, her will almost invariably prevailed over the man's, and the couple decided to abstain from intercourse, at least for the time being. In the remaining two stories, in which the man prevailed, the woman's resistance to intercourse was based upon fear of pregnancy in one case and by a history of sexual assault in the other. The man's response to the woman's fears reassured her in both of these stories, and the couple decided to have intercourse. The traditional sex role pattern implied by the above results is dramatized even more by the fact that there was only one story in which the woman was pushing for intercourse and the man was resisting. In this case, eighteen year old Lisa wondered if twenty-six year old Brian was abnormal.

Although there was a fairly large number of stories dealing with the decision to have sex for the first time, there were relatively few stories in the sample about conflicts in an established sexual relationship. There was one case in which the woman felt that sex was getting too frequent and too "routine." Another story involved a conflict over who would take responsibility for birth control. The largest number of arguments arising from an established sexual relationship concerned the woman's fear or confirmed knowledge that she was pregnant.

An interesting racial difference appeared in the pregnancy stories. Out of the total of six stories dealing with pregnancy,

five were written by black women. Given that there were only twenty black women and one hundred eighty white women in the sample, pregnancy appears to be a major area of concern for the black women, but not for the white women.

The content of the stories suggests that black subjects view pregnancy as one of the more important potential obstacles to a woman's educational and career goals. After becoming pregnant in high school or college, the heroine in the black subjects' stories becomes acutely conflicted because of her desire to continue her education, her desire to please her lover, and her desire to please her parents. The boyfriend is often portrayed as being opposed to abortion, and as romanticizing the pregnancy as "the symbol of our love." He also discounts the woman's career aspirations, and pressures her to come back home to start a family. The woman's parents are usually portrayed as disapproving of the marriage, and as promoting her upward mobility through education and postponement of family responsibilities.

The intensity of the conflict manifested in the black women's stories cannot be overestimated. In one story (Appendix J) the subject wrote two contradictory endings, and left them intact in one paragraph. In the first ending, the woman went ahead with the abortion despite the man's anger, while in the second, she withdrew from the university and went home to have his baby. In another story, the couple married "over her parents' disapproval" and the child was born, but the baby died, and the marriage was annulled. The couple decided to use birth control in the future.

The black subjects scored in the traditional and moderate

ranges of the AWS distribution, with only one liberal among them. Given their traditional attitudes toward women's roles and additional pressure from men to assume parental roles, the black female student may have a difficult time adjusting to life at the university, especially if she becomes pregnant.

Other causes of the argument. Apart from the three categories of content already described, which account for more than three-quarters of all the stories, the remaining story themes were fairly diverse. Thirteen arguments were generated by one person being late for a special date, forgetting to call as promised, or otherwise causing the partner to feel neglected. In six cases, the woman objected to what she perceived as the man's abuse of alcohol or marijuana. Other themes included issues like interracial tension, conflicts about depth of commitment, religious differences, parental disapproval, and academic exam pressures.

The content of the stories written by this sample was quite different from the content of the stories written by the pilot sample. These differences can probably be accounted for in part by the relatively advanced developmental and academic level of the pilot subjects (whose median age was twenty-six) as well as by the fact that the pilot study instructions stated that the couple was married. The stories in the present study included only a few arguments over a decision to live together, and even fewer stories in which the couple was already co-habiting.

The pilot study subjects also seemed to be more sophisticated with respect to feminist ideas, and were rather preoccupied with

conflicts over traditional versus egalitarian roles in the couples' relationship. Subjects in the present sample wrote few stories as political as those written by the pilot sample. There were a fair number of stories, however, in which the woman successfully asserted her refusal to submit to the man's demands that she give up going to college, that she move to his city, that she change her style of dress, or that she stop dating other men. A subjects' decision to attend the university seems to imply some degree of career orientation in most subjects regardless of the subject's beliefs concerning other aspects of male-female relationships.

Story Character Evaluation Scale

The responses to the Story Character Evaluation Scale were scored using computer programs from the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie, 1975). Sums were computed for the items in the constituent subscales (ATTP, ATTN, DOMP, DOMN, LOVP, LOVN, DEPP, DEPN, POS, and NEG; see Tables 6 and 7).

The reliability analyses revealed that the original clustering of items, based on theoretical constructs, was not congruent with subjects' patterns of responding. Table 13 shows the Kuder-Richardson alpha coefficients for the internal consistency of the SCES subscales. the ATTP, ATTN, and NEG scales are reasonably reliable, but the other subscales show very low coefficients.

The items were therefore re-organized into subscales using a statistical procedure instead of the theoretical approach. Alpha coefficients were computed for each item showing the reliability of the subscale with that item deleted. The scales were then re-organized

Table 13. Kuder-Richardson Reliability Coefficients for SCES
Scales: First Version

Scale	Number of Items	Alpha Coefficients
LATTP	3	.65
LATTN	3	.57
LDOMP	9	.19
LDOMN	9	.37
LLOVP	9	.18
LLOVN	9	.30
LDEPP	9	-.15
LDEPN	9	-.16
LPOS	31	.29
LNEG	31	.68
BATTP	3	.82
BATTN	3	.68
BDOMP	9	.05
BDOMN	9	.32
BLOVP	9	.11
BLOVN	9	.13
BDEPP	9	.08
BDEPN	9	.20
BPOS	31	.48
BNEG	31	.57

so as to maximize subscale reliabilities without substantially changing the boundaries of the original clustering.

First, the ATTP scale was removed from the POS scale, and ATTN from the NEG scale. In addition, items (13) through (16) were removed from LPOS, LNEG, BPOS and BNEG and added to the appropriate ATT scale. This resulted in four-item ATT scales (LATTP, LATTN, BATTP and BATTN) high in internal consistency, as shown in Table 14.

Table 14. Kuder-Richardson Reliability Coefficients for SCES Scales: Final Version

Scale	Number of Items	Alpha Coefficients
LATTP	4	.69
LATTN	4	.69
LPOS	18	.72
LNEG	18	.85
LDMN	4	.68
LDEPN	4	.69
BATTP	4	.79
BATTN	4	.77
BPOS	18	.74
BNEG	18	.87
BDMN	4	.77
BDEPN	4	.64

The removal of four items from each of the POS and NEG scales left them with twenty-seven items each. Eight items which depressed the alpha coefficient for the LNEG scale were identified. The same items plus one more depressed the BNEG scale. With these items

removed, the LNEG and BNEG scales attained very high reliability coefficients ($\alpha = .85$ and $\alpha = .87$). The items removed are listed in Table 15.

Table 15. Items Deleted from NEG Scale

Item		Content
Lisa	Brian	
57	111	controlling, manipulative
60	114	bossy, domineering
39	93	critical, fault-finding
63	117	has a cruel streak
27	81	immature
44	98	self-pitying
54	108	too dependent
70	124	makes excuses for self
20	74	touchy and defensive

The first eight items on the list are of special interest in that they reflect the original theoretical concepts which the DOMN and DEPN subscales were designed to measure. It was therefore desirable to retain these items as two new clusters, if possible. Indeed the four-item clusters were found to be internally consistent ($\alpha = .68$ for LDOMN, $\alpha = .69$ for LDEPN, $\alpha = .77$ for BDOMN, $\alpha = .64$ for BDEPN), so they were used in the analysis in place of the previous DOMN and DEPN subscales.

For the NEG scales, the items which were inconsistent with Brian's scale and with Lisa's scale were almost identical. This was not true for the POS scales. Seven items depressed the reliability

of LPOS, while ten items depressed the reliability of BPOS. Five of these items depressed the a coefficient of both scales. Table 16 shows these five items, plus four additional items which were deleted from the POS scales. The last four items depressed the reliability of either LPOS or BPOS without markedly affecting the other scale.

Table 16. Items Deleted from POS Scale

Item		Content
Lisa	Brian	
29	83	"together"
45	99	a leader type
50	104	honest and sincere
38	92	vulnerable
64	118	childlike
52	106	dependable and trustworthy
23	77	fair-minded
42	96	rational
58	112	responsible

Table 17 shows the final version of the SCES subscales with their constituent items. The smaller number of subscales not only helped to raise the reliability coefficients of the subscales, but also helped to reduce the number of dependent variables used in the analysis of variance.

Table 18 shows Pearson product-moment correlations among the SCES subscales. When Lisa's and Brian's ratings are inspected separately, scales regarded as "positive" in connotation are correlated

Table 17. SCES Scales: Final Version

<u>ATTP</u>	1. X was basically right in what she (he) did and said during the argument. 2. X did her (his) best for the sake of the relationship. 4. X was helpful and constructive during the argument. 13. (In the actual situation) I would feel like defending X.
<u>ATTN</u>	3. X was hurtful and destructive during the argument. 5. X was at fault in the argument. 6. X created trouble between Y and herself (himself). 14. (In the actual situation) I would feel like criticizing X.
<u>DOMN</u>	57. controlling, manipulative 69. bossy, domineering 39. critical, fault-finding 63. has a cruel streak
<u>DEPN</u>	27. immature 44. self-pitying 54. too dependent 70. makes excuses for self
<u>POS</u>	19. capable 26. assertive, outspoken 36. strong 21. loving 31. forgiving 71. dominant 34. generous, giving 37. sensitive to others' feelings 43. gentle 55. reasonable and cooperative 61. kind and compassionate 25. likeable 33. needs gentle treatment 41. needs understanding 47. inspires sympathy 62. needs encouragement 68. tries to please 72. needs protection
<u>NEG</u>	22. nagging, complaining 30. stubborn 35. conceited, egotistical 49. rigid, authoritarian 66. restrictive, confining 67. overpowering 69. demanding 28. hostile 32. cold

Table 17. (Continued)

<u>NEG</u>	(Continued)
	46. rejecting
	51. has a hot temper
	56. attacking, hurtful
	59. too aggressive
	24. silly
	40. runs from problems
	48. confused, unaware
	53. spoiled, self-indulgent
	65. neurotic, maladjusted

with other scales regarded as positive, and negatively correlated with scales regarded as negative. Correlations between Lisa's and Brian's scales are modest to low.

Missing data on the SCES. Fourteen subjects failed to record a response to at least one item of the SCES. Data were more frequently deleted from ratings of Brian than from ratings of Lisa. Seven subjects omitted data on Lisa, with a total of at least ten cases of missing data. Eleven subjects omitted data on Brian, with a total of at least thirty missing responses. Three of the subjects who omitted data on the SCES also omitted data on the AWS.

The subjects who failed to respond to SCES items were mostly AWS moderates (N = 6) and traditionals (N = 4). There were also a few liberals (N = 3) and one subject whose responses to the AWS were not scored because she failed to answer four items. All subjects with missing SCES data were deleted from the pool used in the analysis. A total of seventeen women were deleted because of missing data on either the AWS or SCES. The original pool of subjects

Table 18. Pearson Product-Moment Correlations Among SCES Scales

Scales	LATTP	LATTN	LPOS	LNEG	LDMN	LDEPN
LATTP	---					
LATTN	.55 (.001)	---				
LPOS	.28 (.001)	-.06 (ns)	---			
LNEG	-.50 (.001)	.48 (.001)	-.30 (.001)	---		
LDMN	-.31 (.001)	.34 (.001)	-.22 (.001)	.72 (.001)	---	
LDEPN	-.41 (.001)	.37 (.001)	-.16 (.05)	.57 (.001)	.31 (.001)	---
BATTP	-.07 (ns)	.32 (.001)	-.00 (ns)	.15 (.05)	.07 (ns)	.15 (.05)
BATTN	.10 (ns)	-.13 (.05)	.43 (.001)	-.11 (ns)	-.06 (ns)	-.04 (ns)
BPOS	.12 (ns)	.10 (ns)	-.14 (.05)	-.05 (ns)	-.01 (ns)	-.15 (.05)
BNEG	-.06 (ns)	-.02 (ns)	-.02 (ns)	.21 (.01)	.19 (.01)	.22 (.001)
BDMN	-.08 (ns)	.00 (ns)	-.21 (.01)	.19 (.01)	.15 (.05)	.23 (.001)
BDEPN	.05 (ns)	-.10 (ns)		.14 (.05)	.13 (.05)	.23 (.001)
Scales	BATTP	BATTN	BPOS	BNEG	BDMN	BDEPN
BATTP	---					
BATTN	-.59 (.001)	---				
BPOS	.44 (.001)	-.23 (.001)	---			
BNEG	-.42 (.001)	.44 (.001)	-.43 (.001)	---		
BDMN	-.33 (.001)	.29 (.001)	-.37 (.001)	.75 (.001)	---	
BDEPN	-.37 (.001)	.38 (.001)	-.24 (.001)	.64 (.001)	.42 (.001)	---

(N = 201) was thus reduced to an N of 184

Multivariate Analysis of Variance

A multivariate analysis of variance was performed using the six SCES subscales as dependent variables. Subjects were grouped by experimental condition (A, B or C) and by AWS scores (lib, mod or trad). In the design-over-subjects analysis Lisa's and Brian's scores were added together, yielding a SUM score. For the design-over-measures analysis, Brian's scores were subtracted from Lisa's to yield a DIF score. The DIF score is of primary interest in the present study, since it provides a comparison of Lisa and Brian for each subscale of the SCES (univariate F-ratios) and for the six subscales taken together (multivariate F).

The analysis was performed by Finn's (1974) computer program for the multivariate analysis of variance with repeated measures. The Measures factor in this case is the sex of the person being rated by subjects (Sex).

The source table for the analysis using AWS scores to segregate subjects is shown in Table 19. The top left half of the table shows the results of the design-over-subjects analysis, and the lower right half shows the results of the design-over-measures analysis. The table should be read from bottom to top. When a significant multivariate F-ratio is reached the remaining F-ratios are not interpretable, because the design is unbalanced.

The F-ratio at the bottom of the table pertains to Hypothesis 2, which is that the DIF scores vary with the Sex \times Cond \times AWS interaction. The hypothesis was not supported. The multivariate F-ratio

Table 19. Source Table for Multivariate Analysis of Variance:
Analysis I

Source	df	F	Source	df	F
Grand Mean	1	669.25 (p < .0001)			
Condition	2	2.41 (p < .005)			
AWS	2	1.82 (p < .04)			
Cond <u>x</u> AWS	4	1.34 (p < .13)			
			Sex	1	19.90 (p < .001)
			Sex <u>x</u> Cond	2	0.88 (p < .57)
			Sex <u>x</u> AWS	2	0.58 (p < .86)
			Sex <u>x</u> Cond <u>x</u> AWS	4	1.29 (p < .16)

was not significant ($p < .16$). The univariate F-ratios for the dependent variables were furthermore not close to even this level of significance. The DIF score (L score-B score) does not vary much among groups of subjects when they are classified by both AWS level and condition.

The second F-ratio up from the bottom of the source table tests Hypothesis 1, which is that the DIF score varies with the AWS scores of the subjects. This hypothesis was also not supported. The F-ratio was not at all close to significance ($p < .86$).

The third F-ratio tests the hypothesis that the DIF scores vary

because of the difference in instructions in the three experimental conditions. The F-ratio was non-significant, which was consistent with expectations.

The F-ratio at the top of the right column of the table tests the hypothesis that there is a difference between Lisa's and Brian's scores. The multivariate F is highly significant ($p < .0001$). Table 20 shows that the univariate F-ratios are also highly significant for the ATTP, ATTN, POS and NEG scales ($p < .001$). There are smaller differences ($p < .10$) on the DOMN scale and no differences of a significant size on the DEPN scale.

