Genes, Culture, & Gender

Culture Shock

• If you have ever been to a foreign country, you notice how different norms, customs, and habits can be
• Becoming “a stranger” allows you to notice how much your own culture has shaped the way you think, speak, feel, and act

Language Barrier

• When you are in a foreign land, you often resort to facial expressions and gestures to make yourself understood
• Thank goodness facial expressions are ______________
• This has led to the conclusion that there are ___ primary expressions
  (Your text has these so you need not write them down)

How do we know this?
People the world over were asked to guess the emotion in pictures like these
• In technological countries, it could be that accuracy is driven by learning (e.g., via media) how to express yourself
• So aboriginals in New Guinea were asked to both guess the emotions and to produce them; they matched up so well that emotional expression has been deemed __________

But not in public
There are cross-cultural differences in freedom to express emotion in public
• Westerners and Asians viewed slides of positive and negative stimuli (some of it quite disgusting)
• When alone, they produced the _________ faces
• But when E watched them, Asians kept smiling…even at worms…apparently out of _______________
• Westerners had no problem making faces at E

Genes = Flexibility

• Your text notes that the strongest impact genes have on our behavior is that they allow us to ________________________________
• Thus, homo sapiens can marry one partner or many
• Believe in one God or many
• Believe in love before marriage or after marriage
• Diets can range from cannibalism to veganism
• But these are superficial differences
• Psychologists are more interested in finding _________
• Cross-culturally, we share the tendency to “_________” our lives and our appetites
  • Rights of passage
  • Marriage: marks the transition to family life
  • ___________ taboo

• Living ____________
• Agreeing on social norms
• Assigning social roles based on status differences
• Categorizing people instantaneously on the basis of their ________, __________, and __________

  Gender

• We are hardwired to notice sex
• This may lead us to assume many sex differences
• But gender researchers find that men and women are more ________ than ______________
• The differences between individual men and women are ________ than the inter-group differences

  This makes sense

• After all, we come from the same species and share all but one chromosome
• Nonetheless, the idea of difference captures our imagination (*Men are From Mars, Women are From Venus*)
• Let’s see how that plays out – both in our lives and in research

  Bem’s Typology

• In the 1970’s, Sandra Bem argued that people were not necessarily “male or female”
• Instead, they could be masculine, feminine, a mix of both, or neither
  – A mix of both = _______________
  – Neither = ___________________
• In this way, people are psychologically gendered along a broader spectrum than M-F
1970’s research

- Not surprisingly, men and women __________fell into “sex-typed” quadrants
- She found relatively _________androgynous people
- But she measured androgyny by asking people to rate a pre-determined list of attributes

Bem’s Sex Role Inventory (BSRI)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confident</th>
<th>Compassionate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership ability</td>
<td>Likes Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletic</td>
<td>Agreeable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opinionated</td>
<td>Cheerful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decisive</td>
<td>Nurturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk-taking</td>
<td>Modest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive</td>
<td>Gullible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contemporary Research

- Given no other choice, men and women tended to gender stereotype themselves
- Better idea is to let people __________the attributes they identify with
- If you do this, men and women report having the same ________ traits
  – **Intelligent, confident, caring, kind**
- We are more likely to perceive ourselves in glowing, ________ terms than along M-F lines

Gender Stereotypes

- That doesn’t mean we have abandoned stereotypes!
- In fact, people still perceive sex differences, even when they don’t exist
- In particular, we stereotype men and women along these dimensions
  – Agentic vs. __________
  – ____________ vs. emotionally expressive
Sex differences in emotions?

- Women are believed to be more emotionally expressive than men
- They are expected to _________ more, and to show more sadness, fear, and guilt
- There is only one emotion that men are expected to show more – can you guess?
- _________

Are the stereotypes accurate?

