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THE EFFECT OF SEX IDENTIFICATION UPON TEACHER EVALUATION OF PUPILS.

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TO DETERMINE WHETHER SEX IDENTIFICATION INFLUENCES TEACHERS' EVALUATIONS OF STUDENTS WHEN BEHAVIOR IS HELD CONSTANT, 128 WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS RATED STUDENTS FROM STORIES RELATING IN OBJECTIVE TERMS THE BEHAVIOR OF A HYPOTHETICAL NINE-YEAR OLD CHILD. THE STORIES WERE CONTROLLED SO THAT THE BEHAVIORS PRESENTED FOR BOTH SEXES WERE CLOSELY PARALLELED. BOTH ORDERLY AND DISRUPTIVE STUDENTS WERE PRESENTED. FOLLOWING THEIR READING, THE TEACHERS EVALUATED THE STUDENTS ON 80 BI-POLAR SCALES, WHICH THEN UNDERWENT FACTOR ANALYSIS. AMONG THE FINDINGS WERE (1) BOYS WERE RATED MORE ACTIVE, MORE GREGARIOUS, MORE ACCEPTED BY THEIR PEERS, DIRTIER, AND BETTER LEADERS THAN GIRLS. (2) BOYS WERE RATED HIGHER THAN GIRLS FOR ORDERLY, BUT LOWER FOR DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIORS. (3) ORDERLY BOYS AND GIRLS WERE JUDGED EQUALLY QUIET, BUT DISRUPTIVE BOYS FAR MORE NOISY THAN DISRUPTIVE GIRLS. (4) DISRUPTIVE BOYS AND GIRLS WERE SEEN TO ACHIEVE EQUALLY LITTLE IN SCHOOL BUT ORDERLY BOYS AS ACHIEVING MUCH MORE THAN ORDERLY GIRLS. (5) DISRUPTIVE BOYS AND GIRLS WERE PERCEIVED AS HAVING ABOUT THE SAME NEED TO BE LIKE OTHERS, BUT ORDERLY BOYS AS HAVING STRONG DESIRES TO BE DIFFERENT AND ORDERLY GIRLS AS HAVING A STRONG DESIRE TO BE LIKE OTHERS. IT IS CONCLUDED THAT SEXUAL PRECONCEPTIONS INFLUENCE A TEACHER'S PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATION AND CAN RESULT IN DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT. PAPER PRESENTED AT MEETING OF EASTERN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOC., (BOSTON, APRIL, 1967). (AW)

**The Effect of Sex Identification
Upon
Teacher Evaluation of Pupils^{1,2}**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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In reviewing the expansive literature on the ratings

given to boys and girls by teachers, a great many differences
have been reported. However, it is unclear if these differences
are due to sexual identification, per se, or due to real differ-
ences in behavior. No study was uncovered where an attempt was
made to determine how sex identification influences teacher
evaluations when behavior is held constant. The purpose of this
paper is to present some empirical findings in this regard.

In an experiment involving the effect of class and
racial bias upon teacher evaluation of pupils, teachers read
vignettes of a hypothetical nine-year old child. The vignettes
described in objective terms the behavior of the child in school
in some detail. These behaviors were kept as identical as
possible for the boy and girl versions. When a behavior was
inappropriate to one of the sexes, a closely paralleled behavior
was substituted.

1. The findings are based upon a study entitled "The Effects of Class and Racial Bias on Teacher Evaluation of Pupils." Support for this research was obtained from an Office of Education Grant Cooperative Research Project No. 5-8013-2-12-1.
2. Presented at the April 1967 meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association in Boston, Massachusetts.

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Recruited as raters were 128 white female school teachers taking graduate education courses at various New York City colleges. They were tested anonymously in groups ranging in size from six to 35 during their regular class period.

Sixteen different vignettes, each describing a different pupil, were developed. Several revisions had to be undertaken before the following criteria were achieved:

1. Behaviors appropriate to orderly and disruptive pupils were presented.
2. The sampling of behaviors described were as diverse and many as practicable.
3. The children's behaviors were portrayed objectively.
4. The behaviors and information presented for the two sexes were closely paralleled if not identical.

The last point is particularly relevant to this paper. If the following was said about Billy: "... when a classmate had broken his arm, Billy carried his books to and from the schoolyard everyday.", then the following was said about Ann: "...when a classmate had broken her arm, Ann carried her books to and from the schoolyard everyday." Similarly, when the following was reported for Billy: "During Hobby Day he brought in a small bag of plastic soldiers.", then the following was said for Ann: "During Hobby Day she brought in some small plastic charms."

The sixteen vignettes were generated by the factorial combination of pupil race (white and negro), sex (boy and girl), social class (middle and low), and classroom behavior (orderly and disruptive). The teachers were randomly assigned to each vignette, or eight per condition.

Following their reading, the teachers evaluated the pupil on 80 bi-polar scales. Information on the teachers' experience and personality was obtained at the experiment's conclusion.

A 2^4 factorial analysis of variance was performed on each of the 80 scales. In summary, the following statistically significant effects were obtained.

1. Overall, boys were rated as displaying more leadership, were more active, more gregarious, and were more accepted by their peers than were girls. They were also dirtier.
2. On "How well does he obey rules and regulations?", boys were rated better than girls for orderly behavior but worse for disruptive behavior.
3. For orderly children, boys and girls were judged about equally quiet; for disruptive children, however, boys were rated far more noisy than girls.

4. Disruptive girls were rated dirtier than disruptive boys while orderly girls were rated much cleaner than their male counterparts.
5. Orderly and disruptive boys received approximately equal ratings of masculinity. However, orderly females were rated far more feminine than disruptive females.
6. Disruptive boys and girls were rated as achieving equally little in school; however, orderly boys were rated as achieving much more than orderly girls.
7. For disruptive pupils, both boys and girls were perceived as having about the same need to be like the others. For orderly pupils, however, boys were seen as having a very strong desire to be different while the girls were rated as having a strong desire to be like the others.
8. There did not occur any generalized response-set to rate either boys more positively than girls or girls more positively than boys. To the extent that sexual stereotypes influence teachers evaluations, they are probably specific to the trait involved.

Implications and Conclusions

Many statistically significant effects were obtained for the sex variable by itself and in interaction with classroom behavior.* This occurred even though the behaviors for

* Though not discussed, sex also interacted with social class and race.

male and female pupils were identical or closely parallel.

It is suggested that a potent, yet relatively unexplored source of bias, is sexual labelling. It appears that sexual preconceptions influence one's perceptions and evaluations and these might lead to differential treatment. As an example, for virtually identical behaviors the orderly boy was perceived as having a far greater need to be different than the orderly girl. To the degree that teachers perceive these motives as being correct for the respective sexual roles, it could influence the manner in which they mete out rewards to pupils and, hence, the direction of their social growth.

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