Table 20. Univariate Analyses of Variance for Sex Factor: Analysis I

Variable	MS	F	P
ATTP	926.50	94.22	$p < .001$
ATTN	486.07	42.03	$p < .001$
POS	408.96	18.33	$p < .001$
NEG	1274.68	20.17	$p < .001$
DOMN	39.77	5.86	$p < .01$
DEPN	6.00	.90	ns

These differences in ratings of Lisa and Brian follow the same pattern across the nine groups of subjects. The DIF means for all groups are shown in Table 21. The original means for Lisa and Brian before conversion into the DIF score are shown in Table 22. For ease of inspection, the original means for the four-item scales are plotted in Figures 3a-3c, and the means for the eighteen-item scales

Table 21. Mean DIF Scores: Analysis I

Cond	AWS	ATTP	ATTN	POS	NEG	DOMN	DEPN
A	LIB	2.46	-2.53	3.80	-3.94	-1.28	-0.50
	MOD	1.32	-1.41	2.46	-3.14	-1.08	0.09
	TRAD	2.65	-1.63	0.88	-2.33	0.25	0.04
B	LIB	1.94	-0.64	1.20	-2.37	-0.21	-0.49
	MOD	2.77	-2.46	0.06	-3.34	-0.48	-0.45
	TRAD	3.14	-2.30	2.25	-3.54	-0.62	-1.28
C	LIB	1.77	-1.03	0.85	-.134	-0.35	0.78
	MOD	2.92	-1.94	2.73	-0.49	0.00	0.22
	TRAD	1.63	-0.80	-0.09	-0.09	-0.25	-0.12
N of Items		4	4	18	18	4	4

Table 22. Cell Means for Ratings of Lisa and Brian: Analysis I

LISA							
Cond	AWS	ATTP	ATTN	POS	NEG	DOMN	DEPN
A	LIB	12.43	7.38	55.86	31.67	6.90*	8.09
	MOD	11.04*	8.52	55.13	35.26	7.70	9.09
	TRAD	11.95	8.20	58.70**	34.90	8.65**	8.70
B	LIB	11.35	9.55**	52.40*	36.20**	7.80	8.80
	MOD	11.60	7.88	54.24	33.44	7.72	7.80
	TRAD	12.81**	7.56	57.50	30.56	7.31	7.44*
C	LIB	12.80	7.95	56.25	34.50	8.25	9.35**
	MOD	13.56	6.56*	58.56	31.81	7.38	7.56
	TRAD	12.39	7.65	55.87	31.22*	7.09	7.57
BRIAN							
A	LIB	8.95	10.95**	50.48*	37.24	8.71	8.81
	MOD	9.17	10.52	51.65	39.70	9.22**	8.96
	TRAD	8.20	10.50	57.45**	38.20	8.30	8.65
B	LIB	8.60	10.45	50.70	39.55**	8.10	9.50**
	MOD	7.68*	11.36	54.16	38.16	8.40	8.44
	TRAD	8.37	10.81	54.31	35.56	8.19	9.25
C	LIB	10.30**	9.40	55.05	36.40	8.75	8.25
	MOD	9.44	9.31	54.69	32.50*	7.37*	7.25*
	TRAD	10.09	8.78*	56.00	34.96	7.43	7.74

* smallest score

** largest score

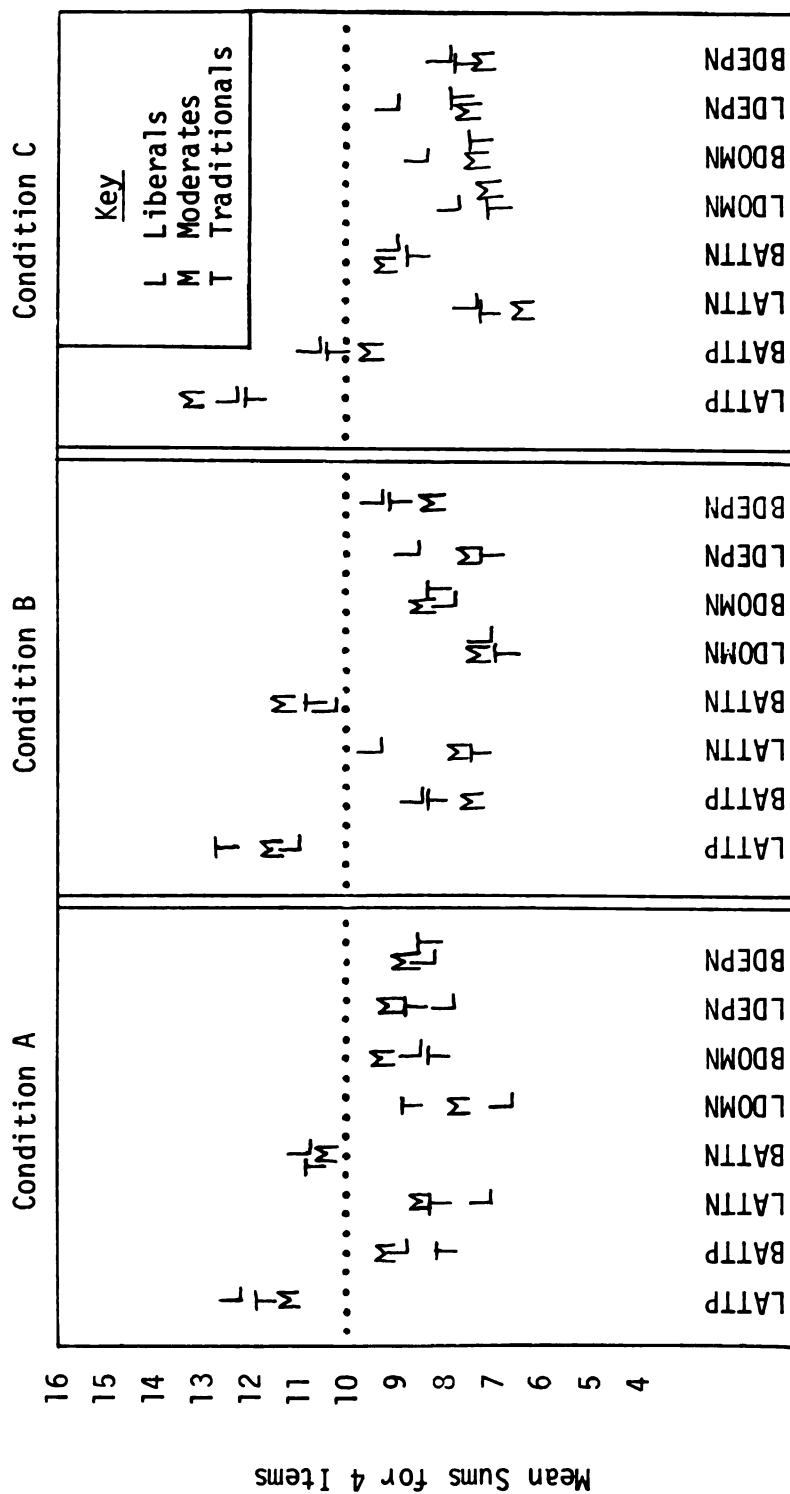


Figure 3a-c. Mean Ratings on 4-Point SCES Scales for Nine Groups of Ss.

are plotted in Figure 4. For the four-item scales (all except POS and NEG), the possible range of scale sum scores is 4.0 (strong disagreement) to 16.0 (strong agreement). The corresponding range of points for the POS and NEG scales is 18.0 to 72.0 points.

The figures show that the results of the analysis are generally completely the opposite of what was expected. Women subjects showed significant favoritism toward the woman in scores on four scales (ATTP, ATTN, POS, NEG). They showed little or no favoritism toward either person on the other two scales (DOMN and DEPN).

Subjects consistently, definitely agreed that Lisa deserved credit for her role in the argument, and consistently disagreed that she was wrong and at fault. The subjects agreed somewhat that Brian was at fault for the argument, except in Condition C, where they disagreed somewhat that he was blameworthy. They also disagreed that Brian deserved credit for his role in the argument, except in Condition C, where they neither agreed nor disagreed.

The means for both Lisa and Brian on all scales measuring negative personality traits fall below the midline of the possible range of scores. That is, subjects consistently disagreed that either Lisa or Brian had the negative personality traits included in the NEG, DOMN and DEPN scales. They disagreed more strongly that the NEG items were true of Lisa. Subjects definitely agreed that the items of the POS scale were true of both Lisa and Brian, but they agreed more strongly that the items were true of Lisa.

One of the primary hypotheses was that information about the outcome of the argument would interact with subjects' attitudes toward women and influence the direction and magnitude of

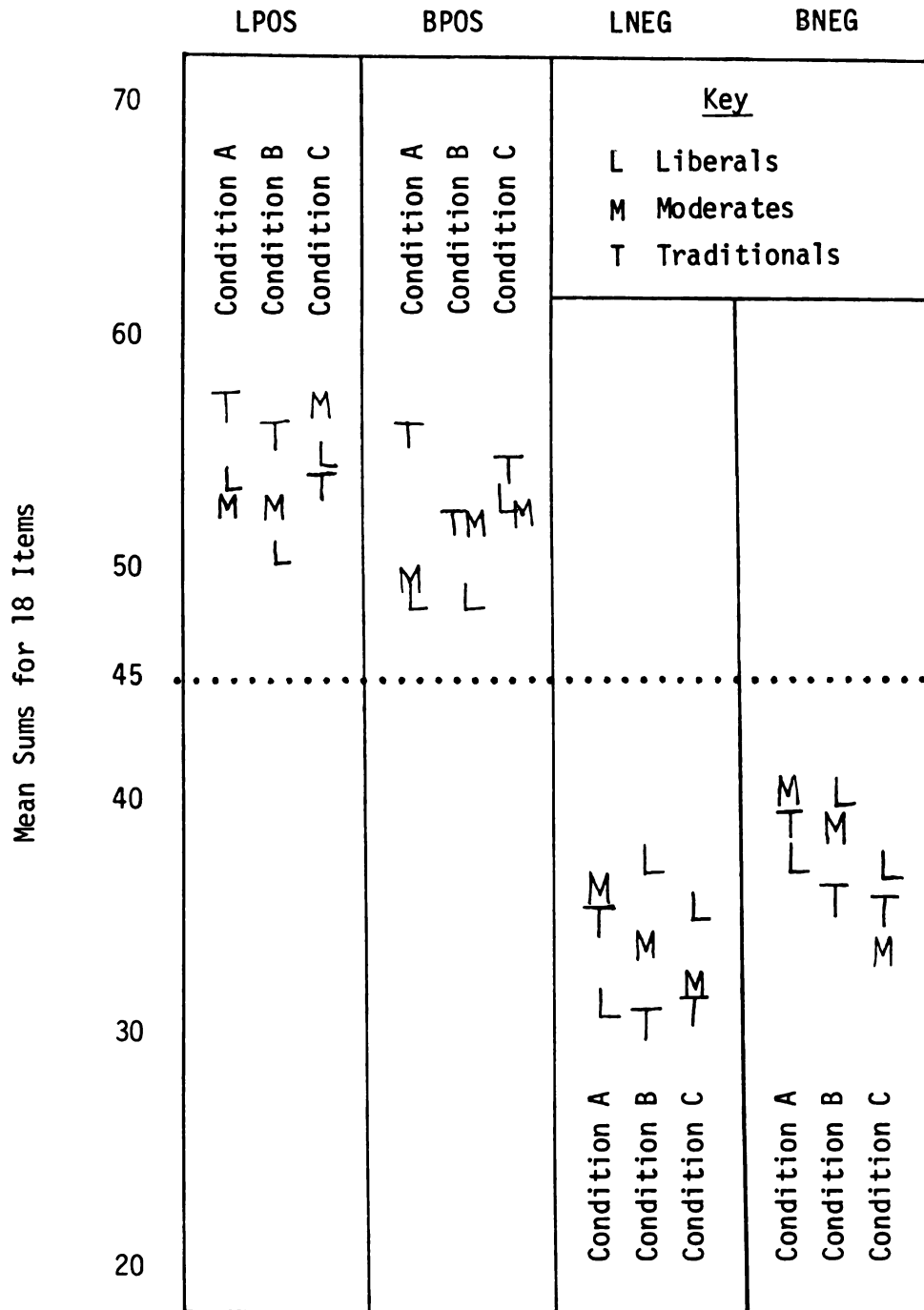


Figure 4. Mean Ratings on 18-Point Scales for Nine Groups of Ss.

sex-linked bias (Argument Outcome \times AWS \times Sex interaction). This hypothesis was not supported ($p < .16$) when the differences between the woman's and the man's scores were the focus of investigation. Differences between groups of subjects do, however, appear when mean ratings for each story character are inspected separately.

Women's ratings of the man on the credit (ATTP) and blame (ATTN) scales varied more with experimental condition than with subjects' sex-role ideologies. The most striking finding was that women attributed the same high levels of blame to the man whether they were told that the argument outcome was negative or whether they were told nothing about the outcome (Figures 3a and 3b). The outcomes in the no-information condition were judged to be positive about half the time, so the similarity of subjects' responses in the two conditions is difficult to explain.

The ratings of the woman more than the ratings of the man differed with subjects' sex-role ideology as well as with outcome information. The behavior of liberal women in the no-information condition was consistent with expectations. Liberal women agreed more than the other two groups that the woman was right and constructive in the argument situation, and that the subjects would feel like defending her (ATTP Scale). Liberal subjects disagreed more than the other groups that the woman was wrong, destructive or a cause of trouble (ATTN Scale). Liberal women in the no-information condition (A) were also more likely than other subjects in the same condition to attribute blame to the man.

Subjects' responses on the POS and NEG scales followed the predicted pattern in part. Liberal women rated the man less positively

and rated the woman less negatively than the other groups in the no-information condition. However, liberals rated the woman less positively than did traditionalists, which was not expected. Traditional women rated both the man and the woman more positively on the POS scale than did any group in Condition A, and were egalitarian in attributing very high levels of positive qualities to the woman and the man. Liberal women were, however, less negative (NEG) than the other two groups in ratings of both people, which is consistent with expectations.

The results obtained in the negative outcome condition were contrary to expectations. Liberal women showed a dramatic rise in attribution of blame to the woman, such that the woman's mean score reached the mid-scale point and the difference between the woman's and man's score became almost negligible (0.64 out of 12.00 possible points). Liberal women in Condition B attributed more blame and more hostile personality traits (NEG) to the woman than did any other group in the experiment. Liberal women blamed the man the least of any group in the negative outcome condition, and gave him the most credit. Although liberal women were almost egalitarian in assigning blame, they still gave the woman much more credit than the man. On the other hand, they gave her the least amount of credit of the three AWS groups, and they gave her less credit than they had in the no-information condition.

In contrast, traditional women gave the woman slightly more credit when they were told the outcome was negative than when they were told nothing. Traditional women who were told the outcome was negative gave the woman more credit than did liberal women who were

told nothing. Furthermore, traditional women blamed the woman the least of any group in the negative experimental condition.

On the POS personality traits traditional subjects rated both the woman and the man the highest of any group in the negative outcome condition. Liberals rated both people the lowest, which is consistent with the pattern found in Condition A, and which is contrary to expectations. Even more unexpected was the finding that traditional women in Condition B rated both the woman and the man lower on the items of the NEG scale than did the other groups in the same experimental condition, and liberal women rated both people the highest. The NEG scale absorbed most of the items of the original LOVN scale, and hence is heavily loaded with traits describing undesirable hostile behavior. It was predicted that liberals would be less critical of both people than traditionals with respect to angry, aggressive behavior. The results indicate that liberals were more critical than traditionals who were told that the outcome of the argument was negative for the couples' relationship.

Relative to the subjects who received no information about the outcome, subjects who received information that the outcome was positive were generally less likely to attribute blame and more likely to attribute credit to both story characters. Their image of the woman was extremely positive, their image of the man lukewarm.

On the other hand, liberal subjects in Condition C attributed more negative qualities to both story characters than did the other two AWS groups on every one of the negative scales (LATTN, BATTN, LDOMN, BDOMN, LDEPN, BDEPN, LNEG, and BNEG), which was another unexpected finding. Liberal subjects did not actually agree with the

negative items with respect to either story character, but they disagreed less than did moderate and traditional subjects, who responded very similarly to each other on the negative scales.

