SEX-ROLE IDENTITY AND SELF-ESTEEM IN COLLEGE WOMEN

by

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Abstract

A masculinity-femininity measure, based on Nichols' (1962) instrument was developed in the present study. The responses given by 105 first level liberal arts students, answering Nichols' 149-item True-False questionnaire as they believed males or females would respond, were compared with those give by 138 *Ss* who answered the questionnaire with responses appropriate for themselves. Phi and chi-square coefficients calculated for items answered, for both sexes, under both sets of instructions, yielded a 13-item Subtle scale and a 17-item Stereotype scale. As hypothesized, a Subtle masculine sex-role identity was directly and positively correlated with self-esteem, measured by the Janis and Field Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire ($r = .65$, $df = 69$, $p = < .005$) for the female *Ss*. A Subtle feminine sex-role identity was negatively correlated with self-esteem ($r = -.34$, $df = 62$, $p = < .01$) for the male *Ss*. Conflict in sex-role identity, as indicated by a discrepancy between Subtle and Stereotype scores, did not predict lower self-esteem than congruence between these scores, in the female *Ss* ($F = .30$, $df = 1,28$, $p = .59$). Rather, masculine scores on the Subtle ($F = 35.9$, $df = 1,28$, $p = < .001$) and Stereotype ($F = 5.61$, $df = 1,28$, $p = < .05$) scales predicted high self-esteem for the female *Ss*. A tendency, not reaching conventional significance levels was obtained for conflict in sex-role identity to predict relatively lower self-esteem than congruence between the Subtle and Stereotype scores in the male *Ss* ($F = 3.24$, $df = 1,32$, $p = .07$). It was concluded that sex-role identity and self-esteem are strongly related, especially in college women, reflecting the subtle nature of the conditioning of socially-evaluated sex differences.

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Introduction

This study is designed to explore the relationship between sex-role identity and self-esteem in college women. The application of general role theory to the specific analysis of sex-roles most often has been confined to the study of women's rather than men's roles (Brown, 1965); and it has been suggested that the reason for this may be that women are more role-defined than men in this culture (Holter, 1970). Since role constructs, referring to expectations which derive from personal as well as general social interactions, are commonly used in general personality theories (Burnham, 1968; Deutsch & Krauss, 1965), the issue of the particular relevance of sex-roles to women bears inquiry -- especially in view of the observation that personality variables are often not as predictive for females as they are for males (McGuire, 1968). The particular relationship of self-esteem to sex-role identity warrants investigation as the literature in this area is ambiguous, while the concept of self-esteem remains of integral importance to the phenomenological personality theories (Wylie, 1961). It is primarily indirect evidence which suggests that a strong relationship between masculine sex-role identity and high self-esteem exists in this culture, at least among college women, and that the lack of reported results concerning this relationship is a function of the inadequacy of the most commonly used measures of sex-role identity.

Background

Sex-role is generally defined in terms of behavior considered appropriate to, or characteristic of, the persons occupying the male

or female status, as well as the attributed expectations of that behavior (Hartley, 1965). Sex-role identity is the total patterning of sex-linked characteristics which identify a person normatively as either masculine or feminine, to oneself and to others (Miller & Swanson, 1960). This definition is sometimes dichotomized into conscious and unconscious sexual identity (Lansky, 1960; Lynn, 1962). Conceptually, sex-role identity is distinct from sex-role preference or adaptation, and from gender identity (Lynn, 1962; Money, Hampson & Hampson, 1957). It is relatively malleable, as opposed to gender identity, for example, and appears to be acquired gradually, possibly in stages, from birth on (Hartley, 1965).

An individual's sex-role identity is prominent among the variables used in the interpretation adn evaluation of one's behavior, both by oneself and by others (Terman & Miles, 1936). In so far as sex-role identity is mediated by the norms pertaining to sex-role, these norms are considered to determine some of the behaviors and attitudes which differentiate the two sexes (Kagan, 1962). The extent of this determination is not clearly extablished but it is generally believed that the prescriptions of role and valuation of status help to form or, at least, predispose a particular personality development (Bradburn, 1963; Brown, 1965).

The content and effect of sex-role norms and status are most frequently analyzed through the study of stereotypes -- the rationale being that stereotypes reflect consensual sex-role differences in this culture. Stereotypes are evaluative expectancies of behavior considered appropriate to specific categories of persons, but they do not

include prescriptions of behavior as do roles (Brown, 1965). Status refers to the desirability, power, authority or prestige of each position in a social system, to which roles are attached (Deutsch & Krauss, 1965).

Lacking the prescriptive aspect of roles, stereotypes may not be the most salient influence on sex-role identity or personality, but "any established expectancy exerts some force on its object to behave as anticipated" (Brown, 1965, p. 174). It has also been suggested that "sex-role stereotypes...may articulate for the individual the sex-role behaviors others expect from him and in that manner, influence his self-concept" (Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman & Broverman, 1968, p. 287). In various situations, stereotypes and expectancies have been found to be acquired even without conscious awareness (Staats & Staats, 1958; Weisstein, 1970), and to affect the development of integral personality functions and self-concepts, from birth on (Hartley, 1965).

The most frequently employed method in studying sex-role stereotypes among college students entails presenting subjects with a list of adjectives, with instructions to check those which are most characteristic of men or women, or requiring subjects to formulate their own lists of characteristic adjectives or traits. Adjectives which are considered stereotypic, in that they meet a criterion of consensuality, are then analyzed on an evaluative dimension by the same or additional subjects, or by judges.

Consensuality of Sex-Role Stereotypes

One of the earliest studies indicated a significant degree of

similarity in the attitude of both sexes toward women (Kitay, 1940). The author suggested that women appeared to adopt the unfavorable opinion of females which prevailed among men, that is, the "high prestige group." Sherriffs and Jarrett (1953), in a later study, found that "virtually no behavior or quality excapes inclusion in either a male or female 'stereotype'" and further, "these stereotypes are substantially the same whether held by men or women" (Sherriffs & Jarrett, 1953, p. 161). Subsequent studies have continued to indicate marked consensuality, and to a lesser extent, inclusiveness of sex-role stereotypes.

In an open-end procedure, in which college students listed adjectives they considered to be characteristic of men or women, McKee and Sherriffs (1957) reported that over 95% of the obtained adjectives were easily classified into relatively few stereotypic categories. They interpreted this result as an indication of the strength and consensuality of sex-role stereotypes.

Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) had numerous subsamples of college students and other subjects respond to a sex-role questionnaire which included a wide range of content, by indicating the degree to which they believed men and women possess particular traits. Both sexes yielded almost identical means within both the male and female sets of instructions. The responses believed to be masculine were highly correlated between the sexes ($r = .96$) as were the responses believed to be feminine ($r = .95$). Using the same questionnaire in a more wide-ranging sample, Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosenkrantz (1972) found significant agreement on 42 to 74 items in the 122-item

measure, independent of education (elementary school through advanced graduate degree level), age, sex, religion or marital status. Significant and extensive agreement (71 of 122 items) among college students was also reported in another study in this series (Elman & Rosenkrantz, 1970).

Content of Sex-Role Stereotypes

Marked similarity concerning the content of sex-role stereotypes has also persisted over time. Terman and Miles' (1936) Attitude-Interest-Analysis Masculinity-Femininity (M-F) measure, based on subjects of various ages, socioeconomic backgrounds and sexual identities, included apparently stereotypic or obvious items which distinguished the sexes (cf. Nichols, 1962). Feminine responses on this measure included domestic, sympathetic or maternal interests and knowledge, interest in clothes, personal adornment and esthetic experiences, preference for women, unfortuantes and philanthropists, and introversion, that is, timidity, weakness in emotional control, and admitted psychological abnormalities. Women also reported more disgust, pity, and to a lesser degree, anger, than men. Masculine responses included greater worldly competence and knowledge, aggressiveness, strength, preference for successful, strong, heroic and unconventional persons, and lack of introversion, that is, adventure and courage.

Similar stereotypes have been reported by Komarovsky (1946) and Mead (1949) and, more recently, by others. For example, Sherriffs and McKee (1957), using Sarbin's Adjective Check List, sorted adjectives which had been judged by college students as "favorable" and characteristic either of men or of women, into intuitively based clusters.

Thirty favorable male items were obtained and formed three clusters: 1) straightforward, uninhibited social style, 2) rational competence and ability, and 3) action, vigor and effectiveness. The 20 favorable female items which were obtaine formed two clusters: 1) social skills and grace, and 2) warmth and emotional support (or "tenderness"). There was also a possible third category, consisting of the four items, "sensitive, dreamy, artistic, religious," which they considered closely related to the other two. The most recent and extensive studies, employing a total of approximately 1,000 subjects, have also indicated similar results: Broverman _et al_. (1972) reported that items on their sex-role measure which had been judged stereotypically masculine and "socially desirable" by college students and other subjects formed a cluster which they labeled "competence, rationality and assertion." This cluster included such items as very aggressive, independent, objective, dominant, competitive, logical, self-confident, ambitious, knows the way of the world, almost always acts as a leader, and thinks men are always superior to women. Items which had been judged as feminine and socially desirable formed a cluster which reflected "warmth and expressiveness." Some of these items were very tactful, gentle, aware of feelings of others, religious, interested in own appearance, quiet, strong need for security, enjoys art and literature, and easily expresses tender feelings. A shortened form of this instrument was administered to college students for analysis of perceptions of the ideal man and woman; the results were closely alligned to these stereotypes (Elman & Rosenkrantz, 1970). Broverman _et al_. (1972) concluded that despite apparent changes in sex-role norms, sex-

role stereotypes remain pervasive, persistent and traditional.

Differential Evaluation or Status of Sex-Roles.

The differential evaluation or status attributed to sex-role stereotypes is well established. McKee and Sherriffs (1957) analyzed the "desirability" or "favorability" of consensual stereotypic adjectives which were derived either from Sarbin's Adjective Check List (which was designed to measure general human characteristics without specific attention given to sex-roles) or from open-ended lists formulated by college students. In these two procedures, additional subjects indicated either their view of the "relative over-all general worth, merit or value of men and women" or whether "men (women are greatly superior to men (women)" or "are essentially equal" (McKee & Sherriffs, 1957, p. 359). Their results indicated that significantly more subjects of both sexes "think more highly of males than of females," and the proportions of items favoring men in both procedures, analyzed by the sexes individually, ranged from .82 to .93 (McKee & Sherriffs, 1957, p. 359). The results of both procedures also indicated that men particularly emphasized males' favorable characteristics whereas females particularly emphasized females' unfavorable characteristics.

The study by Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) further explored the "social values" associated with sex-role stereotypes. College students gave ratings of "social desirability" on a seven-point scale for the stereotypic items in their sex-role measure, on the basis of applicability to the population at large rather than specifically to one sex or the other. Correlations between samples and between sexes

on the judged social desirability of items were significant and high (r = .95 or better), and significantly more masculine items (29) than feminine items (12) were judged socially desirable. However, the average social desirability of masculine characteristics did not differ from that of the feminine characteristics. The authors concluded that "the greater valuation placed upon masculinity...is a function of more male than female traits being positively valued rather than a greater value _per se_ of individual masculine traits" (Rosenkrantz _et al_., 1968, p. 291).

