

PSYCHOLOGICAL GENDER : THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
SEX-ROLE AND GENDER IDENTITY

by

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ABSTRACT

The study is based on psychoanalytic theory of the development of gender identity. The basic premise is that there are at least two levels of gender-related identity, viz. gender identity and sex-role.

Thirty-three male and thirty-nine female university students participated in the study. They were asked to complete questionnaires designed to measure gender identity, sex-role and sexual orientation. Gender identity was measured by means of fantasy patterns which emerge in story-telling. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory was used to measure sex-role. Subjects' sexual orientations were described with the aid of the Kinsey Seven-Point Rating Scale.

Results indicate a number of unanticipated complexities which need further investigation. The type of picture used in the measurement of gender identity seems to determine whether or not a subject's true gender identity will emerge or whether it will be distorted. There is a relationship between sex-role and gender identity, but it is indirect. The gender identities of persons whose sex-roles are feminine, masculine or undifferentiated tend to conform to biological sex. Persons whose sex-roles are androgynous, however, tend towards feminine gender identity whatever their biological sex. Further research is recommended to confirm or refute these results.

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INTRODUCTION

This study was motivated by a desire to understand psychological gender and its relationship to patriarchy. Patriarchy is a way of organising society such that women and men are differentiated from each other and accorded unequal social power with the result that men are dominant and women subordinate. Such differentiation is not simply a matter of social norms but runs deep into the psychological realm so that men and women develop different psychological characteristics. Numerous studies are, therefore, reported in which it is shown that, for example, men are active, aggressive and assertive, while women are passive, gentle and yielding (Block, 1973).

Amongst studies such as these, one looks at sex-role characteristics from a different perspective. Bem (1974) developed a sex-role inventory which measures masculinity and femininity on independent dimensions rather than as bi-polar attributes. This inventory allows for the possibility of androgyny which according to Bem (1974:155), exists when an individual is

...*both* masculine and feminine,*both* assertive and yielding,*both* instrumental and expressive - depending on the situational appropriateness of these various behaviors...

In two samples, Bem finds 34% and 44% of males and 27% and 38% of females to be androgynous (Bem, 1974:161).

Numerous studies on androgyny follow Bem's first study (1974). In looking at sex-role adaptability in androgynous, as compared with non-androgynous, persons Bem (1975) finds the former to be more adaptable, i.e. they

displayed a high level of masculine independence when under pressure to conform, and they displayed a high level of feminine playfulness when given the opportunity to interact with a tiny kitten. (Bem, 1975:642)

Spence (1975) finds a correlation between androgyny and self-esteem, suggesting that "the most desirable state of affairs is *androgyny*." (Spence, 1975:38). Welch's study of androgyny and derived identity (1979) suggests that the more androgynous a woman is, the more likely she is to possess a real identity rather than one which is derived from that of her spouse. In general, these studies indicate that the androgynous person is one who, with higher self-esteem and a more certain identity, is more adept at handling social situations and is thus generally psychologically healthier than either masculine or feminine persons.

Psychological gender is believed to be inextricably tied up with patriarchal social relations and deeply embedded in the psyche of every man and woman. These studies, therefore, raise numerous questions. What does it mean that, on average, 39% of men and 33% of women in American universities are androgynous? Have androgynous people really escaped or transcended gender categorisation? Do they perceive themselves to be male and female? Do androgynous women experience themselves as being the same as men and vice versa? There is no evidence to suggest the former, i.e. that androgynous people do not experience themselves as belonging fundamentally to one gender category and not to both. Assuming that, despite their androgynous sex-roles, these people define themselves as male or female in a psychosocial as well as biological sense, what does their maleness or femaleness mean to them?

Cramer and Carter (1978) look at levels of gender identity and are interested in the distinction "... between a person's external, sex-typed behavior and his internal, subjective sense of self." (Cramer and Carter, 1978:63). In a study measuring two levels of gender identity, they postulate that primary gender identity is formed early in life and is unconscious, while secondary gender identity is conscious and is learned later in life. To measure primary gender identity they use a measure devised by May (1966) which is used in this study and is described below (Chapter Five). To measure secondary gender identity Cramer and Carter (1978) use a bi-polar measure of masculinity-femininity which excludes the possibility of androgyny. Results show that there is no significant relationship between primary and secondary gender identity, indicating that, indeed, there may be two levels of gender identification.

It is possible that the measurement of androgyny described by Bem (1974) is a measure of only one aspect of a person's gender identity and that, in fact, there exists a deeper, unconscious level of identity which is different from the conscious level. Whether or not Bem's subjects are androgynous in all aspects of their gender identity is still to be determined. This is the aim of this study.

Thus far, whenever the term, gender identity, has been used, it has referred to all psychological aspects of a person's identity that relate to his or her being male or female. However, Cramer and Carter's contention (1978) that there are two levels of gender identity is one of the basic premises of this study. In this study gender identity shall refer only to the more primary, unconscious level of identity which reflects a

person's sense of himself or herself as male or female, and to what this means in terms of basic experience of self in the world. A person's gender identity is an inextricable part of his or her basic sense of identity and cannot be altered except, possibly, by extreme stress or, by intensive psychotherapy (McClelland and Watt, 1968; Stoller, 1975), as it is acquired in the process of establishing identity as a whole (see the section on the Oedipus complex, Chapter Two).

vs. Sex-role in this study will refer to the more conscious aspect of gender-related identity and reflects those outward attributes, attitudes and congruent behaviours of a person which have developed over the course of his or her life. Sex-role is established in childhood, through imitation of others of the same gender and by learning that certain behaviours are culturally acceptable for a specific gender; or in adulthood, when a person makes a conscious effort to develop or alter traits which are culturally considered to be sex-related. This implies that, unlike gender identity, sex-role can be intentionally altered in adulthood. Women who are feminists, for example, may consciously decide to alter such character traits as submissiveness, passivity, or docility, in order to develop the culturally-defined masculine qualities of assertiveness, activity and aggression. If sex-role is not acquired as a part of the unconscious process of acquiring basic identity, but rather, is acquired through imitation and social learning (Maccoby, 1974), then it follows that it is a separate part of a person's identity and is, in a sense, something which is extrinsic to basic identity.

Kohlberg (1966), in his cognitive-developmental analysis of the acquisition of sex-role, sees sex-role learning as occurring later than gender identity.

The child first learns that he or she is a boy or girl and then learns that certain behaviours are masculine or feminine. While Kohlberg differs from the writer with regard to his views on the acquisition of gender identity, it is agreed that this is necessary before a person can learn to behave in a sex-typed fashion. If the child's gender identity is faulty or not firmly established, he or she will certainly have difficulty in establishing sex-role. On the other hand, sex-role will not necessarily conform to gender identity, as what is considered masculine and what is considered feminine is determined by what parents and other significant adults consider to be masculine or feminine. Theoretically, there should be a correlation between parental conceptions of masculinity-femininity and the degree of masculinity-femininity in the child. Although this aspect of theory will not be considered in this study, it is mentioned here for the purpose of distinguishing sex-role from gender identity.

There is another aspect of a person's identity which is related to his or her conception of self as being male or female. This is sexual orientation, i.e. a person's choice of object in terms of sexual relations. A person will define himself or herself as heterosexual, homosexual, or more rarely, bisexual. While sexual orientation is separate from gender identity, they are related in that they are acquired through the same psychological process, viz. the Oedipus complex (Freud, 1953-1966). This aspect of psychological gender is excluded from the study because insufficient homosexual subjects were available.

Psychological gender is not a simple phenomenon which arises naturally or inevitably or separately from the society in which each male and female

person lives. Rather, it is believed that psychological gender arises because of certain social arrangements which, through socialisation by the family, come to be embedded in the psyche of every person. Chapter One thus deals with the socio-cultural basis from which gender identity and sex-role are determined. Chapter Two looks at the psychological processes which determine the gender identity of each person and looks in depth at the Oedipus complex. Because the acquisition of sex-role is, by comparison, seen to be a fairly simple process as described above, no further theoretical discussion takes place. Chapter Three is concerned with the effect of the Oedipus complex on men and women and with the unconscious meaning this complex gives to gender. It is an attempt to explain, theoretically, what the psychological differences between men and women essentially are, and it discusses this in relation to fantasy patterns of men and women. Chapter Four looks at the relationship between sex-role and gender identity and concludes the theoretical section. It will be noticed that the theory of these chapters deals with the development of gender identity in relation to heterosexual persons only because homosexual participants were unavailable for the study.

The remaining three chapters of the dissertation present the research. Chapter Five describes the methodology. Chapter Six presents the results of the research. Chapter Seven is a discussion of the results in relation to the theory on which the research is based, and concludes the dissertation.

CHAPTER ONE

GENDER IN ITS SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

The nature and meaning of the differences between the sexes have plagued and fascinated observers and philosophers from antiquity. Mythological symbols of an initial hermaphroditic being, who subsequently divides into man and woman, is indicative of this fascination with the problem. One of the earliest creation myths, according to Neumann (1954), is that of the *uroboros*, a symbol of a serpent eating its own tail, thus forming a perfect circle. The *uroboros* is the symbol of perfection, of roundness, wholeness and oneness. It is the container of all that is to come, of opposites not yet differentiated:

The *uroboros* appears as the round 'container', i.e. the maternal womb, but also as the union of masculine and feminine opposites, the World Parents joined in perpetual cohabitation. (Neumann, 1954:13)

// With the separation of the World Parents, the individual psyche is differentiated into male and female. In terms of mythology, therefore, the continual search to understand the origin and meaning of the divided sexes can be interpreted as a search for lost unity, for the perfection that once seemed to exist. //

// The study of the differences between the sexes is also the study of social roles and differential access to social, economic, political and personal power. Any psychological study of gender identity and sex-role, necessitates definition in a social and cultural context. // Freud's

conceptualization of the Oedipus complex is very important because of its contribution to our understanding, not only of psychological gender, but also of the psychology of social beings. He is heavily criticized and often, unfortunately, rejected, however, because he is interpreted, perhaps correctly, as making claims to the natural state of humankind, a mistake which should not be repeated. This chapter is an attempt to describe the socio-cultural structures which ultimately determine our conceptions of ourselves as male or female.

The Socio-Cultural Nature of Gender

Despite the common notion that gender characteristics among human beings are determined by nature, the basic assumption of this study is that personality differences between the sexes are firstly socio-culturally and secondly psychologically determined. That is, it is social structures which determine the conditions under which sex-typed identity is psychologically acquired. The existence of biological factors such as secondary sex characteristics, physical size and strength, and hormones, is not to be denied; however, social constructions have developed human beings far beyond a natural state.

A significant study is one reported by Oakley (1972) on intersexed (biologically hermaphroditic) and non-sexed persons. She demonstrates that genetic males and females who, for one reason or another, do not possess the external genitalia appropriate to their sex and who have, therefore, been reared as the opposite sex, can and do experience themselves very definitely as being male or female in accordance with the gender category into which they have been socialized. She also tells us of a "woman" whose genetic structure rendered her sexless, i.e. she had no

sex-determining chromosome, no internal or external sexual organs. Despite this she had been reared as female and firmly believed herself to be so. When she turned sixteen and still had no menses, she discovered through her doctor that she lacked vagina, uterus and other female anatomy; she nevertheless continued to regard herself as female. A vagina was surgically constructed so that instead of psychological self being constructed to correspond to biological self, in this case, sexual anatomy was altered to match psychosocial definition of self.

Cross-Cultural Studies

Further evidence of the socio-cultural nature of sex-roles is provided by numerous anthropological studies which indicate the varied nature of psycho-social sex differences in different cultures. Studies of the Tahitian islands describe the Tahitian people as androgynous. (Fischer, 1980) While there is a conscious awareness of the existence of two distinct sexes, actual characteristics overlap between men and women. Evidence that the basic identity of the Tahitian is not synonymous with gender is indicated in their linguistic structure, so that "...it is possible to listen to entire descriptions of interactions without knowing the gender of persons being discussed." (Fischer, 1980:182) According to Fischer

The Tahitian self is not contingent on sexual dimorphisms - that is - on the presence of a distinct 'species' of persons, one male and one female - when compared with the importance of gender in the construction of the American self ... The self is defined to be primarily erotic, with a healthy attraction to the opposite sex but without the strong opposition to homosexual eroticism that Americans have. (Fischer, 1980:182)

The example of Tahitian society is useful to support the issue at hand, i.e. that psychological differences between the sexes are culturally determined. This idyllic state, unfortunately, does not appear to be the norm. It seems that, in most societies, gender is a major determining factor in the division of labour, allocation of rights, duties and social status, in place of residence, group affinities and in the eligibility of marriage partners (D'Andrade, 1966). Furthermore, according to Murdock (1957, described by D'Andrade, 1966), most societies are patriarchal, that is, the balance of power lies in the hands of men more than of women and more importantly, these societies, including our own, organise their social institutions around males rather than females.

Power Relations Between Men and Women

Murdock's World Ethnographic Sample (1957, described by D'Andrade, 1966), reveals that of 565 societies, 376 are predominantly patrilocal (the married couple reside with the husband's family), while only 84 are matrilocal (the couple reside with the wife's family), a ratio of 4,5 to 1. The ratio of patrilineal to matrilineal societies (line of descent passing through the husband or wife respectively) is 4 to 1, while the ratio of polygamous societies (the husband having many wives) to polyandrous societies (the wife having many husbands) is 107 to 1. Whether a society is patrilineal and patrilocal or matrilineal and matrilocal appears to be related to the type of subsistence activity that predominates.

Generally those societies with subsistence activities which require predominantly male effort and which involve the use of economic capital, such as *animal husbandry* and *agriculture with cattle*, are likely to be both patrilineal and patrilocal ...In contrast... [subsistence activity involving] agriculture without cattle... is more likely to depend on a greater proportion of female labor, and to occur with matrilineal descent groupings and matrilineal or avunculocal residence. (D'Andrade, 1966:182-4)

Stephens' cross-cultural studies of the family (1963) support this view of the unequal distribution of power between men and women, finding that on the whole, power and privilege are a male prerogative.

If there are social inequities between the sexes, women tend to be the 'underprivileged minority group' in matters of marriage form (polygyny), sex restrictions, marital residence (moving far from home), and access to public gatherings and public office. Traditional cultural rules having to do with power relationships within the family appear to have been 'made' by men. Deference customs are nearly always wife-to-husband, rarely husband to wife. Real power within the family also seems, in the majority of cases, to be in the hands of the husband. When it is not, it often appears to be a case of overturning the 'proper' power relationship as a result of female subversion. (Stephens, 1963:305)

In looking at power relationships between parent and child Stephens (1963) reports that, as a general trend, fathers have power over sons and daughters, whereas mothers rarely have a similar amount of power over the children. Fathers tend to be stricter and more authoritarian, while mothers are more gentle and equalitarian. This network of power extends to other kin, with grandfathers and uncles being deferred to by children, although deferment to extended female kin is rare (Stephens, 1963). These studies demonstrate that cross-culturally, men have power over women and children.

