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ABSTRACT The papers collected in this volume document the research and opinions of speakers at the summer 1975 conference of the Speech Communication Association concerning sex-related aspects of communication. Part 1 of the volume consists of discussion of contemporary research and resources on communication and includes specific treatment of the following topics: interpersonal communication between the sexes; current research in the field; sex differences in language, speech, and nonverbal communication; stereotyping in both sexes' speech; and the use, evaluation, and generation of nonprint media on the subject of communication. Part 2 focuses on simulations and games for enhancing the communication process. The use of workshops (including discussion of course development, workshop design, and the development of self within the patterns of societal interaction) is explained in Part 3. Appendixes include bibliographies of relevant resources and instructional materials, sources related to women's development of self, and materials concerning instruction in interpersonal communication; a program description of the conference; and a listing of participants. (KS)
WOMEN’S (AND MEN’S) COMMUNICATION

Edited by:

Barbara Eakins
R. Gene Eakins
Barbara Lieb-Brilhart

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Proceedings of the Speech Communication Association’s Summer Conference XI
Austin, Texas
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PREFACE

Summer Conference XI was unique among SCA summer conferences for several reasons. First, the conference was composed of two strands, SISCOM '75 on the topic of Women's (and Men's) Communication and MASSCOM '75 on Mass Communication in Society and Education. While participants met separately for each, there were overlapping functions such as the luncheon programs featuring Liz Carpenter, the barbecue featuring Walter Cronkite and the multi-media presentation on "Women: A Multi-Image Montage." Second, the conference was held in a university setting rather than a hotel. The University of Texas at Austin was selected because of its excellent staff, facilities and program related to mass communication, one of the conference themes.

In addition to the major content of SISCOM, the integration of the two themes provided participants with unique opportunities to view the role of women in mass media. For example it is likely that the SISCOM theme raised the level of "Consciousness" of MASSCOM participants who discussed media production.

The purpose of the SISCOM Conference was to review current research on women's (and men's) communication, and to stimulate and project future research on the topic by bringing together planners and designers of courses and workshops on the topic of women's (and men's) communication.

The Conference was structured to contain two main types of materials: (1) the research literature and the gaming activities on the subject of women's (and men's) communication, designated as Groups I and II, and (2) the applications of research procedures for developing courses, workshops, and self-understanding programs designated as Tracks A, B, and C.

Hopefully the materials contained in the proceedings will be useful in instructional settings. The proceedings are organized around the Conference headings, reflecting the theories, applications, designs, activities, and bibliographies presented in each of the sessions. Some of the papers included here were derived from prepared manuscripts, while others were transcribed from audio tapes in an effort to provide a complete record of the conference discussions.

Also included is the Conference Luncheon address by Liz Carpenter, the conference program and list of participants.

We especially wish to thank the following people who amply demonstrated the Three C's necessary for planning stimulating and worthwhile sessions—competence, commitment, and cooperation:

Arlene Metha, Arizona State University
Linda Busby, Iowa State University
Bruce Gronbeck, University of Iowa
Laurilyn J. Harris, Washington State University
Fran Hassencahl, Alfred University
Cheris Kramer, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Bonnie Mc Dermott Johnson, Pennsylvania State University
Bobby R. Patton, University of Kansas
Charles Pieper, Human Relations and Training Development, Naval Amphibious School, Coronado, California
Bonnie Ritter-Patton, University of Kansas
Linda St. Clair, State University of New York at Albany

Our special thanks go to John Waite Bowers for his encouragement and help and to our hosts at the University of Texas for their assistance.

Barbara Eakins
Gene Eakins
Barbara Lieb-Brilhart
INTRODUCTION.

Womankind/Mankind

Barbara Eakins
Gene Eakins

In recent years there has been a rapid increase in attention given to sex differences in communication. Henley and Thorne, in an overview of language, gender, and society, point out that interest in linguistic sex differences dates at least as far back as 1664 when a written account of some differences among the sexes of the Carib people was published.\(^1\)\(^2\) However, the topic had not really received much notice until the women's movement in the late sixties highlighted this and other discrepancies among the sexes. Since then, studies have been conducted to explore differences among the sexes in their speech and nonverbal behavior as well as in their use of language. Many areas have been explored, including differences in word usage, grammatical structure, pronunciation, pitch and pitch variation, speech intensity, amount of talk, and interruptions.

Investigations of communication differences have originated from a variety of fields, such as linguistics, psychology, sociology, English literature, anthropology, physiology, education, and speech communication. A variety of data-gathering methods have been employed in research: personal journals, observation, written transcription, and audio and video tape recording. Investigators have analyzed data, among many factors, including structural, textural, numerical, and content features. Some researchers have conducted experiments or used testing as means of investigation.

Presented against the backdrop of the women's movement, some studies point to the need for further research, not only for advancement of knowledge but for the purpose of social change. Both objectives receive attention in the papers presented at the SISCON conference.

One issue raised at the conference concerned the philosophical assumptions of research on gender differences. Discussions included concerns for the potential contribution of research which begins with the a priori assumption of only two genders. The possibility of perpetuating a cultural prejudice instead of unmasking it is introduced, with the suggestion that research on gender difference may only reinforce economic arguments regarding how work and wealth should be distributed.

What is important is that we are asking questions, conducting research, and critically examining not only our methodologies but our assumptions as well. Perhaps, with all the redundancy apparent in the title of the popular song, "We've Only Just Begun," we are merely at the first stage of learning much more about the human condition of womankind as well as mankind.

NOTES


GROUP I-A

INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

Chair: Bonnie Ritter-Patton
Bobby Patton
INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

Bonnie Ritter-Patton*
Bobby R. Patton
University of Kansas

With the changing roles of women in the past few years has come a changing
role for men. Static predictable relationships are a thing of the past for most
people. The only thing we can do is to continue to lie about how stable they are.
No longer are individuals entering marriage with fixed expectations of the male as
breadwinner and decision-maker, with the wife as the passive homemaker and mother.
The changes in laws, customs, and expectations have made the potential relation-
ships more ambiguous and hence more difficult. But with this increased challenge
is the potential for more rewarding, more actualizing relationships. We believe
that open, trusting communication provides the basis for an actualizing relation-
ship. Such communication is viewed as the process means. The lack of predicta-

bility in a relationship requires sharing of feelings, perceptions, and ideas, if
the relationship is to provide a means of coping with the problems of change and/
or potential growth.

What are little boys made of? What are little boys made of? Snips and snails
and puppy dog tails and such are little boys made of. What are little girls made
of? What are little girls made of? Sugar and spice and all things nice and such
are little girls made of. In the past psychologists defined all adults in the
same way that they defined healthy males. They defined healthy females as they
defined unhealthy adults. So you had your choice: you could be a healthy female—
that is, an unhealthy adult—or you could be a healthy adult and unwomanly.

There's no need to say much more. I mean, that's incredible. And the other
studies haven't changed. We still set very different standards.

To expect all men and women to behave and perform in terms of the stereotypes
is ridiculous. On the other hand, to deny the probability of differences in be-

havior, given all this conditioning, is absurd. Men and women should be able to
relate to one another, not by having to deny the tension and excitement born of
gender and socialized differences, but by understanding them as such. To be a man
or a woman is, or ought to be, to to be a free, responsible, and self-respecting
human being. In the nursery rhyme cited earlier, responses to the questions of
what little boys and little girls are made of can't be given lightly today. Much
matters as choice of names, gender roles in children's stories and books, and the
development of social identity are now subjects of controversy, and are currently
undergoing evaluation and change.

To a great extent, the gulf between females and males and the subsequent prob-
lems of communication begin while we're children. We doubt that anyone, male or
female, has a totally satisfying self-concept. Due to the perfection of the models
projected to us by the media and the skillful acting of people around us, we tend
to develop exaggerated expectations for ourselves that lead to feelings of insecu-

rity. In our masculine-oriented culture, a person's self esteem is tied to a large
extent to success in the competitive marketplace. I think we value things on the
basis of what we pay for. (Whether we ought to is a totally different matter, one
that's not relevant until we get to the question of what the pie should be). Some
women have elected to avoid such marketplace competition by deriving their sense
of self and their self esteem from traditional relationships. But like most men,
more and more women are perceiving competitive achievement as a route to self affir-
mation and self realization, despite the anxiety provoked.

Betty Friedan's book, The Feminine Mystique, written in the early 60's had
a profound consciousness raising effect on American people. Having nothing to do
except seek self-fulfillment through a gender role, the wife was said to demand
too much satisfaction from her marital relations. Jessie Bernard also describes
the consequences for married women who have developed behavioral patterns which
fit their appropriately reinforcing roles. She speaks of marriage as the wife's
marriage and the husband's marriage in our society; these have vastly different
repercussions for males and females.

*transcribed from taped presentation by Bonnie Ritter-Patton
Although the physical health of married women, as measured by the absence of chronic conditions or restricted activity, is as good as (and in the ages beyond sixty-five, even better than), that of married men, they suffer far greater mental health hazards and present a far worse clinical picture. Gurin, Veroff, and Feld, for example, found that more married women than married men have felt they were about to have a nervous breakdown; more experienced psychological and physical anxiety; more had feelings of inadequacy in their marriages and blamed themselves for their own lack of general adjustment. Other studies report that more married women than married men show phobic reactions, depression, passivity, greater than expected frequency of symptoms of psychological distress, and mental health impairment. Married women finally even surpass men in incidences of cirrhosis of the liver after age forty-five. It seems clear then that married women have a considerably different emotional and physical anxiety profile than married men.

Do the women fare badly because they are women or because they are married? An answer emerges when one reviews the data comparing never-married women to never-married men. The women were found to have fewer instances of every symptom listed except perspiring hands. There the expectations were the same. While women who are married are more likely to report that they are happier than unmarried women, Professor Bernard cites a significant number of studies using a variety of measuring criteria which indicate that married women are unhappier than married men and unmarried women. Perhaps married women report that they are happier because they are "supposed" to be happier. They are supposed to have it all, and so they consistently report that they are happier than unmarried women, who report that they are unhappiest of all. Bernard develops the theme that a woman functioning in marriage in this culture dwindles into a wife from the potentially whole person she may have been. Other persons have used analogies such as young women in schooling trained to function as intellectual race horses, who are then told to hide their brains, return to the stall, and remain there for life.

Today, women are marrying later and are less likely to remarry quickly, as more of them become economically self reliant. But we see no reason to doubt, that for most persons communication between men and women will frequently lead to marriage. The mystique which assists women to be passive and acquiescent, can cause difficulty if followed especially since such traits aren't regularly valued or respected by either males or females. And certainly they are not rewarded in professional endeavors other than housekeeping. If the woman chooses to examine and discard many roles expected of her, she is at best thought unmmanly. She has more to lose by marriage as currently structured and is more likely than a male to be judged on the basis of the success she makes of her personal life. The roles expected of a woman are less valued than those expected of men. And as stereotyping, this or any other mystique ignores the overlapping ranges of psychological predispositions found in men and women.

Men today are caught in an identity crisis because of two dilemmas: The first is to reconcile their secondary, inactive way of life which is lacking in any physical challenge with the age-old image of the male as age-old, builder, and fighter—the male who has primitive contact between himself and his natural surroundings. The second is how to reconcile our supposed democracy and its new emphasis on equal rights for women with the age-old image of the male as provider, protector, and possessor—the male who has unquestioned sanctions to exercise his patriarchal duties and prerogatives.

Modern males face far greater dangers and responsibilities in our society than did men a hundred or even 50 years ago. The dangers and responsibilities are not physical, but are in the area of emotions. The problem for the contemporary male lies in the fact that he is split between aggressively asserting his breadwinning role and passively participating in his personal relationships in a completely dependent way. These new demands being made upon men, of course, spring from the change in feminine roles and expectations. As women are more able to maintain themselves without male financial support, the man can no longer assure himself of his masculinity by virtue of female economic dependency.

The modern male also faces another demand not made on his grandfather and father in the area of sexual activity. He must gratify himself and his sexual partner and assure himself that he is a good lover. He has to cope with the sexually liberated woman, and that is something that requires a considerable amount of energy. While sex is no longer hidden in Victorian darkness, it unfortunately has been pushed to the other extreme, where every detail (including the man, himself) is spotlighted for examination.
Masters and Johnson note the shift away from the time that the man had only to satisfy himself. Now he is also expected to satisfy his partner. Unfortunately, in either situation, the responsibility rests with the male. That is really a double bind. In the long run, a female's insistence on being given sexual satisfaction poses a major problem for a husband who resents it; in some cases he becomes unable to function sexually with her at all. Masters and Johnson develop the theme extensively that until each partner functions as a self-respecting, self responsible entity, the pleasure bond is most difficult to achieve. It really does no good to lie in bed and say, "Tell me back for forty years—tonight." And that's essentially the debilitating situation that has happened to men in the last five to ten years.

The modern male can let society manipulate him or choose to do some of the manipulating himself. He has the choice of conforming even when it violates his dignity, or of conforming to a meaningful set of values. He has the choice of rebelling meekly, or of rebelling at the point where not to do so would shatter his self-respect. He has the choice of being a critical consumer, or of accepting the latest fad in keeping up with the Joneses. He has the choice of making his marriage an either-or proposition. Either he bosses her or she bosses him. Or, he can view himself and his wife as persons with individual needs and temperaments. He has the choice of accepting the fact that he is becoming less hard and rough and that the female is becoming more competent and adventurous, signs that the sexes are reversing roles, or that both of them are becoming more civilized. He can always say, "I'm on top" or "You're on top, and that's it." Or he can say, "Does anyone have to be on top?" This is why it's important to see the structure we confront when we view marriage as being one that demands someone at the bottom.

Following are descriptions of factors considered in interpersonal communication between the sexes.

**Interpersonal attraction.** Intimate relationships are vital for the development of self esteem. We define ourselves as individuals through our relationships—through "estimated relationship potential." What has happened is that in long-standing relationships we have begun to say, "What now is the estimated relationship potential? At this point, what is the cost/reward ratio? Whereas we used to decide it only before we got married, we now decide every day—twice a day, three times a day.

**Reward seeking.** We need to be aware of what we know about interpersonal relations as providing rewards or ultimately being terminated. On occasion such a "reward" may be that you're hurt; if that's what you're looking for, you can find the right kind of relationship. But normally we talk about positive rewards and positive responses as being what we seek.

We also believe, however, that the feelings implicit in romantic love go beyond need satisfaction in areas of attachment, caring, and intimacy. The bond or link between two people that we refer to as the relationship is an important component of love, whatever that might be.

**Nonverbal communication.** From the time of a baby's birth, people communicate certain expectations based upon the child's gender. Sometimes you can't even speak until you know what gender a child is. You had better not say "pretty" or "handsome" until you know that it's all right. When you see an infant, your responses to that infant are shaped after you find out what sex it is.

Even our gender-related ways of moving and holding our bodies appear to be more learned than innate, since they vary from culture to culture. For example, the limp-wristed gestures taken to be feminine in our culture are assumed in parts of the middle east to be natural for both men and women. To Americans a quick blink is masculine, while a man who either flutters his lids or closes his lids slowly and leaves them closed while his eyehabre move, is considered effeminate or seductive. Arab men normally close their eyes the latter way. Gender signs are typically unconscious ways that we affirm our sexual identities and provide systems to regulate our behaviors.

**Contact: Initial Interaction.** We meet each other, and then strive from that moment until the time the relationship ends to reduce uncertainty about each other. We give all the clues that we can. When you meet someone for the first time, observe efforts to reduce uncertainty. It is almost like 20 questions. How can I slice it up, so I'll have a place for you and know what to say and do to you next.

**Touch.** Touch plays an ambivalent role in the lives of most of us. On the one hand it's critical in our interpersonal relationships as we affirm, encourage, support, and show love and tenderness. (Moreover widespread positive responses to exercises involving touch in encounter groups reflects yearning for physical contact.) On the other hand, places strict limitations on tactile interactions, particularly for males. The handshake or the pat on the back are acceptable among business associates. But
affectionate pats and embraces are reserved for intimate moments, unless you're on a basketball court. Incidentally, that's one place men can pat each other all the time. It's amazing to watch. It's acceptable, because they've established their credentials.

Much is denied males, particularly in this society, in terms of touch as reinforcement.

**Verbal Communication Between Men and Women.** We gather, share, give, and receive information. The same problem areas—obviously occur between men and women as occur with any people when we use language. Words have different meanings for different people. But it becomes important, I think, to translate what you know about connotative meanings and their impact. Sometimes, you get a highly intense emotional reaction to a word that ought not offend. For example, no one who's a "lady" should be offended by being called a "lady." But some "ladies" do. And a whole lot of women do. And if it makes no sense to me that I look at two bathroom doors and wonder why one says "men" and one says "ladies," it is important that I know it makes sense to you.

Another thing about language is that it sometimes lacks counterparts. Or the male/female equivalent of words also may have different associate meanings—for example, master/mistress. There are a lot of payoffs to being a master and limited payoffs to being a mistress. Or bachelor/spinster. The fact that some words do not have gender counterparts also raises pertinent concerns. Try to determine gender counterparts of such words as "slut," "nymphomaniac," "stud." Probably the gender counterparts for "stud" is "slut." One is positive and one is negative. But the same behaviors that would cause a male to be labeled "stud" would probably cause a female to be labeled "slut."

Jean Faust has observed that all the titles, all the professions, all the occupations are masculine. They are weakened when they are made feminine by the addition of "esse" or "ette;" and man insists that these suffixes be used. There is an awkwardness about "lady novelist," "sculptress," "authoress." The NEW YORK TIMES reached a low in its history when on January 15, 1969, in the heat of the great jockey controversy, it referred to the girls who wished to ride horses in races as "jockettes." To insist on feminizing titles is to impress upon woman that she does not belong, that she cannot make a contribution equal to men, and that she performs only by man's sufferance. It's ridiculous to consider language a neutral medium of exchange. Specific words are selected for use because they do affect behavior. Words call forth internal experiences as if by hypnotic suggestion. Language contributes to people's problems and potential solutions and can be shown to contribute to dangerous misconceptions and prejudices.

**Levels of self-disclosure.** Communication theorists and marriage counselors have long pointed to the need for openness and self-disclosure. But it is much more difficult for a man than for a woman to disclose that part of him that is weakness. For example, Sidney Jourard found in his research that men typically reveal less personal information about themselves than do women. Men in our culture have been made to feel obliged to hide themselves rather than to expose weakness. "In the other hand, openness is related to mental health and freedom from stress. Jourard feels that the male role is lethal. The time is not far off when it will be possible to demonstrate with adequately controlled experiments the nature, degree and correlations between levels and amounts of self disclosure and proneness to illness or early death.

Expression of feelings. Men are taught not to express most feelings, and they are required to develop and maintain a relationship. Talking about the relationship is something most people find very difficult to do. But it's an important thing that men and women living together need to be able to do.

**Sexuality as a communication variable.** Equating masculinity with expertness in sex causes a lot of problems in sex. It appears difficult for wives to communicate with their husband in this area. If a wife asks her husband to scratch her back and he complies, she does not hesitate to give him instructions and it doesn't bother him. Why? Because no one ever told him that expertise in back scratching has anything to do with masculinity. When a man is taught to equate masculinity with knowledge of sex, he finds it difficult to learn how complex the female is, sexually as well and in other areas. The wife may operate with the same equation, i.e., masculinity equals sexual knowledge, and she may pretend things not felt. This adds up to a terrible bill to pay later when one says, "Oh, for the last ten years I could've told you a lot." Sexual doubletalk.
Relationship patterns and styles. In *How to Live with Another Person*, Davis Biscof says each relationship is different because it’s a world shared between two people. Every person is different and so is the world each couple defines.

What were set cultural rules in the past have now become highly ambiguous for both parties. What is thought if a man opens a door for a woman, or if he doesn’t open a door for a woman? All these little things now take processing. At one time they were more or less automatic, because roles were set.

A game from Eric Berne’s collection which is particularly relevant for women is, "If it weren’t for you," "If it weren’t for you, I could have done this; if it weren’t for you, I could have done that. God knows why I chose the one person in the world who wouldn’t let me do it, but I did." The way to find out whether it is a game is for the other person to say, "It isn’t for me. You can do it." If it was a game, the person does not do the thing previously blocked. If it was not a game, the thing may be attempted.

Conflict and conflict resolution. Whether a fight transaction between persons constitutes conflict as a means to disengagement or as an effort to resolve conflict and strengthen the relationship, is a preliminary question worth asking. Various writers have presented processes and procedures for actualizing exchange of information in time of conflict. Conflict may function as a way of demanding life in a relationship which was previously, if not satisfactory or fulfilling, at least calm and reasonably safe. In such situations, the person who raises questions not raised before may be seen as "rocking the boat" or trying to wreck the relationship. In the case of people who entered into relationships with contracts they both understood, it is the woman more frequently than before who is breaking the contract. In the woman who is saying, "Yes, I understood the terms under which we got married, and no, I will not live by them anymore. I choose to fight instead of to run away." In that kind of context, while it may seem "goodbye," it can mean "hello," or at least a try. In fact, the effort, however clumsily or inexpertly made, may be a plea for risk-taking in order to strengthen the relationship and make it more viable. Such efforts to engage may constitute a reaffirmation of the potential in a relationship, signifying understanding that persons change and that relationships must be defined by and for each person.

The opposite of love is not hate, but rather indifference. To choose fighting rather than giving up on a relationship is a way of saying, "Yes," rather than "No," to the relationship. Frequently the risk of stating discontent can best be seen as an effort to construct a bridge over pain to the other person. Most of the time there are things one would rather experience that conflict; but the partner may choose to work through anger with the other, rather than leave the relationship. When we choose to fight, we choose to stay and risk seeing a new partner, or more frightening, a new self.

George Bach and Peter Nyden, in *The Intimate Enemy: How to Fight Fair in Love and Marriage*, suggest some things in the event of conflict:

1. Avoid "gunnysacking" or storing things up. If one person is a hawk and one a dove, account for that difference by picking a time and place easiest for the dove—unless you want to "win," in which case you both lose.

2. Try to know (if it’s possible to know) what you’re fighting about.

3. Try to agree on a time and place to fight.

4. Make a conscious effort to keep the fight focused on the things at hand.

5. Don’t always be concerned with settling the issue all at one time.

6. A good place to stop at the first round is a clearer understanding of where the other person is.

7. Agree on an emergency break—before one starts—a phrase, a code word, a gesture that will stop it.

8. The fight is over when each feels understood by the other and both have agreed how they will live around that issue for the time being.
In summary, to choose conflict, then, is to choose to be in the relationship and to risk being known and maybe looking silly.

To fight with fair tactics and to fight for a relationship depth rather than a personal victory is to increase the odds your person, partner, and relationship will survive and mature. The actualizing relationship is one in which both people have a higher chance of becoming more of what they could be while they are still connected, than they would have if they weren't connected.

With the changing roles of women in the past few years has come changing roles for men. Static predictable relationships are a thing of the past for most people.
One of the tenets of the symbolic interactionist’s school of social theory is that the young individual gains his identity from his interpretation of the actions others take toward him.1 In this paper, based upon my observations while in the Coast Guard during the mid-sixties, I will contend that this theory provides a good explanation for the change in view toward women that many young servicemen seem to undergo.2

The typical young man, the symbolic interactionist would say, gains a great deal of his self-concept of masculinity through women responding to him as a man. Thus, even though in adolescence a young man is very concerned with establishing a personal identity, his perception of his masculinity is continually gaining reinforcement from the responses of the women he meets during the day.3

When the young man enters a service boot camp, however, he finds himself, perhaps for the first time in his life, isolated from women for an extended period of time.4 Not only is he isolated from women, but he is thrust into an unfamiliar environment, is stripped of as many of his external symbols of identity as possible, is subject to a great deal of stress, and is constantly told by authority that he will not “be a man” until he successfully concludes training.5

This combination of removing external supports while simultaneously applying pressure, causes the typical young man to begin to doubt his self-concept of masculinity.6 For example, as the second week of boot camp started, I remember overhearing one freshly shorn recruit remarking that he was anxious to finish boot camp, because he wanted to prove that he was a man.

The official solution to this dilemma is for the recruit to seek reinforcement from his instructors by trying to please them. But this reward structure does not seem to become effective for a couple of weeks because the confusion and ineptitude of most of the new recruits force the instructor to devote most of his time to rating the majority rather than praising the few who do perform correctly.

The unofficial solution (which, incidentally, has the advantage of being stronger and more consistent than authoritative reinforcement) is to gain poor group reinforcement. One method of accomplishing this is by demonstrating athletic prowess. But unless the recruit can claim the obvious prestige of having been a professional athlete, it usually takes a couple of weeks for his talent to become recognized and effective since athletes occur aperiodically and often under stressful and confusing conditions. For example, it is quite common practice for most of the recruits to be lined up heel-to-toe with their eyes riveted straight ahead while a few people engage in athletic activities. Since looking around leads to immediate punishment via additional physical exercises, most recruits have very little opportunity to observe and evaluate individual performance.

Another method of gaining masculine responses is by the adoption of an extremely vulgar and profane manner of speaking. By this technique, as Frederick Elkin points out, the recruit attempts to project an image of strength and virility both to himself and to the other recruits around him.7 But this is a limited means of gaining masculine responses. For one thing, most of the profanity is depressingly similar, and while it may indicate a general masculinity, it does not demonstrate any unique characteristics. For another, the attention it promotes is transitory rather than sustained.

A final, and very significant method of achieving masculinity is by recounting prior sexual accomplishments. What this really amounts to, of course, is a persuasion of one’s companions that women have (sex being an objective measure) acted toward you in the past as masculine. Therefore, one’s companions should do so now. Since there is a lot of opportunity for this kind of talk to occur in the first orientation week, in the evenings, during meals, smoke breaks, watches, and work details; this is a pattern which emerges very early in training.

It has been argued elsewhere that these discussions about sex might result from sexual deprivation or from a general loss of status.8 But as far as I can judge, sex drives seemed low at the beginning of boot camp because of the high anxiety and the fatigue. For example, at a medical lecture during the third week of training, one recruit from our company asked if the cooks were putting salt-peter in our food to reduce our sexual drives. General loss of status, too, seems to be an incorrect explanation, because high school graduates, whom we would presume to have suffered less of a loss of status, talked more about their experiences than did college graduates.
While most of the recruits don’t seem to be consciously aware of what they are doing, they do seem to sense that those who tell the best stories get accorded the most responses. As Benedek says, “Nobody wants to be left out and those who were too young or too shy to have had sexual relationships, before they entered the Army, will confabulate in order to be on a par with the others.”9 The consequence tends to be that as time goes on the experiences become bigger and better.

But besides being good experience in developing creative imaginations, continuous tale telling (no pun intended), forces the recruit to conceive of a number of women rather than one woman; it also forces the recruit to deal with women as objects to be manipulated rather than as individuals to be related (responded to). The result tends to be a depersonalized concept of women.

The change of thinking about women is also furthered by the two weekend leaves each company gets during boot camp. Since travel is restricted and money is scarce, most members end up sharing motel rooms in the town right next to base. Nobody knows any women in town and in two days there is obviously no time to establish much of a relationship; but since his friends are around the recruit feels a lot of pressure to attempt to live up to his stories by trying to pick up somebody and score. Those who are successful, or at least claim to do so, further enhance their reputations. One band member who returned from liberty with a badly scratched back, for example, was asked to exhibit it at least a half dozen times.

Finally, official support for the degrading of women comes from the permanent training personnel, who because of their personal beliefs, or perhaps simply ease of presentation, present the opposite of “being a man” not as “not being a man,” but rather as “being a woman.” And since being a man is defined as being good, it follows that being a woman must be bad. For example, when a recruit does something wrong, he almost always will be called a “pussy” or a “dumb pussy.” Thus women are promoted as outgroup, inferior, and objects. All are reasons, of course, which can be used by men to further justify exploitation of women.10

Still, the typical recruit probably just plays-at, rather than internalizes this way of relating to women.11 After he graduates, he normally has more access to women and may soon go back to his previous patterns of response. Even though some might continue to profess exploitation in their service lives, they might not practice it in their personal lives. For example, during one of my reserve meetings, several years later, almost the entire crew walked into a room to view some stag films that one of the men had smuggled! Most of the films were filled with absurd situations, ludicrous disguises, and obvious histrionics. Cheering, whistling, and wisecracking occurred throughout. But in one film, it became clear that the principals cared for each other and that their lovemaking resulted from this tenderness.

Some servicemen, however, have to spend a lot of time in isolated conditions, such as weather stations, sea duty, or combat. For such individuals, sexual bragginggo may continue as a means of receiving masculine responses, simply out of habit, or as a means of wish fulfillment. Consequently, the values implied by such interaction may then become accepted as reality. On the icebreaker I was on, for example, I can think of one senior non-commissioned officer who never referred to his wife by anything other than her sexual organs. Another sailor had pornographic pictures of his girlfriend pasted on the inside of his locker door, so that when he opened the door, the pictures were readily visible to anyone who walked by. These examples may seem extreme, but they are not atypical. What is atypical is to hear a long time enlisted man talk about a woman as a person. In fact, I can remember being very surprised one day to hear a noncom on the ship talk about his girlfriend with a great deal of love, insight, and tenderness.

That conversation was for me a consciousness-raising experience. I began to think about why I was surprised. And the more I thought about my surprise, the more I came to realize that I had stumbled across a psychosocial problem: that the service often encourages young men to learn to rip-off women, and that many of these changes in conception towards women can be interpreted from a symbolic interactionist point of view.

Since I was also in the band at boot camp, I was able to observe the responses of new band members each week in addition to my observations of my own company. Of course basic training and the service may have undergone some major changes since the mid-sixties, but there seems some evidence that they have not. See "Forum," Time, February 24, 1973, 47.


The difference that a few years can make in the crystallizing of the personality was demonstrated by the differential responses of high school graduates and college graduates to boot camp. While the high school graduate was concerned with proving his manhood, the college graduate was interested in getting through with the least trouble.


Anonymous, 127.


Benedek, 68.


GROUP I-B

CURRENT RESEARCH IN WOMEN'S (AND MEN'S) COMMUNICATION

Chair: Bonnie McDermott Johnson
We have discovered two creatures—a unicorn and a bicorn. We follow these two creatures across a plain where we see that they join a large number of other _corns_. We become curious about why some of these creatures have one horn and others have two. We decide to investigate. Reaching into our methodological and conceptual toolbox, we pull our implements for our investigation. With these tools we can act with "cultural confidence." Our search will constitute a "meaningful act;" it will bring forth new knowledge.

Our first tools are the axioms. These have been the bulwark of logical thinking since Aristotle. For this investigation we word our axioms:
1. Something cannot be both a unicorn and not a unicorn or be a bicorn and not a bicorn. (The laws of Excluded Middle and Non-contradictions).
2. A unicorn is a unicorn and a bicorn is a bicorn. (The Law of Identity).

Our second set of tools is of more recent origin. It consists of methods for the systematic recording and analyzing patterns of behavior.

We state the purpose of our investigation: to identify categorical similarities and categorical differences in the activities and associations of the two types of _corns_.

We create the following data as a result of our investigations:
1. Interaction among _corns_ is largely of a pair-bond character. Pair-bonds are regularly composed of one unicorn and one bicorn. Interaction in stable pair-bonds constitutes 75 percent of the total interaction observed.
2. Unicorns make louder noises and are observed to do physical injury to other _corns_ (52 percent) more often than bicorns.
3. Unicorns have 45 percent more interaction in groups with other unicorns than bicorns have in groups with other bicorns. This interaction is typically (85 percent) in groups of five to eight unicorns.
4. Bicorns without unicorn partners have less interaction with any _corns_ than bicorns with unicorn partners.
5. Some of the _corns_ do not seem to have fully developed horns and yet they are the same size as the other _corns_. Sometimes these "semi-corns" travel in small groups or in pairs.
6. The semicorns seem to be engaged in fairly different kinds of activities. Most confusing is the sometimes occurring combinations of a fully fledged _corn_ with a semicorn of the uni- or bi-type. Their behavior is classified as "alienated" since it is unique from the rest of the group.

We construct the following theoretical propositions to explain our data:
1. Interaction among _corns_ is predictable given information regarding the number and size of horns.
2. Regulation of the herd is dependent upon the existence of stable pair-bonds between unicorns and bicorns.
3. Aggressive behaviors and vocal force are facilitative of interactions among _corns_.

We have confidence in the predictive capacity of our theoretical propositions. The error variance is small for investigations of this kind. The correlations between number of horns and interaction pattern was .45 (n = 257). The number of semicorns which had to be excluded from the sample because they could not be classified amounted to only five percent of the total.

We publish our theory and receive world wide acclaim for our contribution to the science of horniness.
PHILOSOPHICAL ASSUMPTIONS OF RESEARCH ON GENDER DIFFERENCE
OR: TWO-BY-TWO AND WE’LL NEVER BREAK THROUGH*

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The history of rhetoric about the right and proper behavior of men and women reveals one consistent theme—claims about what ought to be are premised on claims about what is, i.e., what is "natural." In a list including Moses, Plato, Augustine, Luther, John Stuart Mill, and Congressman Emanuel Cellar, we find advocates and opponents of equal social and political rights basing their arguments on what they have believed to be appeals to the natural behavior of men and women. In this century claims about gender differences have been submitted to systematic investigation.

In the 1920's biologists offered "scientific evidence" to bolster arguments against British feminism. Julian Huxley, for example, concluded that the physical and psychic "differences (between men and women) are considerable; so considerable that they can never permit of the simple equivalence of the sexes" (quoted in Hall, 1973). More recently, psychologist Erik Erikson has claimed that a woman's "somatic design harbors an 'inner space' designed to bear the offspring of chosen men, and with it, a biological, psychological, and ethical commitment to take care of human infancy" (1964). Not surprisingly some feminists have begun to use their research talents to refute earlier findings of 'natural' differences between men and women. One example of this approach is Maccoby and Jacklin's, The Psychology of Sex Differences (1974). These authors devote their volume "To Equity, Affection, and Greater Understanding, Among Women, Among Men, and Between Men and Women." But in the introduction, they implicitly concur with the traditional assumption that decisions about how a "man" or a "woman" must live are dependent upon the natural abilities and inclinations of one's gender category. The scientist must contribute the "facts" to a debate on social policy.

The purpose of this paper is to question the potential contribution of research on gender differences to public and private decisions about social roles of people identified as "men" and "women." We raise two questions:

1. What are the likely conclusions of research which begins with the a priori assumption of two and only two genders?

2. What are the possible social uses of research purporting to reveal categorical differences between two genders?

Research on gender differences is that which attempts to describe categorical differences between males and females. (e.g., How do males and females differ in their use of language, tolerance for pain, attitude toward dominance?). Research is also directed toward discovering differing expectations or cultural prescriptions for males and females. We do not attempt here to review and synthesize the research on gender differences. This is not a methodological critique, although we point to some general methodology problems. Rather, our intent is to consider the philosophical proposition axiomatic in all gender difference research: there are two and only two genders.

Are There Only Two Genders?

The assumption that there are males and females and NOTHING ELSE is probably the most hidden assumption underlying gender difference research. Maccoby and Jacklin, for example, never state how any of the 300 or so researchers they cite defined or identified the subject. In fact they say, "A basic problem with the research on sex differences is that it is almost always impossible for observers to be blind to the sex of the subject (p. 7)." The dualism is assumed. We have been unable to find any gender difference researchers who state their operational definitions of gender! Presumably, they use a volunteered statement of sexual identification or they judge gender by appearance. Neither have we found researchers reporting what they did with subjects who claimed to be both male and female, or who could not be identified as man or a woman, or who were ambivalent. The bipolar conception of sex or reproductive function permeates the logic of research on gender differences. This bipolar conception is:
Male is male.
Female is female.
No man is woman.
No woman is man.

The link between sexual definition and reproductive physiology is uncertain. We know that physiological sexual definition may be made on the basis of primary reproductive organs—internal and external, secondary sexual characteristics, hormonal balance, or chromosomal structure. We know also that sexual definition by one characteristic does not always coincide with sexual definition by other characteristics. Some persons with "male" primary organs have some "female" secondary sexual characteristics and so forth. In the study of genetics, the combination of an X and a Y chromosome is regarded to be "male," two X chromosomes indicate "female." Yet some people have XXY chromosomes and some have a single X.

Although geneticists have more than two symbols to describe chromosome structures, even they fall back upon the folk assumption of only two sexes. Instead of calling an XXY a new sex, they call such a person male and proceed to investigate his sexually associated characteristics and tendencies (c.f. Owen, 1972). The investigation of behavioral tendencies of persons with "inconsistent" or "ambiguous" sexual characteristics is conducted by psychohormonal researchers. Note in the following passage the development of sexual definition for those who do not fall cleanly into either the "male" or "female" category:

As ordinarily defined, hermaphroditism or intersexuality in human beings is a condition of prenatal origin in which embryonic and/or fetal differentiations of the reproductive system fails to reach completion as either entirely female or entirely male. In the very strictest sense, one could speak of chromosome count, namely Klinefelter's syndrome, or one of its variants such as 48 XXXY. In such individuals, the reproductive system passes as male, except for infertility of the testes. In ordinary usage, they are not classified as hermaphrodites. The same is true of rare cases of chromosomal mosaicism in which the pattern is 46, XX/6, XY, and the gonads dysgenetic—provided the external genitals are not ambiguously formed, which they may be.

As ordinarily defined, hermaphroditism means that a baby is born with the sexual anatomy improperly differentiated. The baby is, in other words, sexually unfinished (Money and Ehrhardt, 1972, p. 5).

Here we see data observable physical structures being forced into such categories as "ambiguous," "improperly differentiated," and "sexually unfinished." How else is a researcher to deal with a creature who is not "entirely male" or "entirely female?" The problem comes from the implicit assumption that there are two and only two sexes and that all offspring of sexual reproduction should have a designated potential for sexual reproduction. These are a priori assumptions or axioms. They are evidently not subject to modification. Data to the contrary are squeezed to fit the axioms rather than taken as evidence contradicting the axioms.

We can see the influence of these a priori assumptions underlying research on gender differences in self-concept, social role, and behavioral style. Each of these variables potentially has any number of values. There are a wide variety of social roles, self-concepts, and behavioral styles. However, when the researcher sets out to investigate gender differences, the bi-polar conception of two exclusive genders is imposed. Instead of investigating interrelationships among roles, the researcher is attempting to categorize roles as men's roles or women's roles. Instead of investigating varieties of selfconcepts or behavioral styles, gender difference researchers classify concepts and styles into either "masculine" or "feminine." The problem thus faced by any gender difference researcher is one of relating many-valued, possibly multi-dimensional phenomena to a unidimensional bipolar variable.
Because scientists take as the axiom of their research the folk assumption of two genders, they are inevitably led to classify their observations into two categories. Thus the scientists perpetuate a cultural prejudice instead of unmasking it. Consider how a person becomes a man or a woman. A child is handed to its father, and he is told that it is female. A careful examination of the external genitals reveals no protrusions that would be regarded as male genitalia. So it is, the family begins treating the child as a female. If as the child is being raised, it begins to exhibit behaviors that are regarded as inappropriate to her pronounced gender role, she may be called a "tomboy." Here we see that F is F but not acting as F. We fuse gender identity with reproductive identity and social role. The F cannot be an M (though she may act like we think an M acts) so she must be considered a subset of F. In this case we understand a tomboy to be a type of F. What else can we do, she must be either an M or an F.

The problem here is a logical one and exists in both social and natural sciences. If you describe the sexual characteristics of beings and type them, then you are always left with the problem of having to decide what to do with a being who is similar in the one judged significant category but different in another significant category. When is a person not a male or a female? If axioms do not provide other options then you are led to attempt to categorize each person as one of two genders. More important, male is male and female is female and all persons in each group are more like the persons in their own gender identification group than they are like any one person in the other gender identified group.

Some of the methodological problems raised by the axiomatic assumption of only two genders are discussed by Anne Constantinople (1973). She reviewed attempts to create psychological measures of "masculinity" and "femininity." Presumably with a "M-F" scale a researcher would not have to rely on observing whether a person is a "man" or a "woman." Nor would the researcher depend upon a bipolar concept of male or female. The purpose of M-F scales is to provide a means for measuring how "manly" or "womanly" a person is. However, the researchers who have constructed these scales have fallen into the trap of assuming that there are real men and real women. Constantinople observes three characteristics typical of these scales. First, M-F is a single dimension ranging from extreme masculinity at one end through extreme femininity at the other. That is, researchers assume bipolarity. Second, in order to assure that the MF scale is really measuring "masculinity" and "femininity," the scales are "validated" by administering them to men and women (again, no indication of how "men" and "women" are identified). Third, masculinity and femininity are presumed opposites. A woman who is low on femininity is correspondingly high on masculinity or, A is not B and not A is B." We see here the influence of division by biological function (male vs. female) applied to self concept. Constantinople argues that to date no researcher has validated these scales as measuring "masculinity" or "femininity." In other words, they have shown no rationale for believing that biological function is meaningful for understanding self-conception. Furthermore, she critiques previous attempts to establish masculinity-femininity scales on the grounds that: (1) there is some evidence to support the idea that the variable is at least multidimensional, (2) there are methodological problems in validating a continuous variable against a bipolar variable, (3) there is no evidence for bipolarity or the opposition of masculinity and femininity. She asks: "If M-F reflects a number of subtraits, such as aggressiveness, sensitivity, self-confidence, etc., is there anything to be gained by combining these measures in ways which are most characteristic of men and women?" (p. 409).

