How Can This Be?

"A mother and her son are driving in a car when an accident occurs. The mother is knocked unconscious and the boy receives a bad laceration on his scalp. They are rushed to the hospital. Doctors work to bring the mother around and also to stop the boy's bleeding. Suddenly a frantic nurse rushes in and seeing the child begins to cry. Another nurse asks, "What's wrong?" The nurse says, 'that's my son'."

Sex and Gender

Important Terms:
- **Sex** - usually reserved for biological differences, e.g. genotype
- **Gender and Gender Roles** - that portion of differences between males and females that reflects our beliefs about how males or females should act, and the roles males and females play to be accepted.
- **Gender Identity** - a person’s subjective sense of their own sex, i.e., "I am a man", "I am a woman". Gender identity and biological sex can be discordant.
- **Sexual Orientation/Preference** - our tendency to be drawn sexually to a member of the same or opposite sex

Gender Typing

Children in our culture undergo gender typing, that is perceiving males and females showing characteristics belonging to one gender over the other, as well as reinforcing behaviors in children to encourage them to adopt those characteristic behaviors. Even though gender typing has been largely encouraged in societies such as ours, it is still evident that some males show traits more characteristic of females than males, and some females show the reverse.

Gender Role Stereotypes

Widely held beliefs about the characteristics deemed appropriate for males and females
- **Instrumental** - Male’s historical role of family provider, characteristics associated with acting upon the world, e.g., assertive, dominant, achievement oriented, independent, mastery
- **Expressive** - Female’s historical role as caregiver, characteristics associated with emotions and interactions with other people, e.g., warm, friendly, cooperative, and sensitive to the needs of others

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent, aggressive</td>
<td>Emotional, home oriented,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical aptitude</td>
<td>Kind, easy going, creative,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outspoken, leader, dominant</td>
<td>Needs approval, gentle, aware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes decisions, competitive</td>
<td>of others’ feelings, tactful,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventurous, self confident</td>
<td>Devotes self to others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good bowler</td>
<td>Poor bowler</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Instrumental vs. Expressive

**TABLE 13.1** Sex Differences in the Socialization of Five Attributes in 138 Societies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>Percentage of societies in which socialization pressures were greater for Boys</th>
<th>Percentage of societies in which socialization pressures were greater for Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nurture</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morale</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-esteem</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The percentages for each attribute do not add to 100 because some of the societies did not place differential pressures on boys and girls with respect to that attribute. For example, 87 percent of the societies for which pertinent data were available specified the greater sex for which the trait was more important.

**SOURCE:** Adapted from Barry III, Bacon, & Child, 1957
- **Note:** These data do not mean the trait is missing in the other sex, only that it is socialized more in one. These traits often considered important for both sexes.
Gender Role Stereotypes

Which sex does our culture prescribe a more clearly defined gender role?
Which gender role more prestigious?
Which sex has greater pressure to adopt their gender role?
In general boys throughout childhood and adolescence, hold more rigid gender stereotyped views than females, perhaps due to the greater freedom females have in expressing cross-sex dress and behavior.
- Males adopt gender roles earlier
- Females show a greater desire to be the other sex
- Tomboys are generally accepted and Sissies are rejected

Testing Gender Roles

Gender Identity

Gender Roles

Note: The difference between males and females on the previous slides not very great. Does this mean they are not important in differentiating males and females.
The problem is that how we see the genders as differing, has a strong effect on how we see what is appropriate for men and women and ourselves. When we say females are more emotional than males it has a determining effect on how we expect them to act even though it is only a half a point difference on the scale.

Measuring Masculinity and Femininity

Androgyny. Is gender an either or?

According to Sandra Bem male and female characteristics are not mutually exclusive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>males</th>
<th>females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>34%(35)</td>
<td>6%(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Fem.</td>
<td>20%(13)</td>
<td>5%(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Androgynous</td>
<td>27%(28)</td>
<td>34%(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Mas.</td>
<td>12%(7)</td>
<td>19%(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>8%(18)</td>
<td>36%(27)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Self Esteem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>males</th>
<th>females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Androgynous</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undifferentiated</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Knowledge of Stereotypes with Age

Stereotyping score

Kindergarten Third Sixth Coll.

Stereotyping score

Gender Stereotypes in Adolescence

Although pressures to adopt stereotype gender roles is evident throughout all stages of development it appears to intensify during adolescence.

Gender intensification in adolescence increases:
- Physical changes in puberty accentuate differences between sexes and most likely encourages greater attention and interest in them, for oneself and others.
- Dating becomes more prevalent and accentuates female and male patterns of acting that are thought to be appropriate.
- Cognitive changes in adolescence creates an Imaginary Audience through which a person imagines how he or she is perceived by others. As a result adolescents may show greater care in displaying gendered behavior that they feel will be accepted or admired by others.