On the positive scales, moderate women who were told the argument outcome was positive rated the woman exceptionally highly. They gave the woman more credit than any other group in the experiment, and registered the second highest mean score for attribution of positive personality traits. Moderate women also blamed the woman less than any group in Condition C.

Women's responses to the DOMN and DEPN scales across conditions were of particular interest because these scales were expected to register the most bias in favor of one or the other story characters. The differences between the woman's and man's ratings were not significant for either scale. One finding which was consistent with predictions was that traditional women who received no outcome information attributed more destructive dominance to the woman than did any other group in the experiment, and liberals who received no outcome information attributed less destructive dominance to the woman than did any other group.

In Condition C, however, liberals and traditionals exchange places relative to Condition A. Liberals in the positive outcome condition increased somewhat attribution of destructive dominance to the woman, while rating the man about the same as the woman, and about the same as they rated him in other conditions.

The responses of liberal women to the DEPN scale are even more intriguing than their responses to the DOMN scale. The highest DEPN mean score for the man was registered by liberals who were told the

argument outcome was negative, which is very consistent with predictions. The highest DEPN score for the woman was, however, registered by liberals who were told the argument outcome was positive. The high LDEPN score occurs in the context of a generally negative set among liberal subjects in Condition C, relative to traditionals and moderates in the same condition.

Analysis of SUM Scores

The fact that significant differences were found for the Sex factor means that the left side of the source table (the design-over-subjects analysis) cannot be interpreted. Although three of the F-ratios are significant, the unbalanced design obscures the meaning of these findings.

Second Analysis

Since the AWS \times Sex interaction and the Argument Outcome \times AWS \times Sex interaction were non-significant, a second, post-hoc analysis was performed with a different assessment variable. In the theoretical discussion, linkages between subjects' attitudes about conflict were predicted to be related to their evaluations of the story characters. Specifically, women who believe that arguments should be prevented were expected to blame the woman more than the man for the argument's occurrence as well as for its outcome. Women who are relatively tolerant of open conflict were expected to blame neither person to a marked degree. A positive relationship was expected to be found between AWS traditionalism and the belief that arguments should be prevented.

Two items of the SCES measured attitudes about arguments.

Item (17) assesses the subjects' opinion about the argument she described in her story (Item 17: "In the actual situation I would feel that this argument should have been prevented"). Item (18) assesses the subject's opinion about the value of arguments in general. (Item 18: "I believe that most arguments should be prevented.")

It was originally expected that SCES item (18) would differentiate subjects more effectively than item (17). Women who strongly disagreed with the statement in item (18) were considered to be permissive toward interpersonal conflict, while women who strongly agreed were considered to be suppressive toward conflict. A positive relationship between AWS traditionalism and suppressive attitudes was expected to be found.

Figure 5 shows the frequency distribution of responses to item (18) for lib, mod and trad women. The expected relationship between traditionalism and desire to suppress conflict exists, but not to a marked degree. Lib subjects are more evenly distributed across the response alternatives to item (18) than are trad subjects, who more frequently agreed that arguments should be prevented. Generally, however, subjects from all three AWS groups are well distributed over the possible range of item (18).

The opposite is true for item (17), ("I feel that this argument should have been prevented"). The distributions for the AWS groups are shown in Figure 6, and the distributions for experimental conditions are shown in Figure 7. Item (17) was a powerful elicitor of extreme responses for all three AWS groups. There are many subjects in each group who strongly disagreed with the item, and even more

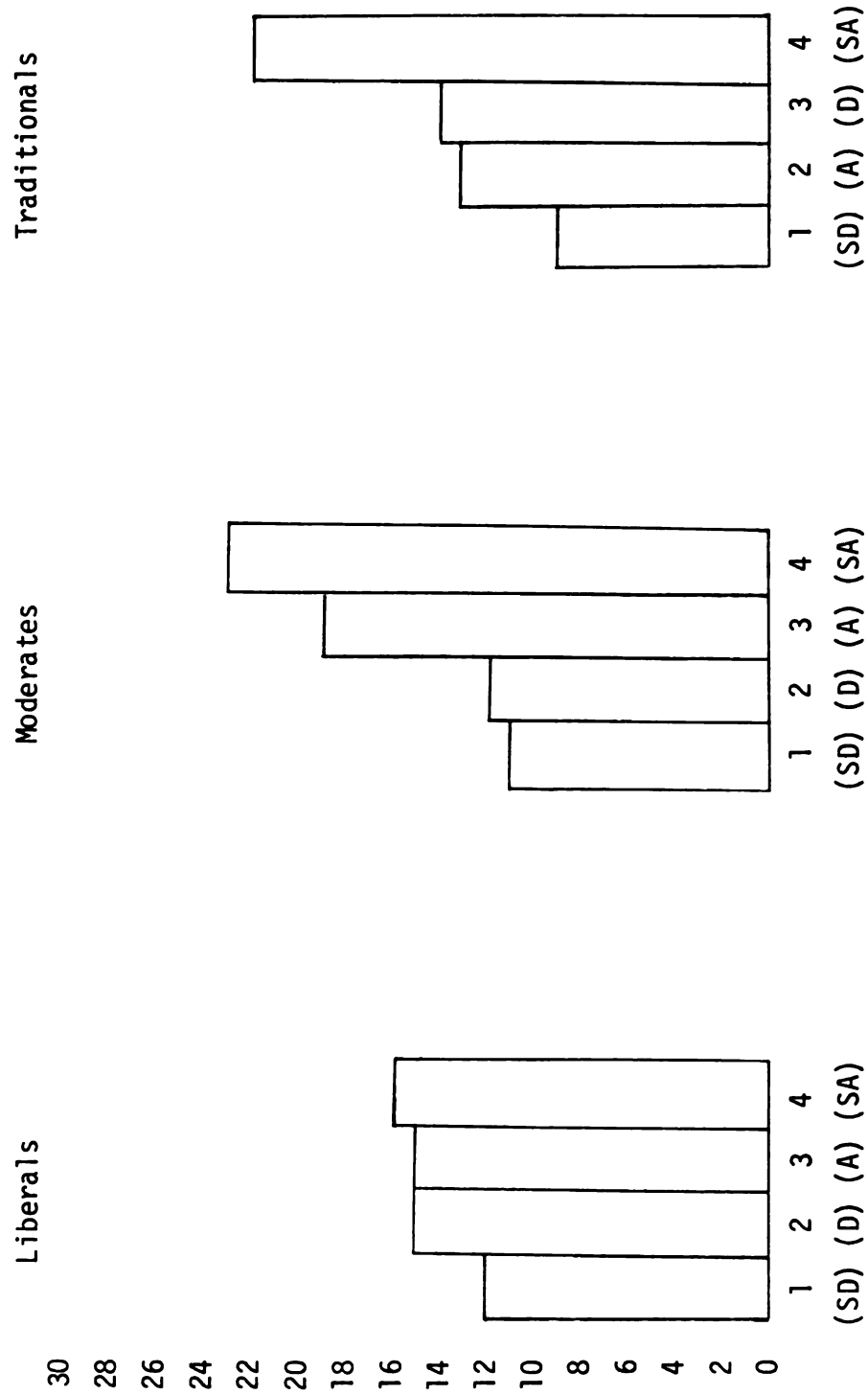


Figure 5. Responses to SCES Item (18) by Three AWS Groups

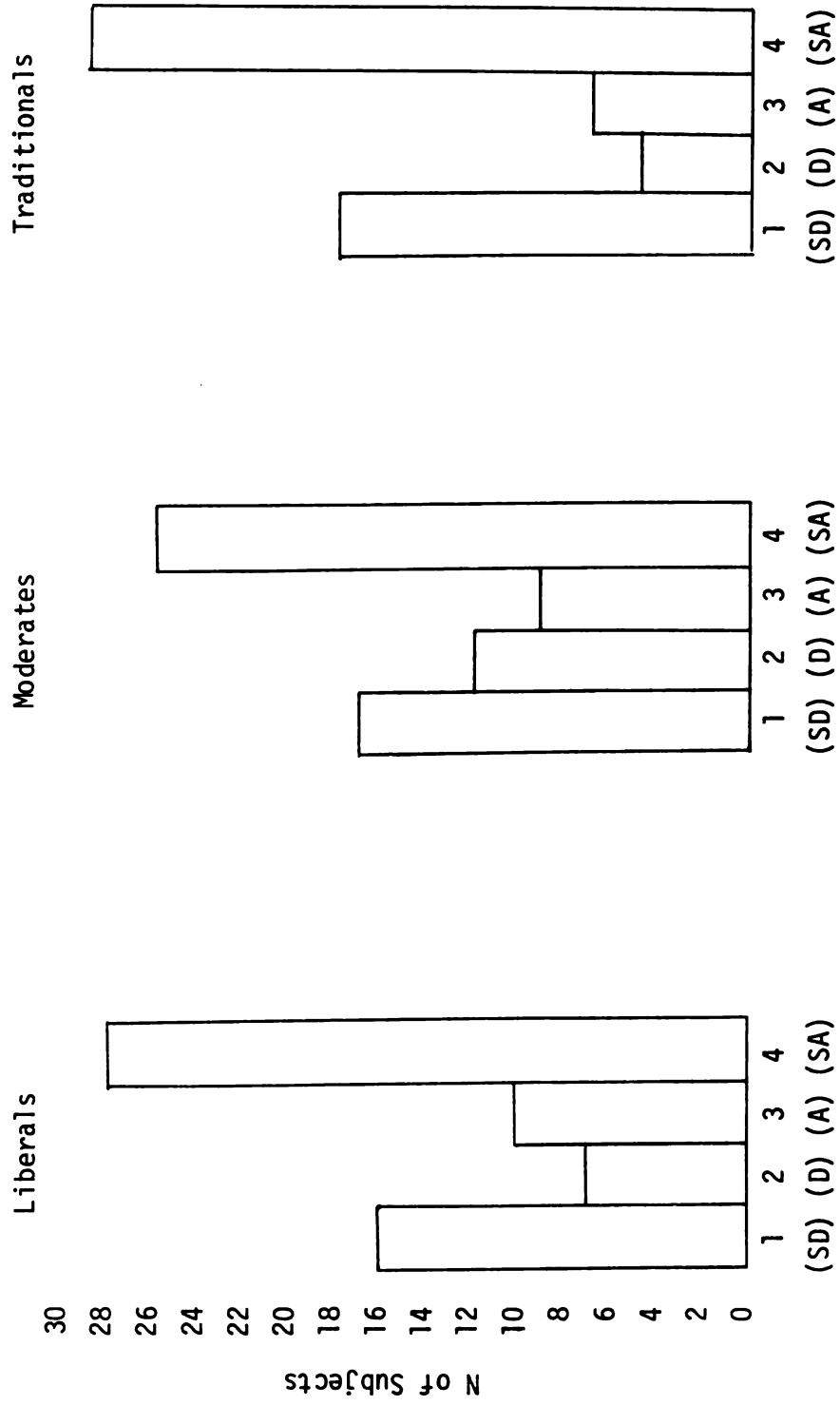


Figure 6. Responses to SCES Item (17) by Three AWS Groups

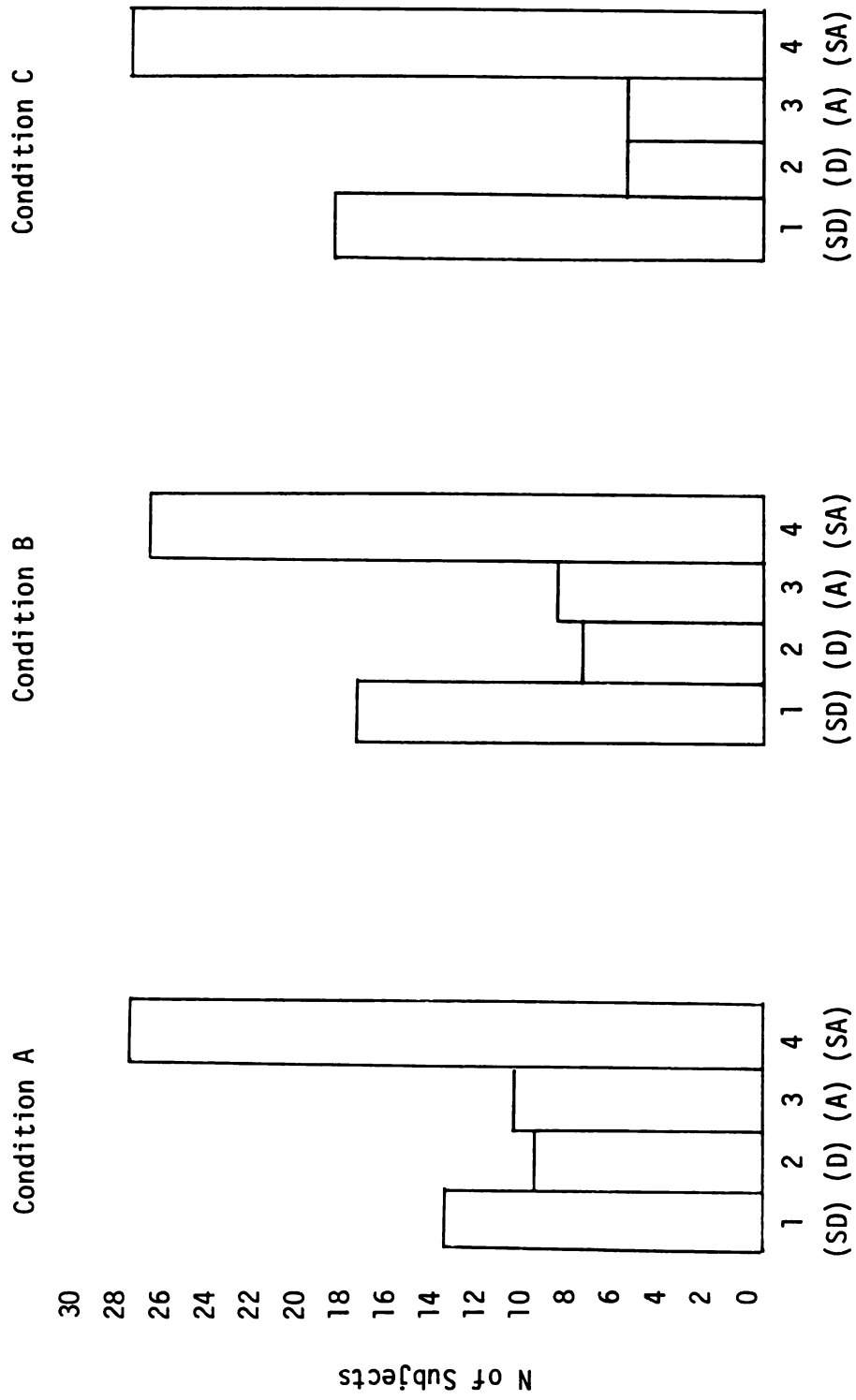


Figure 7. Responses to Item (17) in Three Experimental Conditions

subjects who strongly agreed, but relatively few subjects who responded with moderate agreement or disagreement.

The subjects' responses to SCES time (17) were related to the predicted way to their ratings of the woman on the credit-blame items. The only scale scores which were significantly related to responses to item (17) were Lisa's ratings on ATTP (credit) and ATTN (blame). Subjects who agreed that the argument should have been prevented attributed higher levels of blame to Lisa ($r = .31$, $p < .001$) and lower levels of credit ($r = -.31$, $p < .001$) than did subjects who disagreed. Women's opinions about whether the argument should have been prevented were not related to their evaluations of the man on any SCES scales.

A second multivariate analysis of variance was performed, using subjects' responses to item (17) as the assessed variable. Only the extreme high and low scorers were used, resulting in the design shown in Figure 8. The source table for the analysis is shown in Table 23.

