

5-6-2009

What's Sex Gotta Do With It?: The Study of Gender in Criminology and the Social Sciences

Jeffrey W. Cohen

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Follow this and additional works at: <http://knowledge.library.iup.edu/etd>

Recommended Citation

Cohen, Jeffrey W., "What's Sex Gotta Do With It?: The Study of Gender in Criminology and the Social Sciences" (2009). *Theses and Dissertations (All)*. 284.

<http://knowledge.library.iup.edu/etd/284>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by Knowledge Repository @ IUP. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations (All) by an authorized administrator of Knowledge Repository @ IUP. For more information, please contact cclouser@iup.edu, sara.parme@iup.edu.

WHAT'S SEX GOTTA DO WITH IT?: THE STUDY OF GENDER IN
CRIMINOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Jeffrey W. Cohen

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

May 2009

© 2009 by Jeffrey W. Cohen

All Rights Reserved

Indiana University of Pennsylvania
The School of Graduate Studies and Research
Department of Criminology

We hereby approve the dissertation of

Jeffrey W. Cohen

Candidate for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

April 9, 2009

Signature on file

Randy L. Martin, Ph.D.,
Professor of Criminology

April 9, 2009

Signature on file

John J. Gibbs, Ph.D.,
Professor of Criminology

April 9, 2009

Signature on file

Jennifer Gossett, Ph.D.,
Associate Professor of Criminology

April 9, 2009

Signature on file

Erika Frenzel, Ph.D.,
Assistant Professor of Criminology

April 9, 2009

Signature on file

Sean Esbjörn-Hargens, Ph.D.,
Associate Professor of Integral Psychology and Integral
Theory, John F. Kennedy University

ACCEPTED

Signature on file

Michele S. Schwietz, Ph.D.
Assistant Dean for Research
School of Graduate Studies and Research

Title: What's Sex Gotta Do With It?: The Study of Gender in Criminology and the Social Sciences

Author: Jeffrey W. Cohen

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Randy Martin

Dissertation Committee Members: Dr. John J. Gibbs
Dr. Jennifer Gossett
Dr. Erika Frenzel
Dr. Sean Esbjörn-Hargens

This mixed-methodology study explores the ways in which Gender has been treated as a construct and variable in social science research. Through the application of a coding scheme based in the Integral model and Integral Methodological Pluralism (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006; Wilber, 2006), a content analysis of recently published research in criminology, psychology, and sociology was conducted. A multi-stage analytic framework was then applied in order to identify the strengths and weaknesses of our current approaches to studying Gender in the social sciences. Findings from these analyses suggest that researchers continue to explore a wide range of conceptual definitions of Gender while relying on a more limited range of operational definitions in the formation of their particular measurement models. These findings were then used to construct a new, more inclusive multi-perspective model for the study of Gender in the social sciences.

Additionally, the Integral model was used to construct a multi-perspective approach to validity assessment. It is argued that this multi-perspective approach provides a more genuine assessment of researcher bias and should, therefore, be incorporated into future social science research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In Loving Memory

Rachel, Max, Esther, Mary, and Ed

It has become clear through this dissertation process that I continue to benefit from the compassionate support of family, friends, and colleagues. If it were not for all of you, none of my accomplishments would have meaning. In no way can these few pages fully capture the gifts each of you has brought to me throughout my life. I hope, however, that in some small way this document and the accomplishments it represents do justice to the deep connections we have made.

I am certain that this project would not have come to fruition without the guidance, care, and support of my incredible committee. Each of you provided something genuinely unique to this process. Jake, thank you for planting the seeds of curiosity early in my graduate career. Your expressions of compassion put me at ease and allowed me to explore my interiors in ways I thought impossible in higher education. And yes, I still owe you that pastrami on rye! Jenn, thank you for engaging with me as a colleague and for granting me access to your expertise, creativity, and insight. Your willingness to allow me to explore gender in your courses led directly to this project. Erika, thank you for your encouragement and insightful contributions to this project. I am grateful for your willingness to humor my bothersome “drop-ins;” they kept me motivated. Sean, it has been an incredible honor to work with you throughout this process. Beyond providing your expertise in the area of Integral research and scholarship, your participation in this project has opened doors I had not yet realized existed. You are a model of warmth and compassionate criticism, and I look forward to exploring our relationships further.

To my New Jersey family, there are some bonds that will not be broken. Thank you for surrounding me in an environment of love, joy, and patience. My deepest love and respect go to Brett and Kimmy; Dave and Brandi; Alex, Sharon and the girls; Flynn; Couchon and Vic; Boytim; and Keith. Thank you to the Loves and Adoffs for helping to raise me. I hope that you are as proud of me as I am of you and your beautiful families.

To my IUP family, I hope that more people get to experience the joy of building relationships as deeply as ours. Each of you has brought meaning to the work I do and the life I live. To Danielle, Scott, and Paul Paul (my golden ticket), thank you for embracing me. Zach-a-rachus, your friendship has blossomed into one of my most treasured lived experiences (you've got yourself a great daddy Isabella). Shaun, Mike B., Mike V., Luke, Mark, and the rest of the MAP folks, each of you has shown me that men's lives are richer than I could have ever imagined. Your light shines through each and every page of this document. Malinda, Kathy, Karen, Ann, D, and my Haven peeps, the lessons I learned working with you all carry me through the hard times and lift my spirit to new heights. Dan L., Jamie M., Dave M., Dennis G., Jen R., Kate H., Rosemary G., and Tammy C. thanks for your continued mentorship. Dennis L., thanks for your contribution to this project and for your continued support and friendship. Rest in Peace, Stoo.

Robert H., I have no words to express the connections we have made. Your very presence fills my heart with a joy that remains un-named. I hope that this project serves as one small expression of the loving guidance you and Betsy have given me. Diana, I am eternally grateful for our friendship and the support you provided throughout this process. Patrick and Bushy, how do you express love to those who are so deeply embedded in your being (hmm, I suppose I just did).

If there is any one person who can be placed at the center of this project it is Dr. Randy Martin. In a very real sense, you have changed the eyes through which I see. If anything rings true in this work, it is a direct expression of your guidance, wisdom, compassion, and friendship. My greatest wish is that I can someday pass these same gifts to those I am blessed to teach.

Sometimes it takes new experiences to illuminate that which has been taken for granted. Throughout my life's journey, I have felt the ever-present embrace of Marilyn, Averom, Matthew, and Rebecca. If I have succeeded at all, it is because each of you has, at one point or another, lifted me on your shoulders and carried me to a higher plane. It is because of your love and support that I am. Whether knowingly or not, your fluid expressions of compassionate gender laid the foundation for the work I do, and make it safe for me to explore my true Self.

Finally, I feel there is no greater testament to the potential of Spirit than Eun Young Won. I never imagined that during this process my heart and soul would find a space in which they could dwell in the warm light of eternal embrace. Your love, respect, and support illuminate the path of grace on which I yearn to walk. Your willingness to allow me to explore the various enactments of Gender discussed throughout this dissertation, in a safe and loving relationship, have grounded my work in the lived experiences of the heart. Sa Rang He.

“Bhavatu Sabba Mangalam”
(Happiness to all Beings)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I	INTRODUCTION1
II	GENDER DEVELOPMENT-AN INDIVIDUAL VIEW: THE INFLUENCE OF BIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY13
III	GENDER DEVELOPMENT-A COLLECTIVE VIEW: THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND CULTURE65
IV	METHODS113
V	ANALYSIS AND RESULTS: STAGE ONE: DEFINITIONS OF GENDER IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES157
VI	ANALYSIS AND RESULTS: STAGE TWO: DISPARITY IN THE USE OF CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF GENDER IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES218
VII	DISCUSSION, APPLICATION, AND CONCLUSION260
	NOTES320
	REFERENCES321
	APPENDICES359
	Appendix A – Biographical Sketches of Coders and Auditors.....359
	Appendix B – External Audit Reports361

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Introductory Textbooks That Included Reference(s) to Gender	118
2 Coverage of Gender within Introductory Textbooks (By Discipline)	120
3 Journals Selected for Inclusion in Study Sample.....	123
4 Number of Articles Included in Study Sample	124
5 The Application of IMP to the Content Analysis (General Coding Scheme).....	150
6 Coding Matrix.....	153
7 Labels/Terms Used to Describe Gender-Identity Constructs	160
8 Labels/Terms Used to Describe Gender-Stereotype Constructs.....	169
9 Labels/Terms Used to Describe Gender-Role Constructs	189
10 Comparison of Trends in the use of Zone Definitions by Journal.....	207
11 Comparison of Trends in the use of Zone Definitions by Discipline	209
12 Comparison of Trends in use of Zone Definitions by Discipline and Type of Journal (Mainstream vs. Gender-oriented)	213
13 Comparison of Trends in the use of Zone Definitions by Type of Journal— Combined.....	214
14 Comparisons of the use of Conceptual and Operational Definitions by Discipline	220
15 Comparisons of use of Conceptual and Operational Definitions by Type of Journal (Mainstream versus Gender-oriented).....	220
16 Zone-Gaps by Discipline, Journal Type and Journal.....	223

17	Comparison of Articles that Include only Conceptual or Operational Definition(s) by Discipline, Journal Type, and Journal.....	240
18	Use of Domain-Based Conceptual Definitions Compared Across Discipline, Journal Type, and Journal	251
19	Link between Domain-Based Conceptual Definitions of Gender-Identity and Zone-Based Operational Definition Used to Measure Them	253
20	Link between Domain-Based Conceptual Definitions of Gender-Stereotypes and Zone-Based Operational Definitions Used to Measure Them	254
21	Link between Domain-Based Conceptual Definitions of Gender-Roles and Zone- Based Operational Definitions Used to Measure Them	255
22	Findings from the Application of the Coding Scheme by Additional Coders	312

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1 The Four Quadrants/Domains	10
2 Sex Development	16
3 Gender-Identity Development.....	51
4 Gender-Role Development.....	69
5 Gender-Stereotype Development	86
6 Four Perspective Approach to Gender Development.....	100
7 Eight-Zone Approach to Understanding Gender.....	129
8 8 Major Methodologies	132
9 The Integral Model and its Four Quadrants/Domains.....	295

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, current approaches to the study of Gender¹ as a social science construct are assessed. Specifically, data is collected through a content analysis of peer reviewed journals in three social science disciplines. This content analysis focuses on the conceptual and operational definitions of Gender currently being used in the social sciences. Data from this content analysis are then used to develop a more inclusive strategy for studying Gender, as well as its relationship to important criminological constructs such as crime and delinquency.

Gender is one of the most fundamental constructs in human existence (Williams, 1999). Gender has influenced every culture, at every level of social organization, throughout history. It is nearly impossible for any individual to navigate their way through any modern society without taking Gender into consideration. Most of us experience the pervasiveness of Gender throughout our lives.

Even before we take our first breath we are proscribed a “gender.” In childhood, we are taught based on our biologically determined sex what appropriate and inappropriate behavior is. As adolescents we are pressured by peers and other social groups to conform to societal Gender-oriented roles, which are often highly inflexible. And finally, in adulthood, we are proscribed even more specific gender-roles. These gender-roles are again based, if not solely – virtually so, on biological sex. However, as will be discussed throughout this dissertation, gender-roles are heavily influenced not only by biology, but by psychology and culture as well.

Gender not only influences our individual experiences, but our collective experiences as well. For example, in foraging societies, Gender has relatively little impact on social interaction. As more advanced agrarian societies develop, Gender (usually in the form of biological sex) begins to interact with the dominant modes of production. This interaction limits the ability of some members to participate in the public sphere. With the introduction of even more technological advancements (e.g., the industrial revolution), the influence of biological sex, culturally defined gender-stereotypes, and socially proscribed gender-roles continue to impact our collective conceptions of Gender. This collective perception indicates what roles are, and are not appropriate for each sex and, in some instances, leads to changes in the treatment of Gendered beings.

Gender is not determined by biological sex alone. Nor is Gender determined by psychology, culture, or social interaction alone. It is the combined influence of all of these perspectives that should shape our conception of Gender. Again, Gender has influenced, and in turn been influenced by, every culture, at every level of social organization, throughout history. This impact is not limited by geographic location, time, or space. It is as pervasive and complex as any other construct in human existence, if not more so.

Because of the pervasive influence and conceptual complexity of Gender as a construct, individuals have attempted to explain it from multiple perspectives (e.g., the biological, psychological, cultural, and social perspectives). Despite the recognized complexity of Gender as a construct, when each perspective is offered, it tends to be presented as a complete explanation. However, it is likely that each of these perspectives

offers only a partial truth concerning Gender. The recognition of the partiality of these perspectives is essential as it indicates that each should be considered in some form when trying to address the full complexity of Gender. It also makes clear, however, that none of these different perspectives on Gender should be privileged above any other.

All of these perspectives have been positioned against each other in the scientific literature at some point. Those who believe biology alone determines Gender will often discount the influence of the psyche, as well as the many cultural and social influences on Gender. This is also true for those who address Gender from each of the other perspectives. This situation is likely the result of several factors, working sometimes alone and sometimes in conjunction. It is partly the result of levels of thinking, of disciplinary myopia, and also of the over-reliance on oppositional theory development as the preferred strategy in the social and behavioral sciences. As stated above, however, each of these perspectives offers a unique, equally valuable, and indispensable “truth” about Gender.

Explanations of Gender

Considering the foundational nature of Gender in human existence, it is no wonder that it also has become a fundamental construct in the study of human behavior. Social scientists have developed a multitude of theories that espouse the influence of Gender on human behavior. Many of these theories attempt to address Gender from one of the four perspectives discussed above. Although each of these theories may provide a deeper understanding of one aspect of the complexity of Gender, none of them are complete.

Other theorists have attempted to bridge the gap between two or more of these perspectives in order to provide a more complete picture. In doing so, these theorists have developed more complete theoretical frameworks than those offered by individual perspectives. However, even these more complex theoretical frameworks are limited. Specifically, no theory has yet been developed that includes the influence of each of the various perspectives simultaneously. Also, no theory has yet been developed that gives value to each perspective's individual truth, while still honoring the value of each of the other perspectives as well. Even those theories that include more than one aspect of Gender continue to devalue the aspects that they do not include.

In addition to theories that include more than one aspect of Gender, some theories have been developed as "gender-neutral." In criminology, gender-neutral theories address the apparent differences between female and male crime and delinquency by introducing concepts that impact both females and males (e.g., low self-control, strain, or negative affective state). While these theories can be used to explain both female and male crime and delinquency, they provide little explanation as to why there are serious differences in the prevalence and incidence of female and male crime or delinquency. The conceptual limitations discussed above have done little to curb the continued use of Gender variables in social science research.

Measuring Gender

Obviously if Gender has been treated as a fundamental construct in social science theory, it then must also be emphasized as a variable, fundamental to the study of human existence, in social science research. It has become common practice in the social

sciences, therefore, to include some form of Gender variable in empirical studies. This is no more evident than in the case of criminology.

In fact, over half of the articles published in two top criminology journals (i.e., *Criminology* and *Justice Quarterly*) during the years 2003 and 2004 included some form of Gender variable in the analysis (Cohen & Harvey, 2006). Upon further review, it was found that almost all of the articles that did not include a Gender variable were those that did not include an analysis (e.g., theoretical pieces or book reviews) or those that included single-sex samples. Further, the relevance of Gender as a variable in the criminological literature does not seem to depend on the specific purpose of the study. It appears as though in the criminological literature some form of Gender variable is included in almost every study. These findings support the notion of the fundamental nature of Gender as a variable in social science research. While the inclusion of Gender variables seems to be, and should be, considered necessary for the study of human behavior, the operationalization of Gender variables continues to be limited.

Even those theorists who include more than one perspective when developing a conceptual model are limited by the rigid measurement practices accepted in the social sciences. This is evidenced by the gap between the theoretical or conceptual definitions of Gender and the measurement or operational definitions of Gender found in the social sciences. For instance, the content analysis discussed above also showed a pattern of reducing Gender variables into simple biological terms. Out of the 137 articles reviewed, only one (.7%) used a non-biological measure of Gender. In addition, 60.5% (n=46) of the articles that included a Gender variable (n=76), mis-operationalized gender as biological sex (Cohen & Harvey, 2006). These findings support the notion that

criminologists continue to reduce Gender into a dichotomous variable that is based on external observations (i.e., biological sex) (see Krienert, 2003; Williams, 1999).

Purposes of Dissertation

Theorists who address Gender present a well articulated argument for the inclusion of the biological, psychological, cultural, and/or social perspectives on Gender in their studies. In addition, theories addressing Gender from one or more of the perspectives discussed above continue to be developed. Therefore, social scientists' conceptual knowledge of Gender continues to grow. However, even our current conceptual knowledge seems to be based in a fragmented view of Gender. Additionally, scientists seem to continue to be limited by a rigid adherence to the measurement of Gender through biological sex. It is hard to imagine that any social scientist is willing to put forth an argument that biological sex is the sole determinant of how an individual experiences Gender. Unfortunately, this is exactly what is done when relying on simple external observations as a proxy measure for the complexity of Gender.

It is possible that biological sex is an appropriate proxy for all of the other aspects of Gender discussed in this introduction. However, the conceptual knowledge that researchers have gained strongly suggests that this is not necessarily the case. Also, until biological sex is tested against measures of the other dimensions of Gender it will not be known if it is actually an adequate proxy. In order to do this, strategies for assessing our conceptual and operational models must be developed and tested.

The purpose of this dissertation is two-fold. First, this dissertation assesses the current approaches to studying Gender within the social sciences. More specifically, this dissertation assesses the conceptual and operational definitions of Gender currently being

used within three social science disciplines (i.e., criminology, sociology, and psychology), in order to gain a more complete and clearer picture of what we know, as well as what we do not know, about Gender. The methodology and analytic strategy address three central issues concerning our approaches to studying Gender as a complex social science construct: 1) What we currently know about Gender and how we know it. 2) Gaps in our approaches to studying Gender. 3) The construction of a more complete, and therefore inclusive, approach to studying Gender in the social sciences. This model is applied and qualitatively assessed for its utility.

The second purpose of this study is to provide information to the reader that will allow her/him to make an assessment of the validity of the findings. Issues of validity are often listed as important aspects of both qualitative and quantitative research (Creswell, 2002; Maxwell, 2005). One of the main validity issues for qualitative research relates to the impact of the researcher on the research process/data. Consequently, it would seem to be desirable to provide information for assessing that impact (Maxwell, 2005).

Traditionally, researchers have utilized various techniques to provide readers with the necessary information for drawing informed conclusions about the impact of the researcher on the research process (i.e., validity of findings). This information, however, is often limited to specific perspectives (e.g., the perspective of the individual researcher or the perspective of an outside reader). Rarely do researchers include multiple techniques, which are organized in terms of multiple perspectives.

Within the context of this study, readers are provided with information about the impact of the researcher on the research process from three distinct perspectives. The dissertation, therefore, includes five distinct, yet interrelated, techniques (described in

Chapter VII), which provide the reader with the information necessary to inform their assessment of the validity of the research project. Specifically, these techniques allow the reader to assess the impact of individual and collective Gendered experiences on the project, as well as offer an example for other researchers who wish to explore the relationship between individual and collective Gendered experiences and its impact on our approaches to studying Gender as a complex social science construct.

In order to address the purposes discussed above, the literature reviews, methodologies, and analytic strategies are based within an existing meta-theory. This meta-theory provides the framework through which an assessment of the current approaches to studying Gender, as well as the impact of the researcher on the research process, can be accomplished. Before getting into the details of this study, it is helpful to at least introduce some of the major organizing concepts associated with this meta-theory.

The Integral Model

According to Esbjörn-Hargens (2006), “the Integral model is postdisciplinary in that it can be used successfully in the context of approaches considered *disciplinary... multidisciplinary... interdisciplinary... and transdisciplinary*” (p. 5; italics in original). In other words, the Integral model can be applied within and across disciplines, providing a common language from which scholars from multiple disciplines can work together to create a more inclusive and complete model for the study of any particular phenomenon. It is also important to mention that the Integral model is “content-free,” meaning the model provides a framework into which scholars from multiple areas can incorporate the specific content under study (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006).

The Integral model is built around five central components, quadrants, levels, lines, states, and types (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006; Wilber, 2000a, 2000b, 2006). While all of these components are important, three of them relate specifically to the current study. The three components that relate to the current study are quadrants, levels, and lines. These components apply directly to the developmental paths outlined in the chapters that follow, and are therefore discussed in some detail here.

The first component of the Integral model which relates to the four developmental paths presented in the next two chapters is “quadrants.” According to the Integral model, there are four quadrants which “refer to the basic perspectives an individual can take on reality” as well as “the basic dimensions of an individual” (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006, p. 7). Each of the quadrants, therefore, relates to a specific perspective on and dimension of human existence. Figure 1 presents each quadrant and its relationship to the current study.

The first quadrant, the upper left (UL) or interior individual quadrant, refers to an individual’s subjective experience. In the context of the current study, this quadrant relates to the psychological development and experience of Gender or gender-identity. The second quadrant, the lower left (LL) or interior collective quadrant, refers to the inter-subjective experience or meaning of collective groups (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006). This quadrant relates to the cultural development of Gender or gender-stereotypes. The third quadrant, the upper right (UR) or exterior individual quadrant, refers to objective behaviors and/or physiology. This quadrant relates to the biological development of Gender or sex. Finally, the fourth quadrant, the lower right (LR) or exterior collective quadrant, refers to the inter-objective behaviors and social institutions of collective

groups (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006). This quadrant relates to systems approaches or the social development of Gender (i.e., gender-roles).

Upper Left Interior Individual Subjective Experience Gender-Identity	Upper Right Exterior Individual Objective Behavior Sex
Lower Left Interior Collective Inter-subjective Experience Gender-Stereotypes	Lower Right Exterior Collective Inter-objective Behavior Gender-Roles

Figure 1: The four quadrants/domains (figure adapted from Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006 and Wilber, 2000a; 2000b; 2006).

The second component of the Integral model which directly relates to the developmental paths presented in Chapters II and III is “levels.” According to Esbjörn-Hargens (2006), levels are “the occurrence of complexity within each dimension” (p. 8) or quadrant/domain. As illustrated in the following chapters, each level or stage of development corresponds to an increase in the complexity of that particular developmental path. This complexity is marked by the integration of lower stages into each progressively higher stage. The application of “levels” in the current study will become clearer as the four perspective approach is more fully explored. For now,

however, it is enough to understand that these levels of development are associated with each of the quadrants/domains discussed above.

The third component of the Integral model which directly relates to the current study is “lines.” Lines “refer to the various distinct capacities that develop through each of these levels of complexity” (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006, p. 84). The concept of lines of development in the Integral model is similar to Howard Gardner’s work with multiple intelligences (Wilber, 2006). Each individual develops along these different lines, through progressive levels/stages, to varying degrees. Also, development along one line does not guarantee development along another. For instance, an individual may reach extremely high stages of cognitive development, but remain relatively low in moral development. These individuals may be extremely smart and simultaneously ruthless (Wilber, 2006). Looking at the four developmental paths outlined in the next two chapters, each path can be considered as one example of a possible Gender line of development within each particular quadrant/domain.

As will be seen, the quadrants correspond to the four domains which form the context for the developmental paths outlined in the following two chapters. In essence, each path outlines one possible perspective on the levels/stages of development along the Gender line within each quadrant/domain of Gender (i.e., the interior individual, interior collective, exterior individual, and exterior collective). The literature reviews, content analysis, and analytic strategy all rely on the application of the Integral model.

In the next two chapters, a detailed outline of the development of Gender as viewed from each of the four quadrants/domains discussed above is presented. Chapter III will also include a discussion of the interaction or combined influence of these

seemingly contradictory perspectives. Chapter IV includes a detailed explanation of the methodology and analytic strategy used to assess the current status of Gender within social science literature. Next, both quantitative and qualitative results from the analyses of data collected via the content analysis are presented in Chapters V and VI. The final chapter, Chapter VII, includes a presentation of a more inclusive strategy for studying the complexity of Gender and its relationship to crime and delinquency. In addition, Chapter VII includes a discussion of validity and the limitations associated with this study.

