

THE WOMAN IN
PSYCHOLOGY AND LITERATURE :
IMAGES AND ROLES

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Both psychology and literature can be seen as an attempt to order and interpret existing reality and to explain the nature and meaning of man's (and woman's) place in that reality. Both require a delicate combination of imagination and craft. Literature is a symbolic and personal rendering of experience which has more to do with images than with reality, with metaphor than with direct statement. Yet it contains an element of discipline and selectivity which separates it from the intensely private, erratic and aberrant visions of the insane (cf. F. Barron, 1971). Psychology strives after the (perhaps illusory) objective precision and rigor of a physical science, and in the past has attempted to assimilate some of its immutable laws. However, the practice of psychotherapy demands an intuitive, personal quality which makes its successful execution as much art as science.

Both disciplines have applied both their craft and their intuition to the interpretation of woman, in a way which has simultaneously reflected and helped shape her reality. Women conflicted over identity seek out answers in psychotherapy and, more informally, in literature. An examination of the last fifty years reveals that American psychology and literature have responded by creating an image which alternately condemns woman as inferior, passive, even evil and glorifies her as the embodiment of compassion, nurturance, and all the better virtues.

Each model finds expression in psychological theory, which has tended to regard woman as characterized by certain personality traits which extend cross-situationally over long periods of time. Classical Freudians, whose influence, while particularly strong during the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's, is still substantial, became spokesmen for the first model. They saw woman as a "castrated man," (Greer, 1971, p. 92), therefore a mutilated man, an inferior man.

is 'reality' the best word for this opposition?

* You make quite a leap between these two sentences

What does this refer to - is the sentence something any one could post?

in conflict?

isn't this too blunt a way of stating it?

also here

Penis envy was the directional motivation in her life. It was responsible for such pervasive female defects as neurosis, sexual frigidity, incompetence; and worst of all, a masculinity complex, characterized by a highly unfeminine need to achieve. Less frequently, penis envy could be properly transformed into the wish for a male child, who would provide his mother with a vicarious penis. The healthy woman, according to Freud and his followers, was passive, dependent, and submissive. Because she never experienced the Oedipal conflict, she never developed a strong superego, and consequently was doomed to be man's moral inferior.

Interestingly enough, although Freud's theories no longer dominate the field of psychology, a study done in 1970 (Broverman et al., 1970) indicated that a majority of clinical psychologists and psychiatrists continue to view the healthy woman as submissive, dependent, less adventurous, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more emotional, more vain about appearance, less objective (quoted in Bem, 1971). This description coincides precisely with their description of a neurotic adult (Chesler, in Gornick and Moran, 1971, p. 383).

Erik Erikson epitomizes what has commonly been viewed as a more humane reaction to Freud's unkind verdict about the female sex. However, equally as strongly as Freud, Erikson contends that anatomy is destiny. Freud was wrong to base an explanation of female identity on what woman does not have (i.e., a penis); instead, her identity is shaped by her own "inner bodily space" (presumably out of a sense of delicacy, Erikson carefully avoids the word "womb"). (Erikson, in Lifton, 1964, p. 6). Her biology continues to determine her nature, but now she is seen as nurturant, peace-loving, tender, and resourceful.

Literature has also explored the nature of woman, with similar, but more ambiguous results. It is a commentary on the effectiveness of socialization that women authors capture some of the contempt which Freud felt for women

is this in one of the collections list? ?
 if it is quoted in Bem then put down here →

nice

good concise summaries →

see you go into this on p. 6

more accurately than their male counterparts. Esther, the narrator of The Bell Jar, has ^{so} little sense of self that she sees herself as the negative of a real person. Her sex is a biological trap which limits, oppresses, and eventually betrays her. Other female characters in the book are either contemptible in their mindless innocence (Dodo Conway and Betsey) or corrupted by experience (Doreen). "The Jailer," also by Plath, depicts woman as passive slave and prisoner. Louise Bogan criticises women for their lack of mystery, for being at once too passive and too rigid, too clinging and too yielding.

but Dodo's / apparent happiness really represents a threat to Esther

It's probably not fair to introduce this single poem / think of Bogan's / she has several figures to represent women in her poetry

Male authors, like male psychologists, have no reticence in asserting their expertise. Forty years apart, Hemingway and Mailer insist that woman's true nature is to be passive, childish, intuitive, mysterious, and above all, the companion of men. In Farewell to Arms, Hemingway argues that woman expresses her identity by denying it: by submerging herself in her man, by striving to become one with him, she discovers true fulfillment. Mailer's Cherry, in An American Dream, in her most appealing moments, is blonde, cuddly, adolescent. For both authors, the aggressive, dominating female is a violation of all the innate womanly virtues. She is epitomized in Deborah, Mailer's Great Bitch, who, attuned to universal tides of black magic, consumes or maims her lovers. Even Cherry the angel contains something of the whore in her, for Mailer believes all women must either murder their men or possess them.

some overlap too

Of course the whole author off of that could always say that women for women were only me fapless anyway

Psychology too has traditionally seen a large part of feminine identity as deriving from her man. Bettelheim wrote that women's "first and foremost" duty was to be "womanly companions to men" (quoted by Weisstein, Gornick and Moran, 1971, p. 207). Erikson maintained that a large part of woman's identity remains unformed until she chooses her mate (Erikson, in Lifton, 1964, p. 19). Not only have women traditionally been rewarded for establishing successful interpersonal relationships, but professionals have defined

women's

their mental health by their ability to evoke and maintain love (Bardwick, 1972, p. 8). Thus, to the professional psychologist or psychiatrist, the healthy woman tends to be viewed in the context of a relationship, rather than as an individual.

Literature also provides models for interpersonal relationships. Hemingway, as was mentioned earlier, reflects the belief that woman can be fulfilled only through joyous submission to man. Catherine exclaims to her lover Frederick, "I don't live at all when I'm not with you," (Hemingway, 1929, p. 300) and Hemingway implies that her sensation is one of ecstasy.

However, literature also records extensive disillusionment with the traditional model of woman's fulfillment through union with a man. In Connell's novel, Mrs. Bridge faithfully becomes a decoration and extension of her husband. Mr. Bridge is responsible for their lives, makes the decisions, handles problems, vetoes or approves. They are Catherine and Frederick twenty years later. Yet Connell portrays their relationship as empty and meaningless. Mrs. Bridge in particular suffers an acute, although intangible, sense of loss and deprivation.

if might be important how to men from the difference in point of view too
it is interesting to think that Mr. Br. could once have been a Frederick

Mailer presents the heterosexual relationship as a tenuous unity of polar opposites, with the power to create, but also the power to destroy. At its worst, it provides a stage for woman's inherent malevolence. At its best, it allows woman to realize her potential as nurturer, healer, peacemaker. But in Mailer's worldview, death and sex are so inextricably entwined that love has no possibility of ultimate triumph. In the end Rojack, through cowardice and a sense of self-preservation, sacrifices Cherry; his solitary journey toward Yucatan has a quality of inevitability.

yes

Women tend to describe the heterosexual relationship with feelings of disappointment and bitterness. In an extreme example, Plath's heroine Esther completely rejects

but also life + sex in fact life + death can only be prohibited

heterosexual intimacy and commitment. She is so oppressed by men that in her eyes they lose their humanity. The book is filled with two-dimensional stereotypes: Buddy, the hypocritically clean-cut boy-next-door; Marco, the woman-hater; Irwin, the instrument of her deflowering. Ultimately she flees to a world of insanity which protects her from interaction with men on a basis of equality and openness.

yes, good point

In The Bell Jar and in her poetry as well, Plath writes virulently about the humiliating servitude which marriage, that most sacred of heterosexual relationships, imposes on the woman. Marriage was like being brainwashed: "... afterward you went about numb as a slave in some private, totalitarian state" (Plath, 1972, p. 69). Other women poets have similarly portrayed marriage as a condition of servitude which exploits the woman and absorbs her identity (cf. "His Wife," Shirley Kaufman, "The Edge," Louise Gluck).

Identity is determined not only by the "innate" characteristics of the individual, but also by the choices she makes. Thus both psychologists and novelists have concerned themselves with woman's proper societal role. Until quite recently, most psychologists accepted that woman's most appropriate function was that of wife and mother and, in the psychotherapeutic setting, they did their best to adjust her to that function. Guidance counselor and psychiatrist alike encouraged girls to seek fulfillment in the home life. Classical Freudians regarded pursuit of a profession as a dangerous sublimation of penis envy. Even less dogmatic psychologists felt it was more realistic to prepare the woman for a life of multiple roles, and hence discouraged any interest in a serious career (Bem, 1971, p. 40).

nicely put

The stereotyped female role of mother appears in literature either as an ultimate aspiration or as an ambivalent nagging doubt. In the more conventional interpretation, woman finds her true identity as the mother, the nurturant. Surprisingly, one of the most lucid statements of this position is in An American Dream. Deborah, ^{no longer} unable to have

not clear here

with going into
all that grace
in Mailer here means

children, is "an empty castle"; pregnant, she had been "filled with grace" (Mailer, 1971, p. 31, 37). The theme of conception pervades the entire book. Rojack, it seems, is continually in search of the right woman to impregnate. When Cherry, perhaps only symbolically, asserts she is with child, Rojack feels that for the first time his love with a woman has been consummated. In Erikson's terms, Cherry's inner space has been filled; she finds herself in the re-enactment of her primordial role of woman.

poor point /

To be married and to raise a family is a path which continually haunts Esther Greenwood in The Bell Jar. It is a path which she loathes, but from which she cannot escape. Babies disgust her, yet she is fascinated by the plump, happy figure of Dodo Conway waddling down the street, surrounded by her brood. She fantasizes about childbirth in stereotyped imagery: "... smiling and radiant, with hair down to my waist" (Plath, 1972, p. 53). Connell's Mrs. Bridge dutifully embraces her supreme womanly vocation -- motherhood.

?
are these in
Bakhtin's?

However, both psychology and literature have suspected that woman's ultimate fulfillment through motherhood is not much more than a myth. Recent studies (Ringo, 1970, Yarrow et al, 1962) indicate that not only do women who have made mothering an exclusive career experience intense personal dissatisfaction, but that often they make poor mothers. Depression in middle-aged women often occurs when the last child leaves home and "mother" is suddenly deprived of the only role she has ever been encouraged to pursue (Bart, 1971). Symbolically, this sense of loss and betrayal is expressed in Mrs. Bridge. Not only do her children desert her, but they withdraw their love from her, and although they are her only accomplishments, she cannot understand them. Although in becoming a "supermother" (Bart, in Gornick and Moran, p. 166) she has successfully achieved her culturally defined role, instead of fulfillment, she finds only superficiality and emptiness. eyes!

the word
doesn't seem parallel

Surprisingly enough, Hemingway expresses some of the same reservations about childbirth and motherhood that we find in Plath. Like Plath, he sees pregnancy as a biological trap, which destroys everything that is sublime in woman. Woman achieves purity of identity through the heterosexual relationship. Catherine lives only for Frederick, and both of them feel pressured by the coming child. Somehow a baby seems an intrusion on the unity of their relationship: fittingly, Catherine dies in childbirth. It is as though the child (a boy) has stolen her from Frederick.

Yet if a woman is to be more than a mother, what is she to be? The alternatives are fraught with uncertainty, even terror. Research shows that women who, despite the norms of their society, continue to achieve and pursue a career, are oppressed not only by a fear of failure, but also by a fear of success. One study (Horner, in Bardwick, 1970) indicated that two-thirds of a population of college women expressed either depression, identity confusion, or disbelief at the thought of a highly successful woman. Looking at literature, we find similar uncertainties and anxieties. Frequently, the woman who rebels against her conventional role is portrayed as an "artist," or at least as having certain artistic sensibilities. But whether in fact she is a viable alternative remains in doubt. Esther, in The Bell Jar, at times aspires to be a poet. Yet she is suicidal and often insane, torturously conflicted over her sexual identity. The heroine of Rose Garden is portrayed as having considerable artistic talent. Yet, like Esther, her grasp on reality is tenuous and requires continual effort. Both are seemingly forever shut out from the normal pleasures of life. Women poets, writing about themselves as artists, often convey a sense of conflict and uneasiness with their role (cf. Erica Jong, Cynthia MacDonald). Mabel Ong, a poet in Mrs. Bridge, is strident and masculine. Grace, who has an artistic, sensitive nature, eventually commits suicide.