In a recent study, using the same measuring instrument in a sample of male college students, Broverman _et al_. (1972) measured the degree of social desirability assigned to stereotypic items specifically on the basis of applicability to men or women; subjects indicated the point at which each item is most desirable for an adult man and for an adult woman. Male characteristics were judged significantly more desirable for men than for women on almost all masculine items; and only about half of the feminine items were judged more socially desirable for women than for men. That is, these males saw as desirable for men those masculine traits previously judged as socially desirable for adults in general, and they also considered almost half of the desirable feminine traits as equally desirable for men; and, masculine traits were considered significantly less desirable for women than feminine traits were for men. Additional studies of samples of both sexes would be required to give more than a suggestive interpretation to these results.

The differential evaluation of the male and female status has

also been indicated by other methods. In Goldberg's (1968) study, written articles ranging in subject matter from law to home economics were evaluated by women in terms of value, persuasiveness, profundity and competence. The evaluations were compared on the basis of whether the subjects believed the articles to be written by men or women. Articles presumably written by men were judged superior to those presumably written by women on every dimension.

In terms of sex-role preference in early childhood, some studies which have used sex-role defined toy preferences as an indicant have yielded inconsistent results (Hartley, 1965). Other studies, including large surveys, have indicated a stronger preference for the male role by boys than for the female role by girls, or significantly greater proportions of girls than of boys preferring the opposite sex-role (Gallup, 1955; Sutton-Smith, Rosenberg & Morgan, 1963). Studies of adults have been consistent; significantly many more women have thought about or wanted to be on the opposite sex than have men (Gallup, 1955; Fortune, 1946; Scheinfeld, 1944). It seems that by adulthood, the male gender or sex-role is seen as preferable to the female's by both sexes, considerably more often than the reverse.

The relatively favorable evaluation of the male sex-role stereotype has also been observed in clinical judgements of mental health. In their series of studies, Broverman et al. (1970) found that clinicians of both sexes ascribed the "socially desirable" characteristics of competency, rationality and assertiveness to a conception of male mental health; characteristics of clinically assessed female mental health, by contrast, were found to be more submissive, less indepen-

dent, less competitive, more excitable in minor crises, more emotional, more conceited about their appearance and having their feelings more easily hurt, etc. Not only do these characteristics of feminine health reflect "a powerful, negative assessment of women" in the authors' view (Broverman et al., 1970, p. 4), but as well, the concepts of health for a sex-unspecified adult and for a man did not differ, whereas the concepts of health for a woman were significantly less healthy than those of the adult. Moreover, the fewer socially desirable feminine characteristics (as previously judged by college students) were ascribed by clinicians to men, in terms of healthfulness, almost as often as they were to women. It was concluded that a "double standard" of adult mental health exists in that the general standard of mental health was applied only to men. These findings are consistent with other research. The differential standard of mental health, along similar sex-role stereotype dimensions, among clinicians using Murray's manifest needs to define the Optimally Integrated Person, was reported by Neulinger (1968); and, using a Q-sort, it was reported by Block (1961). Adult mental health, as conceptualized by trait descriptions in these studies, is reported to be in agreement with college students' concepts of socially desirable adult characteristics (Broverman et al., 1970; Cowen, Staiman & Wolitsky, 1961; Wiener, Blumberg Segman & Cooper, 1959).

Women are consistently regarded as lower in status than men. With regard to the status assigned to sex-roles in general, Hacker (1951) compared the position of women to that of a "castelike" or "minority group status." She noted, particularly, similarities in

high social visibility, rationalization of status, accomodating attitudes, discriminations and similar problems, such as the conflict between achieved status and ascribed status, and ascribed attributes (stereotypes). The attributes are of a weak, dependent, submissive, emotional and artistic nature, and, as has been see, these have continued to exist in contemporary stereotypes of femininity.

It has been observed that this culture is "masculine-centered and masculine-oriented, and offers the male many privileges and much prestige not accorded the female" (Lynn, 1959, p. 129); and that "the superior position and privileged status of the male permeates nearly every aspect, minor and major, of our social life..." (Brown, 1958, p. 232). While it is generally believed that changes in sex-role definition are in progress (Broverman _et al_., 1972; Hacker, 1951; McKee & Sherriffs, 1957), the suggestive evidence of the traditional nature, persistence and pervasiveness of sex-role stereotypes, as well as recent analysis of sex-roles and social structure, indicates that this "minority group status" is still maintained, with essentially the same variables operative as those noted by Hacker (Holter, 1970).

Effects of Sex-Role Norms, Stereotypes and Status

Sex-role requirements, status and personality attributes appear to be interactive. Caution is required in deriving conclusions on this basis, since a physiological, rather than primarily social, basis undoubtedly exists for some of the sex differences observed in this culture, and the extent to which either source of sex differences is responsible is not known. This discussion is confined, therefore, to those sex-differences which are permitted or encouraged in a manner

consistent with the differential status of the sexes, and with the sex-role stereotypes.

Analysis of the direct effects of the lower evaluation of the female status indicates that women tend to have relatively negative evaluations of themselves and more pronounced negative evaluations ("inverted prejudice") of women in general (Hacker, 1951; Holter, 1970). Both tendencies have been reported often (Broverman _et al._, 1972; MacBrayer, 1960; McKee & Sherriffs, 1957, 1959; Rheingold, 1964; Riesman, 1964; Rosenkrantz _et al._, 1968; Sherriffs & McKee, 1957). Some of these studies will be discussed in detail later.

One aspect of status is power, and this is seen to be differentially maintained by the sexes in this culture. Developmental studies have indicated that the power dimension, that is, "the amount of implied or explicit control each person has over the outcome of an interaction," is intensively and extensively used by young children in age-role discriminations (Emmerich, 1961, p. 610). Emmerich's study indicated that the father's sex-role is seen by children as more powerful than the mother's, and adults in general are perceived as having much greater power than children. Moreover, in childhood (ages six to ten), the male but not the female child's age-role was increasingly discriminated by greater power (Emmerich, 1961). Similar results concerning the power of the male role have been reported elsewhere (Sears, 1963). Kohlberg (1966) surveyed the literature on the content of children's sex-role stereotypes and concluded that their three major attributes were power and prestige, aggression and exposure to danger, and nurturance and child care. With reference to so-

cial power, high-power roles and prestige, Kohlberg's and other studies have indicated that by the age of sex, children are aware of the direct, positively evaluated male stereotypy of these concepts (Kohlberg, 1966).

The content of adult sex-role stereotypes is markedly similar. Particularly those traits which indicate "strength and personal force," (McKee & Sherriffs, 1959, p. 360), aggressiveness, dominance, independence, or even the explicit belief that "men are always superior to women" (Broverman _et_ _al_., 1972, p. 29) are found in the male stereotype primarily or only, and are judged by college students and others to be favorable or socially desirable for males only (Bardwick, 1971; Broverman _et_ _al_., 1972; McKee & Sherriffs, 1959; Rosenkrantz _et_ _al_., 1968). In a psycho-sociological analysis, Holter (1970) observed that whereas power indicates prestige and the significant exercise of influence, the social power accorded women is not of this nature. Rather, it typically consists of a "negative dominance position," that is, it tends to be indirect and subtle, with the sanctions available to women being largely personal ones, such as the withdrawing of love (Holter, 1970, p. 49).

Another correlate of lesser status appears to be submissive and dependent behavior (Clark, 1971). This characteristic is stereotypically feminine and is considered socially desirable for women (Rosenkrantz _et_ _al_., 1968). Holter suggests that "the acquisition of submissiveness by women disposes them to accept their own positions as well as men's" and, in this way, "the definition of masculinity and femininity...contribute directly to the maintainence of [sex-role

defined] traits" (Holter, 1970, p. 196). It is observed that dependency behaviors are among the most stable attributes observed in females, but not in males, from childhood through adulthood (Kagan & Moss, 1962), although in early childhood, sex-differences are generally not found or are very inconsistent; the differences in dependency behaviors clearly begin to be observed only from ages six to eight on (Maccoby, 1966).

Some indication is given in the literature that a sex-role determined interpretation of behavior is involved. For example, McCandless, Bilous and Bennett (1961) studied dependency behaviors in preschool children and found that, when analyzed by function, total instrumental and emotional dependency behaviors did not differ for the sexes, although the girls did request more intervention by teachers in peer-conflicts than did the boys. Nonetheless, the same emotional dependency behaviors in girls were more strongly related to low "popularity" than they were in boys; at the same time, the authors suggested that girls are permitted or encouraged to display this behavior, whereas boys are urged to develop independent or aggressive behavior in response to the same situation or feelings. A study by Sears (1963), investigating the conditions which theoretically are operative in establishing dependency behaviors in young children, indicated that differences in reinforcement of dependency for the sexes accounted for the variability in their data. "Dependency seems to be accepted or even desired" as being "appropriate for the sex-typing of the girl;" for boys, there is "nonsupport for such learning" (Sears, 1963, p. 60). By adulthood, women (at least in the middle class) generally are re-

ported to be more dependent or less self-sufficient than men (Brim, Glass, Lavin & Goodman, 1962; Spangler & Thomas, 1962). Pertinent to the inclusion of dependency as an attribute in the female stereotype, is that it is generally negatively related to self-esteem, whereas independence is generally positively related; this relationship has been observed in both sexes (Bardwick, 1971; McCandless, 1967).

The study of achievement motivation and performance indicates the interaction between sex-role norms and personality attributes. First of all, this culture is characterized as having an emphasis on achieved roles rather than ascribed roles (Brown, 1965; McClelland, 1961). However, achievement relevant to social status appears to be encouraged in males, rather than females, from a very early age (Barry, Bacon & Child, 1957). This is paralleled by the sex-role stereotypes which contrast rational competence, effectiveness and worldliness with warmth and emotional expressiveness. The male orientation of achievement motivation is reflected in the meaningful relationships observed between the achievement motive and performance in men, and the relative lack of such data for women (Horner, 1970; McClelland, 1961). In general, achievement is associated with independence, high self-esteem and low anxiety (Coopersmith & McCandless, 1957; Rosenberg, 1965; Winterbottom, 1958); but, for females, particularly, the norms pertaining to social or interpersonal involvement, especially beginning at adolescence, have been observed either to 1) obstruct achievement motivation or performance (Coleman, 1961; Douvan & Adelson, 1966); 2) to arouse this motivation (McClelland, 1953); or 3) to yield a differing interpretation of achievement. That is, achievement motivation

in females is sometimes related more to affiliative behavior or early marriage than to the usual correlates such as academic success (Bardwick, 1971; Horner, 1970). Also, conflict and anxiety are often reported to occur with achievement motivation in females (Maccoby, 1963; Sanford, 1961), and with aggressive and competitive behavior (Kagan & Moss, 1962). The conflict tends to indicate incompatibility with the traditional female sex-role, particularly if intellectual or career-oriented values are at stake (French & Lesser, 1964; Maccoby, 1963; Mead, 1949). Horner (1968, 1970) suggests a possible explanations for these relations is that women, unlike men, generally expect negative consequences to follow success in achievement situations; in replicated studies women showed a motive to fear success significantly more often than men, elements of this motive being fear of social rejection, concern about one's normality or femininity, and denial (Horner, 1968, 1970).