Comparing Males and Females

Things to Remember on the Differences between the sexes
- Differences between groups cannot be applied to individuals
- Individual experiences do not contradict group results
- Statistical significance versus Social significance
- Differences between groups do not tell us their origin
- Gender as a variable cannot be manipulated

Findings of Differences Between Sexes

Activity Level
- Boys more active than girls, begins in infancy and continues.

Emotional Sensitivity
- Beginning in preschool girls more sensitive to emotional states of others, and except for aggression express themselves more emotionally. Interestingly it does not seem to extend to empathic concerns or helping others.

Fear, timidity, and risk taking
- Girls more fearful and timid, show more anxiety about failure. Boys greater risk takers which is reflected in greater number of accidents and injuries.
Findings of Differences Between Sexes

Compliance and dependence
- Girls more affected by peers and adults, and rate themselves as more dependent. Girls reinforced in adult structured activities and spend more time being cared for and helped by adults. Boys spend more time in activities in which adults are not present so activities less structured. Boys more assertive demanding and independent. Females more affected by external feedback, both positive and negative.

Self Confidence

College students asked to solve a series of cognitive problems.
- Provided with positive feedback – “You are doing very well”.
- Or negative feedback – “You are not doing very well”.

Results
- Females confidence clearly changed in the direction of feedback.
- Male’s confidence largely unaffected.
- Females were much less satisfied with their performance after negative feedback compared to positive feedback.
- Male satisfaction was unaffected.

Change in self confidence by comment

Male and Female Self Confidence in College

Differences in College Majors
- Differences have declined but females still ahead. Females still talk earlier and have larger vocabularies.

Math Skills
- Differences appear around adolescence, Boys do slightly better, real differences with high ability students. Problem of elective courses, but now girls are taking as many. Girls better at computation, boys better at problem solving, abstract reasoning and geometry.
- Many more boys who have outstanding math ability. Twice as many boys as girls have sat scores above 500 and 13 times more have scores above 700. (Benbow), but now girls catching up.
- Parent/teacher and self attributions. The effect of grades on women in science majors.
- Carlsmith study of early father absence in boys and math abilities.
Math Stereotypes of Girls

Mother’s Science-Related Talk with their Children

Differences between the sexes

Visual Spatial Skills
- Spatial visualization - no difference
- Spatial perception - small difference
- Mental rotation - rather large difference, approximately 1 SD
- Differences emerge in middle childhood and persist throughout lifespan

Differences between the sexes

Spatial Abilities
- Relationship to hormones?
- Lateralized brain abilities due to different rates of maturation?
  - late maturing girls and boys have better spatial skills. Is this because of lateral specialization?
- Relation to masculine identity
- Relation to video game play
Is there an evolutionary basis for gender differences in spatial ability?
- Male hunters and female homebodies

Theories

Freud’s Psychoanalytic Theory
- Gender typing is the indirect effect of the process of identification with same-sex parent
  - Males - Oedipus Complex
    - Castration anxiety, identification with aggressor
  - Females - Electra Complex
    - Penis envy
Predictions:
- Problems for boys without fathers
- Strong father figure leads to strong identification
- Children are aware of the significance of genital differences, quite young and it affects how they feel about themselves
- Females will not develop the same sense of adequacy as males
Theories

Social Learning Theory—Emphasizes role of societal and parental practices (rewards and punishments) in engendering gender differentiation
- Parents actively reward and punish male and female children differently in accordance with “appropriate” gender roles
- Parents provide excellent models of gender typed behavior (observational learning) while at the same time having powerful resources at hand to encourage gender typing.
  - Warm, affectionate, and powerful models encourage imitation.
- Adopting a gender role is a gradual process that begins with conditioning, very early in childhood. Rejects Freud’s Oedipal period notion.
  - As children grow older, they will “self regulate” themselves by evaluating themselves positively and negatively for their actions.

Parents’ Roles in Gender Typing

What is the basis for Parental differences in treatment of male and female children? Does the treatment form the child or does the child form the treatment?
- Proactive
  - Parents have preferences in the ways males and females should behave and respond to them accordingly.
- Reactive
  - Parents are responding to the differences in the ways male and female children behave.

The Parents’ Role in Gender Typing

- Which child appears to you, to be more actively involved in playing in their environment?