I think it's important to mention that pregnancy is as a mother used for more general for outside institutional for us

Career women are frequently portrayed as masculine and domineering, like J.C. in The Bell Jar. Even when women professionals are pictured sympathetically, as Dr. Nolan in The Bell Jar and Dr. Fried in Rose Garden, it is significant that (1) they are unmarried and childless, thus lacking the ultimate confirmation of femininity 2) they are engaged in a "helping" profession, which can accommodate such standard female qualities as nurturance and service. Thus literature reveals a certain suspicion of career as the path to true happiness and fulfillment for the woman.

We have seen that both psychology and literature have tended to create models of women which are somewhat arbitrary and simplistic. In psychology, this realization has led to the demand for a new psychology of women (Bardwick, 1972; Bem, 1971) which will incorporate 1) the concept of androgyny, which challenges the assumption that masculinity and femininity are polar opposites and implies that within the same sex a person may be masculine, feminine, or a combination of these (Bem, 1973); 2) the concept of situation specificity (Mischel, 1972) which rejects innate character traits in favor of a theory of personality which admits the significant influence of environment on behavior 3) the recognition that, at the same time that there continues to be a need to develop mutually committed heterosexual relationships, there also exists in women the need to "experience oneself as an estimable, autonomous being." (Bardwick, 1972, p. 7). The impact of feminism on counseling (Shapiro, 1972) encourages therapists to view many of women's psychological problems not as a personal, but as a social, trauma.

Psychology claims to describe woman, not as she was, not as other have seen her, but as she is. Because of this self-imposed function, there has been considerable pressure on psychology to update its version of woman's identity and woman's potential. Literature, however, has a more diverse function. Of the two disciplines, it has proved the more

is literature a discipline? I'd say no —
the study of literature is.

but this is
again using
a standard of
femininity
that is suspect

this seems
a more extreme
conclusion
than the evi-
dence supports

yes | humane, because it at least has reflected the bitterness and frustration of the woman's role in contemporary society. Further, it makes no pretense of being objective reality, but is variously reflection, distortion, or invention. Thus, ironically, it can serve a more enduring therapeutic function than many psychological theories.

One therapeutic value of literature is as a sort of preventive medicine. In this capacity, it fills much the same role as a Rogerian therapist in providing accurate empathy and reflection of her own condition to the female reader. Frequently, women in literature confront the same problems as women in real life: conflicts over identity; confusion over heterosexual relationships; a dilemma of options, with the possibility of suicide or insanity omnipresent. In reading such literature, the woman feels a surge of identification, and thinks, "That's really where I am. That author really understands my situation." The result is at once reassuring and cathartic.

A second therapeutic value of literature is rehabilitative. Literature which pays careful attention to environmental context can show to the woman reader how she has been conditioned by her society. In this context, a book such as Mrs. Bridge is particularly useful, because it delineates for the reader the external pressures which shaped Mrs. Bridge in the direction of superficiality, propriety, and conformity. Another type of literature, such as Hemingway's Farewell to Arms or Mailer's An American Dream, reveals to the woman how others, especially men, may see her. Thus literature can serve a consciousness-raising function for woman: it enables her to perceive that in trying to conform to the images of both goddess and animal, she loses her reality and becomes only a collection of fantasies.

Because literature is a personal interpretation of the human condition, it continues to have a broadly therapeutic effect long after psychological theories which have articulated universal, timeless truths have become outdated.

how exactly is it "preventive"?
vague
?
with this distinction but "universal" seems timeless to be more applicable to fiction than to science

? strange word

but does a more really have therapeutic value?

However, as a form of therapy for the woman client, it has two deficiencies. The first is that sometimes literature is only a personal statement, and not a feminist manifesto: thus, much of Sylvia Plath's sense of hopelessness and outrage at her condition as a woman was attributable not to societal oppression, but to her own precarious mental stability. Secondly, although literature provides an accurate reflection of the anguish and conflicts made peculiar to women through certain societal prejudices and expectations, at present it does not provide any positive models for women. None of the novels or poems examined contained positive alternatives for women: women fled into mediocrity, insanity, or suicide. Perhaps the most vital, the most fulfilled character to emerge was the exotic Countess Mariska in Mrs. Bridge: even here the gap between the model and the imitator seemed too vast to seriously suggest bridging it.

yes

but the Countess is there; also aren't Kael and Dr. Nolan justilled - attached to each other - images which don't contain all possible human/feminine aspects?

Psychology and psychotherapy are rapidly becoming more sensitive to and congruent with the needs of contemporary women. In the field of psychology, the concept of woman's potential both in terms of societal role and personal growth is being expanded and revised. If literature is to retain a therapeutic function, it also must indicate to woman that she has other options available in addition to mediocrity, insanity, and suicide. Literature may continue to interpret her past and present, but it must also help the contemporary woman discover her future.

but maybe authors don't want their books to have therapeutic functions - Mailer, for ex., wants to be provocative & polemical, not reassuring.

I found your application of psychological concepts + categories to the characters + situations in the novels very interesting + valuable. Your general conclusions seem

less convincing - mostly because you seem to be applying them to all literature or all contemporary literature. As soon as you do that, your argument is vulnerable to the objection that you are mis-stating + simplifying the impulse to, + function of, literature. The sample of things we read is too biased to generalize ->

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→ about all literature. I think your argument would have been more persuasive if you had ~~stated~~ made it clear that you were going to analyze only a few books — in + for themselves, rather than talking about all literature with these few works as examples.

One other point to consider is that literature usually arises out of conflict rather than out of resolution, "fulfillment," + serenity. The male figures in the stories are usually in conflict about what their roles are too.

Paper - B+
Course - A-

An historical examination of women in education reveals several complex issues. What was the societal image of women in various historical periods? What were the implications of this image for the role woman was expected to assume in society? What sort of education was considered to best fit woman to her image and prepare her for her role?

The colonial period was one of male dominance, although women had fairly good legal status and equal say in determining the destiny of their children (Demos, 1970). Images of women derived from the Biblical portrait of Eve as the sinful temptress. Although it was permissible to teach women how to read in order to evade the wiles of the "ould deluder" (Sourcebook, p. 3), femininity and intellect were seen as basically incompatible. In the management of the household and the rearing of children, the Puritan woman found a clearly defined role. Thus, the young girl's education consisted primarily of observing and imitating her mother. If she acquired additional learning, it was usually at her own initiative.

The emphasis in Puritan education was on outcome: the creation of an intellectually trained elite which would function as ministers to the next generation. Although a woman such as Anne Hutchinson could become a spiritual leader, in general no one conceived of training women to be ministers. During the Revolutionary period, the university appeared to Jefferson (Sourcebook, p. 9, 10) and others as a way of maintaining effective political control over the nation. However, like religion, politics as a profession was not open to women. Thus, for all the dignity and vision of the revolutionary rhetoric, it did not seem

to have much to do with women. The role of the woman continued to be perceived as household and child-raising duties. And, although girls were allowed to attend dame schools and increasingly (during odd hours) (Boas, 1935, p. 13) the grammar schools, the nature of their education continued to be mainly Christian religion and domestic studies (Woody, 1929, p. 134). Only if she had parents who were both bold and well-to-do could a girl study at an adventure school, where, for a fee, even a female could be initiated into such mysteries as chemistry and composition (Woody, 1929, p. 149).

The period 1820-1850 saw a shift in the view of women. The impact of romanticism transformed the sinful temptress of the Puritans into the guardian of culture and nurturance, upholder of all the tender virtues. Her primary social role was still that of homemaker, but now it was invested with intensely spiritual overtones (Cross, 1965, p. 9).

A newly emerging societal need coincided with this romantic image of women. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the common school movement rose to prominence, and with it the implication of mass education. As the movement gained headway, the demand for teachers increased. There was, however, no readily available labor pool to supply them. Faced with the prospect of universal schooling, educational theorists such as Horace Mann recognized the expediency of a large, cheap body of labor. An initial problem was the role this mass of teachers would assume. In previous periods, the role of the teacher (excluding the dames' schools) had been to educate man's mind (for moral reasons, to be sure: to resist Satan -- or federalism). As such, it was a prestigious and fairly elite role, and reserved almost exclusively for men. Now, however, Mann argued that the direct inculcation of a common value system should take precedence over intellectual gymnastics, especially at the public school level (Green, 1965, p. 20-22). The romantic interpretation of woman prevalent during this

Yes, but
some of the
sentimental
view
emerged
in
late 18th
century
eg see
Tampines

period made her appear as a uniquely propitious candidate to teach manners and morals to the poor and the immigrant. Further, she was a cheap source of labor. As Grace Strachan later observed, "Woman was used to being treated as a slave or a plaything, so she accepted lower wages without protest." (Strachan, 1910, p. 26).

The dual roles of wife-mother and teacher caused much ambiguity in the interpretation of women. Was woman a sacred ornament or a part of the labor force? The nature of women's education during this period reflected this ambivalence. Female seminaries vacillated between providing women with "polite accomplishments" (Woody, 1929, p. 108) and providing them with a profession (Woody, 1929, p. 397). Some, like Catherine Beecher, attempted to unite the roles of mother and educator, and imbue both with an aura of evangelical sanctity (Cross, 1965, p. 11). A few, like the Transcendentalists, saw in the feminine exodus into the teaching profession an exploitation of women for the purpose of instilling values of conformity, compliance, and conventionality (Green, 1965, p. 27).

In the early 1890s, Rice's muckraking expose of the condition of American education shocked the country. The discipline which G.T. Harris had seen as the key to the educational dialectic of innovation and stability, had produced not the "self-active individual," but a mechanical system in which the emphasis was on "... order rather than freedom, work rather than play, effort not interest... regularity, silence, and industry." (Cremin, 1961, p. 20). In response, the Progressive movement turned its attention toward the educational system. Cremin writes that "Progressive education began as part of a vast humanitarian effort to apply the ideal of government by, of, and for the people to urban-industrial civilization." (Cremin, 1961, p. viii). Yet it is questionable whether it had a humanitarian, or even a progressive effect on the condition of women.

During the period of pre-war progressivism, woman was still viewed as the homemaker. Thus, when both rural and

right
word?
exodus
from home?

Women's
suffering?

and urban education demanded more relevance of curriculum, more relation between education and life, the effect on women was to maintain them in stereotyped roles: in the cities they studied homemaking, in the country they were taught to care for the sick and beautify the home (Cremin, 1961, p. 33, 45). Significantly, while the vocational movement of the 1880s and 1890s provided training for men which was situation-differentiated (ie., men were trained for different jobs in the city than in the country), women were seen as performing essentially the same function, no matter what their environment.

Chronology
a bit
out of
sequence
with
progression?

Social Darwinism seems to have had a significant influence on the attitude of educators toward the proper education of women. In the educational sphere, G. Stanley Hall popularized the concept that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny, with the implication that educators should not interfere with the inexorable workings of nature. According to Hall, "biological psychology" (Goodsell, 1924, p. 66) proved that woman's nature was essentially conservative; thus, her proper role was that of wife and mother. To make a good mother, one should educate the body, not the mind. Therefore, female education should emphasize health, manners, regularity, and the cultivation of intuition rather than intellect.

Yet despite such hostility to educational equality, with the founding of women's colleges such as Bryn Mawr, Smith, and Mt. Holyoke women's education took a great step forward. The liberal arts orientation (Newcomer, 1959, p. 60) of these colleges challenged the tendency to reduce women's education to "health, manners, and regularity." Educators such as M. Carey Thomas rejected arguments that higher education for women would be "hardening and deforming" and would lead to physical and moral weakness (Ouida, The New Woman, 1894, cited in Woody, 1929, vol. II, p. 154). Instead, they posited an image of woman as the intellectual and moral equal of man, able to respond to the same challenges, and achieve the same accomplishments (Cross, 1965, p. 31).

During the nineteenth century, women became established

in teaching, for the first time in the history of America invading the public sphere en masse in a semi-professional capacity. However, the teacher's role remained unclear. Was the woman-as-teacher a sort of moral babysitter? Or was she a professional? The equal-pay controversy in New York City during the first decade of the twentieth century illuminated this confusion. An analysis of arguments against equal pay suggests that the concept of woman as a figure of inferior intellectual competence and maturity was still pervasive. Opponents expressed fear of feminization of the schools, which would turn men into mollycoddles! (Strachan, 1910, p. 82). (For a more contemporary version of this argument, see Sexton, The Feminized Male, 1969). However, the 15,000 women teachers organized under the leadership of Grace Strachan rejected differential treatment and struggled for the standardization of pay and promotion. Although equal pay eventually became a reality in New York City, this development seems less a function of changing attitudes toward women and more a function of consistent bureaucratization, which indeed provides that position, rather than person, determines salary.