One study of adolescent girls who had a high need for achievement (Lansky, Crandall, Kagan & Baker, 1961) indicated, in fact, that these girls did not manifest traits which have been shown to be related to femininity; namely, they were not anxious about success, did not tend to identify with their mothers, were not very interested in being socially accepted, and were not guilty about expressing aggression to authority figures; this pattern was atypical for girls (cf. Becker, 1968; Cottle, Edwards & Pleck, 1970; Horner, 1970; Kagan & Moss, 1962). Burdick (1959) similarly found that females with a high need for achievement tended not to yield to social influence, even when they understood that yielding was instrumental to being liked by

others. The behavior of not yielding to social influence was apparently contrary to the norm for females at the time of this study (Lesser & Abelson, 1959). In short, the studies on achievement motivation and performance, though inconsistent, suggest a source of conflict for females in terms of incompatibility with sex-role expectations.

A related attribute which is prescriptive for the female role is lack of aggressiveness (Brown, 1965). In their longitudinal study, Kagan and Moss (1962) found aggressiveness to be one of the more stable characteristics observed in males but not females, and they noted that the socialization of the female mediates against aggressive displays by them. They suggested that the anxiety over aggressive and competitive behavior which is manifested by females might account for their conflict over intellectual competition. Supporting a social-learning view, and suggesting a rationale for consequent anxiety over aggressive impulses, are a series of studies conducted by Bandura (1965). He obtained a clear relationship between the differing display of aggressiveness in the sexes, and the differential reinforcement of aggressiveness appropriate to the male and female sex-roles.

One other domain which reflects the "passive"nature of the female stereotype (Bardwick, 1971; Gough, 1952) is that of conformity and persuasibility. Females, including college students, are almost always more conforming than males; further their conformity is more generalizable than that of males (Allen & Crutchfield, 1963; Iscoe, Williams & Harvey, 1963). For both sexes, conforming, for example in the Asch and Sherif situation, has generally been correlated with low self-esteem (Berkowitz & Lundy, 1957; Messer, Hinkley & Mosier, 1958).

Conforming is also associated with other behaviors which are correlated with low self-esteem, such as the tendency to be passive and quiet in groups (Bales, 1955) and high anxiety in college women but not men (Steiner & Rogers, 1963). Janis and Field's (1959) survey of the literature similarly indicated that various aspects of conformity are related to personality variables similar to low self-esteem.

As well, females have generally been reported to be more persuasible or socially influencible than males (Beloff, 1958; DiVesta & Cox, 1960; Hovland & Janis, 1959; McGuire, 1968). An analysis, without regard to sex differences, of the unconscious self-images of those who are persuaded found such subjects to have weaker and more passive self-concepts, and consciously, to feel inadequate and inferior; those subjects not persuaded were found to have strong, assertive self-concepts, and consciously, to feel adequate, and desirous of assertion and independence (Linton & Graham, 1959). Similar observations were reported by Cox and Bauer (1964). The persuaded/not persuaded dimension is markedly similar to the male and female stereotypes. Lesser and Abelson (1959) in fact, suggested that yielding to social influence is relatively prescriptive for the female sex-role.

However, it now appears that yielding to influence may not be as strong a norm as was originally indicated (Eagly, 1969b). Additionally, a change in the specificity of predicting persuasibility from self-esteem or related personal adjustment factors has been occurring in the past decade. The older studies generally indicated that low self-esteem and related variables predicted persuasibility in males only (Eagly, 1969a; Janis, 1954; Janis & Field, 1959; Lesser & Abelson, 1959). The more recent studies, however, have indicated a

change in the pattern of this relationship, and as well, have sometimes yielded similar results for both sexes (Cox & Bauer, 1964; Eagly, 1969b; Gergen & Bauer, 1967; Nisbett & Gordon, 1967; Silverman, 1964; Silverman, Ford & Morganti, 1966). It is not possible to ascertain a trend concerning sex differences from these studies, since many of them confined their samples to one sex. The fact that relationships between the predictive variable and persuasibility have now been reported for females, however, is consistent with Eagly's conclusion concerning a decrease in this sex-role norm; that is, without differential norms, similar patterns of behavior would be expected.

The studies discussed here, on status, power, submissiveness and dependency, achievement, conformity and persuasibility, suggest that the lower status of females or the sex-role norms which are reflected in the stereotypes, do influence behavior. Additionally, these stereotypic characteristics are seen to be related to low self-esteem.

Incorporation of Stereotypic Attributes Into Self-Concepts

Studies which have analyzed specifically the incorporation of stereotypic attributes into the self-concept indicate general correspondence between stereotypes and self-concepts. For example, it has been reported that men, more often than women, see themselves as being resourceful, mature, logical, adventurous, realistic, deliberate, effecient, etc.; and women more often see themselves as being emotional, affectionate, temperamental, dependent, passive, inferior, incompetent and feminine (Horner, 1970; Kagan & Moss, 1962; Sarbin & Rosenberg, 1965). Aggession, autonomy, and independence are more often found in

males than in females; and aggressiveness is seen as only one among a number of personality characteristics in males, whereas, in females, this characteristic is found to be correlated with a search for personal identity, based in part on achievement (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Kagan & Moss, 1962; Lansky, Crandall, Kagan & Baker, 1961). Anxiety about aggression has actually been found to be correlated with femininity in both sexes for children and adults (Cosentino & Heilbrun, Jr., 1964; Heilbrun, 1964; Sears, 1961). Further, it has been suggested that the norms concerning aggressiveness and competitiveness for men may explain the reported finding that men are less accepting of others than are women (Zuckerman, Baer & Monashkin, 1965).

Broverman et al. (1972) reported that both sexes incorporated the negative as well as the positive (socially desirable) aspects of the sex-role stereotypes into their self-concepts. The relatively negative value of the feminine characteristics resulted in women having significantly more negative self-concepts than did the men. These negative, or less socially desirable, characteristics indluded incompetency, irrationality, passivity, dependency, and lack of self-confidence and ambitions.

Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) also found that the self-concepts of college men and women differed significantly along a dimension of stereotypic sex-role attributes. The self-concepts, however, were not as stereotyped as the subjects' perceptions of the average man or woman.

Results obtained by Sherriffs and McKee (1957) similarly indicated that both sexes chose significantly greater numbers of adjectives

from their sex-appropriate stereotypes to describe themselves, but this tendency was significantly greater among the women. That is, the women saw themselves being significantly more sex-typed than did the men. Additionally, the female subjects emphasized their unfavorable stereotypic characteristics more than did the men.

In a later study, McKee and Sherriffs (1959) compared reports by college students indicated adjectives which described them as they really are, with three other measures: "ideal" self, ideal man or woman of the same age as the subject, and believed desires of men or women of the same age. Their results indicated that men are correct in their belief that women desire them to possess the favorable characteristics of both sexes approximately equally. Women also believed that men possess most of the favorable characteristics which were listed in the measuring instrument. As for themselves, the women believed that men desire them to be significantly sex-typed; in fact, the men did indicate this, but not to the extent that women believed.

The characteristics which men indicated as applicable primarily to men related to a cluster of items reflecting strength and personal force. These characteristics also tended to differentiate the ideal-self for the two sexes, but overall, the differences were not significant on this measure. In terms of ideal-self, the men conformed significantly more often to the male norm (or stereotype) than did the women to the female norm. However, in terms of resl-self, as in the previous study, women were significantly more sex-typed than the men. Additionally, the women chose a significantly larger number of unfavorable characteristics than did the men, from both the masculine and fe-

minine adjectives; that is, their real-self was significantly more unfavorable than that of the men. These real-self results were also significantly correlated with both the beliefs and the reality of what the other sex wanted. McKee and Sherriffs (1959) concluded that the discrepancy between real- and ideal-self for women reflected their dual training in this culture: to be prepared for modern life, and to be feminine within the tradition of the female stereotype.

A study conducted by Rosen (1956) compared actual-self, personally desired-self and socially desired-self, and obtained similar results. Female college students indicated that it was desirable, both socially and personally, to have more masculine interests; buth the male students, while personally finding it more desirabel to have more masculine interests, at the same time, felt that, socially, they were pulled in a direction opposite to their own standards. As in the previous studies, the women were more exclusively feminine than were the men exclusively masculine.

Martire and Hornberger (1957) compared college men and women on the basis of actual-, ideal- and socially desirable-self, according to their reported self-perceptions. Ideal self was significantly correlated between the sexes; congruence between ideal- and real-self did not differ between men and women in this study. The overall pattern of correlations indicated that women's self-concepts were viewed as being congruent with their personal ideals, but their ideal- and actal-selves were not seen to be congruent with what is socially desirable. A similar pattern for men was not significant. The similarity of the real-ideal congruence for both sexes suggests a self-satisfac-

tion and disregard for social desirability not usually reported; nevertheless, the study is consistent with the other literature in terms of the divergence for women between the description of real-self and the perceived social desirability of the self.

Evidence is also noted in the developmental studies which suggestsa possible relation between the onset of some of the sex-role defined behaviors, and the influence of sex-role stereotypes and norms. Lynn (1959) noted that by the age of six to eight, a progressive increase in the unfavorability of the female stereotype was held by both sexes; and from this age on, this stereotype was also seen as being increasingly personally applicable by girls. The studies on differential power also noted this particular age period as the time when children clearly recognized the masculine nature of power roles (age six) (Kohlberg, 1966), perceived their parents, especially the father, as having progressively increasingly power, and increasingly discriminated the male but not the female age-role by power (age six to eight) (Emmerich, 1961). If not directly related, the unfavorability of the female stereotype is at least consistent with these observations.

During the high-school years, sex-role stereotypes have been observed to be further delimited, and accompanied by increased peer-group pressure for sex-role appropriate behavior; among the pressures particularly on girls are those stressing popularity, heterosexual affiliation, and preparation for marriage (Bardwick, 1971; Coleman,

1961; Kagan & Moss, 1962; Neiman, 1954). At this time, a sudden decrease in academic performance in girls is also often observed; fear of success motivation is also reported to increase progressively in females, both qualitatively and quantitatively, during this period and continuing through college (Horner, 1970). These authors have indicated that sex-role norms appear to be causally related to the decreased academic performance and increased fear of success motivation in females.

In brief, studies on the content and apparent effect of sex-role norms or stereotypes and differential status indicate that stereotypic sex-differences are incorporated, to a certain extent, into self-concepts and behavior. Generally, it also appears that the range of characteristics considered desirable for men, and reported by men, is broader than the range of characteristics considered desirable for, and reported by, women. The evidence concerning college women's personal preference for the feminine sex-role or stereotype is inconclusive; the literature indicates that women's personal interests, or preferred attributes in terms of an "ideal self," are similar to that of men in many cases. Nevertheless, women tend to conform to the feminine stereotype in their self-descriptions and evaluations of desirable feminine characteristics. Finally, the relatively greater number of unfavorable or socially undesirable characteristics in the female stereotype, and possibly, the lesser evaluation of socially desirable characteristics when they are displayed in women, appear to have resulted in more negative self-evaluations by women than men.