As the table shows, the results of the second analysis of variance are not substantially different from the first: The interaction of Subject Variable \times Sex is more noticeable in the second analysis ($p < .11$) than in the first analysis ($p < .86$), but the F-ratio is not significant in either analysis. The triple order interaction which was the focus of interest in the first analysis (AWS \times Argument Outcome \times Sex) was less significant in the second analysis ($p < .66$) than in the first ($p < .16$).

An analysis of the woman's and man's combined scores on corresponding SCES scales could clarify how subjects evaluate people who are

Cond	Item 17	N	Lisa	Brian
			ATTP, ATTN DEPN	ATTP, ATTN DEPN
A	Strongly Disagree	15		
	Strongly Agree	28		
B	Strongly Disagree	16		
	Strongly Agree	26		
C	Strongly Disagree	19		
	Strongly Agree	28		
Total		132		

Figure 8. Design for Second Analysis

Table 23. Source Table for Multivariate Analysis of Variance:
Analysis II

Source	df	F	Source	df	F
Grand Mean	1	4857.96 (p < .0001)			
Cond	2	2.71 (p < .002)			
Item 17	1	6.35 (p < .0001)			
Cond \times Item 17	2	0.64 (p < .81)			
			Sex	1	13.45 (p < .0001)
			Sex \times Cond	2	1.01 (p < .44)
			Sex \times Item 17	1	1.75 (p < .11)
			Sex \times Item 17 \times Cond	2	0.79 (p < .66)

involved in arguments as a function of the subjects' opinion about the value of the argument. In the present study, this analysis' is not interpretable because of the unbalanced design and the significant effect of Sex.

DISCUSSION

Summary of Primary Findings

When asked to judge a fictitious heterosexual couple involved in an argument, college women rated both people positively, but showed a definite bias in favor of the woman. Pro-female favoritism was found both in subjects' attributions of credit or blame for the argument they described and in attributions of personality traits to the people involved. Although the degree and direction of bias was predicted to vary with subjects' sex-role ideologies and with the kind of information they received about the argument outcome, no significant differences were found between groups of subjects. Pro-feminist, moderate, and traditional subjects consistently favored the woman over the man regardless of whether they received positive information, negative information, or no information about the outcome of the argument.

A pro-female bias had been predicted for women with liberal sex-role ideologies, and a pro-male, anti-female bias had been predicted for women with traditional sex-role ideologies. A pro-female, anti-male bias was found for most subjects regardless of ideology, but only in attributions of credit or blame for behavior in the argument situation. When subjects rated the woman and man on lists of personality traits, they presented both people very favorably. Although subjects were still more favorable toward the woman than the

man, no group of subjects was anti-male in their attribution of personality traits.

Not only was the direction of womens' favoritism the reverse of what had been predicted, but so was the manner in which the bias was manifested in the evaluations of the story characters. The personality trait items were expected to reflect sexism more sensitively than the credit-blame items. Neither prejudice nor blaming are considered to be socially desirable behaviors, so subjects were expected to try to suppress evidence of favoritism toward either the woman or the man. Pilot study subjects sometimes made explicit statements to the effect that "There is more than one side to every argument." The personality trait list included enough items that subjects would have difficulty presenting an identical view of each person.

A similar projective method was used by Rodgers, Ziegler and Levy (1967) to assess peoples' attitudes toward couples who select vasectomy as a method of birth control. When asked directly about their attitudes toward vasectomy, subjects said that they accepted the practice. The subjects were then asked to read a description of fictitious couples, one of whom had opted to use vasectomy for birth control. Subjects who were informed that the husband had had a vasectomy ascribed more negative adjectives to the couple than subjects who had not received this information.

The fact that women in the present study confined their anti-male bias to judgments about a specific argument, and did not go on to devalue the man's character, suggests that the subjects were relatively unaffected by pervasive prejudice. That is, they differentiated attribution of blame for the argument from attribution of a

blameworthy character.

The women's positive attitude toward both story characters is especially striking because many subjects strongly agreed with statements that arguments should be prevented. Apparently the women who expressed disapproval for arguments still recognize that even "decent" people sometimes happen into them.

On the other hand, the fact that subjects' biases emerged more strongly in attribution of blame for the argument than in attribution of personality traits suggests that in one way, the subjects may be more prejudiced than was predicted. The women may perceive the circumstances of actual arguments in a way that permits them to see the woman as being justified, regardless of how "detached observers" might view the same situations. Support for this interpretation is found in Cookie's (1974) study of sex bias in a simulated murder trial. "Jurors" of both sexes judged a defendant of their own sex more leniently than a defendant of the other sex even when they received identical information about the situation in which the murder occurred.

A person's gender may be relevant in influencing women's perceptions of an interpersonal situation, so that they selectively perceive the facts. However, the results do not necessarily indicate that women were free to write about any kind of argument, they may have consistently chosen arguments in which the woman could objectively be regarded as justified and the man as blameworthy.

The implications of the pro-female favoritism found in responses to the personality trait items are more difficult to define than the implications of bias on the credit-blame items. Whereas the latter definitely referred to the argument situation, the personality items

did not, and hence may or may not have been influenced by the information that the couple was involved in an argument. Since no group was included in which an argument did not occur, no base rate of sexism is available for comparison. The differences found in ratings of the woman and man may have appeared in other contexts as well.

In summary, the primary results were essentially the opposite of what was predicted. Hence, a reassessment is required of the theories and research which led to the prediction of pro-male, anti-female prejudice. The rationale for the prediction is reviewed below, followed by a discussion of possible explanations for the unexpected results.

Theoretical Implications

In informal observations of women's groups, women were observed to criticize a woman who argued with a man. Furthermore, the manner in which the women intervened in the argument suggested that they were protecting the man. The expressed criticisms of the woman implied that she was being too aggressive or dominant toward him and should exercise more restraint. The author inferred from these observations that the woman was seen as being destructively powerful, and the man was seen as being a vulnerable target of her aggression.

A review of relevant literature revealed that a number of theorists have observed and described similar behaviors. Psychologists, anthropologists and other scholars have documented that women in patriarchal societies are perceived as being dangerous to men (Chesler, 1972; Hays, 1964; Neumann, 1963; Rosaldo, 1974). Little empirical data have been reported however, that show how the

attribution of destructive power might operate in everyday interactions between women and men. This research was designed to gain more understanding of the above phenomenon through experimental study of an ordinary argument between a woman and a man.

The attribution of destructive power is essentially a negative attribution which often results in punitive and restrictive treatment of the person believed to be powerful. A number of researchers have reported that in our society, girls, women, and femininity are viewed negatively (Broverman et al., 1972; also, see Literature Review). There is also some evidence that girls more than boys may experience harshness and restrictiveness in their socialization (Donelson, 1977b). For these reasons, it seemed logical to conclude that attribution of destructive power to women was a special case of a general tendency to attribute negative qualities to women. Thus, the present research focused on two basic issues: The possible influence of general pro-male, anti-female prejudice on women's judgments of arguments, and the relationship between this type of prejudice and attribution of causation and blame for arguments.

General pro-male, anti-female prejudice was definitely not shown by the women in the present study. Mean scores on the various ratings of the story characters indicated that the women's ratings favored the woman in attributions of personality traits and in attributions of credit and blame for the argument. These results are consistent with data from several other studies showing that women favor their own sex in situations involving hostility or aggression between women and men (Priest & Wilhelm, 1974; Cookie, 1974; Taylor & Epstein, 1967; and, Jaffe et al., 1974). Some very recent studies

on sex-role stereotyping also show that women and female-valued traits are preferred over men and male-valued traits (Parish & Bryant, 1978; Der-Karabetian & Smith, 1977). The inconsistency in the above data with respect to direction of bias demands some explanation.

A number of possible explanations may be offered for the inconsistency, including the four following hypotheses:

- (1) One type of prejudice does not exist, the inconsistent findings being attributable to chance occurrences or errors.
- (2) Anti-female prejudice may have existed in the past, but at present pro-female prejudice is in the process of replacing it.
- (3) The direction of women's prejudice changes with situational variables.
- (4) Women's ratings of other women are not necessarily the same as their ratings of themselves, and women in the present study may have been rating themselves.

Each of these explanations will be evaluated separately below.

Explanations of Findings

The conclusion that either anti-female prejudice or pro-male prejudice does not exist amounts to a dismissal of substantial evidence to the contrary. Anti-female prejudice in particular has been well established as a reliable research phenomenon, especially in studies of sex-role stereotyping. Pro-female prejudice has also been shown in several studies, including the present one. The hypothesis

that either group of studies have reported results which are attributable primarily to chance, fluctuating sample characteristics or experimental error seems rather unreasonable.

Changing values. The second possible explanation for the inconsistent data is that cultural values are changing, and that attitudes towards women are becoming more positive. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the most recently published research on sex-role stereotyping has found pro-female favoritism (Der-Karabetian & Smith, 1977; Parish & Bryant, 1978). Changes in the general cultural "feeling" about women could account for the reported increase in positive valuation of qualities traditionally typed as feminine.

Specific attributions about "female" and "male" character could also be changing. Data from the present study suggests that responsibility for destructive outcomes may no longer be attributed to women as much as it was in earlier studies of sex-role stereotypes. For example, Fernberger (1948) reported that women made the attribution "cause of trouble" to women more than to men. In contrast, women in the present study disagreed with the statement that the woman in their stories "created trouble" in her love relationship (SCES item 6).

Cultural changes in attitudes towards women's roles were also apparent in the content of the stories. Liberal women in particular frequently described a heroine who stood up for her own desires and values, some of which were non-traditional in nature. The woman in the stories was more likely to advocate non-monogamy than was the man, and the woman was more likely than the man to terminate the

relationship. Some of the female story characters expressed opposition to marriage either on philosophical grounds, or because marriage at that particular time would interfere with the woman's career. In summary, many subjects showed acceptance of non-traditional behaviors which in the recent past might have been considered to be too harsh or selfish for a woman.

The above findings support the hypothesis that the pro-female favoritism found in recent studies is associated with cultural changes in attitudes towards women. According to this hypothesis, the anti-female prejudice reported by many researchers may be yielding to pro-female prejudice. Some data from the present study, however, suggest that the cultural change hypothesis does not adequately account for the fact that some researchers report finding anti-female prejudice while others report finding pro-female prejudice.

First, if attitudes toward women are simply changing from negative to positive, liberal women in the present sample might be expected to show the change more than traditional women. Actually, direction of prejudice (measured by a difference score) did not vary with subjects' sex-role ideology. Furthermore, when traditional women's ratings of the woman are compared with liberal women's ratings of the woman, the traditional women's ratings are sometimes the more positive of the two groups.

Another fact which casts doubt on the adequacy of the cultural change hypothesis is that the distribution of attitudes towards women found in the present sample is about the same as the distribution found five years ago in a similar MSU sample (Dunbar, 1975). If college women are evaluating women more favorably than they did in the

recent past, this change is not reflected in their opinions about women's roles.

Thus, not all of the data from the present study support the hypothesis that attitudes toward women are changing. Further, the data which do support the hypothesis suggest that the changes may not consist of a simple reversal from anti-female to pro-female prejudice. In summary, additional explanations are needed to account for the fact that researchers report conflicting findings with respect to the direction of women's prejudice.

Situational variables. A third possible explanation of the inconsistency in reported data is that both pro-female and anti-female prejudice currently exist, but are elicited in different situations. Neither type of prejudice appears to operate in all situations where women and men are being evaluated. The question remains as to which situational variables might have elicited pro-female favoritism in the present study. Also, which variables if any might elicit traditional criticisms that the woman is "castrating," "domineering" or otherwise destructively powerful.

Several characteristics of the content of the projective leads used in this research may have influenced subjects' ratings. First, the women rated specific people involved in a realistic interaction. Second, the type of interaction rated was an argument. Finally, the interaction was not only an argument but a special kind of argument, a lovers' quarrel.

The first point is important because most previous research on sexism has not involved ratings of specific people and situations.

Studies on sex-role stereotyping, which have frequently reported finding anti-female bias, usually ask subjects to rate abstract categories, like "most men" or "femininity." The relationship between these ratings and peoples' attitudes towards particular individuals is unknown. If previous research had focused on evaluations of specific situations, perhaps more pro-female favoritism would have been found in the results.

The fact that the stimulus was an argument also has important implications for the direction of the bias shown by subjects. Arguments involve conflicts between people where one person's gain sometimes implies the other person's loss. In a realistic situation, favoritism in observers' judgments can have practical consequences for the people who are arguing. The argument stimulus therefore provides a realistic test for how sexism might function when women's and men's interests conflict in every day life. In contrast, researchers interested in sex-role stereotyping have measured prejudice by comparing subjects' ratings of "most men" with ratings of "most women," or by other comparisons of abstract concepts. Not only are the stimuli being rated very abstract, but also the subjects' judgments have no obvious implications for the happiness of particular people. When the interests and needs of specific individuals are at stake in an argument women may be more inclined to support the woman than the man, while in sex-role stereotyping women may be relatively indifferent to the impact of their attributions.

Although no previous research has focused on sexism in ordinary arguments, data has been collected on peoples' reactions to other kinds of hostility and aggression between the sexes (see

Literature Review). A number of studies on hostile humor (Priest & Wilhelm, 1974), conjugal murder (Cookie, 1974) and with shock paradigms (Taylor & Epstein, 1967; Jaffe et al., 1974) have reported that women subjects showed same-sex favoritism. These data support the hypothesis that same-sex favoritism is more likely to occur in the context of conflicts between individual women and men than in experimental ratings of abstract categories.

The argument described in the projective leads was a lovers' quarrel, the third characteristic of the stimulus which may have elicited same-sex favoritism. Cookie (1974) also found same-sex favoritism in peoples' judgments of a fictitious marital quarrel which led to the murder of one spouse by the other. Another relevant aspect of Cookie's design was that the argument was triggered by a "love triangle situation." In the present study, forty-three percent of subjects' stories stated that the argument was caused by jealousy over the woman's or man's possible outside sexual interests. Perhaps quarrels involving jealousy are especially powerful elicitors of same-sex favoritism.

Lovers' quarrels may be special kinds of interactions in one sense, but they are also common and important events in most peoples' emotional lives. Observers of both lovers' quarrels and other kinds of arguments may experience a high level of personal involvement in the interactions. Ratings of the interactants may therefore be fairly representative of peoples' judgments in real life.

In addition to the content of the projective leads, another important characteristic of the projective instrument was that subjects were free to imagine the woman in their stories behaving in

the manner they chose. Traditional women, for example, could imagine that their heroine was being "feminine" at the time of the argument. Both traditional and liberal women might be more critical of women with different sex-role ideologies from their own (Nielsen & Doyle, 1975; Goldberg, Gottesdiener & Abramson, 1975). It was expected that traditional women might even disapprove of women who argue with men at all, because argumentative behavior is often regarded as being masculine. However, even though traditional women tended to agree that the argument should have been prevented, they did not seem to disapprove of the woman for arguing.

Beside the characteristics of the projective instrument, other aspects of the laboratory situation may have affected subjects' ratings of the woman and man. These situational variables include the current life situation of the subjects, the sex of the researcher, and the fact that the subjects were tested in all-female groups. Possible implications of these variables are discussed in more depth in the Assessment of the Study.

Self-justification. The point has already been made that subjects' ratings of people in general may differ from their ratings of particular individuals. This discrepancy may be even greater when the specific individual being rated is the subject herself.

Women have been found to rate themselves less stereotypically (Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman & Broverman, 1968) and more positively (Nielsen & Doyle, 1975) than they rate women in general. In the argument situation a self-enhancing tendency may have been augmented by needs for self-justification. Subjects could have used

the research situation as an opportunity to discuss and present their side of an argument from their own lives. This dynamic could account in part for the fact that a marked degree of pro-female favoritism was found.