It is clear to us in looking at the research that is done in trying to describe the differences between male and female, or men and women, that one cannot begin one's argument by assuming that there are two different groups of subjects, namely M and F and then proceed to enlighten the world by announcing that there is a difference between M and F. It seems to us that such a maneuver both begs the question and argues tautologically. We chide researchers for struggling to maintain a simple two gender categorization system. Outcomes that would reveal evidence of new genders and new gender roles would pose difficult problems to be sure. If we discover that there are those who are not male or female or who are both or who are some, we will raise difficult social problems.
The assumptions of gender difference research are culture bound and philosophically unsound, and as usual we have bent our research to meet our own expectations. The formal study of gender differences does not purport to develop social or political examination of values. It merely intends to continue to assume that male and female are the two types. All persons are either male, female or abnormal. Reproduction is implicitly promoted as the major purpose of all creatures. All creatures, if normal, therefore have functional reproductive organs and a related gender role identity.

Gender Difference Research as Preface to Social Engineering

Our second concern is with the possible social uses of research on gender differences. We see a thriving—probably even a growing—clientele for this research. Courses in the psychology of women, the sociology of women and communication require students to learn about the behavioral differences between men and women. The testimony of people speaking both for and against the ERA is full of references to categorical differences between men and women. As long as the question of the rights and obligatory behaviors of men and women is a matter of policy, we can expect both sides of the policy debate to supply a steady demand for research into gender differences.

For us, however, the question is not what is the "fact." We do not claim that all science is a waste of time and money. Nor do we claim that behavioral regularities could not be discovered and cataloged. Rather, we claim that the categorical nature of research into sex differences cannot help but produce treacherous social engineering. Research which begins by assuming that everyone may be put into one or two slots cannot help but result in findings in which people are categorized into one or two slots.

As funding for research becomes scarce, we are called upon to "justify" the social purposes of our efforts. At the policy making level, policy makers must decide which research to use, and as suggested earlier in this paper we find that policy makers use the research that supports their ethical position (see Hall, 1973). On a matter relating to whether or not persons ought to have equal rights regardless of their race, creed, or gender, it is absurd to assume that research will contribute to the enlightenment of the decision makers. We all know that research begins with certain metaphysical and logical assumptions; therefore the research model is already indicative of or contains the implied and eventual outcome that it would disclose to the policy makers.

Doing research to decide something as simple as whether or not women can safely lift 100 pound bags is an atrocity.

1. It assumes only two gender types—male and female.
2. It assumes all of those beings identified as female are more like each other than they are like any one being identified as male.
3. It may involve the subset problems of:
   A. deciding how much relationship exists between physical possibility and physical development.
   B. deciding whether attitudes about gender role effect physical functionality, etc.

To put it quite simply— one must understand that research on gender differences is not supported as a search for revelations through new knowledge, but is developed for justification of philosophical arguments related to how persons should be regarded. Furthermore, it is developed for economic arguments regarding how work and wealth should be distributed; and it is developed for political persuasion regarding control, power and authority. The philosophical problem of whether or not we ought to maintain standards for recognition of difference in race, creed, and gender is not going to be touched by research on gender, racial, or religious differences. The question is one of ethics. The gender difference researcher assumes and perpetuates the status quo, and is therefore politically reactionary and ethically biased toward non-equality and non-examination at the appropriate level of inquiry.
But what of private policy—our decisions about how we know who we are and how we communicate our identity to one another? The claim can be made that sex difference research may raise our consciousness about discriminatory treatment. But what does it tell us as individuals when the scientist determines that "women are more persuasive than men"—"less persuasive than men"—"men and women are equally persuasive?" The scientist's tools require objectification and generalization. Are we as individuals the "women" and "men" to whom the scientist refers? Scientists are the first to point out that it is fallacious to attribute the characteristics of a general population to any particular individual. We suggest then that while generalizations about general characteristics are a poor basis for societal legislation, they are even less desirable as rationale for individual decisions.

Consciousness-raising is a matter of personal knowledge. The influence of scientific formulation on personal knowledge is highly tenuous. If the aim is to learn how to combat sexism in our own lives, we suggest that there are better ways of spending our time than doing gender difference research which can only succeed in defining each of us as a male or a female.

In this paper we have examined some philosophical assumptions underlying gender difference research. First we observed that such research which begins with this as an a priori assumption has little to contribute beyond refinement of cultural prejudice. Second, we argued that the possibilities for use of such research by social planners is particularly treacherous. Moreover, categorical research can do little to enlighten personal understanding of the world and how individuals confront it.

NOTES

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1 Specifically, Maccoby and Jacklin state: "Questions about the psychological nature of men and women are currently under intense debate....If psychological differences do exist, on the average, are the differences great enough to impose any limits on, or indicate any especially promising directions for, the kinds of lives that individuals of the two sexes may reasonably be expected to lead?...We have proceeded on the assumption that before we can attempt to understand the "why" and "how" of psychological sex differentiation, we must have as accurate and detailed a knowledge as possible concerning the nature of existing differences and the changes these differences undergo at successive ages. (p. 1).

2 For recent review of gender difference research other than Maccoby and Jacklin, see J.Z. Giel (1971); Wiesstein (1971); Stein and Bailey (1973); Johnson and Benson (1974).

3 We recognize the imprecision of the term 'reproduction function.' (e.g., are sterile females still females?) The difficulty of naming a variable whose values are male and female illustrates the point we are trying to make. One is tempted to say, ah, you know, the thing that makes little boys different from little girls. With any particular differentiation there are more than two possible categories.

4 Money and Ehrhardt state that: "Genetic females masculinized in utero and reared as girls have a high chance of being tomboys in their behavior. The elements of tomboyism are as follows: 1. The ratio of athletic to sedentary energy expenditure is weighted in favor of vigorous activity, especially outdoors... 2. Self-assertiveness in competition for position in the dominance hierarchy of childhood is strong enough to permit successful rivalry with body.... 3. Self-adornment is spurned in favor of functionalism and utility in clothing, hairstyle, jewelry, and cosmetics.... 4. Rehearsal of maternalism in childhood dollplay is negligible.... 5. Romance and marriage are given second place to achievement and career. Priority of career over marriage, preferably combining both, is already evident in the fantasies and expectancies of childhood.... Once sexual life begins, there is no evidence of lack of erotic response—rather the opposite. There is no special likelihood of lesbianism. 6. In adulthood, according to preliminary evidence, responsiveness to the visual (or narrative) erotic image may resemble that of men rather than women. That is to say, the viewer objectifies the opposite-sexed figure in the picture as a sexual partner, as men typically do (1972, pp. 9-11).


AN INVESTIGATION OF
SEX DIFFERENCES IN REGARD TO
NONVERBAL BODY GESTURES

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Darwin opened up the whole world of nonverbal communication with his theories on gestural meanings. Wundt, in the late 1800's, developed a more elaborate presentation of those theories. Since that time, research has been stimulated and carried out in the field but it had a late start and was far behind the research in verbal communication. Nancy Henley of Lowell Technological Institute in Massachusetts pointed out that:

Our culture emphasizes verbal over nonverbal communication. English is taught in our schools through all grades, with the aims of both better understanding and better expression. Nonverbal communication isn't taught; we never learn to analyze what certain postures, gestures, and looks mean, or how to express ourselves better nonverbally. Yet, with all our ignorance about nonverbal communication, the evidence is that the non-verbal message greatly overpowers the verbal one.1 It is estimated that the nonverbal carries 4.3 times the weight of the verbal message.2 In the face of that evidence, it seems highly pertinent that greater understanding and execution of nonverbal skills is imperative for effective communication.

The second purpose for this study arose from the fact that very few studies of the nonverbal have looked directly at sex differences. Birdwhistell said, "until recently, the implications of much of the data on nonverbal gender display have been obscured by the governing assumption that the behavior, while intricate and obviously patterned, was essentially a mechanical and instinctual response based on genetics."3 Scientists assumed sexual differences to be natural occurrences and rarely bothered to treat sex as an independent variable. It has been suggested that much of our nonverbal behavior, far from being "natural," has been independently learned and altered to accentuate and display sex differences.4

Irma Galejs, noted authority on child development, conducted a study of nonverbal behavior among preschool children involving same-sex and opposite-sex pairs. Opposite-sex pairs displayed significantly more leading, demonstrating, assisting, and sharing behavior while same-sex pairs showed more giggly, happy, grabby, and unfriendly behavior. Girls displayed more pronounced behaviors than boys. Girls shared more and were more tolerant when paired with boys than when paired with other girls. She concluded:

Society's expectations of sex differences in social behavior are evident even for the very young child. Different behavior is expected from boys and from girls. Age and sex appear to be the main differentiating factors in social interactions among children.5

The controversy is yet unsolved whether the sex differences are inherent or are learned but that does not lessen the importance of the findings that possibly the most significant variable in nonverbal differences is the sex of the sender and/or receiver. Duncan in his comprehensive review of nonverbal research points to sex as perhaps the most powerful single variable in visual interaction studies.6

Most of the existing data investigating nonverbal sex differences occur in the area of facial gestures and eye contact. Exline found that women look more at the partner and also engage in a high amount of mutual looking.7 Michael Argyle found that female pairs associated liking with looking while listening. He also indicated that males under restricted visual conditions attempted to exert dominance through greater verbal participation. Females, however, decreased their verbal participation and expressed more discomfort than men when unable to see their interactants.8

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Holstein found that when seeking approval, males used more positive head nods, while females used more eye contact. Jourard has completed a number of studies in the area of body accessibility. He found generally that women are touched more by both men and other women.

The area of nonverbal body gestures lacks the wealth of research that the previously mentioned areas hold. Goffman found that men generally are more immodest in their sitting positions. Mehrabian and Friar measured seating postures as a sign of liking or disliking conversation partners. They found that eye contact increases with a more positive attitude toward the addressee and also increases if the addressee is considered of higher status. Their findings indicated that eye contact in measuring attitudes was a more reliable variable than body gestures.

Next to the face, the hands are the most visible and expressive part of the body and play a very different role from facial expression. According to Argyle, their principal function is as illustrators and though unintentional, they often show emotional states. Ekman and Friesen have done a good deal of research on hand gestures. One of their conclusions states that there is a lot of hand-face contact among disturbed patients in a hospital setting. They also report that hand and foot movements sometimes signal messages that are quite inconsistent with utterances. Citrin conducted a study of hand gestures creating scales such as active-passive, pleasant-unpleasant, and weak-strong into which subjects classified these gestures. It should be noted though that the current research in regard to hand gestures does not isolate respondent sex as a variable.

Foot movements are less visible and less expressive than head or hand movements but still no common categories for notation have yet been found. The current literature suggests to this writer that the area of sex differences in regard to body gestures calls for more research. Some questions raised include: (1) Are there any body gestures exclusively reserved for one or the other sex? (2) Are there gestures used exclusively among same-sex pairs but not for opposite-sex interaction? (3) Do males or females, on the whole, exhibit more nonverbal gestures in dyads? (4) Does previous association alter the nonverbal pattern significantly? (5) Does the volume and diversity of gestures change with the sex of the conversation partner.

This author, through the process of video tape, arranged to document sample dyad conversations looking strictly for data to provide clues to the posed research questions.

METHODOLOGY

Undergraduate and graduate student volunteers were solicited as well as employed non-students. Twelve volunteered, 6 males and 6 females. They were all between the ages of 19 and 30. Some had previous association with each other though none described that association as long-term or intimate. They arrived during mid-morning at the television studio or campus. Two at a time, they were asked to take a seat in the studio and have a two-minute conversation on the topic of their choice. Behind the control room window, a video camera and 1/2" video tape recorder were recording their body gestures. The subjects were aware they were being videotaped but had no information as to the reason other than the fact that it was a graduate experiment. The camera was in a dark room behind glass and could be considered unobtrusive. The experimenter gave them a verbal signal to begin and to end. Each subject had two conversations; one with a partner of the same sex, one with a partner of the opposite sex.

MEASUREMENT

It became clear that the measurement of nonverbal gestures is difficult. E.T. Hall was a pioneer researcher in the area of proxemic behavior. He was the first to develop a proxemic notation system. I borrowed a portion of that system regarding the "sociofugal-sociopetal axis," more easily defined as shoulder angles.
Kendon developed an abbreviated system of Birdwhistell's lengthy kinesic notation system which also aided my measurements, particularly in regard to trunk and shoulder positions.18

For the categories of arm, leg, hand, and foot movements, there seems to be no universal notation system. It therefore became necessary to create my own. Upon reviewing the data, I created categories for each of the gestures displayed in this particular experiment.

My methods for measurement entailed the chronological listing of each full gesture. I defined gesture with the beginning of a movement to its finish. The plus signs occurring after a number indicate continuous movement, rather than solidly defined movements. The video tape was viewed as many times as necessary to ensure accurate readings of each gesture which included trunk and shoulder positions, arm and hand movements, leg and foot movements.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Video tape has opened the door to a new world of research. It is plausible that I could analyze the one video tape I recorded for months, perhaps years. But it is not my intent to measure everything possible, at least for this report. I will be measuring the number of gestures, the different kinds of gestures, and sex differences in the display of those gestures.

Possible future measurements could include the duration of the gestures, the content of the conversation when gestures occur in reference to speaking or listening, and attitudes or amount of liking associated with those gestures. There is a multitude of nonverbal information which could be scrutinized, measured, and reported from this one experiment alone.

DATA

The following are gesture measurements of subjects in conversation with same-sex and opposite-sex partners in a dyad. As an aid to understanding the notation system more clearly, an example will be provided.

EXAMPLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in conversation with Male subject #1</th>
<th>FEMALE #1 w/M 1</th>
<th>FEMALE #2</th>
<th>FEMALE #3</th>
<th>FEMALE #4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUBJECT:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAND MOVEMENTS:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fingers clasped</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one hand rotates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fix hair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hands in lap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOOT MOVEMENTS:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legs crossed at knees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slight foot movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapping foot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knee movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gestures are designated chronologically. In reference to Female #1, while with Male #1, her first gesture was to clasp fingers, the second to fix her hair, the third to clasp her fingers again, and so on. Female #1 in conversation with Female #2, first held her hands in her lap, secondly, rotated one hand, thirdly, clasped fingers, and so on. The plus sign after a number indicates continuous movement, rather than solidly defined movement.

The foot and leg movements were obviously occurring simultaneously and are also designated chronologically apart from hand gestures.

RESULTS

Number of Gestures

On the whole, males displayed more nonverbal gestures than did females, regardless of the sex of the conversation partner. They displayed slightly more gestures with males than with females.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>266</td>
<td>209 (number of gestures)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When chi square was applied to the total number of male gestures in comparison with the total number of female gestures, the figure attained was 3.43. The figure required for an alpha level (.05) of significance is 3.84, so it can be seen that statistically, the conclusion that males exhibited significantly more nonverbal gestures is nearly firm.

The most outstanding result, however, was revealed when a test was applied for the difference between two population proportions for dependent samples. When comparing the number of gestures that females, as a group, displayed with males as opposed to females, it was found that they displayed more gestures with males than with their same-sex partners to the .02 level of significance.

Kinds of Gestures

It became necessary to list the total variety of gestures by sex. As indicated in Table 1 on the following page, for example, females clasped fingers 13 times (with both sexes) while males performed that gesture 12 times (with both sexes) and so on.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT:</th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
<th>MALES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trunk position</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoulder position</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| HANDS AND FINGERS: | | | | | | |
| fingers clasped or hands crossed | 13 | 12 |
| both hands open on chair arms | 17 | 6 |
| one hand open on chair arm | 2 | 5 |
| hand on leg or foot | 3 | 3 |
| hand or hands in lap | 3 | 0 |
| holding object | 0 | 13 |
| one hand rotates | 25+ | 21+ |
| both hands rotate | 9 | 9 |
| both palms open | 4 | 3 |
| one palm open | 6 | 7 |
| lift one or both hands, palm down | 6 | 16 |
| use hands to physically move body | 1 | 6 |
| stretch hands, crack knuckles | 0 | 1 |
| slight hand movement | 0 | 0 |
| finger movement only | 20+ | 21 |
| scratch nose | 2 | 1 |
A test was applied for the difference between two population proportions for independent samples and the levels of significance are indicated in the left margin. The following observations were made in reference in Table 1:

1) Males sit with their ankle of one leg crossing the knee of the other significantly more often than do females. .003

2) Males use their arms to lift or move their body position physically significantly more than females do. .005

3) Males use the closed fist significantly more than females. .01

4) Females arrange or play with their hair or ornamentation a good deal more than men. .06

5) Males stroke their chin more than do females. .06

6) Males use sweeping gestures more than do females. .10

7) Females tend to leave both hands down on chair arms more than males do. .10

8) Males tend to exhibit a greater amount of leg and foot movement altogether than do females. .40

Certain gestures surfaced which were performed exclusively by one sex or the other. The asterisk indicates a much more widely performed gesture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strictly Female</th>
<th>Strictly Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. hand or hands in lap</td>
<td>1. stretching hands and cracking knuckles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tapping hands</td>
<td>*2. pointing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*3. legs crossed at knees</td>
<td>3. both feet on floor w/legs apart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ankles crossed, knees slightly apart</td>
<td>4. legs stretched out, ankles crossed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*5. knees spread apart while sitting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following observations were made in regard to the previous table:

1) Both males and females seem to be more relaxed with the same sex rather than with the opposite sex. They exhibit more nervous gestures with the opposite sex. Exceptions occurred when partners knew each other. In two cases, males were more relaxed with females they knew previously and more nervous with male partners who were strangers.

2) Strangely enough, the traits pointed out previously as exclusively male and exclusively female were reserved for conversations with the same sex partner. Pointing occurred only between males and hands in the lap occurred only between females.

3) There seemed to be certain traits directly related to gender display by Birdwhistell's definition. For example, females handled their hair and clothing ornamentation a great deal more in front of men rather than women. Men, on the other hand, were not modest and significantly more open with their leg positions in front of other males. Precisely, their feet were on the floor with legs apart while conversing with males. With females, they nearly always crossed one ankle over the other knee closing exposure.

4) Both males and females tend to display a greater number and greater diversity of gestures with the opposite sex. There seems to be more foot movement with the same sex, however.

**DISCUSSION**

The findings of this study strongly indicate the nonverbal communication fills a dual role in conversation. Not only does it serve as an illustrator and supplement to the verbal component as Argyle states, but also acts as the functor for gender display as Birdwhistell has consistently concluded. The exclusivity of certain gestures to one sex or the other and the exclusive display of them suggests a more than chance conclusion that gender signals are occurring. Not only that, the exclusivity of certain traits for conversations with the same-sex partner only might lead one to conclude that separate nonverbal languages are occurring and restrictive gestural taboos are in force voluntarily.

There was a predominant display of dominant gestures by the males; i.e., closed fist, pointing, sweeping gestures. Argyle contends that a greater use of body gestures makes up for verbal incompetency while Henly feels that open and dominant gestures are an expose of power. Nonetheless, this study reports a greater volume of gestures on the part of males. Whether it is an indication of their verbal degeneration or their display of social dominance or both is left to the individual analyst. In keeping with Henley's suggestions that such gestures provide power and status in a conversation, it would be assumed that the males involved in this experiment did wield the power. That could be measured by conversation content and attitude self-report more reliably but that data is not available for this particular report.

Nonverbal behavior patterns were a strong indicator of relaxation or the lack of it. It was an interesting discovery to find opposite-sex pairs generally more uneasy with one another. It was more revealing to find that pattern reversed, regardless of sex, when the partners had a previous association prior to the experiment. This leads one to conclude that previous association is a stronger variable in nonverbal behavior than sex of the respondents.

However, this study leaves little doubt that sex is a strong variable in nonverbal differences. The differences are many. It is only fair to point out, however, that numerous contaminating variables exist. Whether they are numerous enough to dispel the suggestion that these nonverbal differences are based on sex alone is left to further analysis. Nonetheless, it seems that sex as an independent variable is worthy of pursuing in greater detail in the field of nonverbal communication. As in any research, only when we understand which things occur and how often, can we move to understand why and decide, only then, on the importance of integrating those findings into educational skills for more effective communication.
Sex Differences In Gesture Display

Table 2 indicates the most frequent gesture occurrences of each interactant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>with same sex</th>
<th>with opposite sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female #1</td>
<td>trunk position relaxed, exhibited more diversified gestures</td>
<td>fixed hair more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>exhibited female only gestures</td>
<td>more foot movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>more exposure with leg movement</td>
<td>more overall gestures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female #2</td>
<td>more relaxed - less foot and hand tapping</td>
<td>more overall gestures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shoulder position more direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>more diversified gestures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>more foot movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fixed hair more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>exhibited more nervous movements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female #3</td>
<td>shoulders leaned forward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female #4</td>
<td>sat erect</td>
<td>more diversified gestures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>more overall gestures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>more nervous tapping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female #5</td>
<td>more foot movement - *</td>
<td>significantly more gestures*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>more nervous movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female #6</td>
<td>exhibited female only gestures*</td>
<td>fixed hair - admired fingernails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male #1</td>
<td>sat erect</td>
<td>more gestures and more diversification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>changed shoulder position</td>
<td>crossed legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>opened legs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male #2</td>
<td>more gestures - more diversified</td>
<td>more nervous movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>exhibited male only traits</td>
<td>more foot movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>more open gestures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male #3</td>
<td>more gestures*</td>
<td>changed trunk position*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>exhibited male only traits</td>
<td>many times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>legs open</td>
<td>legs crossed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male #4</td>
<td>more relaxed trunk*</td>
<td>sat erect *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>more foot movement</td>
<td>more gestures and more diversified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>exhibited male only trait</td>
<td>pushed chair away to create greater distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male #5</td>
<td>more foot movement</td>
<td>more trunk movement*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>more nervous tapping</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male #6</td>
<td>more overall gestures</td>
<td>more foot movement*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*indicates partners were previously acquainted
SUMMARY

Some interesting findings surfaced from this descriptive account of nonverbal gestural differences by sex. Primarily, five questions for research were posed. In regard to the first question, it does seem clear that, at least in this case, there were particular gestures reserved for males, i.e., pointing, immodest leg positions and others; and also gestures used only by females, i.e., hands in the lap and legs crossed at the knees. It was additionally interesting to find that those exclusive gestures were performed only with the same-sex partner.

The males in this sample exhibited more nonverbal gesturing than the females, however, both sexes generated more nonverbal activity with opposite-sex partners. It also appears that previous association is correlated with the amount and kind of nonverbal gesturing, enough to transcend the sexual difference.

This kind of study merely reflects ongoing patterns of non-verbal behavior but more importantly begins to make us aware of how we use our bodies, whether consciously or unconsciously, to send information about ourselves. If indeed, the nonverbal component of our communicating efforts is at least 4 times more powerful than our verbal message, it seems only plausible to suggest that the power of knowing how we are performing provides us with a new option: that of changing or improving our use of nonverbal behaviors should we wish to do so. That, by far, is the greatest justification for this academic exploration.

FOOTNOTES

A SURVEY OF THE RESEARCH ON SEX DIFFERENCES IN NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

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Introduction

One of my mother’s favorite admonitions to me as a teenager was "sit up like a lady." The body position which she desired me to emulate, like the way one holds a cigarette or handles a handshake, was an example of a nonverbal behavior which had been sexually stereotyped. We are quick to notice when someone violates these norms for their sex--"she walks like a man," or "he exhibits effeminate behavior." Still there are many other differences in the manner in which both sexes nonverbally communicate which are not as obvious as these sexually stereotyped behaviors. This paper will survey the contemporary research on these less obvious differences in nonverbal communication. The paper will include both the research on the observable differences in the nonverbal communication of men and women and differences in perception or evaluation when men and women are engaged in the same behaviors. The paper will conclude with implications for speech communication research and teaching as well as for society as a whole.

The Research

The past fifteen years have seen a tremendous upsurge in the amount of research on nonverbal communication. With the exception of the study of proxemics and eye contact, however, little attention has been given to the differences in nonverbal message sending and receiving by men and women. Instead, the bulk of nonverbal communication research has revolved around study of the functions of nonverbal behavior—emotion conveying, regulation, and adaptation—and attempts to delineate the structure of nonverbal communication.

Consequently, in this review only one or two studies of a particular communication variable may be cited. Also, it is clear that variables such as degree of friendship, age, and self-image interrelate with sex to alter or eliminate observable sex differences. These factors are frequently controlled by use of subjects who are strangers and of the same age. However, this tells us little about the sex differences under a variety of conditions and within a wide spectrum of interpersonal relationships. Therefore, the conclusions drawn in this review can only be considered tentative probes with limited application. One final limitation: most research on sex differences has been conducted with white middle-class Americans. Consequently, the generalizations from the literature are restricted to that culture.

Given these limitations there is still interesting research to be examined. The paper will include studies of sex differences in paralinguistics, facial communication, body movement, proxemics, and touch.

Paralinguistics

Research on paralinguistic behavior of men and women has revealed four areas of sex related differences in vocal patterns: intonation, voice intensity, speaking length and the presence of filled pauses. Some very definite preferences in the general usage of intonation patterns have been shown for each sex in research by Brend. For instance, men avoid final patterns which do not terminate at the lowest level of pitch, while women use many so called "incomplete" final patterns which end at higher pitches. Ending at a low pitch gives a sense of finality; while ending at a higher pitch makes a declarative statement sound like a question. There may be some connection between this paralinguistic difference and the finding by linguists that women more than men tend to use a tag question (Okay? Right?) at the end of statements and tend to give declarative answers which end in rising inflection (Male: What time will you be ready? Female: six o'clock...?) Men and women have also been shown to differ in the production of whispered vowel sounds and some voiceless fricatives.

There has been one study of sex differences in vocal intensity. It indicates that both the sex of the sender and receiver influence the intensity of the speaker. Although men are on the whole more vocally intense than women, both sexes tend to decrease their intensity when speaking to some one of the same sex and increase it for the opposite sex—a finding which may relate to the tentative conclusion that intensity decreases with affiliation. The cross sex variation is such that both sexes have about the same intensity when speaking to men, but men are much more intense with women than women are with men.
The final two aspects of vocal pattern differences have been shown in a laboratory study by Beekman. First, contrary to popular myths about the talkative female, this study indicated that men tended to speak longer than women each time they got the floor in a conversation. Second the researcher found a highly significant tendency for men to use more vocalized pauses (ah, um, er) than women. Vocalized pauses may be the means by which men are able to maintain a longer speaking turn even if they momentarily have nothing to say.

Even when men and women engage in the same paralinguistic behavior they may be evaluated differently. Substantial research in the 1930's and 40's indicated that the voice provides significant cues for the formation of judgments about the personality of the speaker. Recent work by Addington indicated that sex of the speaker is a key factor in the stereotyping process. Listeners reported significantly different stereotypes for male and female voices simulating the identical vocal characteristics. An example of the differences is that tension in a male voice elicited the stereotype of someone older, more unyielding and cantankerous, while tension in the female voice elicited a stereotype of one young, more emotional, feminine, high-strung, and less intelligent. See Table 1 for a complete summary.

**TABLE 1**

**SIMULATED VOCAL CUES AND PERSONALITY STEREOTYPES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simulated vocal cues*</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Breathiness</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Younger; more artistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>More feminine; prettier; more petite; more effervescent; more highly strung; and shallower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thinness</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Did not alter listener's image of the speaker; no significant correlations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Increased social, physical, emotional, and mental immaturity; increased sense of humor and sensitivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flatness</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>More masculine; more sluggish; colder; more withdrawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>More masculine; more sluggish; colder; more withdrawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasality</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>A wide array of socially undesirable characteristics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>A wide array of socially undesirable characteristics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tenseness</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Older, more unyielding; cantankerous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Younger; more emotional, feminine, high strung; less intelligent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Throatiness</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Older, more realistic; mature; sophisticated; and well adjusted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Less intelligent; more masculine; lazier; more boorish, unemotional, ugly, sickly, careless, inartistic, naive, humble, neurotic, quiet, uninteresting, apathetic. In short, &quot;cloddish or cafish&quot; (Addington)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orotundity</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>More energetic, healthy, artistic, sophisticated, proud, interesting, enthusiastic. In short, &quot;hardy and aesthetically inclined.&quot; (Addington)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Increased liveliness, gregariousness, aesthetic sensitivity, and &quot;increasingly proud and humorless&quot; (Addington)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Increased Rate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>More animated and extroverted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>More animated and extroverted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Increased Pitch Variety

Males: More dynamic, feminine, aesthetically inclined
Females: More dynamic and extroverted

*For descriptions of these cues, see P. Heinberg, Voice Training for Speaking and Reading Aloud (New York: Ronald Press, 1964), pp. 152-81.

Facial Communication

Most research on facial communication differences between the sexes is related to eye contact and gazing. There are, however, two studies of differences related to smiling. Beekman's research indicates that women tend to smile and laugh more than men during laboratory conversations. Women smiled either to meet role expectations or to cover-up uncomfortable feelings rather than out of genuine feelings of liking. Tests of affiliativeness were given which lent support for this assumption. Men who did smile did so only after they felt comfortable and generally to express affiliativeness tendencies. Another study shows that smiles are perceived differently by children depending on which parent smiles. Children perceive smiles from fathers as reinforcement of positive messages, but smiles from mothers do not carry the same reinforcement value.

At least five observable sex differences appear in the study of eye behavior. In fact, according to one of the key eye-contact researchers, Exline, sex is the most powerful single variable. Numerous studies have indicated that women spend more time gazing at their partner than do men. Women also have a higher percentage of mutual gazing—eye contact—than men. Women tend to look at a well-liked other person more while speaking while men look at a well-liked other person more while listening. Men tend to gaze more as distance increases. This, of course, helps to minimize the opportunity for eye contact across the sexes. Finally, in a positive exchange men tend to decrease eye contact as time goes on and women tend to increase it.

Two studies indicate that even though men and women might use the same eye contact pattern they may be evaluated differently. Mehrabian and Williams found that at a distance from the receiver less eye contact from a male was perceived as more persuasive. In another study with mixed-sex dyads, men, who were told that the gaze of their female partner was higher than usual, had a less favorable evaluation of their partners, while women who were told that the gaze of their partner was higher than usual had a most favorable evaluation of their male partners. No same-sexed dyads were studied to indicate if both sexes would be similar in their evaluations.

Men and women also have different facial communication options available to them, which may allow for perception of different personality stereotypes. Men may grow beards, an option not open to most women. Beardedness in a study by Pellegrini was shown to influence the observer's evaluation of the males personality. Women may wear lipstick and other cosmetics, an option seldom shared by men. While there is no current research on the impact of cosmetics as a form of communication, a study in 1955 indicated that makeup does influence personality stereotyping.

Body Movement and Posture

Limited research indicates that both the normal posture assumed by men and women and the shifting posture of both sexes differ. Mehrabian concluded that, in a social situation, men tend to assume a more relaxed posture (arm and leg asymmetry, arm openness, more leaning to one side, higher gesticulation and rocking, and less trunk shifting), than do women regardless of the sex of the partner. Males shift their legs and seating positions more during a conversation than do women. Movement and posture in the laboratory setting have been shown to be a function of the sex of both communicators with opposite-sexed partners more relaxed than same-sexed partners.
Proxemics

Since 1955 when Edward Hall demonstrated that people follow culturally determined rules in spacing themselves during conversation, research has been undertaken to determine if men and women in the same culture might acquire different rules for spacing. Although inconsistencies exist in measuring the exact distances between people and in indicating the influence of friendship on spacing, numerous studies show that women assume closer positions to one another than do men; and that women are approached by both sexes much more closely than are men. These differences studied primarily with standing subjects have also been shown in one study of seated subjects. Other research indicates that these differences begin to appear by age six and are fully developed by the age of twelve. These readily observable findings may be related to indications that both sexes are more apprehensive of the approach of men than of women, and that women perceive their personal space as smaller and more subject to influence than do men.

Body angle and seating choice differences between men and women have also been identified in proxemics studies. The previously mentioned study of proxemic development in children indicated that girls at age twelve and older had more direct body angle to their partners than did boys. Adult women in a study by Mehrabian were observed to face their chronological peer partners more directly when the partner was well liked, while men faced the disliked partner more directly. In his seating behavior research, Cook found some seating choices influenced by a combination of degree of friendship and of sex.

Touch

It has been observed that touching in the American culture is "equated with sexual intent, either consciously, or at a sub-conscious level." It is not surprising, therefore, that considerably more touching is reported between individuals of the two sexes than between same-sexed individuals. One study of inter-sexual touching indicates that males more frequently initiate touching in a social situation. Another study of touching between sexes and among the same sex indicates that women are touched more than by parents, and friends of both sexes. Perhaps, because touching is related to sexual intent, the areas of the body where men and women were touched differed (Table II). Two studies indicate that differences in the amount of touching begin at age six months.

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| The terms Few, Some, Many, and Most reflect ranges of percentages: Few, 0-25%, reported such contact; Some, 26-30%; Many, 51-75%; and Most, 76-100%.

Summary of the Sex Differences

Given the same interpersonal setting men and women will make nonverbal responses which differ in many ways. Among the elements reported are vocal patterns, intensities, length of speaking turn, eye gazing and contact, amount and timing of smiling behavior, posture and movement, spacing, and amount, initiation, and area of nonverbal behaviors; those same acts may be given different meanings by observers. The research indicates that this is the case at least for vocal patterns, smiling behavior of parents, and eye behavior.
Why these sex differences exist is still a matter of speculation. Birdwhistell argues that men and women are so much alike physically (weakly dimorphic) as compared to some other species that humans need to assume behaviors which would distinguish the sexes. Another explanation for the nonverbal sex differences is that men and women are simply behaving in ways that match their sex-role stereotyping. The laughing, smiling, eye gazing, close proximity, and touch behavior of women may be ways of showing affiliation which is part of women's sex-role stereotype. Men's communication by a more relaxed posture, initiating touching, greater vocal intensity, and longer speaking turns suggests the assertiveness which is a part of men's sex-role stereotype.

Implications

Whatever the reason for the existence of these sex differences in nonverbal communication, there are several important implications for speech communication research and teaching, and for the society as a whole. First, if the differences indicated in this review are confirmed by future studies, sex will be shown to be a significant variable in nonverbal communication, and should be a consistent part of research design. In teaching, it is imperative that we become cognizant of the sex differences. The issue is how to bring our awareness into the classroom. If we are teaching communication skills, do we teach different skills for men and women? After all, there are indications in this research that, for men and women to be perceived most favorably and with most influence, their eye contacts and vocal patterns will have to be different. Should we encourage men to communicate nonverbally as women do with the hope that they will be perceived as more affiliative rather than as effeminate? Should we teach women to communicate nonverbally as men do (part of the effort of assertive training for women), with the hope that they will be perceived as assertive and not aggressive.

Finally, what are the implications for the society as a whole. It seems clear that if the egalitarian society is to be attained, it will require more than changing the legal, economic, and social status of women and their sexual consciousness. At some point, both men and women will both need to acquire new nonverbal behaviors to expand their repertoire of communication; or, they will have to learn to be knowledgeable, accepting, and comfortable with their nonverbal differences.

Footnotes

7Beekman, pp. 13-14.


20. Reckman, p. 16.


GROUP I-C

SEX DIFFERENCES IN LANGUAGE, SPEECH, AND NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION

Chair: Linda St. Clair
There is a language not taught in school which we all speak and respond to, but which few of us can describe or understand. The language is nonverbal communication and the units are often considered trivia. I believe these so-called trivia constitute the core of communicative interaction.

This core, which we too often disregard, includes such things as dropping the eyelids, lowering the head slightly, laughing and smiling, as well as body dynamics including posture, gesture, manner of moving, standing, sitting, and touching, and proximity to others. Also included are certain features of speech: intonation, speech patterns, interrupting, or being interrupted. And of course, even broader than these are questions of how the unspoken environment in which we move affects behavior.

People are extremely sensitive and responsive to nonverbal messages. Writers, including linguists, have pointed out the rapidity with which we send and respond to these messages. Analysis through film and videotape has revealed synchronizations in the signals sent and received. Not only is there a synchrony between persons, but there is a self-synchrony as, for example, in the nonverbal gestures that go along with pacing a conversation or stopping or starting it.

It is estimated that the nonverbal message carries over four times the weight of the verbal message when verbal and nonverbal messages are used together (which they usually are). Because we do not study nonverbal communication extensively, it becomes the perfect avenue for unconscious manipulation by others. This is especially important to women, for women's socialization to passivity and docility make them ideal targets for this subtle form of control.

Furthermore, women are found to be more sensitive than men to nonverbal cues. This is sometimes viewed as a survival technique, because women are more dependent in society. The opinions of other people and the messages that signal these are of greater importance to them. Blacks have been shown to be more sensitive than whites to nonverbal communication. This too may be viewed as a survival mechanism whereby people in a subordinate position have to be more sensitive in "reading" their superiors' position.

A third factor in the importance of nonverbal communication to women is their close contact with men as wives and secretaries. They are integrated around sources of power, which entails frequent verbal and nonverbal interaction with those in power. This, however, is not true of other subordinate groups in society set apart through race differences, class segregation, or labor division. But since women are very closely integrated, these messages have to be sent to preserve status difference, and there is a lot of "heavy" communication going on.

Why would there be sex differences in communication? A number of explanations are offered, many of them familiar.

First, it is often assumed that the differences we see are innate. Since men and women have different hormones and different anatomical structures, perhaps it is natural that they should move and sit and do some things differently.

However, body differences do not seem to be the determining characteristics of what we see displayed as sex differences. Birdwhistell has pointed out that sex differences in kinesics are largely culturally conditioned. If you arrange all the species of animals on a continuum as to how polarized they are sexually, human beings are very much alike. Perhaps because of our relative unimorphism we have evolved a cultural system of gender display, in order to emphasize differences that are not great.
A variation on the innate argument is that men and women differ innately in personality. We know there are differences in hormones and in the chemical makeup of the body, but we cannot know what those differences are if they do affect personality, unless we have a society informally structured so those differences could in fact rise to the surface naturally. Instead, we have social pressures on people that may completely override the differences. If we had an absolutely free and open society, we could observe people's natural development of themselves. But there is no society without these pressures on people. The stereotypes seem to override the innate personality differences.

If there are innate personality differences between the sexes, analysis of these differences in a free environment would probably produce overlapping bell curves, without large enough variation to differentiate the traits by sex.

A third explanation about sex differences in nonverbal communication is that males and females are socialized differently in our society. They are socialized to stereotype personality differences. Females learn passivity, docility, and self-deprecation. Therefore, their gestures follow from a personality formed in part by society. Males are socialized to another pattern, and their gestures follow from that personality.

I believe the latter theory partially helps explain sex differences in nonverbal communication, although I would not claim it offers the full explanation. William Ryan adds further illumination to this subject in his book, Blaming the Victim. He points out that so-called racial differences can be seen as following from economic circumstances--socially created differences. Because we have separated races by economic situation, they do become differences. Another analogy to over-generalizing about the cause of sex differences is the account of the experiment with short and long whiskered rats. Short-whiskered rats are put in a conditioning box to respond only to red lights, and long-whiskered rats are in a box to respond to blue lights. After they are conditioned, the experimenter writes it up as a whisker difference. The case may be the same for racial or male/female differences. Bryan says you can look at economic situations and see that they create stereotypes. In the same way, in studying sex differences in nonverbal communication, I have seen power as a constant, underlying the differences.

People speak of women's socialization as though the only thing needed to be done is to undo that socialization and to convince women that they are healthy people and can do anything. However, many women go out in the world and find out it is more than their heads. It is something in the outside world which is keeping them from doing the things they want, and that is power. Power is the strongest organizing concept to explain some sex differences. I have seen differences between male and female nonverbal behavior parallel the differences between superior and subordinate. The power difference seems to be the most parsimonious theoretical explanation of nonverbal behavior, and it allows us to look beyond sex differences and the mere cataloguing of these differences, to their significance.

You may be thinking that the way, for example, in which a male or female holds a cigarette or drinks a glass of water seems to have little basis in power. If, however, you look closely at things such as posture differences, you see that men take up more space and expand. Invading personal space is a sign of dominance. Women contract their bodies. This is something that novelist Narelle Morning has written about in her book, Small Changes, in which a woman dance instructor tells about how men and women use their bodies. Women condense and men expand. Masculinity is often judged on the basis of these expansive gestures. A man who makes himself small and mousy is unmasculine. Taking up more space is the prerogative of the powerful. Taking up little space is demanded of the less powerful.

Another aspect of nonverbal gesture is slumping versus proper posture. Proper posture is prescribed for women. This entails not only taking up little space but also being tense—not loose. You know what a "loose" woman is. This is a true and descriptive term. Erving Goffman has written about looseness versus tightness: the higher status people can afford to be loose. Women, who exhibit looseness in comportment are seen as inviting sexual attention, rather than showing their importance as a man might be viewed in a similar position.

Now there are indeed differences in speech and nonverbal communication which are not power related, but they exist for a reason. They differentiate males from females who are not that different. They differentiate a privileged class from an underprivileged class. Sex differences are created where none exist in the way that class differences are created by the clothes we wear, the houses we live in, even by the things we eat. The clothing wealthy people wear are not warmer and do not do anything but exhibit class differences and keep the distinctions straight. Similarly, some sex differences are created and do not exist naturally. Even the ones that exist naturally may be turned in the opposite direction because of social needs.
An important subject to consider is the structure of sex differences in nonverbal communication. Erving Coffman has written about the structure of interaction between equals and nonequals, within a status level and between status levels. Roger Brown indicates that between equals there is a reciprocity of behavior; it is mutually exchanged. One person does not have the privilege over the other person. They both have it with each other. Between nonequals, however, there is an asymmetry, a non-mutuality of behavior. One person has a privilege that the other does not. Or, the behavior downwards from superior to subordinate is different from behavior upwards from subordinate to superior. Brown and his colleagues have elaborated this in the area of terms of address. Between equals there is mutual address; they either call each other by first name or by title and last name. Which of these is used is determined by how close or distant they are. Close people or intimates use first names; people who do not know each other well use last names. The differences are also illustrated in languages with familiar and polite forms. People who know each other use the familiar forms and people who do not, use the polite forms. These are patterns between equals.