Self-Esteem and Sex-Role Identity

The concept of self-esteem has been used in various guises; a not exhaustive list includes the following alternative terms: self-satisfaction, self-acceptance, self-favorability, congruence between self and ideal-self, discrepancies between self and ideal-self, pride, ego, dominance, self-assertion, self-cathexis, self-confidence (specific and generalized), and self-regard (Coopersmith, 1959; Cox & Bauer, 1964; Maslow, 1942; Wylie, 1961). One possible definition of the concept is "the evaluation the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself. It expresses the attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful and worthy. In short, self-esteem is a personal judgement (a subjective feeling) of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds toward himself ..." (Coopersmith, 1967).

The above listed terms, Wylie (1961) emphasized, are not synonymous, and the differences between them sometimes have noteworthy conceptual implications. For example, self-acceptance may mean accepting oneself, including one's faults, whereas self-esteem or congruence between self and ideal, may imply the literary definition of pride. Additionally, the concept of optimum self-esteem or self-satisfaction is sometimes defined as requiring a realistic, conscious recognition of a less than ideal self-evaluation. Nevertheless, Wylie concluded that "the terms are so intertwined and overlapping in the literature that the constructs must be discussed as a group" (Wylie, 1961, p. 40).

Occasionally no sex differences are found (Morris & Nadelman, 1971; Skolnick, 1969; Turner & Vanderlippe, 1958) or higher self-esteem for females is reported (Perkins, 1958) although the results of numerous studies, using a variety of measures, support the lower self-esteem in females (Bardwick, 1971; Carpenter & Busse, 1969; Eagly, 1969a; Holter, 1970; Wylie, 1961).

When sex-role identity, specifically, has been analyzed with respect to self-esteem or its correlates, the results have been inconsistent and difficult to interpret. Additionally, this relationship has been explored in children and adolescents rather than in adults.

Using the Gough Femininity (Fe) Scale as the measure of sex-role identification in children and adolescents, Webb (1963) found that anxiety (conceptually related to low self-esteem) was related to feminine identification in girls, but was not consistently related to sex-role identity in boys. Femininity was also unrelated to social acceptance in either sex.

Eagly (1969b) used a modified version of the Janis and Field Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire to measure self-esteem, and a contemporized version of the Gough Fe Scale to measure sex-role identity, in a sample of adolescent students. In this study there was a significant but small negative correlation ($r = -.23$) between femininity and self-esteem, for females. There was no relationship between the two variables for males.

Using the California Personality Inventory (CPI) to measure sex-role identification, Connell and Johnson (1970) found masculine sex-role identification significantly related to self-esteem in

adolescent males.

Using a short form of the Franck Drawing Completion Test (FDCT) as a measure of sex-role identification, and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, Morris and Nadelman (1971) found inconsistent results; there was no relationship for most of the boys in their sample; there was, however, a positive correlation between femininity and self-esteem in a sub-set of adolescent boys, which did not reach conventional significance levels ($p = < .10$). Similar low, nonsignificant correlations between femininity and self-esteem were obtained for girls.

The inconsistent and low correlations obtained in these studies are incongruent with the evidence concerning the differential status of the sexes, the relatively larger number of unfavorable or undesirable characteristics in the female stereotype, and the relatively negative self-evaluation or lower self-esteem of females in general. On the basis of the evidence available, sex-role identity, representing the extent to which one incorporates the culturally defined attributes of masculinity-femininity, should be related to self-esteem. It is suggested that the ambiguous results obtained in these studies may be due to the inadequacy of the instruments used to measure sex-role identity.

The major problems in these instruments are that they visibly reflect the cultural bias, are obvious, and even sometimes provoke role-appropriate responses (Gough, 1952; Morris & Nadelman, 1971). Further, they usually measure only conscious sexual identity, or more often, stereotyped identity; that is, they tend to yield sex differences based on social conventions rather than actual behavior

(Nichols, 1962; Miller & Swanson, 1960).

Nichols developed a Masculinity-Femininity (M-F) instrument in 1962 which was designed to overcome these major drawbacks. His measure consisted of three scales: 1) Obvious scale: factual sex differences which college students generally recognized and agreed upon; 2) Subtle scale: true sex differences which generally were not known by students; 3) Stereotype scale: not true sex differences, but the items were ones which college students expected to be sex-discriminatory. The Obvious and Subtle scales were not correlated with each other, whereas the Obvious and Stereotype scales were positively correlated (r = .35 for females; r = .19 for males). The Subtle and Stereotype scales were negatively correlated with each other for both sexes (r = -.44 for females; r = -.49 for males), although both scales correlated positively with sex (r = .28 for Subtle scale; r = .44 for Stereotype scale) (Nichols, 1962).

Of particular relevance are the relationships reported between these scales and the traditional M-F instruments. The Obvious scale was correlated with the Gough Fe Scale, for females and males respectively (r = .53; r = .58), as well as with other commonly used M-F scales, for example: MMPI MF (derived from Terman and Miles' MF measure; r = .46; r = .35); CPI Fe (r = .50; r = .56), etc. The Gough scale was also positively correlated with the Stereotype scale (r = .30; r = .37) but showed no relation to the Subtle scale (r = -.09; r = .10) (Nichols, 1962).

Nichols' scales were given additional face validity by their convergence with other techniques (projective, figure-completion) de-

signed to yield conscious and unconscious sexual identity and self-description, and by their similarity to Webster's independent construction of three similar scales (Caligor, 1951; Lansky, 1961; Webster, 1956).

Studies which have used the Gough Fe, CPI, or other obvious or stereotypic instruments, are therefore not clearly interpretable, since it is impossible to ascertain the extent to which subjects modified their responses to present obvious or stereotypically appropriate self-reports. To the extent that these two factors influenced the self-reports, it is even possible, given the negative correlation between the Subtle and Stereotype scales, that these traditional instruments indicated totally erroneous MF scores for an unknown percentage of each sample. All but one of the studies discussed above are subject to this criticism. The exception is Morris and Nadelman's (1971) study, since they attempted to measure unconscious sexual identity, by means of the Franck Drawing Completion Test (FDCT). Although no conclusions were warranted in their study with regard to sex-role identity and self-esteem, their investigation illustrates the typical difficulty of M-F analysis. As a projective technique, the FDCT avoids the common problem of being an obvious M-F measure, but its relation to other M-F measures indicates that it may be measuring stereotypic sex-role identity rather than unconscious identity (Webster, 1956).

It seems likely that a measure of sex-role identity such as Nichols' Subtle scale, which is free of the critical defects in other M-F instruments, would clarify the relationship between sex-role

identity and self-esteem -- at least among college students, on whom the scales were first developed. Use of a subtle scale will permit measurement of actual similarity of behavior to either sex, in isolation from self-attributed sex-role characteristics of an obvious or stereotypic nature. A subtle measure will indicate the extent to which individuals have incorporated that aspect of the M-F dimension which has not been clearly articulated or labeled in the culture; and, it should reflect the effect of status, stereotypes and sex-role norms on self-esteem, without provoking consciously role-appropriate responses, or defensive denial. That is, to the extent that women have been influenced by the differentially evaluated aspects of sex-roles, their sex-role identity should reflect an identification with these aspects, and the evaluation given them. It is hypothesized that a direct relationship exists between subtle sex-role identity and self-esteem, with the masculine pole predicting high self-esteem and the feminine pole, low self-esteem.

One might tend to expect an analogous relationship for males, but no specific hypotheses are actually warranted, for the following reasons: 1) male norms apparently relate to variables such as competency, achievement and independence, as seen in the content of the male sex-role stereotype; and these variables are related to or interact with self-esteem; 2) unlike the stereotype or self-concept analyzed in women, the male stereotype and self-concept apparently can more readily accomodate opposite sex characteristics and consider them socially desirable; 3) more of the socially desirable or favorable characteristics in this culture are also considered masculine. These factors suggest men can have positive self-concepts, or high self-es-

teem with or without the incorporation of some feminine characteristics, and that other variables than sex-role identity would be involved in predicting their self-esteem.

A second line of inquiry concerning the relationship between sex-role identity and self-esteem deals with the concept of role conflict. Among the possible sources of role conflict in women which have been noted here are the dual training for women to enter the modern world yet retain traditional feminine behavior (McKee & Sherriffs, 1959), conflict between achievement and affiliative behavior (Bardwick, 1971; Coleman, 1961; Horner, 1970). An additional source is seen in the pressures to conform to sex-role norms at the same time that feminine characteristics tend to be relatively unfavorable or socially undesirable, The fact that this culture's emphasis is on achieved roles (Brown, 1965; McClelland, 1953) but status-related achievement (competency, worldliness, ability) is emphasized particularly for males also induces conflict in women (Horner, 1970).

The evidence discussed so far has tended to indicate that conflict is more prevalent in women than in men; that is, the description of an ideal-self by women was often seen to be similar to the ideal self described by men, yet, the description of attributes actually possessed ("real-self") differed along stereotypic lines, particularly among the women.

Bardwick's analysis of the conflict prevalent among women leads her to suggest that it is only those females who combine roles effectively or who are motivated only within the feminine model who will have feelings of high self-esteem (Bardwick, 1971).

Analysis of conflict specifically within sex-role identity usually

rests on the interpretation of masculinity-femininity as a "more or less homogeneous psychological dimension with a continuous variation between extreme masculinity and extreme femininity" (Marke & Gottfries, 1967); by the terms masculinity and femininity is meant simply the behaviors, etc., which characterize the two sexes differentially, given that there is overlap between them. Sex-role identity can be a conscious acceptance of the overall patterning of such characteristics as self-representative, or it can be simply the enactment of this patterning. Unconscious sex-role identity may or may not converge with one's conscious identity.

Lack of convergence between the conscious and unconscious levels of one's sex-role identity has been observed in both sexes. In males a common version of this conflict has been described as "compensatory masculinity;" this is exaggerated, stereotypically masculine behavior in men who are not aware ("non-ego accepting" or "unconscious") of their own role-defined femininity(Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950; Miller & Swanson, 1960). A similar relationship, "stereotypic femininity," has been observed in females, in the correlations between projective measures of masculinity and above average self-reported femininity (Webster, 1956); and in the relationship of Subtle masculinity to Stereotypic femininity (Nichols, 1962). The inverse relationship between these two aspects of sex-role identity is believed to reflect defensiveness or denial (Adorno _et al._, 1950; Nichols, 1962). These relationships may be related to Bardwick's conclusion that the lower one's perceived self-value or self-esteem, the greater one's anxiety and reponse to pressures to assume a role

(Bardwick, 1971).

It seems likely that individuals who have a conflict in their sex-role identity would have lower self-esteem than those who do not. Conflict in sex-role identity would be indicated by discrepancies in Subtle and Stereotypic measures of masculinity-femininity; these would reflect the "unconscious" or unknown similarity of the individual's behavior to that of one sex or the other, and as well, the consciously professed similarity to the exaggerated, stereotypic attributes of one sex or the other. Lack of conflict in sex-role identity would be indicated by congruence in the self reports on these two measures. Conflict would be expected particularly and most frequently in college women rather than in their male counterparts. This is expected because especially during college years, women are subjected to strongly conflicting and incompatible pressures both to maintain a traditional feminine role and to develop achieved roles (Bardwick, 1971, Horner, 1970; McKee & Sherriffs, 1959; Sanford, 1956). Secondly, the evidence reviewed here has indicated that many stereotypically feminine traits are considered equally socially desirable for men and women, whereas most stereotypically masculine traits are not considered socially desirable for women. This suggests that conflict over opposite sex traits would not occur as often, or might not be as severe in men as it would be in women.