CHAPTER II

GENDER DEVELOPMENT-AN INDIVIDUAL VIEW: THE INFLUENCE OF BIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

By developing a more inclusive approach to understanding Gender, informed by each of the perspectives discussed in the introduction (i.e., biological, psychological, cultural, and social), which includes a clear determination of exactly what pieces of the Gender puzzle each perspective can address, we will be better able to ensure that none of the perspectives are elevated above, or reduced to, the others. Without this historical review of Gender, it is unlikely that we will be capable of determining what impact each perspective has on our understanding of Gender as a complex social science construct. With this broader goal in mind, the first task then becomes one of identifying and clarifying what each of these four perspectives contributes towards our understanding of the development of Gender.

This dissertation begins, therefore, with a detailed examination of the historical treatment of Gender as viewed from each of the four social science perspectives in relation to the four domains of Gender discussed in Chapter I. Specifically, this chapter examines Gender as it is viewed from the exterior and interior individual domains, while the next examines Gender as it is viewed from the exterior and interior collective domains. Within each of these reviews, a developmental path of Gender will be constructed. These developmental paths are intended to provide readers with one example of how Gender can be viewed from each of these four domains.

Although the four domains and their corresponding social science perspectives are presented separately within this chapter and the next, it is important to remember that all

four of the developmental paths occur simultaneously within and around every individual. This issue will become clearer at the end of the third chapter, when the interaction between all four of these domains and perspectives and the developmental paths associated with them are discussed. However, it is necessary to first establish a base of knowledge and a common language for expressing the complexity of Gendered development. That is where this chapter begins and the next chapter will pick up.

Sex

For the purposes of this project, the term “sex” is used as a label for the exterior individual aspects of Gender. From a social science perspective, the biological development of Gender (sex development) has been a focus of not only academic but also popular discourse, throughout history. Furthermore, reconciling the fact that there are biological differences between females and males with other potential and attributed differences between the sexes (e.g., psychological differences) has caused a great deal of controversy among scholars. For example, biological essentialists believe that biology determines behavior and that any other explanation of Gender can actually be accounted for through the study of human biology. However, as we will see, problems arise when we elevate the biological perspective to a position of overarching influence, essentially ignoring the impact of the psychological, cultural, and social aspects of Gender development. Also, the essentialist perspective ignores the fact that there is a great deal of variation within the sexes in terms of biology. In other words, not only do we find sex-differences between females and males, we also find a great deal of differences between females and between males.

On the other hand, some scholars reject this biological essentialist notion altogether, suggesting that the development of Gender has very little, if anything, to do with human biology. Unfortunately, this position, like that of the biological essentialists, is not supported by the wealth of knowledge that has been accumulated in regards to the complexity of Gender. For instance, we do know that there are real and significant differences between females and males, in terms of their biological make-up and development. In addition, research has established some differences between biological females and males in terms of specific propensities, such as visuo-spatial skills, verbal skills, language, mathematics, and aggression (see Hutt, 1975; Mealey, 2000; Stockard & Johnson, 1980).

As many social scientists have argued, these sex differences have, in some cases, resulted in subjugation and discrimination. It would be inappropriate, however, to develop a theory of Gender that discounted the influence of biological factors altogether. It also is important to recognize that the impact of biology on Gender may not be as central as some scholars have suggested. Therefore, while the biological or exterior individual perspective on Gender may have more of an influence than most social scientists want to recognize, it should be considered more limited in its ability to determine specific behaviors or to fully explain other aspects of Gender than has been proposed by biological essentialists. In order to make such claims, however, it is necessary to consider, in detail, how Gender is viewed from this perspective (i.e., sex development) (see Figure 2). Let us start at the beginning.

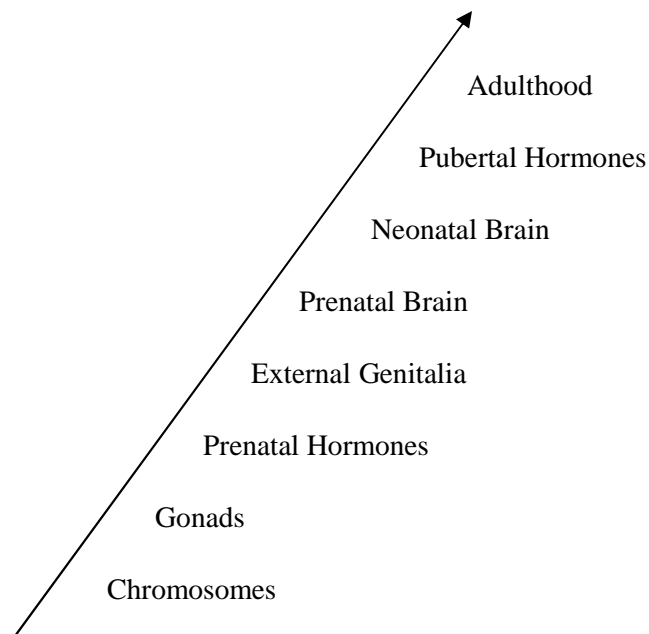


Figure 2: Sex development.

The Developmental Path of Biological Sex

Chromosomes

The initial differentiation between females and males is established by the chromosomal make-up of the individual. Through the production of eggs, females provide an X chromosome to their offspring. Through the production of sperm, males can provide either an X or a Y chromosome to their offspring. It is the absence of a male chromosome (Y) which leads to female development. In a very real sense, female development is the default setting for humans (Hutt, 1975). Initial sex is determined by the sperm which fertilizes the egg. If a sperm carrying an X chromosome fertilizes the egg, then a female (XX) fetus will develop. If, on the other hand, a sperm carrying a Y chromosome fertilizes the egg, then a male (XY) fetus will develop. Also, as the Y chromosome does little other than determine initial sex, it is much less important to

overall biological development outside of the initial determination of sex (Hutt, 1975; Mealey, 2000; Ohno, 1979).

One effect of this initial chromosomal differentiation is that males are more susceptible to trauma and complications (Hutt, 1975; Mealey, 2000). In the development of chromosomal sex, one of the two X chromosomes in females will actually become inactive. If there is some complication with one of the genes within one of the two X chromosomes, the unaffected gene from the other X chromosome will be activated and the problem gene inactivated. Females essentially have a back-up chromosome that can be activated in the presence of some form of trauma or other problem. Males do not have this back-up chromosome. As a result, males run a greater risk of developing a defect in individual sex genes or of not being carried to term (Mealey, 2000). This is evidenced by the decrease in the number of male eggs that are carried to term compared to female eggs (Hutt, 1975; Stockard & Johnson, 1980). At this stage, the embryo is only sexed in terms of chromosomes and not in terms of physical characteristics, and all eggs contain the potential to develop either female or male physical characteristics (Mealey, 2000). In fact, at 6 weeks, XX and XY embryos are identical (Brannon, 2002).

Gonad (sex organ)

At roughly seven weeks post-fertilization, the fetal gonad (sex organ) begins to develop. The development of the fetal gonad is again determined by the presence or absence of the male chromosome (Y) (Rogers & Rogers, 2001). The male chromosome contains a gene called the sex-determining region of the Y chromosome (SRY). The SRY is part of the testes determining factor (TDF). If the TDF is complete, it will activate genes on other chromosomes and will “encode the genetic blueprint for testes” (Mealey,

2000, p. 13). In the absence of a complete TDF, these genes will not be activated and ovaries will develop. It is important to note that all female development at these early stages is preceded by male development (Mealey, 2000). This is the case because female development will only occur in the absence of male development. The development of ovaries will not start until the absence of complete TDF is recognized (usually around 9 weeks post-fertilization). At this point, the fetal gonad is either biologically female or biologically male.

Prenatal Hormones

Once the initial development of the gonad begins, fetal hormones start to impact the development of sex characteristics. The sex hormones are divided into androgens and estrogens. In males, the presence of testosterone (an androgen) and of mullerian inhibiting substance (MIS) causes the development of external male genitalia and the regression of female genitalia respectively. Conversely, it is the absence of high levels of testosterone and the complete absence of MIS that precedes the development of female genitalia (Mealey, 2000; Rogers & Rogers, 2001). Although each sex develops either female or male external and internal genitalia, each sex also contains the remnants of the other sex's initial internal genitalia. Males will still contain the remnants of the mullerian glands (female internal sex organs) and females will still contain the remnants of the wolffian glands (male internal sex organs). Also, hormonal levels show great variation both between and within the sexes at this stage of biological development (Mealey, 2000). Up to this point, both females and males have somewhat identical physical characteristics (e.g., wolffian and mullerian structures, sex gland, genital tubercle, rectum, and a single

external opening) (see Money (1987) for a more complete description of initial physical characteristics of fetal genitalia).

Genitalia

At roughly 16 weeks, the formation of external genitalia is completed. At this point, the male fetus has fully developed wolffian structures (vas), prostate, testis, and penis. In addition, the mullerian structures have fully regressed (except for the remnants that remain throughout life). Conversely, the female fetus has fully developed mullerian structures (fallopian tube, uterus), ovary, and clitoris, and will have experienced the full regression of wolffian structures (except for the remnants that remain throughout life) (Mealey, 2000).

Brain

Prenatal brain. Sometime around the end of the first and beginning of the second trimester, sex differences are found in the organization of the hypothalamus. The hypothalamus controls the pituitary gland, which controls the hormone secretion of all other glands in the body through the production of tropic hormones (Brannon, 2002). During this period, the cyclical production of female hormones and the non-cyclical production of male hormones are established. In addition, the hypothalamus “converts unconscious physiological needs into perceived psychological experiences or drives, such as hunger, thirst, and sex drives” (Mealey, 2000, p. 16). This is one example of how biological sex differences may influence subsequent psychological development, which will be discussed later in this proposal. Finally, although the male brain is generally larger in size than the female brain, both female and male brains are similarly proportional to body size (Brannon, 2002).

Neonatal brain. As indicated above, there are some differences in the structure of the brain that can be observed during the pre-natal period. In addition, there are sex differences in the structure of the brain which appear during the neo-natal period and even beyond. For instance, brain lateralization shows some differences based on sex. Lateralization refers to situations where “the left and right hemispheres are each specialized for different functions” (Brannon, 2002, 54). Research shows that males have more lateralized brains than females. In other words, while females use both the left and right hemispheres simultaneously for certain abilities (e.g., language and spatial), males use each hemisphere for specific abilities (i.e., right hemisphere for spatial and left hemisphere for language). It is important to note, however, that the evidence for sex-based differences in brain lateralization is weak, and it has not been shown to directly impact either sex’s ability to perform specific tasks (Brannon, 2002).

Another area where sex-based differences in brain structure have been found is in the “Sexually Dimorphic Nucleus” in the hypothalamus (Brannon, 2002). Unlike the difference in brain lateralization, this difference actually shows a relatively strong link to sex. This area of the brain is larger in males, a difference that begins to occur somewhere between birth and 2-4 years of age. Researchers believe that the major influences on this area of the brain are testosterone and estrogen. However, they are still unclear as to the actual impact that this part of the brain has on individuals, with some suggesting a link to sexual behavior and/or gender-identity (Brannon, 2002).

Although there do seem to be clear biological differences between females and males in terms of brain structure, research suggests that these physical differences do not necessarily create clear distinctions between the sexes in terms of specific abilities,

psychological functioning, or behaviors. This becomes all the more important as this discussion moves forward, and we begin to more explicitly unravel the often exaggerated relationship between biological sex-differences and other differences between females and males as seen from the viewpoint of the other three perspectives. However, for now, the discussion of the biological development of Gender continues.

Pubertal Hormones

Puberty is marked by the increased secretion of specific sex hormones. The increased secretion of these hormones initiates the production of sperm (spermarche) in males or ovulation and menstrual cycling (menarche) in females. There is some variation in the time period when individuals begin to experience changes that are associated with puberty. On average, males in the U.S. reach spermarche at roughly 13.5 years of age, while females reach menarche at roughly 12.5 years of age (Mealey, 2000).

In addition to triggering spermarche and menarche, increased secretion of sex hormones also triggers the development of secondary sex characteristics. Secondary sex characteristics include “all physical and behavioral attributes related to sexual maturity *other than* sperm and egg production” (Mealey, 2000, p. 19). These include the formation of breasts, widened hips, and softened skin in females, and facial hair, deepened voice, and a lengthened penis in males (Hutt, 1975). Also, the maturation of the adrenal glands occurs before both spermarche and menarche and results in the increased production of androgens and therefore the earlier production of those sexual characteristics that appear in both sexes (e.g., pubic hair, sexual attraction).

The increases in sex hormone secretion that are experienced during puberty can also activate temporary differences within groups based on varying degrees of secretion

(e.g., mathematical skills, sex drive, visual acuity, and some personality traits; see Mealey, 2000 and Money, 1987). However, evidence for the direct relationship between pubertal hormone levels and specific cognitive abilities is weak (see Brannon, 2002; Mealey, 2000). Also, there is still a great deal of variation both within the sexes and between the sexes at this stage, meaning that both boys and girls experience varying degrees of change resulting from puberty, and that a great deal of overlap in these abilities exists across females and males. This becomes even more important as we analyze the connection between biological sex and the other aspects of Gender discussed throughout this dissertation.

Finally, the different amounts of hormones secreted during puberty in females and males (i.e., estrogens and androgens) create differences in both body types and some body functions. The disproportional increases in androgens experienced by boys compared to girls leads to less body fat, higher body weight, more muscle mass, a higher metabolic rate, and an increased metabolism (Rogers & Rogers, 2001). As with many other sex-differences, these differences are recognized as average differences between females and males, not specific to any one individual female or male body.

Adulthood

Historically, the research on adult sexual differentiation has been limited (Steuer & Jarvik, 1981). Even the research that has been conducted has not provided consistent findings in terms of sexual differentiation in adults (Austad, 2001; Steuer & Jarvik, 1981). However, based on some of these limited findings, researchers have concluded that as individuals enter adulthood and continue into old-age, the biological differences between females and males begin to diminish (Browne, 2002; Mealey, 2000).

Both hormone-dependent sex differences and the actual production of sex hormones decrease with age. Even established biological differences show decreasing levels of differentiation between females and males as aging continues. This is evidenced by the decrease in testosterone in men and the decrease in the synthesis of ovarian steroids in women that occurs in adulthood (Lynch & Gerling, 1981). In addition, levels of aggression (primarily a male oriented phenomenon) and body types begin to show less signs of sex-differentiation in adulthood and old-age as well.

Divergences

The preceding discussion was based on what is often termed the “normal” biological development of the sexes. Because the terms “normal” and “abnormal” often indicate some level of subjective de-valuation of certain individuals, the words common and divergent will be used to indicate situations in which the traditionally “normal” biological development of sex is interrupted. Developmental divergences can occur at a number of the critical points discussed above.

First, there are a number of documented chromosomal divergences that can occur during the initial stages of sexual development. Some individual embryos contain three X chromosomes (XXX or Super-X). However, because of the common development of chromosomal sex, two of the three X chromosomes will become inactive (Mealey, 2000). In essence, this type of divergence will have no real consequence for the individual, and they will continue to develop as common females.

Another chromosomal divergence occurs when individual embryos contain an X chromosome and two Y chromosomes (XYY). These individuals will likely develop into common males, because the Y chromosome essentially carries only a sex-determining

gene and no other consequential genes that would impact the biological development of the fetus (Mealey, 2000). However, in some cases, this specific divergence results in lower levels of intelligence (Rogers & Rogers, 2001).

A third chromosomal divergence is known as Klinefelter Syndrome (XXY) (Mealey, 2000). These individuals may develop fertility problems. Klinefelter males often experience less defeminization compared to common males. This decreased defeminization can result in wider hips, narrower shoulders, decreased body hair, increased fat deposits, and sometimes breast enlargement. In some instances, Klinefelter syndrome results in mild retardation as well; however, because of the existence of the Y chromosome, these individuals will likely develop as common males (Mealey, 2000).

Last, those individuals who develop Turner syndrome are marked by a chromosomal divergence in which they only have one sex chromosome (X0) (Mealey, 2000; Rogers & Rogers, 2001). These individuals, who are biologically female (indicated by the absence of a Y chromosome), are frequently short in stature and may have a short webbed neck. They are no more likely to experience retardation than those who do not have this particular divergence; however, they are known to have problems with spatial skills, and may experience a deficit in social skills as well (Mealey, 2000).

Besides chromosomal divergences, there also are gonadal, hormonal, and genital divergences (Mealey, 2000). For instance, pseudohermaphrodites have common chromosomal make-ups (i.e., XX or XY); however, their gonads do not match other biological sex characteristics, or they may have ambiguous genitalia (Mealey, 2000). This specific type of divergence is much more likely in male (XY) chromosomal make-ups than female. This is a result of the fact that female development is the default

development and therefore is less susceptible to disruption. However, increased androgens from the mother (either naturally or due to hormone treatment) can cause a disruption in the development of female fetuses or children (Brannon, 2002).

For males, two types of pseudohermaphroditism are possible. First, androgen insensitivity syndrome can cause the development of internal male organs (testes) and external female organs (Brannon, 2002). These individuals are infertile and often raised as females based on the development of their external genitalia (Mealey, 2000). Second, a 5- α -reductase deficiency can result in an interesting course of developmental events. The internal organs develop as male (testes), while the initial development of external sex characteristics, including the external genitalia, appears more female (Brannon, 2002). However, at puberty, these individuals develop male secondary sex characteristics.

Finally, some developmental divergences occur during puberty (Mealey, 2000). For instance, some individuals reach puberty substantially earlier than the average individual in their sex category (12.5 years for menarche and 13.5 years for spermatarche), with some cases of precocious puberty documented as early as one year of age (Mealey, 2000). This can cause serious problems both biologically and socially for these individuals. Another pubertal divergence is delayed puberty. This could be the result of medical problems such as glandular tumors, nutrition, ill health, or even stress (Mealey, 2000). Also, this could be the result of hormonal problems. If an individual experiences increases in the secretion of steroid hormones other than the sex hormones produced to initiate puberty (i.e., from the adrenal glands), then the pituitary glands will decrease their production of sex hormones in order to counterbalance the increase in other steroid hormones (Mealey, 2000). The human body will regulate the overall amount of steroid

hormonal secretion which may cause problems during the pubertal stage of sex development.

All of these divergences from the common development of biological sex are examples of the high degree of variation both between and within sex categories. While biological development has some influence on Gender, it is not necessarily the sole determinant of how an individual will experience Gender throughout their lives. Even the development of Gender as viewed from the biological or exterior individual perspective is a dynamic process that may encounter any number of developmental divergences.

Conclusion

This section presented a general overview of the biological development of Gender. This developmental path was intended to serve as one example of how Gender can be viewed from the exterior individual perspective. This discussion was based not only on the common development of biological sex, but also the development of average sex-differences. The discussion showed that the between-sex differences that are evident at each stage of biological sex development are not necessarily experienced by every individual within each particular sex. In addition, "...over 99% of the DNA in each of our cells is identical to that in every other human cell..." (Mealey, 2000, p. xi). Even in assumingly sexually dimorphic species, such as homo-sapiens, there are minimal biological differences between the sexes (Ohno, 1979).

This is an important issue for this dissertation. While many may concentrate on the apparent between group sex-differences, there is, even from the exterior individual perspective, more within-group variation than between-group variation, indicating that the biological makeup of females and males is more similar than it is different.

Additionally, although distinct biological sex-differences do exist, their impact on specific individuals is still somewhat unknown. There remains, however, the perception that the few concrete and universal biological differences between females and males that we are aware of hold serious implications for individuals' psychological development, our shared beliefs about men and women, and the roles females and males fulfill within a particular society. As such, a great deal of research continues to be conducted in an attempt to discover exactly what impact biological sex-differences have on the behavior and abilities of females and males. For now, however, we move to Gender as viewed from the interior individual perspective, and how this pertains to the formation of a more inclusive approach to understanding Gender as a construct within the social sciences.

Gender-Identity

The previous sections discussed a social science perspective on Gender associated with the exterior individual domain, through a description of biological development across the life cycle. In this section, we continue our discussion of Gender by considering a social science perspective on the interior individual domain. Again, these two perspectives offer insights into the ways in which individuals experience Gender (i.e., the exterior [biological] and interior [psychological] individual experiences of Gender) and are therefore presented together in this chapter. We begin with a brief presentation of how Gender has been treated within the discipline of psychology. This presentation is followed by a detailed outline of what we currently know about gender-identity formation. However, before we can begin this discussion, it is important that the concept of gender-identity formation (e.g., the psychological development of Gender) be clearly defined.

Mealey (2000) defines gender-identity as “one’s personal sense of one’s own gender, which may or may not correspond to one’s sex or to the perceptions of others” (p. 466). In other words, gender-identity, for the purposes of this dissertation, is a construct that relates to the aspects of Gender experienced within an individual’s psyche. Therefore, gender-identity formation is the process by which an individual comes to understand Gender as it is related to their sense of self, their sense of who they are as a person.

Additionally, the process of gender-identity formation is influenced by a host of stimuli, including biological, cultural, and social factors; an issue that becomes all the more clear in Chapter III. But for now, we can provide a basic foundation for understanding the process of gender-identity formation based on the definition provided above and the relevant theoretical and empirical evidence currently available to us in the psychological literature. This, again, will provide us with the depth of understanding necessary to formulate a more complete picture of the complexity of Gender as social science construct.

Gender-Identity Formation: What Psychological Theories Tell Us

Gender has not always been considered a central or even important construct within the discipline of psychology. For instance, some early theoretical perspectives (i.e., structuralism and behaviorism) were not concerned with the influence of individual differences, including with respect to Gender (Brannon, 2002). However, while some early psychological perspectives did not consider Gender as a central or important construct, others did.

For instance, the functionalist perspective incorporated Gender into its explanations for human behavior. However, the functionalist perspective mainly

concentrated on biological differences because of its foundation in evolutionary theories such as the one proposed by Darwin (Brannon, 2002). Consequently, the functionalist perspective often conformed to cultural norms surrounding Gender, which led to issues with androcentrism. Additionally, the women's studies approach and the men's movement both accorded Gender a more central role in the study of psychology. Specifically, the women's studies approach concentrated on the lack of attention paid to women in psychology, as subjects, researchers, and professionals, while the men's movement attempted to address the impact of masculinity in a rapidly changing society during and following industrialization (Brannon, 2002). Even though all of these approaches continue to play a somewhat central role in the discipline today, they do not provide a great deal of insight into the specific issue of gender-identity formation.

Unlike those discussed above, some theoretical orientations have specifically concentrated on what we have termed gender-identity formation. These orientations include the psychoanalytic, social learning, cognitive developmental, and gender schema/script approaches. Not surprisingly, all four of these approaches offer some unique insights into the development of Gender from an interior individual perspective. Therefore, in order to gain a more complete understanding of the developmental process as it relates to gender-identity, we must consider the contributions that each of these theoretical positions offers.

Psychoanalytic Theory and Gender-Identity Formation

Beginning with Freud, the psychoanalytic approach was one of the earliest attempts at understanding the process of gender-identity formation (Martin, Mutchnick, & Austin, 1990; Rogers & Rogers, 2001). Freud's original conception of gender-identity

formation has been greeted with both reverence and disdain (Martin, Mutchnick, & Austin, 1990). As such, it has been both built upon and modified to great extents within academic and scientific discourse. However, the major components of Freud's psychoanalytic theory continue to form the basis for all other theories within this particular framework.

Perhaps the greatest contributions of Freud's psychoanalytic approach were its emphasis on an individual's internal experiences (i.e., the unconscious) and the parent-child relationship (Martin, Mutchnick, & Austin, 1990). Specifically, Freud's psychoanalytic theory provided one of the first endeavors into the psychological development of gender, or the process of gender-identity formation. This theory consists of five distinct developmental stages (Martin, Mutchnick, & Austin, 1990; Rogers & Rogers, 2001). These stages are the oral, anal, phallic, latency and genital (Rogers & Rogers, 2001). According to this approach, all of these stages are defined by the particular target of sensual pleasure. For instance, during the early stages of development, the specific site of sensual pleasure moves from the mouth (oral stage) to the anus (anal stage). According to Freudian psychoanalytic theory, the phallic stage represents the most important stage of gender-identity formation, because it is at this stage that an individual is confronted with very real and tangible differences between biological females and males (i.e., genitalia) (Rogers & Rogers, 2001).