Basic Unit of Society

The family is frequently considered by sociologists and anthropologists to be the basic unit of society. (Berger and Berger, 1972; Stephens, 1963). By this, they mean that, in one form or another, it seems to be universal and essential to the formation of any society. Stephens defines the family as

... a social arrangement based on marriage and the marriage contract, including recognition of the rights and duties of parenthood, common residence for husband, wife and children, and reciprocal economic obligations between husband and wife. (Stephens, 1963:8)

After arriving at this definition Stephens (1963) then proceeds to attack it. He shows that while parenthood is recognised in most societies, in some societies fathers do not participate in the rearing of the children, these duties being assigned to the maternal uncle. It is also common that fathers in some societies do not live with their children. Sometimes mothers and children live with the mother's family, while in other societies, mothers and children live in a separate hut. Economic relations which exist between husband and wife are commonly extended to include other persons of the extended family or the clan. Finally, an important factor operating within these families of extended kinship network is the incest taboo, which seems to exist in all societies, certainly between brother and sister and parent and child. Despite these common exceptions, defining the family in the above terms is the nearest one can get to a true definition of the family in its most basic form. The family, however, is then only one component of the basic unit of society. (Stephens, 1963)

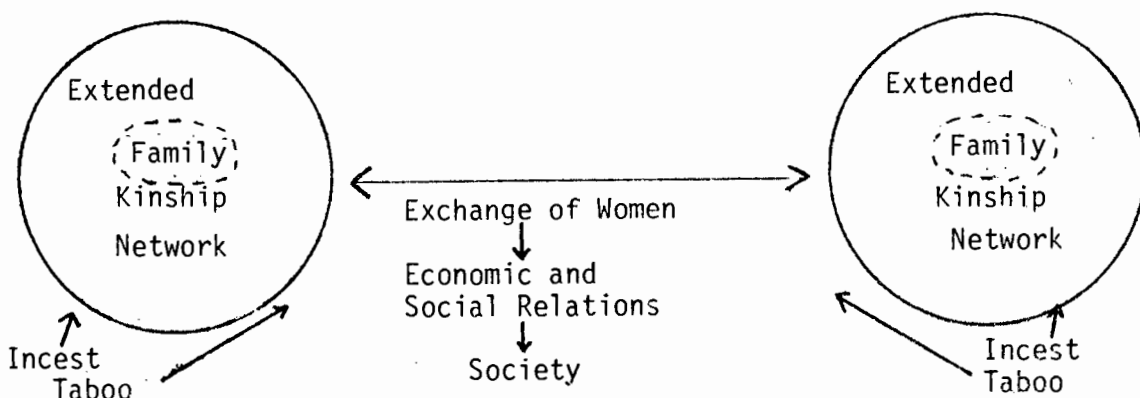
The basic unit of society upon which all other societal institutions are built is larger than the nuclear family itself. The family, according to Stephens (1963), is part of a larger system which includes three elements, viz., the family, extended kinship networks and incest taboos. The marriage of a man and a woman is defined by certain rules which determine kinship relations and ensure that exogamy is upheld: one must marry outside of one's kin network; one must assume one's position within the new kinship system; and one must rear one's children to do similarly. (Stephens, 1963)

According to Mitchell (1974), the exchange of women by men is the basis of human society, and it is what distinguishes us from higher primates. She quotes from Levi-Strauss (1949), according to whom

The reciprocal bond basic to marriage is not set up between men and women, but between men and men by means of women, who are only the principal occasion for it... The essential relationship is that between brothers-in-law (the men who exchange the women). (Levi-Strauss, 1949, quoted by Mitchell, 1974:373)

Therefore, Mitchell continues, it is not the family itself which is the basic unit of society, but rather, the "structural relationship *between* families." (Mitchell, 1974:374) (See Figure 1).

Figure 1 : Basic Unit of Society



Speculations about the Origins and Function
of the Incest Taboo and Patriarchy

We have seen that the family, kinship networks and incest taboos exist in almost all cultures and that most of these societies are patriarchal (based on the exchange of women); however, according to Stephens

It is anything but 'natural' and self-evident that all (or almost all) societies should have the family, incest taboos, and extended kinship, because there are other perfectly logical, alternative arrangements. (1963:30)

He suggests some logical alternatives such as a freely cohabitating band of people who copulate at random, without marriage, extended kinship or incest taboo. This alternative, according to Stephens (1963), is much more natural than the complex social structures that do exist, yet this does not occur. While there is no evidence to indicate that such an arrangement ever did generally occur, hypotheses are made which imply it. Freud (1913) relates a mythical account of the origin of the incest taboo in a pre-historic society of savage people who killed the patriarchal father and thus obtained the rights to the women in the group. In guilt and remorse and in an attempt to ensure their brotherhood and to maintain strength in terms of hunting power, they set up the first incest taboo.

Sexual desires to not unite men but divide them. Though the brothers had banded together in order to overcome their father, they were all one another's rivals in regard to the women. Each of them would have wished, like his father, to have all the women to himself. The new organization would have collapsed in a struggle of all against all, for none of them was of such overmastering strength as to be able to take on his father's part with success. Thus the brothers had no alternative, if they were to live together, but ... to institute the law against incest...
(Freud, 1913:144)

Another major theory similar to Freud's is that of Levi-Strauss (1949, reported by Mitchell, 1974), who believes that in order for human culture to survive and to be perpetuated, men must maintain harmonious relationships with other men. This is achieved through offering one's daughter and/or sister in marriage.

Undirected copulation would indicate not so much the modern fear of or desire for anarchy, as a vicious circle of repetition from which no culture could get established. The injunction against incest works two ways: you must *not* sexually possess specified members of your kin group (minimally your sister), you *must* offer them in marriage, exogamously. Society thus being based on the reciprocal exchange of values, sexual laws are therefore the equivalent of inter-human communications and co-existent with society itself. Contrary to popular belief, it is not that there is anything biologically 'wrong' with incest that is important; it is rather that the command to exchange exogamously forbids the cul-de-sac of endogamy. (Mitchell, 1974:372-3)

According to Stephens (1963), the logical arrangement of the hypothetical band of people who have no incest taboo and who are, therefore, self-sufficient is not entirely satisfactory. For

... in the long run, the band culture has scant chance of survival. If the tiny band ever disappears because of the vicissitudes of famine, drought, disease, war or simply irregularities in fertility, its culture also disappears. (Stephens, 1963:265)

Stephens (1963) further relates the incest taboo to the Middle Pleistocene period when the hunting of animals became important for survival. Unless the hunters maintained good relationships with one another, their hunting activities were endangered. This view supports that of Freud (1913) and is not inconsistent with that of Levi-Strauss (1949, in Mitchell, 1974).

If incest is to be forbidden and exogamy the rule, then it follows that the family (in one form or another) and extended kinship ties and taboos must also exist. Marriage informs fathers and their children of their biological relationships and thus enables them to avoid incest. Extended kinship networks enable members of the same kin, by copulating exogamously, to form linkages with other kin networks, thereby passing on the culture. All of the above rests on the willingness of women to enact their roles as social and economic commodities. Patriarchy, therefore, ensures the perpetuation of the incest taboo.

Does this mean, however, that patriarchy is inevitable? Why is it that one sex must rule over and subjugate the other? Why is it that women are the means of exchange, rather than men?

Stephens (1963) provides interesting anthropological data which sheds some light on the problem. In attempting to understand the patriarchal nature of most societies, he observed the political structures operating within these societies and reports that the degree to which patriarchy occurs seems to correlate with the degree to which the society is autocratic rather than democratic.

One thing we see here is another patterning regularity, of sorts, a parallel between family relationships and the larger social hierarchy. Autocratic societies, that is, autocratic agrarian societies - kingdoms - have autocratic families. As the king rules his subjects and the nobles subjugate and exploit the commoners, so does husband tend to lord it over wife, father rule over son, and... Ego defer to grandfather, uncle and elder brother. The family, in such societies, looks like a sort of kingdom in microcosm. As Ego defers to father and grandfather, so do the commoners defer to the nobles; and the deference customs are quite similar. (Stephens, 1963:335)

It seems, therefore, that when a society requires the submission of most of its members to a few, this pattern must be repeated in small social groupings, particularly in the family, where children are reared to become future commoners or nobles (women or men). The family's task is to train its members to take their positions in the social structure.

This does not explain, however, why it is that men rather than women become the autocrats. Perhaps biology is the place to begin. Women bear children, which means that they potentially have immense power. To "make" children, i.e. to socialize them in a particular way, is to "make" society. If women are permitted to rear their children without any influence from men, women essentially have control over the direction of society. When a "natural" matriarchy is the nature of the society, men are in danger of becoming subordinated to women. They are also in danger of being further excluded from society : unless men make women acknowledge men's roles in the conception of a child, men cannot avoid incest. The establishment of patriarchy in nearly all societies is so successful that women not only participate willingly in their own exchange but also socialize their children towards the perpetuation of the very system that robs women of an equal place with men.

Let us turn once again to myths of the B.C. era. The myths of the Great Mother, the omnipotent, loved and feared figure, give way to the myths of the hero who defeats the Terrible Mother. (Neumann, 1954). The child of the matriarch, in order to escape her power, must free himself (and the world) from her by slaying her. The hero is the saviour who releases men from the power of women. Patriarchy is born.)

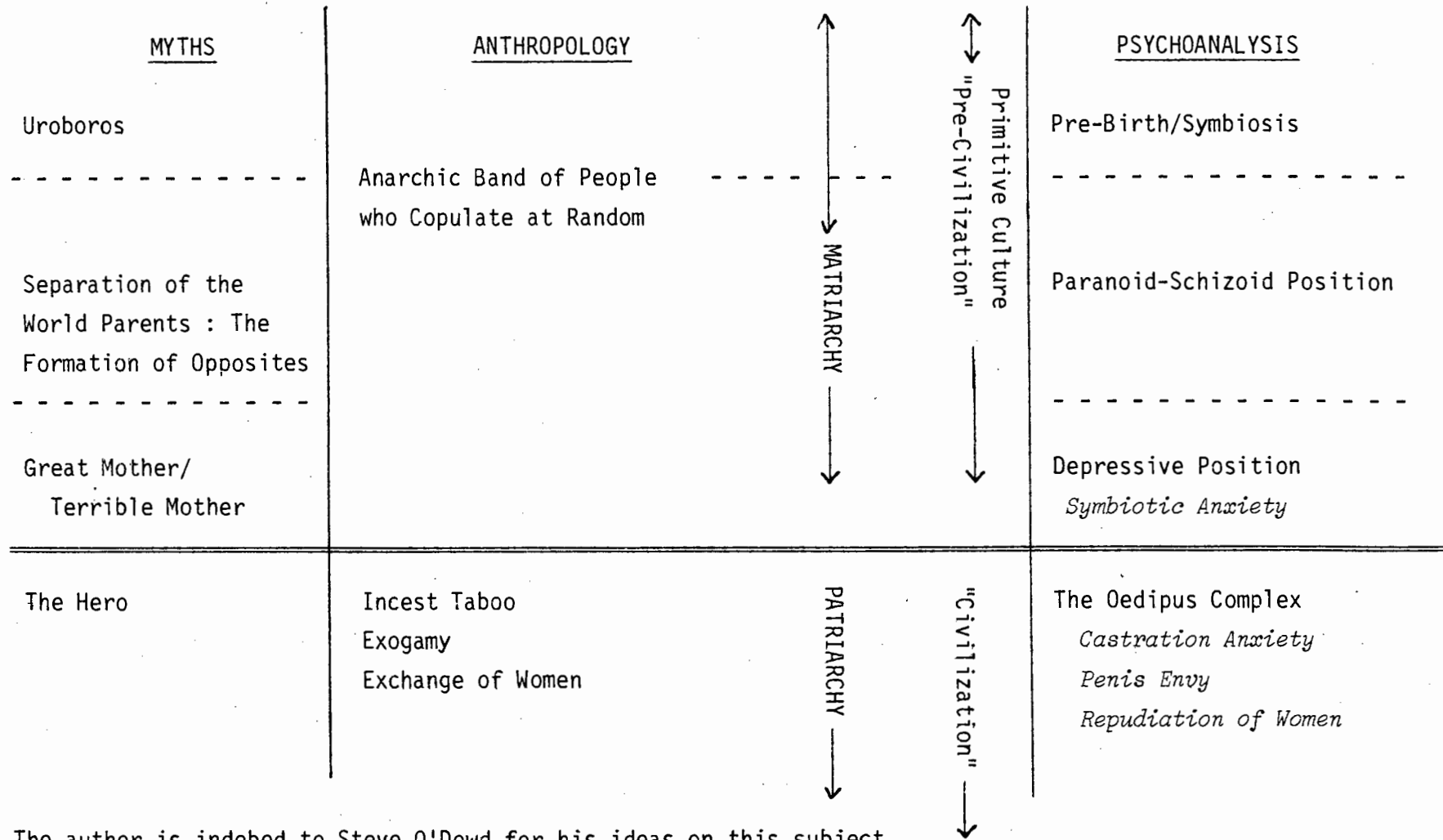
Conclusion

Psychological gender is determined, in the first instance, by society and culture. In order to understand gender identity correctly, therefore, it is necessary to begin with a basic understanding of those socio-cultural structures which, through the family, replicate themselves in the individual psyche.

Freud's search to understand the origins of society, recorded in his *Totem and Taboo* (1913), was exactly this : an attempt to understand the ultimate determinants of psychological conflicts and their influence on psychic structures. He believed that ontogeny repeated phylogeny. It follows, therefore, that the development of the human psyche from infancy to adulthood mirrors the development of society from animal to human, primitive to sophisticated, and matriarchy to patriarchy. (See Figure 2).

The way in which this replication of the social within the psychological occurs within each male and female child will be described in the following chapter. We shall see the shift of power from female (mother) to male (father) and with this, the development of abhorrence for incest. Within the psyche of each child, the social order, i.e. patriarchy and the principle of exogamy, is established in the form of the superego. Gender identity is inextricably tied in with an individual's place in society and therefore, with personal identity because the insertion of the child into the culture and the establishment of psychological gender take place simultaneously as the result of a set of conflicts first described by Freud (1905, 1909, 1917b, 1923, 1924, 1925) and called the Oedipus complex.

Figure 2 : A Comparison of Stages of Development as Represented by Myths, Anthropology and Psychoanalysis



The author is indebted to Steve O'Dowd for his ideas on this subject.