Although the bulk of my reading focused on the periods prior to World War I, I would like very briefly to throw out some speculations about the interbellum period. Female stereotypes of the 1920s conjure up images of the flapper, liberated, emancipated, uninhibited. However, I was unable to find clear evidence that this individualistic freedom for women was reflected in their education, at least at the lower levels of the educational hierarchy.

According to Cremin, the decade of the twenties was characterized by two major trends in progressive education: 1) self-expression and 2) Freudianism (Cremin, 1961, p. 209). Cremin does not suggest what self-expression meant in the education of women. For example, what impact, if any, did women like Isadora Duncan have on the general societal image of women? How as this translated into the educational system. Questions such as these remain unanswered.

probably
only in
elite schools
but use
of contemporary
did begin
a kind of
liberalism

As to the second influence, it is possible to make some interesting inferences. Cremin states that "the really pervasive influence of Freudianism on pedagogy came indirectly through the public acceptance of the psychoanalytical image of the child." (Cremin, 1961, p. 214). What Cremin fails to mention is that Freud had quite different conceptualizations of the male and female child. Teachers who interpreted a girl's assertive actions as penis envy and who assumed that their goal was to socialize her to appropriate feminine passivity must have indulged in a great deal of differential treatment of their students. However, at present this remains simply a speculation.

An overview of women in education provides us with various interpretations as to the proper role of women. One image which never disappeared entirely was the woman as temptress, if not innately evil, then at least suspicious, deceitful, and untrustworthy. A second image, based on an efficiency model, called for separate but supposedly equal spheres, in which the family became a microcosm for the social efficiency of the larger society. A persistent variation of the latter image portrayed the wife and mother as preserver of the moral and spiritual qualities of civilization, but essentially passive and submissive. At the same time, there also emerges the conception of woman as a person (Margaret Fuller, M. Carey Thomas) and as a professional (Grace Strachan). However, general trends in education, especially at the lower levels, tended to reinforce the first three views, and educated women in morality and domesticity. Even when women infiltrated the teaching profession, they were accorded ambiguous status: women teachers were somehow different from (and implicitly less than) men teachers. As late as 1920, President Hyde of Bowdoin College could describe the "womanly ideal" as woman the consumer (Goodsell, 1924, p. 100), whose distinctive contribution lay in the household realm, and whose true

happiness lay in radiating joy among family and friends. Hyde asked rhetorically, Should woman risk all this for the sake of mere scholarship?

By and large, the answer of professional educators seemed to be that she should not.

Very good synthesis —
your speculations
at the end make sense
to me
you write clearly & well

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W O M E N I N E D U C A T I O N :

I M A G E S A N D R O L E S

O V E R V I E W

a n d

H I S T O R I C A L P A G E A N T

Joie Shapiro

3/8/73

A

An excellent job - your session with
Ms. Thomas is especially good. It seems
to me that the two sections of
the paper nicely complement each
other. I like the way you have
appropriated the material to
make it your own

Note

This paper is written in two parts. The first part is a brief overview of women in education and examines the following issues: 1) During a given historical period, what was the prevalent image of women, as perceived by the society at large? 2) What were the implications of this image for woman's appropriate societal role? 3) What was the relationship between women's education and their societal image and role?

The second part of the paper consists of a series of brief skits, designed to convey some of the conclusions of the overview in a more humanistic and palatable fashion. Due to limitations of time and space, the skits often verge on caricature, and are not intended to do justice to the full complexity of the issues involved. Hopefully they will be provocative enough to impel the reader to further investigation.

This accurately portrays one style of interaction, I suspect. But some Puritan women were remarkably assertive (like Shakespeare's), considering their supposed place in life.

The Colonial Period

The year is 1647. In the hall of a one-and-a-half story frame-type house, a typical Puritan family is assembled. Sara, the mother, is seated by the fire, spinning. She is pregnant, dressed in subdued colors. At her feet, her daughter, age eight but dressed in identical clothing, is carding wool. John, the father, is instructing his twelve-year-old son how to build a table.

John: You know, Sara, there is a new law before the General Court.

Sara: What is this law, John?

John: It says that every township of fifty or more householders must appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read (Sourcebook, p. 4). Further, in townships of one hundred households, there must be built a grammar school to prepare youths for the university.

Sara: (Naively) What is your opinion of all this?

John: I don't know as I like it. We have educated our boy well enough. Why, I have even taught little Sally to read a bit.

Sara: (Timidly, afraid to contradict her husband) Not all families have done as well by their children. Why, though he has four daughters, our neighbor Samuel Boggs will not even teach them their letters, for fear they will grow up to trick their husbands and disdain their household tasks.

John: (Angrily) Boggs is a fool and a swindler as well! He still owes me two bushels of corn.

Sara: Yes, it's true. (Gently) But we were not talking of Boggs, but of this new school. (She hesitates) John, if such a school should be built, should our Sally attend?

John: (Startled) Sally is already quick enough at her books to keep the ould deluder at bay. She has no need for more learning.

Sara: (Says nothing, but looks disappointed)

John: (Gently) Sara, the Bible teaches us that woman was "first in transgression." (Demos, 1970, p. 84). Education is a powerful tool, and easily tempts the weak. (To console her) If indeed this grammar school comes to pass, I shall consider sending Stephen there. Who knows, perhaps Stephen may one day go to Harvard and become a minister. Now Sally will never be a minister. She will serve her husband and her family and manage a household. Does she need Harvard for this? (He laughs)

Sara: (Bending down to her daughter) My dear, you may never be a minister, but you can be a minister's mother.

The Revolutionary Period

The year is 1776. A man on a platform is enthusiastically reading out the Declaration of Independence. A small crowd gathers, including the Storekeeper, the Lawyer, the Shoemaker, and the Woman.

- Lawyer : (To Storekeeper) It's revolution at last.
- Storekeeper: I'm a man of peace myself, but perhaps it's just as well. If taxes got any higher, I'd have to liquidate my stock.
- Lawyer : Well, they always say war is good for business. (The two chuckle)
- Woman : (Tapping the Lawyer) Excuse me, sir, but I'm a bit confused. "That all men are created equal...?" What about my inalienable rights? What about my pursuit of happiness?
- Lawyer : (Severely) All natural women pursue happiness through their home and their family. (He pokes the Storekeeper in the ribs and they laugh).
- Woman : We're on the brink of a new era, and I'm afraid I'll be left behind. Why, even now I can't get a decent education.
- Lawyer : Ridiculous. Boys and girls often attend dame school together until the age of seven. Never trust a woman who's been too educated, I say. Teach a woman to write, and she will forge her husband's signature. Teach her to read, and she will neglect her domestic duties (Newcomer, 1959, p. 7)
- Storekeeper: Well, I agree with you friend, but I find myself in a quandary. Now that my town has hired a master, I want to get my money's worth. So I send my daughters to the master early in the morning, before sunrise, just to keep him on his toes.
- Shoemaker : (Who has become interested in the conversation) Certainly you can't ask for more than that, Ma'am. Now girls are learning to read, and sometimes they even attend the grammar school. Do you want women in the university?
- Lawyer : Thomas Jefferson intends our universities to train our future political leaders. Will a woman be President after Mr. Washington? (The men laugh)
- Shoemaker : (Earnestly) I'm not denying that women need to learn something. But they should be educated in religion and how to govern their domestics, regulate their households, and train their children.
- Woman : (Softly) That is how I was brought up. I want more than that for my daughter.

- Lawyer : If you want more than that, send her to an adventure school. There she can learn anything.
- Storekeeper: For a price. (The men all laugh heartily. The woman turns and walks away. With properly solemn faces, the men turn back to listen to the speaker proclaiming the Declaration of Independence)

Early Nineteenth Century: The Common School Movement

Horace Mann, Margaret Fuller, and Catherine Beecher are all gathered in the latter's family room, a spacious, well-lit, immaculate room based on blueprints she herself had drawn up for the ideal home. Miss Beecher is serving tea to Mr. Mann with an expression of Christ-like humility on her face.

- Mann : My vision is of a common school which will function as a civilizing, moral force. It will act as a "barrier against immorality, crime, and anarchy," (Green, 1965, p. 23) yet at the same time provide all segments of society with equal opportunity. It will educate the poor and jobless so they can find employment in this great new industrial civilization. And it will guarantee to the employer a cooperative, energetic...
- Fuller : (Under her breath) Docile and servile, you mean.
- Mann : I beg your pardon?
- Beecher: (Hastily) It was nothing. She must have choked on a crumb. (She looks severely at Fuller) / nice (3)
- Mann : Well, at any rate, employers will have a cooperative and energetic labor force at their disposal.
- Beecher: Horace, it is indeed a great vision. (Slyly) But where will the teachers come from to educate such ... (she deliberately selects the word) unruly masses of people?
- Mann : True. Until now, despite the existence of the dames' schools, teaching has been regarded as a man's profession. And rightly so. The universities, for example, were established to educate the intellect. Thus, teaching was peculiarly suited to the male sex. But now I am talking about a different sort of education. I am not talking of training an elite. I am not talking of intellectual education. I am talking about the moral education of the masses. And who is better suited to this function than woman, the nurturer, the guardian of purity, compassion, and all the tender virtues.
- Beecher: Woman is indeed the "special custodian of all spiritual things." (Cross, 1965, p. 1). I couldn't agree with you more, Horace.

- Fuller : And I couldn't agree with you less. Catherine, even if I must admit that, as you have so often argued, intellectual activity is at odds with true femininity, then I must still choose being a person over being a woman. To abandon intellect in favor of domesticity is to abandon fulfillment of the whole person. How can you glorify woman's domestic chores as holy? Bah! Babies and domestic drudgery are a confinement of the spirit (Cross, 1965, p. 17)
- Beecher: Be careful, Margaret. You are rejecting a unique opportunity to win public recognition of all that woman can contribute to the building of our country. For decades woman has been regarded with suspicion, as innately evil. Now even men are praising her qualities of nurturance and morality. More important, men are finally opening up the profession of teaching to woman. This is a glorious opportunity.
- Mann : (Perturbed) Well, now, I'm not sure that I understand you, Catherine. Surely you would agree that woman's first duty is to the home. No one is asking her to be a... a... a professional.
- Beecher: Well then, Horace, I maintain that teaching prepares women to be better mothers.
- Fuller : You forget that I have tried this glorious profession of teaching, and it did not prepare me to be a better anything. Education as it presently exists teaches conformity, conventionality and stifles self-reliance. Now confess to me, Horace, is there not another motivation behind your desire to see women in the schools? A motivation of expediency?
- Mann : (Uncomfortably) Well, of course, women are a large, cheap body of labor.
- Fuller : (Accusingly) You have created a monstrous machine and have found in women the perfect overseers. I don't have any illusions about your precious "equalizing" (Green, 1965, p. 22) system. You boast that men and women receive an equal education. Very well, perhaps because of increasing mechanization and standardization in the classroom, this becomes unavoidable. Yet, while men are called on to reproduce and utilize what they learn in the real world, women are educated only for display purposes.
- Beecher: That is precisely the reason I founded the Hartford Seminary three years ago. Seminaries such as the ones that I, Emma Willard, and Mary Lyon have started have deemphasized display. Studies aim either at improving the mind or preparing the girl for later life. Most important, they provide training for teaching.
- Fuller : I don't question that Hartford has a good reputation.