The relative aspect of this hypothesis requires clarification. Congruence between the subtle and stereotypic aspects of sex-role identification refers both to those women who report clearly masculine or clearly feminine identities. Thus, congruence may reflect an

identification with, or acceptance of, the stereotypic role of either sex. However, given the unfavorable evaluation of many stereotypically feminine characteristics, a congruently feminine identification should indicate relatively high self-esteem only in comparison to incongruent sex-role identity, rather than in any absolute sense.

To summarize, analysis of the differential status accorded men and women, the less favorable evaluation of the female stereotype and the relatively negative self-concepts observed among college women, and the relationship of female sex-role attributes to low self-esteem resulted in the hypothesis that a direct relationship will exist between a subtle measure of sex-role identity and self-esteem in college women, with the masculine pole predicting high self-esteem and the feminine pole predicting low self-esteem.

Secondly, the role conflict observed in women, particularly during the college years, and the relationship between the assumption of roles and low self-esteem, has suggested a second hypothesis, that is college women who indicate a conflict in their sex-role identity in terms of discrepancies between the subtle and stereotype aspects of their identity, will have lower self-esteem than those who do not indicate this conflict.

College men will also be included in the analysis of these hypotheses for purposes of comparison.

Method

Subjects. There were two groups of Ss. The "experimental" group of Ss consisted of 72 female and 66 male undergraduate students enrolled in first level liberal arts courses at Simon Fraser Univer-

sity. The "special instruction" group consisted of 105 Ss, approximately equally divided by sex, who were drawn from the same population.

Development of the Subtle and Stereotype Scales. Since Nichols' scales were developed as an exploratory instrument, with significant but low validity, and low reliability particularly for the Subtle Scale, the entire instrument was readministered following Nichols' original procedure (cf. Nichols, 1962). The 149 items in the M-F measure were randomly ordered and presented in a true-false format. Half of the Ss in the "special instruction" group, approximately equally divided by sex, were asked to respond to all questions as they believed most females would, and the other half were asked to respond as they believed most males would. The experimental subjects were asked to respond to each item with the answer that seemed most appropriate for them, individually.

Phi and chi-square coefficients (corrected for continuity) for each item were calculated 1) between the sexes in their imitations of both sexes 2) between the combined imitations of both sexes, and 3) between the sexes in the experimental group. These coefficients indicated the amount of agreement or the lack of agreement between the sexes both in terms of items believed to distinguish the sexes, and items which actually distinguished the sexes. Following Nichols' procedure, the phi-coefficients were plotted on a graph, with those representing real sex differences plotted along the horizontal axis, and imitated sex differences along the vertical axis. As can be seen in Figure 1, items which fell along the vertical axis, some distance from the origin, were included in the Stereotype scale. Items which

fell along the horizontal axis, some distance from the origin, were generally included in the Subtle scale. In this study, the limits of the Subtle area were determined so as to include all items whose chi-square coefficients for real sex differences, were significant at $p = .05$ or better. However, of the 15 items which fell in this area, two were found to have significant differences ($p \leq .05$) in the analysis of the female Ss' imitations of the two sexes. These items were therefore eliminated, leaving 13 items in the Subtle scale. The limits of the Stereotype measure were similarly determined so as to include all "imitated" items whose chi-square coefficients were significant at $p \leq .05$. There were no significant sex differences in imitations on these items; therefore, all 17 items which fell in the Stereotype area were retained.

Among all 149 items, a significant ($p = .05$) sex difference was obtained in five items of the imitated male responses, and in four items of the imitated female responses.

Comparing the items in these scales to those obtained by Nichols, only five items in the present Subtle scale were in Nichols' Subtle scale. Eight of the items, as well as the two which were eliminated, were originally in Nichols' Stereotype scale. The direction of the female response changed from "true" in Nichols' study to "false" in the present study, on only one item which was in the Subtle scale, "I would rather work with men than women". All other items retained the same direction regardless of crossover from scales in Nichols' study to the scales in the present study.

The original Stereotype items obtained by Nichols, which became Subtle items in the present scale, relate to hurt feelings, worry and anxiety, self-consciousness, tiredness, difficulty in continuing work without encouragement, etc. Nichols' original Subtle items, which were retained, relate to not wanting to be important in the community, ingratiating behavior, and dread in having one's picture taken. (See Appendix A for the specific items.) The present Subtle scale contains 13 items in contrast to the 30 obtained by Nichols.

Eleven items in the present Stereotype scale were originally in Nichols' Stereotype scale; six of the present Stereotype items were originally in his Obvious scale. Nichols' Obvious items which are now Stereotype items, refer to occupational preference, liking love scenes in the movies and "Alice in Wonderland", and wishing to be more attractive. The original Stereotype items which were retained refer to losing oneself in fantasy, interest in creative writing, and social affairs, not being turned to for decision making, not finding school a difficult place to get along in, lack of punishment in childhood, fainting, belief in a devil and Hell, not working things out for oneself, but asking for help, and understanding and sympathizing with others. (See Appendix B for the specific items.) The present Stereotype scale contains 17 items in contrast to the 61 obtained by Nichols.

Self-esteem measure. The Janis and Field Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire, consisting of 23 items, each with five graded answer categories, was used as the measure of self-esteem (Janis and Field, 1959). Originally designed to measure anxiety in social situations, self-consciousness, and feelings of worthlessness (Janis & Field, 1959), this measure has commonly been used as a measure of self-

esteem or self-confidence in experimental investigations, particularly in the area of persuasibility. This questionnaire was chosen to facilitate comparison with this literature.

Background information questionnaire. To aid in interpreting the data, a background information questionnaire was administered. Items include age, marital status, sibling position in family, sex of siblings, overt sexual identification, and optional comments about the major conflicts Ss see in their lives.

Procedure. The experimental Ss were requested to fill out the entire 149-item M-F measure, and the Janis and Field Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire, in one session, with half the Ss doing this in reverse order. Following this, they were also requested to reply to the background information questionnaire. Complete confidentiality was assured, and Ss were requested to leave their forms blank rather than to reply with misleading information.

The experimental Ss who were also members of the "special instruction" group filled out the M-F measure twice, according to the instructions for the experimental and "special instruction" groups. They did this in one or two sessions, depending on the time available, with approximately half the Ss following the two sets of instructions in reverse order.

Scoring. Ss were assigned scores on the appropriate items in the Subtle and Stereotype scales on the basis of their lack of conformity to the response indicated for their sex. That is, if a S checked a response which was more typical of the opposite sex, that S received a score of one unit. Total scores for each scale consisted of the addition of one unit for each nonconforming response. Answers which conformed to the response typical of the S's sex-group, did

not receive a score. This method of scoring was chosen to ease the task of hand-scoring cumbersomely large numbers. Therefore, high scores on the Subtle scale reflect masculinity, and low scores, femininity, for females. Conversely, the equivalent scores represent femininity and masculinity respectively for males. Similarly, high scores on the Stereotype scale represent stereotypic masculinity for females, and stereotypic femininity for males. Low scores represent responses considered stereotypic for one's own sex.

The Janis and Field Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire was scored by summation of the graded answers to each question. High scores represent high self-esteem, and low scores, low self-esteem.

Results

First Hypothesis. All Ss of both sexes scored at least one response typical of the opposite sex on the Subtle scale, with one exception: one female S left five Subtle responses blank, and was therefore eliminated from the sample. All other females completed all Subtle items and were retained for the analysis. In the male sample, two Ss omitted three or four Subtle items, and were similarly eliminated from the sample. Four male Ss omitted one Subtle item; these Ss were retained since their scores, not less than five units, and ranging up to nine units, were not very affected by the omissions. All other males completed all Subtle items and were retained for the analysis.

The first hypothesis, that a subtle masculine sex-role identity will be directly correlated with high self-esteem, was supported. This relationship was found in both sexes. A Subtle masculine sex-role identity was strongly correlated with high self-esteem, or inversly,

a Subtle feminine sex-role identity was strongly correlated with low self-esteem in college women ($r = .6515$, $df = 69$, for a one-tailed test, $p = < .005$). The same, though less strong, relationship was also obtained for the male Ss. A Subtle feminine sex-role identity was negatively correlated with the Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire for males ($r = -.3384$, $df = 62$, for a two-tailed test, $p = < .01$). A two-tailed test was used here since no direction was hypothesized for results in the male data.

Since the range of the obtained scores on the Subtle scale was narrow (1-10 for females; 2-11 for males), Ss with average scores may not have been clearly distinguished by this scale. Approximately the upper and lower thirds of the scores on the Subtle scale, were also analyzed therefore. This procedure was followed to ensure similar proportions of Ss at both ends of the scale and in both the male and female data. The scores of these Ss were more strongly correlated with the Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire than were the total samples. For the "extreme"-scoring females, the correlation between the Subtle (masculine) scale and the Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire rose to $r = .7252$ ($df = 47$, for a one-tailed test, $p = < .005$). For the "extreme"-scoring males, the correlation between Subtle femininity and the Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire became $r = -.4666$ ($df = 31$, $p = < .01$ for a two-tailed test).

As can be seen in Table 1, the standard deviations of the Subtle (S.D. = 2.08) and Stereotype (S.D. = 2.115) scales were small, in the female data. Further, the Subtle and Stereotype scales were correlated ($r = .3316$, in a two-tailed test, $p = < .01$), as were the Stereotype

and Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire ($r = .2824$, in a two-tailed test, $p = .02$) among the females. The male data, in Table 2, similarly yielded small standard deviations in the Subtle (S.D. = 2.10) and Stereotype (S.D. = 2.32) scales. The Subtle and Stereotype scales were not at all correlated in the male data ($r = .0596$, $df = 62$, in a two-tailed test, $p = \infty$). Nor were the Stereotype scale and Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire correlated for males ($r = -.1224$, $df = 62$, $p = \infty$).

Second Hypothesis. Ss were considered to have congruent high Subtle and Stereotypic scores if the scores on the two scales were both approximately one S.D. either above or below the means for their sex. A discrepancy was defined by one of two possible criteria: a) Ss were approximately one S.D. away from the mean of their sex, but in opposite directions on the two scales or b) Ss scored above the mean of their sex on one scale, but more than two S.D.'s away from the mean, in the opposite direction, on the other scale. All but two (male) Ss analyzed in this part of the study met the first criterion.

Three female and two male Ss omitted one or two Stereotype items but since their obtained scores nevertheless placed them in the high-scoring category, they were retained for this analysis. One female and two male Ss in the low-scoring category omitted one, two or three Stereotype items. These Ss were eliminated from this analysis, the rationale being that the position of each of these Ss in the low-scoring category may not have been legitimate. There were no omissions of Subtle items in any category in either sex. All other Ss who met the criteria were retained.