CHAPTER TWO

THE OEDIPUS COMPLEX: ESTABLISHMENT OF GENDER IDENTITY AND INSERTION INTO PATRIARCHAL CULTURE

The Oedipus complex, one of the basic tenets of psychoanalysis, has been criticized, altered and elaborated upon by many psychoanalytic theorists. (Klein, 1928, 1945, 1952; Stoller, 1976; inter alia). While some of these elaborations are accepted and will be described later, the theory originated with Freud.

Freud: The Oedipus Complex

According to Freud (1905, 1908, 1909, 1917b, 1923, 1924, 1925), when the child is approximately three years old, his or her attention is focused on the genitals as the major erogenous zone, and, as a result, the child's love for the mother becomes linked to the genital area. This begins the triangle of the Oedipus complex, for mother's sexual love is already 'possessed' by another, her husband, the child's father. At this point, boy and girl child begin their separate journeys into the world of gender.

For Freud, the girl's progress towards gender and sexual identity was more problematic. Initially, he assumed that it would be equivalent to the boy's, simply reversed in terms of love-object. Later he realised that this was incorrect and revised his theory. In the end, he felt that his understanding of femininity and female sexuality was inconclusive:

That is all I had to say to you about femininity. It is certainly incomplete and fragmentary and does not always sound friendly... If you want to know more about femininity, inquire from your own experiences of life, or turn to the poets, or wait until science can give you deeper and more coherent information. (Freud, 1933:169)

The male Oedipus complex is easier to understand and to describe and it is useful to discuss it first.

Masculinity and Heterosexuality

The young boy loves his mother, and he loves her sexually since, at this age, his penis is the primary erogenous zone. He does not yet know that mother does not possess a penis. He is, however, aware of the relationship between mother and father, and he assumes, in his ego-centric way, that they give each other mutual penile gratification. He, too, wishes to obtain such gratification, but he is not particularly interested in father because of his attachment to mother (Freud, 1923). Father is an irritant and a rival because he interferes with the child's wishes to possess mother all to himself. At some time between three and seven years of age, the little boy becomes aware of the basic biological difference between the sexes, and he comes to realise that some people do not have a penis. He is already acquainted with loss:

Psychoanalysis has recently attached importance to two experiences which all children go through and which, it is suggested, prepare them for the loss of highly valued parts of the body. These experiences are the withdrawal of the mother's breast - at first intermittently and later for good - and the daily demand on them to give up the contents of the bowel. (Freud, 1924:317)

⚡ Fear of loss of his penis is frequently intensified if the child is threatened by mother with castration of this precious, pleasure-giving organ. The

possibility of such a threat being carried out does not seem unreasonable to him. He fears the loss of his penis as a punishment for his apparently unacceptable fantasies: to oust his father and to take the father's place with mother.

Castration anxiety, or what Freud called the castration complex, is an integral part of the resolution of the boy's Oedipus conflict. Because he perceives father as a powerful rival, and because it is father whom he wishes to harm and displace, he imagines that if he fulfils these desires, father will castrate him. He has a number of choices. He may choose to defy father and attempt to actualize his wishes, in which case he loses his penis, his means of obtaining pleasure and of receiving love from mother. He may give up his desire for mother, and instead, love father. This however, means adopting the feminine position, in which case the loss of his penis is a foregone conclusion. Finally, he may give up his desire for mother and choose to obey his father, in order to preserve his penis (Freud, 1924).

If the satisfaction of love in the field of the Oedipus complex is to cost the child his penis, a conflict is bound to arise between his narcissistic interest in that part of the body and the libidinal cathexis of his parental objects.

In this conflict the first of these forces normally triumphs: the child's ego turns away from the Oedipus complex. (Freud, 1924:318)

The boy child accepts the authority of his father; he renounces his aggressive impulses towards his father and his wish to possess his mother. He strives, instead, to be like his father so that one day, he, too, will be able to satisfy his genital desires. With the internalization of father's authority, the boy's superego is formed. His superego contains the laws of the culture: "You ought to be like this (like your father)"

and "*You may not be like this (like your father)...*" (Freud, 1923:24).

The establishment of the superego

...represents the most important characteristic of the development both of the individual and of the species; indeed, by giving permanent expression to the influence of the parents it perpetuates the existence of the factors to which it owes its origin. (Freud, 1923:25)

Father's law, the taboo against incest, is established in this way in each and every male child who learns that if he submits to this law as a child and youth, he will one day come into his patriarchal heritage.

Femininity and Heterosexuality

What about the girl child? She, too, loves her mother, and when her libido becomes attached to her genitals, she also desires her mother sexually. Like the boy, she has no reason to assume that all genitals are not the same as her own. However, there comes a time when she learns of the existence of the penis, and she desires it. At this stage, she does not yet realize that only certain people, i.e. males, possess such an organ. She assumes, instead, that she alone has been deprived of it, through loss, through castration. At first, she hopes that her clitoris will grow. Then, disappointed, she comes to realize that she will not be blessed with a penis, for she belongs to the category of 'people without penises', i.e. women.

At this point, all her earlier hostility towards her mother emerges. Not only did the mother fail

...to provide the little girl with the only proper genital, [but] she did not feed her sufficiently, ...she never fulfilled all the girl's expectations of love, and finally, she first aroused her sexual activity and then forbade it... (Freud, 1931a:381-2)

Any hostility previously felt towards father for usurping mother's love is now transferred to mother and is expressed in the form of rivalry with mother for father. The love she previously felt for mother is transferred to father in the hope that he might satisfy her desire. // A transfer such as this one is not new in the child's history, but has happened at least twice already, from the breast to the anus in weaning and from the anus to the clitoris in toilet training. // In

...the stress of the process of development it regularly happens that the libido abandons its unsatisfying position in order to find a new one. (Freud, 1931a:378)

The girl abandons her hope for a penis and substitutes for this a wish for a baby, which she hopes to be able to obtain from her father.

Renunciation of the penis is not tolerated by the girl without some attempt at compensation. She slips - along the line of a symbolic equation, one might say - from the penis to a baby. Her Oedipus complex culminates in a desire, which is long retained, to receive a baby from her father as a gift - to bear him a child... The two wishes remain strongly cathected in the unconscious and help to prepare the female creature for her later sexual role. (Freud, 1924:321)

// She identifies with her mother, striving to be like her and to love men. ?

In so doing, the young girl accepts and establishes her femininity and her heterosexuality. //

The Impact of the Oedipus Complex on the Sexes n.

There are crucial differences in the ways in which the two sexes experience the Oedipus complex. In both, the initial desire is for the mother. In both, the reason for abandoning this desire is castration. However, } n₂

the meaning which this idea of castration has in the mind of the child is fundamental for the meaning of his maleness and her femaleness.

Whereas in boys the Oedipus complex is *destroyed* by the castration complex, in girls it is *made possible and led up to* by the castration complex. (Freud, 1925:341; my italics)

and

The essential difference thus comes about that the girl accepts castration as an accomplished fact, whereas the boy fears the possibility of its occurrence. (Freud, 1924:321)

Critique and Elaborations

Before pursuing these ideas about the differences between the sexes resulting from the Oedipus complex and the meaning of these differences for gender identity, it is necessary to look at criticisms and elaborations of Freud's ideas.

As mentioned previously, Freud is heavily criticized and sometimes rejected, especially in relation to his ideas about femininity. Penis envy, the girl's envy of the male penis, is particularly subject to much debate. Horney (1939) views penis envy as a phenomenon observed in neurotic women who envy not only the penis, but any possession which they do not have. Secondly, she says, this phenomenon is reported to exist by male analysts who interpret any tendency to

... boss man, to berate him, to envy his success, to be ambitious themselves, to be self-sufficient, to dislike accepting help. (Horney, 1939:106)

as penis-envy.

Eichenbaum and Orbach (1983) reject the concept of penis envy, saying that what Freud perceived and labelled incorrectly, is a feeling that something is missing:

Freud saw it in his women patients, and with his patriarchal spectacles he symbolically named this phenomenon for twentieth century women as penis envy. As women psychotherapists, we understand this phenomenon in a different way. (Eichenbaum and Orbach, 1983:46)

What is missing in women's experience of themselves and the world is a relationship with their mothers in early life which was unambivalent and satisfying. (Eichenbaum and Orbach (1983)).

MS.

Their thesis is that, because of their own inferior position in patriarchal society, mothers of girl children regard their daughters with a great deal of ambivalence. While on the one hand, the mother loves her daughter and wishes to express this love through nurturance, on the other hand she resents the infant because she constantly demands the fulfilment of her needs. Because the baby is female, like mother, the mother finds it more difficult, than with a male child, to perceive her child as separate. She identifies with the infant girl and wishes, usually unconsciously, that she could take her place, that she too could have her own dependency needs met. As a result of insufficient nurturance in her own babyhood, the mother's self-esteem is faulty. She perceives her daughter as being like herself: imperfect and inferior, and the mother transmits this attitude to the little girl, who has no option but to incorporate it into her own ego (Eichenbaum and Orbach, 1983).

It is true that Freud and many of his co-workers were male, and it is also true that Freud saw penis-envy as determined by biology. It is felt,

nevertheless, that this concept is important in understanding the gender identity of women and that despite his "patriarchal spectacles" and the neurotic nature of his patients, Freud perceived something that does exist in women's psyches. It is believed, however, that his ideas need reformulation in a psycho-social, rather than a biological, sense.

While the ideas proposed by Eichenbaum and Orbach (1983) are accepted, their theory does not take into account the infant's own ambivalence, which interacts with that of the mother and which means that the boy's relationship with his mother is not quite the blissful experience it is implied to be.

The Early Life of the Infant

According to Klein (1937), at about the age of six months, all infants enter into a psychic state which she terms the depressive position. At this stage of life the infant is able, cognitively and affectively, for the first time, to perceive the mother as a whole object. Prior to this, in the 'paranoid-schizoid' position, the infant manages to deal with hostility toward mother's breast (for not being there constantly) by splitting it into two parts - a good breast and a bad one - so that love for the breast will not be damaged by hatred for it (Klein, 1946). In the depressive position, the infant 'realises' that the breast which has been loved is the *same* breast which has been hated. As yet unable to distinguish clearly between fantasy and reality, wish and deed, the infant is overcome with remorse at the 'realization' that, via hatred, he/she has destroyed the loved breast. This causes the infant to become depressed and to feel extremely ambivalent towards the mother who is both loved and

hated. Reparation and restoration of the damaged mother is then sought.

This stage of development is crucial to the strengthening of the ego. If successfully negotiated, the ego is enhanced and feelings of separateness strengthened. The child learns that the perceived damage caused by his/her hostility can be repaired, that wish is distinguishable from deed, that mother returns, and that the world can be trusted (Klein, 1937). If perchance, mother does not return or is, herself, ambivalent, the child will have difficulty in resolving his/her own ambivalence, hostility and guilt. In accordance with Eichenbaum and Orbach's theory (1983), the girl child may well feel more embittered and less worthy at the end of this infantile period than the boy. It must be remembered, however, that the little boy also experiences disappointment, hostility, ambivalence and guilt.

// According to Klein (1928, 1952), once the infant is able to recognize the mother as a whole object he or she is also able to perceive the father and the relationship between the parental figures. // Although the primary erogenous zone is not yet genital, the infant experiences jealousy for the father because he takes mother away; he possesses what the infant would like to keep for himself/herself. // According to Klein (1928, 1937, 1945, 1952), the Oedipus complex begins with the start of the depressive ^{ie 6-18m} position, although she agrees with Freud that it is not resolved until the age of about seven years. //

// The Oedipus complex assists the child in overcoming the depressive position, because some of the hostility felt towards mother can be displaced onto father, thereby sparing mother and enabling the infantile love for her to

strengthen. This, in turn, strengthens the ego (Klein, 1957). Once the libido becomes centred on the genitals, reparatory powers of the ego become stronger, especially as the genitals become associated with the strongest of all creative urges, reproduction. The damage to mother can be repaired by giving her a baby in fantasy (Klein, 1952).

Penis Envy and the Castration Complex in the Girl

Let us look again at the little girl's attempts to resolve the Oedipal situation. She has lost her love object, her mother, through mother's hostility towards her (Eichenbaum and Orbach, 1983) and through her own angry response and 'destruction' of mother (Klein, 1937). She does not understand why mother initially continued to withdraw the breast and why she later withdrew it permanently. She knows only that somehow she has been the cause of this tragedy, and she wishes to repair the damage she has done.

In the early stages, the female child's reparation fantasies may take the form of 'feeding' mother. Later as anal impulses come into play, she may make reparation by 'giving' her faeces to mother who seems to demand them. As her genital strivings become more prominent she wishes to make reparation to mother by giving her a baby. The child learns, however, that she does not have a penis and, therefore, does not have the means by which she can restore and placate the angry mother. She may assume that she has been 'castrated' because of her 'sins' or she may assume that she was never given a penis because she was so bad. Or, she may feel that it is because she does not have a penis that mother does not love her properly. If the ideas of Eichenbaum and Orbach (1983) are accepted, it may well be that the

girl senses that mother, being a heterosexual woman in a patriarchal society, wants a penis, a man, in order that she herself may feel good. Whichever way the little girl perceives her plight, it becomes clear to her that she does not have what is necessary to please mother. There is something missing.

The little girl - in contrast to the boy, whose hope for potency gains strength from the possession of a penis which can be compared with his father's penis - has no means of reassuring herself about her future fertility. (Klein, 1945:413)

It is not, as Freud suggests, that the penis is inherently regarded by both sexes as superior. Rather, the penis is what mother is intuitively perceived to want and need for her own personal gratification. While the boy possesses this desired anatomical part, the little girl has to accept that she does not. She feels she has little option but to give up her hopes for gratifying mother and for obtaining mother's love, and in her disappointment, turns to her father.

As we know...the penis is strongly equated with the breast...and in my experience the woman's penis-envy can be traced back to envy of the mother's breast. I have found that if the penis-envy of women is analysed on these lines, we can see that its root lies in the earliest relation to the mother, in the fundamental envy of the mother's breast, and in the destructive feelings allied with it. (Klein, 1957:199)

Symbiosis Anxiety and the Castration Complex in the Boy

Freud's description of the male Oedipus complex is less heavily criticized although it is the subject of much study and is certainly extended and elaborated on by Klein (1928, 1937, 1945, 1952), amongst others. Stoller (1968, 1973, 1975, 1976) is another who takes great interest in the study

of the development of masculinity which he pursues by studying sexual deviations and transsexualism in men.

Although he does not agree with Klein that the infant is capable of fantasy and mental (ego) function, he, too, places more emphasis on the child's early relationship with the mother than does Freud. In addition, Stoller he believes that the relationship with the mother has profound and far-reaching implications for the development of both masculinity and femininity.