There is some cause for assuming that subjects did write stories about themselves. First, they were encouraged by the researcher to use real incidents they had heard about or been involved in as bases for their stories. Several subjects remarked spontaneously that rating the female story character was easier if they rated themselves than if they tried to imagine a fictitious heroine. The subjects were more certain of their attributions to the woman than to the man, as indicated by the relative number of items deleted from the SCES data. If the women were projecting themselves into the role of the story character, their certainty about the woman's attributes could be derived from self-knowledge.

The fact that the story characters were involved in a conflict increased the press on subjects to "choose" one or the other party as being more justified or more blameworthy than the other. Furthermore, many of the SCES items connote either praise or criticism of the character rated, which intensified the evaluative aspect of the subjects' task. Subjects generally responded to this press by choosing to justify the woman, and perhaps also themselves, regardless of the circumstances of the argument.

The content of some of the stories suggests that the sample of women used in the present study may have had especially strong needs to affirm themselves. They were embarking on a new life and leaving an old one behind both physically and emotionally. In many

cases, the subjects were probably leaving behind a love relationship which had been an important part of their lives for as much as several years. In contrast with the traditional pattern of male-female relationships the woman was often the person being exposed to a wide range of new experiences while the man remained restricted to a familiar hometown. His pain, which is made very evident and poignant in many of the subjects' stories, triggered deep empathy and probably also guilt on the part of the woman. She nonetheless went on to immerse herself in a new life and left him behind, or at least contemplated doing so.

Not only the long-distance relationship stories, but other stories about monogamy and about sexuality suggest that subjects might have been trying to develop autonomous value systems at the time of the experiment. Changing reference groups from home to the university also may have altered the value context, especially since issues like sexual freedoms and limits were involved. The combined stress of the usual adolescent questioning of values and the "culture shock" induced by the recent move to the university may have caused the subjects to feel unsure of themselves, and hence more in need of ways to justify their actions.

Summary

In summary, the data of the present study are consistent with a small number of studies which report that women show same-sex favoritism in judgments of women and men. The present data are not consistent with a larger body of studies showing that women are prejudiced against other women. This conflict in the reported data may

be explained by discounting one set of findings as unreliable, or by hypothesizing that both types of prejudice exist. Changes in attitudes towards women, the type of argument studied, or the subjects' needs for self-justification may account in part for the fact that pro-female favoritism is found in some studies but not in others. The nature of the argument studied and self-justification motives seem to provide the best explanations of the inconsistency, even though some evidence for cultural change was found in the present data.

Attraction on the Basis of Similarity

When people show more loyalty toward the other sex than toward their own sex, their behavior appears to be illogical and self-defeating. The concept of identification with the aggressor provides one plausible explanation for the puzzling out-group loyalty (see the chapter on Dynamic Formulations). Same-sex favoritism, however, seems intuitively more understandable and natural. Part of the reason why same-sex favoritism seems more natural than cross-sex favoritism is that people usually do favor others who are like themselves. Attraction on the basis of similarity is one of the most commonly observed variables facilitating the formation of interpersonal relationships and groups.

In the absence of other information which might lead an observer to sympathize with one person more than another, the degree of similarity between the observer and the other people can be a deciding factor. A large number of studies on the dynamics of interpersonal attraction consistently report that people are more likely to respond favorably and to make positive attributions to a person believed to

similar to themselves than to a person believed to be different (see Byrne, 1974, p. 341-368). Single attributes like race, age and gender can form the basis of an assumption of similarity upon which assumptions of pervasive resemblances are built.

The fact that the projective leads included no information about the woman and man as individuals may have enhanced subjects' tendency to focus on gender in assuming similarity to or difference from the people being rated. Favoritism has sometimes been shown to change direction when more information is given about the person being rated (Byrne and Wong, 1962). Although additional information available in real-life argument situations might further influence an observer's judgments of the two individuals, this information must be sufficiently important to the observer to counteract the pre-existing bias. "Positive" sexism shown by women towards women may be one example of the operation of the similarity variable in interpersonal attraction.

Of course it is worth emphasis that women in the present study were attracted to similarity of gender. Studies on sex-role stereotypes have suggested that women perceive themselves as being different from other women (Rosenkrantz et al., 1968) and sometimes also as being superior to other women (Nielsen & Doyle, 1975). To the extent that women have viewed themselves as being similar to other women, they have attributed negative qualities to themselves (Broverman et al., 1972). In the present study, however, women attributed more positive qualities to the person who was more like themselves. These results suggest that the concept of identification with the aggressor is becoming less relevant to women's psychology. The

increasing visibility of non-traditional female role models may be facilitating identification and positive evaluation based on similarity of gender.

Causal Attribution for Positive and Negative Outcomes

In addition to the predicted operation of general prejudice against women, the second major focus of this research was sex-based attribution of blame and credit for positive and negative events. This variable was examined from several perspectives. First, two of the leads used in the projective instrument specified that the argument had either a positive or a negative impact on the couples' relationship. Second, subjects were asked to give their opinions about whether arguments should be prevented, to ascertain whether women view arguments per se as negative events. Third, items were included in the personality trait list which attributed destructive or constructive power to the story character rated. The implications of these three types of data for attributions of credit and blame are discussed below.

Projective leads. The findings of several studies on attribution of credit for achievement suggest that boys and men receive credit for positive outcomes whereas girls and women are blamed for negative outcomes (Deaux & Emswiller, 1974; Feather & Simon, 1975; Nicholls, 1975). Arguments could be regarded as competitive achievement situations, since a person is said to win or lose, and to succeed or fail to get her or his way. Three different argument outcomes were therefore included as analogues to achievement outcomes, one unspecified (A), one negative (B), and one positive (C).

The three leads were predicted to affect traditional and liberal women differently, such that traditional women would follow the pattern found in the achievement studies, while liberal women would follow the reverse pattern, blaming the man for negative outcomes and crediting the woman for positive outcomes. In fact, the subjects attributed more credit (ATTP Scale) to the woman and more blame (ATTN Scale) to the man regardless of what they were told about the argument outcome, and regardless of what beliefs the subjects held about women's roles. Further, subjects blamed the man just as much when they were told nothing about the outcome as when they were told that the outcome was negative.

Perhaps women assume that a man's role in an argument is destructive unless they are explicitly reassured to the contrary. McGillin (1978) discovered some communication patterns in interactions between women and men which may be relevant to this point. Trained observers of actual dyadic interactions rated men as being more "tender" and emotionally vulnerable with women than with men. A man who argues with a woman might therefore be viewed by women as behaving in an unusual manner. Traditional women might be more likely than feminists to be shocked by the man's "ungentlemanly" behavior, since some data shows that feminists more than traditional women expect men to be insensitive (Nielsen & Doyle, 1975).

Men may be regarded as being less skillful than women in the interpersonal sphere, and as consequently more likely to cause failures. Men are usually seen as being more aggressive than women (Broverman, et al., 1972), and perhaps also as likely to start an argument for no good reason, from the woman's perspective. In the story content,

the man is indeed sometimes presented as being insensitive and even deliberately cruel, but the woman is also frequently presented raising painful issues, such as her desire to date others. Usually, however, the subjects portrayed the woman's behavior as reasonable, whereas they often presented the man's behavior as being unreasonable.

A woman interacting with an aggressive man is sometimes regarded as a victim, and female victims of male aggression have traditionally inspired sympathy. Since femininity has been associated with passivity and helplessness, female victims may be viewed as being appropriately feminine. To the extent that observers value role conformity, they may evaluate the victim favorably. Some support for this line of reasoning is obtained from the fact that traditional women showed marked pro-female favoritism when they were told that the argument outcome was negative. Liberal women were more egalitarian in attributions of blame to the woman and the man.

Opinions about arguments. The behavior of subjects who received negative outcome information was of special interest, because negative information was predicted to intensify attributions of blame. The impact of the information about argument outcome may have been diffused, however, by women's negative opinions about arguments as such. It had been expected that some women might view the argument itself as a negative event, regardless of what outcome was specified in the instructions. Traditional women were expected to be more suppressive of arguments than pro-feminist women, and women with suppressive philosophies were expected to blame women more than men for the occurrence of arguments. Modest support was found for all

these hypotheses.

Women's opinions about arguments were assessed by two items of the SCES. Item (17) stated that "This argument should have been prevented," and item (18) stated that "Most arguments should be prevented." Item (17) was a powerful elicitor of extreme responses; a majority of subjects strongly agreed with the item, and a large minority strongly disagreed. Clearly, women had intense feelings and definite opinions about the value of the argument they had described in their stories.

Opinions about the argument did not vary with sex-role ideology to the degree that had been predicted, but there were trends in the expected direction. Liberal women as well as traditional women were likely to agree strongly that the argument should have been prevented, but agreement was somewhat more prevalent among traditional subjects.

Agreement with item (17) correlated positively with attribution of blame to the woman ($r = .31$), and negatively with attribution of credit to the woman ($r = -.31$). Opinions about the argument were not related to ratings of the man on any SCES scales. These correlations provide modest support for the hypothesis that women are blamed for arguments, despite the lack of support in the rest of the data. The relationships found between the belief that the particular arguments should be prevented and the attribution that the woman was at fault, suggest that future research in this area should focus on women's opinions about arguments.

The word "prevented" may also have been a salient aspect of Item (17). The suggestion is that women ascribe responsibility for preventing arguments to other women, but strive to justify the woman's behavior if an argument has already occurred. Although subjects

blamed the man for his behavior in the argument, they blamed the woman for not preventing the argument from happening.

Surprisingly, women's philosophy about whether most arguments should be prevented were not as extreme as their opinions about the argument in their stories. This result adds further support to the hypothesis that people rate general cases differently from the way they rate particular cases. Given that subjects did not have extreme opinions about most arguments, it is interesting that they chose to write about an argument which did elicit their strong approval or disapproval. Approval for the argument might have been associated with the perception that the woman behaved admirably, while disapproval may have been associated with the perception that the woman was mistreated by the man. Selection of these kinds of arguments could account in part for the pro-female favoritism shown in ratings of the story characters.

Attribution of destructive dominance. Attribution of responsibility for positive and negative outcomes was assessed in three ways: by examining variations in responses to the projective leads, by examining women's opinions about arguments, and by measuring degree of attribution of hostile, dominant personality traits to the story characters. Items were included in the SCES DOMN and NEG scales which essentially consist of criticisms for excessive aggression, domineering behavior and egoism. Traditional women were expected to be more critical of the woman than the man on these items, and pro-feminist women were expected to be more critical of the man than the woman.

The results were contrary to expectations in that subjects

disagreed with NEG and DOMN items for both story characters, regardless of the subjects' sex-role ideology. Pro-female favoritism was shown in ratings of story characters on the NEG items. No significant differences in ratings of the woman and man were found for the DOMN scale.

Although liberal and traditional women responded similarly in terms of the direction and degree of favoritism shown toward the woman and man (measured by a difference score), some interesting differences were found when ratings of the woman and man were inspected separately (absolute scores). Some of the differences between liberal and traditional women in ratings of destructive dominance and undesirable dependency support the hypothesis regarding attribution of responsibility for positive and negative outcomes. These differences are discussed in more depth below.

Differences Between Pro-Feminist and Traditional Women

The subjects were divided into three groups based on their AWS scores, including pro-feminist liberals, moderates, and traditionals (relative to this sample). Differences between liberals and traditionals were of primary interest. The following discussion therefore focuses on differences between the subjects who scores in the upper or lower third of the sample on the AWS. For the sake of simplifying the discussion, moderate subjects have not been included. This decision is justified by the fact that SCES scores of moderate subjects were not remarkably different from the scores of traditional women.

Positive response set. One unexpected finding of the present study was that traditional subjects showed a fairly consistent

positive response set in ratings of both the woman and the man, on both positive and negative scales. Pro-feminist liberals were also positive, but to a lesser degree than traditional women. Liberals were especially positive towards the woman in Condition A (outcome unspecified) but otherwise were more neutral towards both story characters than were traditional women.

On the POS scales, which attribute positive, constructive qualities to the story characters, traditional subjects rated the woman highest of any group in Condition A and also highest of any group in B (negative outcome). Traditional subjects rated the man higher on the POS scale than did the other groups in all three conditions. Traditional subjects in Conditions B and C (positive outcome) also registered the lowest scores on the NEG scales for both story characters. In fact, traditional women registered the lowest scores of any group on five out of eight negative scales in Condition B (LATTN, LDOMN, LDEPN, LNEG, BNEG), and in Condition C (BATTN, LDOMN, LDEPN, LNEG, BNEG).

Liberals showed a more positive orientation than other groups in Condition A only, giving the woman more credit than any group (LATTP), and rating the characters less negatively than the other groups on five out of eight scales (LATTN, LDOMN, LDEPN, LNEG, BNEG). In the other two conditions, however, liberals were remarkably negative relative to other subjects. In Condition B, liberals registered the lowest scores of any group in three out of four positive scales (LATTP, LPOS, BPOS) and the highest scores of any group on six out of eight negative scales (LATTN, LDOMN, LDEPN, BDEPN, LNEG, BNEG). In Condition C, where a positive outcome was specified liberals rated

both the woman and man more negatively than the other groups rated them on all eight of the negative scales.

The difference in response sets of liberal and traditional women suggests that traditionals "try to say something nice" about people while liberals are more critical. This interpretation fits with impressions derived from informal observations. Traditional women emphasize politeness more than feminists do (Mahoney, 1975). In terms of social outlook, liberal people in general tend to be more sensitive than conservative people to the need for changes. Traditional women in particular frequently emphasize the positive aspects of the status quo, while liberals emphasize the negative aspects.

Lansky et al. (1961) report a finding which may be related to the difference in response sets of pro-feminist and traditional women. Adolescent girls in their study were generally less critical of their parents than were boys, both in terms of self-reports and in terms of interviewer's observations. A minority of girls, however, were more critical than the typical girl in the sample. This minority was also more achievement-oriented, less concerned about social approval and less conforming than the majority of girls. Lansky et al. explain that the less conforming girls were not actually negative towards others, but they were more likely than other girls to balance praise with criticism in a realistic way. Similarly, the liberal women in the present study may have been slightly more realistic than traditional women in evaluating the story characters.

Argument outcome and ratings of the woman. The difference in response sets of liberal and traditional women was most apparent in

subjects' responses to the two experimental conditions where the argument outcome was specified as being either positive or negative for the couples' relationship (Conditions C and B, respectively). When no outcome was specified in the instructions (A), the differences found between liberal and traditional women were more consistent with expectations.

Given no information about argument outcome, pro-feminists showed the most marked overall pro-female favoritism of any group of subjects, although traditional women rated the woman more favorably on the items of the POS scale. Another result for Condition A supported the hypotheses regarding attributions of power. Traditional women attributed more destructive dominance to the woman than did the other groups, and liberal women attributed less destructive dominance to the woman than did other groups.

The relatively negative ratings registered by liberals when argument outcome was specified in the instructions suggest that liberal women in Conditions B and C may have felt anxious or guilty about the woman's role in the argument. When argument outcome was specified, the outcome information was very salient in the instructions. Subjects who received no outcome information (A) may have placed no particular importance on the argument outcome in attributing credit or blame to the story characters. When the outcome was specified (Conditions B and C) subjects received only two items of information, the fact that the argument was occurring and what impact it had on the couples' relationship. Subjects may therefore have been led to focus attention on the relationship between the outcome and the story characters' behavior. They may also have become concerned that the

researcher was especially interested in the direction of the outcome. For example, the researcher might believe that all arguments should be resolved in a manner beneficial to a couples' relationship, and might therefore be judgmental towards subjects who defended the woman in Condition B. There are several reasons why pro-feminist women might be more concerned than traditional women about these issues.