A two-way analysis of variance, employing two levels (high and low) of both M-F scales was computed for each sex (by computer, ANOVA for

unequal cell sizes, Winer, 1962). The mean self-esteem scores and cell frequencies for each category of congruent or discrepant M-F scores, for both sexes can be seen in Tables 3 and 4. The second hypothesis, that Ss who manifest a conflict in their sex-role identity will have lower self-esteem than Ss who do not manifest conflict, was not supported for either sex. Congruency between the Subtle and Stereotype scales did not predict greater self-esteem than discrepancies between these components in college women ($F = .30$, $df = 1,28$, $p = .59$). For females, the Subtle scale exhibited a main effect on the self-esteem scores ($F = 35.9$, $df = 1,28$, $p = .001$), as did the Stereotype scale ($F = 5.61$, $df = 1,28$, $p = .05$). However, for the men, a tendency, not reaching conventional significance levels, was obtained for congruency between the Subtle and Stereotype scales to predict greater self-esteem than discrepancies ($F = 3.24$, $df = 1,32$, $p = .07$). For males, no effects were significant at conventional significance levels. There were tendencies for the Subtle scale ($F = 3.29$, $df = 1,32$, $p = .07$) and the interaction between the Subtle and Stereotype scales ($F = 3.24$, $df = 1,32$, $p = .07$) to predict self-esteem scores. There was no effect of the Stereotype scale alone on self-esteem scores ($F = 1.00$, $df = 1,32$, $p = .32$) in the male data.

Women who were either clearly masculine or clearly feminine in both Subtle and Stereotype components of their identities did not have higher self-esteem scores than women who manifested a conflict between these components. Rather, women who were masculine in both their Subtle and Stereotype components had higher self-esteem scores than women who were feminine in both components. And women who

were masculine in only one component, particularly the Subtle one, that is, the women who manifested conflict, had lower self-esteem scores than the clearly "masculine" women, but higher self-esteem scores than the clearly "feminine" women. In contrast, although the result was not significant ($p = .07$), there was a tendency in the male data to support the second hypothesis.

In addition, fewer women in the present study manifested a conflict than did the men; only 13 women (18% of the female sample) manifested a conflict. Only a quarter of the female Ss who had high (masculine) Subtle scores also had low (feminine) Stereotype scores; and one-third of the female Ss who had low (feminine) Subtle scores also had high (masculine) Stereotype scores. In contrast, 19 men, or 29% of the male sample, manifested a conflict. Half of the male Ss who scored either high (feminine) or low (masculine) Subtle scale units also obtained scores in the opposite direction on the Stereotype scale.

Overall, there was no difference between the sexes in self-esteem scores ($t = 1.02$, $df = 120$, $p = .20$; $X = 69.9$, S.D. $= 13.42$ for females; $X = 74.8$, S.D. $= 10.29$ for males).

One pattern arose in the background information questionnaire in response to the question concerning sexual identity. All female Ss identified themselves as being only heterosexual, and they also all responded to this questionnaire. Among the male Ss, however, two identified themselves as homosexual or primarily homosexual, and four identified themselves as primarily, rather than only, heterosexual. An additional six male Ss gave various other responses, ranging from replying "good question" to leaving this item only of

the entire questionnaire blank. Of these Ss, five met the criteria for inclusion in the data which were analyzed for interaction of Subtle and Stereotype scores. Three of these Ss (who responded "only homosexual", "primarily heterosexual" and "don't understand" to this question) obtained congruently feminine scores. Two of these Ss(one responding "primarily homosexual" and the other being one of the two Ss who left only this item blank) obtained feminine subtle and masculine stereotype scores. Seven of the 12 males (including two in the analysis of variance) obtained scores in the upper and lower quartiles of the self-esteem measure. Seven of these males also obtained scores among the highest Subtle feminine self-reports. The remaining five Ss all scored average or relatively low Subtle (masculine) scores, with no consistent pattern on the self-esteem measure. This pattern suggested that both the Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire and the Subtle and Stereotype scales discriminated males who have discrepant or congruently feminine identities.

Discussion

Self-esteem was found to vary directly with a Subtle measure of sex-role identity, with the masculine pole predicting high self-esteem the feminine pole predicting low self-esteem. This Subtle M-F measure accounted for 43% of the variance, or for females scoring in the upper or lower thirds of the Subtle scale, 53% of the variance in the self-esteem measure. The same relationship, though not as strong, was also found in college men: masculinity was directly related, or femininity, inversely related, to the self-esteem measure. The

variance in the self-esteem measure accounted for by all men was 11%, and by men in the upper and lower thirds of the subtle measure, 22%.

As suggested, a masculine subtle sex-role identity per se was the crucial predictor of self-esteem for women. However, neither congruence nor discrepancy between the Subtle and Stereotype scales predicted even relative self-esteem in women, contrary to the second hypothesis. Only when the congruence reflected a clearly masculine identity did it indicate high self-esteem in women; this was due to the separate effects of masculine Subtle and Stereotypic components. When the congruence reflected a clearly feminine identity, it indicated even lower self-esteem than did incongruence. This result is consistent with the lack of favorability or social desirability often associated with feminine stereotype characteristics.

Whereas previous studies (Broverman et al., 1972; McKee & Sherriffs, 1957,1959; Sherriffs & McKee, 1957; Rosenkrantz et al, 1968) found significant differences in evaluating the favorability or desirability of stereotypic attributes, and overall sex differences in the evaluation of self-concepts, this study indicates that 1) a Subtle M-F dimension discriminates subjects on the basis of self-evaluation (self-esteem) more effectively than does the Stereotype M-F dimension, and 2) a Subtle M-F dimension effectively predicts self-esteem on the basis of a masculine sex-role identity even when there are no overall differences in self-esteem between the sexes. It would appear that subtle sex-differences reflect the evaluative nature of stereotypic sex differences. This is also indicated in the nature of the items in the Subtle scale which refer to worry, anxiety, confidence, etc. It would also appear

that subjects do not have to be aware of the (Subtle) M-F dimension to be effectively distinguished by characteristics along that dimension in terms of self-esteem. This suggests that the socialization of sex-differences, particularly in terms of their evaluative nature, is more subtle than the study of norms or stereotypes indicates.

The fact that subjects are generally reported in these studies not to see themselves as sex-typed as they do the average woman or man also tends to support the use of a subtle measure as an accurate measure of M-F. That is, a subtle measure presumably reflects the socializing of sex-roles without the contamination of the awareness of roles to bias responses. Other evidence in the present study supports this interpretation. For males, the stereotype scale was not correlated with self-esteem, whereas for females, it was. The previous studies have indicated that males could incorporate characteristics of both male and female stereotypes, retain a desirable evaluation of these characteristics, and maintain generally positive self-concepts. This is in agreement with the present lack of relationship between stereotypic items and self-esteem for men; that is, for men, stereotypic attributes of either sex did not affect self-esteem. For the women in this study, however, the Stereotype scale was correlated with self-esteem, with stereotypic masculine characteristics indicating higher self-esteem. The previous studies have indicated that stereotypic masculine characteristics are not considered socially desirable for women. The present data suggests that these college women may consider it appropriate to report stereotypically masculine characteristics, or at least, those who do report these characteristics, tend to have relatively higher self-esteem. The fact that the Stereo-

type scale did not predict self-esteem as effectively for women as did the Subtle scale, however, does indicate some agreement with the previous studies. That is, this literature has indicated that stereotypic feminine traits accounted for the relatively negative self-evaluation of women, and the same relationship is found in the present study. Secondly, this literature has indicated that stereotypically masculine traits are generally not considered socially desirable for women; and this observation may account for the lesser predictive power of the Stereotype scale, relative to the Subtle scale, in accounting for self-esteem in women. That is, role-appropriate responding, with an awareness of the lack of social desirability for these traits in women, may have limited the self-reports, if not the behavioral display, of stereotypically male characteristics in women.

One of the sources of the second hypothesis, that conflict in sex-role identity would predict low self-esteem relative to lack of conflict, was the suggestion that conflict between subtle or unconscious sex-role identity and stereotypic identity indicates defensiveness. If low self-esteem is indicative of defensiveness, the present data do not support this relationship in women. The possibility exists, of course, that defensiveness did exist and affected the self-esteem scores as well. However, since the main effects of the Subtle and Stereotype scales did predict self-esteem scores, and the scales did not interact, this indicates that it was the independent strength of the two scales, rather than an interactive defensiveness over conflict between them, which predicted the self-esteem scores in women.

Although the Subtle and Stereotype scales were significantly

correlated in the female data, this relationship accounted for only 10% of the variance common to the scales. This contrasted with the relatively strongnegative correlation ($r = -.44$) obtained by Nichols between the original Subtle and Stereotype scales. The present data therefore indicate that the Subtle and Stereotype scales probably are tapping sufficiently different areas of the M-F dimension in women to reflect a possible conflict between them in individuals; but the women in this study did not reflect the average degree of conflict reported for females in other studies. Nor did many individual women (18% of the female Ss) manifest a serious conflict between these dimensions (cf. Bardwick, 1971; Nichols, 1962; Webster, 1956). The women in the present study did not have significantly lower self-esteem than the men, contrary to the general trends reported in the literature (Bardwick, 1971; Carpenter & Busse, 1969; Eagly, 1969b; Holter, 1970; Wylie, 1961). It may be that, although stereotypes have remained traditional, the actual behavior of women (sex-role conflict, self-esteem) is slowly changing in this time of sex-role awareness.

The Subtle and Stereotype scales were not at all correlated for the men in this sample, indicating clearly that the two scales were reflecting different aspects of the M-F dimension in men. As in the female data, this result also contrasted with Nichols' strong negative correlation ($r = -.49$) between these two scales in his male sample (Nichols, 1962). Clarification of this inconsistency is offered by the tendency, not quite reaching conventional significance levels ($p = .07$) for a relationship between congruence of the Subtle and Stereotype scales and relatively high self-esteem, in comparison to the relationship between

discrepant scores and relatively low self-esteem. That is, the male data, while not giving significant support to the second hypothesis, did not contradict it as the female data did. The relationship between the two scales in the male data suggests that the acquisition of stereotypic characteristics does not tend to decrease self-esteem in men as it does in women. In men, having a congruent identity, at either end of the M-F dimension, tended to predict higher self-esteem than a discrepant identity, in sharp contrast to the results for women.