While Stoller (1975) accepts the concepts of penis envy in the girl and the repudiation of femininity in the boy (contempt for and fear of female genitals), he disagrees with Freud that these are biologically based. He maintains, instead, that they are defence strategies against other anxieties:

What Freud thought was an elemental quality, 'masculine protest' or 'repudiation of femininity' in men, rather than reflecting a biological force, is a quite non-biological defensive maneuver against an earlier stage; closeness and *primitive identification with mother*. Comparably in females, earlier than penis envy in little girls is a stage of *primary femininity*. The biological lies deeper still. (Stoller, 1975:11)

If the infant acquires his/her first sense of identity from an introjection of the mother (breast), then it follows that because the first caretaker is (almost always) female, the first sense of self will be female. In order to set himself on the road to masculinity the male child has to break away from this primary identification with mother (with femininity), who, in turn, must assist her small son in his quest for masculinity. This means that her task is to provide opportunity for frustration. She must withdraw her breast intermittently so that he may experience his separateness. In so doing, however, the infant develops ambivalence toward the mother.

I shall no more than mention the idea that mother, in her representation as an evil, hated creature, may also lend herself to the task of permitting the symbiosis-mother to be repressed; one would hardly wish to merge with a witch. (Stoller, 1976:150)

Normally, this is inevitable. Most mothers, due to their own human needs, do not spend all of their time with their small sons. Stoller (1975) found one exception to this rule in the case of transsexuals. According to him, mothers of transsexual males actually maintain the primary symbiosis with their sons so that the sons never separate sufficiently from the mother, which prevents them from developing a true heterosexual love for her. They do not enter, much less resolve, the Oedipus complex, as does the normal male.

The separation from the primal oneness with mother results in a *symbiosis anxiety*, a yearning to return to mother and at the same time, an urge to remain a separate self. This results in a core sense of gender identity, which is "...nothing more or less than 'I am a male' or 'I am a female'..." (Stoller, 1975:291).

For true gender identity to develop and to be established the child must experience the Oedipus complex in order to develop and elaborate his sense of being male.

In time, as we know especially from Freud's work on Oedipal development, this certainty of belonging to a sex becomes complicated, for the belonging brings privileges and responsibilities, identifications and dangers, defensive mechanisms for protection of the sense of one's sex, and forms of behaviour and fantasies demonstrating how complicated and ambiguous this process can become. These new psychic structures and processes overlay the core gender identity and make masculinity and femininity far more complex. (Stoller, 1975:291).

After the loss of oneness with the mother, whenever the boy experiences his first threat of castration, this additional trauma reminds him of the initial one which has become an indelible memory in his unconscious. Underlying the male's fear of castration, according to Stoller (1975, 1976), is symbiosis anxiety, the fear of one's sense of femininity. Underneath the male's repudiation of femininity, underneath his scorn of women, his contempt for female genitalia, his pride in his penis and his terror of homosexuality, is his own fear that he will lose his masculinity and become, once more, feminine. Femininity represents a state of non-differentiation. Fear of castration is equated with fear of femininity and fear of loss of self. (Stoller, 1976).

It would be ironic if some of the forms that masculinity takes, some of its strength, insistence, fierceness - machismo - require a layer of femininity; the potential to be feminine is an unacceptable temptation that must be resisted by behavior and attitudes that society labels 'masculine'. Perhaps it is clearer, then, why most men seem so sensitive about their masculinity. (Stoller, 1976:150).

CHAPTER THREE

GENDER IDENTITY: THE OEDIPUS COMPLEX AND DIFFERENTIAL FANTASY PATTERNS OF MEN AND WOMEN

Empirical Studies of Gender Identity

May (1971) suggests the need for a measure of gender identity which reveals "... a private, or partially unconscious, level of identity" (May, 1971:485), rather than the more public or conscious measures of sex-role characteristics which are commonly put forward as measures of gender identity.

Early studies of fantasy patterns in men and women (May, 1966, 1969) confirm his hypothesis that men and women reveal differential fantasy patterns in story-telling which, in turn, reflect their differential gender identities.

Men

...more often create stories embodying a movement from more positive emotion or experience to more negative emotion or experience, while women's stories typically show the reverse. (May, 1971:485)

Further studies using the analysis of stories yielded more information about the development of gender-related fantasy patterns in children (Cramer and Bryson, 1973; Cramer and Hogan, 1975). The fantasy patterns of older and younger children were compared. Findings (Cramer and Bryson, 1973; Cramer and Hogan, 1975) indicate that while male children reveal the same (positive to negative emotion) pattern in both age groups, female children exhibit the same pattern as males when they are younger (three to

seven years) and a different (negative to positive emotion) pattern when they are older (eight to twelve years).

If these findings are considered with those of May's (1966, 1969, 1971) the results indicate that the establishment of gender-related fantasy patterns occurs after the age of three years and before the age of eight years. This is significant for the theory of the Oedipus complex. } 70

The Oedipus Complex Reproduced in Fantasy: The Unconscious Meaning of Psychological Gender

These fantasy patterns are interpreted as being related to masochism in women and the "Icarus complex" in men, i.e. "fantasies of flying, floating, rising and of falling or precipitation (either directly or through metaphors of success and failure)" (May, 1966:578). A close look at the Oedipus complex, however, reveals the possibility that the fantasy patterns of men and women may be directly related to the actual 'story' of the progression and resolution of the Oedipus complex.

In relation to the psychological differences between men and women

The essential difference thus comes about that the girl accepts castration as an accomplished fact, whereas the boy fears the possibility of its occurrence. (Freud, 1924:321; supra:30)

After the Resolution of the Oedipus Complex : Girls

The girl child experiences disappointment in her relationship with her mother. She perceives this as being due to the fact of her 'castration'. She substitutes her wish for a penis with a wish for a baby and turns to

her father from whom she hopes to receive gratification and love. If this theory were translated into fantasy, it would read something like the following story.

Depiction of the Oedipus Complex in Fantasy

Terms: Heterosexual Women

Once upon a time there was a little girl whose mother did not love her properly. She destroyed the hateful mother and then discovered that the loved mother was also destroyed. She tried to restore her mother by giving her babies, but she could not do this because she did not have a penis. One day she learned that her father loved her. The little girl did not love her mother, she loved her father. She did not want a penis, she, like her mother, wanted a baby. The little girl and her father loved each other very much. He gave her beautiful babies and they all lived happily ever after.

The story begins with negative emotion and proceeds, through a pivotal incident, to end with positive emotion.

After the Resolution of the Oedipus Complex: Boys

The boy child also experiences some disappointment with his mother, but this is dealt with by his fantasied ability to placate mother by giving her a baby with his penis, and by his opportunity to transfer his hostility to his father as rival. He continues to love his mother and to contest father for possession of her until he discovers the possibility of castration. Then he renounces his desires and conforms to father's wishes. If this theory were translated into fantasy, it would read something like the following story.

Depiction of the Oedipus Complex in Fantasy

Terms: Heterosexual Men

Once upon a time there was a little boy who loved his mother very much. He was very proud of his penis, with which he could give babies to mother. This made her very happy. He hated his father, who was in the

way, but this did not bother him much because he had plans to get rid of him. But the father was very big and strong and he was very angry with the little boy. He cut off the boy's penis with an axe. The little boy could no longer make his mother happy. He was very miserable until he died of a broken heart.

The boy's story proceeds from positive emotion through a pivotal incident, to end on a negative note.

Pre-oedipal Girls and Boys

If we now look at the psychological events from the child's birth until the beginning of the Oedipus complex, we have a possible explanation of the earlier, positive followed by negative (male) fantasy patterns. In early life, both sexes experience a symbiosis with mother in which there is little frustration and any hostility that is experienced is projected onto an image of a bad breast (see Chapter Two). It might be said, therefore, that the child, in this period, experiences emotions and events as positive. With the arrival of the depressive position, however, the symbiosis is 'lost' and the child becomes involved in a struggle to repair the damage, to placate the angry mother and to restore the love that once seemed to pervade the world. In both sexes, until the resolution of the Oedipus complex, fantasy patterns would be of the 'male' variety, i.e. proceeding from positive to negative emotion. The next story describes the psychological development of the child from birth to the start of the Oedipus complex in fantasy terms.

Once upon a time there was a round container and within, a child. All was harmony and bliss. The baby loved the good breast which gave endless supplies of milk. The baby hated the bad breast which denied, but this hated breast was far away from the loved breast and could not harm it. But one day, the bad breast came together with the good breast and destroyed it! The child was very

sad and full of remorse, for it had destroyed the breast that was loved. There was no love left in the world.

When the Oedipus complex arises, the male child is able to restore his love for his mother as described above and to begin his Oedipal story with happiness. The female child, on the other hand, has to accept her 'castration', the loss of the mother, and thus embarks on her Oedipal story with negative emotion.

The psychological differences between men and women that result from the Oedipus complex have profound implications for perceptions of self in the world. In their experiences of the early mother-child relationship, both sexes expect disappointment to follow satisfaction; however, Oedipal experiences alter and overlay earlier expectations.

// These new psychic structures and processes overlay the core gender identity and make masculinity and femininity far more complex. (Stoller, 1975:291; supra:39) //

After the resolution of the Oedipus complex, women expect to engage in psychological struggle before they can hope to have their wishes fulfilled, while men unconsciously fear the loss of their powers after they have fulfilled their wishes. This is the mark of gender identity, the ultimate difference between the sexes. It has far-reaching effects on the basic identity of the person, male or female, and on his or her behaviour in attempting to live a satisfactory and successful life.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION: GENDER IDENTITY AND SEX-ROLE IN PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

Men and women are socialized into patriarchal culture by means of their experiences of the Oedipus complex. Through the Oedipus complex, they accept and internalize the primary laws of the culture: the rule of exogamy (incest taboo) and the authority of men (the father). They develop the psychic structure of the superego, which ensures that culture will not be broken down. They take up their different positions in a world delineated by gender, and their behaviour is subsequently largely motivated by the meaning which their gender comes to acquire at an unconscious level.

Women unconsciously feel that they are inferior, for they do not have what is desired, the penis. To disguise their basic lacking, they must strive to make themselves desirable in other ways. Through modelling themselves after the mothers who "rejected" them, they learn the means of making themselves desirable to men. Physical desirability is acquired through culturally defined beauty; through cosmetics, diet, fashion and more extremely, through plastic surgery to alter breast-size or the shape of a nose, or to remove wrinkles and excess fat. Personal desirability is acquired through the shaping of a sex-role. Humility, selflessness, gentleness, submissiveness, deference, nurturance, affection, sympathy and understanding are the qualities that women in our culture offer to men so that they will find them desirable.

Men accept their subordination to the wishes of their fathers when they are boys, with the promise that when they are men, they will come into their patriarchal heritage. Through modelling themselves after the fathers who subordinated them, they develop the qualities necessary to become men. Dominance, confidence, ambition and initiative, are the male prerogative in our culture. No longer will they have to fear the power of women (mother), for the latter are subject to the will of men. Men pay a heavy price for their power, however; underlying it is the fear of castration. Ever-present is the fear of their treasured masculinity being torn away from them so that all that is left is femininity, the dependency of babyhood, the submission to the woman (mother) and the ultimate loss of identity.

A man must assert his domination. Without this domination, he is nothing. The helpless dependency of his boyhood must, at all times, remain hidden from view so that he seems strong and independent. He is able to achieve this through a relationship with a woman who is dependent on him. According to Eichenbaum and Orbach (1983:82), the woman "carries the dependency". By being there and needing him, she satisfies his needs for love, nurturance, understanding and support. She soothes his fears and covers his vulnerability with her own. She is the weak one. It is she who seems vulnerable and dependent. Her dependency on him assures him that she will never leave him.

Women and men collude in this process of keeping from view men's dependency needs. The true picture of women's and men's dependency on each other is not acknowledged. (Eichenbaum and Orbach, 1983:18)

Freud lived and worked in Victorian times when social roles were very clearly defined and there was little question of men and women exchanging roles or sharing responsibility for tasks such as breadwinning and housekeeping, at least amongst the middle classes. Husbands and fathers were emotionally distant and were regarded by wives and children as someone to be obeyed and respected. This has changed through subsequent generations so that husbands and wives are more equal; fathers are friendlier and less feared. The Oedipus complex, nevertheless, still seems to be experienced by children. The incest taboo remains strong; heterosexuality is still the norm; parents have authority over children; people develop superegos and become socialized.

What has changed is the starkness of the Oedipus complex and the starkness of patriarchy. While men and women still find themselves in specific, gender-delineated positions, their roles are somewhat in a state of flux, often to the point that new measures of sex-role, which no longer conceptualize masculinity and femininity as bi-polar opposites, seem necessary. Androgynous people exist and seem to behave more as whole human beings than as masculine or feminine halves. Sex-role and gender identity are not directly related. Sex-role is linked to gender identity and to the experience and resolution of the Oedipus complex in that it is acquired on the basis of the knowledge of one's maleness or femaleness and what that means. An example of the unconscious process which occurs is as follows: I am a woman, therefore I must suffer before I shall succeed. I model myself after my mother, who is practised in being a woman, and I develop feminine qualities. However, while the unconscious meaning of one's gender remains intact and is portrayed in

fantasy, sex-role alters according to experience and conscious belief so that in adulthood, there is no longer any direct relationship between the two. We are different from our parents. As it becomes more usual for women to participate in the world and for men to take an interest in the home, our attitudes, qualities and behaviours alter, such that it is possible for us, while retaining our original gender identities, to become androgynous.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY

Hypothesis

On the basis of the theory described in the previous chapters, the following hypothesis is proposed: there is no relationship between sex-role and gender identity.

Subjects

Two different groups of people were approached for participation in the study. The first group was obtained through lecturers in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the University of Cape Town, who asked for volunteers from their undergraduate classes. Students completed questionnaires and returned them via their lecturers. The second group was obtained through representatives from three local gay rights organisations, both student based and non-student based. Volunteers were asked to complete questionnaires and to return them either via the representative or by mail in sealed envelopes. Subjects were informed, on the questionnaire (Appendix A), that all information would remain anonymous and confidential.

Three hundred questionnaires were given out altogether. Of these, 109 were returned. Twenty-one participants classified themselves as being homosexual. After being divided into male and female categories, the homosexual group was considered to be too small to be a valid sample and was excluded from the study. Sixteen questionnaires of the remaining

eighty-eight were considered invalid because they were incomplete or because the stories were unscorable. The final number of questionnaires used in the study was 72. Of these, 39 subjects were female and 33 were male.

Age

Although most subjects were in their early twenties, the median age of the men was 23 years and of the women, 20 years. Age ranged from 17 to 47 in the men and from 18 to 42 in the women. The mean age of the men was 24,48 and that of the women, 23,26. Chi-squares for both men and women indicated that there is no significant association between age and sex-role or between age and gender identity (See Results).