Special concerns of feminists. Feminists have reasons to be especially anxious about arguments which result in alienation of the man from the woman. They are frequently stereotyped as "man-haters," an attribution which many feminists resist. Feminists sometimes worry that they may be unable to attract men or sustain relationships with men. They sometimes also worry about being criticized simply because they are feminists. These fears are well-founded. Women and men college students stereotype feminist women as unattractive, despite a lack of real differences in attractiveness of traditional and feminist women (Goldberg, Gottesdiener & Abramson, 1975). Women in another study (Nielsen & Doyle, 1975) rated feminists negatively on most items in a list of positive adjectives.

Nielsen and Doyle (1975) suggest that feminists may be concerned about the dominance-submission dimension of behavior, and that they may be critical of themselves for excessive dominance. Feminists rated themselves as more dominant than their ideal, although they rated women in general as less dominant than their ideal. Non-feminist women in the experiment were generally critical of women in the women's movement and also rated them as very dominant.

Feminist women may therefore worry that if an argument has a

negative outcome, then the woman has been too dominant. In the present study, liberal and traditional women did not differ in ratings of the woman on items of the DOMN scale. However, both the ATTN scale and the NEG scale items attribute destructiveness and excessive aggression to the story characters, and liberal women were more negative towards the woman than were traditionals in ratings on these scales.

Another explanation for the criticisms of the woman implied in the ratings of liberal subjects is that the subjects may have been experimenting with new, more assertive behaviors with men. People who are trying to integrate a new behavior may initially overreact to situations where the behavior is deemed appropriate. Realizing that their behavior is more extreme than the situation requires, they may then feel self-critical. People who are trying to change may also worry more than others about the consequences of new behaviors. When special attention is focused on these consequences, they understandably fear criticism for possible "mistakes" in their judgment and actions.

There are reasons to believe that many of the liberal subjects in the present sample would fall in the category of people described above. The subjects were mostly new first-year students at a university some distance from home. Although some of the women registered very high scores on the AWS, the AWS items do not reflect a very extreme or even current version of feminism. Given that the subjects were about eighteen years old and had not been at the university very long, they may have been introduced to feminist thought rather recently. Relative to womens' movement activists, for example, most of the sample may have been more moderate than liberal regarding

women's issues, and even the more liberal subjects may still have been conflicted about their values regarding women's roles. Conflicted and inexperienced feminists would be expected to show more fear than committed feminists about "going too far" with their assertiveness.

The move away from home to the university may also have generated uncertainty in many subjects, traditional as well as liberal. The tone of the subjects' stories suggests that they were very aware of new opportunities available at the university, (e.g., "Lisa is exploring new horizons, and right now one of her new horizons is the bar"). Not only were the subjects probably uncertain about their values and judgments in the new situations, but the man in many of their lives may have symbolized the old value system. In the stories about long distance romances, the man is the primary reason why the woman holds back from the various pleasures available at the university. This situation in the subjects' lives may have influenced them to defend the woman in their stories as she broke away from the man, but it may also have increased their guilt and conflict at the time of the experiment.

Consistent with these themes, liberal women's responses to the lead specifying a positive outcome seemed to show as much conflict as their responses to the negative lead. One of the most striking findings in the positive outcome condition was that pro-feminist women attributed a relative high degree of undesirable weakness to the woman. This result implies that liberal subjects may be somewhat suspicious of positive outcomes, fearing that the woman yielded out of weakness.

Generally, liberal women were more critical than traditional

women about weaknesses and dependency in both story characters. Part of the reason for this focus on weaknesses may be that feminist theory attributes undesirable weaknesses to both the masculine and feminine roles. The feminine role is obviously characterized by an emphasis on helplessness and dependency. However, the traditional masculine role also involves dependency in that women take care of men's physical needs, and in that men depend on women to make them feel more masculine.

Another dynamic possibly underlying the liberal women's criticisms is the fact mentioned earlier, that many subjects in this sample were involved in long-distance relationships with men. Liberal women may have been especially sensitive to the fear that they were jeopardizing their relationship with a man for the sake of career goals. The story content indicates that many subjects believed that a hard stand would be necessary to separate from the man and pursue career opportunities. His grief and dependency are poignantly expressed in many stories. Yet the woman who softens in the face of his need might then sacrifice her own needs in the process. Hence many of the subjects, and especially the liberal subjects, may have feared carrying either the hard or soft stance too far.

Theoretical implications of subject differences. Although the groups of subjects did not differ in the predicted way, the differences which were found between pro-feminist women and traditional women in the various argument outcome conditions may still shed some light on the initial observations of arguments in women's groups. Some of the observations were made in feminist groups, while others

were made in relatively traditional groups where feminism was not an issue. Women's apparent defense of men and criticisms of women in both types of groups were hypothesized to arise from the same source, which was believed to be traditional sex-role values. Although feminists attempt to be pro-female in their attitudes and behaviors, socialization is not easily overcome. Thus, traditional values may continue to influence feminists' behavior.

The present data suggests, however, that women who adopt liberal sex-role ideologies might show the behavior observed in women's groups, though not necessarily for the postulated reasons. Liberal women were more likely to attribute blame to the woman if they were told that the argument was negative, but did not change their evaluation of the man. In effect, the liberal women responded to specific information in the immediate situation by markedly increasing criticisms of the woman. The probability that liberal women would verbalize these criticisms is unknown. However, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that strong responses to the immediate situation would have a relatively high probability of being verbalized. Although liberal women were actually egalitarian, they might appear anti-female because of the amount of criticism they express under certain conditions.

This pattern of behavior might be expected to be more prevalent among women who are anxious and conflicted about the impact of new values and behaviors. Women who are more experienced in practicing feminist values in everyday life may not show the same reaction to possible negative consequences. In this sense, liberal women's criticisms of a woman might still be derived from traditional values.

The fact that traditional women showed such strong pro-female favoritism is puzzling given that pro-male, anti-female favoritism seems to influence some traditional women's public behavior to a marked degree. One example mentioned previously (see Introduction) is the campaign against the ERA. However, anti-feminist activists may not be representative traditional women. Anti-feminist leaders do not in fact lead very traditional lives; they are nationally visible public speakers and politicians.

The pro-female favoritism shown by traditional women particularly may be due to the specific focal situation of this study, an argument between lovers. Although women have not generally formed solidarity groups which are politically or economically powerful, they have formed personal alliances and support groups. Problems with lovers have traditionally been among the primary topics of conversation in women's social groups. Feminists have sometimes criticized these groups as alliances of victims who empathize with each other but do nothing to improve women's lot (Chesler, 1972). However, the data of this study suggest that traditional women are genuinely pro-female and supportive of women who are involved in conflicts with male lovers. Whether or not they are similarly supportive in other specific situations remains to be investigated in future research.

Assessment of the Study

Projective Instrument

The projective leads used in the present study elicited very rich, fascinating data. The stories revealed a great deal of information about the college students' assumptions regarding potential

sources of conflict in heterosexual love relationships. Some of the causes of arguments described by subjects involved stresses which affect most love relationships, such as jealousy feelings. Other causes which the subjects described probably reflected their own current life situations.

Projective instruments are often criticized because the correlation between fantasy behavior and real life behavior is usually indeterminant. There are several indications that the projective stories written by the subjects in the present study do indeed reveal information about their real lives. First, there was a large number of stories about long-distance relationships between college students who had gone to the same high school. Since the subjects were mostly first-term students at the university, many of them were probably undergoing stresses in their high school love relationships and were writing stories about their own experiences. More direct evidence is available showing that the stories about sexual inssues are also realistic.

In the stories about sex, the man is usually pushing for sexual intercourse while the woman refuses. She defends her position on moral values, such as the belief that sex should be part of love or marriage, or on the feeling that she is "not ready" for intercourse. The man accepts her limits in every case, and the relationship goes on. In short, the stories describe the traditional division of sexual roles, in which the man is supposedly "always" interested, and the woman is responsible for saying yes or no.

A recent study by Peplau, Rubin and Hill (1977) indicates that the traditional roles described above still represent the reality of

sexual behavior for many couples. The researchers followed the behavior of 231 college-aged couples for two years. Women had greater impact than men on the occurrence and timing of sexual intercourse. Characteristics of the woman's sexual values predicted whether the couple had intercourse or not, regardless of the man's values. The authors conclude that sexual role-playing still occurs, even in relatively liberal relationships, because the man presents himself as being sexually available and limit-setting is left to the woman.

Another type of story related to sex was concerned with pregnancy. The typical story was written by black subjects, and described a situation in which a high school or college student becomes pregnant, and is very conflicted about whether to have the baby. Five out of the twenty black subjects in the sample wrote similar stories. A recent article (Perlez, 1978) from MS. Magazine presented portraits of "the most popular girl" in several high schools, including one predominantly black school. Female students in the black high school were reportedly very preoccupied with two issues, pregnancy and financial exploitation by men. The black students told the interviewer that pregnancy could contribute to a girl's popularity, which led some fifteen-year-olds to bring their babies to school. The attraction of this "instant status" could help to set up conflicts about pursuing far-off rewards, and hence sabotage a woman's career plans.

The fact that the above three kinds of stories accurately represented the reality of subjects' lives indicates that the projective instrument designed for this study is an effective and useful technique for tapping peoples' current concerns in intimate relationships. If the content of the other stories is also realistic, then many of

the women in the sample are acting out non-traditional roles in their relationships with men. Social changes may be reflected by the fact that they wrote about a woman who disdains monogomy and who is much more likely to leave a man who displeases her than he is to leave her.

Pilot Study. In the context of discussion of the projective instrument, the pilot study should be mentioned. The projective instrument used in the pilot study was similar in form to the instrument used in the final design, but the results of the pilot study differed from those of the final study. More pro-male, anti-female favoritism was shown in the pilot study results.

The explanation for the inconsistency is most likely attributable to chance and to characteristics of the two samples. The pilot study sample was small, especially when subjects were divided among argument content groups and sex-role groups. The results could therefore have arisen by chance.

A second explanation is that the samples of the two studies are not comparable demographically. The pilot sample was older, included upperclass students, and was recruited from students in more advanced psychology courses as well as students from the introductory course. The content of the stories suggests that the pilot subjects may also have been better acquainted with feminist ideas and associated relationship problems than were the subjects in the later study. The pilot study findings may support the hypothesis that more criticism of women is found among liberal women than among traditional women. Given the number of "atypical" students in the pilot sample, however, the results are more probably attributable to chance.

The Attitudes Toward Women Scale

The AWS was one of the weaker elements in the present study. On the positive side, the AWS permitted a gross differentiation of women with very traditional values from women with more liberal values regarding appropriate behavior for women. The fact that liberals and traditionals responded somewhat differently from each other on the story character evaluations supports the choice of instruments.

On the other hand, the AWS is poorly written and needs editing. Also, the content is heavily loaded with attitudes about sexual behavior which may or may not be related to feminism. A liberal woman, as defined by some AWS items, seems to be permissive toward sexuality but not necessarily more self-assertive than a traditional woman. Actually, traditional values supply a woman with a number of reasons to refuse a man's demands, whereas the so-called liberal values can be interpreted to mean that the woman has no reason not to yield. The woman who uses traditional arguments to defend her decisions is claiming more control over her body and her sexuality than the woman who endorses sexual freedom in order to gain male approval.

The AWS may not differentiate adequately between relatively moderate, unsophisticated feminists who are familiar with only the most basic issues from more committed political activists. Scales assessing attitudes toward sex roles rapidly become obsolete, as ideas which were previously regarded as being too extreme become widely accepted assumptions. For example, some feminist women currently advocate the worship of female rather than male deities, and favor training in martial arts for the majority of women. The AWS includes no such controversial items. Given the range of

attitudes found in the present sample, the AWS was an adequate instrument, but it is not appropriate for a deeper examination of the behavior of liberal women. In order to measure the impact of cultural change on the feminist vanguard, or the impact of sex-role conflicts among young liberal women, a much more sensitive instrument is needed.

The AWS was administered after the projective story, which was necessary to avoid biasing the results of the story character evaluations. This procedure may have biased the AWS scores instead, which was recognized when the experiment was planned. However, the ranges of AWS scores are fairly consistent across experimental groups, and the total distribution is very similar to Dunbar's (1975) distribution. The order of administration of instruments does not therefore seem to have introduced a significant weakness into the design.

Sex of the Researcher and Group Composition

The subjects were tested by the author, who is a woman, in all-female groups. Both the sex of the researcher and the sex composition of the groups may have influenced the subjects' behavior. Several studies show that the degree and direction of sex-typing in peoples' behavior may change as a function of the sex of interactants and observers.

Bem and Lenney (1976) had sex-typed and androgynous subjects perform activities usually typed as appropriate for the other sex. Sex-typed subjects who engaged in cross-sex activities in front of an experimenter of the other sex showed losses in self-esteem and feelings of attractiveness after the activity was over. Androgynous subjects

did not show this reaction to the activities or the researchers' sex.

McGillin (1978) found that androgynous women were more masculine when interacting with men than with women. Feminine women were less masculine with men than with women. The behavior of the feminine women is consistent with Bem's (1976) results. One explanation for the behavior of the androgynous women is that they were consciously trying to be more assertive with men. Men may also elicit different behaviors from androgynous and feminine women.

Ruble and Higgins (1976) report that self-ratings on sex-role questionnaires may vary in degree of sex-typing with the sex composition of the groups in which subjects are tested. Individuals in the minority sex of a mixed-sex group attributed more cross-sex behaviors to themselves than did subjects in groups with other sex ratios.

The above studies suggest that women's behavior and self-perceptions vary with the sex of interactants and observers. Feminine women may be most feminine when men are around. However, other women are likely to be more feminine in all-female groups than in mixed groups. Since assertive or aggressive behavior is typed as masculine, the research data collected in laboratory groups imply that women are less likely to be assertive in all-female groups. Informal observations of feminist groups, however, lead to the opposite conclusion.

One study relevant to this issue suggests that men moderate their aggression as a function of the sex of an observer. Borden (1975) found that men involved in an experiment with an aggression machine became less aggressive towards another man if they were being observed by a known pacifist or by a woman with unknown values. Men

became more aggressive, however, if they were observed by a woman believed to value aggression.

The Borden study clarifies that changes in peoples' behavior as a function of group sex composition may be reactions to sex-role stereotypes rather than to sex. People assume that the normative woman does not approve of aggression, so they inhibit aggressive impulses in her presence. Likewise, the androgynous women in McGil-
lin's study may have controlled expression of masculine behavior when interacting with a woman because they thought the woman would disapprove. In the present study, however, subjects had reasons to feel supported by the all-female group.

One of these reasons was the presence of the female researcher. Professional women are still relatively scarce, outside the traditional "women's careers," so the subjects may have been impressed by the fact that the group had a female researcher. The author's assertive style as well as her non-traditional role provided the subjects with exposure to a powerful female model.

The subjects appeared to enjoy participating in the study, and many seemed to want more contact with the researcher. A number of women initiated conversations with her about the psychology graduate program, the purpose of the study, and other topics of interest to them. Some of the women, perhaps feminists, were especially interested in the research because it involved women only.

Subjects may have felt favorable towards the all-female groups because relatively few psychological experiments recruit women as subjects. Not only do women students experience difficulty in fulfilling their research participation requirements, but they may also

respond to the implicit message that women are not interesting. Since women are starting to develop a sense of pride in their sex, they may have felt very positive about a study focusing on the psychology of women. Instructors of the courses from which the subjects were recruited have in fact reported that studies for "women only" are very favorably received by women students.

In summary, data from other research indicate that the sex of the researcher and the sex composition of laboratory groups can influence the degree of sex-typing shown in peoples' behavior. The data suggest specifically that groups which are homogeneous in sex composition may elicit behavior which is relatively sex-typed. Since arguing with a man may be regarded as being non-feminine behavior, women might inhibit hostility towards men in traditional women's groups.

In non-traditional women's groups, however, women might feel safe rather than fearful when expressing hostility towards men. The all-female groups in the present study qualify as non-traditional in several respects. Thus, the subjects may have felt especially positive toward women as a function of participating in the study.