Because Freud's theory was based on the identification of biological sex-differences, he believed that although females and males follow the same developmental path (i.e., moving through the same five stages), they do not necessarily experience each stage in exactly the same manner. In this sense, Freudian psychoanalytic approaches are

extremely androcentric, contending that boys were more capable of forming a strong gender-identity than girls (see Deutsch 1944; Erikson, 1968; Stockard & Johnson, 1980).

Freud's explicit androcentric (and sexist) analysis of gender-identity formation, led a number of theorists, researchers, and psychoanalysts to modify his original theory. These modifications range from more subtle changes in the emphasis placed on the particular experiences of females and males during the phallic stage (see Deutsch, 1944) and the presentation of a more positive conception of female gender-identity formation (see Erikson, 1968), to the more radical and fundamental changes made within the gynocentric psychoanalytic perspective. For instance, Stockard and Johnson (1980) divided psychoanalytic theories into two distinct approaches; phallogentric and gynocentric. The phallogentric theories often portray male development as more positive than female development, while gynocentric theories often portray a more equal, or in some cases more female positive, view of childhood development. Within the gynocentric perspective, three major changes were offered.

First, theories within the gynocentric perspective placed more emphasis on the pre-oedipal or pre-phallic stages of development, suggesting that an individual's original orientation is developed during the oral stage, which is marked by the relationship between the child and her/his mother (the sole source of sustenance and therefore sensual pleasure) (Chodorow, 1978; Stockard & Johnson, 1980). Second, as opposed to being a direct reaction to the presence or absence of a penis, gynocentric theorists believe that the phallic-stage and Oedipal complex are the result of the need for both females and males to establish independence from the mother (Stockard & Johnson, 1980).

Therefore, both females and males go through a very similar process, which is spawned by a drive for independence from and love for the mother. Both of these modifications indicate that the formation of a clear gender-identity is impacted by all of the stages originally proposed by Freud. Or, as Horney (1939) suggested, “if we discard the theoretical implications of the theory [Freud’s original theory], what remains is not the Oedipus complex but the highly constructive finding that early relationships *in their totality* mold the character to an extent which can scarcely be overestimated” (p. 87).

Finally, the gynocentric perspective suggests that in their attempt to reject the power of the mother, males seek to establish their masculinity. However, since they do not have many direct models (because the father is often outside the home) they do not have a direct example of how to be “masculine.” Therefore, they perceive masculinity as the rejection of anything feminine (Brannon, 2002). This particular issue becomes more important as the discussion of gender-identity formation continues, as well as in Chapter III when the interaction among the four developmental paths is discussed.

In conclusion, although limited due to its over-reliance on biological characteristics and its initial sexism, the psychoanalytic approach offers four important contributions to our understanding of gender-identity formation. First, the psychoanalytic approach introduced us to the importance of the internal aspects of human existence (i.e., conscious and unconscious thought). Second, the psychoanalytic approach provided an initial framework for understanding the relationship between the psyche and external stimuli (i.e., parent-child relationships). Next, the psychoanalytic approach offered a link (although exaggerated) between the biological (i.e., genitalia) and psychological (gender-identity formation) aspects of Gender. Finally, this approach introduced the stage-like

nature of psychological Gender development. However, other theoretical perspectives within the discipline of psychology provide important contributions as well, and must be discussed if a complete approach to understanding gender-identity formation is to be offered here.

Social Learning and Gender-Identity Formation

With its strong focus on biological factors, the psychoanalytic approach was originally based within an essentialist framework. Even though the later modifications to traditional psychoanalytic theories included some cultural and social influences within their frameworks, psychoanalytic theory has remained intimately tied to biological sex. However, others have developed theories of gender-identity formation which place more emphasis on the impact of social factors. In fact, some theorists have rejected the influence of biological factors almost completely, solely concentrating on the impact of social factors on the formation of a clear gender-identity. One such theoretical approach is the social learning approach to gender-identity formation.

Traditional learning theory was based on the processes of reinforcement and/or punishment (Brannon, 2002). These two processes were seen as external to the individual. In other words, the individual's behavior was either reinforced, which would result in the repeating of that behavior over time, or it was punished, which would result in the desistance of that behavior over time. While this early formulation of learning theory did offer some insights into the psychological development of Gender, the later formulation of the social learning approach provided a more complex, and perhaps deeper understanding.

Building off of traditional learning theory, the social learning approach expanded the notion of learning to include cognitive processes. The inclusion of these cognitive processes increased the importance of observation (on the part of the individual), and separated the learning (cognitive) and performance (behavioral) aspects of the theory. Based on this separation, both reinforcement and punishment can be experienced or observed. In addition, the observation or experience of these phenomena becomes an important aspect of the cognitive process of learning (Brannon, 2002).

Equally important to our discussion here, is the notion that social learning, by definition, is more dynamic and flexible (situation specific) when compared to psychoanalytic theory, which is based on generalized static sex-differences between females and males (Mischel, 1975). In essence, according to the social learning approach, “individual differences in behaviour are the result of social variations in the conditions of learning” (Rogers & Rogers, 2001, p. 44). Also, proponents of the social learning approach believe that the actual mechanisms for learning are the same for both females and males, and that the learning of Gender-related information or behaviors is the same as the learning of any other behaviors. Therefore, while the behaviors that each sex displays may be different, the process by which they learn those behaviors is the same. This fundamental belief has serious implications for our understanding of gender-identity formation.

The first major implication of this underlying belief is that all (both female and male) children are exposed to both female and male models, so they observe and learn gender-related behaviors associated with both sexes (Brannon, 2002; Mischel, 1975). The second implication of this belief is that the differences are not in the learning, but in the

performance, or different frequency of performance, which is impacted by reinforcement and/or punishment (Mischel, 1975). Because of this particular issue, “the ‘appropriateness’ of certain sex-linked behaviors changes with both the situation and the age level” (Mischel, 1975, p. 69) of the child. Again, this creates a situation specific or dynamic view of the development of Gender within an individual’s psyche.

This leads to the notion that the learning of “gender-appropriate” behaviors is influenced by any and all external models (e.g., the media, parents, peers, teachers), and that through the observation of these models in different settings, children learn which behaviors are appropriate for their sex (Brannon, 2002). What is left, then, is the need for an understanding as to why female and male children (who have access to all behaviors) choose to behave in stereotypically sex- or gender-specific ways. To answer this important question, social learning theorists have incorporated the concept of sex-typing (Mischel, 1975). Mischel (1975) offers a good definition of sex-typing and description of how the process of sex-typing manifests:

Sex-typing is the process by which the individual *acquires* sex-typed behavior patterns: first he learns to *discriminate* between sex-typed behavior patterns, then to *generalize* from these specific learning experiences to new situations, and finally to *perform* sex-typed behavior. In addition, the sex-typing process includes direct and vicarious conditioning of a multitude of stimuli that acquire differential value and elicit different emotional and attitudinal responses from the sexes. (p. 57, italics in original)

Mischel (1975) provides an important contribution to the present discussion of gender-identity formation. By introducing the notion that individuals discriminate

between sex-typed behavior patterns and that these behavior patterns acquire differential value, Mischel (1975) provides an important link between gender-identity formation and an individual's external environment. More specifically, these processes can and most likely are influenced by a number of factors such as the size, age, and familiarity of the model that is expressing the particular behavior (see Kohlberg (1975) for further discussion of the saliency of these factors in discriminating between various behaviors).

In conclusion, the social learning approach to gender-identity formation offers a framework in which an individual's social environment has an important impact on her/his formation of a clear gender-identity. This approach, therefore, provides an important link between gender-identity formation and the other perspectives discussed in this dissertation. Additionally, the incorporation of external environmental factors within the social learning approach is in stark contrast to the psychoanalytic approach, which places more emphasis on the internal experiences of individuals and their physical characteristics.

The competition between these two approaches offers a straightforward example of the limitations resulting from an essentialist standpoint. Specifically, even though both of these approaches offer important and relevant contributions to the discussion of gender-identity formation, neither is able to provide a complete picture. This should not, however, lead to the abandonment of either of these approaches. Instead, those aspects of each approach that offer insights on the formation of a clear gender-identity should be incorporated into a more inclusive theoretical orientation; one that values both, but elevates neither above the other. The next two approaches discussed below (i.e., the cognitive developmental and gender-schema approaches) do just this. They were

formulated, at least partially, as an attempt to value both internal and external individual factors and combine them into one “integrated” theory of gender-identity formation.

Cognitive Development and Gender-Identity Formation

So far, we have discussed two distinct, and often competing, theoretical approaches to the explanation of the psychological development of Gender. In this section, the first of two attempts at integrating some of the fundamental aspects of these two approaches is discussed (i.e., the cognitive developmental approach). This theoretical approach was formulated as an attempt to combine the influences of socialization with the internal aspects of human cognition. Specifically, “...cognitive approaches to gender development do involve the underlying premise that whatever information there is in the social world can only have an impact on behavior if there is a certain level of understanding present” (Archer & Lloyd, 2002, p. 70). However, before we can discuss the basic components of the cognitive developmental approach, we must consider the theoretical underpinnings of this approach.

The cognitive developmental approach, as it is currently understood, was formulated within the framework of Piaget’s stage-theory of cognitive development (see Kohlberg, 1975). Piaget’s stage-theory has been rigorously tested and has been shown to withstand both culturally and socially imposed influences (Wilber, 2000b). While a great deal of variation exists within the developmental paths which have been developed based on Piaget’s original work, “most of them have found that cognitive development moves through three or four major stages” (Wilber, 2000b, p. 24). The discussion here will be based on a four stage model. These four stages are the sensorimotor, concrete operational, formal operational and postformal stages of cognitive development². Most relevant to our

discussion of gender-identity formation is the connection between these levels of cognitive development and their corresponding worldviews.

For instance, the first stage, sensorimotor, is represented by an ability to “perceive physical objects...and represent these objects with names, symbols, and concepts” (Wilber, 2000b, p. 25). However, at this stage, the symbols and concepts are strictly rooted in physical characteristics (Langer, 1969). Additionally, at this stage an individual has not yet developed the capacity to form mental concepts (Baldwin, 1967). Also, at this stage, children “cannot yet easily or fully take the role of other, they are locked into their own perspectives” (Wilber, 2000b, p. 25). This is also an indication that individuals at this stage are operating with an egocentric worldview (Langer, 1969).

As individuals move into the next stage, they acquire the ability to manipulate and also take a specific role within the sensorimotor world (Wilber, 2000b). This stage is also marked by the ability of an individual to move beyond her/his view of the world as an outgrowth of the self and into a view of the world as separate from yet connected to the self (i.e., from “egocentric/preconventional” to “sociocentric/conventional” thought; Wilber, 2000b, p. 26).

Similarly, as individuals move into the third and fourth stages, they again experience an increase in their ability to see the world through an ever expanding number of perspectives (Wilber, 2000b). In essence, an individual at the formal operational stage is operating within a worldview that goes beyond the egocentric and ethnocentric views of the earlier stages (i.e., worldcentric). This allows that individual to see multiple perspectives (even those not intimately connected to the self or corresponding group) when considering any particular concept or phenomenon (Pulaski, 1980). The final stage,

postformal, continues to expand the available perspectives that an individual can take into account (Wilber, 2000b). While a variety of sub-stages have been proposed within this stage, most theorists agree that a deeper unfolding of more inclusive worldviews will occur.

There are two points that will become important as our discussion of the psychological development of Gender continues. First, as each stage unfolds, it includes the abilities that were developed in earlier stages, which means that each earlier stage is a necessary condition for the one that follows. For instance, an individual at the concrete operational stage does not lose the abilities acquired in the sensorimotor stage, but builds upon them (Baldwin, 1967; Langer, 1969; Pulaski, 1980). Second, each stage is marked by an ever-expanding ability to include multiple perspectives and form a greater understanding of the interrelationships among these perspectives (Baldwin, 1967; Langer, 1969; Pulaski, 1980; Wilber, 2000b).

To recap, the overall framework for the cognitive developmental approach is based on the four stages of development introduced by Piaget, and further refined by a number of other theorists. While the cognitive developmental approach does not explicitly rely on the worldviews presented here, they will play an important part in our overall discussion of the psychological development of Gender. For now, however, the influence of the four general stages of development will hopefully be apparent in the following discussion.

The first and perhaps most well known theorist to apply Piaget's stage-theory to gender-identity formation was Kohlberg (1975). In his application of Piaget's stage-theory, Kohlberg attempted to reconcile some of the differences between the

psychoanalytic and social learning approaches to gender-identity formation. Specifically, Kohlberg (1975), and other cognitive developmental theorists, attempted to formulate a theoretical approach in which both physical and social factors were included in the explanation of the formation of a clear gender-identity. Therefore, this discussion will focus primarily on the ways that the cognitive developmental approach has incorporated and also altered prior thought about the importance of internal and external individual factors in gender-identity formation. This discussion begins with an elaboration of the treatment of physical differences on gender-identity formation, and then moves into a more detailed explanation of how environmental factors (social factors) have been incorporated into the cognitive developmental approach.

Physical (genital) differences. “Underlying the cognitive approaches is the assumption that understanding about gender comes first, and behavior in the form of preferences and choices follow” (Archer & Lloyd, 2002, p. 71). While this statement seems to be in line with the psychoanalytic approach (i.e., that distinct physical differences are noticed and then behavior conforms to those differences), Kohlberg (1975) points out that “genital concepts do not form the direct basis for these other connotations of gender differences” (p. 103), because sex-role stereotypes are formed well before awareness of genital differences. In other words, according to Kohlberg (1975), children are aware of and express culturally based sex-role stereotypes prior to obtaining an understanding of the fundamental concreteness of the genital differences between females and males. However, Kohlberg (1975) did recognize that biological sex-differences (e.g., genital differences) do have some influence on the formation of gender-identity.

Specifically, the identification of genital differences creates a level of cognitive dissonance within the child, because it requires her/him to question her/his previous beliefs about body-constancy (Kohlberg, 1975). Therefore, within the cognitive developmental approach, the awareness of genital differences between females and males does not create the impetus for sex-typed behavior and/or sex-stereotyping, as the psychoanalytic approach professes. However, within the cognitive developmental approach, the awareness of genital differences is not completely irrelevant to the psychological development of Gender either, as the social learning approach professes. So, if the awareness of concrete genital/physical differences does not come before the development of a specific gender-identity, something else must be at work prior to the recognition of genital/physical differences which enables children to develop a clear understanding of gender. And so enters the concept of sex-constancy.

*Sex-constancy*³. In Kohlberg's (1975) terms, sex-constancy is defined as an understanding of the constancy of gender categories (meaning that they do not change over time). Kohlberg (1975) suggested that the process of forming a concrete gender-identity moves from a somewhat arbitrary labeling of objects (sensorimotor), to self-labeling (concrete operational), to the labeling of others (formal operational), to the adoption of a concrete and unchangeable gender-identity (see Brannon, 2002; Rogers & Rogers, 2001). While this path of development appears to be in line with Piaget's stage-theory of cognitive development, and also seems to incorporate the fundamental concepts of both the psychoanalytic and social learning approaches, more recent research suggests that Kohlberg's (1975) conception of sex-constancy is somewhat misleading. In particular, more recent research suggests that Kohlberg's (1975) original idea of sex-

constancy appears to be the combination of two distinct, yet relatively similar concepts. This issue, discussed in more detail later in this chapter, becomes an important factor in the presentation of the overall developmental path of gender-identity formation, as viewed in the psychological literature.

For now, however, it is sufficient to mark the importance of the introduction of sex-constancy as an expression of the mediating impact that cognitive developmental processes have on the formation of a concrete gender-identity (i.e., that sex-constancy is achieved within the framework of the discrete cognitive stages introduced by Piaget). Additionally, it is important to understand how this particular concept provides the impetus for an integration of social factors in the explanation of gender-identity formation by situating the learned aspects of an individual's gender-identity within the context of cognitive development, since sex-constancy is influenced by an individual's discrimination between concrete physical differences and transformational changes that have little to do with biology (e.g., changes in hair length, clothing, and interests).

This, combined with the intensifying impact of an individual's recognition of concrete physical (genital) differences between females and males discussed above, is an illustration of how the cognitive developmental approach allows for some reconciliation between the fundamental concepts of the psychoanalytic and social learning approaches. This is the first major contribution of Kohlberg's cognitive developmental approach. Second, this approach introduced the application of discrete culturally universal cognitive stages to the process of gender-identity formation. Finally, Kohlberg's cognitive developmental approach led us to understand that both physical and environmental factors are mediated by the cognitive structures of the individual, specifically, the ability

of the individual to progress through the earliest stages of cognitive development (i.e., from sensorimotor to concrete operational to formal operational). And, that this is necessary for the formation of a gender-identity and for the processing of information.

While the contributions of Kohlberg's theoretical approach are certainly worthwhile and noteworthy, there is at least one major criticism that has been levied against his approach. Specifically, Kohlberg's theory has been criticized for being androcentric, because it is based on the male experience and tested using male-only samples. In response to the androcentric nature of Kohlberg's approach, Gilligan (1993) explored female gender-identity formation within the context of the cognitive developmental approach.

Among Gilligan's (1993) findings was the notion that females and males are speaking with "a different voice" in terms of the developmental process. More precisely, Gilligan (1993) states that, "... male and female voices typically speak of the importance of different truths, the former of the role of separation as it defines and empowers the self [ethic of rights], the latter of the ongoing process of attachment that creates and sustains the human community [ethic of care]" (p. 156).

Continuing along these lines, Gilligan (1993) argues that the ethic of care flows along the same general progression (i.e., preconventional (egocentric) to conventional (ethnocentric) to postconventional (worldcentric)) as the ethic of rights. However, the ethic of care involves the relationship or interplay between the self and others as opposed to the male path (i.e., the ethic of rights) which is marked by the separation of self from others. In addition, Gilligan (1993) argued that because our understanding of the development of a clear gender-identity is based on the male experience, theorists have

continued to elevate the male experience and consider that experience as “normal” development.

This, according to Gilligan (1993), leads to female development being relegated to an inferior position, in turn, forcing us to consider females’ experiences with development as somewhat less successful or appropriate than males’. This idea can be seen in Gilligan’s (1993) discussion of the transition during puberty where in reporting findings from a study of sixth grade children she states that “their [a young boy and girl in the study] moral judgments seem initially to confirm familiar notions about differences between the sexes, suggesting that the edge girls have on moral development during the early school years gives way at puberty with the ascendance of formal logical thought in boys” (p. 25). In other words, because we elevate male development to the point of equating it with maturity, females are often viewed as less capable of reaching maturity, or in some instances incapable (e.g., Freud’s notion that females are not capable of forming a gender-identity as strong as males’).

The issues raised by Gilligan (1993) in terms of our treatment of females in the study of cognitive development have serious implications for the formation of a gender-identity in both females and males. This will become clearer later in this chapter, as our discussion moves towards a formulation of a comprehensive developmental path of gender-identity formation. For now, however, the discussion of theoretical approaches to gender-identity formation in the psychological literature continues.

Gender-Schematic Processing and Gender-Identity Formation

The second attempt at an integration of some of the fundamental concepts from both the psychoanalytic and social learning approaches was the gender-schema approach.

The gender-schema approach was formulated (at least partially) to address the lack of attention given to the motivation for individuals to use Gender as an organizing factor, and the lack of empirical support for the importance of sex-constancy. Interestingly, the concept “schema” was not new to the cognitive landscape. In fact, “Piaget used the term schema...to describe how cognitions are internalized around various topics” (Brannon, 2002, p. 135). However, the gender-schema approach did offer a fresh look at this important concept by applying it to Gender specifically. In addition, the gender-schema approach offers an explanation as to why Gender plays such a central role in an individual’s identity formation.

Similar to Piaget, Bem (1981) described a schema as “...a cognitive structure, a network of associations that organizes and guides an individual’s perception” (pp. 355). In terms of gender-schema theory, Bem (1981) suggests that during the early developmental stages, children are learning “...content-specific information, the particular behaviors and attributes that are to be linked with sex” (p. 354). From this, one can see a link between the biological (sex) and psychological (identity) aspects of Gender. Thus, as individuals interact with others in society they are generally sex-typed in terms of femininity and masculinity based solely on their external biological make-up. This sex-typing leads individuals to form a gender-schema that eases their ability to “impose structure and meaning onto the vast array of incoming stimuli” (Bem, 1981, pp. 355).

In addition, Bem (1981) suggests that during this early developmental period, individuals also are learning “to invoke this heterogeneous network of sex-related associations in order to evaluate and assimilate new information” (p. 355). In other words, as individuals begin to identify with the sex-type that is socially proscribed to them (i.e.,

feminine or masculine) they will form a gender-schema that will allow them to process information they receive easier, through the lens of that specific sex-type. As a gender-schema is created, it is informed by sex-type specific traits (i.e. feminine or masculine) and is then assimilated into the gender-identity of the individual.

Additionally, this link between socially proscribed sex-typing, gender-schema, and an individual's internally derived gender-identity may end up limiting the range of available personality traits that will be considered acceptable by each gender. For instance, females (sex) will be socially proscribed a feminine sex-type, which will likely lead to the adoption of a feminine gender-schema, leading to a feminine gender-identity and limiting the range of "appropriate" personality traits that can be expressed. The same process also impacts males, only they are likely to be proscribed a masculine gender-type and so on.

Similar to the concepts of sex-typing and gender-schema presented by Bem (1981), Dietz and Jasinski (2003) suggest that socially constructed gender-roles help individuals create a gender-identity. These researchers base their ideas in symbolic interactionism, where it is believed that "individuals make sense of the world around them by using the meanings that the members of society have come to share" (Dietz & Jasinski, 2003, pp. 85).

Two other concepts were also introduced by Bem (1981) in her formulation of gender-schema theory, which are pertinent to our discussion here. First, the development of a sex-typed gender schema is not necessarily limited to the adoption of one behavior over another. Instead, it seems as though an individual's gender-schema "...involves the deeper lesson that the dimensions themselves are differentially applicable to the two

sexes” (p. 355). This means that the gender-schema will actually limit the behaviors that become relevant to an individual. For instance, the schema that is applied to/by boys does not include “feminine” dimensions (e.g. nurturance), just as the schema that is applied to/by girls does not include “masculine” dimensions (e.g., aggressiveness).

Second, Bem’s (1981) theory offers an alternative view of sex-typing, as compared to the view offered by the social learning approach. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the social learning approach viewed sex-typing as the acquisition of sex-typed behaviors through the discrimination, generalization, and performance of those behaviors (Mischel, 1975). In contrast, Bem (1981) argues that sex-typing is evident when an individual organizes their self-concept on the basis of gender, and not on the amount of feminine or masculine traits they possess. In essence, the social learning approach views sex-typing in terms of actual behaviors while the gender-schema approach views sex-typing in terms of the organization of gendered information (i.e., cognitive processes).

Finally, the gender-schema approach attempts to address two of the criticisms levied against the cognitive developmental approach. First, within gender-schema theory, the acquisition of sex-constancy is not a requisite step for the formation of a concrete gender-identity. Instead, the formation of a gender identity is based on the interaction between three processes: (1) the emphasis placed on biological differences between females and males by one’s culture; (2) the internalization of a gender-schema which is based on the over-generalization of these biological differences to non-biological differences; and (3) the incorporation of a self-concept into that gender-schema.

Also, Bem (1981) addresses the criticism of a lack of explanation for the central role of gender within the developmental process by stating that “the answer would seem

to derive, in part, from society's ubiquitous insistence on the functional importance of the gender dichotomy, from its insistence that an individual's sex makes a difference in virtually every domain of human experience" (p. 362). While we are not necessarily focused on this particular issue at this time, the next chapter will provide ample evidence for this claim.