Occupation

Some of the respondents indicated that they were students and also engaged in a second occupation. Others were engaged in non-student occupations only. It is possible that some of the non-student participants were part-time or full-time students but considered their main occupations to be something other than student. Occupation was not used as a criterion for the exclusion or inclusion of participants.

Amongst female subjects, only four out of 39 were not students, or otherwise employed (e.g. housewife) as well as being students. Amongst male subjects, however, 14 out of 33 indicated occupations other than student. A chi-square for male subjects revealed that there is no significant association between occupation and sex-role or between occupation and gender identity (See Results).

Research Instruments

Questionnaire

The questionnaire asked participants to complete three tasks in approximately 40 minutes (although a time limit was not set). Questions were designed to measure gender identity, sex-role and sexual orientation respectively. Subjects were asked to complete questions in the order in which they were presented to prevent them from attempting to draw inferences about the study from the order or nature of the questions, particularly since the final question was a direct statement of sexual preference. (See Appendix A).

Gender Identity

Gender identity was measured using a method designed by May (1966) which was described in Chapter Three. May (1966) hypothesized that men and women, when asked to write stories about any specific picture, will produce differential fantasy patterns which relate to differential gender identity. His study (1966) revealed that men write stories that begin with positive emotion and end with negative emotion while women's stories reveal the opposite pattern. Further studies by May (1969, 1971) and others (Cramer and Carter, 1978) confirm these differential fantasy patterns of men and women, indicating that story-telling can indeed be used as a measure of gender identity.

Subjects in this study were asked to look briefly at three pictures and to write a short, original and fictional story with a beginning, a middle and an end, about each of the three pictures. The first two pictures presented were taken from the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) (Bellak, 1975, Cards 2 and 10).

Picture One (TAT Card 2) depicts a rural scene. A young woman stands in the foreground, her body facing the onlooker, with a somewhat thoughtful expression on her face. She is holding books. A second, apparently older woman, stands sideways to the onlooker, leaning against a tree, her arms folded over her stomach, which is rounded, possibly in pregnancy. The third figure in the picture is male, his back to the onlooker. He is bare-backed, muscular and is beside a horse. The ground is furrowed and there are hills and a building in the background.

According to Bellak (1975), this picture usually elicits, *inter alia*, themes of autonomy versus compliance, Oedipal themes and attitudes towards sex-role. Because of the prominence of the young woman in the picture, she is usually identified with by both men and women. The picture was chosen because of the potential for the emergence of unconscious Oedipal wishes and feelings.

Picture Two (TAT Card 10) depicts two faces close together and is entitled "A young woman's head against a man's shoulder" (Bellak, 1975:54). It is designed to bring out the relation of men to women and according to Bellak, can be a clue to latent homosexuality if interpreted as being two men, by a male subject. It was chosen because of its potential for eliciting feelings about the relationship between men and women, or, possibly for homosexual subjects, for eliciting feelings about a love relationship.

Picture Three is a photograph designed by the researcher to elicit Oedipal conflicts, i.e. feelings of exclusion, jealousy, hostility, rivalry and

fear of retaliation. It contains a young couple in the background, arms around each other, walking with their backs to the onlooker. A third figure is in the foreground also with his/her back to the onlooker. The woman of the couple is white, while the man is black, although this is ill-defined. The different races of the two was included to elicit feelings either of conflict in the relationship or of the relationship being forbidden (this being a racially defined country). The third figure is actually female, but she was dressed so that she could be seen as either male or female so that subjects of either sex could identify with her.

Stories were scored separately by three scorers so as to avoid scorer bias. The first step of the scoring procedure developed by May (1966) is to determine the pivotal incident of the story which is defined as

... the dramatic turning point of the story,
the central act or feeling which mediates
between the past and the future. (May, 1966:580)

Each unit of emotion or event before and after the pivotal incident is then classified as positive (or enhancement, E) or negative (or deprivation, D).

Deprivation refers to such things as physical tension or pain, injury, death, continued exertion, falling or losing control, growing old and weak, negative emotion (nervousness, fear, hate, etc.), negative press (being under compulsion, being trapped), self-sacrifice without any mention of gain or gratification, failure, and dissatisfaction. Enhancement refers to satisfaction of physical need, physical excellence or accomplishment, rising (or cessation of fall), success, growth, positive emotion (happiness, love, excitement, etc.), positive anticipation, nurturant press, attention, revenge and insight or realization. (May, 1966:579)

All deprivation units before the pivotal incident are scored +1, while deprivation units after the pivotal incident are scored -1. Enhancement units before the pivotal incident are scored -1, while enhancement units after the pivotal incident are scored +1. This means that an overall feminine story pattern, i.e. one which proceeds from deprivation to enhancement, would have a positive score (at least +1), whereas a masculine (E to D) pattern would have a negative score (May, 1966). For the purposes of clarity, an example is given, using the girl's Oedipal story from Chapter Three.

Once upon a time there was a little girl whose mother did not love her properly (D, +1). She destroyed the hateful mother (E, -1) and then discovered that the loved mother was also destroyed (D, +1). She tried to restore her mother by giving her babies (E, -1), but she could not do this because she did not have a penis (D, +1). One day she learned that her father loved her (Pivotal Incident). The little girl did not love her mother, she loved her father (E, +1). She did not want a penis, she, like her mother (E, +1), wanted a baby (E, +1). The little girl and her father loved each other very much (E, +1). He gave her beautiful babies (E, +1) and they all lived happily ever after (E, +1). (Supra:44)

When the scores are summed, the final score of this story is +7, a feminine pattern.

Sex-Role

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI)

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) was developed for the purpose of measuring androgyny and has become a widely used research instrument. The most important difference between the BSRI and other measures of sex-role is that, while the latter regard sex-role as comprising two bi-polar

opposites, i.e. masculinity and femininity, the BSRI allows for the additional possibility of androgyny (Bem, 1974; Block, 1973).

Nature and Development of the BSRI

The BSRI consists of 60 personality traits of which 20 are masculine, 20 are feminine and 20 are neutral. Items alternate in the following order: masculine, feminine, neutral. The subject is asked to rate himself or herself on each of these traits according to a seven-point scale, which ranges from "never or almost never true", to "always or almost always true" (Bem, 1981a:4).

Personality traits for the BSRI were obtained during preliminary research (Bem, 1974) at Stanford University, U.S.A. One hundred undergraduate students were given a list of approximately 200 personality characteristics that seemed to be "... both positive in value and either masculine or feminine in tone." (Bem, 1974:156). Subjects were asked to rate each characteristic according to whether it was more desirable in American society for men than for women and vice versa. Each subject was asked to rate characteristics for one sex only, so that no subject rated items for both males and females. If male and female subjects independently judged a personality characteristic to be significantly more desirable for one sex than the other, it was accepted for the final list of items of the BSRI.

Criticism and Further Development of the BSRI

The original BSRI was scored using Student's t-test for the difference between a person's masculine and feminine self-endorsement. Following criticism (Spence, Helmreich and Stapp, 1975), the scoring procedure was altered (Bem, 1977) so that a new category was introduced for persons who

scored low on both masculinity and femininity. Bem (1977) suggested the use of a median split as scoring procedure with the result that the BSRI (Bem, 1977) provides for four categories of sex-role; masculine (high masculinity, low femininity), feminine (high femininity, low masculinity), androgynous (high masculinity, high femininity) and undifferentiated (low masculinity, low femininity). This final category was introduced because of significant differences found between androgynous and undifferentiated subjects in terms of self-esteem and behaviour (Bem, 1977).

Further criticism and discussion of the BSRI from both theoretical and methodological perspectives can be found in the literature (Downing, 1979; Kelly and Worell, 1977; Locksley and Colten, 1979; Orlofsky, Aslin and Ginsburg, 1977; Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979; Spence and Helmreich, 1979; Strahan, 1975; White, 1979; and Worell, 1978) and space does not permit a detailed discussion here. Responding to criticism that the BSRI is atheoretical (Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979) and that item selection is invalid because of cultural bias (Locksley and Colten, 1979), Bem (1979) states that sex-role is culturally rather than factually determined and that the concept of androgyny itself contains an inner contradiction.

If there is a moral to the concept of psychological androgyny, it is that behavior should have no gender. But there is an irony here, for the concept of androgyny contains an inner contradiction and hence the seeds of its own destruction. Thus, as the etymology of the word implies, the concept of androgyny necessarily presupposes that the concepts of femininity and masculinity themselves have distinctive and substantive content. But to the extent that the androgynous message is absorbed by the culture, the concepts of femininity and masculinity will cease to have such content and the distinctions to which they refer will blur into invisibility. Thus, when androgyny becomes a reality, the *concept* of androgyny will have been transcended. (Bem, 1979:1053)

Item selection for the BSRI must, inevitably, be culturally biased, for it is subjective perception based on cultural stereotypes that is being measured. This is the theoretical rationale behind the BSRI.

Taking into account criticisms of methodology, Bem (1981a) continued to develop the BSRI so that it now contains a long and a short form (the long form is used here), and a number of different scoring procedures are possible. The scoring procedure used in this study will be described in detail below. It is accepted as valid because it takes into account both the difference between a person's masculinity and femininity and the magnitude of the actual masculinity and femininity scores. A person is androgynous only if he or she obtains high scores on both masculinity and femininity, and if there is no statistically significant difference between masculinity and femininity scores.

The BSRI is recognized by many researchers as being a useful measure because it takes into account the changing nature of sex-role. It is widely used in sex-role research (Bernard and Epstein, 1978; Fischer, 1981; Garnets and Pleck, 1979; Jackson, 1983; Oldham, Farnill and Ball, 1982; Russell, 1978; Singer, 1984; and Welch, 1979). Because it is regarded as a valid research instrument, it is used in this study.

Scoring the BSRI

The following procedure is used for scoring the BSRI. Masculine and feminine ratings are added separately and divided by 20 (number of items in each category) so that each subject receives a raw score for masculinity and for femininity. These scores are then converted into standard scores

(SS) (Bem, 1981a, Table 1:6). A difference score is calculated by subtracting the masculinity SS score from the femininity SS score and this is subsequently converted into a standard difference score (Bem, 1981a, Table 2:6).

Using the Difference Score/Median-Split Hybrid method, a subject may be classified initially into one of three categories, viz., feminine, masculine or potentially androgynous. A subject whose difference score lies between +10 and -10 is potentially androgynous. All subjects whose difference scores are more than +10 are classified feminine, and all subjects whose difference scores are less than -10 are classified masculine. A median-split then divides the potentially androgynous group further into androgynous or undifferentiated categories, using subjects' raw scores for masculinity and femininity based on a group median. Subjects who are classified potentially androgynous and whose raw scores on both masculinity and femininity are above the group median, are finally classified androgynous. Those whose raw scores on either masculinity or femininity, or on both, are below the median, are finally classified undifferentiated (Bem, 1981a).

Sexual Orientation

The Kinsey Seven-Point Rating Scale was used to measure sexual orientation or sexual preference (Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin, 1948; and Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin and Gebhard, 1953). The scale was originally used in this study in order to divide subjects into homosexual and heterosexual categories. Although homosexual subjects were eventually excluded altogether, the scale nevertheless proved useful in determining that all subjects who finally participated in the study were, by their own admission, heterosexual.

The Kinsey Scale consists of seven statements about sexual preference, ranging from 1, exclusively heterosexual, through 4, bisexual, to 7, exclusively homosexual. Subjects are asked to choose the statement which describes them best. (See Appendix A). The Kinsey Scale was used instead of simply asking subjects to state their sexual preference. This was done for a number of reasons. First, it is felt that people frequently cannot easily classify themselves definitely into one or the other category. The Scale makes provision for three variations of responses within each category of homosexuality or heterosexuality, and it provides an additional category for persons who feel themselves to be equally attracted to both sexes. Second, the scale is explicit, i.e. it does not simply ask the subject to classify himself or herself according to specific terms or labels (e.g. "homosexual", or, "mostly homosexual"), but rather describes the actual feelings and/or behaviours of a person who is, e.g. "mostly heterosexual". The result is that there is a high degree of clarity of communication between subject and researcher.

For the purposes of this study, an arbitrary cut-off point was selected for choosing subjects. All subjects who endorsed statements 1 to 3 were regarded as heterosexual and were included in the study. Those who endorsed statements 4 to 7 were excluded from the study.

CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS

GENDER IDENTITY

Scoring

The results of the three scorers are tabulated in Appendix B. To establish reliability of the scoring procedure, Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient (r) was calculated separately for Stories One, Two and Three. All tests used were two-tailed. Results indicate a high correlation among all three stories ($p < 0,01$; Table 1 (a)). A matched-pairs t -test indicates no significant difference between the scores ($p < 0,50$; Table 1(b)).

TABLE 1(a) : Reliability of the Scoring Procedure (Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient, r ; Fischer's t) N = 72

	Story 1			Story 2			Story 3			df
	A-B	A-C	B-C	A-B	A-C	B-C	A-B	A-C	B-C	
r	0,81	0,93	0,85	0,82	0,90	0,82	0,82	0,80	0,81	
t	12,61	2,18*	5,41	12,06	16,89	11,99	11,82	11,00	11,45	70
p	<0,01	<0,01	<0,01	<0,01	<0,01	<0,01	<0,01	<0,01	<0,01	

* $p < 0,05$

(A = scorer A; B = scorer B; C = scorer C).

TABLE 1(b) : Reliability of the Scoring Procedure (Matched Pairs t-test) N = 72

	Story 1			Story 2			Story 3			df
	A-B	A-C	B-C	A-B	A-C	B-C	A-B	A-C	B-C	
t	0,59	-1,17	-1,35	0,54	-0,21	-0,87	0,74	0,25	0,90	71
p	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	

Gender Identity

To determine final gender identity scores, the means of the three scorers' scores for each subject were calculated to obtain a final score for Stories One, Two and Three (for the list of subjects' scores on the three stories, see Appendix C). The final means for each story were calculated separately for males and females and are presented in Table 2.

Table 2 : Means, Medians and Standard Deviations of Story Scores

	Story 1			Story 2			Story 3		
	Mean	Median	SD	Mean	Median	SD	Mean	Median	SD
Males N=33	-2,67	-2,00	6,29	-1,66	-0,67	7,19	-1,93	-0,33	6,86
Females N=39	-1,85	-0,67	10,46	1,15	-0,33	7,08	-0,56	-2,33	9,62

The means of male subjects tend to be negative. The female mean on Story Two is positive, whereas on the other stories, means of female subjects tend towards a negative direction. This will be elaborated upon later. (See pp. 67-71).

Story Themes

As expected, the three pictures elicited different story themes, although there were some similarities between Stories One and Three. Both pictures elicited Oedipal themes, i.e. themes of love triangles, exclusion, jealousy, rivalry and fears of being persecuted because of the love relationship. Although the "excluded" figure was female in the first picture and male in the third, both sexes identified with these figures quite frequently.