- Fuller: (Continued) But most seminaries still offer too many subjects, taught too superficially. And by and large the focus is still on Christian religion and domestic training.
- Mann : Well, what do you propose as an alternative? (Scornfully) You Conversations?
- Fuller: If necessary, yes. At least true dialogue and learning occurs during these sessions. And they are the only attempt I have ever seen to bring women together for the purpose of developing systematic, precise, and clear thinking.
- Beecher: (Angrily) The Conversations are an elite circle of idle women who wish only to amuse themselves. How wasteful to spend one's time discussing Greek mythology! "It is more important for women to be educated to be virtuous, useful, and pious, than learned and accomplished." (Cross, 1965, p. 70)
- Fuller: Such a saccharine image of self-sacrifice is abhorrent to me! (She abruptly stands up and leaves the room)
- Mann : (Perplexed) Where is she going?
- Beecher: (Cattily) To Italy, to be married. No American man will have her.
- Mann : (Standing) Perhaps I should be going too.
- Beecher: Before you go, Horace, let me make one thing clear. I do not challenge male supremacy in the world of affairs and politics. All I want is proper recognition of woman's contribution. Men have their sphere. Women must -- and do -- have theirs. But it has consistently been scorned and despised. Women's work has always been treated as lesser work, although in fact it is just as worthwhile as the work of men. I want recognition and respect for women's "unique professions": (Cross, 1965, p. 94) training the mind in childhood, nursing of infants and the infirm, management of the family estate. It is women who have the main responsibility for shaping the mind and morals of the next generation. Don't forget that.
- Mann : (Hurriedly) Right, I'll keep it in mind. Meanwhile, in the cities, in the rural areas, at the frontier, all are clamoring for teachers. Keep them coming, Catherine. (He pats her condescendingly, then exits. Beecher starts to become angry, then reassumes her expression of long-suffering humility)

Rise of the Woman's College: 1850-1900

M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr, is concluding a speech to various prominent community members, including the Banker, the Doctor, and the Judge.

Thomas : (At the podium) In conclusion, I would like to raise a question. Would you argue for differential training for a female doctor and a male doctor? Of course not, if only out of fear that one day you might end up under the care of the female doctor (Laughter). The question should be, what is the best attainable training for a physician, whether man or woman? There is no special woman's way of treating disease -- or building a bridge. If you argue that God did not intend women to be bridge-builders, you may be right, but you will have the women of America to contend with. If you say that women's minds are such that they can't build good bridges, then there is no problem, because soon their bridges will fall down and their male competitors will force them out of the profession. Give the women a fair chance! (Applause) (Cross, p. 145)

Chairman: We have been very honored to have M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr College, speak to us tonight. She will now entertain questions from the floor.

Banker : Dr. Thomas, since the 1890s one important educational development has been a re-emphasis on the relation between education and life. Progressive educators such as Professor Dewey have attempted to establish schools which represent an embryonic community life. (Cremin, 1961, p. 118). In the rural area, Bailey has faulted traditional education for dealing with time-honored irrelevancies which...

Chairman: Sir, I must ask you to state your question.

Banker : (Icily) That is precisely what I am doing. Madam, how do you propose to justify the perpetuation of such irrelevancies at the college level, through rigid adherence to a liberal arts education, rather than preparing these women for the roles they will realistically assume in society?

Thomas : You are in distinguished company when you ask that question, for President Eliot of Harvard has recently made the same point. Yet I treasure the irrelevance of which Dr. Eliot and you have complained. This is the only time in her life that the woman can devote herself exclusively to the intellect. Therefore, I am unalterably opposed to the introduction of specifically female courses into the curriculum. All women shouldn't automatically be trained to be housewives and mothers, because all women will not be housewives and mothers.

- Judge : This is precisely the quarrel I have with woman's higher education. These college women are not becoming wives and mothers, though God knows what they are doing. Unmarried women and a falling birthrate will lead to extinction of the race.
- Thomas : I think the statistics on this point have been somewhat distorted (Goodsell, 1924). Empirically, I would observe that women who have received an equal education to men's have turned out splendidly: they have married as often -- and usually better than their less-educated sisters; they have borne a satisfactory proportion of children; and have made good housewives, companions, and mothers.
- Doctor : I am still not satisfied as to why we should bother to educate females at all. Can their minds really profit from education? Thorndike's work in testing has led him to conclude that although there is little difference between men and women in the central tendency of their intelligence, men have superior variability, which explains why there are so many more male geniuses, leaders, artists, and so forth. Thorndike concludes that higher education is more beneficial to men than to women (Goodsell, 1924, p. 72-3), and I must confess, Dr. Thomas, that despite your lecture, I'm still with him.
- Thomas : I must reject Professor Thorndike's conclusions as being somewhat premature. True, I remember that when I was growing up, I felt an awful doubt as to whether women as a sex were mentally and physically fit for higher education. But now we know -- I must say, we have proved -- that "men and women are inspired by the same things: the love of learning, the love of science, the love of abstract truth." (Cross, 1965, p. 160) Women have talent and genius, for science as well as art, but this talent has been obscured by highly unfavorable environmental circumstances. Rather than continue to condemn woman to the home, we should encourage her to pursue the path of scholar and researcher.
- Hall : Dr. Thomas... (There is a stirring in the audience)
- Chairman: (Jumping to his feet) It's G. Stanley Hall!
- Hall : Dr. Thomas, I have found your talk most illuminating. However, I think you have forgotten one important fact -- (He pauses impressively) -- evolution! Dr. Thomas, education cannot undo what centuries of evolution have wrought. Nor should it try. The proper function of education is not to turn women into men, but to acknowledge the supreme importance of wife and mother to our total social fabric. Biological psychology calls for "a new philosophy of sex which

Hall : (Continued) "... places the wife and mother at the heart of a new world and makes her the object of a new religion and almost of a new worship, that will give her reverent exemption from sex competition... (in which) blind worship of mere mental illumination has no place." (Goodsell, 1924, p. 63) The proper education of the adolescent girl should always contain the presupposition of motherhood. (Applause)

Thomas: If I am forced to choose between femininity and intellect, Dr. Hall, I must confess I will choose the latter. (Gasps of horror from the floor). But let me give you my interpretation of Darwinism, Dr. Hall. To me, it means the right of every woman to enter equally into the struggle for survival. And this means equal intellectual competition as well. (There are angry murmurs from the floor)

Chairman: (Hastily intervening) I think our time is up, ladies and gentlemen. (Turning to Thomas) Dr. Thomas, it's been a delight, (Gazing with dismay at the disgruntled crowd) truly a (He gulps)... delight.

Equal Pay for Equal Work: The Teacher as Professional

The year is 1909. Several teachers, both male and female, have gathered in School Superintendent Maxwell's office to discuss the issue of equal pay for women teachers. Also present are a Real Estate Association representative and Assistant Superintendent Grace Strachan, a leader in the struggle for equal pay.

- Strachan : To me, the issue is one of simple justice. When two people do the same quantity and quality of work, why pay the man more simply because he is a man, and the woman less simply because she is a woman?
- REA Represent. : You pay the man more, Miss Strachan, because men are superior to women, there is no doubt about that in my mind.
- Male Teacher : I don't think that need be the issue. But I am arguing for a family wages for male teachers, which is also only simple justice, as you say, Miss Strachan. Women teachers are unmarried and don't need to support a family.
- Female Teacher ! : (Jumping up indignantly) It's not true! Just because I'm not married! Why, I support my aged parents, maintain an uncle in an insane asylum, and contribute to the welfare of my four nieces and nephews, who have recently been orphaned.
- Strachan : Certainly, as Miss Jones' case illustrates so

- Strachan : (Continued) well, often female teachers have as many dependents to support as male teachers. But in a sense that argument misses the point. Do we pay one mayor more because a larger family than his predecessor? Do we pay Doctor A less than Doctor B because he is childless? In every other profession, pay is not determined by dependents, but by performance.
- REA Represent: However, equal pay, by making the teaching profession more lucrative, would discourage women from marrying and establish a "preferred celibate class." (Strachan, 1910, p. 125). When you encourage women to become teachers instead of mothers, you are in effect committing racial suicide. Teaching should not be made too attractive. It is a last resort for women for whom marriage is not forthcoming. Woman's place is in the home.
- Female Teacher 2: (Acerbicly) On the contrary, perhaps if women were not forced to marry from economic motives, the nature of marriage would improve considerably.
- Male Teacher 2: But men teachers perform special services which deserve special remuneration.
- Female Principal: Just what are these special services? In my school, they boil down to overseeing the playground and the sanitaries, and supervising athletic programs.
- Female Teacher 1: And in my school, all those are done by women as well.
- Strachan : Even more important, why should all men be paid more, simply because a few carry out these additional duties?
- Maxwell : Miss Strachan, in my mind the real issue has not yet been touched upon. Where will the money come from to make equal pay a reality?
- Strachan : (Doggedly) The issue is one of justice.
- Maxwell : Differential pay is a means of luring men into a predominantly female profession. We cannot have teaching fall exclusively into the hands of women.
- Female Teacher 2: Why not? It's worked well in Indianapolis. It could work well here.
- Maxwell : Male teachers are necessary to show that "culture and refinement are not the peculiar province of women." (Strachan, 1910, p. 67)
- Male Teacher 2: A teaching force composed exclusively of women would feminize our boys. Women are fine when it comes to teaching manners and morals, but what do they know of the real world? Women have experience only in teaching and housewifery. How can they

- Male Teacher 2 : (Continued) prepare the male child for the complexity of roles which await him in adult life?
- Male Teacher 1 : Women will bring up our boys to be mollycoddles.
- REA Represent. : They will bring up our boys to be "emotional, illogical, and non-combative against public evils." (Woody, 1929, p. 513) In short, they will bring them up to be women.
- Maxwell : Children must have an opportunity be be exposed to those "intellectual and moral qualities which characterize men" (Strachan, 1910, p. 67) as well as those which characterize women.
- Strachan : And just what are those qualities, Mr. Maxwell? An examination of our public schools indicates that women are equally good at teaching athletics and the exact sciences. Professor Dewey himself has disposed of the "woman peril" argument, and I will not be bothered with it further.
- Female Teacher 2: It is the position, rather than the person, which should be paid. Civil Service salary schedules make no distinction between male and female. It would be more profitable to become a city stenographer than a teacher!
- Strachan : You men have created a bureaucracy, based on merit, objective qualification for office, precision, and consistency (Katz, 1971, p. 59). The nature of the structure itself demands that you apply these criteria uniformly, without regard to sex.
- Maxwell : (Says nothing, but stares at Strachan in sudden consternation. Rest of group continues to ad lib, men talking of family, cost, women of justice and home rule. On Maxwell's face however there is a growing look of defeat.)

The Interbellum Period

Two young teachers, Marilyn and Sue, are chatting in Marilyn's classroom after school. Both have emulated the flapper look. Marilyn is surreptitiously smoking a cigarette and glances up at the door occasionally to make sure no one is observing her.

- Sue : Oh Marilyn, I've just visited Caroline Pratt's Play School in Greenwich Village. It's so exciting! Why, she believes that all children are artists and that true education comes through self-expression.
- Marilyn: Self-expression is a thrilling idea, Sue. But I've just come back from a lecture on Freudian theory, and I think self-expression must mean different things for boys and for girls.
- Sue : Why, what do you mean?
- Marilyn: Well, as I understand it (and it was my first lecture, so I may not have it quite right), when the little boy starts to have sexual feelings toward his mother -- and this happens quite early, Sue -- he sees his father as a rival. But because he is afraid of his father, who is so much bigger and stronger, instead he identifies with him. I think this is called a reaction formation. Anyway, this is how little boys become masculine.
- Sue : And how do little girls become feminine?
- Marilyn: Well, the female is organized around penis envy. The little girl rejects her mother, who has no penis. Later, if she is well-adjusted, she will replace penis envy by a wish for a baby. But because woman's basic root is envy, she will never be as moral as man.
- Sue: What about the woman who doesn't get married and have a baby?
- Marilyn: Oh, she has a masculinity complex. She has rejected the natural passivity and dependence which should characterize a feminine woman. She pursues a career in an effort to sublimate her penis envy.
- Sue : Oh, dear. I've been so infatuated with Isadora Duncan. She was really my ideal. Marilyn, do you think she dances out of... (She lowers her voice) penis envy?
- Marilyn: I wouldn't be surprised.
- Sue : But what about the Play School, what about self-expression, doesn't that count for anything?
- Marilyn: Of course it does, Sue. Women have a right to express themselves, just as much as men. But the best place for women to express themselves seems to be through the home and through their children.

DIFFERENTIAL SOCIALIZATION

OF THE SEXES

Johanna Shapiro
May 15, 1974

Differential Trends in the Socialization Practices
Of Male and Female Children: Summary Statement

There is surprisingly little evidence for differential socialization practices, at least among parents of children aged 0 - 5. This is particularly unusual in light of social learning theories which explain the development of sex role identity in terms of differential reinforcement by parents of sex-typed behaviors. However, it is important to note that, in this age range, there also appears to be little differential behavior on the part of boys and girls. Areas in which the most striking sex differences are found, such as aggression or toy preference, tend to be related to differential socialization practices, such as more physical punishment of males or the giving of sex-typed toys. So one interpretation of this review would be simply to conclude that while there is little differential socialization, there are also in fact few actual differences in male-female behavior to require elaborate differential socialization findings.