In addition, more recent research has attempted to expand the original conception of gender-schema theory by concentrating on the actual structure of an individual's gender-schema (Brannon, 2002). Specifically, gender-script theory (Levy & Boston, 1994) suggests that an individual's gender-schema can also be viewed in terms of temporal organization. According to Levy and Boston (1994), "gender scripts are temporally organized event sequences [which]....unlike generic scripts...possess a gender-role component defining which sex typically performs that event sequence" (p. 369).

While still relatively new, research does suggest that individuals are more likely to recall and more accurate in recalling own-sex scripts as opposed to other-sex scripts (Brannon, 2002). However, research also suggests that there may be differences in specific aspects of gender-script recall across the sexes (Levy & Boston, 1994). This theory is relatively new, and the research testing this theory has not offered concrete conclusions. Also, it does not necessarily offer a competing view of the developmental path offered by gender-schema theory. Therefore, the fundamental contributions of the gender-schema approach remain the same.

To summarize, the gender-schema approach to the development of the psychological aspects of Gender offers a different "integration" of biological and social

factors. Within this approach, the emphasis placed on biological factors (e.g., genitalia) is primarily based in the cultural/social belief that these differences transfer to other non-biological sex differences. Therefore, instead of individuals recognizing genital differences and then using them as a basis for personal identity formation, the gender-schema approach suggests that society over-exaggerates the importance of genital differences (and other relatively unimportant biological differences) which is internalized by the individual during the early stages of the developmental process. As a result of the internalization of these socially proscribed “gender”-differences, individuals begin to adopt a specific gender-schema. This gender-schema is usually formulated within the context of feminine or masculine attributes, which are intimately linked (at least in the view of many societies) to biological sex (i.e., female or male).

At this point, an individual begins to organize their entire existence within the context of their gender-schema. This allows the individual to rapidly assimilate and organize new information, by only paying attention to that information which fits within their specific gender-schema. This leads to individuals ignoring (at least cognitively) knowledge, information, attributes, and/or phenomena which do not fall within the context of their gender-schema. Finally, this will limit the range of behaviors and attributes that an individual will likely choose during their lifespan.

Gender-Identity Formation: What the Empirical Literature Tells Us

From the 1960s on, we have seen a large increase in the empirical assessment of gender-identity formation (see Stevenson, Paludi, Black, & Whitley, 1994). This increase in attention was seemingly fueled by theoretical competition between the approaches discussed above. More specifically, researchers attempted to empirically assess the varied

impact of biological, social, and cognitive factors on an individual's gender-identity development. This theoretical competition led to a number of findings which were offered as evidence that one approach was better able to explain the process of gender-identity formation than the others (see Mischel, 1975 and Kohlberg, 1975 for an example of this particular issue). However, more recent research has provided evidence of the combined influence of all of these factors.

Although our discussion thus far has been useful (and necessary) in providing us with a better understanding of the individual contribution of the theoretical approaches included here, a more detailed elaboration of the interaction between these “competing” factors is also necessary. One way to approach this more detailed elaboration is through the presentation of empirically supported developmental progressions. As we will see in the following discussion, at each stage at least some of the factors associated with the different theoretical approaches have an impact. This impact starts at a very early age (during the first full year of life) and continues through childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Figure 3 provides a summary of the findings of these empirical assessments and outlines the developmental path of the psychological aspects of Gender.

Gender-labeling

Research on infants has offered some insights into the early development of gender/sex-based identity formation. Fagot and Leinbach (1989) for instance found that, during the first year of life, children do not have the ability to label objects based on specific sex-based characteristics, nor do they seem to act based on sex-stereotypical behavior patterns. This early research provided some support for the notion that humans are not born with an innate ability to recognize the differences between females and

males (whether biological, psychological, cultural, or social in nature). However, in a later study conducted by these same researchers, it was found that sometime during the first year of life children develop the ability to distinguish between female and male faces using hair length as the primary cue (Fagot & Leinbach, 1994).

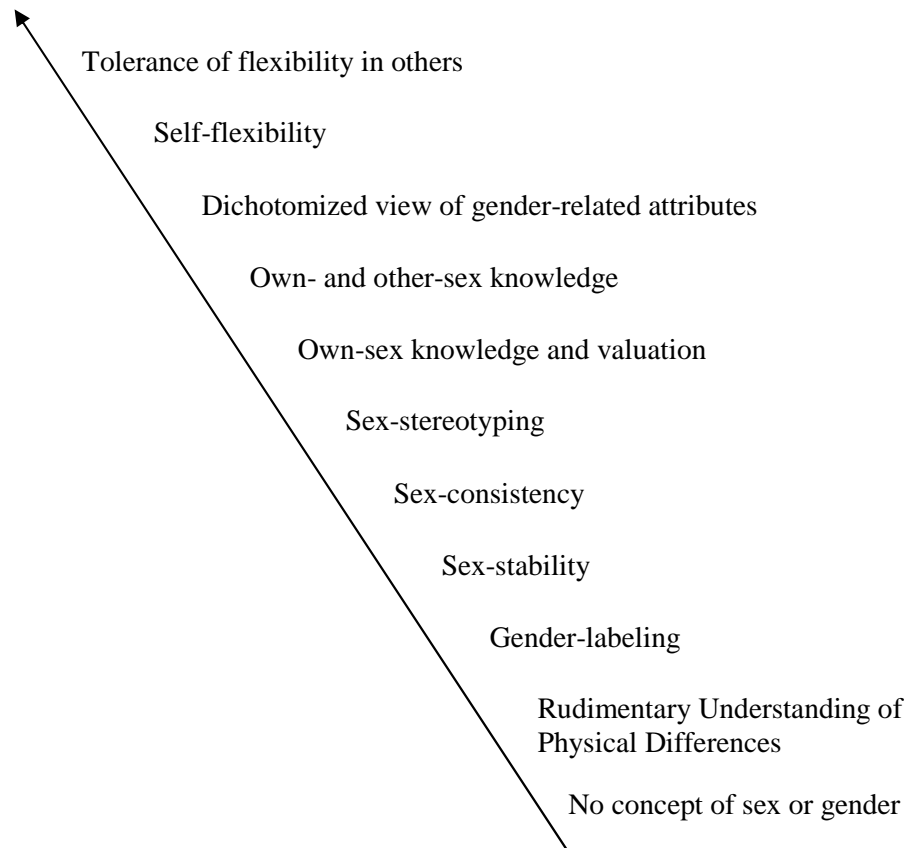


Figure 3: Gender-Identity development.

At roughly 2 years of age, 50% of the children included in Fagot and Leinbach's (1989; 1994) study showed a capacity for gender-labeling. In addition, children at this age also showed an increase in their sequential touching of own-sex category items compared to other-sex category items (Levy, 1999). This second study suggests that even at the age of 2 children are beginning to form gender-related preferences and/or gender-schemata. This also marks the transition from a rudimentary understanding of physical

differences (i.e., hair length, faces) to a slightly more developed capacity to label objects based on gender-related cues (i.e., own-sexed items versus other-sexed items).

Sex-constancy, Sex-stability, and Sex-consistency

As mentioned in the discussion of Kohlberg's cognitive developmental approach to gender-identity formation, sex-constancy refers to an individual's ability to understand that their sex is concrete and will not change over time. Additionally, it was suggested that this concept was later found to be the combination of two distinct, yet similar concepts. These two concepts are sex-stability and sex-consistency.

Rogers and Rogers (2001) define sex-stability as "...the understanding that gender is a stable personal characteristic" (p. 74; see also Martin & Little, 1990). On the other hand, sex-consistency is "...the understanding that people retain their gender, even when they behave in a way that is, or have superficial characteristics which are, gender incongruent" (Rogers & Rogers, 2001, p. 75; see also Martin & Little, 1990). Although these terms may seem to indicate the same ability, they are distinct. One way to identify the difference between these two concepts is to address the manner in which these concepts have been measured.

Sex-stability is measured in terms of an individual's ability to understand that if they are a boy or girl now, they will be a boy or girl when they grow up. Therefore, researchers often ask participants whether they are a boy or girl and then ask the same participant if he/she will still be a boy/girl when he/she grows up. If the participant correctly identifies that their sex will not change even when they grow older, they are considered to have achieved or acquired sex-stability.

Sex-consistency is measured in terms of an individual's ability to understand that a boy/girl will remain a boy/girl even in the face of superficial changes in appearance, interests, and/or behavior. For this, researchers often show participants a picture of a baby and ask them to identify whether the baby in the picture is a boy or a girl baby. Then, the researcher shows another picture of the same baby, only this time the picture shows the baby with some transformational changes in appearance or interests (e.g., change from short to long hair; dress to pants; football to purse). The participant is then asked to indicate whether the second picture is of a boy or girl baby. If the participant indicates that the baby's sex has not changed, then the participant is considered to have achieved or acquired sex-consistency.

Beginning at about 3 years of age, some children (40% of sample) have been shown to achieve or acquire sex-consistency (Bem, 1989). However, Bem's (1989) research suggests that this ability is contingent on a child's understanding that genital differences form the primary defining attribute of sex. In other words, only those 3 year olds who had adequate genital knowledge (i.e., an understanding that genitals have primacy over other factors) could conserve sex across transformative changes.

Also, at 3 years of age, research shows that some children have acquired an understanding of both sex-stability and sex-consistency (Martin & Little, 1990). According to Martin and Little's (1990) research, only sex-stability has a significant relationship with stereotyped behaviors, knowledge, and/or preferences, while sex-consistency does not. However, this study did not include a measure of genital-knowledge, which may have impacted this finding. Importantly, Martin and Little's

(1990) research pointed to the importance of separating these two components which had previously been considered one (sex-constancy).

Finally, researchers have found that at this age children begin to learn the general association between external objects and sex categories (Martin, Wood, & Little, 1990). These findings, when taken together, seem to support the notion that children with higher levels of genital knowledge, or who express a greater understanding of the importance of physical attributes, will also begin to associate those attributes with external objects. However, the association between physical sex-characteristics and external objects remains relatively rudimentary, and the child's behavior (e.g., toy choices) remains an expression of personal or self-interest and not necessarily overt sex-typing (Fagot & Leinbach, 1994).

Sex-stereotyping

Unlike 3-year-olds, 4-year-olds show signs of adherence to sex-stereotypes in the organization of objects (Fagot & Leinbach, 1994). In addition, Fagot and Leinbach (1994) found that the use of sex-stereotypes in the organization of objects was reinforced by the ability of gender-labeling. More specifically, they found that labelers were more sex-typed than non-labelers, that early labelers (those children who expressed the ability to correctly apply gender-labels before the age of 28 months) "remained more aware of cultural gender stereotypes at age four than late labelers" (p. 16), and that by age 4, those children were similar to adults in their organization of objects based on sex-stereotypes (Fagot & Leinbach, 1994).

Another interesting shift begins to take place during this time period as well. Bussey and Bandura (1992) found that there is a shift from external to internal control of

gender-linked behavior associated with age. More specifically, children at roughly 3-years of age learn through social sanctions (for cross-sex behaviors) and reinforcement (for same-sex behaviors) and only later (around 5-years-of-age) adopt self-evaluative standards in the regulation of their own behavior. Bussey and Bandura (1992) describe this as a social-cognitive theory of development that incorporates, or at least expresses, the combined influence of both social and cognitive factors in the adoption of gender-related behaviors.

Own-sex Knowledge and Valuation

At roughly 6 years of age, children continue to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the complexity of Gender. In particular, children begin to gain a more complete understanding of the complexity of own-sex related information (Martin, Wood, & Little, 1990). Martin, Wood, and Little's (1990) study found that at this age children expressed a more complex understanding of the indirect associations between external objects and own-sex individuals.

In this study, children were told a story about another child with an unspecified sex (i.e., the researchers did not state whether the child in the story was a boy or a girl). In the story, the child was described as liking either a feminine or masculine typed toy. The participating child was then asked to express if the child in the story would or would not like other sex-typed (both same and other) objects (i.e., traits, clothing, occupational aspirations, and toy preferences) (Martin, Wood, & Little, 1990).

At age 6, the children in this study were able to provide same-sex relevant stereotypical predictions. In other words, when a boy was given a masculine-typed object as a reference in the story, he was able to predict that the child in the story would prefer

other masculine-typed objects as well. On the other hand, when a girl was given a feminine-typed object as a reference in the story, she was able to predict that the child in the story would also prefer other feminine-typed objects. However, neither 6-year-old boys nor girls could correctly predict links between other-sex stereotypical reference objects and other objects.

The findings of this study suggest that children first learn the complexity of gender/sex information based on own-sex relevance. The findings of this study again support the existence of egocentric developmental patterns during the early stages of gender-identity development. In addition, the findings of this particular study also suggest that 6-year-olds, in general, are obtaining a deeper more expansive understanding of the subtle associations between biological sex and culturally proscribed Gendered traits (i.e., femininity and masculinity), at least within the context of self-relevant (egocentric) information.

Own- and Other-Sex Knowledge

In the same study discussed above, Martin, Wood, and Little (1990) found that 8- and 10-year-olds had a greater understanding of the complexity of both own-sex and other-sex associations. While 6-year-olds could only “correctly” predict own-sex relevant preferences, 8- and 10-year-olds were able to predict other-sex relevant preferences as well. In addition, Martin, Wood, and Little (1990) found that children at these ages begin to use femininity and masculinity to link information within and between object category domains.

Interestingly, children at these ages also express in-group favoritism (Powlishta, 1995). However, the expression of in-group favoritism found by Powlishta (1995) was

more complex than originally thought. Although there were no differences between females and males in their ratings of attributes as positive or negative, there was a tendency for each sex to apply positive attributes to their own sex and negative attributes to the other sex. Therefore, it was not that these individuals believed that either femininity or masculinity was bad, but that boys attributed negative attributes to girls and girls attributed negative attributes to boys. This in-group favoritism was found even in the absence of any real differences between females and males (i.e., physical sex-differences) (Powlishta, 1995).

In addition, the findings of this study seem to support the findings of an earlier study which showed that 8-year-olds (as compared to 6- and 7-year-olds) were more accepting of variations in roles because of their greater understanding of sex-constancy (Marcus & Overton, 1978). Specifically, if 8-year-olds place more emphasis on the sex-dichotomy than the connection between femininity/masculinity and individual attributes (as Powlishta's (1995) study suggests), then it is expected that they would be more accepting of individuals who expressed positively (self-)rated attributes even if those attributes were culturally assigned as feminine or masculine.

The findings of these studies, as well as other studies (see Martin & Halverson, 1981) also support the notion that as age increases so does the capacity to obtain a deeper understanding of the subtle relationship between sex, gender, and every other aspect of an individual's life. As such, during this age span (and more specifically this stage of development) children begin to expand their understanding of the relationship between biological sex and culturally proscribed gender-stereotypes (i.e., femininity/masculinity).

Additionally, as children continue to gain a deeper understanding of specific sex-differences, they also begin to further entrench their egocentric view of sex- and gender-related information and experiences. Interestingly, during this period, children also begin to show signs of a shift from purely egocentric patterns of development to ethnocentric patterns. This is initially indicated by their application of positively valued attributes to their own-sex, not merely on the basis of self-evaluation, but on the basis of sex- and Gender-specific characteristics associated with all boys or all girls.

Dichotomized View of Gender-Related Attributes

Beginning in late childhood, and moving into early and middle adolescence, children begin to develop a more stringently dichotomized view of gender-related attributes. For instance, Biernat (1991) found that 10th graders (as compared to 3rd and 7th graders) were more likely to view femininity and masculinity as bipolar constructs. In other words, as individuals age, they are more likely to see feminine and masculine traits as competing with each other. Interestingly, Biernat (1991) did not find that older adolescents held similarly rigid views of biological sex-differences. Specifically, although 10th graders viewed femininity and masculinity as existing on opposite ends of the same continuum, they did not view females and males per se (or boys and girls) as existing on opposing ends of one continuum.

These findings were further supported by Galambos and her colleagues (1990), who found that sex-differences (i.e., differences between females and males) in both masculinity and sex-role attitudes (i.e., the extent to which an individual approves of the gender-based division of social roles) increased during early adolescence⁴. Therefore, it appears as though as people age and gain a deeper understanding of non-biological

gender-differences, they shift their understanding of the gender-dichotomy from one that is biologically determined to one that is socially or culturally proscribed. This allows them to continue to expand the types and amount of information that gets assimilated into their gender-schema and in-turn their personal gender-identity, and marks one of the fundamental shifts in gender-identity formation that becomes salient during early adolescence.

In addition, adolescence is marked by a shift in the impact of socialization agents on the formation of a gender-identity. Katz and Ksansnak (1994) found that adolescents were more likely to be impacted by cross-sex socialization than younger children and that their own gender/sex began to play a less important role. Again, this seems to indicate an ever-expanding influence on the formation of a personal gender-identity.

Self- and Other-Flexibility

Another important finding of Katz and Ksansnak's (1994) study was that age (and correspondingly cognitive development) was positively related to both self- and other-related flexibility. In other words, as we age, we also develop a more flexible personal gender-identity which frees us to incorporate both same-sex and other-sex relevant information. This creates a greater capacity for the tolerance of flexibility in others as well, meaning that as we age, we are less likely to view sex-incongruent behavior in others as deviant. This particular finding supported the findings of an earlier study which showed that cognitive development was positively associated with flexibility (Martin & Halverson, 1981). However, the relationship between age, cognitive ability, and Gender-flexibility is not as linear as we may expect.

Instead of a linear relationship between age/cognitive ability and Gender-flexibility, research indicates that this relationship is actually curvilinear in nature (Katz & Ksansnak, 1994). At early ages, as discussed previously, children are more flexible in their Gender- or sex-related behavior and attitudes (pre-differentiated). However, during early adolescence, individuals become increasingly less flexible (sex- and Gender-dichotomized differentiation). Finally, in late adolescence and into adulthood, individuals show increasing levels of both self-flexibility and tolerance for flexibility in others (fusion/integration).

One explanation for this curvilinear relationship may be the greater influence of cross-sex socialization agents during middle to late adolescence, as discussed above (Katz & Ksansnak, 1994). Which, according to Martin and Halverson (1981) may be the result of an increase in the number and types of groups that an individual uses to define the self as he/she ages. For instance, as an individual moves from defining themselves solely as female or male (early adolescence) into a self-definition that includes other attributes (e.g., student, friend, music lover, sports fanatic, etc.) they may also begin to associate their behavior and attitudes with attributes other than those previously tied to their sex.

Another reason for this curvilinear relationship may be the continuing integration of both same- and other-sex/Gender related information and experiences. For instance, in Gilligan's (1993) study of college students, she found that,

...the men's return from exile and silence parallels the women's return from equivocation, until intimacy and truth converge in the discovery of the connection between integrity and care. Then only a difference in tone reveals what men and

women know from the beginning and what they only later discover through experience. (p. 157-158)

What they (men and women) know from the beginning and later discover through experience is the importance of integrating both female and male experiences and “truths” into a single complex formulation of their individual gender-identity. This “mature” identity constitutes the best of both worlds and represents the ability to incorporate both an ethic of rights and an ethic of care.

Although these patterns likely continue throughout adulthood, there is limited research into the process of gender-identity formation in adults. One early study, however, did suggest that this pattern continues into adulthood. Specifically, Urberg (1979) found that adults were the least stereotyped when compared to 12th and 7th graders. This, in combination with the other patterns that have been discussed thus far, suggests that adults are likely to exhibit the most potential for flexibility and perhaps tolerance for flexibility in others. However, this may be dependent on the target of their evaluations, since adults are more likely to view children in stereotypical ways as compared to their views of other adults (Powlishta, 2000).

Summary

In the above sections, we have discussed some of the available theoretical and empirical literature focusing on gender-identity formation. This discussion ended with the introduction and explanation of a comprehensive developmental path for the formation of an individual’s gender-identity. However, it is important to remember that similar to the biological perspective on Gender discussed earlier in this chapter, the psychological perspective on Gender is not necessarily experienced in an identical fashion within every

single individual. Again, there is a great deal of variation both between and within sex-categories. That is, not every female or male experiences the psychological development of Gender in a similar way. Also, it is important to understand that the psychological development of Gender may impact each individual differently.

Conclusion

This chapter began with a detailed analysis of the biological development of Gender. This was followed by an analysis and discussion of the relevant psychological theories and empirical research related to gender-identity formation. As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, it is essential that the similarities between these seemingly distinct paths are understood in order to construct a more comprehensive approach to understanding Gender as a complex social science construct. As such, an overview of the important similarities between the exterior and interior individual perspectives on Gender is warranted. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the developmental paths outlined in this chapter (and the next) are not the only views on Gender from each of the four perspectives. What is constructed here, therefore, should be understood as single examples of what Gender looks like from each of the individual perspectives (i.e., both the exterior and interior individual perspectives).

First, one of the fundamental points of this chapter (and the next) is the understanding that Gender is not a singular construct. Specifically, if we are going to adopt a deeper more comprehensive approach to understanding Gender as a construct in the social sciences, we must analyze how Gender is viewed from all four of the perspectives discussed in this dissertation. While this chapter included the exterior and interior individual perspectives on Gender development, the next continues along this line

by including the exterior (social) and interior (cultural) collective perspectives on Gender development.

Second, this chapter has introduced the notion that there is a great deal of variation in the ways that each individual experiences the development of Gender. This was clear both in the development of sex and gender-identity. In terms of sex development, this chapter included a detailed examination of divergences from the common development. This, and the discussion of the common development of sex, indicated that although many may see the development of sex as a unitary and somewhat straightforward progression, there is, in actuality, a great deal of variation both within and between the sexes. In terms of gender-identity development, this chapter provided evidence of the many ways in which individual variations in the formation of a clear gender-identity occur both for men and for women.

Next, and perhaps most importantly, this chapter expressed a fundamental similarity between the view of Gender from the exterior and interior individual perspectives. Both of the developmental paths outlined above show signs of increased integration from one stage to the next. More precisely, both in biological and psychological Gender-development, each stage is marked by an increase in the amount of stimuli associated with it. Also, each stage along these developmental paths is marked by the inclusion of stimuli from the earlier stages. For example, within the psychological development of Gender, the “mature” adult is identified by the ability to recognize and value gender-identity flexibility both in the self and others. This flexibility is expressed through the integration of both sides of the Gender/sex-dichotomy which were incorporated into a gender-identity in early to late adolescence.

Finally, the discussion so far has at least hinted at the combined influence of (or interaction between) both the exterior and interior individual perspectives on Gender, an issue which will be considered in more detail in Chapter III. However, the discussion does not end here. Gender can also be viewed from the exterior and interior collective perspectives. In the next chapter, therefore, we continue in our journey towards a more complete and inclusive approach to studying Gender.

Specifically, the next chapter addresses both the cultural and social development of Gender. What will become evident, hopefully, is that similar to the discussion here, the next chapter provides increasing evidence of the complexity of Gender, both as a lived experience and as a social science construct. Perhaps more importantly, our discussion in the next chapter will shed even more light on the importance of including all four of these seemingly contradictory perspectives when trying to create a more complete and informed approach to understanding Gender.

CHAPTER III

GENDER DEVELOPMENT-A COLLECTIVE VIEW: THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND CULTURE

The previous chapter concentrated on the exterior and interior individual domains of Gender through a discussion of sex and gender-identity development as viewed within the social sciences. In contrast, this chapter includes the presentation and discussion of gender-role and gender-stereotype development, or the development of Gender as it relates to the exterior (social) and interior (cultural) collective domains. As in the previous chapter, this chapter presents a view of the collective domains that is informed by specific social science perspectives.

Keeping in mind that all four of the domains are influenced by each other, a subject that will be considered in more detail at the end of this chapter, this chapter begins with a presentation of the general trends in gender-role and gender-stereotype development, based on relevant literature. Again, the goals of this and the previous chapter are to identify and clarify what each of the four domains contributes towards our current understanding of the development of Gender within the social sciences, as well as what each leaves out. Our journey towards a more complete approach to understanding the complexity of Gender as a social science construct, therefore, continues with an exploration into the ways in which social systems and collective belief structures impact Gender. We begin with the development of two particular social systems and their relationships to Gender.