Story One (TAT Card 2)

Almost all subjects identified with the woman in the foreground in Story One. Ten male and eleven female subjects wrote stories which have been labelled "other" (0), because the content of the stories did not reflect issues related to the actual scene, i.e., to the relationship between men and women, to sex-role, and emotion. Instead, the themes were abstract, or related only to farming, ignoring the human relationships. Most subjects wrote stories either about role conflict (RH) or about a love triangle (Δ) (See Table 3). More minor themes related to conflict between the sexes (MFH), a forbidden relationship in which somebody persecutes the couple or is persecuted by them (FR_p), and an excluded person who feels lonely (EP_L) (See Table 3).

Table 3 : Themes of Story One

	Themes						Totals
	RH	Δ	EP _L	MFH	FR _p	0	
Males (N=33)	9	10	3	0	2	10	34
Females (N=39)	13	15	1	2	0	11	42
Totals	22	25	4	2	2	21	76

Frequencies do not total N because some stories combined more than one theme.

Explanation of Codes for Table 3

- RH = Role conflict, i.e. conflict about one's role, usually in gender.
- Δ = Love triangle, i.e. two women in love with the same man.
- EP_L = Excluded person who is lonely, i.e. not a love triangle, but rather, a couple who, by virtue of their being a couple, exclude the third person.
- MFH = Male - female conflict, i.e. conflict between the sexes.
- FR_p = Forbidden relationship; the person who forbids the relationship persecutes the couple or is persecuted by them.
- 0 = Other, i.e. themes which do not relate to relationships between the people in the picture.

Story Three (A Photograph)

More than half of male subjects identified with the figure in the foreground in Story Three, whom they saw as an old man. He was usually portrayed as excluded and lonely (EP_L). In other stories, the hero was either the male figure of the couple, or the male figure outside of the couple. These stories contained themes of a love triangle (Δ) or themes of a persecutory nature where the person outside of the couple mistreated the couple in some way, i.e. through poor advice, assault, persecutory comments and the like (EP_p, FR_A, FR_p, FR_{Ap}). (See Table 4)

Female subjects sometimes identified with the third figure who was also seen as male, old and lonely. More frequently, however, female subjects identified with one of the couple, usually the female figure. Themes

were of the female figure being persecuted by the third figure, who was depicted as a rapist, an ex-lover bent on revenge (EP_p) or somebody (frequently a father) who forbade the relationship and then persecuted the couple (FR_p). More minor themes were of conflict within the couple relationship (MF_H) or of a love triangle (Δ), the hero being one of the two male figures. Six female subjects wrote stories with "Other" (0) themes, i.e., themes which did not relate to the relationships between the people in the picture (See Table 4).

Table 4 : Themes of Story Three

	Themes								TOTALS
	EP _L	Δ	EP _p	FR _A	FR _p	FR _{AP}	MF _H	0	
Males (N=33)	19	4	3	1	0	2	1	3	33
Females (N=39)	14	3	8	0	8	0	2	6	41
Totals	33	7	11	1	8	2	3	9	74

Frequencies do not total N because some stories combined more than one theme.

Explanation of Codes for Table 4

EP_L = Excluded person who is lonely.

Δ = Love triangle, i.e. two men in love with the same woman.

EP_p = Excluded person persecutes, i.e., the person who is excluded from the love relationship persecutes by attacking the couple physically, verbally, or in his thoughts.

FR_A = Forbidden relationship, third person advises, i.e., the relationship has been forbidden by a parent, a religion, race laws, etc., and somebody, usually a religious figure, advises the couple.

- FR_p = Forbidden relationship, third person persecutes, i.e., the person who is forbidding the relationship, a parent, a government or someone who is shocked by it (e.g. an old, rigid, conservative person), persecutes the couple by making comments or attempting to stop them from being together.
- FR_{AP} = Forbidden relationship, the adviser persecutes, i.e., the person who advises the couple turns out to be against them.
- MFH = Male - female conflict.
- 0 = Other.

Story Two (TAT Card 10)

An analysis of themes of Story Two focused on two aspects, viz., the theme and the type of relationship through which the events took place. Thus subjects interpreted the two figures in the picture as being a heterosexual couple, a homosexual couple, a mother (or grandmother) and son, a mother and daughter, a father and son, a father and daughter, a mother and child, or the sex of and relationship between the two figures remained undefined (see Table 5). The most common type of relationship was the heterosexual one as expected (Bellak, 1975). Quite a few men, however, wrote stories about a homosexual relationship or about the relationship between mother and son. For female subjects, the second most frequent relationship type was of father and son and the third was mother and son. Five subjects of each sex left the sex and relationship undefined. There were very few stories about the relationship between parent and daughter. (Table 5).

The most common theme for both male and female subjects was that of bereavement following the death of a loved one (B), and the second most common theme was that of a tragedy of some type, i.e. loss, failure, or disaster other than death (T). The most typical female story, whatever the relationship, was of the two partners being brought together by the tragedy or bereavement. Male stories were more varied. More minor themes for both sexes were of a relationship which persecutes or controls the hero in some way (P/C), role conflict (RH), conflict within a heterosexual relationship (MFH) or conflict about being or becoming homosexual (HOH). (See Table 5).

TABLE 5 : Themes of Story Two

Theme	Relationship									Totals
	HE	HO	MS	FS	MD	FD	MC	FC	SU	
Males (N=33)										
T			4	1					2	7
B	3	1	1	2	1			1	1	10
RH		2								2
P/C	2		1				2			5
MFH	4									4
HOH		3								3
R	1								2	3
Totals	10	6	6	3	1	0	2	1	5	34
Females (N=39)										
T	3		2	2					1	8
B	4		3	3	1					11
RH				2		1	1			4
P/C	3								1	4
MFH	3									3
HOH		2								2
R	2	2					1		3	8
Totals	15	4	5	7	1	1	2	0	5	40

Frequencies do not total N because some stories combined more than one theme. Some stories (three for males and eight for females) were only about a relationship (R) and did not contain an additional theme.

Explanation of Codes for Table 5(a) Relationship Codes

- HE = Heterosexual relationship
- HO = Homosexual relationship
- MS = Mother - son relationship
- FS = Father - son relationship
- MD = Mother - daughter relationship
- FD = Father - daughter relationship
- MC = Mother - child relationship
- FC = Father - child relationship
- SU = Sex of the figures and the relationship between them is undefined.

(b) Theme Codes

- T = Tragedy, i.e., loss or disaster, failure, etc., other than death.
- B = Bereavement, i.e., someone has died.
- RR = Role conflict
- P/C = Persecution/control: one of the partners in the relationship persecutes and/or controls the other.
- MFH = Male - female conflict, i.e., conflict within a heterosexual relationship.
- HOH = Homosexual conflict, i.e., conflict about being or becoming homosexual (there were no stories about conflict between two partners in a homosexual relationship).
- R = Relationship only, i.e., there is no theme other than the relationship.

Because of the small number of subjects within each theme category of each story, statistical tests to analyse the relationship between themes and scores were not calculated. The breakdown of the stories into themes is presented, however, in view of the differential results of the three stories which will be discussed later. (Chapter Seven)

Association Between Gender Identity and Age of Subject

Chi-square associations between story patterns (i.e. masculine or feminine gender identity) and age revealed no statistically significant association between gender identity and age for any of the stories (Table 6).

TABLE 6 : Association Between Gender Identity and Age

	N*	Story 1		Story 2		Story 3	
		χ^2	p	χ^2	p	χ^2	p
Males	33	0,684	ns	0,189	ns	1,238	ns
Females	39	0,013	ns	0,202	ns	0,026	ns
Sexes Combined	72	0,300	ns	0,0004	ns	0,860	ns

* Two male subjects obtained neutral scores ($X = 0$) on Story 3 and were excluded from the Chi-Square. Thus N for male subjects = 31 and for sexes combined = 70.

Association Between Gender Identity and Occupation of Subject

Chi-Square associations between story patterns (i.e. masculine or feminine gender identity) and occupation revealed no significant association between gender identity and occupation of subject. (Table 7). Because only four out of 33 female subjects indicated that their occupations were

other than student, a separate Chi-Square for female subjects was not calculated.

TABLE 7 : Association Between Gender Identity and Occupation

	N*	Story 1		Story 2		Story 3	
		χ^2	p	χ^2	p	χ^2	p
Males	33	0,034	ns	0,065	ns	0,269	ns
Sexes Combined	72	0,178	ns	0,253	ns	0,245	ns

* Two male subjects obtained neutral scores ($X = 0$) on Story 3 and were excluded from the Chi-Square. Thus N for male subjects = 31 and for sexes combined = 70.

Story scores and themes have been presented in this section without any elaboration about the significance of this for gender identity, nor about the differences between male and female subjects. Analysis of results of the stories was conducted in conjunction with an analysis of the BSRI (two-way ANOVA) and will be discussed after the results of the BSRI are presented (See pp. 67-71).

SEX-ROLE

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory

Results of the BSRI are presented in Table 8. The medians for both male and female subjects are somewhat lower than those in Bem's 1978 Stanford Normative Sample (Bem, 1981a). There is very little difference between the means of male and female subjects on either femininity or masculinity scores in this study.

TABLE 8 : Raw Score Means, Medians and Standard Deviations
for the Femininity, Masculinity and F-Minus-M
Difference Scores of the BSRI

	Females (N=39)	Males (N=33)	t	p
<u>Femininity</u>				
Mean	4,41	4,36	0,353	ns
Median	4,45	4,40		
SD	0,61	0,58		
<u>Masculinity</u>				
Mean	4,14	4,23	-0,496	ns
Median	4,24	4,35		
SD	0,77	0,76		
<u>F-Minus-M</u>				
Mean	4,64	2,70	0,573	ns
Median	1,00	6,00		
SD	15,43	12,86		

Amongst female subjects 33,33% reflected feminine scores, 20,51% reflected masculine scores, 20,51% reflected androgynous scores and 25,64% reflected undifferentiated scores. Amongst male subjects, 33,33% reflected feminine scores, 12,12% reflected masculine scores, 24,24% reflected androgynous scores and 30,30% reflected undifferentiated scores (Table 9).

TABLE 9 : Percentage of Males and Females in each
BSRI Category

Sex	Sex-Role							
	Feminine		Masculine		Androgynous		Undifferentiated	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Males (N=39)	33,33	11	12,12	4	24,24	8	30,30	10
Females (N=33)	33,33	13	20,51	8	20,51	8	25,64	10

These findings differ from Bem's 1978 Stanford Normative Sample (Bem, 1981a). Using the Hybrid Method for classifying subjects, Bem found a higher percentage of both males and females fell into the androgynous and undifferentiated categories than into the sex-typed categories. While females in this study are not significantly 'unfeminine', the percentage of women whose sex-role is masculine is unexpectedly high and is more or less equal to that of the androgynous and undifferentiated groups. The results of male subjects is even more surprising, in that a higher percentage of men fall into the feminine category than into any other group; furthermore, the percentage of males with a masculine sex-role is very low.

Association Between Sex-Role and Age of Subject

Chi-Square associations for BSRI category and age revealed no significant association. (Table 10)

TABLE 10 : Association Between Sex-Role and Age

	N	χ^2	p
Males	33	1,183	ns
Females	39	5,136	ns
Sexes Combined	72	5,507	ns

Association Between Sex-Role and Occupation of Subject

Chi-Square associations for BSRI category and occupation do not reach statistical significance ($p < 0,10$). Only four out of 33 female subjects indicated that their occupations were other than student. A separate Chi-Square for female subjects was not, therefore, calculated (Table 11).

TABLE 11 : Association Between Sex-Role and Occupation

	N	χ^2	p
Males	33	5,859	ns
Sexes Combined	72	6,289	ns

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEX, SEX-ROLE AND GENDER IDENTITY

The mean story scores of males and females for each BSRI category are presented below (Table 12).

TABLE 12 : Mean Story Scores of Males and Females for BSRI Categories
Feminine, Masculine, Androgynous and Undifferentiated

	BSRI									
	Feminine Mean	N	Masculine Mean	N	Androgynous Mean	N	Undifferentiated Mean	N	Totals Mean	N
<u>Story 1</u>										
Males	-1,21	11	-2,75	4	-4,08	8	-3,10	10	-2,67	33
Females	-3,15	13	-7,21	8	+6,08	8	-2,20	10	-1,85	39
Totals	-2,26	24	-5,72	12	+1,01	16	-2,65	20	-2,22	72
<u>Story 2</u>										
Males	-2,97	11	-3,17	4	+1,71	8	-2,30	10	-1,66	33
Females	+0,44	13	-0,54	8	+7,21	8	-1,40	10	+1,15	39
Totals	-1,12	24	-1,42	12	+4,46	16	-1,85	20	-0,13	72
<u>Story 3</u>										
Males	-0,73	11	-0,42	4	-3,71	8	-2,43	10	-7,29	33
Females	-1,18	13	-2,96	8	-4,71	8	+5,47	10	-3,38	39
Totals	-1,91	24	-3,38	12	-8,42	16	3,04	20	-10,67	72

A two-way analysis of variance was calculated separately for each story.

Story One

ANOVA for Story One was not significant on any of the effects. There is no significant difference between the story patterns of male and female subjects and thus, no relationship between biological sex and gender identity. There is no significant relationship between gender identity and sex-role and there is no significant relationship between biological

sex and sex-role (Table 13).

TABLE 13 : ANOVA, Story One

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	F	p
Sex	48,086	1	48,086	0,308	ns
Sex-Role	348,324	3	116,108	0,743	ns
Interaction	468,872	3	156,2907	2,053	ns
Error	4872,065	64	76,126		

Story Two

ANOVA for Story Two revealed no statistical significance on the interaction effect. The results of both main effects, however, are significant ($p < 0,05$). There is no relationship between biological sex and sex-role. There is a significant relationship between biological sex and gender identity, i.e. males and females differ in the predicted direction. There is a significant relationship between sex-role and gender identity (Table 14).

TABLE 14 : ANOVA, Story Two

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	F	p
Sex	564,589	1	564,589	32,974	<0,05
Sex-Role	879,498	3	293,166	17,122	<0,05
Interaction	51,367	3	17,122	0,360	ns
Error	3042,555	64	47,540		

Bonferroni t-tests indicated that the differences between pairs of BSRI categories do not reach statistical significance (required $\alpha = 0,006$) despite the significant result obtained on this effect in the ANOVA. It is likely that this is due to the small number of subjects within each BSRI category. Certain trends can be found. The differences between the means of the androgynous group and all other groups are larger than any other differences between pairs ($p < 0,05$). The general trend for Story Two is, therefore, that androgynous subjects have a more feminine gender identity than subjects of any other sex-role category (Table 15).