Parental Differences

Parental Encouragement of gender typed behaviors
- Differences in parental care
  - Females closer, girls talked to more, males allowed to cry.
- Play behaviors
  - Gender typed toys encouraged by 12 months and boys show preference by 2 years
- Independence
  - Difference in chores, picking up children at school, crossing streets, tendency to overhelp girls and keep them home
- Emotions
  - Females encouraged in more emotions, except anger
- Describe your bedroom?

Cultural differences
- African American families—less strict gender distinctions, encourage females to be aggressive and assertive and males to express emotion and nurturance.
- Mexican American families make even stronger distinctions.

Preference for Gender Typed Toys

Eighteen-month-old girls’ and boys’ looking times at vehicles and dolls.

Parents

Fathers play a greater role in gender typing?
- More concerned about sex-typed play for both sexes

Parental Characteristics related to gender typing
- Warmth and nurturance of parents positively related to gender typing, perhaps makes parents better reinforcers. Punitiveness has negative effect
- Dominance a powerful variable. Dominant fathers have masculine sons, and feminine daughters.
- Boys with dominant mother and weak father have weak male identification and show more feminine behaviors. No negative effect on daughters. May help them to compete with males better.
- Working mothers have children with fewer gender stereotypes especially girls.
Cognitive Theories of Gender Learning

Children are not merely pawns of their environment but are active agents in constructing schemas that underlie their gender beliefs and behaviors and use these schemas to interpret events in their environments.

Lawrence Kohlberg’s Cognitive Theory of Gender

Identity
- Basic Gender Identity, Age 3
  - Child comprehends that they are boys or girls but think that it might change over time.
- Gender Stability, Age 4
  - Child now thinks gender stable over time but thinks it depends on external characteristics of a person e.g., long hair, wears dress.
- Gender Constancy or Consistency, Age 5-7
  - Child has better understanding of what determines gender and that it does not change with appearances or over time.
  - Children can be confused because the criterial attribute genitals, is seldom shown to a child but differences in hair length, clothes, etc. are public.

Gender Typing and Father Absence

Boys from father absent homes are less strongly gender typed
- less aggressive, more dependent, less competitive; “sissies.”
- early absence has greater effect, ages 0-5 years.
- father absence, mothers may act differently when fathers absent at home.
- father substitutes can ameliorate father absence.

Girls from father absent homes
- Girls show little effect on their gender typing from father absence.
- However, may have effect on heterosexual relationships.
- Mario Hetherington’s study of intact, divorced and widowed families in first born adolescent girls. Females tested in different settings:
  - Recreation center, dance, interview.
  - All three groups of girls equally feminine but daughters without fathers have difficulties with males.
  - Early absence has greater effect, ages 0-5 years.
  - Father absent daughters choose mates who resemble dad.
- Divorced and widowed mothers perceive their lives differently and this may explain differential effects.

Kohlberg’s Cognitive Theory of Gender

Kohlberg saw the last stage as a watershed in the child’s understanding of gender
- If gender is constant and stable then the child should be more motivated to adopt gender roles.
- Problem. Kohlberg’s prediction too late. Child is already significantly gender typed by the last stage, although they pay more attention to same-sex models at this time.
- However, his delineation of the first stage very important

Kohlberg’s work suggested that the criterial difference between sexes based on an individual’s genitals comes later than thought.
- Children largely ignore it in first two stages.

Cognitive Theories

Gender Schema Theory (Martin and Halverson, 1981)
- Children acquire a basic gender identity which motivates child to learn about the sexes and create gender schemas.
  - In-group/out-group schema—based on experience child develops organized cognitive structures determining what characteristics, behaviors, and objects are for each sex, gender stereotypes.
  - Cross-sex schemas—child is motivated to learn more about activities for their own sex than other sex. More inclined to approach and learn about those things, activities etc. labeled as male or female and avoid the others.
  - Gender schemas affect processing of information—children will process information according to gender schema and remember gender stereotype information better than gender counter-stereotype information.
- Gender schemas help to explain confirmatory bias, illusory correlation, and self-fulfilling prophecies when it comes to perception of gender differences.

Peers

A child’s peers enforce gender-roles by two years of age
- 21-25 mos. old boys belittle or disrupt (punish) feminine behavior in other little boys and reward masculine behavior.
- Similar behavior in girls:
  - Gender differences in play styles encouraged by peers beginning at age 2, encourage gender segregation.
(Maccoby, 98).
  - Each sex more sociable in same-sex groups.
  - In cross-sex groups females more passive, stood on sidelines watching boys play with toys.
  - Both sexes like to play with same-sex partners they see as more compatible in play.
The Effects of Rough and Tumble Play

Rough and Tumble Play Appears to be the Culprit in Sex Segregation

Early differences in play appear to encourage segregation of the sexes from two on, as well as to encourage differences in managing relationships.