The pattern between unequals, however, is different. The subordinates use the polite, distant form to the superior (Dr. Beckert or Ms. Beckert). Superiors use the familiar form downward, such as calling the other by first name. Superiors retain the privilege of initiating greater intimacy. They can say, "Why don't you call me by my first name?" The form used to address inferiors, the familiar form, has been historically used among the lower classes of a society.

I find parallels in this structure to that of nonverbal communication and sex differences. Consider demeanor—how people present themselves in look or dress or posture. Erving Coffman found that greater circumspection is required of subordinates in hospital meetings, for example. Subordinates could not initiate looseness of demeanor. The doctors could sit around and joke, and then their subordinates could join them. But the staff could not initiate that kind of looseness. In the same way, greater circumspection is required of women in general, as indicated by etiquette books (crossed legs, skirt over knees, no obscenities, etc.). Although there has been a recent relaxing of restrictions on women, I think there are still many prescriptions of propriety for women. Those of us who break them are not fully accepted.

Certainly posture is part of demeanor and there are different expectations regarding tightness and looseness. Inferiors demonstrate more tightness to superiors and superiors more looseness to subordinates. People are more relaxed with low status than high status persons. In parallel manner, women are found to be less relaxed, in general, than males. This is viewed as conveying a submissive attitude. Further, people have been found to be more relaxed with females than with males.

Superiors have the prerogative of taking more space, not only in instances of having larger houses, estates, cars, and offices, but also in personal terms of body spread. Thus, inferiors own less space and take up less space personally with their bodies. The same is true of females, who generally command less space.

Added confirmation for the theory that people utilize space according to status and sex is provided in a study (of seating position) by Dale Lott and Robert Sommer. Student subjects were given the option of choosing at which chair they would sit. They were told that either Professor John Smith or Professor Barbara Smith was there. Then they were asked which chair they would take and which the professor would take. Twice as many students took the head chair for themselves when there was a female professor as when there was a male professor. Investigation has shown that people stand and sit farther from men than from women, and also that women move out of men's way when passing on the street.

When experimenters stood too close to a person in a study of invasion of personal space, female subjects were found more likely to flee their space. Women have less space in other ways as well. They are not as likely as men to have their own room or their own chair in a house. Their own territory, the kitchen, is often as invadeable as their time. Also in regard to touch, it has been found that females are touched more than males.

This asymmetry in structure of power is summarized in Table 1.

44
## Table 1: Examples of Some Nonverbal Behaviors with Usage Differing for Status Equals—VnequalS, and for Women and Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Behavior</th>
<th>Status Equals (Symmetric)</th>
<th>Status NonequalS (Asymmetric)</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superiority</td>
<td>Don’t disclose</td>
<td>Disclosure</td>
<td>Close</td>
<td>Polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordination</td>
<td>Don’t disclose</td>
<td>Disclosure</td>
<td>Close</td>
<td>Polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Polite</td>
<td>Polite</td>
<td>Polite</td>
<td>Polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deception</td>
<td>Don’t disclose</td>
<td>Disclosure</td>
<td>Close</td>
<td>Polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posture</td>
<td>Relaxed</td>
<td>Tense (less relaxed)</td>
<td>Relax</td>
<td>Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye Contact</td>
<td>Look</td>
<td>Don’t look</td>
<td>Look</td>
<td>Don’t look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial Expression</td>
<td>Disclose</td>
<td>Don’t disclose</td>
<td>Don’t disclose</td>
<td>Don’t disclose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nancy M. Henley, 1975
Some Considerations for the Study of Sex Differences in Social Behavior

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While men and women are more alike than different—they are different. Therein lies the possibility of making judgments of superiority and inferiority. While no sex seems to have the edge in ability to communicate, we find ourselves valuing certain differences more than others. It is not surprising that we value those differences that the dominant group possesses.

The degree to which various behavioral differences are due to innate factors is generally unknown and the battle of nature versus nurture rages on. Even a cursory review of the literature indicates that there are several other problems. Differences, or the lack of differences, are not always reported and even in prestigious journals specious generalization are made allowing one sex to represent both.

There are differences between individuals and their awareness of others; this we have evidence for and apparent agreement. Just what constitutes this "difference" and its cause is not so clear. Our needs and experiences govern what we see and how we interpret the phenomenon that catches our eye. This aspect of predisposition toward our environment no doubt makes it possible for us to make it through the day. Although John Denver's lyrics "You fill up my senses..." has a certain seductive note to it, our senses could soon short out if confronted with the task of allowing every person/thing to be apprehended totally.

We need to take into account the fact that our effective filtering system may well be selecting out that is "true" and leaving a residue that points to a totally inaccurate picture, however well it fills our needs and wants. For example, a feature of the perceptual process is the tendency to arrange, describe and encode messages in such a way that they conform to relatively familiar and stable elements in the environment. Thus, we are prone to attribute certain behaviors to those we believe, or have come to expect to be in, positions of power. I suggest that those who control our rewards and punishments "fill our senses" because we have need, for survival purposes to know what they are about. That very need, and predisposition to attend, limits our observation of others who may be presenting us with alternative or even similar actions.

The rather recent studies address themselves to this issue of perceptual reality as it relates to sex differences. Whitehurst reported, in a study she and her colleagues conducted at the University of California, Riverside, that certain behaviors were isolated and labeled "leadership actions." Several same-sex and mixed-sex, three person groups were observed and behaviors recorded. The results indicated that while females exhibited an equal number of leadership actions as males, they were seen by themselves and others in the groups to have exhibited significantly fewer than the male members.

In the second study, Hilpert, Kramer, and Clark considered sex-role stereotype perceptions of subjects as a major focus. Subjects in same-sex and mixed-sex, three person groups were asked to complete a questionnaire following a discussion. The subjects were asked whether they or their partner contributed the most to feelings of trust or friendship, and to the decision reached, and who talked the most. While both males and females selected their partners more than self for contributing to feelings of trust and friendship, only males selected their partners with equal frequency for contributing to the decision. Women, we might conclude, undervalue their own contributions. The analysis of who talked most showed that females selected males as having talked 72 percent of the time whereas males were more accurate in selecting themselves 58 percent of the time.

An explanation of these results appears obvious; women perceive men to be in the most powerful position in society and this has a spill-over effect into the laboratory. Certain traits and behaviors are attributed to each sex, regardless of the individual's idiosyncratic or real behavior. While females were judged inaccurate in their assessment of the amount of speaking, the weight of the males messages may have been such, that through their perceptual filters, indeed, the men talked more (and maybe even said less).
Rosegrant in her appraisal of sexism in social perception research found that conclusions reached in many field studies did not consider the possibility that other social and cultural differences (age, race, social, economic status) might have accounted for the "found" perceptual differences. Value judgments were also conspicuously present throughout the literature. Positive links were made between the aggressive, independent male and creativity, while the "docile, dependent female" had qualities better suited for typing, requiring only reflexive stimulus-response connections. It is recommended by Rosegrant that we move away from the folklore of the past and not limit ourselves by previous perceptions of sex differences.

The work of Johnson and Benson in a paper titled, "Gender Differences and Leadership Contention: A Case Study in Rhetoric of Social Research," clearly articulates the issues underlying communication research which seeks to discover, define and describe the differences between male and female behavior. They write:

It seemed reasonable to us, therefore, that if there are gender differences which make a difference, they are a function of the different ways men and women contribute to the interpretation of the meaning of the world around them. Gender differences derive from the different patterns of socialization of males and females; they should manifest themselves in differences in the behavior of people as they negotiate definitions of social order.

The response required here, I believe, is that which examines the "entrenched motifs which have structured theories about sex differences in Western thought these past several hundred years." Whitbeck, in her article, "Theories of Sex Differences," believes that in order for us to improve our scientific research on sex differences we must reassess those entrenched expectations that have limited our fantasies and therefore our symbolic meaning of feminine. With such luminaries as Aristotle and Freud giving us the symbol of women-as-partial men it is easy to understand our inability to perceive accurately, let alone value, differences in behavior.

I accept that the sexes inhabit different cultures and therefore have different, if not contrasting, constructions of reality. However, I contend that the feminine culture is burdened by male definitions for power, leadership and yes, femininity! Sex-linked cultural differences are seen as "discontinuities between males and females."1

We have a different world view from one another but perhaps, as Lee and Cropper recommend, the most beneficial model would be for us all to be bilingual. While the genetic and cultural differences are real the most productive stance might be for us to achieve a bicultural blending. Females would have the edge here, in that they have been found to be more bilingual than males. There are several studies which together form a sex-role profile of American women which show them to have a standard sex-role identity but a strong ambivalent sex-role preference and a moderate ambivalent sex-role adoption.17 However, this is not surprising in a society that places such a high value on the male role. Females are occasionally permitted to relate to the male achievement systems while males are usually discouraged from cultivating the kind of expressive skills ordinarily associated with the female sex-role.18

Unless we set about re-ordering our values the future that Bardwick describes will never be met:

New goals seem to be developing, and they seem to be personal, interpersonal, and humanistic: happiness, creativity, fulfillment, expansion, and personal growth. In order to achieve these goals one needs a fusion of what have been 'masculine' and 'feminine' qualities. It is the forerunner of a larger revolution in which men and women will experience both role freedom and the responsibility that always accompanies freedom.19

Women and Men Talking

It has long been held in the field of sex differences that females have demonstrated their superiority in verbal tasks. While this generalization continues to hold true, in current research it appears that the differences are (1) not so great as they were interpreted earlier and (2) not occurring so frequently. Macoby and Jacklin's review of studies in this area led them to conclude that there is "very little sex difference in verbal skills from about 3 to 11, with a new phase of differentiation occurring at adolescence."20
Studies documenting differences in verbal skills before the age of 3 are generally dated and recent studies tend not to show a difference. Females come into their own however, at the ages of 10 or 11, and in tests of verbal power, generally do better—even at age 84.21 Again, it must be stressed that there appears less of a difference in this area than previously thought. From my brief review I believe we need (1) more longitudinal studies, such as Moran and Swartz22 and (2) a concentration on infant behavior so we can have a better base line for developmental aspects.

It seems to me that sex differences in the uses of words both in a sender-receiver paradigm and including a content oriented analysis, demonstrates that there are significant differences. These differences include patterns of intonation,23 effects on listener,24 conversational patterns25 and vocabulary.26 It is not my purpose here to review the aforementioned areas but I recommend the references cited for those interested in pursuing the difference in speech. Those works offer some interesting explanations and suggestions for further research.

Two papers presented this year at the SCA Convention in Chicago drew my attention as they too offered some interesting considerations for interpreting the results of differences in verbal behavior between males and females. Renshaw, Gorczyca and Ritter found sex differences in written messages with females expressing more "unrelieved drive states and ambivalent constructions," and males using significantly more "qualifiers in the form of articles and prepositions."27 They observe in the conclusion that since their sample was primarily composed of college freshman and sophomores, their age and maturity were perhaps variables to take into account. In a study I conducted, which focused on nonverbal behaviors I found a similar sample limiting.28 Perhaps we need to view sex-role socialization as a process and persons in their late teens and early twenties may not have characteristics representative of the general population. The sex differences that permeate the American culture have not done their work on this somewhat privileged segment.

In "Women's Place in Semantic Space," a study using factor analysis reports that ideal femininity and masculinity were more fully developed and complex concepts than were the typical feminine and masculine.29 The ideal female was seen as "vigorous, industrious, but delicate and graceful." The ideal male was "tender, considerate and kind but strong." Franzwa concluded that in part we control behavior by giving approval (vis a vis positive words). Perhaps in reality, females are afraid to be strong and males tender because of negative labeling. In order for us to be seen as "good" we must stay within the pre-ordained sex role behavior repertoire.

The same basic phenomenon that adversely affects our studies of language and speech are present in our work focusing on nonverbal behaviors. The impact of our power position colors our perception of what behaviors we pay attention to and their importance to us.30 Since our relationships are defined almost exclusively by the nonverbal band, its importance should be recognized and explored.31 It is from this form of communication we receive information about how we are being received as persons, whether we are liked, respected, etc., or not. Nonverbal communication also represents a more valid report of what a person is feeling than what might be reported verbally.32 These concerns will be the focus of the next session of Track C, "Sex Differences in Language, Speech, and Nonverbal Communication."33

FOOTNOTES


4If there are sex differences in vision and auditory, the research methods used so far have not revealed them.... However, the more important truth may be that the sexes are really very much alike in the amount and kind of information they are capable of extracting from the milieu of stimulation in which they must function." Maccoby, p. 38.

6The results of this study were reported by Professor Carol Whithurst in a class on Sexual Politics I conducted at the University of Iowa, Spring, 1974. Copies of this yet unpublished research may be obtained from Professor Whithurst, Sociology Dept., University of Iowa, Iowa.


8It was not clear from the report of this study whether a judgment from observers was made as to whether the Ss contributed to the decision reached.


11Ibid., p. 27.

12Caroline Whitbeck, "Theories of Sex Differences, Philosophy Forum, Winter 73-74, p. 76.

13Ibid.


15Ibid.

16Ibid., p. 398.

17Ibid., p. 400

18Ibid., p. 398.


20Maccoby, p. 85.


Nancy Henley will be conducting the next session. I commend her work on nonverbal communication and recommend the following for your reference: "Power, Sex and Nonverbal Communication," Berkeley Journal of Sociology, Vol. 18, 1973-43 and "Sex Differences in Language, Speech and Nonverbal Communication: An Annotated Bibliography," (with Bonnie Thorne) 1974. Requests for copies of the latter should be made to B. Thorne, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University.
GROUP I-D
STEREOTYPING IN WOMEN'S (AND MEN'S) SPEECH

Chair: Cheris Kramer
EXCESSIVE LOQUACITY: WOMEN'S SPEECH
AS REPRESENTED IN AMERICAN ETIQUETTE BOOKS

Cheris Kramer
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The concepts female and male have long served as important polarities in our culture. While people differ in the way they perceive the world, some perceptions, such as those concerning what constitutes female and male behavior, are shared by so many people that we can call them social stereotypes, or commonly held beliefs about classes of people. Stereotypical thoughts about men and women in Europe and America have changed very little in the past 150 years. One method of studying the stereotypes of females and males across a number of years is through literature. In The Fiction of Sex, Miles (1974) traces those stereotypes through the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Instead of change she finds consistency; she writes that "both art and criticism continue to cling to the inherited constriction of nineteenth-century sexual definition, the rigid stereotypes of male and female!" (p. 35).

An important aspect of the stereotypes of classes of people is the speech their members are thought to use. Information about the descriptions and prescriptions of speech believed to belong to women and men can be found through a study of popular fiction. Berryman (1975), for example, has studied language of females and males as represented in fiction of the Ladies Home Journal at the beginning of the twentieth century in order to arrive at the authors' and editors' ideas about the differing ways women and men speak. Representations of folklinguistics found in cartoons and in proverbs also can provide much insight into the common beliefs about women's and men's speech.

Another source of descriptions and prescriptions of the talk of males and females is the etiquette book, which forthrightly claims to give advice on what are thought to be the wrongs and rights of our society, including bad and good speech. As such, etiquette books are intended to be common codes of what proper behavior should be. They are to serve as bases for self training for those men and women who want to do and to say the correct thing. Here, we are interested in etiquette books as repositories of cultural beliefs about the (differing) ways men and women actually talk. And beliefs about the (differing) ways men and women actually talk.

This paper will trace the beliefs about the differences through a study of etiquette books published, primarily, in the past 150 years to measure consistency or change in the beliefs about desirable and undesirable speech differences between the sexes; and then the implications of the study for actual conversations between men and women will be briefly discussed.

There is, of course, much overlap of advice to males and females in etiquette books. For example, most books advise readers, males and females, of the desirability of being considerate of others, males and females. In this paper, however, the focus will be on the differential advice given to males and to females about their speech. Since more restrictions are directed to females, most of the paper will deal with female speech. As Aresty (1970) in reviewing centuries of etiquette books writes, "The usual deference paid to women in American etiquette books was abandoned when the subject turned to conversation" (p. 234).

One of the most repeated concerns about women's speech is their supposed propensity to gossip. The editors of Esquire's Guide to Modern Etiquette (1969) write that perhaps gossiping is forgivable in women since it is part of their nature, but a man cannot gossip and remain a "man":

"Not all cats are female, but it sometimes seems that the female of the species gets all the cream. When a woman carries tales or tells behind another's back, she has the common view of her nature on her side. She is forgivable, if not lovable. But when a man gossips he courts a double penalty; he throws suspicion on his manhood as well as on his manners. Unless you would be known as an 'old woman,' let the people involved report their own news." (p. 87)
Gossip is bad for everyone, but worse for men. The Gentleman’s Book of Etiquette, and Manual of Politeness (1875) advises: “Avoid gossip; in a woman it is detestable, but in a man it is utterly despicable” (Hartley, p. 27).

In 1864 readers of The Art of Conversation were warned about women “of a certain grade of vulgarity” who try to “tease” others into gossip by asking leading questions. Perhaps only women can be labelled gossips. Whereas the advice to young men in Manners and Customs of Today (1890) is that “[the gentleman] does not refer to any scandals or ugly rumors that may be current” (Maxwell, p. 389), young women are advised “Never tattle or gossip” (p. 346). In She-Manners (1959) a section titled “Gossip Not” warns that while gossiping may be titillating, it is not conversation but malice. The companion book He-Manners (1954) has no parallel section, although it suggests that men should not make derogatory remarks or questionable jokes about others. Here seems an instance where behavior by women is given one label while similar behavior by men is called something else. Perhaps men are not considered gossips because when they gossip it is called something different, such as questionable joking.

In a book about how to grow up gracefully, readers are advised to watch out for the gossips, because “such a girl is like a little running brook. She bubbles and gurgles and runs right on. You can see clear through her shallow water” (Woodward, 1935), p. 168). Books by Kleiser (1932) and by Valentine and Thompson (1938) both state that it is primarily a feminine fault to expose friends to ridicule. Courtesy Book (Gardner & Farren, 1937) calls this fault Dame Gossip (p. 53).

Women, then, are thought more likely to deserve the title of gossip, a “despicable label” (Gardner & Farren). They should fight against their picture and learn not to talk maliciously of others. What, instead, should their topics of conversation be? The advice over the past 150 years is clear. They should learn about the topics of conversation of men, realizing that they will never have complete control of those topics which will always be men’s topics. An etiquette book for university students which went through three editions (1948, 1956, 1962) tells of the success story of a mother who was able to learn about her sons’ topic of conversation, baseball. The account also serves as a warning to college women who don’t try: “Her sons enjoyed taking her to the games and often their disinterested [sic] dates were left at home. The mother had learned to talk their language” (Pierson, p. 36). Peg Bracken’s etiquette book points out that while women get mad when men gather together at a party to talk, “many a woman asks for it, with her crossfire chitchat about purely female concerns, which drives the men perforce into the tall timber where the bottle is” (1964, p. 119).

In the mid-eighteenth century Lord Chesterfield in writing to his son indicated the limited topics he thought women could handle while talking to men. The etiquette books in the next 200 years have not greatly enlarged those parameters. He wrote:

A man of sense only trifles with [women], plays with them, humors and flatters them, as he does with a spriightly forward child; but he neither consults them about, nor trusts them with serious matters; though he often makes them believe that he does both. (edited 1925, p. 107)

Later, in summary, Chesterfield wrote:

Your chit-chat or entrepren with them neither can, nor ought to be very solid; but you should take care to turn and dress up your trifles prettily, and make them every now and then convey indirectly some little piece of flattery. A fan, a riband, or a head-dress are great materials for gallant dissertations. (p. 288).
More than 100 years later women were being warned that professional men "when with ladies" generally wish for miscellaneous subjects of conversation, and, as their visits are for recreation, they will feel excessively annoyed if obliged to "talk shop" (Hartley, 1872, p. 15). However, if men do talk about their everyday employment, women are told to "listen politely, and show your interest. You will probably gain useful information in such conversation" (p. 16). In 1875 gentlemen were told that while "a lady of sense will feel more complimented if you converse with her upon instructive, high subjects, than if you address to her only the language of complacent," hot politics should be avoided "in the society of ladies" (Hartley, p. 27, no). The etiquette books seem to set up an unnecessary bind.

No one is to discuss politics in the company of women so they will know little about politics. So do not mention politics in the company of women. The author of the 1895 A Manual of Etiquette complaineds that many ladies can only talk animatedly "concerning the silly, sensational, frothy novels of the day, and also upon the fashions as they rise and fall" (Johnson, pp. 96-97). Women—who are restricted in their formal education, their occupations, and their conversations with men—are taken to task for their limited knowledge. Those men who belonged to the Best American Society in 1892 were warned: "in talking with ladies of ordinary education, avoid political, scientific or commercial topics" (Wells, p. 65). "If you wish your conversation to be thoroughly agreeable, lead a mother to talk of her children, a young lady of her last ball, an author of his forthcoming book, or an artist of his exhibition picture" (p. 66). The assumption is that while men will be able to converse with women and men holding different interests and occupations, the women will not. Gentlemen "who desire to become educated and polished in general society" were even cautioned in 1878 to avoid the different topics and styles of women's songs: "A man should not sing women's ditties, and should never yowl out the namby-pamby ballads beloved of young ladies." (Aster, p. 243).

More recently, in 1940, Lady Lore states that while mutual interests are hard for boys and girls to find, "a safe subject is always the boy himself" (Witan, pp. 25, 24). The same year the author of Cues for You writes that "Women usually like to talk about clothes and their home, whereas men like to be admired for their deeds" (Ryan, p. 235). The problem of conversation between the sexes is made difficult because when girls are together they "chatter endlessly about clothes and dates," while boys together "discuss" sports (Hertz, 1950, p. 30).

Emily Post has written how the "perfect secretary" can handle this difficulty of what topics to discuss with the employer:

The perfect secretary should forget that she is a human being, and be the most completely efficient aid at all times and on all subjects. Her object is to coordinate with her employer's endeavor, and not make any intrusions which would be more likely to affect him as hurdles than as helps.

She should respond to his requirements exactly as a machine responds to the touch of lever or accelerator. If he says: 'Good morning,' she answers 'Good morning' with a smile and cheerfully. She does not volunteer a remark—unless she has messages of importance to give him. If he says nothing, she says nothing, and she does not even mentally notice that he has said nothing. (1945, p. 548).

If the etiquette books are to be believed, that secretary will have a difficult time keeping herself from talking. The editors of Vogue's Book of Etiquette and Good Manners (1969) write that "the over-talkative woman is one of the classic threats to her fellow travelers" (p. 156). Amy Vanderbilt (1958) writes that the "chatterbox is usually feminine" (p. 294). The author of a book designed to improve the conversation of men and women writes that women are particularly prone to "sustain conversation" (Carroll, 1939, p. 137). In Advice to Young Men, and (Incidentally) to Young Women in the Middle and Higher Ranks of Life (1829), the author makes clear that when he cautions men against women with lazy tongues he is referring to pronunciation: "By laziness of the tongue I do not mean silence; I do not mean an absence of talk, for that is, in most cases, very good" in a wife (n.p.).
In 1831 young women were told that "many are of the opinion that a very young woman can hardly be too silent and reserved in company.... a respectful and earnest attention is the most delicate kind of praise, and never fails to gratify and please" (Letters on the Improvement..., pp. 110-111). In 1892 the advice was "One does not wish to hear a lady talk politics nor a smattering of silence; but she should be able to understand and listen with interest when politics are discussed, and to appreciate, in some degree, the conversation of scientific men." Further, "ladies should avoid talking too much; it will occasion remarks" (Wells, pp. 70, 120). In 1935 the sub-deb editor of the Ladies' Home Journal in her etiquette book warned girls that "there's nothing much worse than an empty head and a clacking tongue" (Woodward, p. 183). There are many times to keep quiet, she writes "when a really serious discussion of life, love or the correct way to plant celery is launched, keep that great brain of yours to yourself" (p. 189).

While most of the beliefs about women's speech are found to have a long history, the twentieth century etiquette books seldom discuss what was, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, claimed to be the value, if limited, of women's conversation to men. Lord Chesterfield wrote: "The company of women of fashion will improve your manners, though not your understanding; and that complaisance and politeness, which are so useful in men's company, can only be acquired in women's" (edited 1925; 40). The author of the 1864 Art of Conversation writes that the women who can help the great men develop their genius have not lived in vain (pp. 106-107). But today it is no longer assumed that women can improve men in important ways.

Rather, increasingly women are advised to talk little, but smile a lot. Lane (1922) writes that a woman can express "the charm of personality" without talking, "You can make your eyes, your smile speak for you and say more, perhaps, than words could express" (p. 61). In 1935 the advice to girls was not to be completely silent, unless they had an overwhelming influence on boys. Usually, a girl would have to "open up that rosebud mouth" (Woodward, p. 179). Further she was not to be "thoroughly stupid" (p. 181). But the chapter on what to talk about concludes that if the subject of conversation is weighty girls should keep quiet:

You're a nice intelligent girl—just a shade less intelligent than he himself is. Men don't look for dazzling brilliance and great wit in a girl. They prefer one who smiles and smiles and says an inspiring yes and no and a marvelling 'did you really?' (p. 189)

In Lady Lore (1940) the advice was to "have a good smile stored up" to start an evening with a man (p. 13), and to remember that "the chatterbox leaves the impression that she is totally without brains" (Witan, p. 23). Campus Cues in 1960 indicates how the smile can help cover an embarrassing situation. In advising the woman student who, on a date, has trouble finding the sleeve of her coat while a man is holding it, the author writes:

Just keep trying to get into it and don't get embarrassed about it. Be patient. Smile and make some remark, such as, 'I seem to be having trouble getting into my own coat.'

(Pearson, p. 111)

An etiquette book in 1836 states that the smile should come naturally from kind, social feelings and "it must be followed by the repose of the risible muscles; and these alternations should pass over the countenance, like the lights and shadows on a field of waving grain in summer" (Farrar, p. 292). In fact, women should keep all of their speech and their gestures under control. An 1831 book states that passion is "so odious in itself, especially in the female character, that, one would think, shame alone would be sufficient to preserve a young woman from giving way to it" (Letters on the Improvement..., pp. 80-81). The author adds that "an enraged woman is one of the most disgusting sights in nature" (p. 81). A lady should never gesticulate when conversing; hands should "rest in an easy, natural position, perfectly quiet" (Hartley, 1872, p. 151). The Habits of Good Society dictates that "control over the countenance is a part of manners. As a lady enters a drawing-room, she should look for the mistresses of the house.... Her face should wear a smile" (p. 309). Maxwell in 1890 writes that "ladies should observe a dignified reserve under all circumstances" (p. 346). She should not "show petulance or ill-temper, if anything goes wrong" (p. 347). While men are cautioned in some books not to yell when they are angry, women are to exercise more control; they are to be always serene. By 1907 "A moment of enthusiasm, a burst of feeling, a flash of
eloquence may be allowed [the woman], but the intercourse of society, either in conversation or in letters, allows no more" (Lucas, p. 394). Kleiser (1932) writes that boys "have always had abundant animal spirits, and these have been expected to lead at times to mischief and misconduct" (p. 138). In fact, too good a boy is not wanted. Girls are to be more demure, he writes. "It is the same with girls; while boys are brought up to be "prim and neat in attire, and conversation...it is the young girls of today who display the most distressing freedom of speech" (pp. 138-139). Doubtless this problem can be traced, he writes, to the feminist movement (p. 140).

The control or reserve that a woman either has naturally or should strive for extends over her entire body when she is conversing with others. Vogue’s Book of Etiquette and Good Manners (1969) states that women wearing slacks should "never sit the way many men do—on a raw, or with knees spread wide, or with one ankle up on the other knee. Actually, even crossed knees are considered informal" (p. 6). (The women who conducted a study of sex stereotyping in children’s readers [Dick and Jane as Victims, 1972] found that even very young girls are portrayed as showing more reserve in their actions. While boys are shown engaged in athletics, girls are usually shown quietly watching with hands clasped behind back or in lap. While many studies of the activity level of young boys and girls find boys more active than girls, many studies show no differences. And some of the differences found might be dependent upon what is expected. One study [Loo and Kenar, 1971], found that while teachers rated boys as more active than girls, actometers which recorded the gross motor movements of the children did not show boys as more active. And one wonders why, if girls and women are naturally so much more reserved, the etiquette books need to caution them about controlling emotions and their gestures.

This reserve that women are to show extends, of course, to the types of exclamations they are restricted to. One nineteenth century etiquette book told women to avoid all exclamations as they are in bad taste and are likely to be vulgar words. The same source states that "A lady may express as much polite surprise or concern by a few simple, earnest words, or in her manner, as she can by exclaiming 'Good gracious!' or 'Mercy!' or 'Dear me!'" (Hartley, p. 151). Slang is also vulgar and while men are cautioned against using too much of it, women are to avoid it entirely. Leland (1864) writes that women frequently use slang phrases with an apologetic smile. "But," he writes, "to modify a fault is not to remove it. Resolve that you will never use an incorrect, an inelegant, or a vulgar phrase or word, in any society whatever" (p. 138). All slang is vulgar, writes Wells (1890) in his book on the manners of the best American society. "It has become of late unfortunately prevalent, and we have known even ladies pride themselves on the saucy chit-chat with which they are certain slang phrases of the day. Such habits cannot be too severely reprehended" (p. 17). Maxwell (1890) also writes that a woman should not use slang. She explains how it happens that some do: "Young men pick up the slang of the comic opera or theatre, and some young women thoughtlessly imitate them" (pp. 345-346). Kleiser in 1932 writes that the woman who adopts such expressions as "I don't give a hoot," "Oh, boy!" and "Good night!"—that is, the young woman who is vulgar in speech—is likely to "slip into coarseness in other respects" for, he warns, a lapse in one area is likely to lead to misconduct in others (p. 149).

Swearings or profanity should not be practiced by either men or women, but especially not by women or men in the company of women. Hartley (1875) states: "Need I say that no gentleman will ever soil his mouth with an oath. Above all, to swear in a drawing-room or before ladies is not only indelicate and vulgar in the extreme, but evinces a shocking ignorance of the rules of polite society and good breeding" (p. 23). Mrs. Jane Aster (1878) writes that "the woman guilty of dem-swearings: "The young lady would cut you—properly enough—for using an oath, will nevertheless cry 'bother' when her boot-lace breaks, or what not" (p. 58). The executive director of the Girl Scouts of the United States in her book Your Best Foot Forward (1940, 1955) writes that young men and certainly all young women should know that the use of profanity or obscene language is ill-bred and undignified, "even where only men are present" (pp. 132-133).

The use of sentences which have a double meaning or which make allusions to things ladies should know nothing about has been considered to be in very poor taste. Hartley 1872 and Wells 1892 write that if a lady should talk to someone who uses such phrases, she should pretend not to understand. An 1829 book was more explicit in its advice to the female who would be a wife. She should appear not to understand any indelicate allusion; in fact, she should appear "to receive from it no more impression than if she were a post" (Advice to Young Men ...n.p.)

While many of the characteristics of women’s speech supposedly come almost naturally to women, if they are proper women there is one natural characteristic common to many women which, say the writers of the etiquette books, is an irritant: the high pitched voice. The editors of Vogue’s Book of Etiquette and Good Manners (1969) write that the following is what sometimes has been said to the ideal feminine speaking voice: "Her voice was very soft, gentle, and low, an excellent thing in woman" (p. 15). In thus describing the ideal voice for women, the editors are following tradition. The same Shakespeare lines are found in etiquette books published in 1937, 1895, and 1892. Books in 1969 (Post), 1937 (Gardner & Farren) and 1892 (Wells) all caution that you can tell a lady by her voice; it
will be low in pitch. Girls who do not have the tongues of angels (rich, warm, low-pitched voices) should change their voice so that people no longer shudder at the sounds (Woodward, 1935). The book Better Than Beauty (1938) suggests that while a shrill voice may make a seemingly attractive woman very unattractive, practice will likely help. A woman with a high-pitched voice should practice until she can pitch her voice "so low that it seems to come out of [her] shoes" (Valentine & Thompson, p. 92). Her voice and laugh should be low—and quiet, too (Gitan, 1940, p. 26). (The books assume, then, that high-pitched voices are considered unacceptable to everyone, and the low voice much more desirable.)

However, a recent study of the perceptions of men and women of male and female speech indicated that men think the low voice more ideal, more desirable than do women [Kramer, 1975]).

In addition to keeping her pitch low, the woman should keep her voice soft, and she should enunciate clearly. In 1829 the advice was:

Nothing is much more disgusting than what the sensible country people call a raw-mouthed woman. A raw-mouthed man is bad enough: he is sure to be a lazy fellow; but, a woman of this description, in addition to her laziness, soon becomes the most disgusting of mates. In this whole world nothing is much more hateful than a female's under jaw, lastly moving up and down, and letting out a long string of half-articulate sounds. (Advice to Young Men... n.p.)

In writing about the bad habit of slurring words Kleiser (1932) writes that "the very same [bad] enunciation would...seem worse coming from feminine than from masculine lips. We naturally look for primness and correctness in girls. That is one reason why poor speech in them is particularly distressing" (p. 151). There is no disagreement in the books on the pitch and the tone that a woman's voice should have. In 1975 Baker writes that "A woman should have a soft, feminine-sounding voice. Your voice should be as gentle as a caress when you speak." (p. 135).

Such qualities rule out over-emphasizing or italicizing words. Maxwell (1890) quotes a lady who said of the conversation of women in society that "it resembles the straw used in packing china; it is nothing, yet without it everything would be broken" (p. 360). Yet some young ladies have not attained this level of speech which helps keep men "in the path of duty" (pp. 360-361). Some use too many adjectives and too much exaggeration, as in such expressions as "I am ever so much obliged" and "Wasn't it perfectly awful?" Maxwell writes: "Now girls, let me say to you that you make a great mistake. ...you know better and can do better, for I have heard you talk sense, but these careless, exaggerated sentences and sounds grow upon you, and you finally lose a respectable standard of expression" (p. 361).

Undue intensity over trifles is a mistake that Kleiser (1932) says that "some people—notably women, but also some clerics, teachers, and literary or artistic people—make." (The categories are evidently exclusive: women, and artistic people.) These persons are likely to use such phrases as "And are you really feeling perfectly well?" (p. 73). Almost 100 years before, Farrar (1836) voiced a similar complaint: "Some girls, without any wish to exaggerate, contract a habit of using certain forcible expressions on all occasions, great and small, and consequently make some very absurd speeches" (p. 379).

Some writers would say that one reason women have difficulty in talking appropriately in moderate tones about suitable topics is their propensity to think illogically. Lord Chesterfield wrote his son:

Women, then, are only children of a larger growth; they have an entertaining tattle, and sometimes wit; but for solid reasoning, good sense, I never knew in my life one that had it, or who reasoned or acted consequentially for four-and-twenty hours together. (edited 1925, p. 107).

Robert Louis Stevenson wrote that women can think rationally about some topics:

About any point of business or conduct, any actual affair demanding settlement, a woman will speak and listen, hear and answer arguments, not only with natural wisdom, but with candour and logical honesty. But if the subject of debate be something in the air, an abstraction... then may the male debater instantly abandon hope; he may employ reason, adduce facts, be supple, be smiling, be angry, all shall avail him nothing; what the woman said first, that (unless she has forgotten it) she will repeat at the end. (Krans, 1910, p. 364)
The focus of this paper has been on women and their speech and the manner in which their speech does differ or should differ from men's. Women have been cautioned about their speech more than men in the American etiquette books. Such books have often, however, warned men that civil behavior includes civil speech. They must be especially careful when speaking to women. Lord Chesterfield wrote that "Civility is particularly due to all women... It is due to their sex, and is the only protection they have against the superior strength of ours." One hundred forty years later Wells in his book on the best American manners repeated (without attribution) Lord Chesterfield's words (p. 286). The authors of twentieth century etiquette books give similar advice to men. Wright (1936) writes, "Women like to be courted. This attention is a delicate tribute to their womanliness" (p. 106). Fenwick (1946) writes "The whole relation of men to women, as far as etiquette is concerned, is based on the assumption that woman is a delicate, sensitive creature, easily tried, who must be feted, amused, and protected" (p. 28). In 1969, Esquire's Guide to Modern Etiquette states that "Knighthood may be in seed, but every man is still a self-appointed protector of every woman's frailest possession—her "good name" (p. 89). In general, the etiquette books tell men to be considerate of all others, but protective of women. (Except, as noted previously, many etiquette books warn men that while being considerate of women they must also protect themselves against women's vulnerability.)

The etiquette books state that women do not and should not talk like men. Mention has already been made of the reasons why this dichotomy must, the writers think, exist. Women's mission is to comfort men; woman is weak and must be protected from and by men. There are additional differences which are thought to be innate and which will alter the speech habits of women and men. Farrar in 1836 wrote, "women are happily endowed with a quick sense of propriety, and a natural modesty, which will generally guide them aright in their intercourse with the other sex" (1936, p. 290). The author of The Habits of Good Society (1861), in writing that women alter their speech when talking to men, states that it is natural for women to be unnatural in these circumstances (p. 276). According to Wells (1892),

Women observe all the delicacies of propriety in manners, and all the shades of impropriety, much better than men; not only because they attend to them earlier and longer, but because their perceptions are more refined than those of the other sex, who are habitually employed about greater things. Women divine, rather than arrive at proper conclusions. (p. 34).

Wells writes further that while everyone should be reserved in speech, women in particular should be careful, for women "are like moss-roses, and are most beautiful in spirit and in intellect, when they are but half-unfolded" (p. 77).

One of the faults general to all classes of women, according to Ordway (1913), is interrupting conversation "repeatedly and ruthlessly" (p. 17). We "naturally" expect correctness from women (Kleiser, 1932, p. 151). Wright (1936) states that the conversation of women is distinct from men in a number of ways, primarily because their thought processes are different. Women are better conversationalists because they think faster; they flit from one topic to another. "Women," he writes, "are intuitive rather than analytical" (p. 99). Men are naturally more logical. If "by some strange freak of nature" a woman should shine at activities which take a logical mind, "it will be found that she has a man's mind" (p. 99). Women talk about people in particular; men about people in general. Men have a better sense of humor, and they are less observant than women (Wright, 1936; p. 101). Women, then he thinks, just do not talk like men. These sex differences will be in the background of all mixed-sex conversations and will cause either attraction or antagonism (Wright, p. 103).

In the etiquette books studied, most of the maxims of speech conduct which would distinguish between the speech behavior of men and women seem designed to maintain or strengthen the culture's division between males and females. It could be argued that people's behavior does not actually conform to the perceptions set forth by the etiquette books. But the rules in etiquette books are based on what the culture thinks is or should be the proper behavior of men and women. The material presented in this paper indicated that these rules change little over the years. And these rules have an impact on our speech behavior even if we are not heavy renderers of etiquette books. Evidence that our expectations about how males and females should and/or do act will influence our interactions, particularly initial interactions, comes from Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) and from Leik (1972). The males presented in the etiquette books are reflections of our social stereotypes of proper men and women, our culture's beliefs about the characteristics linked to men and women. They serve as a base for action in unfamiliar situations. The etiquette rules concerning the speech of men and women, then, are important to women and men interested in studying sex-based differences in language.
The author of the 1936 The Art of Conversation writes that women can think faster than men but are inclined to flit while "by nature man tries to be a reasoning, logical creature" (Wright, p. 99). The same author cites as corroboration the words of Andre Maurois:

Women's thoughts obey the same laws as do the molecules of gases. They go with much rapidity in an initial direction, until a shock sends them into another, then a second shock into a third direction.

It is useless to choose a theme with women. (Wright, p. 99)

In all, women are not as logical as men; they are not knowledgeable about serious matters of life; and all too often they speak too much, in high voices, on silly topics, with outbursts of emotional exaggeration. They can become more knowledgeable about important topics if they will but listen quietly to men. Most of their other problems can be solved if they realize that it is their duty to be as agreeable, and as subordinate, to men as possible.

"Some women intuitively comprehend their mission, and recognize that its chief duty is to be agreeable to all, and to elicit from each a display of his best qualities" (The Art of ..., 1864, pp. 105-106). Put another way, women's "very mission is to make life less burdensome to man, to soothe and comfort him, to raise him from his petty cares to happier thoughts, to purer imaginings, toward heaven itself" (Aster, 1878, p. 211). In 1975 not all women are aware of this duty, this mission. Baker writes:

Today, men are dumfounded by the brash out-spokenness of some women in the public eye...they don't even fight back. The women take advantage of this respect inherent in men to get what they want. Our poor men don't have a chance. (1975, pp. 10-11)

She advises such women to reconsider their actions and become understanding, loving women once more. One of her rules for improving conversation between the sexes involves the women listening, with her heart, to what the man says: "Respond enthusiastically and sincerely. Even repeat back a small part of what he said so he knows you are really listening" (p. 55). She advises wives to study their husbands' interests and start catering to them, and she further advises wives to fight boredom by such things as improving their voices, if they are not gentle enough; the husbands will be thankful (pp. 131-135).