TABLE 15 : Pairwise Comparisons Between Story Means for BSRI Categories Feminine, Masculine, Androgynous and Undifferentiated (Story Two)

Pair	n	Means	Diff	t	p	df
Androgynous - Undifferentiated	16 20	4,46 -1,85	6,31	2,728	< 0,05	34
Androgynous - Masculine	16 12	4,46 -1,42	5,88	2,616	< 0,05	26
Androgynous - Feminine	16 24	4,46 -1,12	5,58	2,317	< 0,05	38
Masculine Feminine	12 24	-1,42 -1,12	0,3	0,127	ns	34
Masculine Undifferentiated	12 20	-1,42 -1,85	0,43	0,212	ns	30
Feminine Undifferentiated	24 20	-1,12 -1,85	0,73	0,338	ns	42

Story Three

ANOVA for Story Three revealed no significant result for sex-role. Significant results were obtained for sex ($p < 0,05$) and for the interaction effect

($p < 0,01$). There is, therefore, no relationship between sex-role and gender identity. There is a significant relationship between biological sex and gender identity ($p < 0,05$) but this is dependent on sex-role, as the interaction between sex-role and biological sex, in relation to gender identity, is statistically significant ($p < 0,01$; Table 16).

TABLE 16 : ANOVA, Story Three

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	F	p
Sex	9798,50	1	9798,50	13,820	< 0,05
Sex-Role	7449,539	3	2483,180	3,502	ns
Interaction	2127,061	3	709,020	9,935	< 0,05
Error	4567,587	64	71,369		

Bonferroni t-tests were used to investigate simple interaction effects. All 28 pairs were not compared; rather, only those pairs which seemed likely to differ significantly were investigated. Differences between these pairs did not reach statistical significance (required $\alpha = 0,006$; $p < 0,05$), probably due to the small number of subjects in each group. (Table 17). Certain trends are, however, revealed.

Female subjects who are undifferentiated in sex-role tend to be more feminine in gender identity than are males with the same sex-role. Females of all other sex-role categories tend to be more masculine in gender identity than males with the same sex-role.

TABLE 17 : Pairwise Comparisons Between Story Means of Males, Females and BSRI Categories Feminine, Masculine, Androgynous and Undifferentiated. (Story Three)

Pair	n	Means	Diff	t	p	df
Undifferentiated females - Undifferentiated males	10 10	5,47 -2,43	7,9	2,646	< 0,05	18
Undifferentiated females - Androgynous females	10 8	5,47 -4,71	10,18	2,157	< 0,05	16
Undifferentiated females - Masculine females	10 8	5,47 -2,96	8,43	2,726	< 0,05	16
Undifferentiated females - Feminine females	10 13	5,47 -1,18	6,65	1,865	< 0,05	21

The results of Story Three indicate the possibility that while gender identity is not influenced by biological sex or sex-role individually, the interaction of a subject's biological sex with his or her sex-role may influence gender identity.

Summary of Results

Analysis of variance of the three stories yielded inconsistent results. Story Two is the only case in which males and females reflected gender identities congruent with their biological sex. On Story One, there was no difference between males and females with regard to gender identity and in Story Three, the sex difference occurred only in interaction with sex-role. The relationship between sex-role and gender identity also varied from one story to another. On Story One, there was no relationship; and on Story Three the relationship existed only in interaction with the sex of the subject. These inconsistencies will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The Relationship Between Biological Sex and Gender Identity

The scoring procedure of stories is reliable, and it has been shown previously (May 1966, 1969, 1971; and Cramer and Carter, 1978) that the method used to measure gender identity in this study yields meaningful results. Results in this study, however, were inconsistent. It was only in Story Two that a significant difference in gender identity in the predicted direction was found between the two sexes; males have masculine gender identity and females have feminine gender identity only on Story Two. It cannot be assumed, however, that a person's true gender identity could realistically alter from one situation to another, or from one story to another. Rather, it appears that other factors must have influenced the results so that only one of the stories is a true reflection of gender identity.

Since Story Two yields results which are similar to those of previous studies (May 1966, 1969, 1971; Cramer and Carter, 1978) it can be assumed that this story is a more reliable measure of gender identity. The pictures presented for Stories One and Three seem to have influenced the results so as to prevent the true identities of subjects from emerging in these stories.

Both of these pictures differ from Picture Two in the number of people to be considered, i.e., while Picture Two contains only two figures, Pictures

One and Three each contain three figures. The analysis of story themes described in the previous chapter showed that themes of Stories One and Three were mostly about the Oedipal conflict, whereas themes of Story Two were not generally Oedipal in content but rather dealt with loss or tragedy of some kind. If the mean scores of Stories One and Three are re-considered, it can be seen that, on the whole, males do tend towards masculine (i.e. negative) scores. It is the female subjects on these stories who obtained results inconsistent with their biological sex. These (female) results account for the insignificant male-female differences on Stories One and Three.

In terms of psychoanalytic theory, it seems possible that when adults write stories about Oedipal conflicts, there is a temporary regression to that stage of life. It is also possible that with such a regression, the fantasy pattern established upon the resolution of the Oedipus complex is also regressed, i.e. it is returned to what it was prior to resolution. As described in Chapter Three, males' fantasy patterns remain the same throughout their lives. The Oedipal experience confirms their expectation that deprivation follows enhancement. A re-focusing on Oedipal problems would, therefore, not alter the fantasy pattern consistent with the establishment of masculine gender identity.

Females, on the other hand, alter their fantasy patterns after the resolution of the Oedipus complex. Prior to this, their patterns are identical to those of males. It follows, therefore, that when they regress, even if temporarily, and are faced once again with Oedipal problems, their fantasy patterns will revert back to a pre-Oedipal pattern.

The Relationship Between Biological Sex and Sex-Role

One no longer expects the relationship between biological sex and sex-role to be direct, i.e. it is not expected that men will necessarily be masculine and women, feminine. It is taken into account that many people of both sexes will be androgynous or undifferentiated, that some males will be feminine and that some females will be masculine. One expects, nevertheless, that in any sample of males, more will be masculine than feminine. In this study, findings are reversed: the males are less masculine than the females, and there are an equal percentage of men and women who are feminine. In fact, relative to sex-role, the only real difference between men and women is the reverse of what one might reasonably expect.

In this time of changing sex-role, many people are not sex-typed, but rather, exhibit an equal amount of masculine and feminine personality traits. It is possible that men and women are confused or in transition. Within a growing feminist climate, many women are attempting to develop more masculine qualities in themselves and, likewise, men may be discovering the positive aspects of femininity. It is not unusual for people, when in the process of integrating previously foreign qualities into their personalities, to begin by taking this to extremes, and to embrace the foreign quality to the point that previously existing qualities are submerged and become temporarily insignificant. It is possible that this is the case with some of the subjects in this study. A good number are undifferentiated. They too, may be in a state of flux. A number are androgynous. It is possible that they were reared by androgynous parents, or perhaps, in the course of their lives, they embraced the qualities of the opposite sex so that by the time of this study, they

managed to integrate both masculine and feminine qualities into their personalities. It seems that we can no longer predict a person's sex-role according to his or her biological sex alone.

The Relationship Between Biological Sex, Sex-Role and Gender Identity

We have seen that biological sex is not an accurate predictor of sex-role. When we combine these two variables, however, we see that together, they tend to influence gender identity.

There is no clearcut relationship between the three variables. The results of Story Three indicate that differences in the gender identities of male and female subjects exist only when sex-role is taken into account. More specifically, in Story Three, undifferentiated females are more feminine in gender identity than any other sex-role group. This contradicts the results of both of the other stories. In Story One, females tend to have masculine gender identities; even sex-role does not influence their scores towards feminine gender identity. In Story Two, however, there were clear differences between males and females; possible reasons for the differences between this story and Stories One and Three have been discussed above.

The differences between the gender identities of female subjects in Stories One and Three are probably due to the nature of the pictures presented for these stories. In this instance, the sex of the hero is probably the most significant factor.

In Picture One, the hero is female. It was, therefore, easy for female subjects to identify with her; to write stories containing Oedipal themes; and, thus, to produce a masculine (or pre-Oedipus-resolution) pattern.

In Picture Three, the most obvious hero is the excluded figure who was seen by almost all subjects as male. Female subjects, nevertheless, tended to identify with the female figure in the picture, writing Oedipal stories of persecution. It is clear in these stories that the Oedipal conflicts are not resolved. There is still danger in one's attachment to a man, and indeed, the stories end negatively, with the hero being raped, killed, or doomed in another way to loss of love.

Undifferentiated women on Story Three, however, seem unaffected by this picture. More specifically, they managed to maintain their feminine gender identities despite the fact that they too, wrote Oedipal stories. Perhaps they identified more frequently with one of the males in the picture and, in this way, were able to remove themselves from Oedipal concerns; although they wrote Oedipal stories, by identifying with a male hero, they did not involve themselves personally in the stories. This enabled them to maintain their post-Oedipal fantasy patterns.

The Relationship Between Sex-Role and Gender Identity

Results among the three stories are inconsistent. It is Story Two which can be assumed to be reliable, for it is on this story that males and females differ significantly with regard to gender identity. In Story Two, the relationship between sex-role and gender identity was significant and trends indicate that the differences ($p < 0,05$) lay between those subjects whose sex-roles were androgynous and subjects of other sex-role categories. Further studies will confirm or refute

these trends. For the present, one can say that a relationship between sex-role and gender identity exists and that androgynous people tend to be more feminine in gender identity than are people with any other sex-role. MB

Because the interaction effect in this story is not significant, males and females cannot be discussed separately. There is no difference between feminine, masculine, androgynous and undifferentiated males; and there is no significant difference between feminine, masculine, androgynous and undifferentiated females. It is only when biological sex is ignored that a trend exists.

Essentially, therefore, this result informs us that when people are androgynous in sex-role, one can ignore their biological sex in predicting gender identity. It is difficult, however, to explain this result without taking biological sex into account. There is, at present, no theory which explains psychological gender while ignoring the biological sex of the person concerned. Theory is not sufficiently advanced to account for androgyny, nor to discuss the similarities (e.g. gender identity) rather than the differences between men and women. It is as if men and women are regarded as two separate species; when they are discussed as one, we become confounded.

It is interesting that it is the androgynous group that has reflected this problem. When sex-role is ignored, men and women conform to expectation. Their gender identity accords with their sex. The sum of male and female mean scores of the other sex-role categories produces a meaningless result: the females become less feminine in gender identity,

and the males become less masculine. When androgyny is ignored, therefore, males and females can be regarded as separate groups. For androgynous people, the reverse is true. When divided into two groups according to biological sex, males and females are not especially different from people of other sex-roles; together, however, they tend to be more feminine in gender identity than people of other sex-roles.

It seems that a new theory of androgyny is required to explain why androgynous people are feminine rather than masculine or androgynous in their gender identities. It should be a theory which contemplates the nature of androgyny, i.e. the nature of a sense of self which is not based on biological sex.

Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Further Research

It must be remembered that the study of psychological phenomena can never be as objective and as conclusive as research in the pure sciences. This is especially important when research is based on psychoanalytic theory, which is a set of concepts developed in order to understand the nature of the unconscious minds of human beings. A study of the unconscious always remains somewhat speculative, for the unconscious does not obey western, rational or scientific laws of logic. Rather, it is primitive, subjective and illusive. This does not mean, however, that research should not be attempted in this area; instead, the limitations of such research should be borne in mind.

Further limitations involve sample size and the difficulty of the researcher in obtaining homosexual subjects. Sample size was small, and because

of this, certain investigations did not yield conclusive results. Trends discussed above will be useful in the design of further research on psychological gender. From the present study, however, no definite conclusions can be made about the specific ways in which sex-role and gender identity influence each other or how they interact to influence the psyche of each person.

A larger sample would also have made possible a statistical analysis of the relationship between themes and scores of stories. An analysis of this kind in the future might yield more definite information about gender identity and about the relationship between sex-role and gender identity.

A person's sexual orientation is a third aspect of psychological gender which requires research. A study of the relationship between gender identity, sex-role and sexual orientation would add valuable information to our present knowledge of psychological gender and its overall effect on people as social beings.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to determine whether there is a relationship between sex-role and gender identity. The question asked was whether androgynous people are truly androgynous in all aspects of psychological gender or whether a deeper sense of self exists which is not influenced by sex-role.

It was assumed, theoretically, that gender identity in patriarchal society is so intrinsic to a person's basic sense of self that a more superficial

aspect of psychological gender, viz., sex-role, would not alter gender identity. Gender identity was described as being established as a result of the Oedipus complex, while sex-role was seen to be influenced by other factors. The development of sex-role is based on gender identity, but the form it takes need not be congruent with the form of an individual's gender identity. It was, therefore, hypothesized that there would be no relationship between the two variables.

It has been shown that, contrary to expectations, a relationship exists between gender identity and sex-role and that, in fact, androgynous persons tend to differ from other sex-role groups with regard to gender identity. The gender identities of androgynous persons are, however, not androgynous. They are more feminine in gender identity than other sex-role groups. It may be concluded, therefore, that although there is a relationship between sex role and gender identity, the relationship is an indirect one.

The gender identities of men and women who are feminine in sex-role, contradict their sex-roles and conform to their biological sex. The same is true for the BSRI categories: masculine and undifferentiated. It is only androgynous people whose gender identities seem tied to their sex-roles rather than to their biological sex. The form taken by sex-role is not congruent with the form taken by gender identity.

Androgynous people are different from people who are not androgynous. At this stage of our theoretical knowledge of psychological gender, we are not in a position to explain the enigma of androgyny.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for agreeing to participate.

There are three sets of tasks to be completed which should take no longer than 40 minutes. Please do them in the order in which they appear.

No names are required and all information will remain anonymous and confidential.

Before turning the page, please fill in the following information:-

Age: _____

Sex: _____

Occupation: _____

TASK I (± 15 minutes)

Please look briefly at the three pictures on the following pages and write a short story about each picture. Space for the stories is provided beneath each picture. If more space is required, please use the following page. Grammar, literary style, etc. are of no importance whatsoever. The stories should be fictional, i.e., not about true events or people, and original, i.e., not a story you have read or heard. Each story should take no longer than 5 minutes.

N.B.

Please not not write a simple description of the picture. Your stories do not have to be long, but please ensure that each story has a beginning, a middle and an end, i.e., a proper story.

(Please ensure that you complete all the tasks and all parts of each task. There is no time limit.)

Thank you.

Task I continued

Picture No 1



Story No 1

(More space for the story is provided on the following page.)

Task-I continued

Picture No 2



Story No 2

(More space for the story is provided on the following page.)

Task I continued

Picture No 3



Story No 3

(More space for the story is provided on the following page.)