Gender-Roles

Before getting into a detailed discussion of the development of Gender as viewed within the exterior collective or social domain, it is necessary to define exactly what is meant by the social development of Gender. For the purposes of this dissertation, the term gender-roles will be used to signify the social or exterior collective domain of Gender. While there are some differences between the various definitions of gender-roles (see Archer & Lloyd, 2002; Brannon, 2002; Rogers & Rogers, 2001; Strong, DeVault, Sayad, & Yarber, 2005), there is at least one important commonality. This commonality is the understanding that the term “gender-roles” pertains to the behaviors or activities that are performed by each sex and have been institutionalized within a given society’s social systems. As such, the understanding of gender-roles as the institutionalized behaviors or activities performed by females and males in a given society will form the basis for our discussion of the development of Gender as viewed from exterior collective perspectives.

In addition, it is important to understand that these behaviors and activities are based on general patterns. We can say, therefore, that gender-roles are those institutionalized behaviors and/or activities performed by each sex, which are informed by the specific make-up of particular social systems that exist within a given society. Following this line of reasoning, gender-roles are impacted by the social structure and the structures of particular systems within a society. Of greatest relevance within the context of gender-role development are two distinct, yet interrelated, social systems; modes of production and political structures (Bonvillain, 1998; Brannon, 2002; Halsall, 2004;

Frader, 2004; Sanday, 1981). The following discussion of the social development of Gender is framed in terms of these two social systems.

Within any given society there exists a collective process through which people acquire and distribute the means for survival (e.g., food stuffs, property, material goods). These collective processes are referred to as means or modes of production (Bonvillain, 1998; Frader, 2004). Although there is some disparity between the many modes of production described by individual researchers, most have identified four general modes. These four modes are foraging, horticulture, agriculture, and industry (see Bonvillain, 1998; Wilber, 2006). While these modes of production, in and of themselves, are not originally based on Gender, each impacts the division of labor along Gendered lines in a particular way (Brannon, 2002). Therefore, the impact of each of these general modes of production becomes a useful tool in understanding Gender from a social perspective (i.e., gender-role development) (Bonvillain, 1998).

The term “political structures” refers to the formalized, social distribution of power and control within a given society. Although there are a number of possible configurations of political structures, the current discussion will be based on Bonvillain’s (1998) identification of four general classifications. These are band, tribe, chiefdom, and state. Perhaps not surprisingly, these four broad political structures correspond, at least generally, to the four modes of production listed above (Bonvillain, 1998). The combination of changing modes of production and political structures seems to facilitate the establishment, continuation, and formalization of gender-roles in almost all societies past and present.

Shifting Social Systems and Gender-Role Development

We can now move into a more detailed discussion of the relationship between these two important social systems and gender-role development. As stated above, each mode of production impacts the division of labor along Gendered lines (Brannon, 2002). In essence, as the mode of production changes, so do the types of institutionalized activities and behaviors performed by men and women within a given society, and vice versa. Changes in these institutionalized behaviors and activities also correspond with changes in the relative power and access to rights experienced by various groups in a given society (i.e., political structures), as the creation and consequent reinforcement of separate private and public spheres develops (Sanday, 1981; Stockard & Johnson, 1980).

Also central to this developmental process is the relationship between political and familial constructions of power (Bonvillain, 1998; Hardwick, 2004; Kent, 2004; Stockard & Johnson, 1980). In many cases, these two social systems are mutually reinforcing, as the structure of power relationships within a particular society's conception of family changes, so too does the structure of power relationships on a broader political scale. The personal truly is the political, as changes in each of these areas impacts collective Gender through the formation and valuation of gender-roles.

The following discussion focuses on the fundamental changes in gender-role development that occur during the progression from foraging to industrialization, and correspondingly from bands to states, with particular emphasis on the differential valuation of gender-roles within divisions of labor based in access to the public and private spheres. Figure 4 summarizes this developmental path, presenting the trend

towards decreased rigidity in gender-roles as technological and political advancements impact the formal separations between men and women and the roles they play in society.

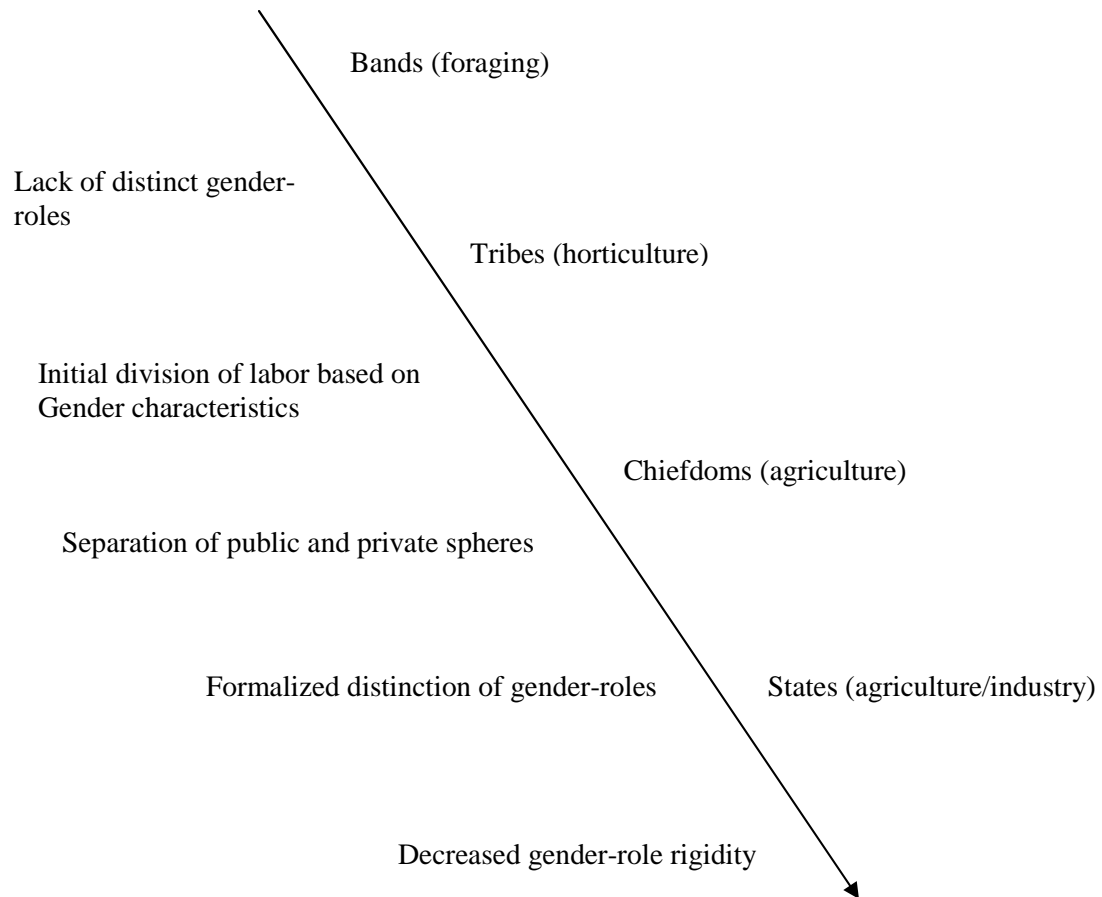


Figure 4: Gender-Role development.

Bands/Foraging Societies

For the purposes of this discussion, foraging societies include any societies in which subsistence is provided through the collection of materials naturally growing in the external environment (e.g., plants, fruits, animals, fish, insects, birds) (Bonvillain, 1998). Individuals in these societies, therefore, utilize combined techniques (e.g., hunting and gathering) to ensure survival. There are certainly variations among the social structures that develop in different foraging societies over time; however, there are some fundamental similarities among gender-roles across different foraging societies as well.

For instance, there is general agreement that foraging societies present relatively egalitarian gender-role construction when compared to the other modes of production listed above (Bonvillain, 1998; Nashat, 2004; Sanday, 1981). This seems, at least partially, to be the result of equal access to and control over subsistence materials, as well as a lack of distinction between the public and private spheres. Foraging societies usually consist of small groups (i.e., bands) spread across vast geographic areas (Bonvillain, 1998). Within this context, people living together in the various bands likely know each other well (in many instances these bands consist of immediate and extended family units) (Nashat, 2004; Stockard & Johnson, 1980). Because of the close relationships among all of the people living in a particular band, it is likely that any subsistence material gathered by one individual is shared with the entire group. Since no distinct private sphere exists, or there is no real private ownership and/or control of goods, all individuals operate within the public sphere, for the benefit of all others.

Also, these societies do not settle in particular areas for long periods of time. This lack of central location and constant change in accordance with the necessities of subsistence precludes most, if not all band/foraging societies from establishing specific universal power relationships, especially in terms of gender-role valuation (Stearns, 2000). Along these lines, the absence of permanent homes diminishes the separation of the public and private spheres. Since there is no “home” in which to create a specific familial hierarchy, there is also no place for formal political structures in the wider sense discussed here.

While some band/foraging societies rely mainly on catching animals without any sort of hunting or tracking skills, others develop more extensive uses of tools for hunting

(e.g., hunting weapons such as spears, bows, and arrows) and more developed approaches to animal tracking (Lorber, 1994). With the use of more advanced technology in the hunting and killing of animals, smaller groups of people from a particular band can provide more subsistence. Additionally, these new techniques do not necessarily lend themselves to every individual within a particular band.

Specifically, Lorber (1994) identified that women who are pregnant or caring for infant children are unable to utilize these tools or travel with small groups to track and kill animals. What results is the beginning of a specific division of labor based on biological and social constraints experienced by some individuals within a given band. This initial division of labor, however, is not based solely on the female/male dichotomy, but results in a split between child rearing women and anyone else who is not rearing children (including adolescent females and males, adult males, and adult females who were not pregnant or caring for infant children) (Lorber, 1994). This has led some researchers to suggest that these initial divisions of labor are based on age and other characteristics, such as individual abilities, as opposed to the female/male biological dichotomy (Frader, 2004).

Even though this division of labor may begin to develop in some band/foraging societies, it does not appear that it establishes any universal distinction between the public and private spheres, nor does it appear that it results in a significant challenge to the relative gender-role equality experienced by individuals in most band/foraging societies. This is likely because those who are not involved in the hunt still provide important services for the entire band. Even in societies where one group hunts animals, the majority of subsistence material is provided by those individuals who gather food

from the natural environment (Sanday, 1981). In these instances, prestige may be granted to those who can hunt and provide animal meat to the group, but equal power often lies with those who can provide the greatest amount of food through gathering (Sanday, 1981).

On the other hand, Stockard and Johnson (1980) point out that even in band/foraging societies, when males' relative contribution towards subsistence is higher (usually through hunting animals), they experience increased gender-role valuation. This, in turn, provides men with increased power within the larger social unit. Perhaps in these societies we are seeing the first steps towards a distinct division of labor which enhances the value of "male" gender-roles and reduces, or at least does not equally enhance the value of "female" gender-roles (i.e., the formation of a somewhat formal political structure based on distinct gender-roles). These contrasting findings reinforce the suggestion that it is not simply the mode of production, but the value placed on each individual's role within a particular mode and each group's ability to operate within both the public and private spheres that creates gender-role inequality within a given society.

Tribes/Horticultural Societies

As societies begin to develop the ability to farm and produce food through plant cultivation, a shift from band/foraging to more sedentary and complex tribal/horticultural societies is initiated. In a general sense, tribal/horticultural societies are marked by the cultivation of crops, with the assistance of rudimentary hand tools (Stockard & Johnson, 1980). Not surprisingly, researchers have found a relatively high level of variability from one tribal/horticultural society to another. But, within a more general view of these macro shifts from foraging to industrialization, various tribal/horticultural societies show

similarities that are useful to our discussion here. Specifically, with the advent of horticulture, two distinct social changes provide the atmosphere for possible inequality in gender-role valuation.

First, the use of basic crop cultivation as a mode of production dramatically changes the skills necessary to produce subsistence materials. In contrast to societies which rely heavily on gathering and/or hunting food, individuals in tribal/horticultural societies are able to produce large amounts of food in a single location. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the value placed on different gender-roles will change. More important than the shift in mode of production, is this shift's impact on the relative ability of men and women to exercise power and control over subsistence materials (i.e., political structure). In societies where women are the major producers of subsistence materials through land cultivation, the value placed on their gender-role increases, and vice versa for societies in which men are the major producers (Schoenbrun, 2004).

Second, the introduction of more complex and sedentary social units creates a further separation between the public and private spheres. As tribal/horticultural societies lay claim to specific areas of land, they have to develop methods to ensure that the land remains in their possession. One of the more common approaches to securing land is through the use of warfare. Researchers have suggested that because of the relative value of women (as producers of children), they are restricted (and likely restrict themselves) from activities that put them in danger of death or serious injury (Stockard & Johnson, 1980).

Since the acquisition and clearing of land often falls within the male gender-role, men are now able to bridge the gap between the public and private spheres, while women

in these particular societies are not. In accord with this gender-role organization, more value is placed on the “male” gender-role, which results in men, at least those who perform this “male” role, being able to wield more power within and between tribes (Halsall, 2004). Also, because men who engage in warfare are more likely to interact with other tribes, they are also more likely to control the sharing of food stuffs both within and between tribes (Stockard & Johnson, 1980).

In summary, as tribal/horticultural societies develop, there seems to be an increase in variability of gender-role equality from one tribe to another. While there is certainly evidence to suggest that many tribal/horticultural societies experience degrees of gender-role rigidity and inequality, there is also evidence to suggest variability between societies (Bonvillain, 1998; Schoenbrun, 2004; Stockard & Johnson, 1980). Again, the research on tribal/horticultural societies, like that on band/foraging societies, suggests that a shift in mode of production alone does not necessarily lead to a direct shift in gender-role valuation. Instead, a society’s predominant mode of production works in relationship with political structures to create an atmosphere where changes in gender-role valuation may occur. In the case of tribal/horticultural societies, this atmosphere appears to be most closely related to the advent of sedentary social units and the acquisition and clearing of additional land through warfare.

Chiefdoms/Agricultural Societies

The shift from horticulture to agriculture, although certainly fluid in many circumstances, is generally marked by the introduction and extensive use of more complex tools in the cultivation of food (e.g., irrigation, plows, and animals) (Stockard & Johnson, 1980). Because this shift is slow, there is some variability in the ways in which

agricultural societies will experience changes in gender-role valuation. For instance, early agricultural societies often experience relatively equal gender-role valuation. However, as the complexity of cultivation increases through technological innovation, more advanced agricultural societies experience increased inequality (Sanday, 1981; Stearns, 2000). With this in mind, it is still possible to discuss general similarities among agricultural societies, in regards to gender-role valuation.

For example, perhaps more than any other shift in mode of production, the development of advanced agricultural societies appears to create the greatest changes in gender-role valuation (Sanday, 1981; Stearns, 2000; Stockard & Johnson, 1980). Of course, the impact of the shift towards an advanced agricultural society remains contingent on its relationship with the relative power and control experienced by different groups within a social unit (i.e., political structure) and on the continued separation of the public and private spheres.

In terms of relative power and control, it is clear that the group which engages in the production and trading of subsistence materials in advanced agricultural societies is also the group whose gender-role value increases. In agricultural societies where women engage in the production of food and participate in the trading of their products, they experience higher degrees of gender-role equality than in societies where women do not engage in food production or the trading of their products (Bonvillain, 1998; Stockard & Johnson, 1980). In societies more closely related to the former, both men and women are valued for their respective gender-roles and are rewarded relatively equally for their contributions within both the public and private spheres. In many cases, however, this is not the ultimate result of agricultural advancement.

While gender-role equality is certainly evident in some agricultural societies, the more common trend among advanced agricultural societies is towards gender-role inequality. This shift is intimately linked to the continued separation of the public and private spheres and the introduction of chiefdoms as the primary political structure. Specifically, as advances in technology allow for increased crop production and, in turn, increased wealth, agricultural societies begin to experience increased birth rates and decreased infant mortality (Stearns, 2000). This creates an atmosphere in which women of child bearing age are relegated to the home, or at least close to the home, while men are free to engage in food production and trading away from the home.

As women are pressed into the private sphere, they are also pulled out of the public sphere, both by men and by the circumstances surrounding the survival of their children, themselves, and their communities. Men, therefore, retain and reinforce their ability to operate within the public sphere, for the benefit of their families as well as the larger social group, and are granted more power and control through the exercise of their now primary gender-roles as providers and political leaders (chiefs). Women's gender-role, on the other hand, is now limited to their immediate household through the distribution of food produced by men and the care of children. In this instance, women are granted less power and control within the larger social unit and also less power and control over the household because they are unable to fulfill the provider role on their own. As we will see below, however, while the trend towards differentiation of gender-roles was more formalized during the advancement of complex agricultural chiefdoms, the introduction and advancement of even more complex industrial societies may be responsible for their re-integration.

States/Agricultural and Industrial Societies

Despite the strong shifts in gender-role valuation associated with agricultural chiefdoms, Frader (2004) argues that “more than any previous set of economic arrangements, industrial capitalism not only rigidified gender divisions, but also crystallized gender inequalities” (p. 39). In essence, Frader (2004) and others argue that advancements in agriculture introduce a social organization that impacts the creation of new and increasingly unequal gender-roles, and industrialization formalizes these gender-roles into rigid proscriptions for behavior and institutionalizes gender-role inequality on a much larger scale through the creation and expansion of nation states. This argument is perhaps only half true. The crystallization of gender inequalities that is sometimes attributed to industrialization may not be the result of changing gender-roles at all.

In fact, it is likely that the opposite is true; that as industrialization occurs, the rigidly defined gender-roles previously associated with agricultural societies begin to erode. Through the application of the technological advancements associated with industrialization, modes of production become less tied to biological traits. For instance, both men and women can operate computerized factory machinery, while it may not have been possible for both to operate the much heavier machines used in earlier agricultural societies (mainly due to biological differences in body structure and strength). In turn, as industrial societies become more advanced, both men and women enter the workforce outside of the home (Valenze, 2004). If we take the public/private dichotomy into consideration, it would make sense that as both men and women enter the public sphere through work outside of the home a society would experience greater gender-role equality.

On the other hand, along with industrialization come the increased movement of workers from home to factory (Frader, 2004) and a more rigid separation of the public and private spheres. Based initially on similar constraints experienced in advanced agricultural chiefdoms (i.e., the increase in birth rates and decrease in infant mortality), women continue to be relegated to the home (Stearns, 2000). As work and production move out of the home, women remain in the home and men continue to provide the majority of subsistence and other materials for the family and the larger social unit. The combination of these circumstances leads many to construct interpretations similar to that which Frader (2004) alludes to in her statement. But the continued separation of the public and private spheres and women's general relegation to the private sphere should not be considered a result of the performance of gender-roles per se.

What may be more important, as this story unfolds, is the link between the separation of public and private and women's constriction to the private sphere and constructions of familial power structures. Remember from earlier that familial power structures form the basis for larger political structures in most, if not all societies (Hardwick, 2004; Kent, 2004). The expansion of nation states through colonization brought more stringent beliefs about the roles of men and women in the family, and therefore, in the political structure as well. Researchers have noted that nation states are often predicated on a conception of family which relies on patriarchal foundations. In other words, the family is ruled by the father figure, who has access to and power within the public sphere. This view of the home as "the man's castle" allows for the continuation of male power in formalized political structures.

A more accurate interpretation of Frader's (2004) argument, therefore, would be that while gender-roles seem to be less rigidly defined in industrial societies, gender-stereotypes have yet to catch up. For instance, as both men and women enter the workforce in greater numbers, the relative values placed on their particular jobs differ (Kealey, 2004; Frader, 2004; Lipsett-Rivera, 2004). As women are more likely to enter the public workforce, certain jobs become feminized, while others become masculinized (Lipsett-Rivera, 2004). The jobs which become masculinized also become the jobs which are granted the most social prestige (and often pay) and therefore offer the most power and control within the public sphere.

Finally, the rise of agricultural and industrial nation states also impacts the development of more rigid gender-stereotypes through the process of colonization (Andaya, 2004; Bonvillain, 1998; Frader, 2004; Redding, 2004; Stearns, 2000; Tucker, 2004; Wright, 2004). As large nation states began to colonize less developed societies, their centralized political structures imposed traditional rigidly defined gender-stereotypes on individuals who may or may not have experienced any real separation of the private or public spheres, or any formalized political structure. These particular issues (i.e., beliefs about the family and colonization) will become more central in the next section as our discussion moves from the impact of social systems to the impact of collective belief structures on Gender development. What is important to remember, however, is that industrialization leads to a less rigid formulation of gender-roles, but it appears that there is a lag between these re-integrated gender-roles and our collective beliefs regarding the value of the men and women who perform those roles, which ultimately leads to a mis-interpretation of the impact of industrialization on gender-roles.

Conclusion

As was indicated throughout the above discussion, the impact of shifting modes of production and political structures is mediated by the creation and later separation of the public and private spheres and the relative power and control awarded to individuals who perform the activities associated with each gender-role. Generally, the analysis suggests that, as modes of production and political structures become more complex, both socially and technologically, modes of production become less rigidly associated with biological traits, and therefore less confined based on Gendered considerations.

But social systems based in a predominant mode of production and political structure, do not exist or progress in a vacuum. As people begin to adapt to the public/private divide (e.g., women entering the public sphere in greater numbers in industrial societies), societies find new ways to reinforce the female/male dichotomy. One avenue for continued reinforcement is through the development of collective belief structures. The remainder of this chapter will focus on these collective belief structures and their impact on Gender development.

Gender-Stereotypes

This chapter began with a description of what gender-roles are and an analysis of how they are impacted by changing social systems. From the analysis, it was concluded that every society organizes around different social systems. Two of these social systems which have a specific impact on Gender, through the development of gender-roles, were identified as modes of production and power structures. Importantly, the development of gender-roles through specific social systems is intimately related to a society's collective belief structures.

Not only do societies create and reinforce generally accepted behavioral patterns for men and women (i.e., gender-roles), they also reinforce beliefs about the value, characteristics, and traits associated with being a man or woman (Brannon, 2002; Halsall, 2004; Sanday, 1981). One cannot simply address changing social systems without addressing the role that cultural factors play (Nye, 2004; Sanday, 1981; Stockard & Johnson, 1980). This has become more relevant as societies have become “modernized” and Gender has taken a more prominent role in the determination of an individual’s status (Redding, 2004).

We now move, therefore, to a discussion of the impact that beliefs about the value, characteristics, and traits associated with being a man or woman (as well as female or male) have on the development of Gender. For the purposes of this proposed dissertation, a culture’s collective belief structures (i.e., culture) surrounding Gender will be referred to as gender-stereotypes. Gender-stereotypes are extremely important in any culture because they “help men and women orient themselves as male and female to each other, to the world around them, and to the growing boys and girls whose behavior they must shape to a commonly accepted mold” (Sanday, 1981, p. 3). As we will see later in this chapter, gender-stereotypes are interrelated with gender-roles, sex, and gender-identity. For now, however, it is necessary to establish a clear understanding of how gender-stereotypes develop. It is also important to keep in mind that, in this context, the term “stereotypes” does not necessarily carry a negative connotation. Instead, the term is being used as a label for the shared beliefs (i.e., culture) within a given society, whether these beliefs are positive, negative, neither, or both.

Before we can delve into a detailed analysis of how Gender is viewed within the cultural (interior collective) domain (i.e., gender-stereotype development), we must look a little more closely at exactly what cultural constructs impact gender-stereotypes, or how gender-stereotypes come to be part of the collective consciousness of a society. To achieve this, we will explore three general collective belief structures based on the pioneering work of Jean Gebser (1953/1985). As we will see, collective belief structures can be organized into general categories based on particular components. The two components that are of special importance in any discussion of gender-stereotypes are origin myths and the connection between these myths and the value attributed to females and males (King, 2004; Sanday, 1981; Stockard & Johnson, 1980). The discussion that follows, therefore, concentrates on three of Gebser's (1953/1985) collective belief structures and their relationships with beliefs about the origin of human existence and impact on gender-stereotype development through the differential valuation of females and males in various cultural contexts. We begin with a description of some of the fundamental properties of these three collective belief structures.