The same advice, to be kind and gentle and subordinate, runs through the etiquette books through the years. Modesty is deemed attractive in men, but more so in women (Krans, 1910, p. 86). Fenwick in Vogue's Book on Etiquette (1948) declares that "a very common example of bad manners is that of the wife who says 'I' or 'my' instead of 'we' or 'our'" (p. 34). For "a woman can gracefully play second fiddle, but a man who is obviously subordinated to a dominating woman is a pathetic and foolish figure" (p. 34). Wright (1936) is also explicit about the speaking relationship that should exist between a man and a woman:

A man likes to talk about himself or about his business or his hobbies. He likes to brag. He likes to express his opinions. He likes to tell how good he is.

For all of this he needs an audience. To be that audience is the function of the woman. (p. 104).

Wright adds that women should also be allowed an audience for their opinions; in fact, the men will find the contrast of the women's speech with the "more lordly, more stolid" male speech to be refreshing. But not all writers think women should assert opinions bluntly. The Ladies' Book of Etiquette (1860, 1872) advises that a lady should say "I think this is so" or "These are my views." (These qualifying remarks, when they are used in woman's speech as it is represented in cartoons, are thought to make women seem less intelligent than men [Kramer 1974]). In Personality Preferred (1935) a girl is advised to "pop a bright remark" at her male partner to dazzle him "with its insanity, its gaiety, its wit" (p. 180). In fact, girls are told that they don't have to always agree with boys; rather, they can come out with "some wild theory." But this advice is more lenient than most. In She-Manners women are told to build the man a dais, because, "you know—men suffer from an odd sense of inferiority. They're often terrified by smart women" (Loeb, p. 123). In The New Etiquette (1947) the directive is explicit: "Once during an evening is enough for a woman to state a definite and unqualified opinion—and even then it should be something constructive or a defense of some one or something" (Wilson, p. 206).
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I thank Elaine LoTarte for helping me locate these sources.
Review of the literature and statement of the problem.

Little conclusive research exists concerning male/female speech. We merely have an intuitive feeling that language distinctions based on sex exist. In fact, the theory of sex-linked language distinctions has been, more or less, an invisible premise in ordinary parlance. This intuition or assumption is shown by casual, sarcastic remarks that women talk too much; by the societal double standard of tolerating, accepting, and perhaps even encouraging the use of discourtesies by males while condemning their use by females; and by the women's liberation movement's exposure of linguistic chauvinism by the use of "he" as the common gender pronoun.

These intuitions have been given some serious and credible coverage by scholarly writers. Otto Jesperson (1922) was one of the first writers to propose theories of sexual distinctions in the English language. Jesperson saw women as the users of euphemisms, bizarre words, and adverbs of intensity, and possessors of less extensive vocabularies that revolve around the concrete. He also claimed that women frequently leave sentences unfinished.

Robin Lakoff (1972) and Peter Farb (1973) suggested that politeness and correctness are characteristics of female speech. An explanation for this may be that women are more likely to use forms considered correct because their social position makes it necessary for them to secure their social status linguistically. Stuart Flexner (1960) stated that slang is absent from women's speech. Lakoff and Cheris Kramer (1973) both discussed the use of the tag-question formation by women as a way of avoiding full commitment and the use of the tag-question formation by their views. Kramer also theorized that qualifiers are used more by women as a way of avoiding the direct statement of opinion, and this fear of declarative sentences is a way of showing subordination to men.

Kramer (1974) noted a difference in the function of exclamatory words by men and women, male exclamations showing anger or exasperation and female exclamations conveying enthusiasm.

The implications of language distinctions based on sex have overwhelming importance in our society that is so concerned, of late, with all areas of disparity between the sexes. Social change and linguistic change should work together. Social changes should lead to changes in language, language being a reflection of social behavior.

An analysis of a time period in which the image and role of women in society underwent an obvious or dramatic transformation, in hopes of discovering an accompanying linguistic change, would determine the relationship of language to image.

Women experienced a great social change in the period 1900 to 1920, which has often been labeled the height of the feminist movement. Granted, the feminist movement of today might be making greater strides, but this twenty year time span in the beginning of the twentieth century shows a marked beginning and end of feminist activity which resulted in great changes for the American woman. It was during this period that women increasingly participated in service organizations through the avenues of women's clubs and settlement houses, increasingly participated in the public and political arena through the suffrage movement, and increasingly participated in the educational and economic communities. Accompanying these changes were more subtle attitudinal and value changes affecting the American woman. Her homemaking role was deemphasized and activities were provided for her outside or the home. The virtues of piety, purity, domesticity and provided for her outside or the home. The virtues of piety, purity, domesticity and even, by 1920, somewhat disillusioned and rebellious active, self-aware, independent, and even, by 1920, somewhat disillusioned and rebellious proper Victorian lady of the nineteenth century gave way to the working, voting, pleasure-seeking woman of the 1920's.

The question concerning language distinctions now becomes, "Did this verifiable social change and image change for the American woman lead to changing linguistic patterns?" If the correlation is high, might we not, in the future, use evidence of changing linguistic patterns as a barometer of changing status of social groups in America? If there is no evidence of changing linguistic patterns accompanying social change, might this not suggest that speech is less prone to change than is behavior? If social progress for women does
not lead to linguistic progress, perhaps this is why women continue to be stereotyped despite changing roles and images.

To obtain language samples of women and men in 1800-1920, this author decided to turn to fiction in the Ladies Home Journal. First of all, magazine fiction can be an excellent means of understanding the culture of a society. "Fictional work can be treated as primary sources for the interpretation of the imagery of self and society and as a means of understanding social norms and values of times past." (Lowenthal, 1961). Secondly, the Ladies Home Journal was chosen because it was the largest circulating periodical of the era, and because of its cheap price, it appealed to the average, middle-class family in America. "The Ladies Home Journal was the first magazine written for and about the average, middle-class American woman and affordable by her. The part that the magazine played in the emergence of woman was undoubtedly important." (Yott, 1957). Therefore, it was theorized that the Ladies Home Journal fiction mirrored the prevalent societal attitudes and the language of the fictional characters did, for the most part, reflect the speech of the average person of the day.

Methodology

For the purpose of this study, nine characteristics of speech were observed in the Journal fiction between 1900 and 1920.

1.) Quantity of utterances—An utterance was defined as one speaker's single message uninterrupted by lapse of time in the story or by another speaker's message.

2.) Length of utterance—the total number of words for each speaker was determined. In addition, the mean length of utterance was computed by dividing the total number of words of a speaker by the total number of utterances of that speaker.

3.) Declarative vs. Interrogative sentences—Every sentence was classified as either declarative or interrogative. Interrogative sentences were only those that asked questions. Declarative, exclamatory, and imperative sentences were all counted as declarative sentences.

4.) Unfinished sentences—Only unfinished sentences which were not due to interruption were counted. Sentence revisions were not counted.

5.) Exclamations—Exclamatory words, phrases, and interjections were counted. Exclamatory sentences were not counted.

6.) Intensifiers—An intensifier was defined as an adjective or adverb which caused a stronger statement. Examples of intensifiers include: surely, perfectly, really, quite, awfully, certainly, too, such, extremely, so.

7.) Qualifiers—A qualifier was defined as an adjective or adverb that reduced intensity, causing a less strong or less positive statement. Examples of qualifiers include: sort of, generally, merely, kind of, somewhat.

8.) Tag-question formations—A tag question was defined as a combination declarative and interrogative sentence.

9.) Interruptions—An interruption was defined as any word, phrase, or sentence which interfered with the message or the speaker.

The following are the theories or hypotheses that have been examined by this study:

1.) Females speak more often than males speak.

2.) Females speak for a longer period of time than males do.

3.) Females use fewer declarative sentences and more interrogative sentences than males do.

4.) Females leave more sentences unfinished than males do.

5.) Females use more exclamations than males do.

6.) Females use more intensifiers than males do.

7.) Females use more qualifiers than males do.

8.) Females use more tag-question formations than males do.

9.) Females interrupt others less than males do.
This study examined one issue of the Ladies Home Journal for each consecutive year between the years 1900 and 1920 inclusively. The only condition for selectivity of issues was an attempt to space choices at least six months apart. One piece of fiction was chosen within each issue. The conditions for selectivity of fiction included:

a.) Only non-serial fiction
b.) Stories containing one male and one female character engaging in dialogue and being present throughout the story.
c.) No foreign stories or stories including characters with dialects.
d.) No speech of children
e.) Distribution of male and female authors.

Results

At this point, an analysis of 19 pieces of Ladies Home Journal fiction during the years 1902-1920 shows definite sex-linked language distinctions. The theory that women talk more than men is supported by the data from the Journal. The number of utterances for each fictional female and male character were totaled and results show that the mean number of utterances for females was 35.8 as opposed to the mean number of utterances for males being 33.9. In 10 out of 19 samples, the number of utterances for the female speaker exceeded the number of utterances of the male speaker. Only 3 selections included a greater number of male utterances.

TABLE 1

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<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
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<td>1910</td>
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Besides speaking more often, the females in the Journal fiction also spoke at great length. In 14 of the 19 selections, the total number of words for the female speaker exceeded the total number of words of the male speaker. As a better basis for the comparison of length of message, however, the mean length of message was computed. The average of the means for females was 29.9 while the mean length of message for males was 21.9 words. In 12 of the 19 samples, the mean length of message for the female speaker was greater than the mean length of message for the male speaker.

*Fictional selections for the years 1900 and 1901 have not as yet been analyzed.
An analysis of quantity of messages, total number of words spoken, and mean length of message clearly indicates that the females in Ladies Home Journal fiction spoke more often and at greater length than males did.

An analysis of the number of declarative and interrogative sentences used by each sex results in disconfirmation of the theory that females use more interrogative sentences. In fact, females used more declarative and fewer interrogative sentences than males did, as Table 3 indicates.

The hypothesis that females have more of a tendency to leave sentences unfinished was confirmed. The total number of unfinished sentences in female speech was 19 as compared to a mere 4 unfinished sentences in male speech.

Exclamatory words and phrases were distinctively characteristic of female speech and rarely found in male speech in the Journal fiction. The number of exclamations used by women totaled 104. Forty-three exclamations were used by males in the language samples. In examining the nature of the exclamations, it is clear that male exclamations, such as "Oh, Christmas," "Good Heavens," "Great Scott," "Lord," and "By Jove," indicate anger or surprise. They seem to serve the function of substitutes for obscenities, which the Journal of the early 1900's could not have printed. Female exclamations more often conveyed feelings of endearment. Feelings of anger, exasperation, or frustration often resulted in the exclamations "Oh" or "Well."

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Another obvious distinction in male and female speech was the prevalence of intensifiers in the female language samples. The theory that women use more intensifying adjectives and adverbs received support from this study. The total number of intensifiers used by females was 192. Ninety-two intensifiers appeared in the speech of the males.

The use of qualifying adjectives and adverbs was limited in the speech of both sexes, but 10 qualifiers were found in the language of the women and none were found in the language of the men.

At this point of this study, tag-question formations seem to be slightly more prevalent in female speech (Female 14, Male 10), lending some support to the theory stated earlier.

Contrary to the previously stated hypothesis, female interruptions of males number 23, while male interruptions of females number 21.

Discussion of results

It is clear that language distinctions based on the sex of the speaker do exist in fictional dialogue in the Ladies Home Journal, 1902 through 1920. The language portrays women as, most obviously, a talkative creature. She speaks more often and a greater length than the male. Secondly, she could be seen as emotional and prone to exaggeration by her frequent use of exclamations and intensifiers. Her use of qualifiers, tag-questions, and unfinished sentences caused her to be seen as non-assertive, uncertain, and submissive. Whether these distinctions are characteristic of female speech today is something that has not been clearly delineated. Nor is this question germane to this study.
The question posed by this study now becomes, "Do these language distinctions vary over the time span analyzed?" Granted, there is such a thing as "female speech" within the pages of Ladies Home Journal fiction of 1902-1920. But is the female speech of 1902 different from the female speech of 1920?

As has been shown, the actual image and role of the woman of 1902 was different from woman's image and role in 1920. This image change is also reflected in the fiction samples. The fictional female characters in the first half of the period are portrayed as married women who are inwardly questioning their lives and marriage. Eight of the 9 females appearing in the sampled fiction between 1902 and 1910 are married. In almost every story, the female is restless and disillusioned with her life or she is expressing the desire to assert what she considers to be women's rights. In most cases, however, these doubts and questions are suppressed and she learns a lesson or compromises her viewpoint. For example, in the 1902 selection, the wife argues with her husband about what hat she should wear, and she concedes questioning whether "her own way was worth the price of hurting a husband like hers." As a prime illustration of the Journal's image of women in this early period, the female character in the 1905 selection is heard, in the beginning of the story, saying:

I suppose that every young married woman has known periods of impatience. I suppose the very placidity and happiness of my life had produced a certain restlessness. I experienced moments which I think should be described as mildly rebellious. I began to wonder how it would seem to be a girl again and to be treated like one once more.

By the end of the story, she is saying, "I was glad when I was at home. I have learned my lesson. I am quite content..."

In contrast, 8 of the 10 female characters appearing in the sampled fiction between 1911 and 1920 are single. The female is no longer pictured solely within the confines of the home, but she is seen boating (1911), as a self-sufficient business girl in the city (1912), playing golf (1914), as an art student in New York City (1915), as a party-goer (1917) and as a mountain climber (1920). The stronger-willed woman of this later period is now heard saying such things as the following, from the 1913 issue: "I'm just tired of the whole game. I'm 25 years old and I'd like to be treated as if I were 25, not as if I were a piece of your furniture..."

The female character in the 1914 fictional selection is quite forceful and outspoken.
"Now why, please, should I marry you and settle down to be a stupid old professor's wife... I'm just crazy to go somewhere and do things and see things...I don't want to be managed. Besides, I've always been able to beat you in anything we ever did together, and I don't see why I couldn't manage you instead."

By the end of the period, woman's image is one of an outwardly rebellious and critical person, as is seen in the following two excerpts from the 1917 and 1919 Journals respectively.

"I mean that you will give her what the average man gives his wife—a home, a small portion of his income, a lot of work and anxiety, a little of his time, and, if she is lucky, his abiding respect and calm affection."

"There is a difference of the times...a thousand wholly new conditions make it easier for me to work. Is there any difference, when you come down to it, between my working outside the home for money or working inside it as guardian of your money?...Your reasoning is out of date."

So we see an image change for the actual woman in society between 1900 and 1920. Accompanying this is an image change for the female in Ladies Home Journal fiction, 1902-1920. Yet, except for the content of the messages, the female speech patterns do not vary greatly between 1902 and 1920. In other words, the characteristics of female speech in 1902 are, for the most part, the characteristics of female speech in 1920, as the tables indicate.

A linguistic change, therefore, does not accompany the image change of women in Ladies Home Journal fiction. This seems to indicate that speech is less prone to change than is behavior. It has been suggested that social progress should lead to linguistic progress. The Journal fiction shows evidence of social progress, but not linguistic progress, for women. Might this indicate that social progress for women today is not leading to linguistic progress? Despite the fact that women have come a long way since 1900, they might be speaking the same way as they spoke in 1900. Their behavior could be conveying one positive image, while their old-fashioned, demeaning speech patterns negate that positive image.
Certainly, the influence of language on image is a factor that women and men need to consider. All the social progress is worth nothing if woman's speech makes her seem overly talkative, emotional, non-assertive, uncertain, or submissive. More research examining present day image and language relationships needs to be done. Women's communication is a new concept, and answers to the many unanswered questions concerning women's communication may provide solutions to some of the problems that still confront the woman of 1975.

REFERENCES


EVALUATION OF TRAITS OF FEMALE CHARACTERS ON DAYTIME TV SOAP OPERAS

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The purpose of this paper is to explore the modes in which the television medium, through the daytime "soap opera," defines for female daytime viewers a certain type of collective reality. This collective reality is specifically concerned with the use of female soap opera figures as cultural role models of femininity for female viewers. The study also examines the evaluative reception of that reality by the viewers, using both the aesthetic and emotional evaluative sub-units of the semantic differential.

The Role of Mass Media in Social Structure. As the mass media have matured over the past fifty years, many attributes have been assigned to them in regards to their functioning within the social structure. Initial media studies were typified by characterizations of the media as instruments of tremendous power over the viewer. During the early years of media research, the media were viewed with great trepidation, hesitation, and even fear. Yet, concern with the effect of media is consistent with a communication perspective in which there is an understanding of the multi-directional nature of the communication process. Schramm (1971) has noted:

Regardless of how we formulate the goal of any message--to sell a product, change an attitude, educate a child, share our joys or sorrows, elicit a vote, entertain or inform the public, or simply establish some kind of relationship with another--each time we send a message we at least implicitly hope to affect the way our audience perceives some part of his world, relates and responds to some part of his environment (p. 391).

The concern with effect, per se, becomes, from Schramm's perspective, central to the study of the communication process.

For a time the persuasive capacity of mass media was assumed to be almost limitless. Their ability to sway, even formulate public opinion became a central research concern (c.f., Hovland, Janis and Kelley, 1953). The focus of research during the late 1940's and early 1950's was concentrated primarily on HOW the media were able to accomplish these feats rather than whether or not the hypothesized effects did, indeed, exist.

It has become increasingly apparent that the media do not possess the omnipresent power once attributed to them (c.f., Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1964; Klapper, 1960; Kraus, 1962; Stephenson, 1967). A reformulation of their role has subsequently taken place, which frames them in the light of reinforcement of current public opinion rather than overt shapers of that opinion. Some would place the media in the role of creators of public, collective reality, and others would frame them in the role of portraying the reality which is most commonly accepted. While it is possible that there is an element of truth in both positions, the latter stance leads logically into a conceptual paradox. How is it possible that media are able to portray a reality without first having some concept of what that reality is?

Cross cultural studies have pointed out the plethora of utilizations of media which exist in various geographic and political settings (c.f., Dizard, 1966; Inkeles, 1950; Lerner and Schramm, 1967; Rogers and Shoemaker, 1969; Rogers and Svenningt, 1969). The varieties tend to indicate that media, indeed, serve as reflections of an ex tant collective reality. Whether media created that reality or the reality was simply portrayed and/or accommodated by the media is, again, speculation. A basic assumption of the present study is that social structure is a determinant factor in media utilization. This assumption can be extended to include consideration of the modes of media utilized as well. That is, the modes of media utilized, as well as the content of the media programming, can be predicted if certain information regarding the composite social structure is taken into account. The importance of this assumption for the present study is that neither the society nor the media content can be fully understood independent of the other. Both must be considered and the reciprocally symbiotic relationship between them accommodated in the investigation.

Media in the United States operate under unique circumstances. Their support and perpetuation emanate directly from the attitudes and responses of the economic consumer. In the final analysis, programming is governed by ratings; and ratings, in turn, determine...
which programming efforts will continue to be conveyed to the public. Therefore, we must assume that those programs which have demonstrated consistently 'high' ratings, in a relative sense, are operating as reinforcing of the collective, public reality of the viewing audience. This is the assumption which will be made regarding the inherent nature of the daytime television soap opera.

**ARS statistics provide evidence that the majority of viewers of daytime soap operas**

...women are beyond the marketplace, the contemporary purchasing power of this social category belies such an overly simplistic perspective. Decidedly, housewives are, in the classic Marxian sense, alienated from their work and from the forces of production, operating in the marketplace in much the same way as the factory worker operates on the assembly line. Yet, their relevance in the marketplace and influence in the overall economy cannot be denied. We propose to replace the Benston perspective with one more closely allied to these circumstances. That is, the housewife will be viewed as one category within the genre "alienated worker." (Prima facie evidence of this alienation is her absence from the environment in which labor is rewarded in monetary return.)

What, then, can be said about the alienation of the housewife-viewer and her television viewing habits? It was earlier suggested that evidence of viewership is evidence of support for the collective reality portrayed. In the present considerations, the structural alienation inherent in the housewife status operates as an inducement for the embracing of the [fantasy] collective reality of the soap opera. The configuration of this reality is reflected in the dramatic characterizations of the central figures as well as in the ongoing and never-ending plot. Because the plots, themselves, tend to be rather amorphous, analysis of the collective reality might be better accomplished through the central characters rather than the plot. That is, those characters who dominate the presentation over a period of time will be assumed to represent cultural archetypes. Because the genre of the soap opera is designed to appeal to a female audience, it is reasonable to assume that the archetypes in some way address the female's culturally defined social roles.

The Female Role—The woman in American society, probably more than any other socially formed creature, is a product of contradictions. The American ideal and her role in society are in direct conflict. Both the Horatio Alger myth and the more philosophically grounded assumption of man as unique and separable from surrounding social forces are contradicted in the collective definitions of American woman.

Informally, her social obligations and responsibilities are determined by the male relationships she establishes and maintains. A large body of sociological data support the impotence of the female and the loss of identity sustained in the marital relationship (c.f., deTocqueville, 1840; Durkheim, 1951; Locke, 1951; Rollins and Feldman, 1951). Bernard (1971) cites data from a variety of sources indicating the contemporary woman's dependence on and unhappiness with her subordinate role in the marital relationship.

Alternatives to marriage, for the male as well as the female in American culture, are limited. Turner (1971) notes that for both men and women the social pressures to marry and produce children are great; and the happily unmarried woman or man is viewed not simply as a curiosity but as an unnatural curiosity. Bernard explains the tendency for women to 'adapt' to the marital relationship, noting that for many women, untrained for independence and 'processed' for wifehood, marriage...is preferable to the alternatives (p. 94). The basic status of 'married' and subsequent role of 'mother' are reinforced by the social structure. These two statuses stand as central criteria for attainment of the status 'woman.'

As a common cultural myth, women are beautiful. Stannard (1971) notes the mass media's role in perpetuating this myth: "Glittering and smiling in the media, looked at millions, envied and ogled, these ideal beauties teach women their role in society" (p. 67). And, the beauty is viewed as antithetical to intelligence. Stannard also notes that beauty seems to be enhanced by youth and a childlike dependence. Thus, additional attributes of the female role emerge in the assumption or physical beauty coupled with an absence of intelligence.

The employment (or lack of it) of women has recently become a widely investigated area. A summary of Tauchman and Dodge (1974) suggests that the most extreme discrimination against women occurs among the professional occupations. It might be deduced from this evidence that our societal norms expressly prohibit participation of women in these occupations designated as "professional" (p. 58 ff). Temporary and part-time employment is common for women, indicating a willingness to adapt personal talents, skills and needs to marital and familial demands. A final cultural trait operant in the defining of the

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*Two excellent surveys of the theoretical considerations of the concept are found in Israel (1971) and Schacht (1971). For a contemporary application of the concept to the world of work see Blauner (1964).*
social category "woman" is a devaluation of employment as an activity with inherent qualities of self-expression and fulfillment.

Derivation of Hypothesis—Two central themes have been revealed in this discussion. The first is that mass media tend, as a function of the dependence on viewer acceptance of programming, to project a commonly held collective reality within their content. This reality, in turn, acts as a reinforcing agent for viewers, perhaps even a socializing agent in that the portrayed reality emerges as a norm for rather than a characterization of the human condition.

The second theme explored has been the cultural definition of "woman." The definition is grounded in several basic characteristics: marriage, motherhood, beauty, lack of intelligence, and devalued occupational status. By combining these two themes a logical hypothesis emerged concerning the content of daytime television soap operas:

Female role models, as portrayed on daytime television soap operas, will be more positively evaluated when their characterization conforms to the cultural stereotype of "woman."

OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE VARIABLES

Conformity to Cultural Stereotype—An index of conformity is derived for each female figure evaluated. That index is based on the traits discussed earlier. Four statuses will be rated, and the ratings combined to produce a final composite cultural conformity index.

Viewer Evaluation—The semantic differential (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957) has been used for investigations of a wide variety. One of the chronic and persistent criticisms of the scale has been the potentially culture-bound nature of its major dimensions. Additionally, Osgood et al. have noted that "the greater the emotional or attitudinal loading of the set of concepts being judged, the greater the tendency of the semantic framework to collapse into a single combined dimension" (p. 74). It is precisely these two weaknesses of the instrument which, in the present study, serve as fundamental methodological strengths. That is, utilization of two sub-units of the evaluative dimension (Osgood et al., p. 70) is predicated on the assumption that evaluation of female role models is a multi-faceted as the components of the cultural stereotype. The semantic differential, with its culture bias, serves as an appropriate instrument to tap some of the facets of the culture.

The second weakness of the instrument, the tendency for dimensions to collapse when concepts are highly salient, serves as an advantage in the present study in that it provides potential insight into those criteria which are most salient in the evaluation of female role models. Thus the semantic differential provides a vehicle for insight into the cultural definitions of female sex roles as well as a medium for the study of specific female role models.

Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum note that "the evaluative dimension of semantic space was a very general one—a sort of sheath with leaves unfolding toward various other directions" (p. 75). Several subclusters are noted within the dimension: morally evaluative; socially evaluative; aesthetically evaluative; and emotionally evaluative. From this set the aesthetically and emotionally evaluative subclusters were restated through factor analysis in an effort to identify at least two of the components of the process of defining "woman" in this culture.

Selection of Programs and Evaluators—Four soap operas were utilized in the study: "The Young and the Restless," "Days of Our Lives," "Another World," and "All My Children." These programs represent a portion of the network offerings of both ABC and NBC. Women students (N = 50) at Lander College who had indicated that they regularly watched one or more of these soap operas were asked to rank order the female "stars" of the programs which they viewed, and the five top ranked characters for each of the four programs were then used as concepts evaluated with the polar adjectives suggested as subclusters of the semantic differential.

REPORT OF DATA ANALYSIS

Twelve sets of polar adjectives were used in the semantic differential format for the initial evaluation of soap opera characters. Selection of adjective sets was based on Osgood et al.'s discussion of aesthetic and emotional evaluation (p. 70 ff). The results of that factor analysis (unrotated solution) are summarized in Table 1.

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*CBS reception in Greenwood is very poor without access to the local cable. It was not felt that access to the cable could be assumed; CBS programming was therefore omitted from the study.
Factors were extracted on the basis of a minimal eigen value of 1.00. "Significance" of factor loadings was based on the following criteria: (1) a variable was viewed as 'significant' if it's loading on any given factor was .50, either positive or negative; and (2) a variable was considered "pure" if, in addition, it did not load greater than .40 on any other factor (e.g., Bethel, 1974). A variable must meet both the criteria of significance and of purity to be further considered in the analyses.

On the basis of these standards, two sets of adjectives can be immediately eliminated from further consideration: Relaxed-Tense and Bland-Tasty. Additionally, the elimination of these two sets of adjectives also eliminates the third factor extracted in the analysis. Those variables remaining loaded purely and significantly in the following clusters: (I) Good-Bad, Light-Heavy, Rounded-Angular, Loud-Soft (negative), Rough-Smooth (negative), and Noisy-Calm (negative); (II) Strong-Weak, Sharp-Dull, and Hot-Cold. The negative loadings of Loud-Soft, Rough-Smooth and Noisy-Calm indicate that in order to establish additivity, scoring procedures should be reversed.

The first factor extracted clearly yields characteristics similar to that discussed as "aesthetic" evaluation by Osgood et al., and will be so labeled. The second factor, or quasi-factor is somewhat confusing. In a semantic sense, it resembles Osgood's activity dimension. Both of the adjective sets indicated by Osgood to be central to an emotionally evaluative factor were earlier eliminated from further consideration based on their factor loadings. The second factor may therefore be little more than a residual element, neither fully explored nor fully defined, or a function of the tendency of dimensions to collapse under highly salient conditions, as noted earlier. The minimal number of loadings (3) makes its consideration as a legitimate dimension questionable, for the mathematical extraction of factors in statistical analysis does not guarantee the existence of bona fide structural dimensions in a phenomenon. While there is little agreement on the number of variable loadings necessary to view a statistical factor as a structural dimension, the exploratory nature of the study makes Type II error more desirable than Type I error. Therefore, the second factor, with the above cautions stated, will be retained for additional analysis, under the label of emotional evaluation. Viewer evaluation, then, will be considered to have two components: aesthetic evaluation and emotional evaluation. These two modes of evaluation will be examined in terms of the degree to which each of the characters selected for evaluation conforms to the cultural stereotype of "woman."

The cultural conformity index is based on three separate components: marital status; parental status; and employment status. A three-way analysis of variance was computed for both the aesthetic and emotional evaluations on the basis of these status variables. Significant F-ratios were followed by Scheffe t-test for main effects only.*

*Unequal and in some cases empty cells made examination of interaction effects impossible. Corrections for unequal cell sizes were made according to solutions suggested by Winer(1962).

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Table 1: Factor Analysis of Polar Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectives</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>h²*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good-Bad</td>
<td>0.70707</td>
<td>-0.17119</td>
<td>0.22276</td>
<td>0.57989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong-Weak</td>
<td>-0.08436</td>
<td>0.71031</td>
<td>0.00774</td>
<td>0.50874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharp-Dull</td>
<td>0.37560</td>
<td>0.74686</td>
<td>0.25878</td>
<td>0.69187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy-Light</td>
<td>0.56834</td>
<td>-0.28478</td>
<td>0.16933</td>
<td>0.45671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot-Cold</td>
<td>-0.16984</td>
<td>0.66953</td>
<td>0.07190</td>
<td>0.40222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angular-Rounded</td>
<td>0.61645</td>
<td>-0.05957</td>
<td>0.02983</td>
<td>0.42633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active-Passive</td>
<td>-0.41155</td>
<td>0.43962</td>
<td>0.09521</td>
<td>0.36994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soft-Loud</td>
<td>-0.72693</td>
<td>0.01820</td>
<td>-0.0841</td>
<td>0.62732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relaxed-Tense</td>
<td>-0.39609</td>
<td>-0.34034</td>
<td>0.63205</td>
<td>0.73515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smooth-Rough</td>
<td>-0.62134</td>
<td>-0.35969</td>
<td>0.36566</td>
<td>0.65237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calm-Noisy</td>
<td>-0.72862</td>
<td>-0.19522</td>
<td>0.13379</td>
<td>0.57451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain-Tasty</td>
<td>0.25178</td>
<td>0.48261</td>
<td>0.15804</td>
<td>0.40995</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eigen Values: 3.21782, 2.39672, 1.11007

h²* = communalities

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Main effects F-ratios for each of the independent variables in the aesthetic evaluation were significant ($p < .001$). Post hoc comparisons of the means are summarized below.

Table 4: Post Hoc Comparisons of Aesthetic Evaluation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>26.159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>21.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20.020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parental Status</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>23.569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Children, but Trying</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30.435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Children</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>23.475</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Employed</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>22.741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>23.618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-Time</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25.661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionally Employed</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>25.661</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Main effects F-ratios for each of the independent variables in the aesthetic evaluation were significant ($p < .001$). Post hoc comparisons of the means are summarized below.

Table 6: Post Hoc Comparisons of Aesthetic Evaluation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>4.659*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>6.139*</td>
<td>1.480*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the post hoc examinations it can be seen that the hypothesis is confirmed with regard to the aesthetic evaluation of the dramatic characters in terms of their marital status. Those characters in the role of "married woman" received the highest (significant) aesthetic evaluation by subjects, followed by single and then divorced characters. Those characters aspiring to and actively seeking motherhood received a significantly higher aesthetic evaluation than either characters clearly with children or without them. It is interesting to note, from the present data, that there is a greater aesthetic evaluation when the dramatic characters are aspiring to motherhood rather than actively involved in that status. This may well be due to sampling bias and the use of primarily unmarried college-age women, who probably romanticize motherhood. Finally, the evaluation of employment status is also interesting. The lowest evaluation was given to characters involved in part-time employment; while the only post hoc significance was between that group and characters with no apparent employment in their dramatic role, the interesting phenomenon is the high evaluation of female characters engaged in professional employment.

Interpreting the post hoc analyses in terms of the initial hypothesis, it can be seen that the main effect, marital status, is clearly in support of that hypothesis. The possible reasons for the extremely high aesthetic evaluation of those characters aspiring to motherhood has already been discussed. Parental status, however, clearly fails to follow the anticipated direction of low evaluation of those characters without children. Employment status also contradicts the research hypothesis. It is possible, however, that the evaluative configuration of both parental status and employment status reflect changing norms and role definitions which young women in this culture select as desirable for both themselves and their role models.

**Table 5: Means for Emotional Evaluation by Marital Status, Parental Status, and Employment Status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>14.470</td>
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<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15.529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>13.959</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parental Status</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>14.246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanting Children</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Children</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>15.513</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Employed</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>14.879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14.824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-Time</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11.571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionally Employed</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>15.482</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Main effects F-ratios were significant only for parental status and employment status. Post hoc comparisons of these two effects are summarized in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Post Hoc Comparisons of Emotional Evaluation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parental Status</th>
<th>Wanting Children</th>
<th>Wanting No Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>2.904*</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Not Employed</th>
<th>Volunteer</th>
<th>Part-Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>-3.308*</td>
<td>-3.253*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-3.916*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .001  **Critical Difference = t(.001) MSw (1/n1 + 1/n2)

Unlike the aesthetic dimension, the highest evaluation for parental status was for those characters without children, followed by those with children, and then those aspiring to motherhood. The differences in emotional evaluation in terms of employment status are, as with the aesthetic evaluation, in contradiction to the research hypothesis. In this case, however, the emotional evaluation of those characters employed on a part-time basis was significantly lower than the other employment categories. In the case of the aesthetic dimension the evaluation was higher. Neither of the main effects of the emotional evaluation analyses lend credence to the research hypothesis.

Discussion

Female characters in daytime television soap operas were evaluated in terms of twelve polar adjectives suggested by Osgood et al. to represent two subclusters of the evaluative dimension of the semantic differential. A factor analysis of the polar adjectives yielded two identifiable dimensions, viewed in this study as analogous to the aesthetic and emotional evaluation subclusters suggested by Osgood et al. These dimensions were then subjected to three-way analyses of variance, using the major categories of the cultural conformity index: marital status, parental status, and employment status. Unequal cell sizes and empty cells prevented testing for interaction effects. Post hoc comparisons of marital status' main effects for the aesthetic evaluation dimension clearly supported the research hypothesis. Parental status main effects for this dimension lend less support to the dimension, but are explained in terms of possible sampling bias. The employment status main effect failed to lend support to the hypothesis. The high aesthetic evaluation of characters engaged in both part-time and professional-type employment, it has been suggested, may well indicate a changing configuration of the criteria by which women evaluate role models portrayed by the mass media.

The results of the analysis of variance of the emotional evaluation dimension failed to support the research hypothesis. While marital status as a main effect did not yield a significant F-ratio, it is interesting to note the informal trend of the means (see Table 5, p. 14). Single characters received the highest emotional evaluation while divorced characters received the lowest. The devaluation of the divorced status is consistent with the cultural criteria of those characteristics desirable for women: the higher valuation of single/unmarried status is not, however, typical of the cultural criteria. Post hoc analysis of the main effect of parental status similarly yielded, evidence contradictory to suggested prevailing cultural standards. These characters aspiring to motherhood were evaluated significantly lower than characters without children, who did not aspir to that status. Finally, characters engaged in part-time employment were evaluated significantly lower than all other categories of employment status, again failing to yield support to the research hypothesis.
If television is projecting a specific form of collective reality, the evidence of this study indicates that this reality may well be in a state of flux. The post hoc comparisons of main effects differences have yielded a series of intriguing but contradictory statements regarding the evaluation of various potential role models and, in turn, the collective reality which they project.

Suggestions for Further Study

The present data are by no means a complete and precise picture of the evaluation processes which women experience in their examination of the environment for appropriate role models. No attempt has been made to control for the content or orientation of the programs from which individual characters were drawn. Such an effort should be made if a more accurate reflection of the anticipatory socialization effects of soap operas, or any media programming, is to be attained. Additionally, the homogeneity of the raters should not be assumed, as has been the case in this study. Rather, intentional diversity of raters, in terms of socioeconomic status, age, educational background and the like should be introduced as controlled variables into future studies of this nature, in order to more completely investigate the emotional responses of various categories of women to cultural role models. Finally, the cultural conformity index, if it is to be validated, must be refined and undergo scaling procedures.

REFERENCES


GROUP I-E

USE, EVALUATION, AND GENERATION OF NON-PRINT MEDIA

Chair: Bruce Gronbeck
GROUP I-E
USE, EVALUATION, AND GENERATION OF NON-PRINT MEDIA

CHAIR: Bruce Gronbeck, The University of Iowa

INTRODUCTION

The sheer ubiquity of non-print media, as well as the fugitive nature of much of it, made it impossible for this session to survey completely the use, evaluation, and generation of non-print media. The participants certainly were committed to the notion that non-print media—particularly films and electronic broadcasting—represent the largest repository, perhaps, of this culture's attitudes toward the place, functions, and range of women and feminist activities, and hence such media deserve scholarly inspection as well as classroom study and use.

The first document from this session, Edwards' and Gronbeck's list of educational, instructional, and documentary films treating women, provides raw material both for researchers interested in tracing sex-role stereotyping in so-called "educational" material as well as for potent classroom probes into the culture's attitudes toward women. The cross-listing feature in particular, should provide a source valuable to both researchers and teachers.

The second document, Busby's "Women and Society: The Mass Media," provides perhaps the broadest review of women-related research available at this time. Concentrating upon sex-role imagery in the mass media, Professor Busby (1) indicates why researchers have been concerned about the problem, (2) reviews research identifying sex roles across print and electronic media, and (3) traces research indicating the effects of sex-role stereotyping.

Finally, Douthitt and Gronbeck, in an abbreviated version of their presentation, offer advice on securing the funding necessary to pursue all kinds of feminist research, creative works, and programs.
A PARTIAL LIST OF EDUCATIONAL, INSTRUCTIONAL, AND DOCUMENTARY FILMS TREATING WOMEN'S ROLES, PROBLEMS, AND COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

by

Richard Edwards and Bruce E. Gronbeck

The growing popularity of Women's Studies, the commercial values currently inherent in television programs relating to women, and the growing recognition among college administrators of filmic and broadcast treatments of ideas as legitimate forms of scholarship, have combined to produce an outburst of new films, especially since 1965-66 (see Figure 1). The mid-60's apparently found it worthwhile to accelerate film productions describing women's needs for self-fulfillment, reproductive processes, and feminine perspectives on socialization, maturation, and family life, and thus began a blossoming of creative and probing treatments of the female. These educational (i.e., public), instructional (i.e., pedagogical), and documentary (i.e. interpretive) films treating women's roles, problems, and communication strategies in contemporary culture—especially American—provide substantively exciting material for many traditional educational programs.

As Mary Jean Tully argues convincingly, contemporary feminism has survived its first assaults upon the dominant culture, and has made important legal, social, political, and financial gains. "The need now," she urges, "is for the long haul." That "long haul" must include innovative, tough, utilitarian educational endeavors, ones guaranteeing that Women's Studies will find a respected place in secondary, college, and university curricula. Creative uses of filmic resources are particularly integral to such educational programs in courses treating contemporary culture, feminine philosophies and perspectives, literature about and/or by women, the sociology of womanhood, the psychology of oppression, and women's communication strategies for coping with each other and with culture generally.

We are in no position to offer specific advice on precisely how filmic resources ought to be used in particular courses, for we have neither taught feminist courses nor viewed every film on the following list. We can, however, provide this list of potentially beneficial films for those high school, college, and university teachers-in-the-field.

A few remarks about the list are in order. (1) Categories. We first tried to specify genre (documentary, dramatization, lecture, role-play, discussion, etc.), but such proved impossible, because any given film might fall into more than one, and because catalogue descriptions often differed from one media center to another. We have gone, therefore, to a substantive or topical system of classification, working with eighteen identifiers. The result is not perfect since any given film might belong in more than one class; for example, the fine Yugoslavian film, From 3 AM to 10 PM, we have put in the "Working Women" category, whereas it might be equally at home in the "Family Life" and "Roles of Women in Other Societies" categories. Overlap certainly exists, but at least our product, is more useful than one with alphabetized titles.

(2) Film Centers. We have worked through the catalogues of twenty-six institutional film centers, including all of the major distribution centers in various parts of the country. Most of the catalogues used were from 1974-75, although a few were older; in addition, we had available one videotape collection, the Elover Library and Campus Videotapes catalogue from Santa Rosa Junior College, Santa Rose, California. There are, however, probably many films not available from these institutional centers. Such films often can be found in a separate publication, National Information Center for Educational Media, 5th ed. (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1975). NICEM is periodically updated, providing the only relatively complete listing of educational films and videotapes. Films from our list not available at one of the twenty-seven centers would have to be secured from the producer and/or distributor listed in NICEM.

KEY TO INSTITUTIONAL FILM CENTERS

AU University of Arizona Film Library
BU Boston University, Krasker Memorial Film Library
BYU Brigham Young University Extension Media Services
CEMC University of California Extension Media Center
CU University of Colorado Bureau of Audiovisual Instruction
FSU Florida State University Instructional Media Center
GU University of Georgia Film Library
ILLU University of Illinois Visual Aids Service
ISU Iowa State University Media Resources Center
IU Indiana University Audio-Visual Center
KSU Kent State University Film Rental Library
KU
University of Kansas Audio-Visual Center

Mich
University of Michigan Audio-Visual Education Center

MN
University of Minnesota Department of Audio-Visual Extension

NU
University of Nebraska-Lincoln Educational Films

NYU
University of Nevada Audiovisual Communication Center

Oxford
New York University Film Library

OSU
Oklahoma State University-Audio-Visual Center

PSU
Pennsylvania State University Audio-Visual Services

SD
South Dakota State University Audio-Visual Center

Syracuse
Film Center of Syracuse University

UU
University of Wisconsin Extension, Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction

WUE
University of Wisconsin Extension, Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction

WU
University of Wyoming Audio-Visual Services

(3) Key to the Entries. To save space, we have been forced to cut individual entries to essential information. We have offered short descriptions, and have excluded price-of-rental (since these can change and would not permit a simple listing of centers holding a given film. We have withheld information on narrators, filmmakers, etc., because our information on such matters is limited. Our stripped-down entry for each of the 189 films included in this list, therefore, is set up as follows:

NAME OF FILM
Date COLOR/BW length film/video type of audience (if available)
Producer; Commercial Distributor; Institutional Distributor (if known; some also will indicate "Out of Print," meaning that centers are unable to purchase new copies)
Brief Description of Film

Those wanting more information about particular films should be able to secure it from catalogues housed in home-institution audio-visual centers. Addresses of producers/distributors having films not available ("NA" being indicated on entries here) from institutional distributors also can be secured from audio-visual centers.