However, other results suggest that child development requires a somewhat more complex model than simple reinforcement theory: 1) The same behavior in parents (e.g., harmonious, rational attitudes) tend to produce drastically different behavior patterns in boys and in girls (dependency, submissiveness, aimlessness in boys; independence, friendliness, high achievement-orientation in girls). This finding is quite prevalent throughout the literature, and it is difficult to know how to explain it except by positing the existence of different innate intrapsychic variables.

2) Different behavior in parents leads to the development of same behaviors in boys and girls. For example, warmth in parents of boys is correlated with the child's assertiveness and independence, while in parents of girls, authoritative behavior is correlated with the same dependent variables. Similarly, while self-esteem in boys is positively related to parental warmth, self-esteem in

girls is positively related to parental permissiveness.

3) A definite cross-sex effect emerges in several of the studies. Apparently for some behaviors (e.g., passive dependent behavior in boys; aggression in girls) the influence of the opposite-sex parent is most important. Rather than reinforcing aggression in males and dependency in females, parents appear to be more tolerant of both aggression and dependency in the opposite-sex child.

4) Even when differences in socialization practices are found, there are often no clear correlations with child behavior. For example, mothers of girls demand more neatness and obedience from their children than do mothers of sons; while mothers of sons tend to behave more intrusively than mothers of daughters. But no mention is made of what effect these differences in treatment have on child behavior. One study went so far as to conclude that infant obedience had no relationship whatsoever to specific socialization practices. This might hold true in other areas as well.

DOMINANT STATUS CLASS

&

THE EVALUATION OF WOMEN

Johanna Shapiro

Lab Exercise #3

November 30, 1973

Lab Partner: ~~Lee Sprain~~

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A. Sociological Problem: Our sociological problem may be stated as follows: Members of a dominant status class evaluate non-members differently than the latter evaluate themselves. Several terms need definition. According to the theory presented in lab, we have defined status class as a group of people who can be defined by the same category of a defining attribute. For our purposes, the specific defining attribute of interest is sex: its status classes are male and female. A dominant status class is one which exerts power and influence over others in a given social context. Thus, when the Normans invaded England, they became a dominant status class exercising power and influence over the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. We make the assumption that in contemporary American society, male is a dominant status class. Therefore, all persons falling outside this status class, ie., all females, are classified as non-members. Finally, the concept of differential evaluation is in need of explication. Evaluation is regarded as a relative term with positive and negative values. Thus, we predict that members of a dominant status class will evaluate non-members less favorably than the latter will evaluate themselves. In terms of our specific focus (to be elucidated more fully below), we predict that all males, regardless of situational

Would "Jewish" be a dominant status class?

context, will evaluate women less favorably than the women will evaluate themselves.

Many people might argue that it is not really membership in a dominant status class per se which is significant in determining evaluation of non-members (in this case, women). Rather, it could plausibly be argued that factors such as one's socio-political orientation might be the determining influence in the evaluation of individuals outside the dominant status class. In this case, socio-political orientation is a composite term referring to various cultural, ideological, and economic influences to which a given individual has been exposed. Following this line of reasoning, it might be argued that a "liberal" socio-political orientation would have the effect of counteracting the negative evaluation of individuals outside the dominant status class (for the purposes of our study, a synonymous term for this behavior would be sexism). Liberal in this context refers to a cluster of characteristics not entirely clearly delineated as yet, but which include both explicit ideology and more general social factors such as age and occupation; and which result in the liberal individual's being less apt to categorize people into status classes. (This alternative hypothesis will be examined more fully in the discussion section). Our statement of the sociological problem is not meant by any means to discount the significance of such

✓ Good.

factors. Indeed, we are quite prepared to admit that factors such as political affiliation, occupation, age group membership etc. will influence one's evaluation of women. We are thus prepared to find evaluation differences within sex depending on the "liberal" or "conservative" socio-political orientation of the individual. However, we predict that even with subgroups specifically chosen to measure such influences (see discussion of indicators in Procedure section), men will rate consistently lower than women in their evaluation of the latter.

We have speculated at some length as to why this sociological problem might be true. As was pointed out previously, evaluation is a relative concept. Something (or someone) cannot be good unless something (or someone) else is less good. In order to establish the influence and power necessary for dominance, a given status class would of necessity be put in the position of devaluing all those who were not members of the class. For example, when one nation conquers another, the conquerors, attempting to establish themselves as a dominant status class, will try to affix derogatory labels to the conquered. Further, they will expend a great deal of effort in creating a defining attribute which will place them in a valued position. Thus, if race can be established as a defining attribute -- ie., if it becomes collectively evaluated, and if its categories (say "white" and "black") are evaluated differently from high to low -- then it will

be possible to ensure that most people will think of "white" as better than "black." Such a process becomes self-perpetuating. The fact that one status class is evaluated more highly than another will contribute to the maintenance of its dominance. And, in order to maintain its dominance, that status class will continue to evaluate all non-members less favorably.

Such a rationale may in part explain why, in terms of our specific prediction, men will consistently view women less favorably than women view themselves. However, it does not explain why women would tend to view themselves more positively than men view them. Indeed, from the above argument, it would be possible to conclude that the belief in a defining attribute would be so all-pervasive that non-members as well as members of a dominant status class would evaluate non-members negatively. This is quite a complex question and its different components need to be carefully sorted. Note that we are not saying, women will evaluate themselves more positively than they will evaluate men. On the contrary, we would assert that should such a hypothesis be tested, it would probably be falsified. Many studies already in existence attest to the fact that in general, women do see men as possessing more valued attributes than they themselves possess. All we are claiming is that women will evaluate themselves more positively than men will evaluate them. In order to justify why this

might be so, we drew on a theory of deviance explicated by Marlaine Katz. Katz suggests that those who conform to a standard social construction of reality are more likely to evaluate negatively those who deviate from this construction than will those who themselves are deviant. In this case, a standard social construction of reality refers to the adherence to certain norms of attitude and behavior within a given society. As an example, Katz cites evidence that professional women (deviant by contemporary American social standards) are less likely to evaluate negatively hypothetical stories of women succeeding in medical school than are non-professional women. In order to explain the second part of our sociological problem, we have used an extreme form of this concept of deviance. Assuming that in American society today, it is better to be a man than a woman, we have concluded that the mere fact of being a woman represents a certain deviance from the norm. Thus, according to the above theory, all women would tend to evaluate women more positively than would men (who, because they conform more closely to the norm of an "ideal adult" (cf. Broverman, 1972) would tend to view women as deviant).

An interesting assumption.

This sociological problem is one of utmost importance. If it is confirmed, it suggests that no matter what other influences affect a given individual, mere membership or non-membership in a dominant status class

class will have a significant effect on one's perception of non-members. Such a finding should suggest that a problem such as sexism (which involves the negative evaluation of individuals outside the dominant status class) is much more complex and deep-reaching than has previously been suspected. Merely exposing individuals to "liberalizing" influences in the hopes of effecting attitude change may be insufficient. Confirmation of our hypothesis would indicate that special attention needs to be paid to the power context out of which such (sexist) attitudes emerge.

B. Methodological Problem: We created the following methodological problem: A measuring instrument created by members of a dominant status class will generate responses which overrepresent that class. In this case, the measuring instrument refers to the Opinion Survey and the Occupational Evaluation Survey administered to members of the community by trained student interviewers. Dominant status class has been defined elsewhere. Overrepresentation refers to the process whereby responses favorable to the dominant status class are evoked not because of inherent bias on the part of the respondent, but because of inaccuracy, confusion, or bias in the test construction which artificially skews status towards males and elicits pro-male responses.

The possible validity of this hypothesis occurred to us after a careful examination of the survey instrument.

*Good luck in testing
this one.*

While ostensibly some questions were indicators of sex bias, frequently there seemed a definite ambiguity of interpretation: ie., did a "yes" response imply sexism or lack of sexism? Did the question really have to do with sexism at all? Similarly, in attempting to compare occupations in which the only factor varied was sex of person, it seemed that often truly comparable occupations were in fact not chosen. Why such inaccuracies and difficulties might arise is closely related to our sociological problem. We hypothesize that members of a dominant status class, whatever ameliorating influences may have befallen them, will nevertheless retain a residual of attitudes relating to non-members prevalent in that status class. Thus, males constructing a questionnaire designed to measure attitudes toward females will (unconsciously) be influenced by their own stereotypic notions.

If such a claim is substantiated, it would throw considerable doubt on the validity of the instrument insofar as it claimed to be a measure of sexism. On a broader level, such a finding would advise caution in interpreting the results of any survey, knowing that the biases of the instrument constructors could be as much responsible for the results as the actual attitudes and beliefs of the respondents.

I think you should elaborate further why the effect should be this strong.

II. PROCEDURE

The procedure section will be divided into two parts. The first will deal briefly with the nature and administration of the survey. The second will be concerned with the development of indicators relevant to our sociological and methodological problems.

A. The Survey: The survey consisted of the following components: an occupational rank card-sorting task; a self-administered opinion questionnaire, aimed at determining the respondent's attitudes on a broad range of subjects; and an interviewer-administered questionnaire intended to supply background political, occupational, and educational information about the respondent.

Interviewers were male and female students in a graduate sociology class trained for approximately one hour in interviewing techniques. Particular emphasis was placed on avoidance of leading questions and neutrality of response in dealing with respondent requests for guidance. Eight interviews, 4 male, 4 female, were then conducted by each interviewer. The community from which the survey subjects were drawn was a suburban university town, predominantly white, and predominantly well-off (over 50% of the respondents had an income over \$16,000). All respondents were over 18 years of age.

B. Development of the Indicators: As the data collected by the survey was voluminous and pertinent to a wide

variety of sociological and methodological problems, it was necessary to select certain indicators which bore directly on our own concerns. For the sociological problem, we devised the following indicators:

1) The sexist scale. This scale consisted of responses to five questions (see Appendix A). Based on these responses, persons could be rated from 0 (low on sexism) to 5 (high on sexism). We used this scale as an indicator of an individual's evaluation of women. Thus, if an individual rated high on the scale, he was assumed to evaluate women less favorably than an individual who rated low on the scale. For practical purposes (to ensure a large enough N), we dichotomized the scale into two values, high and low.

2) The anti-education scale. This scale was similar in construction to the sexist scale and was designed to measure individual attitudes toward education. We chose this particular variable as an indicator of socio-political orientation. We assumed that a positive attitude toward education would be one of the "liberalizing" influences discussed in the Statement of the Problem section which might favorably influence an individual's evaluation of women. Thus, we assumed that men who held positive attitudes toward education would be less sexist than men who held more negative attitudes toward education. However, to substantiate our sociological problem, we also claimed that pro-education men would be more sexist

than pro-education women. For practical purposes, this scale was also dichotomized into two values.

3) The variable Presvote. This variable reported support of either McGovern or Nixon in the last Presidential election. This variable was chosen as another indicator of socio-political orientation. In this case, we were concerned with the specific impact of ideology on an individual's evaluation of women. McGovern's supporters had included vocal feminists, and a feminist plank was almost included in his official platform. By contrast, Nixon supporters largely ignored the whole issue of equality for women. Thus, we predicted that within sex, McGovern supporters would be significantly less sexist than Nixon supporters. However, in support of our sociological problem, we also predicted that McGovern men would be more sexist than McGovern women.

4) The variable of occupation. This variable categorized respondents according to ~~seven~~ occupational classifications: student, professional, managerial, sales/clerical, foreman, semi-unskilled, and housewife (women only). We used this variable as an indicator of still another facet of the concept of socio-political orientation. For both theoretical and practical purposes, we dichotomized the variable into two values: a) upper occupational (professional, managerial, and student) b) lower occupational (sales-clerical, foreman, semi-unskilled, and housewife). Our rationale for this dichotomization was as follows.

Professional and managerial persons both have more responsibility, more autonomy, and more variability in their work. Students were included in this classification because they were seen as professionals-in-training. On the other hand, the remaining occupations were characterized by less responsibility, less autonomy, less variability, and more routine. It was hypothesized that the upper **occupational** category, which also required a higher level of education, would effect a "liberalizing" influence on its members much as would the political ideology represented by McGovern. Thus, we predicted that within sex, upper occupational individuals would be significantly less sexist than lower occupational individuals. Again, in support of our sociological problem, we predicted that males in the upper occupational category would be more sexist than females in that category.