Collective Belief Structures

The three belief structures/stages we will use to explore the development of gender-stereotypes are the magic, mythic, and rational (Gebser, 1953/1985). Each of these three structures relates to the predominant way in which a given culture views the world around them. These structures impact the development of gender-stereotypes, within cultures, as they influence how the world is understood, the view of how it operates, and also impact beliefs about the origins of life. In the following pages, each of these worldviews will be discussed in terms of its relationship to origin myths and the

relative value and attributes assigned to females and males within a culture that shares that particular worldview or belief structure.

The first belief structure, magic (Gebser, 1953/1985), is based on the notion that the body and mind have not yet been differentiated from each other (see also Wilber, 2000a). In essence, Gebser (1953/1985) suggests that the magic belief structure is distinguishable based on the belief that all things are representations of a primordial unity (i.e., pre-differentiation). This basic component of the magic belief structure has direct implications for the development of gender-stereotypes.

First, because the body and mind have not yet been differentiated, it is believed that the physical world can be directly manipulated (Wilber, 2000a). Within the context of this particular belief structure, individuals who possess supernatural powers are able to manipulate the physical world, both positively and negatively. Additionally, individuals who operate within cultural contexts that are based on magical belief structures generally view their existence as originating from a common ancestor, from whom all people descended (Wilber, 2000a). As we will see, this common ancestor is often also a product of the pre-differentiated worldview of the magic belief structure. This, as the following discussion will reveal in detail, results in (or from) the formation of seemingly androgynous or uni-sexed origin figures and increased equality in the valuation of men and women.

The next collective belief structure presented by Gebser (1953/1985) is mythic. For Gebser (1953/1985), the mythic belief structure is marked by the initial differentiation of body and mind, or nature and self. Importantly, this differentiation takes the form of what Gebser (1953/1985) refers to as “polarity and complementarity.” This

shift, from magic to mythic belief structures, again, has serious implications for the development of gender-stereotypes.

For instance, in the shift from magic to mythic, important changes occur in both beliefs about the relationship between the personal and the spiritual and the origin of human existence. First, within a mythic belief structure, it is no longer believed that individual's possess supernatural powers with which they can manipulate the physical world. Instead, power is now related to an individual's relationship to external mythological entities (i.e., Gods and Goddesses). Second, origin myths are taken as literal expressions of the beginnings of human existence (Wilber, 2000a). For example, Eve was literally created from the rib of Adam.

Perhaps most significant to our discussion here is the impact that polarity and complementarity have on the formation of gender-stereotypes. Cultures which are based on the mythic structure experience gender-stereotypes which emphasize the necessity to nurture the female and male, as well as feminine and masculine. At this stage, cultural beliefs are neither premised on the idea that all beings are simply manifestations of a single unity (i.e., magic) nor on the notion that beings (in this case men and women) are diametric opposites (i.e., rational). Instead, men and women are differentiated but complimentary manifestations of origin.

The third and final collective belief structure used to form the foundation of our analysis is the rational⁵ (Gebser, 1953/1985). Similar to the previous structures, the rational structure is also marked by important shifts. Most important for the current discussion is the idea that the rational structure is based in a more distinct differentiation between the body and the mind, and a change in the form that this differentiation takes

(Wilber, 2000a). Specifically, in the move from mythic to rational, the polar compliments become antithetical opposites. Instead of two complimentary components of a single whole, we now see two distinct and separate wholes, which are in no way fully reconcilable.

In the rational structure, no longer is the physical world directly connected to the mental or spiritual world. Power is no longer restricted to those who can directly manipulate the physical world (i.e., magic) or those who possess a particular relationship with the Goddesses/Gods (i.e., mythic). Instead, power and the value of individuals are now based in the world of the physical being. The impact this worldview has on the formation of gender-stereotypes is discussed in more depth below. For now, however, it can be said that gender-stereotypes are not immune to the further differentiation of body and mind, which seems to have led to dissociation and the creation of the irreconcilable opposites associated with the rational belief structure. In a very real sense, men and women, now fully situated within the “world of man” or body or physical existence, are seen as opposites or antithetical.

Shifting Cultural Belief Structures and Gender-Stereotype Development

In the above discussion, we paid specific attention to how shifting collective belief structures impact a society’s general beliefs about the origin of human existence and the relative value of individual’s within that society. As we will see, both origin myths and the relative valuation of individuals have serious implications for the development of gender-stereotypes in every culture. In addition, as cultures shift from less complex magic belief structures to more complex understandings of existence based in the rational belief structure, we see a move towards more rigidly dichotomized gender-

stereotypes, as Gender takes a more prominent role in the formulation of beliefs about females' and males' attributes and relative value (Redding, 2004). Figure 5 presents the developmental path of gender-stereotypes, as related to shifting collective belief structures, which will be analyzed in more detail below.

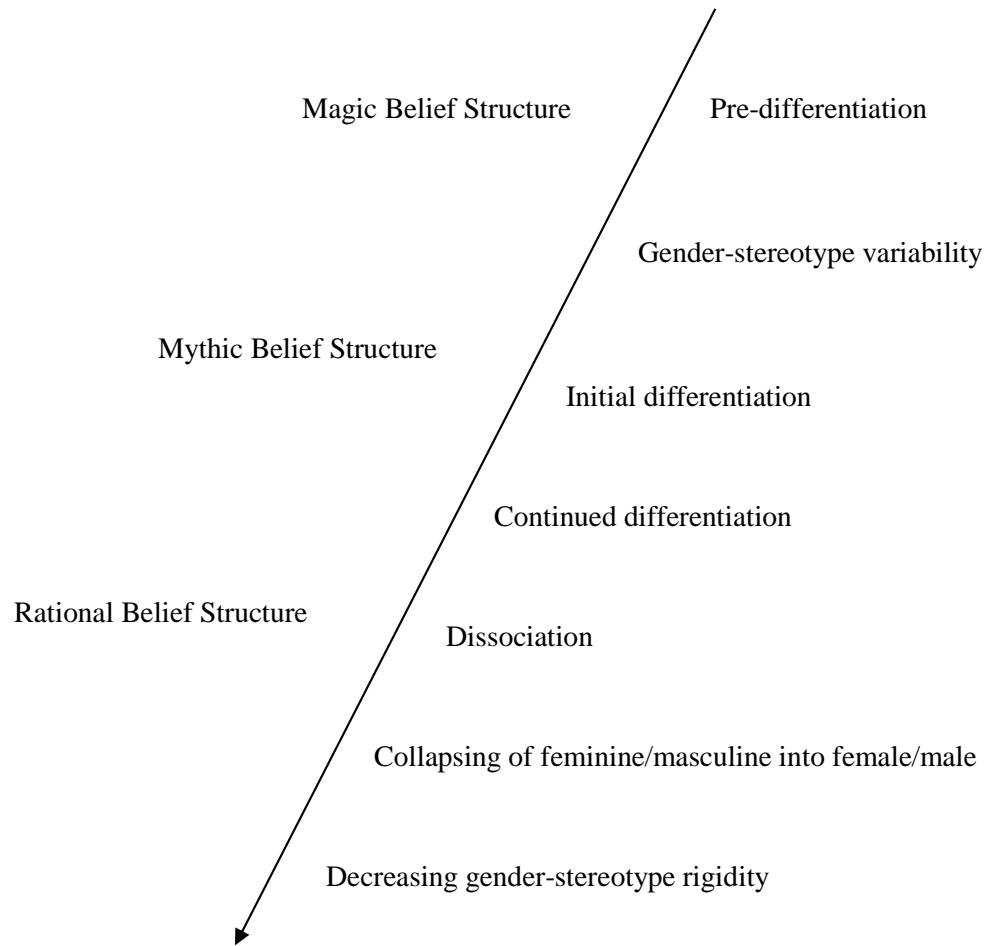


Figure 5: Gender-Stereotype development.

Magic

In the previous section, we used available data to form a developmental path and found that gender-roles progress through stages of pre-differentiation to differentiation to re-integration as we move from band and tribal to more complex societies. Within the

context of pre-differentiated societies, there appeared to be gender-role equality. An important factor leading to this apparent equality in gender-roles was the existence, in these types of societies, of a collective belief structure that corresponds closely to that of Gebser's (1953/1985) magic structure. This, as we will see, is not simply a historical coincidence, but a result of the combined influence of social systems and collective belief structures on the development of Gender from the social and cultural perspectives.

When describing the magic structure, it was stated that this structure was marked by the undifferentiated body and mind, and the belief that individuals could manipulate the physical world through the use of supernatural abilities. This type of worldview relies heavily on the shared belief in a common ancestor from whom all subsequent group members descended. This common ancestor, in many magic cultures, is not female or male, but "a single, dual gendered or ambiguously gendered being, or an indissoluble pair" (Joyce, 2004, p. 317). The belief in a common ancestor, who possesses such characteristics, makes it necessary to not only glorify and nurture the female/feminine self, but also the male/masculine self.

In addition, these cultures hold strongly to the belief that certain individuals have the ability to manipulate the physical world based on their supernatural traits. For example, many magic cultures contain individuals who perform ritual or spiritual roles such as shamans, spirit-helpers, spirit-mediums, and guardians of sacred objects (Andaya, 2004; Dobres, 2004). These individuals, however, are not necessarily confined to the female/male dichotomy that has become standard in modern times⁶. The combined influence of the undifferentiated self (no separation between body and mind), a common undifferentiated ancestor, and a strong belief in the supernatural (i.e., magical) power of

certain individuals creates fertile ground for what may be considered third, fourth, and even fifth “genders.” For example, Dobres (2004) concluded that even in very early societies (i.e., the Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic) there is evidence of individuals who performed ritual roles and took on “genders” outside of the commonly accepted female/male, man/woman dichotomy.

Native American cultures also have a long history of a third category that combines the attributes of both females and males, or as Brannon (2002) puts it, “individuals who...blend masculine and feminine roles” (p. 73) (see also, Archer & Lloyd, 2002; Bonvillain, 1998; Joyce, 2004; Kent, 2004; Lorber, 1994). These individuals, identified as *Berdaches* (see Brannon, 2002; Lorber, 1994) or *Two-Spirits* (see Bonvillain, 1998), often perform ritual or ceremonial duties. Since the collective beliefs within these Native American cultures support the notion of a common, undifferentiated ancestor, individuals who identify with this third category do not lose prestige for stepping outside the bounds of the female/male, man/woman dichotomy. In fact, in many situations, these individuals are afforded increased prominence and power within a given tribe (Bonvillain, 1998).

Constructions of third, fourth, and fifth “genders” are also evident in other societies as well. Andaya (2004) suggests that similar patterns are apparent in the Philippines, where some groups “accorded the same ritual prominence to individuals who combined male and female elements” (p.328). In some African cultures, similar beliefs about the origin of human existence and the importance of the necessity to “combine male with female elements to ensure that the world worked as it was designed to” (Kent, 2004, p.92) also existed.

Mythic

The mythic structure is marked by the shift from a belief in a common ancestor to a belief in external spiritual beings such as goddesses and gods, and a belief in the literal interpretation of religious teachings (see Wilber, 2000a). Both of these shifts in beliefs have implications for the development of gender-stereotypes. These shifts, however, do not necessarily lead to increased rigidity in gender-stereotypes in all cultures. The combination of newly created deities and the interpretation of religious teachings open up a multitude of possibilities for the valuing of females and males, men and women.

In some instances, these changes simply reinforce the gender-stereotype equality already experienced. For instance, in cultures where the deity is conceived as an androgynous figure, both men and women are afforded equal value (Sanday, 1981). Similarly, in cultures where dual female and male deities exist, gender-stereotype equality is sometimes reinforced, because it is necessary for both females and males to be involved with ritual practices (Joyce, 2004; Sanday, 1981).

There are cases, however, where, even when female and male deities are available, the beginnings of unequal valuation take shape. The stirrings of unequal valuation may be the result of the formation of female and male deities which are associated with different abilities or experiences. For example, female deities have been associated with the earth, agriculture, and creation from within (Andaya, 2004; Sanday, 1981; Stockard & Johnson, 1980). Male deities, on the other hand, have traditionally been associated with the sky, animals (and hunting), and creation through outside forces (Sanday, 1981).

As such, when cultures where dual deities exist are combined with social systems in which value is placed on agriculture, females are valued to a greater extent than males,

or the female deity is valued to a greater extent than the male deity. The opposite is also true when the combination of culture and social systems works to place greater emphasis on hunting animals and therefore greater value on the male deity and males in general. This is part of the reason why shifts in social systems correlate with dramatic shifts in the value of men and women across cultures, since a shift in certain social systems (like those discussed earlier in this chapter) combine with shifts in the value placed on female and male deities to create and reinforce gender-role and gender-stereotype valuation.

In addition to the formation of deity figures, cultures operating from a mythic belief structure also rely on literal interpretations of religious or spiritual teachings. This, in many cases, creates a situation where females and males experience differential valuation. As Daly (1991) points out, the literal interpretation of some religious teachings have “seemed to present irrefutable evidence of woman’s essentially inferior intellectual and moral stature” (p. 159). In other cultures, however, the opposite is true. In these cultures, males are identified in spiritual and religious teachings as the progenitors of evil, while females are associated with creation (Sanday, 1981). In either case, females and males experience differential or unequal valuation based on the literal interpretation of religious or spiritual teachings that place one in the position of evil while elevating the other to a position of power and reverence.

Another indication of the complex nature of gender-stereotypes within a culture based in the mythic belief structure is the existence, in some cultures, of third “gender” categories. These categories are similar to the *Berdaches* or *Two-Spirits* discussed above. However, they were less likely to perform strictly spiritual functions. Both the *Xanith* in Oman (Archer & Lloyd, 2002; Lorber, 1994) and the *Hijras* (Lorber, 1994) in India are

examples of third “gender” categories in cultures which primarily operate from a mythic belief structure. These categories are associated with males who perform duties outside of the context of the normalized male role (e.g., prostitution).

The mythic belief structure, therefore, presents the opportunity for many different configurations of gender-stereotypes. This belief structure can result in more rigidly defined and dichotomized gender-stereotypes, but it is just as possible to find examples of gender-stereotype equality, or at least compatibility, as well. The major contributors to the various gender-stereotype formulations are the shift from a common ancestor to some form of deity(ies) and the literal interpretation of religious or spiritual teachings.

Whatever way a particular culture moved, it is clear that by the start of the sixteenth century, when the rational belief structure took a strong hold, gender-stereotypes became much more rigidly defined (Molony, 2004; Nashat, 2004; Redding, 2004; Stolcke, 2004).

Rational

According to some, the rational belief structure, which certainly continues to influence our culture today, gained its strongest hold sometime during the sixteenth century (see Wilber, 2000a). Again, the rational belief structure is marked by a distinct differentiation between body and mind. In terms of gender-stereotypes, the rational belief structure is also marked by the clear differentiation between female/male and feminine/masculine. As we will see in the discussion below, however, this differentiation has turned towards dissociation, and the impacts of this turn have created seemingly contradictory results, by both constraining our behaviors through the imposition of rigidly defined gender-stereotypes and simultaneously opening up new possibilities for men and women.

Corresponding with the realization of the rational belief structure, cultures begin to place increased emphasis on the importance of Gender in everyday discourse (Valenze, 2004). This emphasis is fueled by a major move away from theological beliefs towards more secular understandings of human value and potential. For instance, one of the fundamental views of the rational belief structure is that people are considered equal before the law, as opposed to being equal as a result of divine right (Stolcke, 2004). This is one result of the differentiation between the body and mind, or the physical world of “man” and the mental world of the divine or religious.

Additionally, the differentiation between the body and mind corresponds with the “development of a modern medical view of sexual difference” (Valenze, 2004, p. 463). This newly formed medical view, which is solely concerned with the physical attributes associated with females and males (i.e., body), reinforces the Gender dichotomy through the development of biologically derived gender-stereotypes. Also, it is clear that the Gender dichotomy we so easily take for granted in our current cultural context only recently took shape during the period when the rational belief structure gained a firm hold in most of the world, through the advent of nation states, imperialism, and colonization. As Archer and Lloyd (2002) state, “this fundamental, epistemological change...reflected a profound shift in Western beliefs about science and knowledge, and fundamental changes in meaning and causal explanation” (p. 100). All of these various forces create an increasingly polarized view of gender-stereotypes (Valenze, 2004), pitting definitions of femaleness and maleness, and femininity and masculinity, against each other in a seemingly never ending battle for power, control, and cultural value (Andaya, 2004).

This, however, is not the only result of the shift towards the rational belief structure. As differentiation continues, cultures begin to develop dissociated views of females and males. As body and mind are driven further and further apart, cultures operating from a rational belief structure begin to elevate body above mind. They begin to consider the mind as part of or explained by the actions or attributes of the body, reducing gender-stereotypes to their assumed foundation in the physical world (Kent, 2004), and ignoring the cultural, social, and even psychological factors associated with Gender.

On the other hand, the rational belief structure also presents the possibility for increased gender-stereotype equality. This has become increasingly evident for two reasons. First, in some cultures, the effects of a newly realized rational belief structure are mediated by the previously held belief structure. For example, the equal ritual value placed on females and males within some magic and mythic belief structures can mediate the impact of the rational structure and reduce the likelihood of increased gender-stereotype differentiation.

Second, continued development within the rational belief structure, and even beyond into trans-rational belief structures, at least offers the opportunity for the re-integration of the body and mind, or female/male with feminine/masculine. In these instances, females and males are awarded equal value as members of a culture that emphasizes the integrated (not pre-differentiated) resources of the feminine/masculine in every person. As we will see below, all of these possibilities have come to fruition in one society or another, as the positive and negative aspects of the rational belief structure

combine with the advent of nation states and industrialization to define what it means to be a man or woman.

In one sense, the rise of the rational belief structure offers opportunities for the equal valuation of men and women. Because gender-stereotypes are now firmly based in physical attributes, men and women can be equally valued for their seemingly distinct physical natures. For example, women can be valued for reproduction, nurturing, and all the traits associated with motherhood. Through their culturally perceived strong hold within the family, women are also then awarded value in their ability to raise children who are to become responsible and moral citizens of the state (Lipsett-Rivera, 2004).

Additionally, since the rational belief structure considers all people equal under the law, at least theoretically, women continue to make great strides into public arenas formally restricted to men, such as education, employment outside of the home, and politics (Chaudhuri, 2004; Lipsett-Rivera, 2004; Tucker, 2004). While these positive effects of the rational belief structure work to perhaps even out gender-stereotypes, the continued differentiation, subsequent dissociation and collapsing of the mind into the body can derail the underlying egalitarian notions of the rational structure and reinforce the gender-stereotype dichotomy. What starts as the elevation of the “female” gender-stereotype through the valuation of the mother instinct turns into a cage from which many women, and men, are not able to escape (Tucker, 2004).

Again, as the body and mind are separated through the differentiation associated with the rational belief structure, gender-stereotypes also become differentiated. In essence, the female and male bodies become differentiated from the feminine and masculine self, at least within cultural discourse. Unfortunately, this differentiation can

lead to dissociation and even further into the collapsing of feminine/masculine ideals into the female/male body. Now, if someone is biologically female it is assumed they will also fit within the mold of the feminine gender-stereotype, and vice versa for someone who is biologically male. This becomes all the more important as we look at the modern conceptions of femininity and masculinity and how they relate to the differential valuation of females and males.

There is a huge variety of gender-stereotypes both within and across cultures. For our purposes, however, we will concentrate on the predominant gender-stereotypes found in modern western cultures and the areas where colonization and imperialism spread these notions. The feminine stereotype, for the most part, is marked by notions of piety, purity, submissiveness, domesticity, emotionality, obedience, chastity, sensitivity, passivity, and dependence (Brannon, 2002; Clements, 2004; Kollmann, 2004; Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004; Valenze, 2004). On the other hand, the masculine stereotype, for the most part, is marked by notions of rationality, intelligence, honesty, courage, strength, and diligence (Brannon, 2002; Clements, 2004). The important thing to remember here is that these traits are viewed as biologically driven, as opposed to culturally proscribed. They are therefore perceived as scientific absolutes, which are not impacted by changing cultural viewpoints (Kent, 2004).

These biologically derived gender-stereotypes have a major impact on the functions deemed appropriate for men and women in societies which operate from a rational belief structure. In the discussion of the development of gender-roles, it was proposed that development of industrial nation states correlates with the increased rigidity of gender-roles and the continued split between the public and private sphere.

This interaction is strongly impacted by the simultaneous move towards a rational belief structure. For instance, the biologically driven “female” gender-stereotypes described above place great emphasis on women’s roles within the private sphere (e.g., as mothers, wives, and daughters), and damage the notion that women could operate within the public sphere. The exact opposite is true for the “male” gender-stereotype, which grants men biologically grounded roles within the public sphere, and removes them from the private (Brannon, 2002; Kent, 2004). In either case, men and women are unable to reach their full potential as Gendered individuals because of the perceived dichotomy associated with the rational belief structure and its trend towards differentiation, possible dissociation, and subsequent collapsing of the body and mind.

Summary

Our analysis of the cultural domain focused on the impact that collective belief structures have on the formulation and reinforcement of gender-stereotypes. The findings of this analysis point to the general trend of increasing differentiation between females and males, as well as what it means to be feminine and masculine. As collective belief structures become more complex, we tend to see movement towards decreased gender-stereotype rigidity. Currently, however, it appears as though we are in the midst of the rational belief structure, with a heavy emphasis on scientific knowledge and gender-stereotypes based on the perceived biological differences between females and males.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored the development of Gender within the exterior (social) and interior (cultural) collective domains from specific social science perspectives. As was the case in the previous chapter in terms of the exterior and interior

individual domains, our purpose here was to construct a deeper more comprehensive understanding of how Gender has historically been viewed within the social sciences. It is necessary, therefore, to concentrate on a few important findings from the two analyses included in this chapter. From there, we can begin to explore the similarities, differences, and interrelationships among all four of the domains and corresponding perspectives discussed thus far.

First, similar to findings from our examination of the biological and psychological development of Gender, our analysis here has presented evidence of variation in the ways in which different societies and cultures view Gender. Although the analysis was presented in terms of developmental progressions, within each of the stages described, variations exist in the roles that men and women play and in the collective beliefs about the value of men and women and the traits they possess. At the foundation of these variations is the complex (inter)relationship between social systems and collective belief structures. When these processes collide, they can work to reinforce or completely change the status quo. In either case, understanding the general paths of development along both of these lines is necessary for truly capturing any group's collective view of Gender.

Additionally, our analyses indicate that both gender-role and gender-stereotype development follow a similar trend towards increased differentiation and eventual re-integration. For instance, as social systems become more complex, incorporating increasing amounts of technological advancements, gender-roles become less rigidly defined. This increased flexibility should also result from advancements in collective belief structures. However, our current manifestations of the rational belief structure

sometimes leads men and women to become more constricted in their ability to operate within both the public and private spheres. Women, it seems, continue to be viewed as more valued within the private sphere while men continue to be viewed as more valued within the public sphere. Although signs of re-integration crop up from time-to-time (e.g., the increase in female participation in the public work force and/or increased male participation in the home), the findings of these analyses suggest that we are currently in the throes of what many would characterize as Gender dissociation, at least from an interior collective perspective.

Finally, this analysis has led to the conclusion that social systems and collective belief structures are intimately related. Development in one of these areas is always going to impact development in the other. As groups of people forge new means of production and new political structures emerge, shared beliefs about the value, characteristics, and abilities of men and women also change. In some cases, a group's shared beliefs may mediate the impact of shifting social systems and vice versa. In other cases, however, the combined influence of these changes works to dramatically alter our collective view of the roles, characteristics, and value of those around us.

As we will see below, gender-role and gender-stereotype development are also intimately related to sex and gender-identity development. When all four of these are in sync, a rare occasion indeed, we are offered opportunities for growth and development into increasingly inclusive Gendered lives. When disjunctions occur between any or all of these developmental paths, we often experience pain and suffering, and our growth towards more inclusive and whole beings is halted. Consequently, when we incorporate all of these four domains and corresponding perspectives into our view of Gender, we are

able to construct a more complete approach to understanding Gender as a complex social science construct. When we exclude one or more of these domains or perspectives, or elevate one or more above the others, we limit our approaches to understanding Gender, and the result is likely a partial or incomplete understanding of the complexity of Gender, both as a complex social science construct and lived experience.