TASK II (± 15 minutes)

This questionnaire consists of 60 items. Please answer each item according to how well it describes you, on a scale from 1 to 7 as follows:-

- 1 = never or almost never true
- 2 = very seldom true
- 3 = sometimes true
- 4 = true
- 5 = frequently true
- 6 = very frequently true
- 7 = always or almost always true

<u>Items</u>	<u>Answers</u>
1. self-reliant	_____
2. yielding	_____
3. helpful	_____
4. defends own beliefs	_____
5. cheerful	_____
6. moody	_____
7. independent	_____
8. shy	_____
9. conscientious	_____
10. athletic	_____
11. affectionate	_____
12. theatrical	_____
13. assertive	_____
14. flatterable	_____
15. happy	_____
16. strong personality	_____
17. loyal	_____
18. unpredictable	_____
19. forceful	_____
20. feminine	_____
21. reliable	_____
22. analytical	_____
23. sympathetic	_____
24. jealous	_____

Task II continued

25. has leadership abilities _____
26. sensitive to the needs of others _____
27. truthful _____
28. willing to take risks _____
29. understanding _____
30. secretive _____
31. makes decisions easily _____
32. compassionate _____
33. sincere _____
34. self-sufficient _____
35. eager to soothe hurt feelings _____
36. conceited _____
37. dominant _____
38. soft-spoken _____
39. likeable _____
40. masculine _____
41. warm _____
42. solemn _____
43. willing to take a stand _____
44. tender _____
45. friendly _____
46. aggressive _____
47. gullible _____
48. inefficient _____
49. acts as a leader _____
50. childlike _____
51. adaptable _____
52. individualistic _____
53. does not use harsh language _____
54. unsystematic _____
55. competitive _____
56. loves children _____
57. tactful _____
58. ambitious _____
59. gentle _____
60. conventional _____

TASK III (± 5 minutes)

After reading the following statements through, please ring the number of the statement which describes you best.

1. I am entirely heterosexual: that is I have no homosexual responses (that I am aware of) and I do not engage in homosexual activities.
2. I am heterosexual, but I do have incidental responses to members of my own sex, and/or have incidental contacts with my own sex, but these are very infrequent and/or do not mean much.
3. Most of my psycho-sexual responses and/or actual experiences are heterosexual, but I do respond definitely to homosexual stimuli.
4. I accept and/or enjoy equally both homosexual and heterosexual contact and have no strong preference for either one or the other.
5. I prefer contact with my own sex, but I definitely respond to and/or maintain a fair amount of actual contact with members of the opposite sex.
6. I am homosexual, but I do have incidental responses to members of the opposite sex, and/or have incidental contacts with the opposite sex, but these are very infrequent and/or do not mean much.
7. I am entirely homosexual: that is I have no heterosexual responses (that I am aware of) and I do not engage in heterosexual activities.

APPENDIX B

STORY SCORES OF SCORERS A, B AND C (In order of subject number)

Story One			Story Two			Story Three		
A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
6	3	1	9	6	5	-1	-4	0
-3	1	0	-7	-5	-10	2	-4	-6
-7	-5	0	-5	-11	-9	0	-4	-4
-5	-10	-3	-6	1	-5	13	7	9
6	1	1	-6	-8	-7	-14	-12	-8
-2	-2	-5	8	11	15	-5	-9	-12
0	5	3	3	-1	6	-14	-19	-11
-9	-8	-6	5	3	4	6	3	1
0	2	1	-3	-2	0	-2	5	2
5	2	6	3	-2	0	-13	-12	-17
13	9	9	-12	-10	-6	8	7	4
-3	3	-2	4	5	-1	10	6	8
-17	-18	-16	-4	2	-5	-3	-1	-3
-18	-21	-15	10	2	6	-12	-9	-10
-9	-9	-10	-2	-4	-5	-2	-7	-4
2	1	3	2	-3	0	4	7	10
-4	-1	-4	8	13	13	-8	-4	-9
-16	-10	-12	-4	0	3	-8	-9	-10
-7	-5	-11	-3	-9	-4	-4	-6	-7
2	8	2	8	8	7	1	1	7
4	-11	1	-6	-6	2	-5	-3	3
-4	1	-1	4	-2	-4	-16	-8	-11
-3	-6	1	-12	-12	7	-5	-3	-4
3	-2	4	9	3	5	-6	-3	0
17	17	9	-4	2	-6	5	7	13
-4	1	0	-14	-16	-12	9	7	13
-5	-10	-4	-9	-13	-7	-5	-5	-7
2	-6	0	3	7	2	4	4	2
-12	-5	-7	-1	0	-1	-9	-7	-6
3	5	2	8	6	8	-19	-13	-15
-2	2	-1	13	2	9	-4	-10	-11

Story One			Story Two			Story Three		
A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
-16	-7	-15	7	2	10	0	-1	-4
7	5	10	1	-4	1	-1	-4	-4
-10	-10	2	-3	-3	-4	1	3	3
-5	2	-5	12	4	8	0	-2	-7
-10	-17	-11	-22	-11	-19	-8	-9	-15
-31	-25	-29	-3	-3	1	2	-5	1
-24	-21	-17	-2	-7	-3	10	14	7
8	1	6	-4	-8	-7	16	18	17
3	-3	1	-1	2	-3	11	8	4
9	10	5	10	15	9	-7	1	-10
-2	-4	0	-6	-6	0	-1	-8	-1
-6	-6	-5	2	2	4	2	4	3
8	1	9	-2	-10	-10	4	1	-4
7	1	9	5	11	8	4	9	10
-3	-10	-4	7	8	9	14	6	10
27	31	26	23	18	23	-29	-26	-25
16	10	12	8	10	8	11	18	14
10	12	14	-3	0	-2	3	5	5
-1	0	-4	2	8	10	1	-1	0
-16	-10	-8	6	2	6	-8	-2	-2
-3	-6	-2	4	6	4	3	2	2
-4	-7	-3	8	6	6	-4	1	-6
2	6	-2	2	1	-1	-2	-3	-5
-18	-23	-16	-5	1	-7	26	20	25
-1	-7	-2	-2	-6	-1	-18	-16	-18
3	3	0	0	-2	-3	6	10	4
-7	-12	-8	2	-2	6	1	2	-1
9	2	6	5	4	5	7	11	8
4	-3	5	-5	-9	-3	-10	-10	-10
-4	-9	-10	4	9	8	-8	-11	-6
5	12	7	-12	-9	-15	-10	-10	-4

Story One			Story Two			Story Three		
A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
-8	-2	-8	-10	-5	-11	5	4	-1
7	7	11	-9	-13	-9	-3	-10	1
-18	-11	-19	-23	-14	-16	-11	-9	-12
-10	-15	-9	10	6	6	5	4	12
-4	0	-1	-1	2	1	-1	4	-1
-7	-4	-4	3	2	4	-4	3	2
-2	-4	4	-9	-5	-6	-8	-5	-5
-3	5	1	-3	-3	-3	1	2	-3
-1	-4	-2	0	7	0	2	7	2
-7	-8	-15	-2	0	-5	0	1	2

APPENDIX C

FINAL GENDER IDENTITY SCORES FOR STORIES ONE, TWO AND THREE FOR EACH MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECT (In Order of Subject Number)

MALES (N = 33)			FEMALES (N = 39)		
Story 1	Story 2	Story 3	Story 1	Story 2	Story 3
2,67	-7,00	-11,33	3,33	6,67	-1,67
1,00	-1,67	1,67	-0,67	-7,33	-2,67
-0,67	2,67	8,00	-4,00	-8,33	-2,67
-18,00	6,00	-10,33	-6,00	-3,33	9,67
-2,00	-3,33	-1,67	-3,00	11,33	-8,67
-1,33	-0,67	-11,67	2,67	2,67	-14,67
-2,67	-10,33	-4,00	-7,67	4,00	3,33
-1,00	-14,00	9,67	4,33	0,33	-14,00
-1,33	4,00	3,33	10,33	-9,33	6,33
-8,00	-0,67	-7,33	-17,00	-2,33	-2,33
-2,67	8,00	-3,00	-9,33	-3,67	-4,33
-12,67	-17,33	-10,67	2,00	-0,33	7,00
12,00	-1,67	4,33	-3,00	11,33	-7,00
-1,67	6,67	0	-12,67	-0,33	-9,00
-3,67	4,67	2,33	-7,67	-5,33	-5,67
-4,67	6,67	-3,00	4,00	7,67	3,00
2,00	0,67	-3,33	1,67	5,67	-3,00
-3,33	-3,00	-17,33	14,33	-2,67	8,33
2,00	-1,67	6,67	-6,33	-9,67	-5,67
-9,00	2,00	0,67	3,33	7,33	-15,67
5,67	4,67	8,67	-0,33	8,00	-8,33

MALES (N = 33)			FEMALES (N = 39)		
Story 1	Story 2	Story 3	Story 1	Story 2	Story 3
2,00	-5,67	-10,00	-12,67	6,33	-1,67
-7,67	7,00	-8,33	7,33	-0,67	-3,00
8,00	-12,00	-8,00	-7,33	-3,33	2,33
-6,00	-8,67	-2,67	-28,33	-1,67	-0,67
8,33	-10,33	2,67	-20,67	-4,00	10,33
-16,00	-17,67	-10,67	5,00	-6,33	17,00
-11,33	7,33	7,00	0,33	-0,67	7,67
-1,67	0,67	-0,33	8,00	11,33	-5,33
-5,00	3,00	0,33	-2,00	-4,00	-3,33
1,00	-3,00	0	-5,67	2,67	3,00
-2,33	2,33	3,67	6,00	-7,33	0,33
-10,00	-2,33	1,00	5,67	8,00	7,67
			-5,67	8,00	10,00
			28,00	21,33	-26,67
			12,67	8,67	14,33
			-11,33	4,67	-4,00
			-19,00	-3,67	23,67
			-0,67	-6,67	-6,00

APPENDIX D

SEX-ROLE SCORES AND CATEGORIES FOR EACH MALE
AND FEMALE SUBJECT (In Order of Subject Number)

MALES (N = 33)						
F	M	F-SS	M-SS	F-M	SS DIFF	CLASS
4,85	3,05	51	22	29	69	FEMININE
3,75	4,40	32	42	-10	43	MASCULINE
4,05	3,35	37	26	11	57	FEMININE
5,05	4,80	54	48	6	54	ANDROGYNOUS
4,40	3,65	43	31	12	58	FEMININE
4,45	4,35	44	41	3	52	ANDROGYNOUS
4,15	4,75	39	47	-8	45	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,80	4,10	50	38	12	58	FEMININE
5,50	4,65	61	46	15	60	FEMININE
3,40	4,55	26	44	-18	38	MASCULINE
4,40	3,75	43	32	11	57	FEMININE
4,25	2,55	40	15	25	67	FEMININE
3,70	4,10	31	38	-7	45	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,30	3,80	41	33	8	55	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,10	4,65	38	46	-8	45	UNDIFFERENTIATED
5,00	4,60	53	45	8	55	ANDROGYNOUS
4,90	4,40	51	42	9	56	ANDROGYNOUS
4,45	4,15	44	38	6	54	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,70	5,95	48	65	-17	39	MASCULINE
4,70	4,55	48	44	4	53	ANDROGYNOUS
4,75	3,75	49	32	17	61	FEMININE
3,90	3,10	34	23	11	57	FEMININE
4,75	5,00	49	51	-2	49	ANDROGYNOUS
4,90	4,10	51	38	13	59	FEMININE
3,25	5,40	23	57	-34	27	MASCULINE
5,40	5,25	60	54	6	54	ANDROGYNOUS
4,40	4,25	43	40	3	48	UNDIFFERENTIATED

MALES (Contd.)						
F	M	F-SS	M-SS	F-M	SS DIFF	CLASS
4,00	3,20	36	24	12	28	FEMININE
4,35	4,75	42	47	-5	47	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,25	4,85	40	49	-9	44	UNDIFFERENTIATED
2,90	2,95	17	21	-4	47	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,40	5,00	43	51	-8	45	ANDROGYNOUS
3,75	3,85	32	34	-2	49	UNDIFFERENTIATED
FEMALES (N = 39)						
F	M	F-SS	M-SS	F-M	SS DIFF	CLASS
3,65	4,10	30	38	-8	45	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,95	2,80	52	18	34	73	FEMININE
3,95	3,05	35	22	13	59	FEMININE
4,15	4,15	39	38	1	51	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,95	4,70	52	46	6	54	ANDROGYNOUS
5,05	3,00	54	21	33	72	FEMININE
3,85	5,10	34	52	-18	38	MASCULINE
4,15	4,95	39	50	-11	43	MASCULINE
3,75	3,75	32	32	0	50	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,8	2,80	50	18	32	71	FEMININE
5,7	4,75	65	47	18	62	FEMININE
4,45	4,75	44	47	-3	48	ANDROGYNOUS
5,35	4,70	59	46	13	59	FEMININE
3,55	4,75	28	47	-19	37	MASCULINE
3,15	3,70	22	32	-10	43	MASCULINE
4,85	4,95	51	50	1	51	ANDROGYNOUS
4,65	2,90	47	20	27	68	FEMININE
4,50	3,20	45	24	21	64	FEMININE
4,45	4,75	44	47	-3	48	ANDROGYNOUS
4,80	5,05	50	51	-1	49	ANDROGYNOUS
4,35	3,45	42	28	14	59	FEMININE
4,00	4,35	36	41	-5	47	UNDIFFERENTIATED
3,65	4,25	30	40	-10	43	MASCULINE

FEMALES (Contd.)						
F	M	F-SS	M-SS	F-M	SS DIFF	CLASS
4,60	4,55	46	59	-13	41	MASCULINE
4,35	5,24	42	54	-12	42	MASCULINE
3,60	3,65	29	31	-2	49	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,20	3,75	39	32	7	55	UNDIFFERENTIATED
3,89	4,42	34	42	-8	45	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,90	5,35	51	56	-5	47	ANDROGYNOUS
3,95	3,60	35	30	5	53	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,05	4,90	37	49	-12	42	MASCULINE
3,80	3,15	33	24	9	56	UNDIFFERENTIATED
5,25	3,95	57	35	22	65	FEMININE
3,70	4,25	31	40	-9	44	UNDIFFERENTIATED
4,65	4,95	47	50	-3	48	ANDROGYNOUS
5,00	5,05	53	51	2	51	ANDROGYNOUS
5,50	3,10	61	23	38	75	FEMININE
5,05	3,75	54	32	22	65	FEMININE
4,90	4,00	51	36	15	60	FEMININE

F = Femininity Score

M = Masculinity Score

SS = Standard Score

F-M = Femininity Score Minus Masculinity Score

SS DIFF = Standard Difference Score

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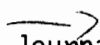


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