- The evidence for stereotypic beliefs is strong, but their accuracy is less supported
- For example, Jussim used a phone survey method, asking people about both their stereotypes and their self-perceptions
- Although both men and women believed women to be more emotionally expressive, there were, in fact, ______________________________

The experiential sampling study

- Other researchers who collected self-descriptions of emotions in the lab found sex differences
- Women reported more __________, men reported more ________
- But they also asked people to rate their emotional reactions following social interactions over a period of weeks (using experiential sampling)
- For these ratings, ____________________ were found in sadness or anger (or guilt, shame, joy)

Implications

- When filling out self-report ratings of emotions, men and women may use _______________ expectancies
- But when they report “on-line” what they are really feeling, during real-life interactions, they respond ____________

Sex differences in Self-Promotion?

- My research shows that women who self-promote are less liked than men who do so
- But are there genuine sex differences in self-promotion?
- To find out, we sampled 400 resumes obtained from Rutgers Job Fair database (over 2,000 available)
  - 50 men and 50 women each from business, hard science, humanities, and social science majors
The resume study: method
• These are resumes that students can put into a data bank in order to attract potential employers
  – They list education, honors and awards, and past work experience
  – Also a “personal statement” about their goals and ambitions
• 5 objective judges coded the 400 resumes for instances of self-promotion
• They were blind to applicants’ sex and major

Self-promotion Measures
• Statements of worth and achievement
  – “I learned excellent leadership skills as a camp counselor”
  – “I am ready to meet the challenges of my career”
• Number of honors and awards listed
• Number of times the words “I, me, my, mine” were used
  – “When I was a R.A., I supervised others and learned to have confidence in my ideas and myself”

Objective Results
• We found _______ gender differences in the use of self-promotion
• No matter how we measured it, men and women _____________
• We did find that business and hard science majors were more self-promoting, compared with humanities and social science majors

“In a Different Voice”??
• In 1982, Gilligan’s book captured the public’s imagination with her book
• As Kohlberg’s student, she questioned his findings that women were “less moral” than men
• Kohlberg’s stages of moral reasoning included Stage 3 (morality based on preserving ____________) and Stage 4 (morality based on laws and social order)
• He argued that women “stopped at Stage 3” whereas men continued on, to Stage 4

Gilligan’s thesis
• Gilligan was (rightly) angry that Kohlberg validated his instrument on all male samples, and then proceeded to “diss” women with it
• She also argued for a broader conceptualization of morality, one that included a caring orientation as well as a justice orientation
- **Caring** = focus on maintaining relationships and empathy
- **Justice** = focus on fairness, equity, and retribution

**Example**

- A man whose wife is dying burglarizes a pharmacy in order to get drugs to help her (drugs he cannot afford to pay for).
- Is he right or wrong?
- Women tended to say he was morally ________
- Men to say he was morally ________ (the right answer, according to Kohlberg)

Gilligan’s assertion that men and women speak in “different moral voices” gave birth to “_________ feminism”

- Women were not only different from men, but _________
- *Ms.* magazine voted Gilligan “Woman of the Year” (1984)
- *Time* magazine (1996) included her among their “Time 25” – 25 people who “changed the way we think about the world”

**Gender differences in moral reasoning**

- 15 years later, Jaffee & Hyde (2000) conducted a meta-analysis of the research collected to date
- As with most topics, some studies support Gilligan’s argument, others do not
- The advantage of meta-analyses is that they yield an overall effect size, based on hundreds of studies – an index of the magnitude of the effect

- A large effect size is \( d = .80 \), moderate is \( d = .50 \), and small is \( d = .20 \)
- In this case, just how large are the sex differences in care orientation and justice orientation?
- The meta-analysis yielded a ______ effect size for women showing a stronger caring orientation than men (\( d = .____ \))
- And less than a small effect size for men showing more justice orientation than women (\( d = .____ \))
- Were these differences greater than what chance alone would predict? ___, sex differences in caring and justice orientations were __________
Implications

- The authors conclude that although different people may use different bases for moral reasoning, this is not due to their ______________
- They also point out that while Gilligan’s claims are undermined by their efforts, so are Kohlberg’s

Sex Differences in Partner Aggression

- Another meta-analysis (Archer, 2000) tackled a different conflict in the literature
- Family conflict researchers suggest that domestic violence is due to _______________
- ______________ researchers argue that, as a result of patriarchy, men are more likely than women to use physical force in relationships
- Certainly the stereotype is that men are more aggressive than women!