5) The variable of age. This variable recorded respondent age according to six groupings: under 21, 21-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60, and over sixty. For both theoretical and practical reasons, we dichotomized this variable into two values: under-30 and over-30. We felt that in the under-30 group, age would actually be a measure of socio-political orientation. In other words, people under 30 would be a more malleable group, still in the stage of attitude formation when talk of women's liberation became prevalent. Thus, we predicted that within sex, the under-30 group would be less sexist than

the over-30 group. However, we also predicted that men under 30 would be more sexist than women under 30.

In order to test our sociological problem, we used the sexist scale as the dependent variable, and variously age, occupation, political persuasion, and views on education as the independent variable. Sex was consistently used as a control variable, as was age upon occasion.

For the methodological problem, we developed the following indicators:

1) Comparison of the median rankings of occupations listed in Deck A (containing the male variations of certain occupations) and Deck B (containing the female variations of certain occupations). From such a table we hoped to be able to learn a) if, indeed, there was any difference between the rankings of male and female occupations b) if some of these differences might be attributable to poor questionnaire construction.

2) Hourly wage rates for Gardeners and Cleaning Ladies, as well as impressionistic opinions from certified employment agencies as to the comparability of these two occupations. In inquiring about Cleaning Ladies, we specified a task of light housework; for Gardeners, we specified a task of yard maintenance, mowing, and raking. The rationale behind this procedure was much the same as in (1). We hoped to develop an independent indicator by appealing to sources outside the survey.

3) Analysis by sex of two questions which we assumed were intended to measure sexism but whose meaning we

| Good idea

we felt to be equivocal. (The rationale for the selection of these two questions will be explored more fully in the Discussion section).

In all cases, we attempted to use more than one question in determining an indicator. A single question is simply open to too much interpretation to reliably predict anything at all. The indicators of both sexism and anti-education were based on a total of five questions each. Even in those cases where we were unable to use more than one question as an indicator (as in the case of using Presvote to determine political attitude), we did attempt to interrelate this question with other questions pertaining to the broader indicator of socio-political orientation.

III. RESULTS

The following tables pertain to the sociological problem:

Sexism			
Sex	High	Low	Row Total
Males	89 47.3%	99 52.7%	188
Females	73 40.3%	108 59.7%	181

TABLE I
"A Comparison of Males and Females in Terms of Sexism"

The percentage difference between male and female [sexism] is 7.0% (N.S.)

NOTE: For convenience, N.S. will denote not significant and * will denote significant. However, significance is being used in a specialized sense, according to the rules defined in lab.

*This is a magnificent
proceedings section. Very
thorough and explicit.*

*better to say
responses to indicators
of sexism "*

Anti-Ed Scale	Males			Row Total	Anti-Ed Scale	Females		Row Total
	Sexism					Sexism		
	LOW	HIGH			LOW	HIGH		
LOW	63 57.3%	47 42.7%	110		47 58.0%	34 42%	81	
HIGH	40 49.4%	41 50.6%	81		61 62.9%	36 37.1%	97	
Row Total	103	88	191		Row Tot.	108	70	178

TABLE II

"A Comparison of Anti-Education Views and Sexism"

TABLE III

"A Comparison of Anti-Education Views and Sexism"

The difference in sexism for pro-education males and anti-education males is 7.9% (N.S.), in the direction of pro-education males being less sexist. The difference between pro-education females and anti-education females is 4.9% (N.S.), in the same direction.

Pro-Ed	Sexism		Row Total
	LOW	HIGH	
Male	63 57.3%	47 42.7%	110
Female	47 58%	34 42%	81
Row Tot.	110	81	191
Anti-Ed	Sexism		Row Total
	LOW	HIGH	
Male	40 49.4%	41 50.6%	81
Female	61 62.9%	36 37.1%	97
Row Total	101	77	178

TABLE IV

"Comparison of Males and Females by Anti-Education and Sexism"

The difference in sexist attitudes between males and females who hold pro-educational views is .7% (N.S.). The difference in sexist attitudes between males and females who hold anti-educational views is 3.5% (N.S.)

McGovern	Sexism		Row Total
	LOW	HIGH	
Male	67 72.8%	25 27.2%	92
Female	72 76.6%	22 23.4%	94
Row Tot.	139	47	186
Nixon			
Male	24 31.6%	52 68.4%	76
Female	30 43.5%	39 56.5%	69
Row Tot.	54	91	145

TABLE V
 "A Comparison of Males and Females
 According to Political Affiliation and
 Sexist Attitude"

Between male McGovern and Nixon voters, the difference in sexism is 41.2% (*), in the direction of McGovern voters being less sexist. Between female McGovern and Nixon voters, the difference in sexism is 33.1% (*), in the same direction. Among McGovern supporters, the sexism difference between men and women is 3.8% (N.S.) in the direction of women being less sexist than men. Among Nixon supporters, the sexism difference between men and women is 11.9% (*) in the same direction.

Upper Occupational Category	Sexism		Row Total
	LOW	HIGH	
Male	88 56.8%	67 43.2%	155
Female	33 71.5%	17 28.5%	50
Row Total	121	84	205
Lower Occupational Category			
Men	14 39%	22 61%	36
Women	64 53%	56 47%	120
Row Total	78	78	156

TABLE VI
 "A Comparison of Males and Females
 According to Occupational Classification
 and Sexist Attitude"

For males, the sexism difference between upper and lower occupational categories was 17.8% (*). For females, the difference was 3.8% (N.S.). Both were in the direction of the upper occupational categories being less sexist. In the upper occupational category, the sexism difference between men and women was 14.7% (*), in the direction predicted. In the lower occupational category, the sexism difference between men and women was 14.0% (*), in the same direction.

Interesting

Sexism			
Under-30	LOW	HIGH	Row Total
Male	44 75.8%	14 24.2%	58
Female	34 77.3%	10 22.7%	44
Row Total	78	24	102
Over-30			
Male	55 42.3%	75 57.7%	130
Female	74 54%	63 46%	137
Row Total	129	138	267

TABLE VII
"A Comparison of Males and Females by Age and Sexism"

Males under 30 are significantly less sexist (diff=33.5%*) than males over 30. Females under 30 are significantly less sexist (diff.=23.3%*) than females over 30. In the under 30 group, the sexism difference between males and females was 1.5% (N.S.) in the predicted direction. In the over-30 group, females were significantly (diff.=11.7%*) less sexist than males.

Variable	Female/Male % Difference in Sexism
Male/Female	7.0%
Pro-education	0.7%
Anti-education	3.5%
McGovern	3.8%
Nixon	11.9%
upper-occ.	14.7%
lower-occ.	14.0%
under-30	1.5%
over-30	11.7%

TABLE VIII
"Summary of Female/Male Percent Difference in Sexism According to Different Independent Variables"

As I mentioned before, it would be better to say they are "signif. lower on our scale of sexist beliefs." As stated, you necessarily assume the validity of our scale as a measure of sexism, although you question that validity in your meth. problem. (In discussion, you might evaluate the validity of assuming our scale really measures sexism.)

What does this refer to?

This table summarize the difference in sexism between men and women across the different subgroupings already examined.

The following data pertain to the methodological problem:

Profession	Difference in Median Rankings Between Decks A & B		Profession
Actor			Restaurant Host
Actress	2.46*	.58 N.S.	Restaurant Hostess
Bank Teller	1.16	.05	Owner of Small Factory
Barber			Tailor
Beautician	.29	1.57*	Dressmaker
Building Contractor	.75	.37	Tax Accountant
Carpenter	.47	.33	Taxi Driver
College Professor	.53	.17	Bank Vice-Pres.
College Student	.43		
Foreman	.93		
Fullerbrushman			
Avon Lady	1.66*		
Garage Mechanic	1.32		
Garbage Collector	2.10		
Gardener			
Cleaning Lady	5.31		
Hardware Salesman	1.59		
Housewares Saleswo.	1.91		
Insurance Agent	.34		
Lawyer	.26		
Luggage Salesclerk	1.03		
Machinist	.64		
Board Member	.34		
Minister	.07		
Nuclear Physicist	.05		
Physician	.15		
Plumber	.91		
Policeman	.92		

TABLE A

"A Comparison of Occupational
Rankings According to Two
Card-Sort Decks"

The average difference between Decks A and B for those occupations which are not sex-linked = .62. The difference between Actor-Actress=2.46 (*). The difference between Barber-Beautician = .29 (N.S.). The difference between Fullerbrushman-Avon Lady = 1.66 (*). The difference between Gardener-Cleaning Lady = 5.31 (*). The difference between Restaurant Host-Restaurant Hostess = .58 (N.S.). The difference between Tailor-Dressmaker = 1.57 (*).

Wow! I think I'll drop out of school and become a gardener!

Occupation	Average Hourly Wage
Gardener	\$7.50
Cleaning Lady	\$3.12

TABLE B

"Average Hourly Wages for Gardeners and Cleaning Ladies"

In conjunction with acquiring the information presented in this table, we received the additional impressionistic information from 3 agencies that gardeners were regarded as more skilled than cleaning ladies.

Sex	Agree	Disagree	Row Total
Male	48 23.9%	153 76.1%	201
Female	66 32%	140 68%	206
Row Total	114	293	407

TABLE C

"Male/Female Agreement with the Statement: Women Are More Creative Than Men"

Females agreed significantly more (diff. = 8.1%*) with this question than did men. Both more women and more men disagree than agreed with the statement.

	Agree	Disagree	Row Total
Male	93 45.2%	113 54.8%	206
Female	102 50.2%	101 49.8%	203
Row Total	195	214	409

TABLE D

"Male/Female Agreement with the Statement:
Women Should Never Be Paid More than Men
for the Same Job"

Women agreed more with this statement than did men, but not significantly (diff. = 5.0% N.S.). Both more women and more men disagreed than agreed with the statement.

IV. DISCUSSION

It is difficult to know what to make of these results. In the subsample in which we compared men and women on the sexism scale, women were less sexist than men, but not significantly so (see Table I). Unfortunately, this sample did not include all 427 individuals represented in the survey (Male N = 188, Female N = 181). In an effort to conserve on data requests, we made the assumption that all respondents would be include in the tables of occupational ranking. We hoped that simply by regrouping this data we could get figures for overall sexism of men and women regardless of occupational classification. It might have improved the significance somewhat if we had had the missing 56 observations, as our statistic was close to significance (within 1%). A future study should certainly attempt to get this data.

As far as the subgroupings are concerned, in which we subjected our sociological problem to even more stringent analysis, the results are similarly ambiguous. When males and females are compared, there are very few significant differences. In examining political affiliation (Table V) only one male/female difference was significant, that between conservative men and women. This would suggest, in direct contradiction of our hypothesis, that such factors as liberal socio-political orientation completely eliminate any initial bias which the dominant status class might hold. Similarly, in Table VII, the only significant difference between males and females occurs in the over-30 group. Again, this finding might suggest that at a younger, more malleable age, with the opportunity to be exposed to liberalizing influences, members of the dominant status class may indeed be able to learn to rearrange their views of non-members accordingly.

However, the picture is too complex to admit a complete rejection of the sociological problem. For example, when occupational classifications are examined (Table VI), women are significantly less sexist in both the upper and the lower occupational categories.

Further, and we feel this is a point of some significance, while most male-female comparisons were not significant, the trend for females to be less sexist than males was unbroken in every single instance (Table VIII). While the fact that significance was rarely reached must not

*Good and wise decision. We
men aren't that angelic!*

be ignored, still the fact that this trend was replicated nine times is also not without importance.

These ambiguous findings led us to the examination of an alternative hypothesis, suggested in the opening Statement of the Problem. Perhaps what accounts for one's negative or positive evaluation of women is not so much membership in a dominant status group as one's liberal or conservative socio-political orientation. The support for this hypothesis, gathered from our own data, seems fairly strong. Differences between McGovern and Nixon males and McGovern and Nixon females were both highly significant (Table V). Differences between high and low occupational males and high and low occupational females were also significant (Table VI). Finally, differences between under-30 and over-30 males and between under-30 and over-30 females were highly significant (Table VII). While differences between pro- and anti-education males and between pro- and anti-education females were not significant (see Tables II and III), it could be argued that use of the anti-education scale was a poor choice of indicator. We assumed 1) education would have a liberalizing influence on people's attitudes towards women and 2) attitudes sympathetic to education would characterize well-educated people. However, it is possible to argue that in today's society, the goals and methods of education are under fire precisely from the intellectuals and the well-educated. Thus, response on the anti-ed scale may not have been a good reflection

of an individual's liberal socio-political orientation. Thus, on balance, the alternative hypothesis received strong observational support.