The Four Domain Approach

This dissertation began with the assumption that in order to gain a deeper, more complete understanding of Gender as a social science construct we must address the exterior individual (e.g., biological), interior individual (e.g., psychological), exterior collective (e.g., social), and interior collective (e.g., cultural) domains. From there, we moved into a detailed examination of examples of the development of Gender, as viewed from social science perspectives associated with each of these four domains. The purpose of this examination was to offer a beginning point for our exploration into a more complete understanding of the development of Gender. With this greater understanding of the complexity of Gender development, informed by the relevant literature from these four social science perspectives, we can now move on to a more detailed analysis of how each domain and their underlying foundations have impacted our ability to fully understand Gender as a complex social science construct. As a beginning point for the next step in this study, it is necessary to explore the similarities and differences among all four developmental paths. To assist in this, Figure 6 includes all four of these paths in a single model.

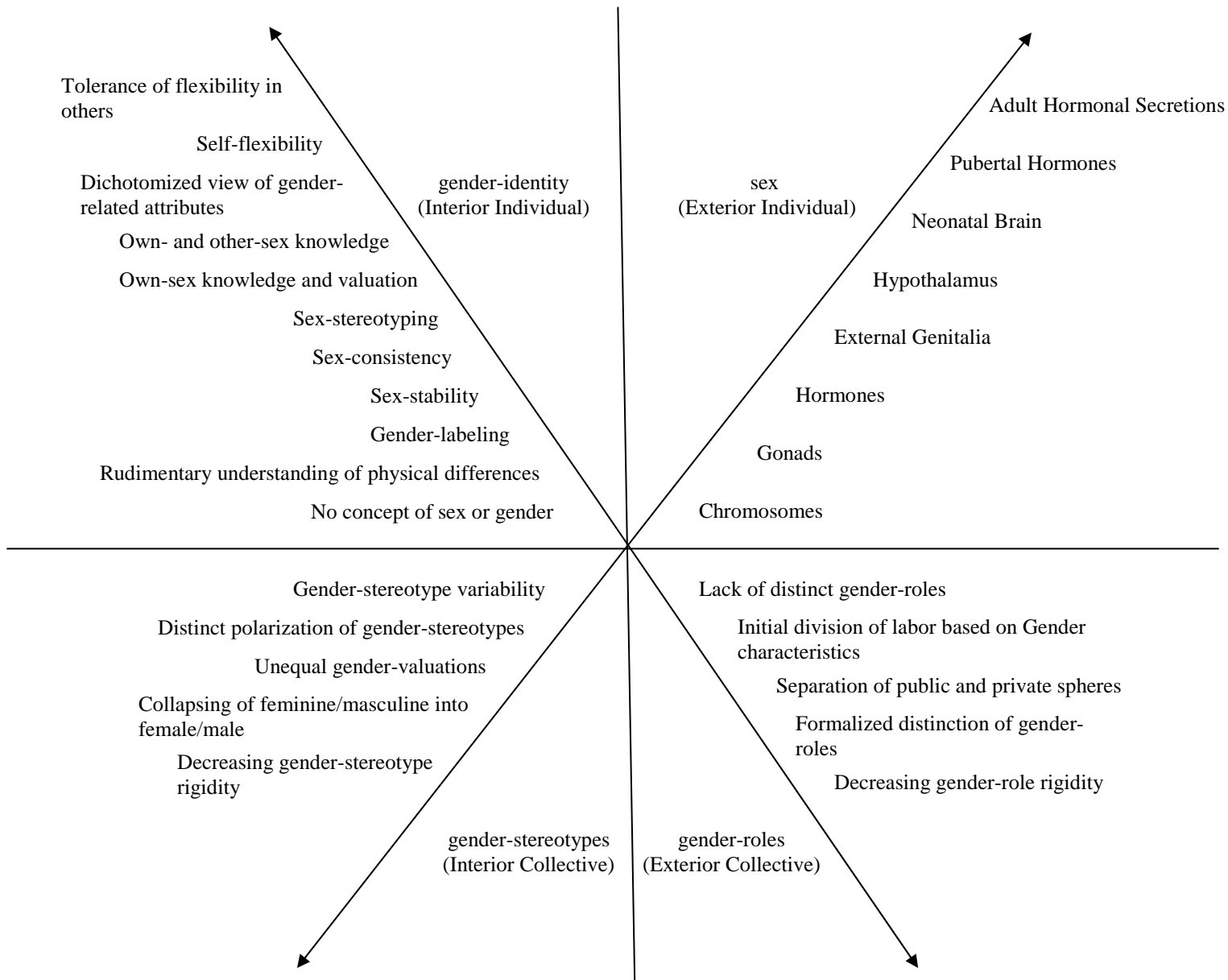


Figure 6: Four perspective approach to gender development (Adapted from Wilber (2000a; 2000b; 2006).

Similarities and Differences

Even with a cursory look at Figure 6, it is clear that all four of the developmental paths follow a generally similar progression from pre-differentiation to differentiation.

For example, from the biological perspective, we begin life as sexually undifferentiated

beings, from the psychological perspective we begin with no clear understanding of sex or Gender, from the social perspective societies begin with no distinct gender-role differentiation, and from the cultural perspective our collective understanding of gender-stereotypes begin with the undifferentiated being and high degrees of gender-stereotype variability and equal valuation.

As our development along these four paths continues, however, we experience differentiation, both as individuals and collective groups of individuals. The specific forms differentiation takes depends, of course, on the particular perspective you take. For instance, from the biological perspective sexual differentiation occurs with the development of the gonads, from the psychological perspective sexual differentiation occurs when an individual develops the ability of gender-labeling, from the social perspective differentiation occurs with the initial division of labor based on specific Gender characteristics (e.g., biological sex differences), and from the cultural perspective differentiation occurs when our collective beliefs about men and women lead to the construction of distinct gender-stereotypes and the differential valuation of men and women.

At this point, all four developmental paths continue towards increased differentiation. The introduction of hormones, the development of external genitalia, the formation of the hypothalamus and neonatal brain structures, and the spike in hormones during puberty all mark the continued biological differentiation between females and males. Additionally, the abilities of sex-stability, sex-consistency, and sex-stereotyping, as well as own-sex knowledge and valuation, own- and other-sex knowledge, and our dichotomized view of gender-related attributes are all associated with increased

differentiation in the formation of a distinct gender-identity. Similarly, the initial division of labor based on Gender characteristics is followed by the continued separation of the public and private spheres and the restriction of females to the private sphere. Also, the distinct polarization of gender-stereotypes is experienced in conjunction with the increasingly unequal valuation of men and women.

As development along these paths continues, we can see that following the differentiation discussed above, individuals and collectives may move on to an integration of what was previously differentiated. Looking at sex development, the life of the adult is marked by an integration of the female and male self through the secretion of adult hormones. When addressing gender-identity development, research suggests that individuals begin to express self-flexibility and tolerance towards flexibility in others. Specifically, individuals begin to draw on both the feminine and masculine gender-identity to form a more complete and fully integrated understanding of who they are and how they can operate within the larger society.

When we look at the social and cultural developmental paths, we can see that, at least in a general sense, this pattern is also evident. From the social perspective, while the combined influence of various social systems and the initial division of the female and male gender-roles leads to formalized distinctions between what functions men and women are allowed to perform, innovations in modes of production lead to a decrease in gender-role rigidity. This seems to be primarily driven by the introduction of technology that separates modes of production from biological characteristics such as physical strength, mobility, and fertility. From the cultural perspective, our unequal valuation of men and women is followed by the collapsing of feminine/masculine into female/male

and an increasingly rigid conception of the value of men and women through the formation of gender-stereotypes based predominantly on exaggerated biological differences. This, however, gives way to newly formed notions that promote the equal valuation of both men and women. These newly formed gender-stereotypes, although often still situated in the perceived sex-dichotomy, begin to value the differential strengths of both men and women and recognize the commonalities among us all.

Based on these findings, we can see that Gender development progresses into higher stages, where the undifferentiated moves towards differentiation, and then in some cases slowly works its way towards a more fully developed integration which honors the value and importance of female AND male, feminine AND masculine characteristics. On the other hand, there are times when these various developmental paths collide in ways that stall our movement towards integration. This is perhaps most notable when we look at the impact of gender-stereotypes on our collective beliefs regarding the ability of men and women to perform specific gender-roles. This issue, the lag between gender-stereotypes and newly forming gender-roles will be discussed below.

These similarities across all four developmental paths outlined above provide the basis for one example of the importance of viewing Gender from multiple perspectives simultaneously. For instance, an individual may develop a gender-identity that honors the value and function of both their feminine and masculine self (i.e., develop the capacity for self-flexibility), but live in a society where gender-roles are strictly divided along biologically derived lines of distinction (i.e., formalized distinction of gender-roles), and where those around them do not believe that their feminine characteristics have the same worth as their masculine characteristics (i.e., unequal gender-valuations). In this instance,

the individual may experience serious problems in their relationships with others, such as social stigmatization. As we will see, these disjunctions among stages along one or more of these developmental paths can lead to serious problems, not just for individuals but for societies as well. In addition, these disjunctions can lead to serious problems in our understanding of Gender as a complex social science construct. In order to make this particular point more clear, the following section provides additional examples of the varying interrelationships among all four domains and their corresponding social science perspectives.

Interrelationships among the Developmental Paths

We have now outlined the developmental path of Gender, as it is viewed from social science perspectives associated with the four domains that form the foundation for this dissertation. Each of these developmental paths was presented as a progression of stages that individuals or collective groups of individuals “go through.” In addition, each of these paths was presented separately from the others. This was necessary so that we could gain a greater understanding of the unique contribution that each of these perspectives offers towards our understanding of Gender.

As you may have already gathered, however, these paths are actually not completely independent of each other. It is necessary, therefore, to view the combined influence of these seemingly separate developmental paths. While the interrelationships among the developmental paths (and consequently the four domains) were at least implied throughout the discussion thus far, they must be made more explicit before moving further into the specific questions this dissertation is going to address and the methodology that is implemented to address them.

A full explication of all the possible interrelationships among the four developmental paths outlined above would likely fill volumes. Instead, the analysis that follows will focus, for illustration purposes, on some of the interrelationships which were at least hinted at thus far. Also, this analysis will shed further light on the need for social scientists to include, or at least consider, each of the four developmental paths, the perspectives from which they are viewed, and their corresponding domains.

Although many may consider biological sex development as a static or at least uniform path from conception to death, the examination included in Chapter II suggests otherwise. There are a number of instances in which sex development is influenced by, and influences the other developmental paths. One of the more obvious and striking examples of this is what happens when an individual's sex development takes the form of one of the divergences discussed in Chapter II. These individuals are usually forced (e.g., through surgery or hormonal treatments) into one of two culturally and socially accepted sexes in Western societies. For most, the thought of raising a child with ambiguous genitalia can be extremely difficult and frightening. The fear that many parents feel is likely deeply rooted in cultural beliefs and expectations.

Because our Western cultural beliefs surrounding Gender are currently based in the rational belief structure, a belief structure predicated on the establishment and reinforcement of more rigidly defined opposites, there is little room for ambiguity in biological sex. The fear that many parents feel when their child is born with signs of ambiguous or divergent sex development is echoed by the larger cultural context within which they operate. The gender-stereotypes we have developed based on the rational belief structure work in conjunction with parental fears, creating mutually reinforcing

ideas about what is “normal” and what is not. These worries are also reinforced by the inability for our current predominant gender-role configurations to make room for more than two sexes. If an individual is neither male nor female, it becomes difficult if not impossible to determine which roles they should play in our current social systems, and as we know such individuals are often marginalized. This is the type of situation that led Meade and Wiesner-Hanks (2004) to conclude that in certain situations “gender determines sex rather than the other way around” (p. 3).

D’Andrade (1975) came to a similar conclusion when discussing the relationship between secondary sex characteristics and gender-roles. As D’Andrade (1975) stated it,

Secondary sex characteristics are not completely under genetic control, and can be affected by cultural and environmental factors. For example, cultural heightening of genetic secondary sex characteristics occurs frequently with regard to physical strength. The genetically determined greater size and more muscular body composition of the male results in a fairly large difference in physical strength between the sexes. This difference is often increased, however, by the tendency for males in most societies to perform those activities requiring rapid and extreme exertion. (p.175)

What this quotation from D’Andrade (1975) speaks to is the interrelationship between biological sex and gender-roles. In societies where the male gender-role requires physical strength and exertion, we see an exaggeration of the general biological differences between female and male muscular structures and body types. In societies where the male gender-role does not require a high degree of physical strength, secondary sex

characteristics such as body type and musculature are more evenly matched among females and males (D'Andrade, 1975).

Additionally, all of the stages that an individual will progress through while forming their particular gender-identity are fundamentally influenced by all of the other domains as well. For instance, it was noted in Chapter II that the ability of gender-labeling is deeply impacted by an individual's ability to differentiate between specific physical (i.e., biological) cues. Also, the ability of sex-consistency, at least in terms of how it is measured within psychological literature, is impacted by social and cultural cues. Remember that an individual is said to have achieved sex-consistency when they are able to conserve another individual's sex, even when faced with transformational changes (e.g., holding a ball to holding a purse, wearing a dress to wearing pants). These transformational changes, however, are rooted in our own cultural views (i.e., gender-stereotypes) about what it is that makes someone a boy or girl, man or woman. In addition, as Bem (1989) pointed out, this ability is also contingent on the individual's recognition that genital knowledge (i.e., biological sex) is the defining attribute of sex.

Findings discussed in Chapter II also suggested that sex-stereotyping (one of the stages of gender-identity development) was related to gender-labeling (Fagot & Leinbach, 1994). In essence, those who can distinguish between females and males based on biological cues (e.g., facial features) are more likely to apply and adhere to specific sex-based gender-stereotypes, and internalize these stereotypes into their own gender-identity. These interrelationships have been recognized by some researchers and theorists who have formed more inclusive theories of gender-identity development (see Bussey & Bandura (1992) and their discussion of social cognitive theory).

Looking more closely at the contribution of social learning theory to our understanding of gender-identity development also provides an example of the four perspective approach. Specifically, Mischel (1975) suggested that individuals will discriminate between sex-typed behaviors based on the influence of parents and other models. The influence that these particular models have on gender-identity development is often related to the determination of the power relationships that exist within the family and between these models. Because power relationships are a direct indication of gender-roles, it becomes evident that gender-roles are influencing gender-identity formation. Since power relationships are also related to sex (i.e., body size) and gender-stereotypes (i.e., the notion that men are powerful and aggressive and women are weak and passive), this process offers another example of how all four of these developmental paths need to be considered when addressing the complexity of Gender.

There is also a great deal of evidence to suggest that the initial formation of gender-roles which occurs during the shift from band/foraging societies to tribal/horticultural societies has at its base a very real connection to sex. In the discussion of this shift presented earlier in this chapter, it was noted that this initial division of labor had much to do with physical constraints placed on women who were either pregnant or rearing children. However, if biological constraints were the only basis for gender-roles then as biological differences became less important (e.g., through the introduction of more advanced and less biologically driven technologies) gender-roles would become less rigidly defined. This, however, has not been the general result of improved technology in the area of subsistence production.

Instead, when faced with more advanced technological approaches to production, our gender-roles seem to continue to be rigidly defined. In some ways, men and women are still constrained within specific dichotomized gender-roles. The biological basis for these gender-roles, which may have made at least some sense when they were first developed, has long been made obsolete within societies that have developed more advanced technologies, which no longer depend on biological characteristics. In these instances, culturally derived gender-stereotypes regarding the proper place for men and women have gained a stronghold in place of the more traditional biologically driven gender-roles found in less technologically advanced societies (Dornbusch, 1975). Additionally, the gender-stereotypes we use to reinforce our gender-roles are also based in our exaggerations of the impact that biological sex has on the abilities of men and women.

Another example of the importance of considering all four domains comes from one of the major focuses for the discussion of gender-role development earlier in this chapter, the separation of the public and private spheres. In addition to its relationship to biological sex differences, this separation is in part influenced by the stages of gender-stereotype development. Within the context of the rational belief structure, the public and private spheres must be separated. Not only are they separated, but they are conceptualized as representing opposite ends of a single continuum. Since the public and private spheres are now incommensurable, similar to gender-stereotypes which become more rigidly defined in the rational belief structure, it is necessary to fit our gender-roles within this dichotomized view. In order to accomplish this, we must, in many ways, limit our understanding of the complexity of Gender so as not to upset what we believe to be

incontrovertible truths about the “nature” of men and women (Brannon, 2002; Dornbusch, 1975).

Last, we must consider the impact that direct changes in gender-role configurations have on the lives of men and women. To illustrate this particular relationship, we can consider some of the impacts that increased participation for women in the public sphere has had on men’s and women’s lives. For example, Bonvillain (1998) points out that even when women entered the educational system at a higher rate, they were often taught “within the ideological and social constructs of women’s accepted roles. Women were schooled in domestic science, child rearing, and the arts and humanities. They were encouraged to be chaste and mindful of their familial duties” (pp. 162-163). In this example, gender-role transformations that attempted to integrate notions of equality between females and males were constrained by gender-stereotypes which were based in a rational belief structure.

Along these same lines, the feminization and masculinization of particular jobs seems to be, at least in part, a reaction to the increased involvement of women in the public sphere. As Lipsett-Rivera (2004) notes, as females were more likely to enter the public work force, certain jobs became feminized and others masculinized. This process was one way in which gender-stereotypes were able to remain intact, even in the face of serious contradictions with newly forming gender-roles. The process of feminizing and masculinizing certain occupations also worked to alleviate some of the stress placed on both men and women in the workforce, and reduce the likelihood of resentment among men as women began to compete for equal treatment in the workforce (Kealey, 2004).

But the relationship between gender-roles and gender-stereotypes illustrated in these few examples can also work in the opposite direction. For instance, in many cultures, gender-stereotypes surrounding women support notions of passivity, domesticity, and familial responsibility. These gender-stereotypes, however, become less influential when individual women must, in terms of survival, work outside the home often in occupations which require physical exertion (Chaudhuri, 2004; Stearns, 2000). In these instances, the particular role that an individual plays may hold more weight than the culturally proscribed gender-stereotypes.

In the above examples, the interrelationships among all four domains, as viewed from particular social science perspectives, become evident. Again, these are only some of the many ways in which sex, gender-identity, gender-roles, and gender-stereotypes combine to influence our understanding of Gender. But these examples are not limited to the research participants, cultures, and societies that we as social scientists choose to study. We are also impacted by these varying perspectives, both as individuals (i.e., social scientists) and a collective (i.e., the social science discipline). What we choose to study, and the perspectives we choose to incorporate into those studies have serious implications for our ability, as social scientists and social science disciplines, to fully grasp the complexity of Gender.

This speaks directly to one of the primary foci of this dissertation. Specifically, it is essential that we begin to consider how our decisions to incorporate one or more of these domains and their corresponding perspectives influence our own understanding of Gender, as individual social scientists as well as social science disciplines. Considering these issues is essential to gaining a clear understanding of what successes we have had

and what areas we must improve on in order to construct a deeper, more complete approach to understanding Gender and its relationship to our own and others' lived experiences. This forms the basis for the primary purpose of this dissertation, as well as the methodology and analytic strategy outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS

In the previous two chapters, the development of Gender as viewed from particular social science perspectives on the four domains associated with Integral theory (i.e., the interior individual, interior collective, exterior individual, and exterior collective) was outlined. The review ended with a discussion of the similarities, differences, and interrelationships across these four domains and the developmental paths constructed through an analysis of available social science research and literature. In analyzing the four developmental paths, it was concluded that the paths seem to progress into higher stages reflecting the continued integration of previously differentiated Gendered experiences.

Beyond describing the developmental paths of Gender, the general purpose of the literature review was to provide evidence that supports the establishment of the four basic domains of Gender and their corresponding social science perspectives. Therefore, in addition to outlining the developmental progression of Gender, each of the four developmental paths corresponds to a specific domain of Gender as viewed from one particular social science perspective. Again, gender-identity corresponds to the interior individual domain, which, in the social sciences, is often viewed from a psychological perspective. Sex corresponds to the exterior individual domain, which, in the social sciences, is often viewed from a biological perspective. Gender-stereotypes corresponds to the interior collective domain, which, in the social sciences, is often viewed from a cultural perspective. And gender-roles corresponds to the exterior collective domain, which, in the social sciences is often viewed from a social systems perspective.

It is important, however, to consider that the review of literature which informed the construction of the four developmental paths drew heavily on research and scholarly writings from a number of disciplines, including biology, psychology, sociology, anthropology and criminology. The reliance on literature from these disciplines, therefore, has had a great impact on the particular formation of the developmental paths outlined thus far. The four paths which were developed in the previous two chapters are direct expressions of the disciplinary viewpoints which form the foundations for research in each of these areas.

In addition, the individual researchers who conducted the studies which informed the construction of these developmental paths are all impacted by disciplinary structures and norms, as well as their own individual beliefs and behavior. Social scientists are not only viewing these domains of Gender from the outside, but also experiencing Gender development personally (i.e., individually) and in their disciplinary culture (i.e., collectively). The distinction between the perspectives on Gender development and the domains of Gender has serious implications, not only for us as individuals, but for social scientists and their ability to fully address the complexity of Gender. These points should be considered when attempting to assess our current approaches to studying Gender within the social sciences.

For instance, where social scientists are situated within the context of these domains and which perspectives they take, will impact the approaches they employ to study Gender. Therefore, to begin to gain a clearer, more complete understanding of Gender, we must consider current social science approaches in relation to these domains and the various perspectives which correspond to them. A more precise analysis of the

current state of social science literature in relation to these domains should help reveal the strengths and weaknesses of our current approaches to studying Gender and its impact on human behavior. In addition, a more honest and open assessment of individual social scientists' experiences of Gender, within the context of the four domains, will likely help us in developing a deeper understanding of how individual Gendered development impacts the study of Gender within social science disciplines.

General Methodology

The primary purpose of this research was to assess our current approaches to studying Gender in the social sciences. To achieve this, three central issues were considered. First, it was necessary to generally determine what we currently know about Gender and how we know it. Second, it was necessary to assess the strengths and weaknesses of our current approaches to understanding Gender. Finally, a more inclusive model for understanding Gender within social science research and literature was constructed. In order to help address these three central issues, the following five research questions were developed. Each of the following research questions was addressed through the methodology and analytic strategy described below.

- 1) What conceptual definitions of Gender are currently being used within criminological, psychological, and sociological research and literature?
- 2) What operational definitions of Gender are currently being used within criminological, psychological, and sociological research and literature?
- 3) To what extent do the conceptual definitions currently being used within the criminological, psychological, and sociological research and literature match the operational definitions used to measure them?

- 4) What are the strengths and weaknesses of our current approaches to studying Gender?
- 5) Is there a more inclusive/integrative and appropriate conceptual and operational framework for studying Gender within the social sciences?

In order to address these research questions, a content analysis of current research in three social science disciplines was conducted, criminology, psychology, and sociology. Similar to the review of literature presented in the previous chapters, the methodology and analytic strategy outlined in this chapter were based within an existing meta-theory. This meta-theory provided the framework through which it became possible to assess our current approaches to studying Gender. The discussion below begins with a more detailed explication of the sampling strategy employed in this research, as well as the application of the meta-theoretical framework to data collection and the general analytic strategy.

Sampling

The published articles used as data sources for the current study were selected through a purposive sampling of recent journal articles within three social science disciplines, criminology, psychology, and sociology. The specific articles were selected in three stages.