Males:
- Enjoy Rough and Tumble play. Involves more risk, confrontation, and more oriented toward competition and dominance.
- Boys use language to dominate, to assert themselves and make demands.

Girls:
- In play, girls find rough and tumble play and conflicts aversive, and use conflict reducing strategies to change this. Girls use language to maintain connection, express agreement, to make requests, and to acknowledge each other’s feelings and needs.
- Girls are not responsive to girls’ polite suggestions; thus girls’ tactics are effective with other girls and with adults, but not with boys.

Sex Segregation

Sex segregation
- Although adults at times segregate the genders, children spontaneously choose to do so. Kipp seems to suggest adults responsible but
- By 4 years, spend 3 times as much time with same sex
- 8 years, spend 11 times as much time with same sex

Sex segregation provides a powerful means of socializing distinctive gender typed activities and interactional skills.
- Once gendered behavior is learned each gender find same sex interactions more compatible with their interests and desires.

Sex Segregation continues into adolescence and adulthood, e.g., Greeks, lunchroom, sports, workplace.

Sex Differences in Friendships

In childhood, Girls:
- Establishment of friendships occurs in smaller groups, often dyads, which foster closer, more intimate relationships of equal status.
- Females more inclined to make a distinction between an intimate and non-intimate friend, and to exclude others. More likely to report they have a "best friend."
- Intimacy key in friendships and little girls begin to maintain friendships by exchanging secrets. Talk is the thread on which relationships are woven. Girls disclose more personal matters and expect that their friends will understand and sympathize with them.

Sex Differences in Friendships

In Childhood, Boys:
- Tend to have larger groups of friends based on a dominance hierarchy with males interacting to establish their status. Differences in status sought.
- Tend to be less intimate, and perhaps even discouraged to be intimate, because disclosing personal information may put them at a disadvantage; they do not have the expectation that girls do, that their friends will be sympathetic among their male friends.
- Tend to bond by doing things together. A few investigators, have suggested that males are more homophobic about same sex relationships and which inhibits their developing close intimate relations with other males.
Adult Consequences

Women were more likely (60%) than men (35%) to say that they would reveal everything to at least one close friend (Bell).

A 45-year-old female attorney, answered the question in this manner:

“I have four close women friends, I can be completely honest and self-revealing because they know everything about me. I can talk about all kinds of personal things. I think that friendships are more important than marriage. To have no friends would be worse than to have no marriage. (Bell, p. 64)"

On the other hand a 38-year-old male advertising executive:

“I have three close friends I have known since we were boys and they live here in the city. There are some things I wouldn't tell them. For example, I wouldn't tell them much about my work because we have always been highly competitive, I certainly wouldn't tell them about my feelings of any uncertainties with life or various things I do. And I wouldn't talk about any problems I have with my wife or in fact anything about my marriage and sex life. But other than that I would tell them anything. [after a brief pause he laughed and said:] That doesn't leave a hell of a lot, does it? (Bell pp. 81-82).”

Problems in Cross-sex Communication

Mechanics of conversation. Men may not listen as well because they feel it puts them in a subordinate position. Girls and women face each other directly, boys sit at angles to one another. Girls talk at length on one topic, boys jump from topic to topic. Men do more initiating, directing and interrupting than do women, and are less influenced by others.

When problems come up. Women reassure by empathizing. Men reassure by implying your problems are not important. Women take this as belittling. When men are asked for advice, they treat it as problem solving, more likely to point out other sides. Women may take this as being unresponsive.

Males and females see competition differently. Male and female debaters. Self esteem of men rose after debate and women’s declined. Men liked their adversary more, women less. Winning vs. relationships.

When males and females disagree. Females more likely to try to reach consensus, males tend to argue from their own perspective with the idea that the person who makes the most cogent arguments wins.

Female Relationships

The greater intimacy of Female friendships may cause problems.

- Female’s closest relationships (ages 10-15) do not appear to last as long as male relationships, and females reported having more former close same-sex friendships.
- Females are more likely to report having done something to harm the friendship more than males do (ages 10-15), divulge sensitive material to others when they are in conflict, compared with the more direct confrontation of boys. Remonson and Christakos (2003).

Depression in women

- Depressive symptoms increase more sharply for girls than boys around the time of adolescence.
- Depression correlated with identifying strongly with feminine traits.
- Androgynous or masculine girls show lower rates.
- Ruminating about your problems is related to depression.
- Boys are less likely to tell their friends about problems, and more likely to hear advice that it is nothing or forget about it.