In fact, the very richness of the results makes it difficult to choose between the two hypotheses. At the moment, it seems more reasonable to conclude from our present investigation that both initial membership in a dominant status class and subsequent socio-political orientation are important factors in determining one's attitude toward those outside the dominant status class. Further research might concentrate on refining the measures of socio-political orientation. In so doing, it might be possible to ascertain whether this is really a more significant influence on evaluation than is membership in a dominant status class.

In this connection, it is relevant to comment on the difference between the test of an hypothesis and the development of hypotheses from analysis of the data. Based on our study, the distinction seems to be primarily one between prediction and explanation. In the former case, the hypothesis is used to predict certain findings. In the latter case, the hypothesis is used to explain findings which have already occurred. To illustrate from our own study, our original sociological hypothesis predicted that, regardless of subcategory, males would be more sexist than females. Additional findings suggested an alternative hypothesis which stated that socio-political

To a large extent
 this is true although
 a hypothesis embedded
 in an at least partially
 developed theoretical
 framework is much
 more valuable and draws
 much more serious
 consideration than an
 ad hoc (especially post hoc)
 hypothesis about the
 results of a
 single study.

orientation will produce a significant difference in sexism ratings.

In terms of our methodological problem, we received some preliminary support for our hypothesis, but were severely limited in the type of conclusions we could draw due to lack of data. We have several explanations of the data included in Table A, but they are largely inferential. First, it seems important to point out that in two out of six sex-linked occupations, there was no significant difference between overall rankings of male and female occupations. Thus, it is possible to argue that these occupations were in fact of equal status, and that therefore no discrimination was made against women. Also, the difference between Fullerbrushman and Avon Lady, while significant, was in favor of the Avon Lady. It seems difficult to conclude from this that in occupations equal in income and education status class, male occupations will be ranked higher than female occupations (prediction made in Part I of Lab exercise #3). This leaves 3 cases in which results were in the predicted direction. Yet all of these seem explainable in terms of questionnaire construction bias.

First, Actor-Actress did not seem to us to be at all equivalent occupations, but rather reflected the historic domination of men in the public eye. Since actresses can only play female roles, they are by definition restricted to playing generally minor, stereotyped parts. Males have

a wider and more impressive range of roles available to them. If actresses were able to play male characters, it might be that their status would increase considerably. Thus it seems difficult to equate the two professions. On the contrary, it seems possible to attribute the difference between them not to the sex of the actor but to the role-content of his/her performance.

We spent some time investigating the occupations of Gardener and Cleaning Lady (Table B). We felt that the huge difference in ranking reported was not due so much to sexism as to the different status implications of each job: in other words, we felt the jobs were not initially equivalent. In an attempt to confirm this suspicion, we contacted several employment agencies. These sources substantiated that gardeners in fact receive more than double the pay of cleaning ladies on an hourly basis. However, this information by itself was insufficient, for it is certainly true that often men get paid more than women for performing precisely the same task. Therefore, at three agencies we asked whether, in their opinion, Gardener and Cleaning Lady were comparable occupations in terms of skill required and training involved. All three respondents disagreed in favor of the Gardener. Admittedly this is a tiny sample. However, it does cast some doubt on what sort of conclusions can be drawn from the Gardener-Cleaning Lady finding.

We did not have time to investigate Tailor and

By this criteria I might be impossible to find any two equivalent occupations since the thrust of the argument is that those subjects associated w/ males are more highly evaluated than subjects associated w/ females - with consequences for the behavior (ie esp. 5) of people toward those objects.

Though I was surprised at the degree of differences, we were aware of problems of comparability in our own minds - let alone those of the respondents. Unfortunately it is very difficult to come up with male and female linked occupations which are essentially similar in the skills & training required. Try!

Dressmaker, but we would speculate that a similar hypothesis might explain that discrepancy also. Specifically, tailors are frequently part of an entire apparel establishment whereas dressmakers work privately, or are tucked away in odd corners of dry-cleaning shops. Thus, we would speculate that these occupations exhibit a similar initial disparity to that which characterized Gardener-Cleaning Lady.

At the very least, the above arguments constitute an alternative hypothesis to the one proposed in the first part of the lab exercise ("Occupations associated with the same income or education status class will receive higher prestige rankings when they are male occupations than when they are female occupations."). We suspect that to some extent the findings of this survey are attributable to the bias of the survey constructors, but we are really unable to establish more than a circumstantial link. We know that when Democratic interviewers ask questions about party affiliation, they discover more Democrats than do Republican interviewers asking precisely the same questions. Analogously, the designers of this survey, who were themselves members of the dominant status class of males, seemed to create occupational comparisons which resulted in an overabundance of pro-male responses and which, in a differently designed survey, might not have occurred at all.

A similar problem existed with some of the questions on the opinion survey. The two questions which we examined in the data (Tables C & D) seemed to us to be indicators

I think your hypothesis may have some validity, but your test of it was inadequate. Unfortunately, I don't believe we have provided you with enough data to do an appropriate test.

To be appropriately tested in a way comparable to the "Democrat" example — you would have to compare BPC, DPC, and JBB with female construction.

of sexist attitudes in the respondent. However, upon closer examination, the statements seemd so fraught with ambiguity of interpretation, as to be worthless. For example, in Table C, if one assumes that to agree with the statement means low sexism, then one could reasonably conclude that both more men and more women are sexist than non-sexist. However, it is equally plausible to argue that a disagree response is an indication of lack of sexism.

Now, a major defect in our data collection process was that we asked for analyses of the two statements in Tables C & D instead of analyses of the statements actually used in composing the sexism scale. If this study were replicated, such information would be invaluable. However, despite the fact that we have no hard data, it seems worthwhile to briefly discuss a few of the sexist scale questions, simply because they appear to be characterized by a dangerous ambiguity of interpretation similar to that discussed above.

Question 32 reads: "In general, women feel uncomfortable in leadership positions." An agree answer is taken as an indication of sexism. However, it seems possible to argue that women in fact do feel uncomfortable in leadership positions when their subordinates involve men, much as a black man might feel uncomfortable if suddenly placed in charge of a group of Southern whites. Yet such a line of reasoning is surely not a reflection of sexual bias. It is important to realize that the statement as it

The latter does not follow from the former. Questions must be ambiguous in order for them to differentiate. You would be wise to concentrate on the inadequacy of this particular question as measures (not categories) of sexism.

This is one reason why we did not include it in the scale.

stands makes no imputations about a woman's capability to occupy a leadership position. If the question were modified in this way, it would be much clearer. Similarly, in Q42 ("As women attain more equality with men, they begin to lose their femininity"), an agree answer is rated as sexist. But the word "femininity" seems extremely ambiguous and open to a variety of interpretations. Certainly femininity has been associated with all sorts of demeaning attitudes and behaviors in women (e.g., B. Friedan, The Feminine Mystique). Thus, a quite liberated woman might think it a very good thing that at least this connotation of femininity was being lost, and might agree with the statement. Finally, Q58 ("It is about time the United States had a woman President") is so simplistic as to obliterate any clear interpretation. Even an ardent feminist might hesitate to support any woman for President. Such a discrimination on purely sexual lines seems so dogmatic as to eliminate all but the most radical of women libbers. Perhaps the insertion of the word "qualified" might have remedied this problem.

In any case, the main point of this criticism of the sexist scale is that it may have the result of classifying as sexist many individuals who were merely thoughtful or insightful. While we do not care to retract our original sociological problem, still it seems possible that given the scope conditions of this particular community, sexism would not be as prevalent

Part of the problem here involves the requirements necessary for the construction of a scale. Some questions must be open-ended, others ambiguous in their intent, still others clearly to differentiate degrees of responses by the respondents.

That's not what the statement says.

scope conditions do not refer to restrictions of region generally.

as it appeared to be in the data. Again, it is possible to propose that the survey was biased in such a way as to make respondents more sexist than they really were. We can only speculate as to why this might be so. Perhaps it is excessively difficult for members of a dominant status class to break their sets about non-members. When they attempt to do so, the results, as we have seen, are confusing and ambiguous.

From this study, we can learn several things about the survey approach. Perhaps most striking is the way in which different stages of the survey became interrelated. Choice of problem, design of the questionnaire, the process of interviewing, and the analysis of results all had an indisputable effect on each other. In our particular case, our choice of problem was in part determined by the inclusion of sex-related questions on the questionnaire, and by the fact that both men and women were interviewed. Because the questionnaire involved both self-administered and interviewer-administered parts, the process of the interview was shaped accordingly. Data analysis was determined by the statement of the problem: wholly different tables could have been constructed with the selection of a different problem. Yet the nature of the data analysis was also restricted by the type of information provided by the questionnaire. Finally, the questionnaire itself was shaped by the initial formulation of a theory.

You chose a very interesting problem here (I was surprised I really was!)
 However, you have not really stated for this - and your analysis of the questions - while certainly insightful and helpful - gets tied up with methodological concerns in scaling (which we do not expect you to be aware of). On the whole, however, you've done an excellent job.

In a real study, this should not be the case

The study also made it possible for us to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the survey technique. The major advantages seem to be that it can elicit data on a wide range of topics and can involve a large number of subjects. Thus, results will have great generalizability not possible with a small sample. However, the survey has the disadvantage of using somewhat gross indicators. For example, when you ask someone which of 12 adjectives applies to a poor person, you eliminate an infinite pool of adjectives from which the respondent might otherwise have drawn. The use of close-ended questions is similarly restricting. Thus the result is a considerable loss of nuance and subtlety which might be captured in a more in-depth study. Further, it is quite difficult, as we have seen, to avoid bias in the questionnaire. In my opinion, this survey was more carefully constructed than most. However, it remains difficult to avoid the conclusion that the nature of the question in part determines the nature of the answer. This makes one somewhat suspicious of attaching too much credibility to surveys. Finally, it seems even more difficult to control for interviewer inadequacies or errors. Mistakes in interviewer technique will have the inevitable result of biasing the data.

As far as improvement of the questionnaire is concerned, suggestions relating to specific questions have already been mentioned. In addition, it might be helpful to have a team of both men and women involved

No. Number of respondents has little to do with generalizability. A larger N may have made the results significant but it cannot make them reproducible without a second study - which is the first criticism of generalizability.

Well. Modesty compels me to admit that it could have been done much better (although of course some problems were purposely left in for you collectively to analyze.

Surveys can be useful. They just have to be very carefully designed - as your analysis helps indicate.

in the construction of the survey. To some extent, this might obviate the methodological problem already discussed.

V. SUMMARY

This study explored the hypothesis that members of a dominant status class evaluate non-members differently than the latter evaluate themselves. Specifically, it was predicted that men would evaluate women more negatively than the latter would evaluate themselves. It was also hypothesized that the creation of a survey instrument by members of the dominant status class would bias the instrument in favor of that class. Procedure of the study involved the administration and analysis of a survey which collected data pertaining (among other things) to the respondent's sexism and socio-political orientation.

Results were equivocal. In support of the major hypothesis, there emerged a definite trend across subsamples for females to be less sexist than males. Significant differences were achieved in comparisons between conservative men and women, over-30 men and women, upper occupational men and women, and lower occupational men and women. Overall, sexism differences between men and women did not reach significance. Further, considerable evidence was obtained in support of an alternative hypothesis which stressed one's socio-political orientation as a major factor in

Or at least help us test it!

determining one's evaluation of non-members of a dominant status class. Evidence was also presented in support of the methodological problem, to the effect that the construction of certain questions on the survey unintentionally created the possibility of sexism due to ambiguity of the question rather than bias of the respondent.

Discussion of the findings concluded that both initial membership in a dominant status class and subsequent socio-political orientation are important factors in determining one's attitude toward those outside the dominant status class. Initial membership seemed to provide a set of evaluative attitudes, but the direction of these attitudes seemed open to amelioration by certain socio-cultural influences. It was also concluded that, possibly because of this initial set, membership in the dominant status class did tend to produce an unconscious bias in questionnaire construction.

A very imaginative paper. Don't let all the comments mislead you. They deal primarily with values and beyond the call of duty. A fine job.

A - ↑

That is only because you did not appropriately test for at least provide appropriate hypotheticals (data for) your method. Hypothesis

APPENDIX A

The Sexist Scale

- 29. Women's liberation is trying to push its cause too far and too fast.
- 32. In general, women feel uncomfortable in leadership positions.
- 42. As women attain more equality with men, they begin to lose their femininity.
- 48. The amount of discrimination against women has been greatly exaggerated.
- 58. It is about time the United States had a woman President.