LIST OF FILMS

(1) Beauty Ethic: Presentations and Examinations

Beauty Knows No Pain
1973 COLOR 25 min. 16 mm film j-s-a-
Benchmark Films, Inc.; BU CEMC IOWA SYU

Shows the ordeal of training and testing to which coeds submit themselves in order to join the Kilgore (Texas) College Rangerettes and share in the glamour of the football field. Includes interviews with members and is partly narrated by the group's director. Subtle satire throughout.

Frankenstein in a Fishbowl
1973 COLOR 43 min. 16 mm film s-c-a-
Life-Production; CEMC MICH

Revealing and sometimes gruesome documentary on plastic surgery, showing why two middle-aged women, one poor and the other rich, endure extreme pain in order to rejuvenate their appearance. Includes graphic scenes of the surgeries and the postoperative condition of the two women, and suggests that their deeper problems will not be solved by surgical means.

Queen of Apollo
1970 COLOR 12 min. 16 mm film
Pennebaker Inc.; CEMC

Cinema verite portrait of the 1970 Queen of debutantes at an exclusive New Orleans Mardi Gras ball. Follows her as she prances for hours before entering the ballroom, where she bestows greetings with the traditional scepter and frozen smile. Satirical, funny, and ultimately sad. By Richard Leacock.

81
SCHNEERGUNTZ
1964 BW 15 min 16 mm film
Gunvor Nelson; CEMC

Contrasts the romantic, stereotyped "glamour girl" ideal, prevalent in the media, advertising, and beauty contests, with the harsher, seamer aspects of women's commonplace role—the discomfort of pregnancy, the tedium of child care, house-cleaning, and other unpleasant routines. In a skillfully executed montage of rapid-fire images, recurring and explicit flashes of morning sickness, garbage, diaper-changing, and menstruation are intercut with the glamour sequences, insipid music, and commentary to produce a powerful, satiric effect.

WHY NOT BE BEAUTIFUL
1969 COLOR 20 min 16 mm film
Handel Film Corporation; AU ILLU SYU

Shows that with self-discipline and know-how, any teenage girl can be beautiful. Stress the importance of cleanliness, good diet, and exercise; demonstrates with diagrams and a model the artful application of cosmetics; and discusses hair care, clothing, and attractive behavior.

(2) BIRTH CONTROL, UNWANTED PREGNANCY, AND ABORTION

ABORTION
1971 BW 30 min 16 mm film s-c-a
American Documentary Films, Inc.; NA

Presents a dramatized account of an illegal abortion undergone by one of the filmmakers. Concludes with demands for free birth control information, abortion on demand, and equal responsibility of men for birth control.

ABORTION: PUBLIC ISSUE OR PRIVATE MATTER
1971 COLOR 25 min 16 mm film c-a
National Broadcasting Company Educational Enterprises; AU CEMC FSU IOWA SYU ILLU

Is abortion the decision of the pregnant woman alone? Or must her family, the church, and society as a whole participate? Activists on both sides speak out with conviction on the effects of abortion. Legal aspects of providing abortions in the light of a recent Supreme Court decision are also described.

ADVOCATES, THE: ON ABORTION AT WILL IN THE FIRST TWELVE WEEKS
1970 BW 57 min 16 mm film s-c-a
KETC-TV: Indiana University; CEMC BU ILLU IU

Advocates and opponents of legalized abortion debate the resolution that a woman should have the right of self-determination in having her own pregnancy terminated during the first three months. Experts who testify pro and con include Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, biologist Garrett Hardin, University of California medical school's Dr. Edmund Overstreet, novelist Pearl Buck, Dr. Dennis Cavanagh of St. Louis University and adoption expert Mrs. Charlotte De Armond of Children's Home Society.

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE LAW, I AND II
1962 BW 51 min 16 mm film c-a
CBS; Carousel Films: IU MICH SYU

Legal, moral, medical, and social implications of birth control. Viewpoints of clergymen, doctors, social workers, and patients. Cook County's management of welfare obstetrical cases. Dispute in New Haven, Connecticut, where the Planned Parenthood Federation was closed by court order in 1961. Opinions of prominent individuals concerning this test case.

BIRTH CONTROL: HOW
1965 BW 32 min 16 mm film s-c-a
NBC; Films, Inc.; AU FSU IOWU

The need for some form of population control is widely recognized, but the means is a source of continual debate. This film covers questions about the pill, examines other birth control methods, presents controlled experiment groups in Kentucky and in Puerto Rico, and considers the moral dimensions of birth control.
EARLY ABORTION

1973 COLOR 9 minutes 16 mm film  c-a
Ramsgate Films; NA

Features television actress Adrienne Barbeau who narrates an animated step-by-step explanation of a typical atraumatic abortion procedure. Includes scenes from both a group question-and-answer session and an abortion procedure to answer common questions and reduce patient anxiety.

FAMILY PLANNING

1968 COLOR 10 minutes 16 mm film  s-c-a
Walt Disney Production; BU ILLU IOWA MICH MINN SYU WUE

Using one family as an example, this film shows the problems which arise as increases in population place ever greater demands on resources; suggests that there are sage and accepted ways of having children when you want them; stresses individual responsibility toward the family of man. Uses Donald Duck as part of film.

FOUR YOUNG WOMEN: A FILM ABOUT ABORTION

1973 COLOR 20 min 16 mm film  See-Eaw Films; CEMC

Explores the attitudes, motivations, and feelings of four young women of different ages and races, who, for a number of reasons, have had or are planning to have abortions. Presents abortion as a personal experience, without judgments. Includes interviews with the women’s boyfriends, husbands, and parents. Concludes with a doctor's explanation of the medical procedures involved in an abortion.

HOPE IS NOT A METHOD

1973 COLOR 17 min 16 mm film  c-a
Planned Parenthood Center of Syracuse, Inc.; Perennial Education, Inc.; BU ILLU MICH SYU

Combines animation, diagram, and live action sequences to impart medical and scientific information about seven types of contraceptives: withdrawal, rhythm, spermicidal foams, condom, diaphragm, pill, and intrauterine devices. Also discusses vasectomy, tubal ligation, and abortion.

HOW ABOUT YOU

1972 COLOR 22 min 16 mm film  s-c
Pandora Films; Texture Films; MICH

Factual information about the female body and the major methods of birth control: the pill, the IUD, the diaphragm, foam and condom. Teenage sexuality as expressed by young people during their sexual feelings and experiences is discussed.

I'LL NEVER GET HER BACK

1969 BW 24 min 16 mm film  s-c-a
WKW-TV; NBC Educational Enterprises; BU FSU ILLU MICH SYU WUE

Story of an unwed mother, narrated by an unwed mother herself. She relates her experiences from the time of her arrival at the maternity home through the birth of her daughter to the signing of the adoption papers in the anguished realization that she will never again have her child back.

ILLEGAL ABORTION

1966 BW 25 min 16 mm film  National Film Board of Canada; CEMC

Extremely graphic and shocking dramatization of a young woman's mental and physical suffering before and during an illegal back-alley abortion. Also depicts the deterioration of her relationship with her boyfriend after she becomes pregnant. Somewhat melodramatic, but nevertheless, a strong argument for legalized abortion.

IT HAPPENS

1972 COLOR 25 min 16 mm film  Noel Nosseck; Pyramid; BU MICH

A discussion film on teenage pregnancy in which a young girl and her boyfriend go through the emotional turmoil of a pregnancy out of wedlock. Where can she go for tests and counseling without her parents' knowledge? Should they marry? Should the pregnancy be terminated? Should she put up the child for adoption? Should she keep the child? Should she tell her parents? Open-ended.
IT HAPPENS TO US
1972 COLOR 30 min 16 mm film
New Day Films; CEMC MICH

Presents a number of women of different ages, marital status, and races who candidly describe their abortions—both legal and illegal. Considers abortion in medical and moral terms, examines relevant statistics about abortion and birth control, and provides an understanding of the personal effects of abortion on the women involved.

TO PLAY YOUR FAMILY
1967 COLOR 14 min 16 mm film
Churchill Films; AU BU ILLU IOWA IU KSU SYU

Interviews with several women who tell their stories of contraceptives and why they wish they had started earlier. Animated sequences of reproductive organs, process of fertilization. Various contraceptive methods are surveyed.

WOMEN WHO HAD AN ABORTION
No date COLOR 29 min 16 mm film
Martha: Impact Films; NA

Features...both black and white, representing a wide range of varied socio-economic backgrounds who have faced the ordeal of deciding about having an abortion, subsequently had one, and were willing to talk about it.

YOUNG, SINGLE, AND PREGNANT
1973 COLOR 18 min 16 mm film
See-Saw Films; CEMC

Shows four young women who chose different solutions to the problem of an unwanted pregnancy during their teenage years. One married and kept her baby, another chose single parenthood, the third gave up her child for adoption, and the fourth had an abortion. Depicts the advantages and disadvantages of each alternative.

(3) COPING WITH A MALE ORIENTED SOCIETY
DAY OFF, A
1973 COLOR 30 min 16 mm film c-a
Robert McKee; MICH

Two men meet by accident and take a day off to drink, talk, and seek adventures in the manner they might have done things when they knew each other in school. Both have experienced troubled relationships with women, both are lonely men harboring strong sexist attitudes. They are unable to relate to each other as true friends.

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT
Date Unknown BW 22 min 1/2" Videotape
Producer Unknown; Plover Library and Campus Videotapes, Santa Rosa Junior College

Bill Moyers examines the question, "Should women athletes be allowed to compete with men?"

INCLUDED OUT
1973 COLOR 3 min 16 mm film
Mass Media; CEMC

Humorously animated comment on the sexist bias of the English language and its effect on societal values. A woman listening to a church sermon is told that "man" includes "woman" as well—until she tries to enter a "men's" room.

SHOULD THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT BE APPROVED
Date Unknown BW 46 min 1/2" Videotape
Producer Unknown; Plover Library and Campus View Tapes, Santa Rosa Junior College

Open debate centering on the pros and cons of the proposed women's equal rights amendment of 1973.
SEX DISCRIMINATION
Date: unknown  BW  50 min  1/2" Videotape
Producer Unknown: Plover Library and Campus Video Tapes,
Santa Rosa Junior College

Three female Santa Rosa Junior College instructors, and one female counselor in
private practice, discuss their personal experiences with sex discrimination.

TO BE A WOMAN
1969  COLOR  13 min  16 mm film  s-c-a
AIA Productions; Billy Budd Films, Inc.; ILLU NLU WUE

"It is easy to be female, but very, very hard to be a woman." So states an 18-year-old
girl in this film discussion on womanhood. Live interviews with the young form the basis
for a study of girlhood, personhood, femininity, anti-stereotypes, sexuality, and idealism.
Impressionistic visuals illustrate the sequences.

WOMEN, AMEN!
1973  COLOR  15 min  16 mm film
University of North Carolina; CENC

Examines the impact of the women's movement on churches in the U.S. Shows
a young woman activist who organized a consciousness-raising group, reformed church
services, and finally entered a seminary, while older women lobby for bringing women
into decision-making procedures.

WOMEN'S FILM, THE
1971  BW  35 min  16 mm film
New Day Films; IDU

Depicts women's liberation in the truest and most far reaching sense of the world.
Five women are interviewed and talk about their problems. They express what they feel
is wrong with the system and how women are victimized by class, racial, and sexual
inequality. They realize that they play a supportive role to men, and that their needs
as human beings are not recognized.

WOMEN'S FILMS, THE
1970  BW  45 min  16 mm film
San Francisco Newsreel; NA

Presents the story of the poor and working women who talk about the oppression
they have felt in their homes, on the job, and in society. Explains how women are
struggling for their liberation or all fronts.

WOMEN'S PREJUDICE FILM, THE
1974  COLOR  19 min  16 mm film
Sandler Institutional Films, Inc.; NA

Examines objectionable concepts along with alternative viewpoints that stimulate
men and women to reappraise current attitudes concerning equality. Explores many myths
and cliches.

WO0 WHO? MAY WILSON
1969  COLOR  33 min  16 mm film
Anomaly Films; CENC MICH

Lively and sympathetic portrayal of May Wilson, a 63-year-old former "wife-mother-
housewife-cook" who, when her husband left her, moved from the country to New York City
and began a new life and identity in which her art, which had previously been a hobby,
became central. Shows her daily activities in the city, entertaining her new, young
friends, and at work on her sculptural assemblages, which she makes out of castoff objects
and junk.

(4) DATING AND MARRIAGE

ARE YOU THE ONE?
1970  COLOR  24 min  16 mm film  c-a
Brigham Young University; BU CEMC ISU 12

Pin points some of the issues to be considered in making the final selection of a mate.
BEGINNING TO DATE
1953  BW  12 min  16 mm film
Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corp.; BYU FSU IOWU IU MICH MINN NLU WUE

Dramatizes one of the important periods in the lives of teenagers and illustrates
the right and wrong approaches to dating. Offers special help to the timid, and demonstra-
tes the basic rules for conduct on a date.

CHOOSING FOR HAPPINESS
1950  BW  14 min  16 mm film  c-a
McGraw-Hill Text Films; Out of Print; CU FSU GUI SU IU MINN NLU NU NYU WUE

"Is he right for me?" Eve asks herself each time she meets a new boy. Somehow
each one fails to measure up, and when she tries to change them "for their own good"
they drift away. A cousin suggests that for Eve, as for everyone, self-analysis must
come first; that she must accept responsibilities of making certain changes in herself,
and fewer demands on other people.

GAME, THE
1966  BW  28 min  16 mm film  j-s-c-a
National Film Board of Canada; McGraw-Hill Text Films; AU
BU CENC CU FSU IOWU ISU KSU MICH MINN NLU NYU SYU WUE

Problems of relationship between young members of the sexes. High school student, 
provoked by his friends to prove his claimed ability as a seducer, seeks to demonstrate
his masculinity by winning over a young girl in his class. He succeeds, feels guilty
because he has come to like her very much, and drops her.

GOING STEADY
1951  BW  11 min  16 mm film  j-s
Coronet Instructional Films; Out of Print; CU FSU IOWU ISU
KSU KU OSU WUE

Raises for discussion such important questions as "When are you old enough to go
steady?", "What disadvantages are there to it?", "How can you terminate the steady
relationship without hard feelings?"

MARRIAGE
1971  COLOR  16 min  16 mm film  c-a
N.C. Brown Trust; Wexler Film Productions; ILLU ISU

Shows the varying roles of husbands and wives in different societies and historical
periods, and the changes that occur from early marriage through retirement.

MARRIAGE
Date Unknown  COLOR  17 min  3/4" Videotape
Perennial Education, Inc.; Available from Perennial

Examines the roles of husbands and wives in different cultures as well as our own.

MARRIAGE OR MIRAGE
1966  BW  30 min  16 mm film
University of California Extension Media Center; CEMC

Alexander Rosen and Gertrude Sackheim discuss individual identity and needs in marriage,
as well as differing views of what marriage is, can be, should be. Part of a series-
Choice: Challenge for Modern Woman Series.

MATURING FEMALE, THE
1970  COLOR  13 min  16 mm film  j-s
Moreland-Latchford Productions, Ltd.; Sterling Educational Films;
ILLU KSU

Designed to provoke discussion about how a teenage girl can best cope with an adult
problem that faces her as she grows up: intimacy with the opposite sex. When 15 year old
Sue visits Kathy, also 15; she finds her friend upset because of a confrontation with her
father, who saw his daughter necking in a new boyfriend's car. He tells Kathy she should
stay with the group, but Kathy tells Sue that she can take care of herself. Can she?
REMEMBER EDEN

1971 COLOR 10 min 16 mm film s-c-a
Cine-Cana Catholic Missions; Arthur Barr Productions, Inc.;
AU ILLU IOWU SYU SYU

Against the moods and colors of the changing seasons, young adults express viewpoints related to man-woman relationships. Exploring values ranging from exploitation and conquest to a relationship of lifelong love and fidelity.

SEARCHING YEARS--DATING AND MARRIAGE--HOW CLOSE CAN YOU GET?
1972 COLOR 10 min 16 mm film j-s-c-a
Churchill Films; AU BU ILLU IOWU KSU

Discussion of what people expect of marriage. Should the wife stay at home and keep house? Should the wife be independent and growing while married?

SEARCHING YEARS--DATING AND MARRIAGE: WHAT DO GIRLS WANT FROM BOYS?
1972 COLOR 9 min 16 mm film j-s-c-a
Dimension Films; Churchill Films; ILLU IOWU KSU

In a close relationship between a boy and a girl, what does each need from the other? Are girls' needs different from boys'? These issues open into a discussion of why girls prefer dating older boys and develops into a heated debate over the emotional needs of 10th grade girls.

THIS IS NO TIME FOR ROMANCE
1968 COLOR 28 min 16 mm film r-c-a
National Film Board of Canada; Perennial Education, Inc.; CEMC MICH WUE

Wife dreams a little and reflects on her life and marriage. Is it enough? What else might she have made of herself? Her husband returns and she opts for things as they are. Family shown is French speaking, but voices are dubbed into English.

WHO'S BOSS
1950 BW 16 min 16 mm film s-c-a
McGraw-Hill Text Films; Out of Print; CU FSU ILLU IOWU KU MICH MINN NYU OSU SYU UU WUE

Competition in marriage is the theme of the film. Part of a series: Marriage for Moderns.

WHO'S RIGHT
1950, 1954, 196-+ BW 18 min 16 mm film s-c-a
McGraw-Hill Text Films; Out of Print; BYU CU FSU ILLU IOWU ISU IU KU MICH MINN NLU SYU SYU UU WUE

Quarrelling by a young couple caused by a lack of understanding. How mature love and understanding require placing marriage partnership above self-interest. Part of a series: Marriage for Moderns.

WOMAN, WIFE, OR WHAT
1960 BW 29 min 16 mm film s-c-a
KUDOX-TV: WO

Explains that in a modern world, many married women have feelings of being trapped, their roles confused. Describes the battle for intellectual recognition and need for creative achievement.

EDITOR FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

AFTER THE VOTE: NOTES FROM DOWN UNDER
1972 BW 21 min 16 mm film
Bonnie Kreps; CENV

Opens with brief historical footage of women's suffrage movement, then examines current status of women, more than fifty years after they attained "equality." Considers the socialization of women into submissive and subordinate roles; job discrimination and lack of opportunities for achievement; and the treatment of women as sexual objects.

Interesting historical footage, news clips, and interviews with women are intercut with a long interview with a sympathetic male psychologist.
WHAT IS THE SHAPE OF TOMORROW
1966 BW 30 min 16 mm film
University of California Extension Media Center; CECX

Jeanne Noble and Rabbi Alfred Gottschalk discuss variation in personal standards, beliefs, and values; spiritual, moral, and interpersonal sources of strength; and women's power in shaping the world of tomorrow. Part of a series—Choice: Challenge for Modern Woman Series.

WOMAN'S PLACE
1973 COLOR 58 min 16 mm film
ABC News; CECX

Examines woman's traditional role in society and shows how women today are rethinking their roles and examining new choices for their lives in the future.

WOMEN TALKING
1971 BW 80 min 16 mm film
Women's Liberation Cinema Co.; Impact Films; NA

Features conversations with leading personalities in the forefront of the women's liberation movement. Seeks to bring an understanding of the vital problems confronting society by relating experiences that contribute to a greater awareness of the social oppression of women.

WOMEN--THE HAND THAT ROCKS THE CRADLE
No Date COLOR 22 min 16 mm film
Document Associates, Inc.; CECX

Explains that today's women's liberation movement may be just a forerunner of total reconstitution of women's role in society, especially as they will relate to men.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION
1971 COLOR 23 min 16 mm film s-c-a
ABC News; MICH WUL

Women's liberation movement on university campuses, in city streets, in corporations and in the minds of men and women today. What movement women feel, what they want, and how they plan to get it.

(6) FAMILY LIFE

BUT WHAT IF THE DREAM COMES TRUE
1972 COLOR 52 min 16 mm film s-c-a
CBS; Carousel Films, Inc.; BU CENC IOWU MICH WUL

A true story about the Sam Greenland and their children, whose dream has come true in the affluent suburb of Birmingham, Michigan, or has it? Suggestion that perhaps the American dream needs more than money, status, and comfort.

DAVID AND HAZEL
1965 BW 28 min 16 mm film s-c-a
National Film Board of Canada; McGraw-Hill Text Films; AU BU BYU CU PSU
IU IU KSU MICH MIRN NYU OSU PSYU UU

The lack of communication in a family is detrimental to the development of a healthy emotional climate in the home. Two typical American families contrast the different approaches to a problem. Importance of communication to members of a family is stressed.

FAMILY AFFAIR
1955 BW 31 min 16 mm film CENC
Mental Health Film Board; International Film Bureau; CECX
CU ILOW IOWA MICH NYU PSU SYU UU

Shows the work of a trained family caseworker in connection with a time of crisis in the Cooper family: a boy's flight from home, a husband's decision to leave his wife, a mother's inability to understand those she loves, and a daughter's bitterness toward her parent. Typical interviews are presented in detail.
Many problems of the modern home in performing its principal function—rearing children. Changes which have occurred in family living; consequent need for close home-school cooperation in child development.

FAMILY LIFE
1957 BW 17 min 16 mm film p-i
United World Films, Universal Education and Visual Arts, IOWU

Presents the idea of the family structure, the place of the father, mother, and children, and how they participate in the task of providing food, clothing, and shelter from a framework of cooperation and mutual concern.

OUR CHANGING FAMILY LIFE
1957 BW 22 min 16 mm film s-c-a
McGraw-Hill Text Films, AU CU IOWU ISU KSU MICH MINN NU NYU SYU UU

Compares integrated farm family life of 1880 with changing patterns since that time caused by industrial expansion, growth of cities, economic emancipation of women, etc.

SEARCHING YEARS—WAIT UNTIL YOUR FATHER GETS HOME
1972 COLOR 11 min 16 mm film j-s-c-a
Churchill Films, BU IOWU ILLU L3

Explores issues of male and female roles, especially dominance and submissiveness. Opens with a dispute in which several boys advocate male supremacy against one dissenter, another boy. Followed by a role play about a mother and father deciding if their son may go on a trip.

TOGETHER
1971 COLOR 13 min 16 mm film p-i
NBC Educational Enterprises, IOWU

Examines the concepts of family and roles of family members. Cartoon animate and examples of children's art are juxtaposed with children's comments, sound effects, and an original music score to explore a variety of ideas about where families live and what a family is, in terms of harmony, security, conflict, and the roles of father, mother, and siblings.

WEEKEND, THE
1969 COLOR 15 min 16 mm film s-c-a
Franciscan Communications Center, ILLU IOWU ILLU MICH

A rainstorm confines a vacationing couple to their motel room and precipitates a discussion of their mutual dissatisfactions. His work has become a barrier to communication; her life seems empty of all but routine.

HISTORY OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

ACES OF WOMEN

Date Unknown COLOR 16 min 3/4" Videotape
Producer Unknown, Fower Library and Campus Video Tapes, Santa Rose Junior College

FIND Newsroom documentary on the women's history project at Sonoma State College. Includes interviews with former suffragettes on the women's movement, past and present.

AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE 20TH CENTURY

1964 BW 50 min 16 mm film
Metromedia Producers Corp., Films, Inc., AU

Presents a fast-moving cavalcade of the American woman, from Gibson Girl to Rosie the Riveter, finally emerging from the shelter of the Victorian era to become the captive goddess of today's suburbs. Surveys the changing role of the American woman from the early twentieth century to the woman of the sixties who shaped and reflected the sexual and social mores of our time.
EMERGING WOMAN, THE
1974  BW  40 min  16 mm film  j-s-c-a
Women's Film Project; Film Images; ISU MICH

Traces the history of the women in the U.S. Uses old engravings, photographs, newreels and film clips to show the varied economic, social, and cultural experiences of women, how they felt about their condition, and how their sex, race and class often determined their priorities.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE AMERICAN WOMAN
1967  BW  19 min  16 mm film  j-s-c-a
Walper; Films Inc.; AU TD MICH

Traditional role of American women in the "innocent years" of the early twentieth century; social changes that have affected American women such as legal emancipation, educational and economic opportunities in America; some of the major problems of the American woman today.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY
1951  BW  30 min  16 mm film  j-s-c-e
Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Films; Out of Print; BU BYCU IU IU MICH SYU USYUI

Susan B. Anthony's work in building foundation for women's suffrage. Her activities in organizing women's temperance movement; obtaining property rights for women; campaigning for voting privileges. Dramatizes her trial, in which she heroically states her case.

WOMEN GET THE VOTE
1962  BW  25 min  16 mm film  j-s-c
CBS; McGraw-Hill Text Films; FSU ILLU KSU MINN NLU SYU

Uses historical footage to show the difficult and sometimes violent years of the campaign for women's voting rights and the final triumph of Susan B. Anthony in 1919.

WOMEN ON THE MARCH, I AND II
1956  BW  52 min  16 mm film  s-c-a
National Film Board of Canada; McGraw-Hill Text Films; BU KY MICH SDU SYU

Part I: Struggle for women's rights in England, Canada, and U.S.; picketing, parading, hunger strike. Part II: Struggle for women's rights after World War I. The achievement of women in different fields; their work for peace, economic equality, and legal rights.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE U.S.: AN INFORMAL HISTORY
1974  COLOR  27 min  16 mm film  s-c-a
Altana Films; CENC ILLU TOCP

Portray the role of women in American history from the framing of the Declaration of Independence, and from comments of Abigail Adams to the present feminist movement. A dialogue between feminists and anti-feminists based on actual speeches, diaries, and newspaper reports of famous and lesser-known men and women provide the commentary. Pictures taken from contemporary source materials. Conditions and movements which brought about changes in the status of women are highlighted: the frontier, abolitionism, the Civil War, industrialization, and suffragism. Attitudes toward marriage, employment, fashion, and education are examined with wry humor.

(6) LITERATURE AND MOVIE IMAGES OF WOMEN

EXPLORATIONS IN SHAW: WOMEN
1973  COLOR  29 min  16 mm film  s-c-a
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education; NBC Educational Enterprises; AU ILLU

Dramatizes Shaw's relationship with the principal women in his experience, identifying Shaw as a pleader with relation to the idea of women's liberation. The type of outspoken and intelligent women he preferred figures prominently in his plays.
ITALIAN REVOLUTION, THE
1963  BW  53 min  16 mm film
Hearst Metrocom News; ECG Films; NA

Discusses the attempts of American women to rebel against their traditional feminine role in a masculine-dominated society. Includes scenes of suffragettes in industry during wartime, points out the influence of motion pictures in determining the sexual role of women.

GIRLS IN DANGER
1960  BW  26 min  16 mm film
Sterling Educational Films; Out of Print; AU CU IU

Features a cavalcade of ladies in distress ranging from Mae Marsh in peril during cunician days through Gloria Swanson being tied to railroad tracks by Wallace Beery, to Beatrice Joy menaced with death in the jazz age.

(9) MOTHERHOOD

GROWTH: CULTURE AND MATERIAL DEPRIVATION
1964  BW  28 min  16 mm film  C-a
Counterpoint Films; McGraw-Hill Text Films; CEMC PSU ILLU IONU

Demonstrates that physical and mental retardation may often result from lack of parental, especially maternal, attention.

HAPPY MOTHER'S DAY
1964  BW  26 min  16 mm film
Pennebaker, Inc.; CEMC

Documents in cinema verite style how Mary Ann Fischer, a quiet housewife and mother in Aberdeen, South Dakota, is suddenly swept up in a whirlwind of commercial, civic, and media exploitation after she gives birth to quintuplets. Shows how her life is manipulated and her family's privacy shattered as gifts and news reporters pour into the Fischer's home, the "quints" become the principal subject at Chamber of Commerce meetings, and a parade is staged for curious tourists. A telling comment on commercialism and American society's notion of a woman's greatest achievement. Sparse and ironic narration.

JOYCE AT 34
1972  COLOR  28 min  16 mm film  C-a
Joyce Chopra, Claudia Weill; New Day Films; MICH

Joyce, at 34, cope with the very concrete reality of caring for her new baby while pursuing her career as a filmmaker. Follows Joyce as she impatiently waits for the arrival of her child, takes 6-week-old Sarah on assignment, or lets her writer-husband care for the child while she is on assignment. Joyce's thoughts and comments about her work and about being a mother convey the pressures, delights, doubts, conflicts, and compromises she experiences. Available to University of Michigan groups only.

MOTHER AND CHILD
No date  COLOR  26 min  16 mm film  C-a
BBC-IV; Time-Life Films, Inc.; NA

Examines the physical and psychological relationship between mother and child, an especially vulnerable one because of its closeness. Features the arrival of a new baby and separation of mother and child as two common family crises.

MOTHERHOOD, LIFE'S MOST IMPORTANT JOB
No date  BW  15 min  16 mm film
National Motion Picture Co.; NA

Deals with prenatal care. Designed especially for showing in rural areas.
MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS
1969   BW  27 min  16 mm film
CBS-TV; Carousel Films; AU CEMC PSU

Explores the difficulties of communication between generations and the change in values from the old to the new morality.

MOTHERS ARE PEOPLE
1974   COLOR  7 min  16 mm film
National Film Board of Canada; CEMC

Shows an articulate Jamaican woman employed as a consultant for a large Canadian firm as she discusses the problems of working mothers, particularly the lack of adequate and inexpensive day care facilities. She argues that the lack of such facilities makes it very difficult for poor women to find jobs that might otherwise alleviate their desperate economic situation.

MOTHERS: WHAT THEY DO
1968   COLOR  11 min  16 mm film
Films/West Inc.; AIS Instructional Media Service; AU IU KSU OSU

Portrays three kinds of mothers: the full-time housekeeper, the full-time worker, and the part-time worker. Given examples of the responsibilities these mothers might have.

PARENTS
1965   BW  59 min  16 mm film  c-a-a
Indiana University; BU CEMC IU STY

Report on changing problems of American parents today and their attempts to find identity, meaning, and purpose in their lives. Includes candid interviews with parents and children. Shows effects of rural-urban social change and presents interviews with Robert Spock, Betty Friedan, and Dr. Paul Popenoe.

(10) RAPE

ATTACK
1966   BW  15 min  16 mm film
WRRC-TV; UU

Illustrates basic tactics for women and demonstrates the use of common items as defensive weapons in case of attack.

CRY RAPE, Parts I and II
Date Unknown   COLOR  90 min  3/4" Videotape
Producer Unknown; Plover Library and Campus Video Tapes, Santa Rosa Junior College

Documentary style drama depicting the effects of rape on the individuals involved: the victim, the accused, the public defender, and the police.

LADY BEWARE
1972   COLOR  17 min  16 mm film  j-s-a-a
Julian Films Productions; Pyramids Film Producers; BYU ILLU MICH

A dramatization of common sense self-defense methods for women, simple techniques that every woman can use to defend herself when she is attacked. Opening scene shows a young girl who leaves her car door unlocked, and becomes ready prey for a rapist. In another scene a woman courts danger by walking alone on a dark deserted street.

NO LIES
1973   COLOR  17 min  16 mm film  c-a
Phoenix Films, Inc.; CEMC ISU MICH

Explores the problems of rape through the story of a girl who has been raped but feels increasingly guilty about having dropped the whole affair at the police station. Explains that a detective took an unnatural interest in the details of the rape, paralleling it to his wife's own sexual problems.
NO TEARS FOR RACHEL
1972 COLOR 30 min 16 mm film
Indiana University; CEMC
Examines the emotional and legal complexities of rape, a crime in which women are "singled out for brutal discrimination." Two young rape victims describe their experiences, one on camera, and one in a police interview. Includes interviews with one victim's psychiatrist and another's husband. Shows a program in which nurses are trained to help rape victims, and interviews a Denver policeman and two doctors who explain the problems of victims once they report a rape. Concludes with attorneys who describe why it is difficult to get convictions on rape charges once a case is brought to trial.

NOBODY'S VICTIM
1972 COLOR 20 min 16 mm film
Ramsgate Films; CEMC ILLY KSU MICH NLU SYU VUE
Shows methods by which women can prevent becoming victims of violent crimes, muggings, and robberies. Discusses ways to avoid trouble when alone at public places, when out at night, and when using one's car. Shows how to foil purse-snatchers and pickpockets, demonstrates easy methods of keeping one's home secure, and outlines steps to take when a prowler is seen, when strangers come to the door, and when obscene or harassing phone calls are received. Concludes with demonstrations of simple techniques of self-defense.

RAPE: THE CRIME NOBODY WANTS TO FACE
Date Unknown BW 60 min 1/2" Videotape
Producer Unknown; Plover Library and Campus Videotapes, Santa Rosa Junior College
Documentary exploration of attitudes toward rape. Includes interviews with victims of rape, rapists, law enforcement officers, and medical experts.

SELF-DEFENSE FOR GIRLS
1969 COLOR 15 min 16 mm film
BFA Educational Media; AU CU ILLU KSU MNU OSU SYU VUE
Uses dramatized episodes of threatened attack to introduce practical techniques and goals of self-defense to girls and women, differentiating between modern basic self-defense and "movie judo" and karate. Self-defense as preparation to meet an emergency is seen as analogous to other emergency instruction, such as lifesaving and first aid.

(11) ROLES OF WOMEN IN OTHER SOCIETIES

MAINLY FOR WOMEN
No date COLOR 25 min 16 mm film
Australian Consulate-General; NA
Depicts the experiences of a country girl who moves to an Australian city as she finds an Australian city as she finds an apartment and makes new friends.

PROMISE SHARED, A WOMEN IN ISRAELI SOCIETY
No date COLOR 25 min 16 mm film
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; NA
Presents working women in Israel, including labor union official, a kibbutz secretary, an attorney, an a newspaper publisher, who take a hard look at the legal and social status of women in their country. Features divergent opinions based on differences in age, experience, and expectation, and an analysis of the women's movement in the U.S. as it affects Israel.

RUTH AND HARRIET: TWO WOMEN OF THE PEACE
1974 COLOR 27 min 16 mm film
National Film Board of Canada; CEMC
Portrays the daily routines, strength, and closeness to nature of two women who live along the Peace River in western Canada. Ruth, a 35 year-old widow and mother of seven children, is a welder in a small factory. Harriet, who is married to Ruth's brother, is the mother of four boys and lives and works on a farm that she and her husband have homesteaded. Exemplifies the relative equality that was characteristic of pioneer women in the last century.
WOMEN OF RUSSIA
1968  COLOR  11 min  16 mm film  j-s-c-a
International Film Foundation; AU ILLU SVU

Third in a series. A film without narration views the diversified activities of Russian women. Here are ballerinas and bricklayers, pretty university students and 90-year-old women in an old people's home, husky bathing beauties and rugged crane operators. Teachers, peasants, doctors, scientists. All women; all working hard for their families and their country.

(12) SEARCH FOR SELF-FULFILLMENT

AND WHO ARE YOU
1966  BW  30 min  16 mm film  CEMC
University of California Extension Media Center; CEMC

Hubert S. Coffey and Marya Mannor discuss discovery of one's inner self and the possible conflicts in maintaining one's individuality. Part of a series: Choice-Challenge for Modern Woman Series.

CYCLES
1972  COLOR  15 min  16 mm film  Barbara Noble; NA
Shows that woman's mind is shaped by her environment. Portrays the reality and fantasy of her everyday life.

I LOVE YOU...GOODBYE
No date  COLOR  75 min  16 mm film  s-c-a
Tomorrow Entertainment; Learning Corporation of America; CEMC

Tells a story of a woman who leaves her family and husband in an effort to find self-fulfillment.

IS PERSONAL GROWTH SELFISH
1966  BW  30 min  16 mm film  CEMC
University of California Extension Media Center; CEMC

Sister Mary Corita, I.H.M., and Anne Steinman discuss women's growth throughout life, their dependency upon male and societal attitudes and opportunities inside the system. Part of a series: Choice-Challenge for Modern Woman Series.

JANIE'S JANIE
1972  BW  25 min  16 mm film  s-c-a
Odean Films; MICH
Documents a white New Jersey welfare mother's struggle to develop her own strength and potential after years of isolation and repression within a working class family. As she irons, cooks, cleans, smokes cigarettes and cares for the children, Janie tells how the separation from her childhood home forced her to take responsibility for her own life. After years of being her father's Janie, and then her husband's Janie, she is now Janie's Janie—her own person. Film is available to University of Michigan groups only.

MODERN WOMAN: THE UNEASY LIFE
1967  BW  60 min  16 mm film  s-c-a
NET Film Service; Indiana University; AU BU CEMC ISU IU KSU MICH

Documentary which explores the feelings of college-educated women about the various roles which are available for educated women today. Interviews women living the traditional roles of mother and housewife, those who have combined the roles of career women and housewife, and professional career women. They discuss candidly their frustrations and satisfactions. Explores attitudes of husbands and unmarried men toward educated women.
PRINCIPLE THAT COUNTS, THE
1965 BW 30 min 16 mm film s-c-a
University of California Extension Media Center; CEMC ISU

Presents three speakers discussing those aspects of behavior and decision-making which entail a conflict between individual choice and society's mores. Discusses opportunities for married women to continue education and find employment. Encourages the development of attitudes that increase women's effectiveness in their chosen roles. Part of a series: Choice: Challenge for Modern Woman Series.

SYLVIA, FRAN, AND JOY
1973 BW 26 min 16 mm film s-c-a
Churchill Films; BU CEMC ILLU KSU MICH

Three young women from middle-class backgrounds voice their feelings about the domestic role of wife, mother and housekeeper. Sylvia exemplifies the women who is working out a sharing of both domestic and wage earning roles with her husband. Fran in transition, having recently left her husband, is struggling to find a new life and identity. Joy is portrayed as the traditional housekeeper-wife-mother who seems to accept her role without question. A film designed to generate discussion.

TELL ME WHERE IT HURTS
1974 COLOR 78 min 16 mm film
Learning Corporation of America; CEMC

Warm and human drama about a middle-aged working-class housewife grasping for recognition and identity as a person. At the suggestion of her college-age daughter, the woman organizes a discussion group with her friends, and begins to understand the limitations of her complacent routines of caring for her children and for her hard-working husband who takes her for granted. When her daughter leaves home she goes to an employment agency and gets a job. Her husband, terrified of losing her, rushes to her when she calls him; and they are reunited as equals.

TIME OF YOUR LIFE, THE
1966 BW 30 min 16 mm film
University of California Extension Media Center; CEMC

Eva Schindler-Rainman and Paul Sheats discuss education and volunteer activities; ways to self-fulfillment and community benefits; uses and abuses of discretionary time. Part of a series--Choice: Challenge for Modern Woman Series.

UNLONELY WOMEN, THE
1966 BW 30 min 16 mm film
University of California Extension Media Center; CEMC

Richard Farson and Eve Merriam discuss emotional aspects of being alone; loneliness vs. the pleasure of solitude. Part of a series--Choice: Challenge for Modern Woman Series.

WHO WANTS FREEDOM
1966 BW 30 min 16 mm film
University of California Extension Media Center; CEMC

Elizabeth Mann Borgese and Richard Lichtman discuss the meaning and consequence of freedom—how much self-determination and in what areas of life. Part of a Series—Choice: Challenge for Modern Woman Series.

WIDOWS
1972 BW 43 min 16 mm film
Mental Health Training Film Program; CEMC

Interviews and portraits of widows of various ages, races, and economic backgrounds. They reveal the problems they face, their reactions to their husband's death, their relationships with their children, and how they learned to cope with loneliness and isolation. Includes interviews with women who work in a "widow to widow" organization that provides aid and arranges social gatherings for bereaved men and women. Insightful, but soundtrack sometimes difficult to understand.
90

WOMAN IS
1969  COLOR  27 min  16 mm film
American Standards Association; NA

Examines the personal philosophy of the women in today's world and
shows her in some of her many roles, as an enigma, a philosopher, and a romantic.

WOMEN'S FACES
1972  COLOR  11 min  16 mm film
Films, Inc.; NA

Presents three different views of three different women in an examination
of the nature of women.

(13) SEX AND COMMUNICATION

LOVE AND HATE
Date Unknown BW  54 min  1/2" Videotape
Producer Unknown; Plover Library and Campus Videotapes,
Santa Rose Junior College

Probes the interplay of love and hate and focuses on sexual attraction and care
of the young in different societies, comparing Western culture with primitive societies.
Based on the book Love and Hate by Irenius Eibesfeldt.

SEXUALITY AND COMMUNICATION
No date  COLOR  55 min  16 mm film
AU

Drs. Avinrod and Seryl Chernick of Canada use the technique of role-playing to
explore the subject of sexuality and communication as they relate to both the doctor-
patient and husband-wife relationship. Presents the physical and psychological aspects
of sex in an informative way. Demonstrates how attitudes and feeling
affect sexual performance and how the pressures and anxieties of daily living interfere with family relationships, showing examples of positive and negative communications
which can alter and improve relationships. Particularly useful in family-life counseling
and education. Recommended for mature audiences.