The Conflict Tactics Scale

- This common instrument asks people to report “what they did” to handle partner conflicts
  - Threw something at the other
  - Pushed, grabbed or shoved the other
  - Slapped the other
  - Kicked, bit, or hit the other with fists
  - Hit the other (or tried to) with something
  - Beat up the other
  - Threatened with a knife or a gun
  - Used a knife or a gun

Meta-analysis Results

- Women were slightly more likely than men to use one or more acts of physical aggression and to use such acts more often (d = .05)
- Men were slightly more likely to inflict an injury (d = .15)
- As these effect sizes are __________, we can consider them to be __________

Police Officers

- When you consider the stereotype, these meta-analysis results are pretty surprising
- The idea that women are less aggressive was seemingly supported by police data – the ________ female officers, the ________ complaints filed about police brutality
• Yet, no differences in actual injuries to perpetrators were found
• So what else can explain these data?

Summary
• So far, women are no more likely to be emotionally expressive or to show a caring (versus a justice) orientation
• And men are no more likely than women to use __________ in job resumes, and physical ______________ in relationships
• But people ______________ in these differences, and that colors the way they view the world
• Another sex difference concerns interest in sex

Evolution and Sex
• For the most part, this research is conducted by evolutionary psychologists – and the data fit their theory
• Evolutionary advantage means that those who pass on their genes most successfully win the “gene pool” contest
• Men and women differ in their mating strategies because they differ biologically, and therefore evolution has given them different pressures

How do they differ?

Less is More
• Women (who carry the brunt of pregnancy) are more invested in being discriminating about their partners
  – They want men who will stick around and provide resources for the family

More is More
• Men (who can’t know if they are the father) are more invested in “scattering their resources” to the four winds – as a means of impregnating more women
  – They are not only less discriminating, they are most interested in youthful (fertile) partners

Do men want more sex?
• Men report more sexual partners, and they report wanting more sexual partners
• But is this a good measure?
• Men and women are *socialized* so differently about sex that I don’t think so

The “sex with a stranger” study
• Here is an example of the research (Buss)
• Students on FL campus were approached by an experimenter wearing a lab coat and carrying a clipboard, with identification prominently displayed (“Sexual Clinician”)
• They were asked if they would be willing to have ___________________, in a near-by location

    **Results**
• How many men do you think said “YES”? _________
• How many women? _________

• Are you surprised?
• Buss argued that the data fit evolutionary arguments
• What else (besides evolution) might be figuring in women’s responses?

    -----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

    **Gender diff = power diff**
• As already noted, when gender differences are found, they might be due to power differences
• For example, women *are* more likely to smile than men are
• This is not always b/c they are happy – smiling in humans and primates alike is an ingratiation tactic for ____________individuals

    ____________ sensitivity
• Women are also more likely than men to be sensitive to “______________” in others (they can sense anger and stress better)
• But is this because women are more emotionally expressive themselves?
• Or is it because ____________ people HAVE TO attend to these cues, in order to predict what lies in store for them?
Genuine Sex Differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have more body fat</td>
<td>Have more muscle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are shorter</td>
<td>Are taller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better sense of ________</td>
<td>Weaker color vision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexually re-aroused quicker</td>
<td>Enter puberty __________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report more depression</td>
<td>More likely to commit suicide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower infant mortality rates</td>
<td>Die 5 years earlier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less likely to be alcoholic</td>
<td>Can wiggle their ears</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Genuine Sex Difference

- Men and women are socialized to behave differently – this process is so strong, it’s amazing we do not find more sex differences in behavior.
- Social ________ theory (Eagly, 1987) provides a social explanation for the sex differences in behavior that we do find.