* For the first four questions, an agree answer is an indication of sexism. For the last question, a disagree answer is an indication of sexism.

APPENDIX B

The Anti-Education Scale

- 5. It is better to work with your head than with your hands.
- 16. The more education a man has the better he is able to enjoy life.
- 24. The garbage collector is just as important to society as the college professor.
- 44. Educated people are the main source of progress in this country.
- 50. A college education is of little help in meeting the problems of real life.

* For questions 24 and 50, an agree answer is an indicator of anti-education attitudes. For the remaining questions, a disagree answer is an indication of anti-education attitudes.

THE FEMALE MOTIVE TO AVOID
SUCCESS:

ROUND ONE: WOMEN'S LIB MEETS THE APPLIED RESEARCHER

Johanna Shapiro
December, 1972

Recently, researchers of various persuasions have begun to turn their attention and their science toward women. Articles on feminine identity and the psychology of women proliferate. Yet, partly because the issue of women is so emotionally charged, it is difficult to find studies which meet the criteria of rigorous and carefully conceived research. A detailed critique of the Katz article is helpful in exploring the potentially dangerous impact of ideology on research.

I. Theoretical Construct

The phenomenon selected for study in this research article is what has been labelled the female motive to avoid success. Matina Horner provided the initial impetus for this line of investigation (cf. Bardwick, 1970). However, her conceptual approach was oriented toward an intrapsychic framework; she ultimately concluded that "... a psychological barrier exists in otherwise achievement-motivated and able women that prevents them from exercising their rights and fulfilling their potential (Katz, p. 2)." Katz, on the other hand, chooses a conceptual framework oriented toward social learning theory; she hopes to be able to prove that the female motive to avoid success is a situation-specific psychological response to the perceived deviancy of certain professions for women. While Horner talks about generalized psychological barriers, Katz points out that "... the motivation to avoid success is associated only with certain types of success. That is, being female is not intrinsically at odds with being successful (Katz, p. 2)." Katz operationalizes deviancy as the presence of a single woman in a medical school class. She operationalizes institutionalization of behavior as a balanced, mixed sex population in a medical school class.

However, within the scope of this article, the phenomenon under investigation - the female motive to avoid success - is never really defined

theoretically. The study lacks a sufficient level of abstraction because the female motive to avoid success is never located as an instance of a larger theory. Katz consistently uses an historical, time-bound definition to characterize the success avoidance motive; basically, she argues that in our society, at this point in history, we have trained people to respond to the institutionalization or non-institutionalization of achievement. Such an explanation fails to generate hypotheses as to why certain roles are institutionalized for one sex and not the other. The whole concept of institutionalization is only the first step (although a necessary one) in providing a theoretical framework, because in itself it cannot answer questions of why this happens and under what conditions.

II. Methodology

Katz used as subjects 169 undergraduate men and women from two Bay area colleges. She does not specify the method of selection, so that it is possible to question whether the sample was indeed random. Perhaps these students were participating in a psychology of sex roles class. In addition, it would be reasonable to argue that the results of the study are peculiar to a specific geographic location. Certainly a case could be made for the uniqueness of consciousness-raising opportunities in the Bay area. A further argument could be made against the generalizability of the data based simply on the sample size, which in all cases is rather small. Finally, the reader has no way of knowing whether Katz controlled for race, age, or sex of participants. If she did not, these might indeed function as confounding variables.

The procedure used was story completion. These stories showed either Anne or John at the top of her/his medical school class after first term finals. The usefulness of this procedure in itself is open to question. It is based on a theory of projective testing, in which the subject projects his own fears, aspirations, personality traits etc. into a standardized story or picture.

Recently, however, social learning theorists have questioned the reliability and validity of such tests. So it is possible to have reservations as to whether story completion is a legitimate means of assessing success avoidance motivation.

The stories also contained cues as to the institutionalization or deviance of women in medical school. Yet it is possible to question whether the institutionalization cue served the purpose for which it was designed. Katz had formulated a research question whose answer was dependent on the impact of this cue on the subjects: is the female motive to avoid success an intrapsychic psychological barrier reaching across age, class, and profession or is it a response to norms institutionalized in the external environment? The results do not satisfactorily answer this question (see discussion of results). Perhaps more care should have been taken to determine whether the cue was actually perceived by female subjects as it was intended and whether it actually served to convince them of the institutionalization of the behavior in question.

III. Results

Katz obtained the following results:

Hypothesis I: Female report of success avoidance in women will be significantly less under the condition that specifies female success as institutionalized than under the condition that specifies female success as deviant.

This hypothesis was not confirmed ($p > .05$). There was no significant difference between female reports of success avoidance under the deviant and institutionalized conditions. However, there was a great difference between the Horner study, in which 65% of the women reported success avoidance, and the Katz study, in which only 35-40% reported success avoidance motivation.

Hypothesis II: Male report of success avoidance in women will be significantly less under the condition that specifies female success as institutionalized than under the condition that specifies female success as deviant.

This hypothesis was confirmed ($p < .01$). There was a significant difference

It does not report
the traditional
way of studying
success avoidance
& achievement

between male respondents when institutionalization or deviancy was specified. (Hypothesis III is merely a comparison of data gathered in Hypotheses I and II, and contains essentially no new information.)

✓ Katz' interpretation of the data is quite striking. In relation to the results of Hypothesis I, she argues that contemporary women are strongly affected by the women's liberation movement, so for them the concept of career has become progressively more institutionalized. Thus, even under the all-male condition they feel it is permissible to achieve and do not see success in medical school as deviant. With reference to Hypothesis II, Katz contends that men are not so strongly affected by women's lib, so that they still see a medical career as deviant unless otherwise specified. In other words, male respondents by and large were still working from a model which held professional success and femininity to be incompatible.

✓ There are several problems with this line of reasoning. Most glaringly, as Katz herself admits, the argument is entirely ex post facto and inferential. The main difficulty with Katz' study is that she did not get change where she expected it (Hypothesis I), but did get change where she was not prepared for it (the contrast between her results and Horner's). Because of this, she was forced to do some post hoc scrambling, from which women's lib emerged as the most appealing solution. However, there was no attempt made within the study ✓ itself to systematically determine the impact of women's liberation on the motive to avoid success. (Indeed, while women's lib remains a rallying cry throughout the paper, there is never any attempt made to define it operationally). Katz is therefore reduced to associational arguments: because she finds some ✓ (she fails to specify what percent of the "achieving" respondents actually made reference to women's lib) implicit or explicit reference to the women's liberation movement, she concludes that women's lib is responsible both for the results of Hypothesis I and the shift in success avoidance motivation from Horner's 65% to her own 35-40%. However, an observed association does not

necessarily mean a cause and effect relationship. Further, if Katz argues that the profound impact of women's lib on women is responsible for the nature of their responses, then she cannot simply assume that women's lib has had no effect on the nature of male responses. This is a valid hypothesis, but certainly needs to be tested to be substantiated. Finally, in her enthusiasm for the effects of women's lib, Katz makes it seem as though the 40 percent of female subjects still reflecting the motive to avoid success was insignificant. Certainly the switch from 65% to 40% is dramatic. However, because of methodological problems (see section II), it is possible to argue that the shift may have been due to other variables not controlled for. The large number of women still reflecting success avoidance motivation (in Horner's study, only 10% of the men reported success avoidance motivation) makes Katz' ex post facto reasoning still more questionable.

Head Point
 Unfortunately, despite Katz' best efforts, it is still possible to argue from her own data in favor of the intrapsychic interpretation which she is attempting to refute. The apparent lack of impact on female subjects of Katz' situational variable makes it possible to indeed argue that many women are controlled by an inner dynamic which ignores external reality; that independent of institutionalization or deviancy, many women still feel caught between the fear of failure and the fear of success. If Katz' argument were valid, it would seem reasonable to expect that there would have been a significant difference among female respondents under the all-male and the balanced mixed-sex conditions.

Of course, there is no need to throw the baby out with the bath, and several arguments may be rushed to the defense of Katz' hypothesis, if not of her research techniques. For example, it is possible that entirely different women responded w/ achievement motivation under the different conditions. Perhaps liberated women responded to the "heroic and symbolic (Katz, p. 9)" challenge of the all-male condition, but were alienated by the institutionalization

of the medical career, and turned in success avoidance responses under this condition. Conversely, more traditional girls might have felt conflicted by the all-male condition (responding with success avoidance) and reassured by the balanced mixed-sex condition (responding with achievement motivation). An alternative hypothesis suggested earlier to explain the lack of significant difference in Hypothesis I is that for many women, the one sentence cue did not give them a sufficient sense of institutionalization. Cohen's work with interracial interaction disability (Cohen, Roper, Lucero, 1971) suggests that often only an elaborate intervention will change an individual's expectations about himself. This could easily be true in the case of women. However, both of these arguments are only hypothetical speculations which would need to be confirmed or rejected by further investigation.

IV. Theoretical and Practical Implications

The results of this study are not yet of theoretical interest, because they are not located within a theory. Nor are the results of practical interest, despite Katz' recommendation to institutionalize and legitimize female success in graduate schools, corporations, and government. It is still unclear exactly how one would go about this process of institutionalization.

One way to make this study of more theoretical interest would be to orient it in a theoretical framework. There is serious difficulty in treating sex as a theoretical concept. Like race, the implications of sex roles seem to vary with temporal and geographic change. Generalizations which may have been made about the Victorian woman do not hold true today, while anthropological comparisons cross-culturally show significant variation in sex roles. Therefore, it seems preferable to locate sex as an instance of a broader theoretical category. Preliminary work has been done (Hacker, in Roszak, 1969) which examines women as an instance of a minority group, and compares them to blacks on a list of variables such as high visibility, ascribed attributes, rationalization of

status, accommodation attitudes, and overt and implicit discrimination. A similar framework might be the theory of status characteristics. There seems to be considerable justification for looking at sex as a diffuse status characteristic: 1) different states of the characteristic exist (male and female) 2) associated with these states is a system of beliefs involving valued and disvalued characteristics (men are assertive, dominant logical; women are passive, interdependent, emotional) 3) these states involve expectations as to performance over a wide variety of situations (women will be better dealing with people than with things; women will generally play nurturant roles; women lack mechanical skills). This theoretical framework would answer the question as to why the situation of institutionalization of certain roles for certain sexes has developed. A possible answer might emerge: because of expectations and beliefs about women, certain courses of achievement would appear deviant for them.

A comparison study between status groups must show not only how the difference developed, but under what circumstances it can be changed. A serious flaw in the Katz study is that while she shows that institutionalization will effect the male attitude toward female success achievement, she does not show how to change the female attitude toward female success achievement. To make the study of true practical interest, it would be necessary to develop an intervention which would legitimate and institutionalize female achievement success according to certain carefully conceived measures. At present the specific way to do this is unclear, although it is evident from the Katz study that attitudes of both sexes must be changed.

V. Further Research

Further research along the lines pioneered by Horner and Katz would first of all have to prove more conclusively whether the female motive to avoid success was in fact an intrapsychic phenomenon or a situation-specific response to deviance defined according to societal norms. Such a study could

be undertaken within a theoretical framework which looked at sex as an example of a diffuse status characteristic. Thus, the institutionalized typification of the female role could be seen as a subset derived from certain value judgments and expectations about women. A second step would be to confirm the shift away from the success avoidance motivation, possibly through a larger, more geographically varied, and more carefully controlled sample; and then to determine the relation of this shift to an operationally defined women's liberation movement, to ascertain whether there is in fact a cause and effect relationship. Finally, research should be undertaken to determine ways of institutionalizing female achievement for both men and women. For example, why did changing the institutionalization variable work so effectively for men and not for women? Further, what was the male attitude toward this balanced mixed-sex condition? It is to resolve questions such as this that a theory becomes particularly important. For example, in Russia, where more than half of the doctors are women, doctors are looked at as technicians. Thus, even if female success were institutionalized in certain presently-restricted professions in America, we might very well see the status of these professions decline. Such a possibility would never have been dealt with under Katz' formulation, but could easily be anticipated working with a theoretical framework of status characteristics.

In conclusion, it seems that many eminently fruitful lines of investigation exist at present. What is needed to pursue them is a sufficiently abstract theoretical framework and a carefully formulated procedure. Given these safeguards, research can effectively provide a commentary on issues of contemporary ideology.

A