(14) SEX EDUCATION

ABOUT SEX
1972  COLOR  23 min  16 mm film
Telefilm Industries, Inc.; CEMC MICU

The film is intended for providing teenagers with needed sex information.
Deals with such topics as sexual fantasies, body growth, homosexuality, masturbation,
sexual intercourse, contraception, abortion, venereal disease. Preview recommended--
nudity and explicit language.

FEMALE CYCLE
1969  COLOR  8 min  16 mm film
Films, Inc.; AU FSU IOWU WUE

(Human Growth and Reproduction Series) Presents the facts concerning mastur-
bation, how the ovaries produce the egg cells, and the part played by the secretion
of the female reproductive organs to prepare for the fertilized egg. Show that if
fertilization is not achieved, the uterus membrane is discharged as the monthly
menstrual period.

FEMALE, THE
Date Unknown BW  20 min  2" Videotape
National Instructional TV Center; National Instructional TV Center

Discusses the issue of embarrassment and illustrates the female reproductive
organs, ovulation, and menstruation.

FERTILIZATION AND BIRTH
1967  COLOR  11 min  16 mm film
E.C. Brown Trust; Perennial Education, Inc.; AU ILLU IOWU ISU MICU MINN
NYU SYU UU WUE

Illustrates in animation various modes of fertilization—egg-laying and dropping
of sperm by fish, laying and brooding of eggs by birds, and indicates difference in
the case of mammals, in which case fertilization of egg and nurture of the young takes
place in the mother's body. Discusses birth in mammals, show birth of puppies and a
calf, then by means of animation, extends the idea to humans.
HEY! WHAT ABOUT US?

1974 COLOR 15 min 16 mm film
University of California Extension Media Center; CENC

Fresh insight into sex role stereotyping in physical education activities in schools, including physical education classes, playground games, and boisterous behavior in the classroom. For purposes of comparison, begins with four situations in which sex role stereotyping is relatively absent, then depicts a wide range of incidents in which stereotyping often occurs. Considers the exclusion of girls from sports, the reinforcement of the hero ethic in boys; differential teacher treatment of the girls and boys on the playground, exclusion of boys from dance, and differential physical interaction of teachers with girls and boys.

HOW TO MAKE A WOMAN

1972 COLOR 58 min 16 mm film
Polymorph Films; CENC

Adaptation of a feminist play that dramatically depicts the difficulties facing a woman who tries to create her own identity in a male-supremacist society. Uses a fast-paced, overtly propagandistic, "Marat-Sade-like" style to show how two men use typically manipulative stratagems and put-downs to mold a pair of women into various submissive roles, such as "big mama," "sweet little girl," "happy housewife," "sexual tigress," and "nagging shrew." Extraordinary illumination of the mechanisms of personal and sexual relationships. A satirical, penetrating, and at times shrill statement.

I IS FOR IMPORTANT

1974 COLOR 12 min 16 mm film
University of California Extension Media Center; CENC

Focuses on sex role stereotyping in social interactions and emotional expression. Includes sequences depicting sex role biases displayed by teachers in their disciplinary actions and pupils task assignments, resistance by children to role reversal in kindergarten play, anxiety felt by boys over appearing to be a "sissy" before their peers, frustration experienced by boys who attempt to assume a nurturing role or express such emotions as sorrow or tenderness, and indoctrination of girls with commercial definitions of beauty. Pupils range from kindergarten through eighth grade.

MASCULINE OR FEMININE: YOUR ROLE IN SOCIETY

1971 COLOR 19 min 16 mm film sc-a
Coronet Instructional Films; AU BU BYU CU FSU ILLU IC KSU MICH SYU WUE

Explores the changes in attitudes about what constitutes masculinity and femininity in today's society. Prompts students to examine their own roles as men and women students, parents, teachers, workers, and their own attitudes toward men and women in jobs, at home, in marriage, athletics and government. Interviews with many people reveal different, sometimes conflicting opinions on masculine and feminine roles.

PLACE FOR AUNT LOIS, A

1973 COLOR 17 min 16 mm film j-s-c-a
Wombat Productions; NA

Examines traditional stereotypes of the major goals given to girls. Shows the capacity of the young to determine the value of other human beings, tells how nine-year-old Kathy grows up to understand and respect her childless, husband-less aunt Lois and see that Lois's particular situation in no way lessens her value as a total human being.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SEXES

1965 COLOR 19 min 16 mm film sc-a
McGraw-Hill Text Films; AU BU BYU CU FSU ILLU IU KSU MICH NLU OSU SYU SYU

Dramatizes a young woman and a young man reacting in different ways to similar situations. Attempts to demonstrate that there are typical psychological differences between the sexes. Useful for discussion of sexist myths, stereotyping and the socialization of young men and women.
FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION
1960 COLOR 30 min 16 mm film s-c-a
Maternity Center Association; McGraw-Hill Text Films; AU BU BYU CU FSU
GU ILLU IOWU ISU IU KSU MICH MINN NU NYU SDSU SYU UU

Illustrates the basic facts of human reproduction, and shows childbirth as an emotional and spiritual experience as well as a physical one.

GIRL TO WOMAN
1966 COLOR 16 min 16 mm film j-s
Churchill Films; AU BU BYU FSU ILLU IOWU ISU IU KSU MICH MINN
NYU SYU SYU UU WUE

Discusses physical changes that occur during adolescence, and establishes the fact that there is a wide variation in the range of normality for these changes. Explains these matters in a way calculated to diminish some of the tensions and fears which contribute to the emotional turbulence of adolescence.

GROWING GIRLS
1957 BW 12 min 16 mm film j-s
Encyclopedia Brittanica Educational Corp.; MICH MINN

Animation of physiology of menstruation; proper exercise, diet, relationship to common experience through a menstrual period. Menstruation explained as a perfectly normal process.

HUMAN AND ANIMAL BEGINNINGS
1966 COLOR 12 min 16 mm film p-i
E.C. Brown Trust; Perennial Education, Inc.; AU ILLU IOWU ISU KSU MICH
MINN NYU SYU SYU UU WUE

Presents basic information about human reproduction and concepts of the family. Shows baby monkeys and mice, newborn guinea pigs and rabbits, a hatching egg, and fish eggs in which the live embryos are clearly seen. In relating these facts to humans, shows babies in hospital nursery and at home with the family, and animated sequences showing prebirth growth and development and birth itself.

HUMAN BODY: THE REPRODUCTIVE SYSTEM
1959 BW & COLOR 14 min 16 mm film j-s-c-
Coronet Instructional Films; AU BU CU FSU ILLU IOWU IU KSU MICH MINN
NLU SDSU SDU SYU

Presents a clear and objective description of the human reproductive system. Indicates the similarities and differences between male and female reproductive organs, locates them in the body, and describes the specific function of each in the creation of a new life.

ASSERTIVE TRAINING FOR WOMEN, I
1973 COLOR 17 min 16 mm film s-c-a
American Personnel and Guidance Association; KSU MICH

Ten vignettes deal with simple interpersonal situations—borrowing class notes, refusing dates, dealing with friends, a physician, a pushy waitress and a job interview, as well as more complex situations involving parents who are overly protective and controlling or who are critical of friends and grades in school. Designed as a stimulus to group discussion and role playing.

FABLE OF HE AND SHE, THE
No date COLOR 11 min 16 mm film
Learning Corporation of America; NA

Presents the animated fable, "The Fable of He and She" by Elliot Noyes, Jr. Challenges stereotyped and sexist thinking and celebrates the joys of individual self-expression.

GROWING UP FEMALE
Date Unknown COLOR Length Unknown Size unknown-Videotape
Video Tape Network; From the distributor: Video Tape Network
115 E. 62nd St., New York, NY (212-759-8735), rental price $75.00

A feminists' sensitive look at becoming a woman. Here is a program that holds a magnifying glass to the "sugar and spice" aspect of growing up female. A study of a little girl's environment as she passes to her teens and then on to motherhood.
ADOLESCENCE: LOVE AND MATURITY
1968 COLOR 10 min 16 mm film
Sterling Educational Films; CU ILLU KSU

Introduces the human values relating to reproduction by showing that animals mate by instinct and without love, but that human parents select each other because of their love and affection for one another. Explains that although at puberty young people are physically capable of reproduction, they are not prepared to assume the responsibilities of caring for a new human life.

ADOLESCENTS, THE
1964 BW 110 min 16 mm film
Contemporary Films; McGraw-Hill Text Films; NA

Illustrates four stories of girls becoming women and the common problems that they encounter.

ADVENTURE IN MATURITY
1955 COLOR 22 min 16 mm film
University of Oklahoma; Out of Print; BU IU

Discusses the problems of rejection facing old people and suggests ways to regain an interest in living. A grandmother suffers feelings of rejection while living with her son’s family until a dream provides her with a glimpse of the satisfaction inherent in doing constructive work. A challenging episode involving her grandson gives her the needed impetus the following morning to improve her physical appearance, change her attitude, and become associated with an employment agency.

ARE YOU POPULAR
1959 BW 11 min 16 mm film
Coronet Instructional Films; Out of Print; BU CU FSU ILLU IOWU KU MICH NLU SU SDU UU WUE MINN

Dramatizes the behavior to two teenagers, Caroline and Walley, to illustrate characteristics of personality which lead to popularity and success in dating. Uses brief incidents to show how personal appearance, consideration for others, and good planning may lead to popularity. Points out the undesirable consequences of such practices as petting, not planning dates, asking for dates at the last minute, and going steady. Indicates how a parent may avoid embarrassing situations by discussing rules with teenagers before the date arrives and by helping them to plan their evenings.

BEING A BOY--BEING A GIRL
Date Unknown BW 20 min 2" Videotape
KOED-TV: National Instructional TV Center

Discusses masculinity and femininity as a part of personality. Shows how adults can help children to learn their masculine and feminine roles. Presents the concept that each sex can value the other sex for other than physical qualities. From "The Time of Your Life," Program A Series.

BEING BOYS, BEING GIRLS
1968 COLOR 10 min 16 mm film
Sterling Films; CU ILLU KSU

People grow in many ways—some tall, some thin, some short, some heavy, each different from the other in appearance and size. Physical development is only a part of growing up. New responsibilities at school, at home, and to one's self require social growth as well.

FATHERS GO AWAY TO WORK
1959 COLOR 11 min 16 mm film
Pat Downing Pictures; Out of Print; ILLU MINN SYU MICH

Three fathers from one neighborhood are seen leaving home at their respective jobs. The three—a salesman who works in an office, a commercial artist, and a construction worker—illustrate how many other families are dependent upon their jobs and services.

FROM TEN TO TWELVE
1957 BW 25 min 16 mm film
Canadian Film Board of Canada; McGraw-Hill Text Films; AU BU CU FSU ILLU IOWU ISU IU KU MICH MINN NLU NYU OSU SYU UU WUE

A study of the behavioral patterns of both boys and girls in the age group from ten through twelve. Views attitudes of some adults in response to their children's vicissitudes.
SEX ROLE DEVELOPMENT
1974 COLOR 23 min 16 mm film s-c-a
CRM Productions; IOWU

Examines some of the sex role stereotypes and traces their transmission to children via the socialization process. Also explores alternative approaches to socialization. Concludes with scenes at Pacific Oaks School to demonstrate methods of eliminating stereotypes through education.

SEX ROLES -- AGES 3-13
Date Unknown COLOR 44 min 2" Videotape
Video Nursing Inc.; From Distributor—Video Nursing Inc.,

Discusses physical and psychological differences of boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 13, effects of certain child rearing tendencies on children of both sexes, and principle of sex education. "The Man—His Growth and Development, Birth Through Adolescence" Series.

SODIOBIOLOGY: DOING WHAT COMES NATURALLY
1972 COLOR 22 min 16 mm film
Document Associates Inc.; CEMC

Surveys research on the biological origins of human behavior. Several biologists and anthropologists explain—citing their work with monkeys, rats, fish, insects, etc.—their theories about male competitiveness and aggression, whether female "sexual reticence" is social or biological, origins of warfare, and reasons for the current rebellion of young people.

WHAT IS WOMAN
1965 BW 30 min 16 mm film s-c-a
University of California Extension Media Center; CEMC ISU

Presents two speakers discussing the criteria for femininity and masculinity prescribed by society and confused by changing patterns. Discusses the issue of employment for married women’s effectiveness in their chosen roles. Part of a series: Choice: Challenge for Modern Woman Series.

WOMAN IS
1973 COLOR 12 min 16 mm film
Southern Illinois University; NA

Uses a series of photographic stills in order to illustrate the history and character of the roles that women occupy in society.

(16) SOCIALIZATION OF THE YOUNG

ACTING WITH MATURITY
1970 COLOR 11 min 16 mm film j-s
Coronet Films; AU BU IOWU KS KU OSU SDSU SDU WUE ILLU

Dating, family life, friendship and school present young people with situations that may result in immature behavior. Their reactions show that how you feel is as important as how you act, and that decisions require thinking before acting, considering the feelings of others and facing up to difficult situations.

ADOLESCENCE: CRISIS OR OPPORTUNITY
1973 COLOR 13 min 16 mm film j-s
Filmfair Communication; ILLU SYU

Presents a sensitive look at the common problems of growing up. The adolescent's sometimes difficult search to find out who you want to be is seen through the thoughts and experiences of a teenage girl and the comments of a psychiatrist, Dr. Donald Muhich. The habitual desire to please others (especially parents) brings confusion and depression. Dr. Muhich emphasizes that much of the emotional turmoil of adolescents as they separate from their families is a normal and even necessary part of maturing, and he points out the important role of older friends, teachers, pastors, and others who can help the adolescent ease into the wider experiences of maturity.
GIRLS ARE BETTER THAN EVER
1967
COLOR
14 min
16 mm film
j-s-c
American Dairy Association; Modern Talking Picture Service; ISU

Encourages teenage girls to participate in total fitness programs and to take an active part in sports. Includes scenes from the lives of teenage girls, highlighting some of their problems and giving solutions.

GROWING UP FEMALE: AS SIX BECOME ONE
1971
BW
60 min
16 mm film
j-s-c-a
Klein-Reichert Presentations; New Day Films; KSU MICH

The socialization of the American woman through a personal look into the lives of six females. Their ages range from 4 to 35 and their backgrounds vary from poor black to upper-middle class white. Many forces shape them: their parents, teachers, guidance counselors, the media and advertising, pop music, and the institution of marriage.

HUMAN GROWTH
1962
COLOR
20 min
16 mm film
j
E.C. Brown Trust, Henk Newenhouse Inc.; AU BU CEMC CU GU IOWU ISU IU KSU MICH MINN NLU NYU SYU WUE

Presents biological facts as a natural part of human growth and development. Introductory sequences in the home and classroom precede the main part of the film, an animated presentation of the elementary facts of human growth and reproduction in a simple diagrammatic style. Concepts include: differences in boys and girls in physical and sexual activity; male and female sex organs; menstruation; fertilization; pregnancy and birth.

MIKE AND ANN: A JOURNEY INTO MATURITY
1968
COLOR
19 min
16 mm film
s-c
McGraw-Hill Text Films; ILLU IU NLU

Alternating scenes of an informal discussion group made up of teenagers with a portrayal of the developing boy-girl relationships between two young people, this film examines society's role in shaping sex attitudes. A narrator contributes assessment of the forces of fear, curiosity, peer group attitudes, and parental disapproval on Mike and Ann, and the discussion group openly explores the conflict between the parental inability to discuss sex and the literal advertising of it by the communications media.

SEXUALITY AND THE TEENAGER, PARTS I, II, AND III
1968
COLOR
Part I-30 min Part II-21 min Part III-17 min
16 mm film
j-s-c-a
Rex Fleming Productions; Perennial Education, Inc.; ILLU NLU

I: Teenagers in a roundtable discussion deal with such topics as individual differences in the timing of the maturation and process, differences in male and female sexual response, the fundamental need to love and be loved. Discusses the development of feelings of self-worth, trust, and the ability to love. Indicates the importance of open communication between parents and children.

II: Two high school students describe common concerns of the teenage period: the physical changes, the sexual feelings, the wanting to belong, the shifts in friendships among boys and girls, being "mixed up" as to what is right and wrong, the pressures exerted by family and friends. There is discussion of the exploiter, male and female, and of peer influence and pressure.

III: The round table participants consider the need all young people have for successful social relationships. Comments on the transient nature of teenage attachments lead to a discussion of infatuation vs. mature love.

SHARING WORK AT HOME
1949
BW
10 min
16 mm film
j-s
Coronet Films; Out of Print; CU ILLU IU MINN NLU SDSU

Shows how a family learns to share the household responsibilities after the mother has become ill from overwork. Pictures the boy and his father papering the living room, the girl gathering ideas from her home economics text, and the family when they cooperate in their odd jobs and look after their own rooms and property.
The film opens with a marriage scene. Not only Bob and Mary but their parents and friends feel that this marriage will succeed. It then looks back on various aspects of sexual adjustment that the young man and woman have gone through.

(17) TRADITIONAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN WOMAN, THE

No date  COLOR  15 min  16 mm film
Walter J. Klein Co., Ltd.; NA

Presents the official story of the 23-million-member National Council of Women, including historic coverage of American women leaders and the activities of the 29 organizations making up the NCW.

HANDS FOR ACTION

No date  COLOR  15 min  16 mm film
Walter J. Klein Co., Ltd.; NA

Describes the General Federation of Women's Clubs, showing the services, duties, and responsibilities the ladies perform for their community, state, and country.

RURAL WOMEN

No date  BW  54 min  16 mm film
United States Information Agency; Norwood Films; NA

Depicts the life of American farm women. Explains the role of rural clubs where women learn ways to lighten household work, better their families, and participate in community affairs.

WE WILL NOT DO NOTHING

1973  COLOR  20 min  16 mm film
San Francisco League of Women's Voters; NA

Contrasts the effective results achieved by a branch of the League of Women Voters in San Francisco concerning the passage of a school bond issue with the frustrated attempts of a women's organization which is neither well organized nor politically involved.

(18) WORKING WOMEN: THEIR OPPORTUNITIES AND PROBLEMS

ACCOMPLISHED WOMEN

1974  COLOR  25 min  16 mm film  j-s-c-a
Charles Braverman Films, inc.; KSU

Six American women who have made it to the top of their respective fields are interviewed on topics ranging from politics to personal feelings. Included are: Katherine Graham, President of the Washington Post Co.; Dr. Virginia Apgar, leading specialist in problems of newborn infants; LaDonna Harris, founder of Americans for Indiana Opportunity; Shirley Chisholm, U.S. Congresswoman; Nikki Giovanni, poet; and Helen Reddy, singer.

BACK TO SCHOOL, BACK TO WORK

1973  COLOR  20 min  16 mm film
American Personnel and Guidance Association; CEMC MICH

Examines the common forms of opposition faced by wives and mothers who wish to return to school or to work. Divided into ten vignettes; the projector may be stopped at various intervals for discussion. Depicts opposition from female friends as well as from husbands.

CHILDREN OF CHANGE

1960  BW  30 min  16 mm film  c-a
Mental Health Film Board; International Film Bureau; AU BU CEMC GU ILLU ISU IU MICH NYU SYU WUE

Depicts the special stresses and strains placed on children whose mothers work outside the home and on the mothers who must adjust to two full-time jobs. Creates an awareness of the scope of the problem and provides one workable solution—day care centers.
SHOWS three dramatized episodes designed to convince management (assumed to be men) that women should be given equal opportunity to attain management positions. Each episode portrays a different aspect of prejudice and discrimination against women, and shows managers how they can help correct existing inequalities and ensure that all corporate personnel are used to their full potential.

FROM EIGHT TO FIVE
1963 COLOR 20 min 16 mm film s-c-a
Auburn University; AU CEMC ILLU IU MICH MINN NLU NU NYU OSU WUE

Characteristics of the good college or university secretary: neatness, accuracy, good judgment, resourcefulness, initiative, tact, consideration for others, discretion, loyalty, objectivity.

FROM 3 PM TO 10 PM
1969 BW 15 min 16 mm film s-c-a
Zagreb Films; McGraw-Hill Textfilms; MICH

A Yugoslav documentary designed as a tribute to the working housewife. Her never-ending work day from dawn to dusk. When her work at the factory ends, her work at home begins—with worry about the children and money problems. While her husband comes and goes, eats and sleeps, she toils late into the night only to get up early in the morning to get to her job at the factory.

JOBS IN THE CITY—WOMEN AT WORK
1972 COLOR 11 min 16 mm film p-i-j
Centron Educational Films; KSU MICH SYU

Intended for both girls and boys as a preview of the growing variety of career fields available to women. Some of the women at work pictures include a newspaper printer, physician, bank teller, pilot, mathematician, aircraft executive, realtor, TV commentator, and fashion artist.

KATY
1974 COLOR 16 min 16 mm film
BFA Educational Media; WUE

Dramatic portrayal of a young girl’s fight to be permitted to deliver newspapers along with the boys. When her brother goes to summer camp she takes his route, despite the jeers of the boys and the adult manager in the all-male paper shack. Encouraged by an older feminist, she and two of her friends ask for permanent routes. Excellent cinematography and direction.

NEVER UNDERESTIMATE THE POWER OF A WOMAN
1972 COLOR 19 min 16 mm film s-c-a
University of Wisconsin; WUE

Examines the potential for women in the world of work outside the home. Shows women at work in various types of occupations. Some of the women tell how they like working and why they work. A number of employees give their opinions as to how women perform on the job.

OTHER WOMEN, OTHER WORK
1973 COLOR 20 min 16 mm film
Churchill Films; BU CEMC ILLU

Shows a number of women who are working in traditionally male occupations while on the sound track they discuss the difficulties and satisfaction of their jobs. Includes a truckdriver, veterinarian, roofer, pilot, marine biologist, carpenter, and TV news broadcaster. Emphasizes the increased job opportunities for women.
50 percent of the population are women and more than 40 percent of the women work. The vast majority are employed in menial, low-paying jobs. A study of equal employment in relation to women which cites several cases to show that women have been denied promotional, career, and educational opportunities.

Designed to stimulate discussion of the advantages and limitations of women factory workers as a basis for an objective look at their role in industry; to overcome bias toward women workers and develop proper methods for supervision.

Mary Keyserling and a panel of employment experts discuss why, how, when and where, women work, and the effect on family, job and community. Part of a series—Choice: Challenge for Modern Women Series.

Designed to stimulate thinking by managers and executives about career advancement, upward mobility; equal opportunities for minorities and women. First part consists of a series of short interviews with members of a hospital staff as well as shipyard and factory workers who have had experience with job retraining, affirmative action, and other career advancement programs. Second part enacts an office situation in which a bright young Black woman who is an excellent worker decides to quit, and shows how her supervisor, when he tries to find out why, learns that his own unconscious refusal to advance her to a more challenging position has caused her to seek work elsewhere.

Shows the significant contributions that a woman can make to space research and development, with a story about a woman who leads 18 electronics engineers in developing unusual and needed systems for spacecraft.

Shows work being done in Alabama by the cooperative extension service to assist young rural homemakers of low socioeconomic status to become more economically and socially secure. Highlights the role of paid subprofessional program assistants.

Presents candid interviews with women holding temporary jobs and explores their reasons for working, their changing attitudes and the new attitudes of their families.

Presents a dramatization designed to help the viewer understand the new role of women in business, what other companies are doing, and how the path can be smoothed for the social change.

A floral designer, a social worker in Operation Headstart, a physical education teacher, and a Los Angeles city councilwoman explain how their careers enrich not only their own lives, but the lives of their families.
WOMEN IN THE WORLD OF WORK  
1974  COLOR  15 min  16 mm film  
Vocational Films; NA

Looks at a wide variety of young women who have pioneered successfully in non-traditional, normally male-oriented, careers.

WOMEN MEAN BUSINESS  
No date  BW  14 min  16 mm film  
National Association of Manufacturers; NA

Describes the roles that women play as consumers, producers, executives, and investors with specific case histories.

WOMEN—UP THE CAREER LADDER  
1972  BW  30 min  16 mm film  
University of California at Los Angeles, CEMC IOWU MINN WUE

Presents a tool for administrators, personnel managers and consultants for use in implementing affirmative action programs for women. Provides an honest and revealing portrayal of women's experiences in preparation for career mobility.

WOULD I EVERY LIKE TO WORK  
1974  COLOR  9 min  16 mm film  
National Film Board of Canada; CEMC

Memorable portrait of an overburdened Canadian mother of seven children who, deserted by her abusive husband and in poor health, longs for the possibility of a job outside her home. Particularly poignant is her history of fruitless efforts to obtain a tubal ligation, which, despite her increasingly desperate situation, was denied her on the grounds that she was too young.
WOMEN AND SOCIETY: THE MASS MEDIA

Linda J. Busby
Iowa State University

Never in the history of humankind have so many individuals had exposure to such a wide variety of communications, and never before have so few individuals had such power to create universal images, lend national significance to isolated events, and shape national and individual values. Since our mass media reach millions of individuals daily and reflect this society's values, our mass media have become targets for heavy scrutiny by feminists and by researchers interested in the effects of the mass media on the lives of American women and in the effects of the woman's movement on the media.

In an exploration of the media, females, and society, this paper is concerned with three basic questions: (1) Why are males and especially females so vitally concerned about sex-role imagery in the mass media? (2) What kinds of sex roles appear in the various media? (3) What are the effects of these sex-role presentations on the individuals and institutions exposed to them? Each of these three questions will be examined briefly and an extensive bibliography provided for further research and exploration.

Concern for Sex Roles

The first question—Why are males and especially females vitally concerned about sex-role images in the mass media?—can be answered in part by a brief reminder of the omnipresence of our mass media. There are 343 morning and 1,451 evening newspapers in this country with a combined circulation of over 63 million readers; Sunday newspapers number some 643 with nearly 52 million readers. Most of these millions of newspaper readers absorb the same information concerning national and international affairs whether they live in Hawaii, North Dakota, Georgia or New York, because there are so few news wire services from which every newspaper in the country draws for its front page news and for much of the information in the other pages of the various sections. The isolated reporter working for one of these news services has a tremendous potential for shaping the national understanding of a newsworthy event by his/her coverage.

The ideas between the two glossy covers of popular American magazines are assimilated by thousands, in some cases millions, of individuals from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Time has a circulation of over four million; Newsweek, over two-and-a-half million; American Girl, nearly seven hundred thousand; Mademoiselle, over three hundred thousand; Hairdo & Beauty, over three hundred thousand; Ms., over three hundred thousand; TV Guide, over twenty million. These figures indicate clearly that the popular newsstand magazine has an immense potential for disseminating selected ideas and values on a wide scale.

While newspapers, books and magazines constitute hefty evidence of our national mass media strength, television, the most frequently used and the most democratic of our mass media, is the all-time champ with over 117 million television sets in use in this country. The number of individuals who are experiencing the same television phenomenon at any point in time is staggering: In 1974 nearly fifty-one million Americans watched the sports spectacular "Super Bowl"; on Saturday evening, January 15, 1972, over twenty-five million Americans watched the antics of Edith and Archie Bunker on "All in the Family"; the tennis classic "Stig's-Ring Special" attracted over thirty million individuals to the television sets. Television is now the lowest common denominator in our lives; television is the one experience that all Americans share daily regardless of age, sex, race, creed or national origin.

Mass media, which have penetrated so heavily into Americans' lives, have the potential for initiating, reinforcing or denying certain social values, which is why so many Americans are concerned about television content. Justifying the interest of feminists in media sex roles, the Media Women's Association, in its book Rooms With No View, A Woman's Guide to the Man's World of the Media, explained:
Back in the sixties, as women began to wonder about the validity of their traditional roles, one of the most natural questions to arise was: Where do women get their images of themselves? Laws? Schools? The church? The family? They found that all of these institutions were indeed guilty of reinforcing stereotyped notions about men vs. women, but they discovered that the most ubiquitous, the most insidious, and therefore possibly the most powerful force dedicated to the maintenance of the status quo was not one of the long-established social institutions, but a fairly new one—the mass media. All the media—books, magazines, newspapers, broadcasting, advertising—day in and day out, in bold-face type and in living color, pound home the message that men are men—active, hardworking, curious, intelligent—and that women are women—frivolous, seductive, motherly, domesticated. The ancient myths had merely been put into modern dress. (p. XXV)

Portrayal of Sex Roles

Indeed, the studies of roles for males and females in the media indicate that females are circumscribed by limited roles and aspirations, while males enjoy substantially greater social prestige and more social mobility in media presentations. Several studies will be explored to indicate the roles of males and females in the media, while the majority of media sex-role content studies will be merely cited in the text and referenced in the bibliography.

In a study of males and females in magazine advertising, researchers Courtney and Lockertz (1971) examined seven general-audience type magazines for male and female roles and reported:

- Women were rarely shown in out-home working roles;
- Not one single woman was shown as a professional or high-level business person;
- Women rarely ventured far from the home by themselves or with other women;
- Women were shown as dependent on men's protection;
- Men were shown as regarding women as sex objects or as domestic adjuncts;
- Females were most often shown in ads for: cleaning products; food products; beauty products; drugs; clothing; and home appliances;
- Males were most often shown in ads for: cars; travel; alcoholic beverages; cigarettes; banks; industrial products; and entertainment media.

Courtney and Lockertz concluded: "The data suggest that feminists are at least partially justified in saying that advertisements do not present a full view of the variety of roles women actually play in American society" (p. 95).

In another study of magazine content Franzwa (1974) studied sex roles in magazine serials between the years 1940 and 1970 and found that roles for women revolved around male characters, with all of the women fitting into one of four categories: (1) single, looking for a husband; (2) housewife—mother; (3) spinster; (4) widowed or divorced, soon to marry. Franzwa noted that one common element defined all of the women in the magazine fiction—the presence or absence of a man in their lives.

Several researchers have been interested particularly in the effects of the recent American feminist movement on print media content. Stolz et al. (1974), for example, conducted a three-part study of sex roles in print media to determine changes in the
statuaries of women before and after the development of the latest American woman's movement. These researchers found that over time the proportion of female authors in popular magazines remained very low, and that traditional sex differences in article topics assigned female writers continued in the ten years after the development of the latest feminist movement just as they had in the years past. The proportion of women portrayed as housewives in magazine fiction rose over time, while the proportion of working-married women remained unrealistically low. The proportion of employed female characters in children's books rose over time, but the variety of occupations held by women remained very low.

Taylor (1973) in an examination of textbooks used in one of California's state adopted elementary reading programs found that many of the books failed to portray females in positive roles. Taylor summarized these findings and commented on the negative impact that a book of this nature could have on America's school children:

By the time the third grade is reached, the stories all portray roles of males; of the eight stories in the book, none has a female central character, but the females do appear in familiar roles of mother, grandmother, and teacher. Males in this reader are shown doing significantly more interesting and important things; five of the eight stories feature the relationship of a boy with a male adult, while the others relate the lives of grown men and the adventures of a boy alone at the fair. Where are the stories of the girls and women? How better to teach little girls their insignificance and inferiority than to ignore them altogether. (p. 1046)

In a study of an elementary reading program in Kalamazoo, Michigan (Michigan Women's Commission, 1974), investigators there found what they called blatant sex discrimination in the elementary readers used in that city's public school system. The investigators cited such findings as:

- Eighty percent of the stories had male leading characters, although females made up at least fifty percent of the elementary school population;
- The pronoun she did not appear in the readings until the third textbook in the series, while the pronouns he and it appeared in both the first and second books in the series.

The investigators claimed further that each text contained one or more comments that derided women or girls, simply because they were females.

Mrs. Pace thinks "stealing a base" means literally taking it away. *Fiesta*, p. 137.

"Har de har har," Dusty said. "What do girls know about baseball?" *(Images*, p. 430) This line is from a story about an all-boy Little League team.

In a story titled "Lucy Didn't Listen," the entire story is about the incompetence of Lucy. The investigators noted that this is the only story in the text in which a girl is the main character. *(Rainbows*, pp. 23-40)

In "The Case of the Mysterious Tramp," a female elementary school teacher needs assistance from the elementary school boys to start her car. *(Fiesta*, pp. 284-293).

"A guy likes to do a job like this sometimes. It's very complicated work. Nothing a girl could do." The speaker is painting a fence. *(Galaxies*, p. 384).

These investigators claimed that the textbook writers were so blinded by their androcentric bias that they overlooked the simplest lesson of biology. One textbook had a male robin laying an egg! These investigators asserted that the ultimate insult to women was the fact that not only did male humans greatly outnumber female humans in the texts, but even male animals outnumbered female humans.
Studies of textbook materials in a wide variety of areas have found similar results; omission of social roles for females; distortion of the status of females in this society. Other studies of sex roles in textbooks from primary level to university texts include: Blom et al. (1968); Ehrlich (1973); Frisof (1969); Graebner (1972); Grambs (1972); Kraft (1973); McDonald (1973); Michigan Women's Commission (1974); Salpukas (1973); Steffire (1969); Trecker (1971); U'Ren (1971); Wiik (1973); Women on Words and Images (1972); Worley (1967); Zimet (1972).

Other examinations of child-oriented print media have found very similar results: Feminist on Children's Media (1972); Heyn (1969); Jederman (1974); Key (1971); Nilsen (1971); School Library Journal (1971); Tate (1972); Weitzman (1972).

In a study of both child-oriented print media and child-oriented instructional films, Boyle and Wahlstrom (1974) reviewed sex-role and cultural imagery in a paper on educational films and comic books. They reported:

- Males greatly outnumbered females in both media;
- 84 percent of the males in the films had principal roles, while only 18 percent of the females were shown in principal roles;
- 93 percent of the males in the films were shown in heroic roles, while only 7 percent of the females were shown in heroic roles;
- Primary goals of the males in the films were success, adventure, and power, while the primary goals of the females were a good home life, or safety, or simply no goals at all;
- 84 percent of the comic book males were shown in heroic roles while 3 percent of the females were shown in similar roles;
- 75 percent of the comic book characters were males, while only 25 percent were females;
- Of the 25 percent of the comic book characters that were females, 60 percent were in the roles of victims.

Not just in print media are children exposed to demeaning and limited roles for females. Studies of child-oriented television programs have found sex-role images similar to those reported in the print media studies. Long and Simon (1974), for example, studied twenty-one television programs aimed at the child viewer and found:

- None of the married women in these programs worked at jobs outside the home, and of the single women who did, only two occupied positions of prestige and authority;
- Women were usually portrayed as silly, over-emotional, and dependent on husbands and boyfriends;
- The traditional view of womanhood was presented (dependent and performing expressive and socio-emotional roles within a family context.

The authors concluded: "That young people to whom these shows are largely or primarily aimed are not likely to gain any insight into the new roles and perceptions that many women have of themselves or want for their daughters" (p. 110).

Other studies of television programming including television advertising have found limited roles for females when compared to male characters: Busby (1974a); Busby (1974c); Dominick and Rauch (1972); Downing (1974); Gerbner (1972); Head (1954); New York Chapter of the National Organization for Women (1972); Smythe (1951-1953); Tedesco (1974); Turow (1974).
In short, all of the sex-role content studies indicate that males possess many of the survival traits associated with independence and strength, while females possess many of the traits associated with weakness and victimization. All of these findings would be of little significance, however, if the findings were not so widespread in all of our mass media.

Effects of Role Presentation

Talcott Parsons once noted that what persons are can be understood in terms of a set of beliefs and attitudes which define what they ought to be. Our mass media, to which all Americans are exposed, are key factors in defining what persons ought to be and in propagating the definitions of what various persons ought to be. America's mass media serve as our social mirrors, reflecting and projecting images of ourselves and others that, to some extent, dictate how we as individuals will respond to certain situations and how others will respond to us. Through the various channels of socialization, whether by schools, laws, the church, the family, or the mass media, males and females have learned that certain characterizations define maleness while certain other characterizations define femaleness. Evidence abounds indicating that there are clearly well-understood ubiquitous norms associated with male and female behavior and attitudes.

In a 1957 study, Sherriffs and McKee provided university students with a list of adjectives and asked these students to organize the list into two groups—adjectives closely associated with males and adjectives closely associated with females. These researchers found that males were described as: witty; thorough; industrious; calm; steady; stable; logical; clear-thinking; ambitious; individualistic; independent; dynamic; daring; mischievous; stern; outspoken and stubborn. Females were described as: poised; well-mannered; pleasant; modest; gentle; affectionate; kind; warm; soft-hearted; sentimental; lovable; dreamy; religious; submissive; vain; fearful; temperamental; and frivolous. Concerning these adjectives that the college used to describe males and females, the researchers noted: "Male subjects particularly emphasized men's desirable characteristics; females emphasized women's neuroticism" (p. 463).

From all sources the message that males and females have inherently different personality characteristics has spread to every social stratum and the accompanying idea with it—that male personality characteristics are infinitely more desirable than are female personality characteristics. The most damning aspect of this social prejudice against females is that females themselves believe in their own inferiority.

Philip Goldberg (1971) attempted to answer the question: "Are women prejudiced against women?" To ascertain the answer, one group of college women was given professional articles written by a John T. McKay and another group was given the exact same articles, but supposedly written by Joan T. McKay. The researcher found that the articles when attributed to John T. McKay were consistently rated higher even when the professional area under consideration was one typically dominated by women—elementary school teaching and dietetics, for example. The researchers concluded: "Though the articles themselves were exactly the same, the girls felt that those written by John T. McKay were definitely more impressive and reflected more glory on their author than did the mediocre offerings of Joan T. McKay...Is the intellectual double-standard really dead? Not at all—and if the college girls in this study are typical of the educated and presumably progressive segments of the population, it may not even be dying" (pp. 65-66).

Dr. Joyce Brothers also commented on the extent of negativism against females in an article in Good Housekeeping magazine:

"Like the Negro Americans—with whom they are sometimes compared—women suffer from a tarnished self-image. Blacks, of course, are no longer willing to accept the myths of racial inferiority. But, many women continue to feel that their secondary place in society proves them deficient in such "naturally" masculine qualities as intelligence, ambition and assertiveness."

The effects of all this are plain. A survey of college students showed that approximately 30 percent of the women said that at some time in their lives they had wished they'd been born the opposite sex, while only 3 percent of the men had ever wished to be anything but male. Asked whether, if they could have only one child, they would prefer a boy or a girl, 91 percent of the men interviewed and 66 percent of the women said they would choose a boy. Though psychologists insist that there is no overall difference between male and female intelligence, women tend to see men as brainier.
A few years ago, a national magazine asked women readers some interesting questions about attitudes toward members of their own sex. Three-quarters of the women who replied admitted they wouldn't fly with a woman pilot; over 90 percent didn't want to work for a woman boss. The women preferred men as physicians, advisers, and even sales clerks. They supported men's colleges more enthusiastically than women's, preferred men as speakers for their garden clubs or their literary circles. (p. 40).

The stereotypes of female inferiority not only hinder a female's self-image, but assist in perpetuating a low social status for females. It is the perpetuation of these negative stereotypes that has kept and continue to keep women at the bottom of the employment totem pole. In a 1953 Gallup opinion poll the following question was posed: "If you were taking a new job, and had your choice of a boss, would you prefer to work under a man or a woman?" The response:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A man</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Woman</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Difference</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Opinion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reasons why both males and females as a group said that they would prefer to work for a male boss are completely consistent with the stereotypic personality traits assigned to each sex. The reasons given by the men for preferring a male as a boss were:

- Women just not capable, not suited 18%;
- Women more emotional, cause friction 14%;
- Women too bossy, demanding 14%;
- Men more capable, command respect 13%;
- Not used to a woman boss 12%;
- Men more understanding, easier to work for 8%;
- Can speak more freely to men 3%;
- Miscellaneous 2%;

The reasons given by women for preferring a male boss were:

- Women more emotional, cause friction 27%;
- Men more understanding, easier to work for 22%;
- Women too bossy, demanding 19%;
- Men more capable, command respect 13%;
- Women just not capable, not suited 13%;
- Miscellaneous 2%;
- Don't know, no answer 7%.

Numerous other studies have found (1) that both males and females possess stereotypical notions of male and femaleness which define their beliefs, behaviors and attitudes about themselves and others; (2) and that the male stereotypical characteristics are more highly valued by both males and females. Other research supporting these two observations includes: Broverman, et al. (1970); Fernberger (1948); Kitay (1940); McKee & Sherriff (1959); Rosenkrantz, et al. (1968); Sherriffs & Jarrett (1953); Zilboorg (1944).
Though this negativism associated with females cannot be wholly blamed on media images, surely some of the blame rests comfortably there. Since not only does research indicate that sex-role images in the mass media negatively reflect females, but research indicates also that media users (especially children) are directly affected by media content. Researchers have found that:

- Media users personalize media content and thereby become directly involved in it;
- Sex of the media user is an important factor in the user’s utilization and recall of media content;
- Youngsters use media content to gain insight into adult roles that they will be filling in later years;
- Youngsters model behavior that they see in the mass media.

Maccoby, Wilson and Burton (1958) found that male viewers spent more time watching the hero, and female viewers spent more time watching the heroine in romantic movie scenes which involved just the male and female leading characters. In a study of seventh graders exposed to a class-B entertainment movie, Maccoby and Wilson (1957) found that boys remembered aggressive content better, while girls remembered romantic content better. Boys remembered aggressive actions of the hero, but were not particularly good at remembering aggressive action of the heroine. Maccoby (1964) noted: "We see then that similarity between viewer and actor both in role (for example, sex) and in preferred action system, influences which elements of movie content will be absorbed" (p. 326).