Impact of the Sample Characteristics

The question always arises as to what influence the characteristics of the sample have had on the results, and how much the conclusions derived from those results can be generalized to other populations. Although the psychology of underclass college students may not generalize completely to other populations, this is the population from which most researchers recruit their subjects. Previous studies

of attitudes toward women and on sex-role stereotyping have generally followed this practice, so the present sample is comparable to the samples used in related research. Whether or not the responses of college women are similar to those of other women, college women are in and of themselves an interesting group to study. In terms of sex-role ideologies, college samples include a range of attitudes from very traditional to very pro-feminist.

Widespread changes in sex-role ideology have been observed in the past decade, yet these changes have begun primarily in groups of highly educated, middle-class women. To a large extent, new values concerning women's roles are still more prevalent around university campuses and professional spheres than elsewhere.

The women in the present study were new to the university when they participated in the experiment. Yet, their presence at the university was in most cases the result of their beliefs and their parents' beliefs that a college education is important for women. For some subjects, enrolling at a university away from home meant that they wished to seize the best opportunities available for self-advancement and career development. Although the college-bound woman has become a common phenomenon, this type of socialization is not derived from a traditional value system.

For students from a more traditional background, a college education may imply merely a better opportunity to find a potentially successful man. Even this attitude, however, is non-traditional relative to ideas held about higher education for women less than a century ago. Thus, most of the subjects were probably neither extremely traditional nor extremely feminist relative to the range of

attitudes towards women found in this society as a whole.

The fact that the subjects were new to the university increases the possibility that they were experiencing developmental and separation crises. Their situation affected the content of their stories in that the woman was frequently shown moving on to other places and goals, and leaving the man behind. Many of the women were probably feeling some pressure to defend the decision to leave home, if not because of sex-role conflicts, then because of the negative impact on the man they themselves had left behind.

The age of the sample was also an important characteristic which may have influenced the results. Most of the women were still dependent upon parental approval and authority, and wrote about a heroine who sometimes used parental opinions for support in resisting a man's pressure. In the stories about long-distance relationships, the woman was often shown asserting her desire to attend a distant university over the man's desire to marry as soon as possible. Although the heroine appeared to be rejecting a traditional role, she actually conformed to her parents' expectations by "postponing" marriage.

The effect of the women's youth was also apparent in stories about monogamy versus non-monogamy, and in stories about sex. The woman in the story often used the statement that she was "too young to be tied down" to explain her desire to date other men. In a few years the heroine may incur disapproval for being nonmonogamous, but at age eighteen she is expected to explore other options for herself.

The sex scenes were affected by the subjects' age in two ways.

Many of the sex stories concerned the woman's virginity and the man's attempts to end it. The woman was able to resist him by saying that she was "not ready" for intercourse or by referring to the moral values which she had been raised to honor. Both the woman's virginity and the method of her resistance would be less likely to be found among advanced university students.

Finally, the women's age and the fact that they were college students means that cultural changes in attitudes toward women may have affected this sample more strongly than older, non-university samples. There is some indication that changing values may have affected some of the subjects' stories. For example, in one story the man pressures the woman to marry and she refuses on philosophical grounds. She proudly asserts that she is "the daughter of separated parents with new ideas" and does not believe in marriage. Also, in some of the stories where the woman is pushing for an "open relationship," the arguments against monogamy seem unrelated to the woman's age. In these ways, the women seemed to de-emphasize the value of monogamous marriage, which is consistent with national trends. These trends may be more apparent in samples of college students than among more traditional populations.

Directions for Future Research

The present study is a valuable contribution to research on sex roles, arguments, and relations between women and men. The focal topic, judgments about lover's quarrels, bridges the areas of aggression and sex-typing. Relative to many other studies in these areas, the present research is more relevant to everyday experience in

interpersonal relationships.

The methodology developed for the study is versatile and can be easily applied. Simple modifications of the design suggest a number of interesting possibilities for future research. Practical benefits as well as theoretical information could accrue from continued use of the paradigm.

The most obvious suggestions for future research involve replication of the study with other samples. Several options could be pursued even in this one area.

The effects of subjects' sex-role ideologies on judgments of arguments and personal attributions could be explored further with women who are more purely traditional or feminist than the first-year college women in the present sample. Traditional women might be defined as women whose major life decisions are based on traditional values. Thus, housewives who never planned to have a career and who define themselves primarily as wives and mothers would be an appropriate population to study. A pure liberal sample might include women's movement activists and professional women with experience in integrating and implementing feminist values.

The data from the present study suggest that a differentiation between committed and conflicted feminists may be important for both practical and theoretical reasons. Comparison of these groups would help to clarify how women are assimilating changing attitudes about women's roles, and how conflict between traditional and liberal values is being expressed. On a more general level, research on women with varying degrees of commitment to feminism may also provide information about the progressive impact of social movements on peoples' attitudes

and behavior.

The AWS is not sufficiently sensitive to be helpful in making fine differentiations among subjects with varying degrees of feminist attitudes. A new instrument needs to be designed for this purpose, which reflects an awareness of current trends in feminist thought.

An alternative to measuring sex-role ideology is to measure sex-role adherence. That is, a refined version of the pilot study design could be used with a larger sample. The Bem Sex Role Inventory used in the pilot study is a frequently used instrument for assessing sex-role adherence. Subjects could be classified as sex-typed, androgynous or undifferentiated instead of liberal or traditional, within the same basic design.

Another interesting innovation in the area of sample characteristics would be to replicate the study with men. The direction and degree of men's favoritism tends to differ from that of women participating in the same studies (see Literature Review). Men with pro-feminist attitudes toward women may also differ from men with traditional attitudes in judgments made about arguments between lovers, or about arguments in general.

Directions for future research are suggested not only by changes in the sample, but also by modifications of the projective instrument. The same basic paradigm can be adapted to study a wide variety of human interactions.

Projective leads could be substituted for or added to the present leads describing arguments in same-sex dyads. Subjects could also be induced to identify with a particular member of a same-sex dyad. Ratings of the other person in a same-sex dyad could then be

compared with ratings of the other person in mixed-sex dyads. This paradigm might yield information about the relative importance of self-affirmation and sexism in subjects' ratings of the story characters. Perhaps the other person of either sex is rated equally negatively relative to the person with whom the subject identifies.

More information about the story characters could be included in the instructions. For example, the woman might be identified as a feminist. It seems desirable to embed such information in more elaborate descriptions of the argument situation than were used in the present research. If the item of information is still salient to subjects, the importance of the variable feminism for attributions in argument situations is clear.

The projective leads could be modified to include descriptions of harmonious and neutral interactions as well as arguments. Study of subjects' responses to these leads would help to show how attributions about people vary with the kind of interaction observed.

Future research should also take into consideration the possible influence of the experimenter's sex and the sex composition of research groups on subjects' self-perceptions and behavior. The design could be balanced so that female and male subjects were assigned to both female and male researchers.

In addition to permitting further exploration of theoretical issues, the methodology also has possible practical applications in a clinical setting. The projective instrument could be administered to an individual as well as to groups, to assess the person's attitude towards women, men, arguments, and other more specific aspects of the argument situation. The responses of individuals could be

compared with population norms, as is done with Rorschach's test, and used in personality assessment.

The design could also be used in the training of marital counselors. The biases of the counselors would be revealed in a harmless manner, allowing them to correct for these tendencies in their clinical practice.

In summary, the present study raised provocative issues for future investigation. Many ideas for future research are generated by minor modifications of the projective leads and by replication of the study with other subject populations. The projective instrument could also play a useful role in clinical practice. Continued use of the paradigm would not only increase theoretical understanding of sex roles and of arguments, but could help illuminate the impact of social changes on peoples' lives.

SUMMARY

Naturalistic observations, feminist psychological theories and a substantial body of research data suggested that women are more loyal to men than to other women. In the case of an argument between a woman and a man, women with traditional sex-role ideologies were predicted to side with the man, while women with liberal sex-role ideologies were predicted to side with the woman. Liberal and traditional women were expected to respond differently to information that the argument outcome was negative for the couples' relationship.

Three written projective leads were designed which stated that the two partners in a heterosexual relationship were having a heated argument. One group of women subjects received only this information, a second group was also told that the argument had a negative outcome, and the third was told that the argument had a positive outcome. The subjects wrote a TAT-type story about the argument and rated the story characters on a Story Character Evaluation Scale (SCES) designed for the purposes of the study. The SCES requires subjects to rate each person on a list of four-point Likert-type items assessing attributions of credit or blame for the argument, and attributions of positive or negative personality traits.

After completing the SCES, subjects received the Spence (1972) Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS). Demographic data was also requested. The 201 women subjects were tested in all-female group

sessions which lasted about one hour.

Subjects were classified as liberal, moderate or traditional according to their AWS scores. A mixed-design, multivariate analysis of variance was performed with the SCES scale scores functioning as dependent variables. Ratings of the woman were treated as the first measure, and ratings of the man were treated as the second measure in a repeated measures design. The manipulated variable was argument outcome as defined by the three projective leads.

The primary finding was that women favored the woman over the man regardless of subjects' sex-role ideology and regardless of what they were told about the argument outcome. Groups of subjects did not differ significantly from each other in degree of bias. The woman was favored most strongly, and the man presented most negatively, in attributions of credit and blame for the argument. In ratings of personality traits, subjects presented both the woman and man favorably, but rated the woman more positively than the man.

These results are consistent with the findings of a few other studies showing pro-female favoritism in evaluations of women and men. A larger number of studies have reported pro-male, anti-female favoritism. Possible explanations for this inconsistency in the data are: (1) attitudes toward women are changing, (2) direction of prejudice varies with situational cues, and, (3) women's self-ratings differ from their ratings of other women.

In addition to the influence of sexism in judgments of people observed arguing, the second major focus of the present study was the influence of sexism in the specific attribution of responsibility for positive and negative outcomes. Contrary to predictions, the degree

and direction of prejudice shown by subjects did not vary across the three groups defined by the type of argument outcome specified in the projective leads. However, women's opinions about whether the argument should have been prevented were related to their attributions of credit and blame to the woman, and were not related to their ratings of the man.

Attribution of blame for negative outcomes was also expected to be reflected in ratings of the woman and man on adjectives describing destructively dominant behavior. Actually, neither the woman nor the man was rated as being destructively dominant, and there were no significant differences in ratings of the woman and man on these items.

Although there were no significant differences between groups of subjects in degree or direction of favoritism, some differences were found in the separate ratings of the individual story characters. Traditional women generally maintained a somewhat more positive response set than pro-feminist women. Pro-feminist women were more critical of both the woman and the man in ratings of undesirable weaknesses and in ratings of aggression. Another unexpected finding was that pro-feminists subjects reacted to negative outcome information by increasing attributions of blame for the argument to the woman.

The differences between pro-feminist and traditional subjects in ratings of the story characters suggested that pro-feminist women, rather than traditional women, might appear to be anti-female when observing arguments with negative outcomes. In this study, pro-feminists were actually egalitarian in attributions of blame. However, the liberal women might be more likely to verbalize their criticisms

of the woman than those of the man, because their attributions to the woman change more with variables in the immediate situation. No anti-female prejudice was found among traditional women in this sample, possibly because the subjects were responding to a lover's quarrel.

Characteristics of the sample, including age and current life situation may account for some of the discrepancy between the hypotheses and the obtained results. The sex of the researcher and the sex composition of the laboratory groups may also have influenced subjects' behavior.

The methodology used in the study was considered to be effective in eliciting rich content and in measuring subjects' prejudice. Many ideas for future research could be implemented by modifying the design in minor ways. Suggested modifications include changes in the content of projective leads, use of a different sex-role measure, and expansion of investigation into other subject populations. Continued use of the paradigm has promising implications both for theoretical development and for practical applications.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

APPENDIX A

BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

Please indicate how well each of the following characteristics describe you as you now see yourself. Use the 7 point scale noted. Mark the number corresponding to your rating on the appropriate answer sheet. --Use only 7 of the 10 spaces on the answer sheet. Use a soft dark pencil, such as provided in the research packet.

	/	1	/	2	/	3	/	4	/	5	/	6	/	7	/
Never or almost never true of me															
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> 1. Self-reliant 2. Yielding 3. Helpful 4. Defends own beliefs 5. Cheerful 6. Moody 7. Independent 8. Shy 9. Conscientious 10. Athletic 11. Affectionate 12. Theatrical 13. Assertive 14. Flatterable 15. Happy 16. Strong personality 17. Loyal 18. Unpredictable 19. Forceful 20. Feminine </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> 21. Reliable 22. Analytical 23. Sympathetic 24. Jealous 25. Has leadership abilities 26. Sensitive to the needs of others 27. Truthful 28. Willing to take risks 29. Understanding 30. Secretive 31. Makes decisions easily 32. Compassionate 33. Sincere 34. Self-sufficient 35. Eager to soothe hurt feelings 36. Conceited 37. Dominant 38. Soft spoken 39. Likeable 40. Masculine </div> </div>															Always or almost always true of me

Appendix A (Continued)

- 41. Warm
- 42. Solemn
- 43. Willing to take a stand
- 44. Tender

- 45. Friendly
- 46. Aggressive
- 47. Gullible
- 48. Inefficient

- 49. Acts as a leader
- 50. Childlike
- 51. Adaptable
- 52. Individualistic

- 53. Does not use harsh language
- 54. Unsystematic
- 55. Competitive
- 56. Loves children

- 57. Tactful
- 58. Ambitious
- 59. Gentle
- 60. Conventional

- 61. Your sex: Mark 1 for Male
 Mark 2 for Female

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE TEST FORM WITH SAMPLE STORY

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE TEST FORM WITH SAMPLE STORY

Scene: Two women are standing in their backyards, shouting at each other across a fence.

Plot Instructions: What is going on in the scene?
What led up to the scene?
What are the characters thinking and feeling?
How will the scene turn out?

(Sample Story)

The women are a mother and her daughter, who live next door to each other. They are fighting because one of the daughter's small children just asked his grandmother for a cookie without asking his mother first, and the older woman told him he could have it. The daughter is angry because this often happens--she says "no" to her children to protect their health, then her mother indulges them. As a result, the children now ask the grandmother for whatever they want, and resent their mother for being stricter with them.

The older woman agrees with the children that their mother is too strict, which is what she is telling ^{*}her daughter in the scene above. However, she soon remembers how she felt when she was raising her own children and someone tried to tell her what to do. She therefore apologizes to her daughter and tells her to do whatever she thinks is right. The next time the children approach their grandmother for candy, she sends them back to their mother for permission first.

APPENDIX C

PILOT STUDY - EXPERIMENTER'S MANUAL

APPENDIX C

PILOT STUDY - EXPERIMENTER'S MANUAL

Introduction

I am Sande Pinches and I am a graduate student in psychology. The experiment in which you are participating is part of my doctoral research on people's reactions to interpersonal conflict. Some of you already heard what the experiment is about because I made an announcement in your class. For the rest of you, here is an explanation of what I am doing.

Recently, more and more social scientists have been interested in the psychology of human aggression and conflict. It is apparent that people often differ in their reactions to the same conflict situation, in terms of how they describe what is going on, what judgments they make about it and so forth. I am interested in looking at the different points of view people take towards conflicts they have seen or heard about.

In order to do this I am going to describe some situations to you and ask you to write brief stories about them. This part of the experiment will last about half an hour. When this part is completed, I will ask you to fill out some questionnaires about yourself and your background. The entire experiment will last about an hour.

Now that I have explained the purpose of the experiment and what you will be doing, please look at the release form on your desk. You must read and sign this form if you still wish to participate in the experiment. We will take a few minutes now to read the form; if

you have any questions I will answer them now. If anyone prefers not to participate in the experiment, you are free to leave at this time. After you have signed the release, I will collect them and place a test form on your desk. Please do not turn them over until I ask you to do so.