Your text has this figure

Backlash Research

- Because of socialization (e.g., stereotypes and expectancies), men and women who move out of traditional gender roles are often punished.
- I call this “backlash” – and it affects men as well as women.
- Let’s see how.

“No Sissy Stuff”

- Men must adhere to stricter rules than women regarding emotional expression (e.g., “Boys Don’t Cry”).
- They are expected to be stoic and tough – the rule is “no sissy stuff”.
- Revealing how you feel is supposedly a sign of __________

Self-disclosure

- Women do it more than men, especially in same-sex friendships and romantic relationships.
- This gives them a lot of social support (which is a big predictor of health & mortality).
- Men ought to do it more then – or should they?
Self-disclosure study
• Subjects read a story about a man or a woman who appeared to be very upset while flying in a plane
• The reason was b/c his or her mother was just diagnosed with cancer
• Noticing this agitation, their neighbor asked whether the person was anxious about flying

Two conditions
• The person either responded by concealing the problem (“Yes, I guess I am. I haven’t flown that much.”)
• OR by revealing the nature of the true problem (self-disclosing)
• Subjects then rated the person’s psychological adjustment

Results
• Men who self-disclosed were rated as psychologically ____________
• But women who concealed were rated as ________________
• These findings show that one reason why men “keep it all in” is to avoid being thought of as vulnerable or dependent
The computer-game study
• My own study shows that counter-stereotypic ________ (not just traits) also result in backlash
• Subjects volunteered for a “psychology of success” experiment
• They believed they would be competing against another subject (confederate) on a computer game
• We varied the confederate’s __________
• And the “gender” of the game (football or children’s knowledge)

Phase 1: The elimination round
• The first phase involved eliminating one of the two “contestants” via a computerized knowledge test
• To make the contest seem fair, subjects believed they would draw a topic out of hat at random
• In fact, subjects drew either the football or the children’s topic out of the hat (depending on random assignment)

The games
• Football
• Subjects had to quickly and accurately categorize players and plays as either __________________________
• Children
• Categorize photos of children or developmental skills as belonging to either __________________________

Method
• Subjects received two practice rounds, and then they played against the confederate
• The game was rigged such that the confederate ______________

Phase 2: the qualification round
• Imagine how surprised people were to lose to counterstereotypic targets
• We wondered if they would also be angry
• If so, they might sabotage counter-stereotypic confederates during Phase 2
• We gave them a chance to do exactly that
Sabotage

• Subjects believed the confederate was “going on” in the contest, and that they had a chance to win $100 if they did well
• To qualify, confederates had to solve 6 gibberish sentences in a very short time
• Each sentence rhymes with a common saying
• Subjects were allowed to program the computer to be either helpful (or not) by giving the confederate CLUES to solve the sentence

Examples Follow

• Subjects could only pick one clue – would they choose helpful ones or not?
• A high score on the next slide = LESS helpful clues were chosen (sabotage)

Both men and women were sabotaged _______ when they showed cross-gendered skills
• Losing the game was not sufficient to make subjects lash out
• Instead, they only punished atypical confederates
• This was true of both __________ and __________ subjects
Implications
• There’s a social conspiracy behind keeping men and women “pigeon-holed”
• Gender deviants – like all deviants – are not treated well
• Even though sex roles have expanded quite a bit, it’s still difficult for us to be fully human
• Instead, we walk through life somewhat crippled by society’s gendered expectations

Conclusions
• Women and men are more ______________ than ______________
• Biological factors may make certain behaviors easier to acquire or enact, but they do ________ predetermine sex differences
• Instead, cultural and social forces largely act upon men and women to produce “different realities”