Hale et al. (1968) found that adolescent girls showed more incidental learning from a film depicting a domestic situation than did adolescent boys. Hale's explanation of this finding is that the girls were looking for roles that they would assume in later life.

Schramm et al. (1961) in their landmark study of children and television found marked sex differences in the way children use media materials. These researchers observed: "Girls early turn toward themes which relate to the responsibilities they will assume in adolescence and adult life. Boys, on the other hand, maintain 'boys' taste for adventure, excitement, and physical combat well into adolescence" (p. 46).

Beuf (1974) in a study of 63 children between the ages of 3 and 6 attempted to answer the questions: How do children perceive familial and occupational roles? Do children begin to limit their life options because of mental association between role and sex? What influence do television programs have on these ideas? Using interviews and an "O.K. Picture Game" Beuf concluded that:

- Boys had aspirations for rather adventurous careers—policemen, sports superstars, and cowboys—while girls had career preferences that were less action oriented—nursing, for example;
- Over 70% of the boys and 73% of the girls chose stereotypical careers for themselves;
- 65% of the heavy-television viewers compared with 50% of the moderate viewers selected stereotyped careers for themselves. "Children who were moderate viewers appeared to exert a wider range of choice in career selection than the heavy viewers." (p. 144)
- The children saw the world divided into male and female tasks and gave the male tasks higher ratings of importance. "The envy of male pursuits shown by the girls, and the reluctance of the boys to entertain for a moment the idea of what they would do if they were girls, points to the hierarchical arrangements the children perceive in the roles." (p. 144)
Other studies that indicate that male and female children are aware of sex roles in television programming and are in some ways directly or indirectly affected by this awareness include: Atkin and Miller (1975); Lyle and Hoffman (1972a); Lyle and Hoffman (1972b); Heyn (1969); Miller and Reeves (1975).

Numerous studies reveal the fact that children model behavior that they see exhibited in various media. Though most of the research deals with the modeling of violent or aggressive media behavior, extrapolating from these findings, researchers can hypothesize that children learn also other forms of social behavior, including sex-role behavior, from media content. Studies showing that children imitate behavior that they observe in the media include: Bandura (1965); Bandura et al. (1963), Hicks (1965).

Obviously, more research is needed on the effects of sex-role presentations in the media upon individuals and institutions. One conclusion can definitely be drawn from the available research: the sex of the media user determines, to a large extent, what media content will be observed, remembered, and utilized. Using these effects studies as evidence of media involvement in sex-role acquisition, the findings indicate that indeed there is a reason to be concerned about the images of males and females in the media, especially media where children are heavy users.

Summary

In answering the three initial questions, then (1) Males and females have become vitally concerned with sex-role images in the mass media because of the ubiquitous nature of the media. Mass media, which have penetrated so heavily into Americans' lives, have the potential for initiating, reinforcing or denying certain social values. The second reason for widespread concern about media sex roles is the understanding of an androcentric bias that permeates every stratum of American social life, lowers female self-values and aspirations, and perpetuates the low social status of females in employment, political and other social arenas. The omnipresent media have been singled out as sources that promulgate this androcentric bias.

(2) What kinds of sex roles appear in the various media? From media content studies of a vast variety of media including magazine advertising, magazine fiction, television programming, television advertising, children's literature, instructional films, comic books, coloring books and many more, the answer to this question is that males in all the media enjoy a wider variety of roles and goals than do media females. While males are portrayed in important positions in government, education, politics, the industrial world, and the family, females in the media are circumscribed by their sexuality and domesticity.

(3) What are the effects of these sex-role presentations on the individuals and institutions exposed to them? Research indicates that children personalize media content and utilize media content as an information source for their social roles. Other evidence indicates that the media have perpetuated sex-role stereotypes which are actively functioning at all levels of society and across all social institutions.

In the number of media users, in the sheer size of the media structure, in the penetration of the media into our daily lives, and in the ways in which children utilize media content, feminists have been justified in their concern about sex roles in the media. Perhaps the Media Women's Association is indeed right when it concludes that all of our social institutions are indeed guilty of reinforcing stereotyped notions of men and women, but the mass media are the most dangerous because of their ubiquitous and insidious methods of indoctrination. However the exact blame for social androcentric bias is divided among the various institutions, the effect is clear--females suffer from tarnished self-images.
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Wiberg, John L. and Trost, Marion. "A Comparison Between the Content of First Grade Primers and the Free Choice Library Selections Made by First Grade Students." Elementary English, (October, 1970), 792-798.


Women on Words and Images. Channeling Children. $2.25 Box 2163, Princeton, N.J., 08540.

Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotypes in Children's Readers." F.O. Box 2163, Princeton, New Jersey 08540.


Zilboorg, G. "Masculine and Feminine." Psychiatry, 7:3 (1944), 257-296.

Applying for money to forward research, creative, curricular, and programming interests is like any other persuasive process. A person continually must work with a series of assumptions about the audience, the funding agencies. One must assume that funding agencies are made up of over-worked, impatient bureaucrats, people often disappointed by unfulfilled promises, often general readers instead of disciplinary specialists, and persons often faced with many, many more proposals than they ever can grant or even read thoroughly. Funding agencies are made up of middlemen, caught between petitioners and the holders-of-power-and-money (trustees, stockholders, other bureaucrats, and legislative committee personnel). A person wishing outside money for work, therefore, faces a skeptical and even hostile audience; any applicant begins the persuasive process as a person with low trustworthiness and little chance for success.

Compounding the general problem of habitual skepticism is another: You will be asking for money to fund "feminist research." While it perhaps is impossible to define "feminist" or "women's" research precisely, no matter how it is defined it is clear that foundations' track records for funding female-related research and projects are not especially outstanding. Mary Jean Tully, president of NOW's Legal Defense and Education Fund, has reviewed foundation-sponsored (not government-sponsored) research, and has come to this conclusion:

What has been the foundation world's response to this ferment and concern for equality for women? Have they recognized it as a major problem requiring serious attention and commitment of resources? Have they made an attempt to look for the root causes of women's subordinate position? Have they appointed women to their boards, promoted to program officer status women with an interest in and knowledge of the feminist movement, set up special study committees to analyze the issues involved, allocated special funds for women's programs that do not fit into the regular funding structure, examined grantees for discriminatory policies? Finally, have they worked with the newly formed groups that are grappling with these problems so that they achieve the end result—a grant? For the most part, the answer is a resounding "NO."

Ms. Tully goes on to point out that foundations, during the period 1972-74, spent only one-fifth of one percent of their funds on programs designed to improve the status of women. Now, she does realize that the foundations' apparent lack of response is due in part to the press (which often publicizes only the more bizarre aspects of contemporary feminism) and to the researchers themselves (who often do not take the time to prepare polished, professional proposals), yet also she finds the foundations unwilling to examine proposals potentially abetting social change and to admit that they work from a position of male supremacy.

In other words, persons seeking funds from philanthropic (and perhaps even governmental) sources for feminist projects begin with two strikes against them—the one faced by all petitioners, and the one generated by the nature of the subject-matter.

Any reasonably well trained rhetor, however, relishes the challenge of an obstinate audience, especially when even the possibility of successful persuasion means that a person will have the time and resources available to both further a cause and contribute generally to knowledge, art, and human understanding. This presentation, therefore, while it recognized the difficulties of these tasks, was predicated on the assumption that the results of funding are worth the struggle.

We sought in this presentation specifically to offer general suggestions and guidelines for those undertaking grantsmanship for the first time. The following five-step application process was reviewed:

1. Selection of a Project (knowing what you want to do)
2. In-House Discussions
   - departmental officers
   - deans, superintendents, etc.
3. The Search for Appropriate Funding Agencies
   - types of agencies (governmental, philanthropic, professional or university-based)
   - types of requests (educational, public, research, private)
informal application

— gauging your chances for success
— receiving solid advice on amendment of your proposal
— increasing your ethos with the agency

Step 5: Preparation of the Proposal

— cover sheet
— budget page
— proposal description
— personal data
— evaluation sheets

Because each of these five steps is described in detail in another publication,3 we shall not develop them fully here. If you have followed through the proposal-writing process carefully and conscientiously, your chances for success are greater than you might think, despite the dour picture we painted earlier. With successful application will come the chance to make greater than usual contributions to knowledge and people's lives, as well as additions to your own intellectual and personal well being. No doubt you will learn to curse follow-up and summary reports, budgetary tangles with your own institution's business office, the innumerable requests from others who have seen your successful application listed in various places, etc. Yet, we think particularly in the instances of research, creative, and curricular projects treating women and society, you will be able to take highly personalized pride in your potential contributions to this world, even if they must come one small step— one small grant—at a time. Again, in the words of Mary Jean Tully:

In the long run, what the women's movement is all about is much more than merely getting women a larger share of the pie. It is that, of course, but it is much more than that. Women want not only equality for themselves. They want also a chance to contribute toward making a better and more humane world. Neither this society nor any other can afford to deprive itself of the valuable contribution that waits to be made by half the population. The time is long past when we should begin to listen to that half.4

FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid., pp. 28-29.

3 The core of this presentation, to achieve even wider circulation, has been printed in Bulletin of the Association for Communication Administration, under the title, "A Beginner's Guide to Funding Research, Creative Works, and Programs." It is currently in press, to come out in a late 1975 or early 1976 issue. Check with a local departmental executive officer or Dr. Robert N. Hall, Staff Coordinator, Association for Communication Administration, 5205 Leesburg Pike, Falls Church, VA, 22041.

4 Tully, p. 32.

APPENDIX

The original presentation had three appendices relating specifically to general research and proposal-writing questions; those appendices are reprinted in the article in the BULLETIN (see n. 3). Another appendix, however, relating specifically to information on women's research, was not included in that article, and hence is reprinted here. The following is a bibliography of periodicals useful for understanding women and funding, assembled by Gwendolyn Weaver, librarian of the Council of Foundations, for Mary Jean Tully in Foundation News, 16, No. 2 (April 1975), p. 33.

The Executive Woman, 747 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017. Monthly. $10.00. Most commercialized magazine of the feminist publications. Articles of interest to women in various factions of the women's movement; includes regular feature called "Gazette" in which news items are digested.

New Directions for Women in New Jersey, Box 27, Dover, N.J. 07801. Quarterly. $3.00. Regional focus. Newsletter format. Compacts state news relevant to women. Features articles on feminist topics, book reviews, current events in the area.

On Campus with Women, by the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009. Free. Newsletter format, national news on women in higher education--students, employees, athletics. Includes information related to minority women, military women.

Prime Time, 168 W. 68th Street, New York, NY 10024. Eleven issues, $10.00 institutional. Publication focused on older women. Copy not received for review.


Women and Work, published by the U.S. Department of Labor. No copy received for review.


GROUP II
SIMULATION AND GAMES

Charles Pieper
Simulation games, often termed educational simulations, provide useful experiences that model reality. Many simulation games involve competition in that they are concerned with the acquisition or apportionment of limited commodities—e.g., wealth, power, space, time, privileges, and so on. Further they may involve particular sets of rules or conditions to be adhered to in order to achieve an end. These constraints often involve inefficient ways of reaching the goal—for example, using new modes of communication such as a stylized sign language.

While simulation games should not be considered an educational panacea, certain positive results may accrue from their use.

A simulation game may:
1. Provide experiential learning and expose a student to variety of sensory input—visual, verbal, nonverbal, auditory—to increase the depth of understanding.
2. Provide motivation to learn.
4. Teach factual knowledge.
5. Improve intellectual skills.
6. Improve social skills.
7. Provide insight into numerous situations.
8. Affect opinions and attitudes.
9. Increase an individual's confidence that s/he can perform in or successfully manipulate an environment.

In using simulation games, some things to be kept in mind include:
1. Determine exactly what is to be accomplished with the activity. What selective application does it have?
2. Have the necessary directions in sufficient detail and be thoroughly familiar with the directions.
3. Try out the simulation game first yourself to gain the experience—preferably more than once.
4. Determine how long the activity will take.
5. Timing
   (a) Provide sufficient gaming time.
   (b) Allow time for processing the activity in a debriefing session: discussion and exchange of reactions and observations, relating the experience to the course, to various objectives, to a subject area, etc.

What follows are two games used during the SISCOM Conference.
STARPOWER

A simulation game with interesting possibilities for women/men communication is Star Power. It involves a society which has "low mobility," and through the manipulation of the distribution of chips, a three-layered society is formed. Players have an opportunity to enter a different strata, if they acquire wealth through their trading activities. Once the three-strata society is established, then the sub-group with the most financial power (highest value in chips) has the privilege of making the rules for the game. Some of the more common results may include the following:

1. The power group may make rules which maintain their power.
2. Those being governed may consider the rules to be unfair, "racist," or "fascist."
3. The heightened feeling may result in some type of rebellion by members of the society.

The applications of such a game for discussions about the uses and abuses of power and about power differences are varied.

As with BaFa BaFa, although the game can be played in a fairly brief period of time (as little as 50 minutes for StarPower, if well organized), it is probably most effectively run in about 1-1/2 hours, with 45 minutes to an hour to an hour of debriefing time following.

BAFA BAFA

BaFa BaFa is a simulation which deals with the impact of culture and can lead to an understanding of how people can misperceive events and communicate ineffectively with another culture or group.

The simulation game BaFa BaFa requires division of a group into two groups—Alpha and a Beta culture. Alpha is a "relaxed culture which values personal contact and intimacy within a sexist and patriarchal structure." In contrast, the Beta culture is "aggressive, money-oriented and measures a person's value by how well [s/he] performs in the marketplace."

In a series of carefully regulated visits to the other culture, various participants attempt to understand the different culture. In the visits, they are permitted to observe and interact with the members of the host culture, although questions about particular rules of communication and behavior are not permitted. Visitors must acquire their knowledge from inference based on observation.

In the debriefing following the simulation game, each of the two cultures relate their perceptions and understanding of the others' culture to the other group.

The application of this simulation to women's and men's communication and to the women's movement can suggest new and fruitful interaction skills, along with valuable insight into numerous situations.

Although it is possible to play this in an hour with careful preparation and organization, it is generally better to allow more time, anywhere from 1-1/2 to 3 hours.

Stages of the game include:

1. Orientation
2. Dividing into two groups.
3. Selecting an observer.
4. Learning and practicing the new culture.
5. Exchange of observers.
7. Exchange of visitors.
8. Conclusion of game.

NOTES

BaFa BaFa: A Cross Culture Simulation (La Jolla, California: Simile II, 1974).
SIMULATIONS AND GAMES

Some beginning sources of information

Charles Pieper

Bolton, Dale L. The Use of Simulation in Educational Administration. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1971.

Although this book is primarily concerned with educational administration, it has implications for other administrators also.


One of the first theoretical books on simulation and games. Reviews the early work of the Coleman group at Johns Hopkins.


Contains a series of one-page critiques of seventy selected elementary and secondary games. For those games reviewed, an excellent source book.


Must be one of the most readable descriptions of creative thinking available.


First-hand accounts of the creative process by authors and writers.


Another good introductory book, written for the elementary and secondary teacher.


One of the few books which gives a realistic description of the way games are developed.


Discusses the implications of the ethics of subject participation in experiments. Is relevant for questions concerning the ethics of gaming.


The best book for a quick look at the field.


Extremely interesting. Shows those games you thought you invented as a child to be centuries old. Presents some interesting insights into non-competitive games.

Each volume presents a series of games, exercises, and experiences designed to help people communicate more effectively, relate more sensitively, and better understand their relationships with others; a number of these can be used quite effectively to demonstrate simulation principles.

Puzzles and Games Magazine, distributed by European Publishers Representatives, Inc., 11-03 - 46th Avenue, Long Island City, N.Y. 11101.

Mostly concerned with two to four person commercially produced games of strategy.


A good general introduction to the field of simulation. Appropriate as text for a college simulation course. Not heavily oriented toward education.


An excellent source book for ideas about teaching values to elementary children and for suggestions on how to set up role playing situations.


A serious journal published quarterly which emphasizes theory and research in the simulation field.

Simulation/Gaming/Mag. Moscow, Idaho.

The best newsletter for keeping up on events in the educational field. Is published every other month during the school year.


Describes a series of games completely different from the simulation type. Used to teach children how to act, they also happen to be great fun for young children and uninhibited adults.


Could be used as text for a college course on educational simulations.


An excellent source of information for the researcher.

Walford, Rex. Games in Geography. London: Longmans Green, Ltd.

An excellent book of inexpensive geography games which can be built by the teacher.


The only complete listing of games and simulations available. Provides information on cost, number of participants, likely effectiveness, purposes, roles played, materials included, age level, playing time, etc.
TRACK A

DEVELOPING A UNIT OR COURSE IN WOMEN'S 
(AND MEN'S) COMMUNICATION

Chair: Bonnie Ritter-Patton
Bobby R. Patton
DEVELOPING A UNIT OR COURSE IN WOMEN'S (AND MEN'S) COMMUNICATION

Bonnie Ritter-Patton
Bobby R. Patton
University of Kansas

The materials grew out of several semesters of teaching a course called Interpersonal Communication Between Women and Men. In the course, an attempt was made to combine theory about females and males and how they communicate with one another, with various experiences in female/male communication. It is not a matter of reading books and memorizing things for the sake of data, nor of having experiences for the sake of playing games. The aim is to integrate learning how one personally relates to sex role stereotyping with an understanding of how nonverbally and verbally it makes a difference whether one is communicating with a male or female. How can one respond to a person as a person?

I. Nonverbal Communication

Nonverbal exercises may be used at the beginning. Students are told that for the next hour no verbal communication is to take place. The exercises explore male/female relationships and communication, and involve male/female, female/female, and male/male interaction. The aim is to identify as concretely as possible the differences in the way people interact nonverbally.

A. Phase 1 -- Directions: Everyone will have an opportunity to move around in a kind of random walk. As you're walking, get acquainted with each other, nonverbally, but not touching. If you don't know people, just observe them. Try to tune in on what it is that you notice about someone you don't know. What is it that attracts your attention? What differentiates this person from the other people in the group? We do this all the time, you know. Think about yourself and what you're projecting. Is there a smile on your face right now? Were you conscious of it? How much control were you having? How relaxed are you feeling right now? Remember, not only are you watching, but you are being watched.

B. Phase 2 -- Directions: Next, I'm going to ask you to perform some nonverbal negotiation. Keep moving and keep looking. Select a partner for another exercise. It must be a mutually agreeable selection; it must be nonverbal; and it must be someone you don't know very well. Try to make male/female pairings. Process in your own mind some of the anxieties you may have been going through. Go back to the old junior high school dating game situation and the circumstances of selecting or being selected in terms of a risk situation. Consider whether you were doing the selecting or whether it was a matter of being selected. Who took the initiative? How mutual was it in terms of the selection process?

Next the women will take the men on a trust walk. A trust walk is nonverbal. There's no opportunity to talk. One of you will close your eyes and the other partner will be the guide and lead the "blind" person. The person on the receiving end with the eyes closed is going to try to trust as much as possible.

Think about how comfortable you are either as the leader or the person led. How much trust are you feeling right now?

At this point, change roles. Remember, there is no verbalization. One of you has eyes closed, and the other will lead.

C. Phase 3 -- Directions: Keeping partners, return to the central area. Remember, you're not talking. You can see but you still can't talk. You and your partner now should take an opportunity to get acquainted in another way. Hopefully you have some perceptions in terms of how much trust you're feeling of your partner right now. You're going to get acquainted this time. A different way of getting to know others is to get to know them back to back. Stand with your back touching each other and take a moment to get acquainted with this other person. You might close your eyes to help you concentrate on just the matter of touching.
Now turn and sit comfortably facing each other. Again, nonverbally, but without touch, get acquainted with just your partner's face. There's got to be some eye contact. Try to establish eye contact as continuously as you can. Is it uncomfortable maintaining eye contact this long?

Now I would ask you to take your partner's hand for a minute. This is going to be a touch situation. Close your eyes again and try to communicate strictly with touch. First, demonstrate some anxiety in terms of your hands. A little bit of anger. Some of this anger is now coming out in competition. You're feeling competitive with your partner.

Now smooth things over. Make up now, just with the hands. As you're doing this, try to be conscious of several things in terms of touch—body warmth, perhaps perspiration, texture. At one point you were concentrating on what you were attempting to communicate, and then on what was being communicated by the partner.

Break: At this point, several minutes are devoted for partners to talk. Following this is group processing and discussion of the significance of the experiences. These exercises can be duplicated with male/male and female/female partnership arrangements for same and different gender comparisons.

II. Verbal Communication

Whereas in the Part I exercises, participants interacted strictly by nonverbal communication, the following exercises will involve interaction by verbal communication only. In these exercises, participants who communicate are not in the presence of one another. Women work in groups of four and men work in groups of four, with women in one room and men in another. Each is asked to respond to the following questions, depending upon whether each is male or female.

A. My opinion of a highly assertive man tends to be:

A. My opinion of a highly assertive woman tends to be:

B. What I like most about women/men (same gender) I know is:

C. What I like most about women/men (opposite gender) I know is:

D. What I like most about being male/female is:

E. What I dislike most about being male/female is:

Same sex groups meet first, comparing what they have said each likes most about being male or being female. Members try to predict what the opposite sex would say.

Then the verbal messages are exchanged among the sexes. Following this, the men and women are given an opportunity to give feedback to one another based upon their verbal responses.

Variations—Women are in one room and men in another. Each has a secret partner, a pen pal of the opposite sex in the other room. Each person does some word games or word association on cards, such as "What is the first word that comes to your mind when you see each of the following words? 1. chick . . ." and so on. Cards are exchanged without knowing who the partner is. From the exchanges, each gets some kind of stereotypic idea of the partner.

Another variation would be: After several sessions at which written messages were exchanged, a final session could be held in which, using construction paper, participants would design a valentine for their partners in the other room, still without knowing who the other person is. Disclosure of identity would be optional.
SPECIAL UNDERGRADUATE SEMINAR ON
INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN

This special seminar will focus attention on the variable of gender as it influences efforts at communication between women and men. Experiences rather than specific or "male consciousness" and/or "female consciousness." The class consists of weekly meetings devoted to such topics as: Male-female roles and stereotypes; interpersonal perception and attraction; sexuality as a communication paradigm; differences in male-female verbal and non-verbal codes; the relationship between the female and male communication.

TEXTS:

Required:


3. Packet of Materials from the Speech and Drama Department.

Recommended:


Attendance. Each class will be structured with a lecture or presentation followed by an appropriate interpersonal exercise. There will be emphasis on experience within the classroom setting, thus placing an importance on attendance.

Class Projects

Each student will prepare two projects: one a research paper and the other a personal/creative nature.

The research paper of some 10-12 pages in length should be on a significant sub-topic of female/male interaction. Proper research form (footnotes or endnotes) should be incorporated a variety of sources should be in evidence. A bibliography should be included. This paper will be due October 20.

Examples of personal/creative projects include:

- A personal journal of your feelings, reactions, expectations, etc. of female-male communication.
- Write an autobiographical sketch on expectations (from parents, school, etc.) placed upon you regarding male-female roles and marriage and family. After stating the expectations you feel are being met, explore your feelings about fulfilling these expectations.
- Create a social situation of female-male "role upset," carry out such behavior, and write an account of your feelings. An example would be a situation where you would do all those things-male-are expected-to-do such as drive, order food, open doors, pull out chairs, pay, etc.
- A short story, play, or set of poetry expressing your feelings regarding female-male communication.

The personal project will be due on December 3.

The personal project will be due on December 3.
T-group participation

The class will be divided into four sub groups for participation in a continuing encounter group experience in November. Class meetings will be extended to four hours for these sessions and half the class will be asked to meet on Sunday evenings. The four weeks will be:

November 9-10
November 16-17
November 23-24
November 31, Dec. 1

Short reaction papers to each meeting will be expected to each session and due by Wednesday noon of each week in 356 Murphy Hall. Reaction papers for all members of the group should be read prior to the next meeting.

Grading. Evaluation will be based upon the following expectations:

A Grade - Regular attendance with high energy productivity; Research and personal project of superior quality (compared to rest of class); mid-term and final exams with high grade (A-B); meeting all expectations of the class in superior fashion.

B Grade - Regular attendance with high energy productivity; Above average research and personal project; above average mid-term and final exams, above average performance in all class activities.

C Grade - Regular attendance and preparation; satisfactory completion of research and personal projects; average exams and meeting class norms in all class activities.

D-F Grade - Failure to comply with any of the above expectations.

Due to the nature of the course, late papers will be permitted only for the most compelling of reasons.

Class Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 25</td>
<td>(1) Course Overview and Dyadic Exercise</td>
<td>Chafetz Text packet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1</td>
<td>Holiday (Labor Day)</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sept. 8</td>
<td>(2) Batif Batif Simulation</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 15</td>
<td>(3) Yom Kippur Nonverbal Communication Lab</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 22</td>
<td>(4) Verbal Communication Lab</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 29</td>
<td>(5) Discussion of Effects of Gender</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 6</td>
<td>Differences in Communication</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 13</td>
<td>(6) Human Sexuality as a Communication Variable</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 20</td>
<td>(7) Relationship Patterns</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 27</td>
<td>(8) One hour exam; Summary Reports of Research Projects</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3</td>
<td>Holiday (Veteran's Day)</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 9-10</td>
<td>(9) Formation of T-Groups</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 16-17</td>
<td>(10) T-Group</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 23-24</td>
<td>(11) T-Group</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
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<tr>
<td>THANKSGIVING</td>
<td>T-Group</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 31-Dec. 1</td>
<td>T-Group Debriefing-Preparing for Final</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec. 8</td>
<td>(12) T-Group</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 15</td>
<td>FINAL EXAM - Open Book</td>
<td>Rogers Text Complete Rogers Text</td>
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</tbody>
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TRACK B

DESIGNING AND CONDUCTING A WOMEN'S (AND MEN'S) COMMUNICATION WORKSHOP

Chair: Linda St. Clair
DESIGNING AND CONDUCTING A WOMEN'S (AND MEN'S) COMMUNICATION WORKSHOP

Linda St. Clair
The State University of New York at Albany

The purpose of this paper is to identify the critical considerations necessary in designing and implementing a communication-oriented workshop. Experiences will be provided to raise an awareness of possible styles of conducting a workshop. Appropriate exercises will be described and followed up with an evaluation of them.

1. Assumption: Human Interaction. One of the basic assumptions about workshops is that they are held because there is need to gather in person. Otherwise, whatever is accomplished at a conference or workshop could be transacted through the mail.

A. One of the first prerequisites for interaction is getting acquainted. Here an appropriate warm-up exercise is indicated.

1. Everyone will get to know the others here without talking to them. The participants will move the chairs to the periphery of the room and greet everyone in some way non-verbally.

2. Once contact with everyone has been made, small groups of four or five will be formed and the participants will pull up chairs and form a circle still maintaining silence.

3. Each person in the small groups will be considered individually for a few moments. Fantasize, i.e., guess, what each thinks that woman was like when she was seven. Each participant will try to guess what each person was like in second grade—what kind of clothing she wore, what her behaviors were, etc.

4. Each person in the group will share her impressions of what each of the others may have been like. Following this, each person shares what she recalls about herself (and wishes to share) as a second grader.

5. Discussion then follows in each group concerning the things that were noticed about individuals. What kinds of things provided clues in guessing what the person was like as a child.

6. The groups then come together in a plenary session and again discuss the kinds of clues people picked up that led to inferences that were made and what generalizations emerged from their group thinking.

B. Here are some other possibilities:

1. An analogy from the movies can be made where each woman is casting the others in a movie role. Each is a director putting everyone in the group in a part. This exercise could be used when time has been spent with the persons before or whether this is a totally new group.

2. Another method involves distributing a series of questions in groups comprised of three or four women. After the group deals with one set of questions, new groups are formed and there is another list of questions for discussion—questions like "Who am I?" "Why am I here?" "What interests me the most?" and so on.

3. Or dyadic interviews can be held, in which each woman tells the other something positive that she likes about herself. Then, based on that information, the partner introduces that person to the group. (This can be used also in a group with men who are not used to having to listen to positive things about women.)

4. Another device is to bring in a stack of magazines, scissors, glue, and construction paper, and instruct the women to cut out those things in magazines that say something about themselves. Items cut out can be pasted together to form a collage. Each personal collage can be held up in the circle, as members of the group walk around viewing the collages and commenting on what they perceive the individual to be like, based on the picture. Then individuals share what her collage meant personally.
5. Another variation of this type of activity is to make bags. Participants take bags and write on the outside of the bags things about themselves they wish to share. On the inside of the bag the women put things they don't feel comfortable about sharing. What is contained on the inside or outside of the bags may change during group process. Sometimes later participants may talk about the bags, if they feel like bringing something from the inside to the outside.

There are examples of various types of activities that can be designed. Handbooks such as Pfeiffer and Jones' Structured Experiences for Human Relations Training, Volumes I-V can be useful to help one design exercises.1

C. Working on the assumption that a workshop or conference implies human interaction, a workshop leader can lead the women participants to program their own goals. The following are three phases of goal setting:

Phase I Goal Setting Task: Initial Assessment

Step 1: Instructions to dyads: each of you should take three to five minutes to write in the space below one to three answers to the following question, "What do I want to learn from this workshop?". State your responses as clearly as possible. Don't turn to page 2 until all have finished writing.

Step 2: Revealing and Clarifying Personal Goals. Take turns going through the following procedures.

a. One of the participants should read her answers to the question.

b. All of the participants should discuss the goals—answers—using the following guidelines:

1. Is the goal specific enough to permit direct planning and action?

2. Does the goal involve you personally?

3. Is the goal realistic? Can it be accomplished (or significant progress made) in the time available to you at this workshop?

4. How can others in this workshop help you work on this goal?

At this point each of you should have a revised goal description that makes sense to you. Rewrite your goals.

Phase II Goal Setting Task: Reassessment

Yesterday each woman prepared her initial assessment of personal goals for this lab. One purpose of this session is to re-examine those goals in light of the experience so far. Use the questions under Step 2 of Phase I to help modify your goal statements.

Step 1: Goal Reassessment. In your triad take turns reassessing and discussing your goals. Describe how you have attempted to make progress in attaining your goals. After discussion, write your modified and/or reconfirmed goals.

Step 2: Analysis of Helping and Hindering Forces. Discuss your perceptions of the helping and hindering forces in yourself, others, or in your setting (can be used only if some theory session provides at least a diagrammatic model of such forces).

Phase III Goal Setting Task: Final Reassessment

Instructions. Using your goal statements from Phases I and II, write your answers to the following questions: (Do this individually before meeting with your triad.)

1. To what extent have you reached your goal(s) at this point?

2. Can the goal(s) be accomplished in the time remaining at the lab? If yes, how can you do it?

3. What other unfinished business do you want to complete before leaving here? How will you do this?

4. Describe your major "back-home" goals. What are your plans for accomplishing them? What forces back home
will help and/or hinder you in your efforts to reach these goals?

After you have finished the written task alone, get together with your triad and discuss your responses.

II. Observational Learning. Observational learning is one style of communication in which participants experience something together. Observing others, in addition to the group one is in, can provide a useful objectivity. For example, videotapes of groups of four—same sex and mixed sex—look for. The rating sheets can deal with behavior that participants need to focus on get practice in seeing, or in order to become more perceptive in their analyses. If one is running a workshop in which building skills in observation of non-verbal behavior was important, one could utilize a tape such as the one described. The videotape shows four people discussing policy-making questions and trying to reach consensus. The facilitator would run the tape fifteen seconds for viewing and then put it in "hold" position. Participants would then record who was talking—Person 1, 2, 3 or 4? Who was looking at whom? Was anyone leaning forward toward another? Any behavior can be focused on. It is relaxation? What is a working definition for relaxation? The person's legs are in an asymmetrical position might be one criteria for being relaxed, etc.

Focused observation can provide much insight for participants. It is one thing to hear something described and quite another to see a tape or film of those behaviors discussed.

III. Planning for the Unexpected: Cries. The following is a list of possible cries (by no means exhaustive) to consider in conference or workshop planning:

A. Equipment can fail. To prepare for this, one can try to arrange for "back-up" equipment to be available or have something planned to do instead of using that equipment.

B. Unexpected participant numbers can complicate planning. Get as accurate a figure as possible of anticipated attendance in order to plan materials. Always have more materials than you plan to use. Some planners mention ten percent more than are expected to come as a rule of thumb for providing materials and facilities. Or there may be fewer participants than planned. Psychologically, it is not useful for participants to feel, "Well, there's just us. We're really not a very big group, and that's too bad." This can have a negative effect, even though a smaller group of women can actually provide a more successful experience in many cases. Often it is a question of being able to make the physical arrangements adaptable for a smaller group than expected. There is a psychological advantage of appearing to be an ample group, rather than a meager one. A positive effect can be achieved sometimes by the simple technique of selecting a room just slightly smaller for the number. The impact of numbers on a workshop can be significant.

C. Associates or co-workers may be unable to come at the last minute. One should have contingency plans, as well as a list of priorities—what must be done, how it can be dropped, if the workshop responsibilities must be borne by fewer people? Sometimes the persons thought to have the skills for certain functions don't have the skills as well developed as necessary. This circumstance may require starting a few minutes late to make modifications in design or it may necessitate a mid-day work lunch with a brief session of emergency in-service training.

D. There may be an invited speaker, but little is known about the speaker's effectiveness. This circumstance may make it advisable to schedule the talk for a shorter time and provide a longer discussion period. If there are time limits, no matter how excellent the speaker, setting a timer with a buzzer may be useful. This can be announced at the beginning and the timer placed far enough away for the person in charge to have to walk over to turn it off, a firm reminder of time limitations.

E. On rare occasions a group may be immobilized by the blocking behavior of a participant. It may be useful to take that person aside to talk or ask the person for some help for a few minutes—something to get the offending person out of the room, if the group is being prevented from reaching its goals by that person.

Some suggest that conference or workshop leaders may wish to "float" from group to group to keep tabs on what is happening.
IV. Design Considerations. It is advisable to have a large introductory or
beginning session in order to preview the schedule and give participants a sense of
what is going to occur. In the introduction, reference is made to the purposes of meeting,
and expectations are set forth. "House" business, scheduling, or other last-minute issues
that have come up can be taken care of then.

Following this, an activity that helps people get to know one another is useful.
Then participants can disperse to attend the sessions that follow. After this a coffee
or comfort break may be in order—mid-morning, if this is an 8:00 or 9:00 until noon
session—and then on to the next block of time until lunch.

Lunchtime offers different possibilities. The coordinator may wish to give partic-
cipants recreational time to relax. Some communication workshops set aside an hour-and-
a-half or more for lunch, so participants can move around and chat. Others make lunch
and a half-hour eating session, following which participants get back to work. Still
others may use the lunch time for participants to practice some skill or activity, solve
a problem, or perform in some way related to the workshop focus.

Following lunch is a block of time to program. Sometimes a block of free time is
advisable after this, leading into dinner. Then in the evening, another work session
can be scheduled, say, from 7:00 to 9:00.

V. Evaluation. Many directors find it useful to build evaluation and summation
into a workshop or conference. Evaluation can begin as a summation or review of "what
was done today." Given what has been done today, then, what should be the direction
for tomorrow or the future?

Evaluation can be an on-the-spot process using an oral approach. Small groups can
be formed and given open-ended questions to stimulate discussion. Further feedback can
come at the end, when each small group reports to the group-at-large. One technique is
to have volunteers offer evaluations. Three or four empty chairs are placed in the midst
of the group-at-large. Listeners get up and sit in the chairs as they have something to
contribute and vacate them as they finish. Participants move in and out as they express
their views.

As for written evaluation, some directors feel, "If it's written, make it brief." A
general guide for length sometimes mentioned is, for a four-hour communication workshop,
a written evaluation should take fifteen minutes. For a five day workshop, one hour.

Some coordinators prefer to do a follow-up and send everyone on the mailing list a
short evaluation form when they get back home. The advantage is that participants may
have had a chance to see the conference or workshop in perspective and better assess
its usefulness and impact. The disadvantage is that once people leave a workshop, you
may never hear from them. Even a stamped self-addressed envelope might not be enough
to get feedback. A combination of immediate and delayed written feedback may be most
helpful.
CONFERENCE PLANNING:
AN EXAMPLE
Isabel M. Crouch
Betty Lou Dubois
New Mexico State University

A Conference on the Sociology of the Languages of American Women will be held on the New Mexico State University campus January 16 and 17, 1976. At the request of Siscosm's coordinators, we have prepared this report on conference planning as an aid for those who may wish to schedule future conferences.

Because no substantial research has been conducted on women's speech, International Women's Year seemed an ideal time to encourage research in this area. The conference is planned as the culmination of Women's Year activities for NMSU.

The first step was to plan a budget and find funds. We prepared a budget of $3,000 which included honorarium for the keynote speaker and workshop leaders, printing of announcements and abstracts, stationary, postage, limited secretarial help, and $500 for preconference speakers. Since we first thought of the conference only in March, there was not time to submit grant proposals to foundations, if indeed any exist which fund this kind of conference. In short, we needed administrative support. Our department head, Dr. Edgar Garrett, gave us enthusiastic encouragement, even to offering to pay the entire postage out of departmental funds if necessary. Fifteen minutes after we entered the office of President Gerald Thomas of NMSU, we walked out with an account established in our names for $2,000 and with the promise that the Vice President for Development would find the remaining sum if we could not. To date, the Departments of Speech, Sociology and Anthropology, English, and Government have contributed $100 each, and the Dean of Arts and Sciences has promised a substantial contribution. We have a sympathetic and supportive administration.

The second move was to establish a date and invite speaker/leaders. Susan Ervic-Tripp, internationally respected linguist from the University of California, was the first choice as keynote speaker/summarizer. She accepted enthusiastically. The date was decided when she said the 16th and 17th was the only time in January she could attend. Workshop leaders will be Ann Bodine, Rutgers, Cherie Kramer, University of Illinois, and Sally McConnell-Ginet, Cornell, all of whom have published accounts of research on women's speech.

Happily, the date coincided with the conclusion of NMSU's interim session. Lilith Haynes, NMSU English Department, will manage an interim course, cross-listed under English and speech, for which students may receive one credit by attending a preconference instruction meeting and all the conference sessions.

Step three consisted of securing cooperation and support from NMSU women. This help has come from faculty, women, professionals, and staff on campus and students. Functioning committees are hospitality, local publicity, paper jury, and television. Two organizations, Women Faculty and the University Council for Women have been particularly helpful. Their members stand ready to assist us in all details.

At an early meeting of selected women, deadlines were established for mailing of flyers, receipt of abstracts, notification of acceptance or rejection of papers, submission of finished papers, and registration.

By May 1, announcements had been mailed to Departments of Speech and Sociology and selected Departments of Linguistics and Anthropology. Although the announcements were mailed to all parts of the United States, practicality dictated some concentration in the Southwest.

In September we plan to start intensive local publicity. Arrangements have been made for television, radio, and newspaper publicity. One thousand bumper stickers distributed in Las Cruces will read "SLAW IS COMING."

Also, early in the fall the paper jury members will meet to decide on criteria for selection of some 24 papers. Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas, will publish the proceedings as Volume V of Papers in Southwest English. The typing will cost about $400, an item we did not consider in writing the budget, but Trinity will set a price for the volume sufficient for recovery of this money. We have also contacted the editors of various journals hoping to bring out special issues of one or more of these journals if the papers are as good as anticipated. Our inquiries have received interest and encouragement.
Six months from now we can probably tell you much better how to plan a conference. We already know that our secretarial budget is much too small. However, the registration fee of $5 ($2 for students) will help finance the typing. Undoubtedly, there are many other unanticipated snags ahead, but, hopefully, hard work and enthusiasm and the interest already shown from all over the country will carry us through to a successful conference.
TRACK C

DEVELOPING SELF AND AN UNDERSTANDING OF SELF, ROLE, AND SOCIETAL INTERACTION PATTERNS

Chair: Laurilyn J. Harris
The paradox of education has always been that teachers must make decisions in the present, largely based on the past, about what knowledge, skills, and attitudes will best serve the needs of individuals and society in the future—Jo Sprague, "The Reduction of Sexism in Speech Communication Education," The Speech Teacher 24 (1975), 37.

The Dual Problem

This paper focuses on a problem that currently faces both the field of speech communication and American society at large. The general purpose of speech communication education has long been clear: to help learners speak more effectively. But professionals are not agreed on how to define effective interpersonal communication, so they have not been particularly successful in teaching students how to be effective communicators. The question is raised whether persons can exert instrumental control over their environment and at the same time maintain trusting and expressive relationships with other people.

The problem within the discipline parallels a wider social problem: that females and males in American culture are not equally assertive in their speaking behavior. Females frequently fail to assert themselves effectively. Males often assert themselves without sufficient attention to others in the interpersonal situation.

The dual problem described here has particular relevance to the development of experiential approaches to communication education. Experiential learning resources in communication have proliferated, but they have not been accompanied by a coherent theoretical framework to guide their use. Such a framework is needed to make games, exercises, and simulations "isomorphic with theory" (Weaver, 1974).

This paper develops a paradigm or model of communication behavior that is intended to accomplish three things: (1) to draw together some recent research and theory in the field of speech, (2) to provide a practical approach to current educational needs, and (3) to make more possible a future in which persons are not limited by inappropriate sex-role expectations. The paper assumes that any model or paradigm is limited, directing attention toward some things and away from others (Burke, 1966; Kuhn, 1970). Thus assertive speaking as a paradigm may not explain all of communication behavior (it does not deal directly with listening, for example). This paradigm does, however, focus on two related questions central to both the discipline and the lives of individual learners: What does effective communication look like, and how can it be facilitated?