Nichols (1962) suggested that overt homosexuals would obtain positive correlations between feminine Subtle and feminine Stereotype scores. This was in line with the "defensiveness" hypothesis concerning the negative relationship between the two M-F components in his and other studies; in overt homosexuals, he suggested that defensiveness over a feminine sex-role would be lacking. The fact that seven, and possibly up to 12 (11 - 18%) of the males in the present sample were not clearly heterosexual may have affected the difference in correlations obtained between the scales in this and other studies (Nichols, 1962; Webster, 1956). Three of these males were in the congruently feminine category, and two were in the Subtle feminine/Stereotypic masculine ("compensatory masculinity") category. The only male who identified himself as being "only homosexual" obtained a congruently feminine score, and the highest score in the self-esteem measure; the only male who identified himself as being "primarily homosexual" obtained a discrepant feminine Subtle/masculine Stereotype score, and a self-esteem score which was half a standard deviation below the mean for males. However, in terms of the Subtle and Stereotype measures, the males who would be predicted to be defensive about their sex-role

identity, that is, those in the "compensatory masculinity" category, did not have significantly different self-esteem scores from the males in the feminine identity category. In terms of the males who were culled on the basis of the background information questionnaire, seven of the 12 obtained extreme self-esteem scores. Therefore, the M-F measures which presumably indicated conflict in sex-role identity did not clearly distinguish the congruently feminine males from the males who indicated conflict in one of the discrepant identity categories; but, the males who were culled on the basis of their self-reported sexual identity were discriminated in seven out of 12 cases on the self-esteem mesure. This suggests that if defensiveness about sex-role identity is related to self-esteem, it is not indicated by the M-F measure in this study, but may be indicated by the self-esteem measure itself.

The reported lack of clear heterosexuality in the male Ss may not be very unusual for males in this age group. It is impossible to ascertain, of course, whether any of the female Ss were not clearly heterosexual, but reported themselves as being so. The effect of the sex of the E is also unknown in this study.

Comparing the pattern of the male and female Ss, it is seen that role conflict tends to operate as generally predicted only for males. This tendency is consistent with the generally greater predictability for college men within the confines of traditional psychological theory (McGuire, 1961). Additional differences in the patterns for the two sexes, as seen in Tables 3 and 4, are suggestive. Feminine congruency in males was related to approximately the average male self-esteem level; only two of these 12 Ss grossly deviated below the mean. In contrast, the women who manifested a congruent feminine identity,

averaged more than one standard deviation below the mean self-esteem level for women, with not one woman scoring above the mean. The only similar tendency for both sexes was the relationship between a congruently masculine identity, or a Subtle masculine identity, and high self-esteem.

These data suggest that men may share characteristics of either sex, or report characteristics of only one sex or the other, without significant loss in self-esteem, particularly if those characteristics are stereotypic rather than subtle. This is consistent with the evidence indicating men's sharing of the socially desirable, stereotypically fiminine characteristics, and the greater social desirability assigned to these characteristics when they are indicated in men (Broverman et al., 1972; Rosenkrantz et al., 1968). The tendency for relatively high self-esteem in men with either a congruently masculine or feminine identity (in contrast to a discrepant identity) suggests that the male sex-role can be quite broad, permitting divergence from masculine stereotypes. It is observed, too, that although subtle sex-role identity does predict a notable part of the variance in the self-esteem scores of the males, particularly those with the relatively extreme subtle scores, sex-role identity alone does not predict the major variance in the self-esteem scores of the men.

The female data, however, suggest that it is only those women who display or report masculine characteristics, particularly if they are subtle, who have high self-esteem. The data do not support Bardwick's (1971) analysis of the equally high self-esteem of women who are motivated only within the feminine model. In terms of stereotypic sex-role, the present study indicates that, whether or not

divergence from the female stereotype is socially desirable for women, women who report stereotypically feminine attributes, particularly if they are also subtly feminine, have low self-esteem; and women who do report a departure from the feminine stereotype, particularly if they are also subtly masculine, have high self-esteem. Also, in contrast to the male data, it is observed for women that (subtle) sex-role identity does account for a great part of the variance in the self-esteem scores, especially for women with relatively extreme scores in the Subtle scale.

That the Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire did not yield overall sex-differences indicates that it was an appropriate instrument to use in this study; that is, it was not apparently measuring indicants of self-esteem peculiar to only one sex or the other. However, the large amount of variance which was common to it and the Subtle M-F measure, especially given the narrow range of the latter, suggests that this self-esteem questionnaire may, in fact, be measuring sex-role identity, or some very large component of it. Though the correlation was less strong for the male Ss, in general, this instrument was relatively effective in distinguishing males who were only heterosexual from other males. Five men who were not clearly heterosexual obtained low scores, while two of these Ss obtained very high scores. This split may reflect a better estimate of low self-esteem related to internally conflicting or modally deviant sex-role behavior than that given by the Subtle and Stereotype scales; and, for the high scoring males in this category, the Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire may or may not reflect defensiveness and socially desirable rather than

veridical self-reporting. The latter possibility, of course, is indicative of low rather than high self-esteem (Wylie, 1961). Without converging measures of self-esteem, these particular possibilities can not be clarified here. The fact that this instrument does discriminate both men and women on the basis of their sex-role identities, however, is clear from the present data. Further indication of the possible relationship of this instrument to measures of sex-role identity is that the items in it are explicitly socially- or personally- oriented; and the social-personal orientation is apparently related to sex-role identity (Carlson, 1968).

A comparison of the questions in this self-esteem measure and those which were found to be either Subtle or Stereotype scale items is additionally revealing. (See Appendix C for the specific items in the Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire.) Several of the Subtle items refer specifically to hurt feelings, worry and anxiety in various situations, and self-consciousness. Other Subtle and Stereotype items, such as wishing to be more attractive, needing encouragement and depending on others for help, also reflect a sense of inadequacy, at face value. The Janis and Field Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire was designed specifically to measure such feelings. This instrument also has been compared favorably with other measures of self-esteem, such as the projective techniques (Byrne, 1966).

It appears therefore, that the Janis and Field Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire may be measuring not only self-esteem, but to a certain extent, sex-role identity as well.

Implications of Results

Most of the studies of persuasibility have used the Janis and Field Questionnaire, or a variant of it, as the measure of self-esteem (Cox & Bauer, 1964; Eagly, 1967, 1969b; Gergen & Bauer, 1967; Gollob & Dittes, 1965; Janis & Field, 1959; Nisbett & Gordon, 1967; Silverman, 1964; Silverman, Ford & Morganti, 1966; Skolnick, 1969). It has been noted that in the mid-'60's a change in the specificity of the predictions of persuasibility from self-esteem was observed, and persuasibility began to be predicted in women as well as men on the basis of self-esteem. The strength of the sex-specific norm of yielding to influence also appeared to decrease at this time (Eagly, 1969b).

The more recent studies generally have confined their samples to only one sex, preventing comparison of sex differences in persuasibility. It is also difficult to compare the studies of the past decade with the earlier studies on the basis of self-esteem, since the Janis & Field Questionnaire used in the former was developed only in 1959. It may be that self-esteem, as measured by this instrument, began to be predictive of persuasibility in women because this instrument differed sufficiently from previous ones; or it may be that self-esteem was originally a poor predictor of persuasibility in women, since all women, regardless of their sex-role identity, were subject to the norm of yielding, as Eagly suggested in her study. However, an alternative suggested by the present results is that self-esteem began to be predictive in women because of the nature of the Janis and Field Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire. This instrument may have been measuring sex-role identity, or some large component of it, along the Subtle

M-F dimension, and predicted persuasibility on that basis, in both sexes.

Eagly's (1969b) study of persuasibility attempted to analyze the relationship of sex-role identity to self-esteem. She found that sex-role identity predicted influencibility in females but not in males, whereas self-esteem predicted influencibility only in males. She concluded that, though yielding to influence may no longer be as strong a norm for females as was indicated in the earlier studies, the females who were persuaded in this sample, did so because of their feminine sex-role identification; persuasibility was predicted for males on the basis of self-esteem rather than sex-role identification presumably because no norms affected this behavior in males. Eagly's measure of sex-role identity was a modified version of the Gough Fe Scale, and her measure of self-esteem was a modified version of the Janis and Field Questionnaire. For females only, self-esteem was negatively related to the Gough scale ($r = -.23$). Aside from the fact that the Gough scale apparently measures only Obvious and Stereotypic sex-role identity, but not Subtle identity (Nichols, 1962), it actually accounted for only 3% of the variance in the female persuasibility scores. For males, the Gough scale apparently measures only Obvious sex-role identity (Nichols, 1962). These factors make it difficult to interpret the implication of Eagly's results; additionally, Eagly's subjects were adolescents, rather than college students. That Eagly's self-esteem instrument was revised also prohibits specific comparison with the results of the present study. Her data suggest

only that her measure of sex-role identity was not subtle; and that her measure of self-esteem did not reflect a subtle identity in the female subjects.

Another area of experimental investigation to which the results of this study may be pertinent is that of the need-for-approval studies. While indicating that overall need-for-approval is related to low self-esteem, conformity, passivity, etc., these studies have neglected the possibility of sex-role identity as an important predictive factor, generally avoiding the study of women specifically, because of the lack of consistency obtained (McGuire, 1968). Sex differences are not generally believed to exist in the relationship of low self-esteem to need-for-approval. However, as indicated in the present study, sex differences alone are not necessarily obtained at the same time that (subtle) femininity predicts low self-esteem in both sexes. Further, these studies often do not distinguish need-for-social-approval from need-for-self-approval (cf. Crowne & Marlow, 1964) which have been shown to be related to (obvious) feminine and masculine sex-role identity respectively (Becker, 1968). It is suggested that the results obtained for women (and men) may be clarified by analyzing need-for-approval in relation to subtle sex-role identity.

It is further suggested that if one of the most important and most studied variables in self- and personality theories, that is, self-esteem, has not previously been clearly related to sex-role identity -- when the relationship, measured by an appropriate M-F instrument is as strong as it appears to be in this study -- other variables may be similarly related to sex-role identity. Further

analysis of the subtle M-F dimension, in varying age and geographic samples, would be appropriate for this purpose. The particular variables which are likely to be related to subtle sex-role identity are those which are known to be related to self-esteem or to sex-role characteristics such as dependency, aggressiveness, achievement or independence.

These variables -- persuasibility, need-for-social-approval, dependency, lack of aggressiveness, achievement and independence, form a meaningful pattern of consistent, mutually supportive sex-role attributes. They are reflected in the observations in this culture of the social or external orientation of women (Carlson, 1968; Rosen, 1956; Witkin, 1954), the importance of marriage rather than personal careers or achievement, and the dependence on significant others (often the husband) for the determination of their life-styles (Angrist, 1969; Elder, 1968). In the context of this sex-role pattern, the relationship of femininity to low self-esteem moreover suggests that this culture mediates against "self-actualization" or even for "neurosis" in women, and to a certain extent, also in men. That is, the sanctions against the display of characteristics of temperament such as aggressiveness or emotional warmth, etc. thwart self-expression in both sexes; and, particularly in women, the acceptance or encouragement of dependence on others, even perhaps for the maintainence of self-esteem (Bardwick, 1971), and the nonsupport or obstruction to status-related achievement, competency or independence in an achieved-role oriented culture, theoretically generate neurosis rather than self-actualization (cf. Butler & Rice, 1963; Maslow, 1971; White, 1960). The damaging effects of sex-role sociali-

zation illustrated in the present study particularly by the low self-esteem of "feminine" college-women are also congruent, of course, with the unhealthy concept of mental health of women as defined, and possibly promoted, by clinicians (Broverman et al., 1970; 1972). Such a negative assesment of the effects of sex-role socialization in this culture indicates that changes in the attitudes of individuals and in the institutions which maintain sex-role differentiation are necessary for greater expression of human potential.