Instructions

Part 1

The experiment will be divided into three parts. The first part will last fifteen minutes.

Turn over your test forms and look at the top page, titled "Sample Test Form with Sample Story." At the top of the page, you will see the word "Scene," followed by a brief description of a conflict situation between two women. Under that you will see the words "Plot Instructions," followed by four questions. This is what your test form will look like.

On the lower part of the page, you will be asked to write a story about the scene above. You should try to include in your story answers to the four plot questions. In addition, try to make your story realistic rather than unusual. For example, write about a situation that could easily happen in everyday life, but don't write about the kind of situations described in news headlines. Take a few minutes now to read the sample story. Are there any questions about how to write the story?

When you finish writing the story on your test form, you should go on and answer the questions on the next three pages. When you finish answering the questions, you will have completed Part 1.

You will be given about five minutes to write the story and about ten minutes to answer the questions. If you are still working on the story when I announce that five minutes have passed, you should finish it as soon as you can and move on to the questions. If you finish the questions before I announce that time is up, you may go back and work on the story if you want. Do not turn the page and go on to Part 2 until I ask you to do so.

Also, please do not talk after I announce that you are to begin. Are there any questions before we start? Turn to the second page of your test booklet and begin. (Check time).

Instructions

Part 2

Part 2 will be the same as Part 1, except that the second story doesn't have to be realistic like the story in Part 1. Use your imagination as much as you like, and write whatever kind of story you want to.

I will again announce when five minutes has passed, and when fifteen minutes is up. Are there any questions about Part 2? The test form for Part 2 follows the questions for Part 1. Turn to it now and begin.

Instructions

Part 3

Part 3 includes three questionnaires for you to fill out. Turn to the page following Part 2, entitled Participant Background Data. Please answer all the questions on this page. The next three pages consist of a form titled "Personal Development Project," and two

answer sheets. The top side of the form is Section A, and should be answered on the first answer sheet. Then turn the form over and answer Section B on the second answer sheet. You may use the rest of the hour to answer the three questionnaires. Those of you who are receiving credits for your participation should bring your research cards with you. Also, students in Win Schachter's class should sign their names on the list I have up here. Are there any questions about Part 3?

APPENDIX D

PARTICIPANTS' BACKGROUND DATA

APPENDIX D
PARTICIPANTS' BACKGROUND DATA

(Do not write your name on this form. All answers will be kept confidential).

Your age _____

List approximate ages of your sisters, if any. _____

List approximate ages of your brothers, if any. _____

Father's education

Mother's education

___ less than high school

___ less than high school

___ high school diploma

___ high school diploma

___ some college

___ some college

___ college degree

___ college degree

___ advanced degree

___ advanced degree

Father's occupation _____

Mother's occupation _____

Your racial background _____

Your religious background _____

How important is religion to you? (Check one number.)

1	2	3	4	5
central in my life			totally unimportant	

While you were growing up, what was your family's socio-economic status?

___ upper income bracket

___ upper-middle income bracket

___ middle income bracket

___ lower-middle bracket

___ lower income bracket

APPENDIX E

STORY CHARACTER EVALUATION SCALE

APPENDIX E
STORY CHARACTER EVALUATION SCALE

Below is a list of statements about Lisa, followed by an identical list of statements about Brian. Please evaluate each person by filling in the appropriate number on your computer answer sheet. The numbers correspond to the following opinions:

1 means you agree strongly with the statement.

2 means you agree somewhat with the statement.

3 means you disagree somewhat with the statement.

4 means you disagree strongly with the statement.

1. Lisa was basically right in what she did and said during the argument.
2. Lisa did her best for the sake of her relationship.
3. Lisa was hurtful and destructive to Brian.
4. Lisa was helpful and constructive during the argument.
5. Lisa was at fault in the argument situation.
6. Lisa created trouble between Brian and herself.
7. Brian was basically right in what he did and said during the argument.
8. Brian did his best for the sake of the relationship.
9. Brian was hurtful and destructive to Lisa.
10. Brian was helpful and constructive during the argument.
11. Brian was at fault in the argument situation.
12. Brian created trouble between Lisa and himself.

Imagine that Lisa and Brian are real people and that they are having the argument in front of you. For the next four statements,

fill in the number which best describes your feelings, using the following code:

1 means you would feel strongly as the statement indicates.

2 means you would feel somewhat as the statement indicates.

3 means you would feel only slightly as the statement indicates.

4 means you would not feel at all as the statement indicates.

13. If I were present at the argument, I would feel like defending Lisa.

14. I would feel like criticizing Lisa.

15. I would feel like defending Brian.

16. I would feel like criticizing Brian.

17. I would feel that this argument should have been prevented.

18. I believe that most arguments should be prevented.

Below is a list of personality traits. Describe your perception of Lisa by rating her on each of these traits.

1 means the trait is very true of Lisa, in your opinion.

2 means the trait is somewhat true of Lisa.

3 means the trait is rather unlike Lisa.

4 means the trait is very unlike Lisa.

19. capable

27. immature

20. touchy and defensive

28. hostile

21. loving

29. "together"

22. nagging and complaining

30. stubborn

23. fair-minded

31. forgiving

24. silly

32. cold

25. likeable

33. needs gentle treatment

26. assertive, outspoken

34. generous, giving

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 35. conceited, egotistical | 55. reasonable and co-operative |
| 36. strong | 56. attacking, hurtful |
| 37. sensitive to others' feelings | 57. controlling, manipulative |
| 38. vulnerable | 58. responsible |
| 39. critical, fault-finding | 59. too aggressive |
| 40. runs from problems | 60. bossy, domineering |
| 41. needs understanding | 61. kind and compassionate |
| 42. rational, clear-thinking | 62. needs encouragement |
| 43. gentle | 63. has a cruel streak |
| 44. self-pitying | 64. childlike, appealing |
| 45. a leader type | 65. neurotic, maladjusted |
| 46. rejecting | 66. restrictive, confining |
| 47. inspires sympathy | 67. overpowering |
| 48. confused, unaware | 68. tries to please |
| 49. rigid, authoritarian | 69. demanding |
| 50. honest and sincere | 70. makes excuses for self |
| 51. has a hot temper | 71. dominant |
| 52. dependable, trustworthy | 72. needs protection |
| 53. spoiled, self-indulgent | |
| 54. too dependent | |

The same list of personality traits is repeated below. Please rate Brian in the same way you rated Lisa.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 73. capable | 78. silly |
| 74. touchy and defensive | 79. likeable |
| 75. loving | 80. assertive, outspoken |
| 76. nagging, complaining | 81. immature |
| 77. fair-minded | 82. hostile |

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 83. "together" | 105. has a hot temper |
| 84. stubborn | 106. dependable, trustworthy |
| 85. forgiving | 107. spoiled, self-indulgent |
| 86. cold | 108. too dependent |
| 87. needs gentle treatment | 109. reasonable and co-operative |
| 88. generous, giving | 110. attacking, hurtful |
| 89. conceited, egotistical | 111. controlling, manipulative |
| 90. strong | 112. responsible |
| 91. sensitive to others' feelings | 113. too aggressive |
| 92. vulnerable | 114. bossy, domineering |
| 93. critical, fault-finding | 115. kind and compassionate |
| 94. runs from problems | 116. needs encouragement |
| 95. needs understanding | 117. has a cruel streak |
| 96. rational, clear-thinking | 118. childlike, appealing |
| 97. gentle | 119. neurotic, maladjusted |
| 98. self-pitying | 120. restrictive, confining |
| 99. a leader type | 121. overpowering |
| 100. rejecting | 122. tries to please |
| 101. inspires sympathy | 123. demanding |
| 102. confused, unaware | 124. makes excuses for self |
| 103. rigid, authoritarian | 125. dominant |
| 104. honest, sincere | 126. needs protection |

When you have completed your ratings, you may return to your story or previous questions, if you need to do so. When you are finished, raise your hand and the experimenter will give you the remaining questionnaire for you to fill out.

APPENDIX F

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN SCALE

APPENDIX F

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN SCALE

The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the role of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you (A) Agree strongly, (B) Agree mildly, (C) Disagree mildly or (D) Disagree strongly. Please indicate your opinion by marking the column on the answer sheet which corresponds to the alternative which best describes your personal attitude. Please respond to every item.

(A) Agree strongly (B) Agree mildly (C) Disagree mildly (D) Disagree strongly

Response Keyed 0

- AS 1. Women have an obligation to be faithful to their husbands.
- AS 2. Swearing and obscenity is more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.
- AS 3. The satisfaction of her husband's sexual desires is a fundamental obligation of every wife.
- DS 4. Divorced men should help support their children but should not be required to pay alimony if their wives are capable of working.
- AS 5. Under ordinary circumstances, men should be expected to pay all the expenses while they're out on a date.
- DS 6. Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.
- DS 7. It is all right for wives to have an occasional, casual extramarital affair.
- DS 8. Special attentions like standing up for a woman who comes into a room or giving her a seat on a crowded bus are outmoded and should be discontinued.
- DS 9. Vocational and professional schools should admit the best qualified students, independent of sex.
- DS 10. Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.

- AS 11. Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative.
- DS 12. Husbands and wives should be equal partners in planning the family budget.
- AS 13. Men should continue to show courtesies to women such as holding open the door or helping them on with their coats.
- DS 14. Women should claim alimony not as persons incapable of self support but only when there are children to provide for or when the burden of starting life anew after the divorce is obviously heavier for the wife.
- AS 15. Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.
- DS 16. The initiative in dating should come from the man.
- DS 17. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.
- DS 18. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.
- DS 19. There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.
- DS 20. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.
- DS 21. Parental authority and responsibility for discipline of the children should be equally divided between husband and wife.
- AS 22. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.
- DS 23. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.
- DS 24. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.
- AS 25. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.
- AS 26. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.
- AS 27. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.
- AS 28. It is childish for a woman to assert herself by retaining her maiden name after marriage.

- DS 29. Society should regard the services rendered by the women workers as valuable as those of men.
- AS 30. It is only fair that male workers should receive more pay than women even for identical work.
- AS 31. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.
- AS 32. Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiances.
- DS 33. Women should demand money for household and personal expenses as a right rather than as a gift.
- DS 34. The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income.
- DS 35. Wifely submission is an outworn virtue.
- AS 36. There are some professions and types of businesses that are more suitable for men than women.
- AS 37. Women should be concerned with their duties of childrearing and housetending, rather than with desires for professional and business careers.
- AS 38. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.
- AS 39. A wife should make every effort to minimize irritation and inconvenience to the male head of the family.
- DS 40. There should be no greater barrier to an unmarried woman having sex with a casual acquaintance than having dinner with him.
- DS 41. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set by men.
- AS 42. Women should take the passive role in courtship.
- AS 43. On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contribution to economic production than are men.
- DS 44. The intellectual equality of woman with man is perfectly obvious.
- DS 45. Women should have full control of their persons and give or withhold sex intimacy as they choose.
- AS 46. The husband has in general no obligation to inform his wife of his financial plans.

- AS 47. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.
- AS 48. Women with children should not work outside the home if they don't have to financially.
- DS 49. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.
- DS 50. The relative amounts of time and energy to be devoted to household duties on the one hand and to a career on the other should be determined by personal desires and interests rather than by sex.
- AS 51. As head of the household, the husband should have more responsibility for the family's financial plans than his wife.
- DS 52. If both husband and wife agree that sexual fidelity isn't important, there's no reason why both shouldn't have extra-marital affairs if they want to.
- AS 53. The husband should be regarded as the legal representative of the family group in all matters of law.
- DS 54. The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulations and control that is given to the modern boy.
- AS 55. Most women need and want the kind of protection and support that men have traditionally given them.

APPENDIX G

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

APPENDIX G

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Please answer the following items about your background.

1. Your age _____
2. Your class standing at MSU _____
3. What race are you? ___Black ___White ___Hispanic
 ___Asian ___Amer. Indian ___Other
4. What is your mother's occupation? _____
5. What is your mother's education level? ___less than high school
 ___high school
 ___college
 ___grad. school
 ___other
6. What is your father's occupation? _____
7. What is your father's education level? ___less than high school
 ___high school
 ___college
 ___grad. school
 ___other
8. What is your religion, if any? _____
9. How religious are you? (Circle one)

1	2	3	4	5
not at all religious		moderately		very religious

APPENDIX H

EXPERIMENTER'S MANUAL

APPENDIX H

EXPERIMENTER'S MANUAL

I am Sande Pinches and I am a graduate student in Psychology. The experiment in which you are participating is part of my doctoral research.

I am interested in how people view some ordinary situations which arise in relationships. In this part of the experiment, I am studying arguments between people who are romantically involved.

During the experiment you will be presented with an example of an argument. Your task will be to write a brief story about the argument and to answer a list of questions about your reactions to the argument. At the end of this part of the experiment, I will ask you to fill out a questionnaire about your opinions about relationships. The entire experiment will last about one hour.

Now that I have explained the purpose of the experiment and what you will be doing, please look at the release form on your desk. First read the form, then sign it if you still wish to participate in the experiment. If you have any questions I will answer them now. If anyone prefers not to participate, you may leave at this time.

Instructions

The experiment will be divided into three parts. You will have about fifteen minutes to write your story and about thirty minutes to respond to the questions at the end. During the last part of the experiment you will have time to complete the questionnaire.

Turn over your test forms and look at the top of the first page.

You will see the word "scene" followed by a brief description of a situation. After the description there are some instructions about what you should include in your story. Use the rest of the page to write a story about the scene.

I will tell you when ten minutes have passed. You will have another five minutes to finish your story. When I announce that fifteen minutes are passed, you should finish up your story and start on the questions and items at the end. If you finish your story sooner, you may go on to the questions sooner. I will collect your test forms when you are finished, and will pass out the questionnaire.

.

There is one questionnaire in this part of the experiment. The questionnaire examines some of your opinions about male-female relationships. Please answer all the items. Your answers will of course be kept confidential.

When you have finished with this part of the experiment, you may bring your test forms up to me and you may leave.

People with questions may ask them after the experiment is over.

APPENDIX I

STORY ABOUT JEALOUSY

APPENDIX I

STORY ABOUT JEALOUSY

Lisa and Brian are wild about each other but have been seeing each other for quite some time. On several occasions Lisa has gone out with old friends and Brian is insanely jealous. For some odd reason this time Lisa decided she was going out regardless of Brian's reaction, if for no other reason but to prove her independence. Lisa had always been on her own before Brian and would like to retain a certain amount of her independence. Because they do care for each other they both let it slide with a lot of hurt feelings left behind. Brian, because Lisa is going to do what she pleases without consideration of him, and her, because she feels Brian does not trust her and fully understand her needs to see other people.

APPENDIX J

STORY BY BLACK SUBJECT

APPENDIX J

STORY BY BLACK SUBJECT

Lisa and Brian have been going together for 3 years. They had never had sex together, although Brian wanted to, they didn't because Lisa was using no birth control. She told Brian she was going to, but he objected, so she didn't. Lisa and Brian ended up having sex and Lisa got pregnant. She had considered having an abortion without Brian ever knowing that she was pregnant. But she decided that she would have the baby, Brian was thrilled. Brian wanted Lisa to leave school (M.S.U.) and come back to Flint, although Lisa was pregnant she didn't want to stop going to school. After doing a lot of arguing on the subject, Brian said, come home get a job and we'll both work and have the things we want. But Lisa had made her mind up that she wasn't going to quit school, so she told Brian okay, but before she quit school she was going to make sure she was definitely pregnant! Although she knew she was, she told Brian she wasn't and had the abortion without his knowing. Although she knew how much Brian wanted her to have his child, knowing that he would go crazy knowing what she did. He feels a child helps symbolize their love for each other. She decided to try to compromise, she go to school at home, and have the baby, and a part time job. Brian agreed to this very much. He had his love, and his baby there with him.

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