The Assertive Speaking Paradigm

Assertive speaking is defined here as the direct and appropriate expression of personal feelings, opinions, and purposes without undue anxiety and with respect for oneself and others. It is a style or method of communicating a variety of kinds of statements in various situations. As the word "appropriate" suggests, assertive speaking is a situation-specific term rather than a generalized trait. It is based on the valuing of goal-seeking behavior, as seen within a continuum of three alternative styles: acquiescent or nonassertive behavior, assertive speaking behavior, and aggressive speaking behavior. Recent writers have characterized the differences among the three styles of speaking behavior this way:

- **Acquiescent behavior is:** Emotionally dishonest, indirect, self-denying, inhibited;
- **Assertive speaking is:** Appropriately emotionally honest, direct, self-enhancing, expressive;
- **Aggressive speaking is:** Inappropriately emotionally honest, direct, self-enhancing at expense of another, expressive.

(Jakubowski-Spector, 1973; Alberti and Emmons, 1974.)
The description of the three styles is intended to show that assertive behavior is not a dichotomous construct—"either you have it or you don't"—but a matter of choice among a range of possible responses to situations.

As a value-based paradigm, assertive speaking involves a combination of cognitive, affective and behavioral elements. Cognitively, it refers to 1) a belief system affirming that one has rights and is the ultimate judge of one's own behavior; 2) the ability to differentiate effectively assertive responses; 3) an understanding of the values and as well as the difficulty of adapting to other persons. Affectively, it implies 1) confidence that one can express personal feelings, thoughts, and goals to others with some degree of effectiveness; and 2) willingness to initiate interactions rather than to withdraw from social contact. Behaviorally, it can be seen in 1) the use of "I" statements rather than more indirect expressions; 2) nonverbal behaviors such as direct eye contact, relaxed facial and body posture, and gestures consistent with message content; and 3) the effective timing of one's assertions to fit varying interpersonal situations.

Assertive Problems of Women

Research evidence indicates that women often experience difficulty in asserting themselves. The problem exists in all three dimensions of assertive speaking: cognitive, affective, and behavioral. Studies in sex role perceptions among college students as well as clinical psychologists show that both females and males believe that the qualities of being "assertive" or "aggressive" are predominantly masculine characteristics. (Broverman et al., 1970; Brm, 1974). Both of these so-called traits are considered by both sexes unfeminine and inappropriate (Swensen, 1973; Farrell, 1975). Women in assertion training often express the belief that they have few if any interpersonal rights of their own (Jakubowski-Spector, 1973).

On the affective or emotional level, women report and exhibit more anxiety about a variety of speaking situations than do men. They more often report fear of speaking situations than do men. They more often report fear of speaking before a group, and they exhibit higher increases in heart rate elevation prior to giving a speech ("Fears," Spectra, December 1973; Porter, 1974). In responding to an assertive inventory, women students more frequently than men report discomfort about asserting themselves in various interpersonal situations (Gambrill and Richey, 1974).

Behaviorally, some of the recent research on group behavior shows men to talk more often, in longer segments, and more frequently resisting interruption than women in the same groups. Types of responses vary as well; men's comments tend to be attempted answers, while women contribute more comments supporting another's ideas (Richey, 1974). These behaviors are sex role-related patterns of self-disclosure: females disclose more feelings and thoughts to family and friends than do males (Rubin, 1973), but they are likely in many cases to acquiesce rather than assert themselves in the presence of one or more males (Alberti and Emmons, 1974; Smith, 1975; Farrell, 1975). These differences in behavior have been attributed to women's fears of creating interpersonal conflict (Jakubowski-Spector, 1973). But failure to assert oneself in interpersonal relationships can lead to emotional depression (Gilmore, 1972).

Current Importance of Assertive Speaking Problems

Inadequate levels of assertive speaking among both females and males produce problems of particular importance at this point in history. Rapid social changes place individuals in new situations which put a premium on flexibility and competence. Persons ill-equipped to act assertively have difficulty handling employment interviews, taking initiative in interpersonal relationships, and negotiating effectively in conflict. If they do not assert themselves, their career development, their emotional well-being, and their potential contributions to society can be significantly impaired.

Members of both sexes may lack skills for dealing with new situations assertively, but the costs of such skill deficits are especially heavy for females. Discrepancies between men and women in salaries and professional advancement remain substantial, despite the increase of women's participation in higher education (including legal and medical education) and in the national work force (Women Today, Dec. 9, 1974; Jan. 20, 1975). Women are now almost 45 percent of all students in higher education, and nearly 40 percent of all workers in the United States. Many of the women who are working or in school are also heads of households. With such experiences, the day-to-day life challenges of men and women are becoming increasingly similar; yet they are not equally prepared for meeting these challenges assertively.
The particular needs of women learners warrant attention in speech communication instruction. There is increasing demand for instruction relating to learners' individual characteristics, and for more direct carryover from the "basic speech course" to learners' daily lives (Galvin, 1974; Lohr, 1974). Teachers are called to be accountable for their students' learning, and to obtain measurable evidence of mastery of skills (Scully, 1975; Sprague, 1974; Booth, 1974; Bochner and Kelly, 1974). In light of such demands it is important that communication classes discuss and practice ways of speaking that will serve human needs for both conceptual frameworks and mastery of skills (Sprague, 1974). Assertive speaking as a model offers a conceptual framework for effective communicating; assertion training literature from a variety of settings suggests usable classroom techniques and applications.

Assertive Speaking in the Classroom

As a conceptual framework, assertive speaking bridges the supposed gap between two orientations to communication that have frequently been considered in conflict: the rhetorical/instrumental/control approach (as exemplified by argumentation and debate) and the interpersonal/expressive/sharing approach (as exemplified by the encounter group). Several writers have recently complained that these concepts present false dichotomies (Arnold, 1972; Hart and Burks, 1972; Feezel, 1974; Sillars, 1974). But each has recognized the difficulty involved in "amalgamating critical or evaluative thinking with the maintenance of empathic human relationships" (Feezel, 1974, p. 59).

A particular strength of the assertive speaking model is that it explicitly affirms the dual goals of affecting one's environment and maintaining personal relationships (White, 1971). The model is compatible in this sense with the "interpersonal competence" framework recently developed by Bochner and Kelly (1974). Their model emphasizes goal-setting, collaboration with others, and situational flexibility as the marks of interpersonal competence. The assertive speaking paradigm builds on that framework by focusing on the needs of learners to transcend sex-typed behavior and to widen the range of communication skills they feel able and willing to apply.

The assertive speaking model can be incorporated in a communication classroom on all three levels previously cited: the cognitive, the behavioral, and the affective. It is a construct that focuses on communicators' rights and responsibilities in interpersonal situations and on the kinds of stylistic skills likely to be effective. Students can learn to observe and analyze their own and others' responses; they can choose particular behaviors they want to increase; and they can develop greater confidence through systematic practice and feedback.

Behaviorally, a wide variety of responses to situations can be chosen by students as their personal learning objectives. Examples include the following:

- Initiating interactions
- Making requests
- Expressing opinions
- Making an "I feel" statement
- Resisting interruption
- Receiving or expressing criticism
- Sharing personal good news
- Refusing unreasonable requests

Any of these statements can be applied in one or more of the general categories of situations where learners find themselves: service-consumer, authority, or equal-peer interactions (Smith, 1975).

The effectiveness of training in assertive responses has been demonstrated in a number of research studies dealing with both individuals and groups (McFall and Marston, 1970; McFall and Lillesand, 1971; Rathus, 1973; Richey, 1974). A variety of techniques have been used which are applicable in the communication classroom. These include role-playing, use of video or audio tapes for observation and practice, discussion of case studies (such as "Jenny and Ken," Sanbonmatsu, 1974), paper and pencil tests on alternative responses, behavioral homework assignments, overt or covert individual practice, and the administration of self-reinforcements for desired responses. Behavioral rehearsal or roleplaying with feedback has brought about the most significant increases in assertive speaking behavior, usually accompanied by increased feelings of confidence and decreased anxiety (Svinth, 1974).
Assertive Speaking and the Educational Context

Concern is frequently expressed that behavioral or skill training approaches to learning will limit individuals' potential growth, even though such approaches may bring measurable improvements in performance. Evidence suggests, however, that individuals value having behavioral objectives as guides for their learning, particularly when they can choose goals with personal relevance to them (Booth, 1974; Phillips and Metzger, 1973). The assertive speaking paradigm as an instructional framework takes a humanistic approach to behavioral learning (Bate, 1973). It implies that for a given situation there is no single correct assertive response which should be learned by everyone. Learners can develop ways of speaking that best fit their individual lives outside the classroom; inside the classroom they can find out the impact of their trial behaviors on others and on themselves.

Another concern arises from the fact that assertive speaking is explicitly a value-based paradigm. This is in fact a benefit, for values clarification can occur through discussion of the ethics of assertive speaking in various situations (Simon et al., 1972). Students can and should consider the appropriate limits of asserting themselves when the emotional or physical well-being of others is at stake (Alberti and Emmons, 1974). Personal insight into the bases of value judgements can come from other's communication styles. The point again is not to develop a single style, but to increase individuals' tolerance for and ability to employ a variety of assertive speaking styles appropriately in their daily lives.

Current Applications in Speech Communication

Among speech communication professionals, at least one class in assertion training for both males and females has been instituted during the past year (Blahna and Thorp, 1974). In an another program more than three years old, Phillips and Metzger have successfully used individualized techniques to treat what they call the "reticent syndrome." Theoretically they consider reticence as a trait rather than as a situation-specific anxiety about assertion. But their treatment program focuses concurrently on behaviors, feelings, and cognitive elements. Individual goal-setting is the keystone of their program. Persons decide on communication behaviors they would like to learn; then small groups of students work on the various members' goals, progressing from simpler to more complicated ones through role-playing inside the classroom and transferring practiced goals to outside situations. Assessment comes in private conferences, where changes in behavior, perceptions, and emotions are discussed and evaluated.

Phillips and Metzger (1973) talk of their program as an approach to a clinical problem. But their procedures—individualized instruction, systematized practice, peer support, and instructor feedback—are all applicable in an experiential communication classroom. Students are likely to range from those who are rarely assertive to those whose communication style may be typically aggressive; their differing ways of learning assertive responses will dramatize individual as well as gender differences among learners.

Another recent communication study, on verbal dogmatism, offers insight into aggressive speaking as the frequent male counterpart to female acquiescence. Feldman and Berger (1974) describe verbal dogmatism as a communication style characterized by opinionated language, expressions of aggressiveness, and manifestations of authoritarianism. Men both report and exhibit a verbally dogmatic style to a greater degree than do women. But as the concept of aggressive speaking would suggest, they also report less speech anxiety than women report. Authoritative speaking, even when insensitive to other people, parallels sex role expectations for American men to a great degree (Broverman, 1970; Chafetz, 1974; Farrell, 1975). Thus men may lack opportunities to become aware of the harm caused by their aggressive behavior.

Feldman and Berger do not discuss how to deal practically with the person who exhibits verbal dogmatism. But classroom experiences in which individuals gain feedback on the impact of their aggressive speaking on others are an appropriate way to address this interpersonal problem. Possibilities for feedback are one reason for allowing classes to include persons whose behavior ranges across the acquiescent-assertive-aggressive continuum. The combined presence of women and men learners can allow classes to include persons whose behavior ranges across the acquiescent-assertive-aggressive continuum. The presence of women and men learners can help members of both sexes to widen their range of skills. Women learners may be skillful in and reinforced for facilitating behavior, but they may be anxious about losing social approval if they are assertive. Men may be reinforced for assertive responses, but they may wonder about losing their credibility as "real men" if they express warmth and reveal personal emotions. But recent research suggests on the contrary that assertive speakers of both sexes are likely to be seen as more interpersonally competent (and thus more likable) by others in a mixed group (Farrell, 1975; Richey, 1974). With chances to choose one's personal learning goals in a supportive atmosphere, persons of both sexes can begin to transcend the beliefs and feelings that may inhibit them from speaking assertively.
Assertive Behavior and Implications for the Future

The teaching of assertive speaking has important implications for the future in terms of its sex role expectations. Transcending unnecessary sex role flexibility: the term androgyny. Sandra Bem (1974) has developed a scale androgyny, which she defines as the relatively equal presence of what are considered more flexible masculine and feminine behavioral traits. Androgynous persons demonstrate flexibility across situations requiring independent problem-solving and more than sex-typed persons. They can also be described as both expressive and assertive, having those communication skills most valued in both men and women (Johnson et al., 1974).

Enabling persons to become more flexible, or more androgynous, is the goal underlying the quotation at the beginning of this paper. Sprague states that communication educators must do more than present instrumental having those communication skills most valued in both men and women.

As long as teachers rely solely on existing teaching materials and linguistic codes, women will be discouraged from exploring the independent, assertive, forceful aspects of their personalities while men will be discouraged from exploring the tenderness, dependence, and compliance that is part of them as human beings. Women will have trouble considering the role of engineer, senator, or laborer, and men will find it difficult to consider seriously how they might fit into roles such as nurse, partner in home tasks, or elementary teacher. Unless students are presented with models of members of both sexes displaying a variety of individual personality styles and pursuing a variety of life styles and careers, their self concepts and their human potential will be limited (Sprague, 1975, p. 41).

Changes in sex roles are occurring in careers, in living arrangements, and interpersonal behavior. Speech communication instruction can assist learners in dealing with those changes more directly and more effectively within a conceptual framework that facilitates the growth of both women and men.

Speech communication has always been concerned with helping human beings to be more effective goal-seeking, interdependent creatures. The assertive speaking offers a conceptual framework that fits what instructors have been attempting for a long time, and makes possible a more effective job of instruction for the future, teachers can help all persons to become more successfully assertive: expressive, pleasurable, and competent communicators.

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NONVERBAL INTERACTION AND PERSONAL GROWTH

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There are many ideas afloat today about nonverbal communication and sex roles. But before I discuss the ideas in which I believe, I would like to tell you some things I do not believe in.

1. I do not think changing nonverbal communication is going to radically alter interaction in our society. Nor do I believe it will change women's status. But examining interaction can provide a clue to what is going on. An awareness of what we are doing can help to change our conceptions of ourselves.

2. I do not believe males and females are two different species. Male/female behavior is different, but there are many social reasons for sex differences. Gender and sex roles are not the only reasons for the differences; other reasons include punishment and reward due to socialization.

3. I do not believe in inviting self-depreciation by saying that women are their own worst enemies. Behavior is cued, and women give gestures of submission because they have been shown gestures of dominance. In a recent study, a white interviewer talked with white interviewees, but emitted behavior typically accorded to black interviewees. The white interviewees treated as black showed the types of behavior blacks would; and when judged by outside viewers, the white interviewees were seen generally as not competent. This is one basis for saying that many behaviors are cued. If women show gestures of confidence in themselves, they will tend to be labeled in many situations as "uppity" women.

We need to examine the notion of personal growth and ask some questions: What do we mean by personal growth? What factors in nonverbal interaction inhibit personal growth? What factors enhance personal growth?

We each have an identity, a feeling of self, but we are dependent on what we get from other people. Women have achieved great changes in personal growth, but it is important to note that no one can grow who does not change his or her relationships with other people. Relationship changes create different types of personality and feelings of identity.

The Importance of Nonverbal Communication in Interaction

There are some questions we should ask about nonverbal communication and personal growth. Nonverbal communication is of great importance in interaction in general. Most authorities agree that nonverbal outweighs verbal communication. In one experiment that attempted to assess how much weight the nonverbal element carries, nonverbal and verbal messages were presented together, separately, and in various combinations. It was discovered that nonverbal communication carries four times the weight of the verbal message, when they are both together (as they usually are).

Nonverbal interaction is very subtle, because it is not taught and it is seldom examined. As such, it is a good avenue for subtle manipulation of people because it does not have to be conscious. Influence takes place because we are kept from any understanding or knowledge of nonverbal communication. Studies have found that women are more sensitive to nonverbal communication than men. This has been interpreted on occasions as a kind of defense mechanism in women, since they are more often dependent on others in their social situations. Thus women have to know what the expectations for them are, much more than do men.

Another reason I think nonverbal communication is especially important to women is that they are put in the position of being the so-called "delicate" sex, to whom violence is supposedly not to be shown. Therefore, a subtle form of control is most likely the kind to be used to keep women "in their place." If we were to study which channels of communication are used for controlling people in various ways according to their different situations in life—sex, race, and so on—we might find the nonverbal channel is limited more to women than to other groups that are to be controlled.
Finally, nonverbal communication is of special importance to women because, unlike other subordinate subgroups in our society, women are integrated around centers of power. Poor people, blacks, minimally educated, etc., are segregated by class, race, and occupation. Women, however, are integrated around centers of power, so there is a lot of nonverbal interaction necessary with women to keep up those reminders of status. An example is the boss/secretary situation.

Female/Male, Male/Male, and Female/Female Interaction

It is difficult to examine the female and male nonverbal interaction because there are often unrecognized power relationships. Some relationships masquerade as love and affection when they are actually power relationships. Often the same gestures that are used to express closeness and intimacy between people equally are the gestures which are used to express dominance between people who are not equal. Touching is an example of such a gesture. Gestures of affection can be used in some situations for purposes of dominating other people.

In examining nonverbal interaction, some researchers are focusing on communication between the sexes. But we should also look at within-sex nonverbal interaction. Whereas research on interaction has been done with males, we do not know very much about how females interact with each other non-verbally. Some observation was done of the development of an antagonistic sequence between two males. This included the different types of things they do in small argument, how they break away from it, and how the conflict is resolved. Do women have an interaction pattern like that? Concern with both between-sexes and within-sexes interaction is important. Undoubtedly many of the same problems in interaction patterns that exist within the sexes also exist within the sexes.

Personal Growth

In talking about personal growth, we need to examine our own styles of nonverbal behavior for sex stereotyped patterns and especially for self-defeating and destructive patterns. Although this self-scrutiny is especially applicable to women, we can raise the same issue in regard to men. Some behavioral patterns may not be detrimental in larger social terms, but may be as far as personal growth, self-satisfaction, and emotional growth are concerned. In an excellent essay called "Male Supremacy," Lynn O'Connor says that charm is nothing more than a series of gestures, including vocalizations, which indicate submission. Charm, for women, is giving our gestures of submission to get a job or keep a job. She views the interaction patterns between males and females as largely patterns of dominance and submission intensified in what we call "love." The female submission is to keep away punishment of various sorts. Love, in other words, is fear.

In forming impressions about people, the first thing we notice is their sex. Sex makes a difference. It tells us how to respond to another person. A telephone situation, for example, can present a view of differential treatment of the sexes. If a man with a relatively high-pitched voice is speaking and is mistaken for a woman, the behavior he receives is quite different from what he would experience if the person on the phone thinks he is a man. Different kinds of gestures, verbal and nonverbal, are used to indicate dominance and submissiveness, and many are cued to or by sex.

Examples of gestures of dominance and submission include the following, some of which are speculative and some supported by research:

1. Staring is used as a gesture of dominance. Lowering the eyes is a gesture of submission which accompanies a staring gesture.
2. Touching is a gesture of dominance. Women respond by cuddling to the touch.
3. Pointing is a gesture of dominance to change people's action. (A measure of how much power you have may be determined by how far away your pointing affects people.)
4. Interrupting is a gesture of dominance. Allowing others to interrupt you is a gesture of submission.
5. Frowning is a gesture of dominance. Smiling is a gesture of submission.
6. **Invading** personal space is a gesture of dominance. Retreating is a gesture of submission.

7. **Looseness** of demeanor and posture is a dominance gesture. It is associated with people of higher status and with men.

8. **Self-disclosure** is a gesture of submission. People who don't display emotions are considered to have more power. Self-disclosure is predominately done to a superior. It is more frequently done by women, who seem to be required to disclose more information than men.

**Changing One's Nonverbal Style**

1. Try to recognize when you are intimidated and resist influence from others.

2. Avoid gestures of submissiveness and develop your assertiveness.

3. Maintain a social sensitivity, but not to the extent of complete self-submersion. Be conscious of what you are doing and maintain an awareness of your developing self. Do not overvalue forms of power control.

**Woman/Woman Interaction**

Women should develop supportive gestures with each other. Some ways to give attention to other women include the following:

1. Look at women when they speak.

2. Respond and react.

3. Do not interrupt.

4. Do not distract with noise or gestures while they are talking.

5. Do not tolerate others' maltreatment of women.

6. Develop gestures of mutual support.
   a. eye contact
   b. leaning forward
   c. nodding, smiling
   d. open posture

It is well to remember that no personal growth occurs without pain. But lack of personal growth is much more painful.
KEYNOTE LUNCHEON SPEAKER

Liz Carpenter
REMARKS BY

"Liz" Carpenter, Vice President
Hill and Knowlton, Inc.*

I'm glad to be back at my old school to speak on the subject of communications—women's and men's—the media and the people, and especially to you who are training those we sincerely hope are the "best and the brightest" now pouring through our schools to be communicators.

I graduated here at the University of Texas in 1942—journalism degree in hand—and set forth to Washington to communicate from the Capital. That was 33 years, 7 presidents, and 144 attorney generals ago.

Since then I've done a lot of speaking from the podium. So much, it is hard for me to believe what my children frequently tell me, "Just remember, mother, there are 800 million Chinese who neither know nor care what you are saying!"

My communication, as a pad and pencil reporter from Washington, went out to papers throughout the southwest primarily in the FDR to JFK period to readers yet untouched by Martin Luther King or Betty Friedan, before the marches and caucuses of the 60's. We were a country not yet dismayed by a living roam war and Watergate.

When I said good-bye to this University and went to Washington, my graduation speaker was the British Ambassador, our World War II ally, and the national hero was a public officer—a President—Franklin Roosevelt. I thought of that this year when I watched my daughter—part of the Ralph Nader generation—graduate with a law degree. The graduate speaker was Daniel Schorr. The heroes of this year's graduating classes are most certainly Woodward and Bernstein.

So today and tomorrow we are to live in the Era of Accountability. Judge Sirica has brought it to the public arena; Ralph Nader and the consumer movement to the marketplace. Together, Nader and Sirica have done for the century what Billy Graham failed to do—converted the country into a confessional and the Congress into a prayer group.

Our journalism schools already are attracting an influx of eager young students who are seeking their glory in investigative reporting, and remember that's the pre-Redford rate.

After Robert Redford and Dustin Hoffman appear in the starring roles of Woodward and Bernstein on the trails of "All the President's Men," the schools of the communications are going to be invaded like the Oklahoma Land Rush. And in the process, we are going to unleash a lot of poor xeroxes of those admirable young journalists—mediocre private eyes in public print who will make every day CPA day at the County Courthouse and City Hall. In the process, we are in danger of becoming so obsessed with frisking the officeholder's pocketbooks that our city rooms and TV stations will ignore what is the most significant running story of the political journalist—that is, covering the views and the performance of the officeholder and presenting it to the reader.

I am not alone in my concern: Newbold Noyes voiced this fear to the American Society of Newspaper Editors when they listened to a rare moment of self-criticism. "Have you ever seen a news story which really reflected the content and intent of a speech? The reporter, doing as we have taught him, looks for one starting or contentious or silly statement, and there is his lead. I sometimes think we ought to consider directing reporters to put just one paragraph in each speech story which says, in effect: Here, regardless of the rest of this news story, is the gist of what the poor man was trying to say."

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On hear it from a recent British Journal: "In America, as a whole, the press seems to have developed an unhealthy new arrogance. One senses it partly in the dogmatism, often for investigative reporting. This springs, largely of course, from the success of the Washington Post in exhibiting the immoralities of the Nixon regime, but it has gone much further now. The press enjoyed that letting of blood, and now too often seems to think that good journalism knows no secrets, respects no privacies, pardons no faults, and to say anything about anybody is not one of the inalienable rights envisaged by the founding fathers."

This is a cynical time in this country. And I fear that while skepticism is a healthy attribute for a democracy, widespread cynicism on the part of the people and the media will further cripple our national spirit. "A cynic," as Lord Darlington said, "is a man who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing."

So this July morning I suggest for our text the words spoken by Walt Whitman one hundred and five years ago, a man usually communicating optimism. "Never was there," he said "perhaps more hollowness of heart than at present, and here in the United States. Genuine belief seems to have left us. The principles of the states are not believed in. We live in an atmosphere of hypocrisy throughout. The men is so, as if we were somehow being endowed with a vast and more thoroughly appointed body, and then left with little or no soul..."

While suggesting this for our text, let me also frame the challenge: Can we emerge from the recent Era of Accountability into an Era of Perception? It has been said that what we as a nation have undergone in the decade of Viet Nam and Watergate is seeing our soul? But before we ponder this question, I would like to indulge in some personal nostalgia about what it was like when those of us over forty got our first taste of printer's ink.

I grew up here in the Bible Belt where a politician ran for office on a three-plank platform: paying your honest debts, saving your seed potatoes, and Baptism by total immersion.

I did my stint of cub reporting in this town on the Austin American and had no trouble communicating with my editor because my desk was located next to the men's room. Be weak kidneys.

I was also in constant communication with the man in the composing room who set my immortal copy into type. Like most city rooms of that day, we were equipped with nothing but bad typewriters. My L.C. Smith had a wavery ribbon and two broken keys so I frequently corrected a story over the shoulder of the man at the Linotype machine.

I discovered the kind of reporter I wanted to be one day when the AP bells rang bringing the news that Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley had just broken with Franklin Roosevelt and threatened to resign over a tax bill.

Everyone was out to lunch except me and the weak-kidneyed editor who had no alternative but to dispatch his greenest cub off to the Driskill Hotel, Room 710, I believe, to interview the only big Democrat in town—our national committee-woman—and see whether she would side with Barkley or Roosevelt.

I was recalled. I had never set foot in the lobby of a hotel before except with my father. Decent girls didn't. When I counted the smoke-filled hotel rooms I have covered recall that ride up the elevator and my timid knock at the door. She was sitting there with a diamond cane by her knee, sipping—a MIXED DRINK—which I later discovered was called a Manhattan, talking politics with the Internal Revenue Collector.

I put the question to her. She quickly sided with "Dear Alben" and I left hurriedly. But I was never to be the same again. I had a page one by-line on a political story, and the scent of intrigue in that smoke-filled room lingered on.
In no time at all I was off to Washington—I suppose if this had come after Woodward and Bernstein I would have headed for the IRS office, talked some clerk into lifting the committeewoman’s tax records, met him in a parking garage after midnight, and bared the committeewoman’s tax returns bit by bit to the world.

You see how I quite possibly missed a Pulitzer Price and a movie. But I rather think the relationship in that hotel room was just as it appeared—two longtime friends of countless political battles talking politics.

So much for personal nostalgia.

How do we restore some judgment—a measure of faith in each other?

I believe that this restoration of faith—a sense of trust—is being accomplished almost unnoticed, but as a very positive by-product of the great movements of our time, and the media is almost totally ignorant of it, or partly to it.

New areas of communication have arisen as the old institutions became more remote, or simply grew too large to be operable.

We have regrouped into black movements, youth movements, the women’s movement, the militant old people delightfully known as the Grey Panthers—partially to fight old injustices, but also simply to find a sense of commonality; a desire to reach and touch other members of the human family.

Yes, part of the mission of these movements is ideological, but a lot of the come-on is simply the way of human beings finding one another in an increasingly anonymous, lonely land. Certainly the youth movement came along when the old gathering places at universities—fraternities and sororities and eating clubs—were very passe. Many students did feel strongly about Viet Nam, but they were joined in the streets by hundreds of others who simply found this the only acceptable social encounter on our campuses of the 60’s.

I used to flinch from the word “sisterhood,” but let me assure you there is a new sisterhood among women; there is brotherhood among the blacks.

When did we stop communicating with each other and retreat indoors?

Some people contend that it began with the invention of the automobile, and subsequently, the loss of the front porch to another lane of traffic. Front porches were once a great meeting place for neighborhoods.

I know it is oversimplification, but I’m inclined to think that we moved apart in suspicion that day some 11 years ago when the woman was stabbed on the streets of New York—the Genovese Case. Thirty seven people watched this happen in broad daylight and no one answered her cry. Almost unspoken across this land, worrying and guilt took hold. How could this happen in downtown New York? Could it happen to us? Would we let it happen to someone else?

A few years later we worried when we read about the Houston mass murder and wondered, "If my child is lost, will no one help me find him?"

And we watched the Hearsts and worried again, "How could we rebuy a child? Would we be able to persuade the police not to fire on sight?"

The shaking of faith in ourselves, in our institutions, gnaws at us mercilessly—whether it is our doubts about the CIA or a neighbor down the street.

It is going to take some imaginative architects to plan neighborhoods for pleasure—to bring people outside the house again.

It is going to take communicators to help us regain confidence that there is, after all, some joy, some success loose in the land. There are some honest public servants, some responsible government agencies, some neighbors who come when called.

It is going to take some effort on the part of each of us—as people—a sense of human kindness and understanding.

Frankly, I have more faith in the success of the third group—the people—than I do in the architects and communicators.

Young people have, for instance, succeeded in ending the war in Vietnam, and in convincing older generations that the old platitudes should be questioned, and that longhair and beards were not necessarily Marxist.
The women's movement has newly allowed women to have friendships and be supportive of one another without being considered wallflowers at the dance. In the end, it is going to strengthen marriage by helping us realize that love—real love, the love that unites in mind as well as flesh—can only exist between two equals.

The demands of minorities as well as women for true equality in jobs and in politics is awakening the corporate structure to realize that their new constituency is their employees and they had better relate to this audience quickly.

My own firm, Hill and Knowlton, whose clients represent 11 percent of the gross national product, is working to get this message over. Earlier this summer, in a seminar, we brought government prosecutors face to face with corporate executives to discuss this new constituency—their own employees. And the facts were certainly clear. The employees are winning all the judgments.

Martha Griffiths, that remarkable former congresswoman from Michigan who brought the Equal Rights Amendment successfully out of Congress, told them—as she has been telling corporate audiences across this land, "Gentlemen, there is no peace. I can assure you that behind every door, including the kitchen door, there are groups of women: 1) listing their grievances, 2) organizing political efforts to alleviate them, 3) researching the law for possible suits, 4) finding the exact person to fit the situation and the most likely to win the suit, and 5) others are raising money. Women have never gone this far before. The older order changes and you are going to have to find the ways to live with it." Her message was not met by stony silence, but by applause from people who know it is true and we best face it.

Barbara Jordan, that eloquent black congresswoman from Texas whom we watched in the hearings on impeachment before the House Judiciary Committee, spelled out the changing roles of women and men relationships to the members of Congress:

"The truth is you do not understand the thrust of our movement. We are not trying to make you feel inferior. We don't want what you have. We don't want to take away your toys—whatever it is. We want to liberate you, to free you, to expand your horizons, to break into the prisons of your minds. We know that we can act and live and be. And as we walk together, in political achievements on the national, state and local level, we are going to find a prevalence of sanity over insanity, peace over war, justice over injustice, love over hate. And we are going to get the opportunity, whether you are ready, Mr. President, members of Congress or not."

Yes, there are some speeches worth covering.

Meanwhile, what of the communicators? Have they undergone any revolution within themselves? Technologically, yes. Certainly consolidation of newspapers has been taking place, but this very fact often makes for more remoteness from the sources of news and commentary.

In television, we have seen broadcast journalism bring show biz to the news beat. Don Schorr, in relating his Watergate experiences, spelled out what this means in practice: "Television is a strange medium. It's essentially a theatrical medium. And when we construct a news story, we always get to the question of who's going to give the other side. Consequently, we tend to build stories around conflicting personalities. We want always, of course, to be the reporter, to maintain the role of neutral, hiding-in-the-woodwork narrator of events—but at the same time, we are on the air and we are in show business. And there has to be an element of drama which usually means conflict, in order to attract an audience, which means success to this business."

So now to the city room comes the star syndrome. The verdicts of Watergate, the capital gains problems of Woodward and Bernstein show it has been effective. Watergate has given printed word journalism new life—but it has also created a whole set of characters who may come to believe that the reporter is bigger than the news. I am suspicious that the Hollywoodization of the press inevitably will lead to shaping events rather than covering them. There is too much reliance on the conscience and restraint of the glorified reporter.

And I think teachers of communications will do their students a service to issue this warning: "Look, if you want to be only a prosecuting reporter, if you are just interested in constant investigation, I suggest you will be more fulfilled as a detective. There you will fill your life each day with details of the sordid side of human nature, a state more characteristic of the cynic than the journalist."
I think it imperative that schools for the media consider new curriculums and disciplines to encourage broader perspective by journalists to bring broader perspective to what is happening. This is indeed the revolution that is sorely lacking in the media the need to rethink its own role, research its own soul.

All life is not dirt. Flowers do grow and bloom!

"America," Frank Lloyd Wright has said, "is the only culture that has gone from barbarism to decadence without becoming civilized in the meantime."

Mr. Wright was too impatient. We are not yet finished. The people are stirring themselves. That story deserves all the attention it can merit.
APPENDIX A

Resources for Research and Instruction

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOURCES RELATED TO WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT OF SELF

Nancy Wood Bliese
Laurilyn J. Harris

The following sources deal with sex-linked stereotypes as they are practiced in our society and as they affect our communications and the development of our interpersonal relationships. Several specific questions to consider are: 1) Why do stereotypes develop? 2) How do stereotypes develop? 3) How do individual stereotypes differ from societal stereotypes? 4) How do both individual and societal stereotypes differ from the actual behaviors of males and females? 5) How do both individual and societal stereotypes affect our communication with others of either sex? and 6) What can be done to remove any ill effects of sex-linked stereotyping on communication with others?

Stereotypes are explained as cognitive structures which everyone develops to facilitate information processing. Stereotypes are explained as cognitive structures which everyone develops to facilitate information processing. Stereotypes are not inherently either good or bad. They only become bad when they become inflexible and do not change to reflect changes in real or perceived conditions. A theoretical explanation of the development of stereotypes which focuses on the theories of Kelly (1955), Werner (1957), Lewin (1950), Heider (1958), Piaget (1952, 1955, 1964), and Crockett (1965). The theoretical formulation is based on a model of people as naive scientists who are seeking validation of hypotheses which allow them to predict events in their environments. The ways in which stereotypes affect both our own behavior and our behavior toward others are discussed.

The differences between individual and societal stereotypes are discussed and empirical evidence is presented to indicate that, with regard to sex-linked stereotypes, there is a wide difference between individual and societal stereotypes. Possible reasons for this difference are discussed.

Empirical evidence is presented to show that both individual and societal sex-linked stereotypes lack basis in facts about actual male and female behaviors. The difficulties of using this information to change either individual or societal stereotypes are discussed.

Finally, the implications of stereotyping for our communication are discussed. Several suggestions are given for overcoming the negative and enhancing the positive effects of sex-linked stereotypes on interpersonal relations with persons of either sex.
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6. SEXUALITY


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8. PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS


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APPENDIX B

Conference Program
PROGRAM

SCA SISCOM '75 CONFERENCE

Women's (and Men's) Communication

University of Texas at Austin

July 10-12, 1975

SCA ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION: Barbara Lieb-Brilhart, Speech Communication Association

CONFERENCE CO-DIRECTORS: Barbara Eakins, Arizona State University
Gene Eakins, Wright State University

Thursday, July 10

9:00 am - 5:00 pm Registration and Exhibits

9:00 am - 2:00 pm Films in Communication (Courtesy of MASSCOM). Continuous Screenings, Thursday and Friday.

9:00 am - 5:00 pm Thursday and Friday. Exhibits of books and other media for Communication.

9:00 am - 2:00 pm Radio Nostalgia. Continuous presentation of radio programs from the past (Courtesy of MASSCOM).

9:00 am - 2:00 pm Radio-Television-Film and Communication Center facilities open for visitors (Courtesy of MASSCOM).

10:30 am, 1:00 pm, 2:30 pm, 4:00 pm, 7:00 pm "Women: A Multi-Image Montage." Arlene Metha, Arizona State University. Screening in "The Egg."

8:00 pm SISCOM participants join either Group I or Group II. Groups reverse on Friday.

Group I: Contemporary Materials, Current and Projected Research on Women's (and Men's) Communication. Coordinator: Cheris Kramer, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

A. Interpersonal Communication Between Men and Women. Bonnie Ritter-Patton and Bobby Patton, University of Kansas, Chairpersons. Room A 323.

Charles Waugh, University of Maine at Augusta. Discussion of a symbolic interactionist interpretation of how the service changes conceptions about women.

B. Current Research in Women's Communication. Bonnie M. Johnson, Pennsylvania State University, Chairperson.

"WHAT'S the State of Current Research on Women's Communication?" A survey of the research on sex differences in communication. Loretta Blahna, University of Minnesota, (Morris).

"WHY Would Anyone Want to Do Research on Sex Differences?" Philosophical assumptions of research on gender differences. Gloriannae Leck, Youngstown State University, and Bonnie M. Johnson, Pennsylvania State University.

"HOW Can We Investigate Sex and Communication Roles?" One way: non-verbal body gestures in conversation. Another way: women in television—the "soaps". Paulette Peterson, Arizona State University.
C. **Sex Differences in Language, Speech and Non-Verbal Communication.** Nancy Honley, Lowell Technological Institute, Massachusetts, and Linda St. Clair, State University of New York at Albany, Chairpersons.

Thursday evening only: Linda St. Clair, "Sexual Politics and Small Group Processes."

D. **Stereotyping in Women's (and Men's) Speech.** Cheris Kramer, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Chairperson.

- Sex-role stereotypes; appearances of sex-based stereotypes in contemporary and historical literature; appearances of sex-based speech stereotypes in mass media; and the effect of speech stereotypes on female/male interaction.


E. **Use, Evaluation and Generation of Non-Print Material.** Bruce Gronbeck, University of Iowa, and Linda J. Busby, Iowa State University, Chairpersons.


- The products of 25 years (1949-1974) of educational, instructional and documentary film-making for use in audio-visual centers and classroom instruction in "A Partial List of Educational, Instructional, and Documentary Films Treating Women's Roles, Problems, and Communication Strategies" by Richard Edwards and Bruce Gronbeck, University of Iowa.

- Discussion of "Funding Women's Studies Research, Creative Works, and Programs" by Harriett Douthitt and Bruce Gronbeck, University of Iowa.

Group II. **Simulation Games.** Facilitator: Charles Pieper, Human Relations and Training Development, Naval Amphibious School, Coronado, California.

- Simulation games relating to women/men communication.

10:00 pm Conference No-Host Cocktail Hour.

Friday, July 11

Workshops in Women's (and Men's) Communication.

9:00 am Track A. **Developing a Unit or Course in Women's (and Men's) Communication.** Bonnie Ritter-Patton and Bobby Patton, Chairpersons.

- Participants engage in a series of exercises on non-verbal communication between women and men.
Track B. **Designing and Conducting a Women's (and Men's) Communication Workshop.** Linda St. Clair, Chairperson.

Discussion of behavioral objectives, assumptions about workshops, and self-assessment techniques, including observational and experience-based learning.

**Friday, July 11**

Design considerations include nuts and bolts of planning and arrangement, logistics, and make-up of participants. Isabel Crouch and Betty Lou Dubois of New Mexico State University, provide examples from forthcoming conference on the languages of American women. Janet Elsea, Arizona State University provides practical information on planning and design.

Track C. **Developing Self and an Understanding of Self, Role, and Societal Interaction Patterns.** Laurilyn J. Harris, Washington State University, Chairperson.

**Interpersonal Relations:** "Developing Interpersonal Relations: the Formation and Destruction of Male and Female Sex Role Stereotypes."
Nancy Henley, Lowell Technological Institute, Massachusetts.

**Women and Society:** The Mass Media.
Linda J. Busby

1:30 pm Repeat of Thurs.' evening presentations with groups reversed. Persons who attended Group I on Thursday evening will now attend Group II. Persons who participated in Group II, Simulation Games, on Thursday evening will now attend Group I meetings on Materials, Current and Projected Research. (Or, if desired, another section of Group I could be selected by participants who attended Group I Thursday evening and now wish to attend a different section of Group I.)

7:00 pm Conference Barbecue. Participants bus to Lake Austin to board the riverboat "Commodore" to Green Shores for the barbecue.


**Saturday, July 12**

Track A. **Developing a Unit or Course in Women's (and Men's) Communication.**

Leader: Cheris Kramer, Discussion with sample course outlines and bibliographies.

Track B. **Designing and Conducting a Women's (and Men's) Communication Workshop.**

Presentation of resource materials, evaluation processes and follow-up considerations.
Track C. Developing Self and an Understanding of Self, Role and Societal Interaction Patterns.

Barbara Bate, University of Oregon. Discussion of Assertive Speaking: A Paradigm for Communication Education of the Future." Loretta Blahna, University of Minnesota at Morris; Discussion of some practical applications.

10:30 am Groups I - A, B, C, D and E meet together for synthesis of materials.

"Final Reflections and Future Directions." John Waite Bowers, University of Iowa, Moderator.

Panel: Linda J. Busby
Bruce Gronbeck
Cheris Kramer
Bobby Patton
Bonnie Johnson
Bonnie Ritter-Patton
Linda St. Clair

12:30 pm Conference Luncheon.

Speaker: Leslie (Liz) Carpenter, Vice President of Hill and Knowlton Public Relations, and former Press Secretary and Staff Director to "Lady Bird" Johnson.
APPENDIX C

Conference Participants
## CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

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