In terms of general psychological theory, the present study indicates the importance of incorporating cultural-sociological variables in the analysis of individual behavior. Whereas it is observed that personality variables are often not as predictive in (college) women as they are in men (McGuire, 1968), when the norms which differentiate the sexes are taken into consideration, predictability is obtained for female subjects, and the interpretation of results is meaningful. This has been noted as well in the studies of persuasibility, and most clearly in Horner's (1968;1970) analysis of the fear of success motivation in women in the area of achievement. The particular importance of considering the norms and cultural context specific to women may reflect the greater sex-typing of women often reported. It may also be that the reason situational variables are often seen to be more predictive than personality variables (Weisstein, 1970) is because situations clarify the norms involved, whereas personality variables do not. It is possible that the cultural definition of sex-role identity, therein representing situational variables, may yield greater predictability than other personality variables; or that consideration of sex-

role identity may clarify the interpretation of prediction from personality variables.

Finally, general role theory is found to be inadequate in explaining the results obtained in the present study. It is generally accepted that within-role conflict, when severe enough, leads to stress and anxiety (Brown, 1965). Presumably adjustment, or self-esteem, is also affected. However, the present study indicates that when conflict is analyzed specifically in terms of sex-roles, different tendencies are observed for the two sexes. The gender and the sex-role identification of the individual were more crucial than conflict alone in the prediction of self-esteem for the two sexes; and the contradiction with general role theory was clearly indicated only in the female data. It is suggested that the male orientation in this culture is reflected in the male orientation of general role theory; consideration of the differential sex-role norms is necessary to clarify application of this theory to both sexes in this culture.

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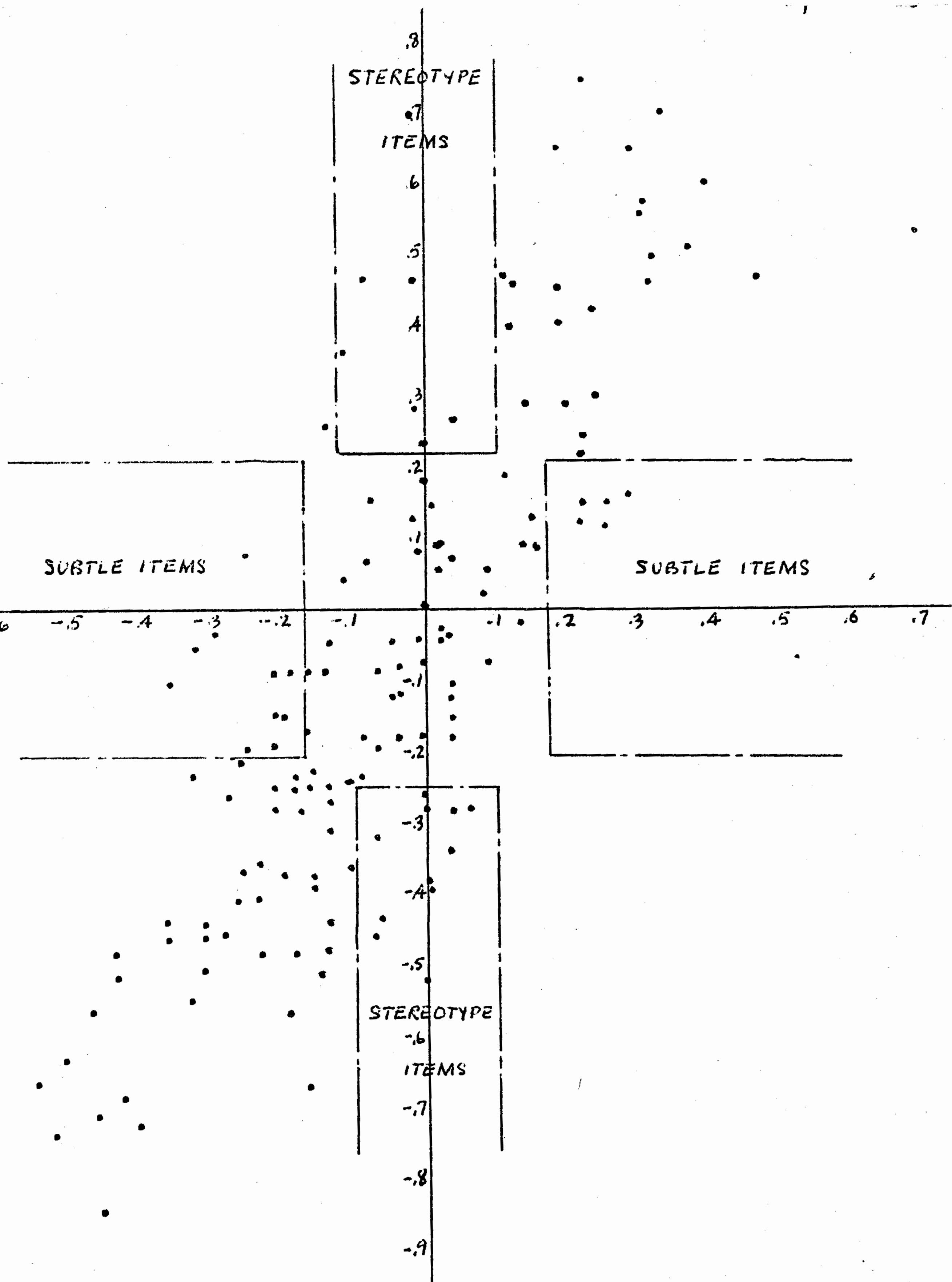

Figure 1. Scatterplot of the 149 real and imitated sex difference phi coefficients.

	$\overline{X}$	S. D.
Subtle Scale	4.49	2.08
Stereotype Scale	8.89	2.15
Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire	69.9	13.42

	Correlations
Subtle & Stereotype Scales	.3316
Subtle Scale & Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire	.6513
Stereotype Scale & Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire	.2824

Table 1. Means, standard deviations and correlations between the Subtle and Stereotype Scales and the Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire for all female <u>S</u>s.

	$\bar{X}$	S. D.
Subtle Scale	5.39	2.10
Stereotype Scale	8.01	2.32
Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire	74.81	10.29

	Correlations
Subtle & Stereotype Scales	.0596
Subtle Scale & Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire	-.3384
Stereotype Scale & Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire	-.1224

Table 2. Means, standard deviations and correlations between the Subtle and Stereotype Scales and the Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire for all male <u>S</u>s.

		Stereotype Scale	
		High	Low
Subtle Scale	High	(10) 86.3	(4) 79.7
	Low	(9) 66.5	(9) 56.0

Table 3. Frequency and mean self-esteem scores for each cell in analysis of variance of Subtle and Stereotype scores in 32 female Ss. (Cell n's appear in parentheses). High scores on both scales are masculine and low scores are feminine.

		Stereotype Scale	
		High	Low
Subtle Scale	High	(12) 73.1	(10) 70.1
	Low	(9) 73.2	(5) 84.0

Table 4. Frequency and mean self-esteem scores for each cell in analysis of variance of Subtle and Stereotype scores in 36 male Ss. (Cell n's appear in parentheses). High scores on both scales are feminine and low scores are masculine.

Appendix A

Subtle Scale items: the response for females, whether true (T) or false (F) is indicated in parentheses following each item. The original scale in Nichols' data from which each item is derived is also indicated.

1. My feelings are often very badly hurt. (T) Stereotype
2. Written examinations make me very anxious. (T) Stereotype
3. I feel tired a good deal of the time. (T) Stereotype
4. I can face a difficult task without worry. (F) Stereotype
5. I can usually find a ready answer for remarks made to me. (F) Stereotype
6. I frequently find myself worrying about something. (T) Stereotype
7. I want to be an important person in the community. (F) Subtle
8. When I take a new job, I like to be tipped off on who should be gotten next to. (F) Subtle
9. I find it hard to continue work when I do not get enough encouragement. (T) Stereotype
10. I dread to have my picture taken. (T) Subtle
11. Most people make friends because friends are likely to be useful to them. (F) Subtle
12. I would rather work with men than women. (T) Subtle
13. I often feel self-conscious. (T) Stereotype

Appendix B

<u>Stereotype Scale Items</u>: the response for females, whether true (T) or false (F) is indicated in parentheses following each item. The original scale in Nichols' data from which each item is derived is also indicated.

1. I believe in a life hereafter. (T) Stereotype
2. I sometimes imagine stories to myself so that I forget where I am. (T) Stereotype
3. I would rather work outdoors than indoors. (F) Obvious
4. I like movie love scenes. (T) Obvious
5. I have often fainted away. (T) Stereotype
6. I liked "Alice in Wonderland" by Lewis Carroll. (T) Obvious
7. I would rather be an explorer than a foreign correspondent. (T) Obvious
8. I believe there is a devil and Hell in afterlife. (T) Stereotype
9. I was hardly ever spanked or whipped as a child. (T) Stereotype
10. People seem naturally to turn to me when decisions have to be made. (F) Stereotype
11. I wish I were more attractive. (T) Obvious
12. I like using my leisure time in creative writing (poetry, stories, etc.). (T) Stereotype
13. I have found school a difficult place to get along in. (F) Stereotype
14. I think social affairs are often a waste of time. (F) Stereotype
15. I prefer to work a thing out for myself rather than ask for help. (F) Stereotype
16. I would like to be a singer. (T) Obvious
17. I have a certain talent for understanding the other person and for

sympathizing with his problems. (T) Stereotype

Appendix C

The Janis and Field Feelings of Inadequacy Questionnaire. Each item in this questionnaire was answered with one of the following five alternatives:

(1) very often (or very)

(2) fairly often (or fairly)

(3) sometimes (or slightly)

(4) once in a great while (or not very)

(5) paractically never (or not at all)

1. How often do you feel inferior to most of the people you know?
2. Do you ever think that you are a worthless individual?
3. How confident do you feel that some day the people you know will look up to you and respect you?
4. How often do you feel to blame for your mistakes?
5. Do you ever feel so discouraged with yourself that you wonder whether anything is worthwhile?
6. How often do you dislike yourself?
7. In general, how confident do you feel about your abilities?
8. How often do you have the feeling that there is nothing you can do well?
9. How much do you worry about criticisms that might be made of your work by whoever is responsible for checking up on your work?
10. How much do you worry about how well you get along with other people?
11. Do you ever feel afraid or anxious when you are going into a room by yourself where other people have already gathered and are talking?
12. How often do you feel self-conscious?

13. When you have to talk in front of a class or a group of people your own age how afraid or worried do you usually feel?
14. When you are trying to win in a game or sport and you know that other people are watching you, how rattled or flustered do you usually get?
15. How much do you worry about whether other people will regard you as a success or a failure in your job or career?
16. When in a group of people, do you have trouble thiking of the right things to talk about?
17. When you have made an embarrassing mistake or have done something that makes you look foolish, how long do you usually keep on worrying about it?
18. Do you find it hard to make talk when you meet new people?
19. How often do you worry about whether other people like to be with you?
20. How often are you troubled with shyness?
21. When you are trying to convince other people who disagree with your ideas, how worried do you usually feel about the impression you are making?
22. When you think about the possibility that some of your friends or acquaintances might <u>not</u> have a good opinion of you, how concerned or worried do you usually feel about it?
23. How often do you feel worried or bothered about what other people think of you?