

## 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)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Confident</li> <li>• Leadership ability</li> <li>• Athletic</li> <li>• Opinionated</li> <li>• Decisive</li> <li>• Risk-taking</li> <li>• Aggressive</li> <li>• <b>Masculine</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Compassionate</li> <li>• Likes Children</li> <li>• Agreeable</li> <li>• Cheerful</li> <li>• Nurturing</li> <li>• Modest</li> <li>• Gullible</li> <li>• <b>Feminine</b></li> </ul>
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### 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)
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- 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?
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### 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?

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#### 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

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Women</u></li> <li>• Have more body fat</li> <li>• Are shorter</li> <li>• Better sense of _____</li> <li>• Sexually re-aroused quicker</li> <li>• Report more depression</li> <li>• Lower infant mortality rates</li> <li>• Less likely to be alcoholic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Men</u></li> <li>• Have more muscle</li> <li>• Are taller</li> <li>• Weaker color vision</li> <li>• Enter puberty _____</li> <li>• More likely to commit suicide</li> <li>• Die 5 years earlier</li> <li>• Can wiggle their ears</li> </ul>
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### 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

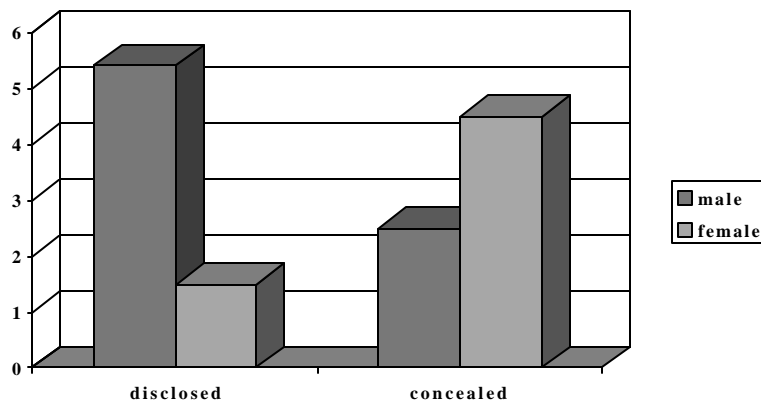
- Subjects read a story about a man or a woman who appeared to be very upset while flying in a plane
- The reason was b/c his or her mother was just diagnosed with cancer
- Noticing this agitation, their neighbor asked whether the person was anxious about flying

### 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

⋮

## How unstable is this person?



### 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

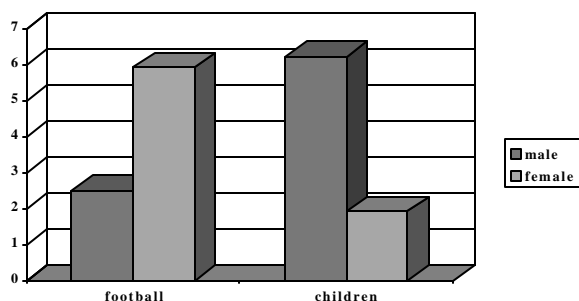
### Sabotage

- 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)

### Sabotage Scores



- 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"