Stage 1

The first stage of sampling was the selection of the three social science disciplines: criminology, psychology, and sociology. The three disciplines were selected based on the relevance of Gender within each discipline's research and literature. This was determined in several ways. First, it is a generally held belief that Gender, in some form or another, plays a critical role in each of the three disciplines selected (see for

support Archer & Lloyd, 2002; Biernat, 1991; Bonvillain, 1998; Brannon, 2002; Browne, 2002; Bussey & Bandura, 1992; Chodorow, 1978; Cohen & Harvey, 2006; Fagot & Leinbach, 1994; Frader, 2004; Galambos et al., 1990; Halsall, 2004; Katz & Ksansnak, 1994; Kent, 2004; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Kohlberg, 1975; Levy, 1999; Lorber, 1994; Martin & Halverson, 1981; Mealey, 2000; Mischel, 1975; Rogers & Rogers, 2001; Sanday, 1981; Schoenbrun, 2004; Stearns, 2000; Stevenson et al., 1994; Stockard & Johnson, 1980; Strong et al., 2005; Valenze, 2004). This general belief was initially supported by the review of literature which formed the basis of the previous two chapters. The research that informed the construction of the four developmental paths was mainly concentrated within these three disciplines. One slight caveat relates to the biological perspective. While it is heavily influenced by research in the natural sciences, psychologists have integrated the findings of that research into their own discipline. This is illustrated in Table 1, where it can be noted that several of the introductory psychology textbooks included coverage of sex development, or the biological development of Gender.

In addition, the central role of Gender within these three disciplines was supported by an examination of introductory textbooks for psychology, sociology, and criminology. It was expected that if Gender was considered a central construct in each of these disciplines, then introductory textbooks would provide a substantive amount of coverage of the subject area. Ten introductory textbooks from each of these three disciplines were examined. These textbooks were chosen based on two criteria. First, only those textbooks available in the University library were selected. The search was limited to the University library due to both time and financial constraints. Second,

textbooks were chosen based on whether the author identified them as being appropriate for, or targeted towards undergraduate students who were interested in a broad overview of their particular discipline (i.e., introductory type textbooks only).

Once these textbooks were selected, the next step was to examine the table of contents in each textbook to search for entries that related to Gender. Overall, of the 30 introductory textbooks examined, 25 contained some reference to Gender (see Table 1). The findings of this examination of the table of contents offered initial support to the idea that Gender plays an important role in each of these disciplines.

Table 1: *Introductory Textbooks That Included Reference(s) to Gender*

Discipline	Author(s)	Title
Criminology	Quinney (1975)	Criminology: Analysis and Critique of Crime in America
	Vold, Bernard, & Snipes (2002)	Theoretical Criminology
	Taft & England (1964)	Criminology
	Vetter & Wright (1974)	Introduction to Criminology
	Siegel (1995)	Criminology
	Sheley (1995)	Criminology: A Contemporary Handbook
Psychology	Baron, Burn, & Kantowitz (1977)	Psychology: Understanding Behavior
	Brown & Herrnstein (1975)	Psychology
	Hall (1960)	Psychology: An Introductory Textbook
	Kagan & Havemann (1976)	Psychology: An Introduction
	Whittaker (1965)	Introduction to Psychology
	Lazerson (1975)	Psychology Today: An Introduction
	Issacson, Hutt, & Blum (1965)	Psychology: The Science of Behavior
	Edwards (1968)	General Psychology
Sociology	Gazzaniga (1973)	Fundamentals of Psychology: An Introduction
	Broom & Selznick (1963)	Sociology: A Text With Adapted Readings
	Spencer (1979)	Foundations of Modern Sociology
	Johnson (1960)	Sociology: A Systematic Introduction
	Green (1972)	Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society
	Freedman (1956)	Principles of Sociology: A Text With Readings
	Dressler & Carns (1973)	Sociology: The Study of Human Interaction
	Demerath & Marwell (1976)	Sociology: Perspectives and Applications
	Bertrand (1967)	Basic Sociology: An Introduction to Theory and Method
	Berger & Berger (1975)	Sociology: A Biographical Approach
	Bates & Julian (1975)	Sociology: Understanding Social Behavior

Once it was established that Gender, in one form or another, was included in the table of contents of 25 out of the 30 introductory textbooks, these textbooks were examined to determine the extent and depth of coverage. The examination of the actual coverage of Gender within these textbooks offered several important observations. First, the extent of coverage varied not only across disciplines but also across textbooks within each discipline. While some textbooks offered relatively in-depth coverage of the impact of Gender within the specific discipline (e.g., entire chapters or sections on Gender), others did not. However, even in those textbooks which did not offer an entire chapter or section on the role of Gender in the discipline, Gender was consistently woven throughout the discussion of other important topics in the discipline, as indicated by the findings presented in Table 2.

The second important observation is that the textbooks from each discipline covered Gender both from discipline specific and cross-discipline perspectives. For instance, discipline specific perspectives were evident in criminology introductory textbooks when they discussed Gender in relation to crime causation, trends in criminal behavior and criminal justice responses to behavior, and the creation of particular laws. Similarly, sociology introductory textbooks often discussed Gender in relation to cultural norms, social systems, and kinship and family relations. Also, psychology introductory textbooks often discussed Gender in relation to psychological and biological development, specific psychological theories, and behavioral differences.

When addressing Gender from a cross-discipline perspective, textbooks in each discipline often incorporated Gender constructs from one or more of the other two disciplines. For instance, as indicated in Table 2, psychology textbooks often included

discussions of the impact of sex-typing (a culturally based phenomenon) on behavior and psychological development. Also, criminology textbooks often included discussions of the impact of sex development (or more specifically abnormal sex development) on

Table 2: *Coverage of Gender within Introductory Textbooks (By Discipline)*

Discipline	Coverage
Criminology	Sex and criminal behavior patterns; sex bias in laws on sexual conduct; sex crimes; sex roles and adolescents; conventional sex roles and criminal behavior; conventional sex roles and rates of arrest; sex and criminal propensity; feminist criminology; gender, testosterone, and crime; gender within theory; sex hormones; enforcement of sex laws; attitudes toward sex and impact on law; sex offenses; sex in prison; sexual psychopath laws; sex chromosomes and antisocial behavior; sex and arrest (female trends); crime rate of female blacks; females and crime rates; homicide and sex factors; crime rate and sex factors; sex norms; sex offenders; analysis of relationships among gender, power, and criminality; gender and crime; gender and crime rates; sexual equality and prostitution; sex delinquent; sexual abuse; sexual exploitation; criminality of women; penalization of women by criminal justice system; biology and crime; gender roles and crime
Sociology	Family social systems; crime and sex; social differentiation and sex; sex ratio; sex factor in social differentiation; family as an institution; sexual revolution; stratification and sex; sex as religion; women in family and career; femininity; feminism; masculinity; sexual norms; feminine roles; masculine roles; sex roles; social control of sex; sexism; sex roles and socialization; sexual assignment of tasks; women in the labor force; women as a minority; power of women; women and religion; women in science; women and discrimination; women's liberation movement; division of labor in the family; women and industrialization; changing roles of women in America; biology of sex; age-sex differentiations in function(s); women in the labor force; division of labor and sex; sex behavior and social status; sociological significance of sex; sexism and industrialization; sexism and inequality; sexual behavior; culture and sexual behavior; norms of sexual behavior; religion and sexual morality; political behavior of women; changing patterns of sexual identity; female labor market; institutional sexism; male roles; sex and demographic change; culture of sexism; women and crime; women and mental illness; women in organizations; family roles; sex-role differentiation; sexual behavior; sex and temperament; kinship
Psychology	Freud's theory of sexual development; sex-determination; biological development of sex; sex-role acquisition in relation to developmental theories; stereotypes; sex differences in abilities; sex-linked traits; chromosomes; gender-identity; gender-stereotypes; gender-roles; sex development; parental and social responses to gender/sex; sexual identity development; sexual stereotypes; sex and the division of labor; sex-differences in intelligence; sex-role development; relationship between social and psychological development of sex; sex-typing; behavioral sex differences; sex-development and behavior

criminal propensities. Additionally, sociology textbooks included discussions of the relationship between sex and crime, as well as psychological development and Gendered group dynamics.

The observations discussed above would appear to support the generally held belief regarding the central role of Gender within these disciplines, and also offer at least an initial indication of cross-disciplinary differences in approaches to dealing with Gender as a construct. While Gender may play an important role in each of these disciplines, the actual treatment of Gender varies both across the three disciplines and in some instances within each discipline. Consequently, the within- and cross-disciplinary differences in approaches to understanding Gender can have an impact on the treatment of Gender as a complex social science construct. As such, this study was designed, in part, to analyze the differences and similarities across these three disciplines in their treatment of Gender, and to assess the impact of these similarities and differences on our approaches to understanding the complexity of Gender.

As an aside, it is important to note that, while most of these introductory textbooks at least discuss the impact of Gender within their respective disciplines, they do not necessarily break Gender down into the more specific perspectives that formed the basis for this dissertation. Also, the different terms that identify Gender (i.e., gender, sex, gender-identity, and gender-roles) are often used interchangeably, both within and across disciplines. The ways in which these different terms are actually used within the textbooks may, in fact, be an indication of the very issue that this dissertation illuminates.

Specifically, the interchangeability of these terms within the textbooks may indicate that researchers and scholars in each of these disciplines have yet to create a

consistent language for the study of Gender and its impact on human behavior and the social science disciplines. The lack of a consistent language may be limiting our ability to speak to each other in a manner that sheds light on the many different perspectives on Gender (see Kessler & McKenna, 1978). Additionally, this issue may be limiting our ability to recognize the complexity of Gender as a social science construct. Both of these issues (i.e., the lack of a consistent language and its impact on our ability to recognize the complexity of Gender) are discussed in more detail in Chapters V and VI, where the results of the analyses employed in this study are discussed.

Stage 2

In the second stage of sampling, the particular academic journals were chosen (see Table 3). Because this study was aimed at gaining a broad view of the current treatment of Gender within these three selected social science disciplines, two types of journals were selected. First, two mainstream journals were selected in each discipline. These journals were selected in order to capture the predominant research in each discipline. The mainstream journals were chosen based on two factors. First, journals that are published by national membership organizations in each field were selected. Second, published rankings (e.g., Social Sciences Citation Index rankings) were considered.

For example, within the discipline of criminology, a number of studies have been conducted to assess the scholarly productivity of academics (Cohn & Farrington, 1998, 2007; Steiner & Schwartz, 2007; Wright, Bryant, & Miller, 2001). In all of these studies, the top ranked journals in both criminology and criminal justice were established. The journals *Criminology* and *Justice Quarterly* were listed in all of these studies among the top-ranked criminology and criminal justice journals, respectively (see Cohn &

Farrington, 1998, 2007; Steiner & Schwartz, 2007; Wright, Bryant, & Miller, 2001). In addition, these two journals are published by the two major national organizations in the fields of criminology and criminal justice (i.e., American Society of Criminology and Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, respectively). These mainstream journals, therefore, likely represent the most widely distributed and influential approaches to research within their respective disciplines. Also, these journals likely have a larger influence on general theory and research trends in each discipline. A similar review of published journal rankings was conducted for both psychology and sociology.

Table 3: *Journals Selected for Inclusion in Study Sample*

Discipline	Journal Type	Journal Name
Criminology	Mainstream	Criminology (Crim) Justice Quarterly (JQ)
	Gender-Oriented	Feminist Criminology (FC)
Psychology	Mainstream	Journal of Personal and Social Psychology (JPSP) Journal of Experimental Psychology: General (JExp:G)
	Gender-Oriented	Psychology of Women Quarterly (PWQ) Psychology of Men and Masculinity (PMM)
Sociology	Mainstream	American Journal of Sociology (AJS) American Sociological Review (ASR)
	Gender-Oriented	Gender & Society (G&S) Journal of Gender Studies (JGS)

In addition to the two mainstream journals, journals that focused specifically on Gender were selected from each discipline (i.e., Gender-oriented journals). It is argued here, that these topic specific journals offer the most innovative and creative approaches to research on Gender within each particular discipline. These journals also offer a wider

variety of Gender definitions, which were the focus of the content analysis. It was found that both psychology and sociology contained multiple Gender-oriented journals, while criminology contained only one. As such, the one Gender-oriented journal in criminology was included in this sample. In order to choose the most appropriate Gender-oriented journals from psychology and sociology, the same selection process that was followed for the mainstream journals was conducted (i.e., organizational affiliation and published rankings).

Table 4: *Number of Articles Included in Study Sample*

Discipline	Journal Type	Journal	Year	Volume	# of Issues	# of Articles
Criminology	Mainstream	Crim	2006	44	4	30
			2007	45	4	28
		JQ	2006	23	4	22
			2007	24	4	27
	Gender-Oriented	FC	2006	1	4	15
			2007	2	4	16
Psychology	Mainstream	JPSP	2006	90/91	12	141
			2007	92/93	12	141
		JExP:G	2006	135	4	34
			2007	136	4	39
	Gender-Oriented	PWQ	2006	30	4	36
			2007	31	4	36
		PMM	2006	7	4	17
			2007	8	4	19
Sociology	Mainstream	AJS	2006	111/112	6	35
			2007	112/113	6	36
		ASR	2006	71	6	42
			2007	72	6	42
	Gender-Oriented	G&S	2006	20	6	29
			2007	21	6	33
		JGS	2006	15	3	17
			2007	16	3	16
Combined	Mainstream		2006			304
			2007			313
	Gender-Oriented		2006			114
			2007			120
	Total					851

Stage 3

Once the sample journals were selected, the final stage of sampling was the selection of the specific articles to be included in the analysis. Because this study was focused on the current state of Gender within the selected social science disciplines, all articles, from all issues, from the previous two full years of publication were included in the analysis. There were, however, several Presidential addresses scattered throughout the various journal issues selected for the current sample. These addresses were excluded from the analyses because the focus of this study was assessing current approaches to the study of Gender within social science research, and Presidential addresses are not focused on research. As such, the final sample included 851 articles from 11 journals in the three selected social science disciplines (see Table 4 above).

Data Collection

Data collection was accomplished via a content analysis of the sample articles. According to Patton (2002), “content analysis is used to refer to any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (p. 453). Data collected via the content analysis were then used to qualitatively and quantitatively assess our current approaches to studying Gender in social science research.

The content analysis relied on theoretical categories. According to Maxwell (2005), “theoretical categories...place the coded data into a more general or abstract framework...[and] may be derived either from prior theory or from an inductively developed theory...[and] usually represent the *researcher’s* concepts (what are called “etic” categories), rather than denoting participants’ own concepts” (p. 98). Within the

context of the current study, these theoretical categories were based on the application of Integral Methodological Pluralism (IMP). This framework is described here, in detail, followed by its application to the content analysis.

Integral Methodological Pluralism (IMP)

IMP builds on the Integral theory (which was discussed in Chapter I) and offers a well-informed framework for the study of any human phenomenon (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006; Wilber, 2006). Without rehashing the full discussion presented in Chapter I, it is important to review the relationship between the Integral model and the current study. First, the quadrants correspond to the four domains of Gender discussed throughout the previous two chapters. This includes the interior individual, the interior collective, the exterior individual, and the exterior collective domains. In the current study, these four domains are represented by the terms gender-identity (interior individual), gender-stereotypes (interior collective), sex (exterior individual), and gender-roles (exterior collective).

Additionally, each of the developmental paths outlined in the previous chapters (and illustrated in Figure 6 in Chapter III) corresponds to what could be considered a Gender line of development. In other words, each path is one representation of development along the Gender line within a particular domain, as viewed from specific social science perspective (e.g., biological, psychological, cultural, or social perspectives). Finally, the stages that individuals and collectives progress through along each of these lines represent specific levels of Gender development. The review of literature presented in the previous two chapters, therefore, was based on the idea that every human

phenomenon (like Gender) develops through multiple stages along particular lines within each of the four domains associated with the Integral model.

Perhaps more important to the construction of the methodological approach employed in this study, however, is that these domains can be viewed from multiple perspectives. Each of the developmental paths, therefore, can be considered one representation of how Gender is viewed from each of these four domains. In essence, each path outlines one possible perspective on the levels/stages of development along the Gender line within each quadrant/domain of Gender (i.e., the interior individual, interior collective, exterior individual, and exterior collective). The paths that were outlined in the previous two chapters are examples of the four domains, as viewed by researchers in various disciplines. More specifically, the paths represent outside views/perspectives on Gender, from each of the four domains. It has been proposed, however, that there are also inside views/perspectives that correspond to each of the four domains. This is an important issue for the current analysis, and it was this issue that informed the construction of IMP and its corresponding 8 zone/8 methodology approach to studying any human phenomena.

The 8 Zones of IMP

In developing IMP, Wilber (2006) recognized that realities as viewed from and through each domain are primarily disclosed by two different (though related) perspectives, which view that domain from either the inside (i.e., first-person) or the outside (i.e., third-person). As a result, Wilber has used the domains to organize 8 irreducible zones of inquiry. These 8 zones relate to the notion that each domain refers to a perspective on and actual dimension (or experience) of any phenomenon. Therefore, the

Integral theory claims that all phenomena (in this case Gender) can be viewed through the 8 zones and their associated disciplines (i.e., epistemology).

For the purposes of the current study, the 8 zones are discussed in terms of their relationship to these 8 distinct perspectives and correlated methodological families.

While it is important to remain cognizant of the ontological (i.e., experiential) aspects of the domains and related zones, this study is primarily concerned with these 8 zones and their corresponding epistemological approaches to understanding Gender. An example may help clarify this distinction.

We may be able to view, from the outside, gender-identity development as it progresses through the various stages listed in Figure 6 (see Chapter III), and conclude that a certain individual has the capacity for sex-stability. But that individual does not actually “see” sex-stability as a stage. What an individual “sees,” while certainly attributable to these different stages, is an interior phenomenon that “looks” completely different from what we, on the outside, call sex-stability. Our view of this domain (i.e., the interior individual domain or gender-identity) from the outside is different from what that domain “looks” like from the perspective of the individual her- or him-self.

The 8 zones, therefore, represent inside or outside views of the interior or exterior individual or collective domains. There are inside and outside views of gender-identity (i.e., interior individual), sex (i.e., exterior individual), gender-stereotypes (i.e., interior collective), and gender-roles (i.e., exterior collective). Thus, when used to understand Gender, we obtain a multi-faceted framework in which to situate the major distinctions in our exploration and understanding of Gender.

Applying this 8-zone approach along with the four perspective approach outlined in the previous two chapters, we can begin to see the utility of applying IMP and the Integral model in the current study. Figure 7 shows how both of these approaches relate to each other. Looking at Figure 7, we can see that each domain “contains” two zones, and each of these zones corresponds to the inside or outside views of that domain.

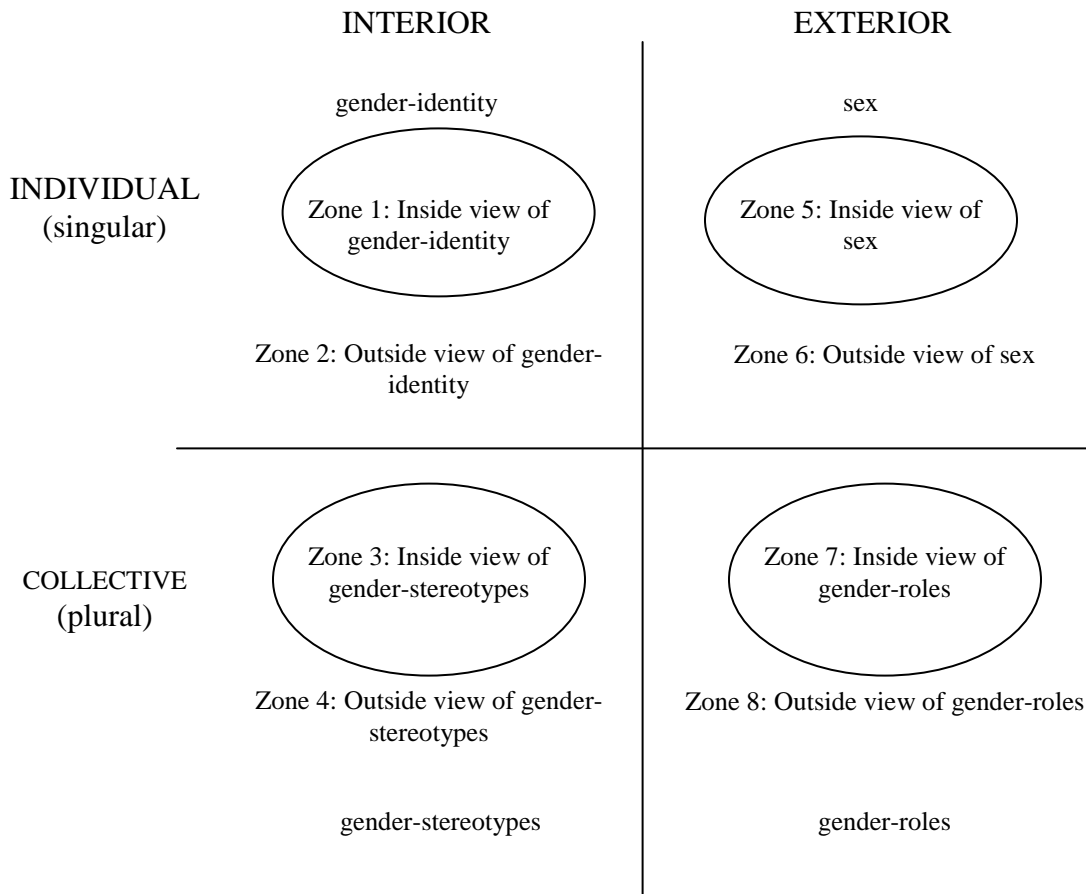


Figure 7: Eight-Zone approach to understanding Gender (adapted from Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006 and Wilber, 2006).

At this point, we have provided some of the content which formed the foundation for the current data collection strategy. Specifically, we have identified the four domains of Gender (i.e., gender-identity, sex, gender-stereotypes, and gender-roles), as well as at least one perspective associated with each of these domains (i.e., the four developmental

paths outlined in the previous chapters or an outside view of each domain). As of yet, however, we have not addressed additional perspectives on each of the domains.

For instance, Zone 1 corresponds to an inside view of the interior individual domain of Gender. Within the context of this study, Zone 1 corresponds to an inside view of gender-identity, or how an individual “sees” their own gender-identity. Unlike the outside view of gender-identity outlined in the previous chapters, an inside view cannot be disclosed from third-person observations or psychological tests. Instead, an inside view of gender-identity can only be disclosed by the individual her/him self. In other words, it is only through the use of different techniques, those aimed at providing a first-person account of gender-identity (e.g., in-depth interviews, autobiographical journaling, or contemplative practices), that we can begin to understand how an individual views their own interior individual domain (i.e., gender-identity). This same pattern exists within the other domains as well, where Zone 3 corresponds to the inside views of gender-stereotypes, Zone 5 corresponds to the inside views of sex, and Zone 7 corresponds to the inside views of gender-roles.

There are, therefore, three different issues at hand. First, we have the four domains of Gender, represented as gender-identity (i.e., interior individual), sex (i.e., exterior individual), gender-stereotypes (i.e., interior collective), and gender-roles (i.e., exterior collective). Next, we have the views of these domains from the outside, represented, at least in part, by the developmental paths outlined in the previous chapters. Finally, we have the views of these domains from the inside. It is important to keep these distinctions in mind as they helped inform the application of IMP to the current study. With this basic understanding of the Integral model and IMP in particular, we can begin

to discuss how the model and IMP were applied within the current data collection strategy.

Application of IMP to the Current Study

The most important implication of the IMP framework for the current study is that each zone represents different perspectives and, therefore, corresponds to a particular set of methodological approaches. Figure 8 presents these eight zones with their corresponding methodologies. Keep in mind, however, that the methodologies included in Figure 8 are not the only possible methodologies, but, rather, illustrate broad methodological families, by zone, each of which includes a variety of methods of inquiry. Each of these zones is described in detail below, including examples of how they apply to the current study.

Zone 1

Zone 1 corresponds to the methodological family known as phenomenology. In a broad sense, phenomenology is primarily focused on asking “what is the meaning, structure, and essence of the lived experience of this phenomenon for this person...” (Patton, 2002, p. 104; see also Creswell, 2003; Wilber, 2006). Van Manen goes on to explain that “phenomenology aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday experiences...” (as cited in Patton, 2002, p. 104). Furthermore, phenomenology can be understood as “the study of how people describe things and experience them through their senses” (Husserl, as cited in Patton, 2002, p. 105). This last component of phenomenology provides the basis for how it was used within the context of the current analysis.

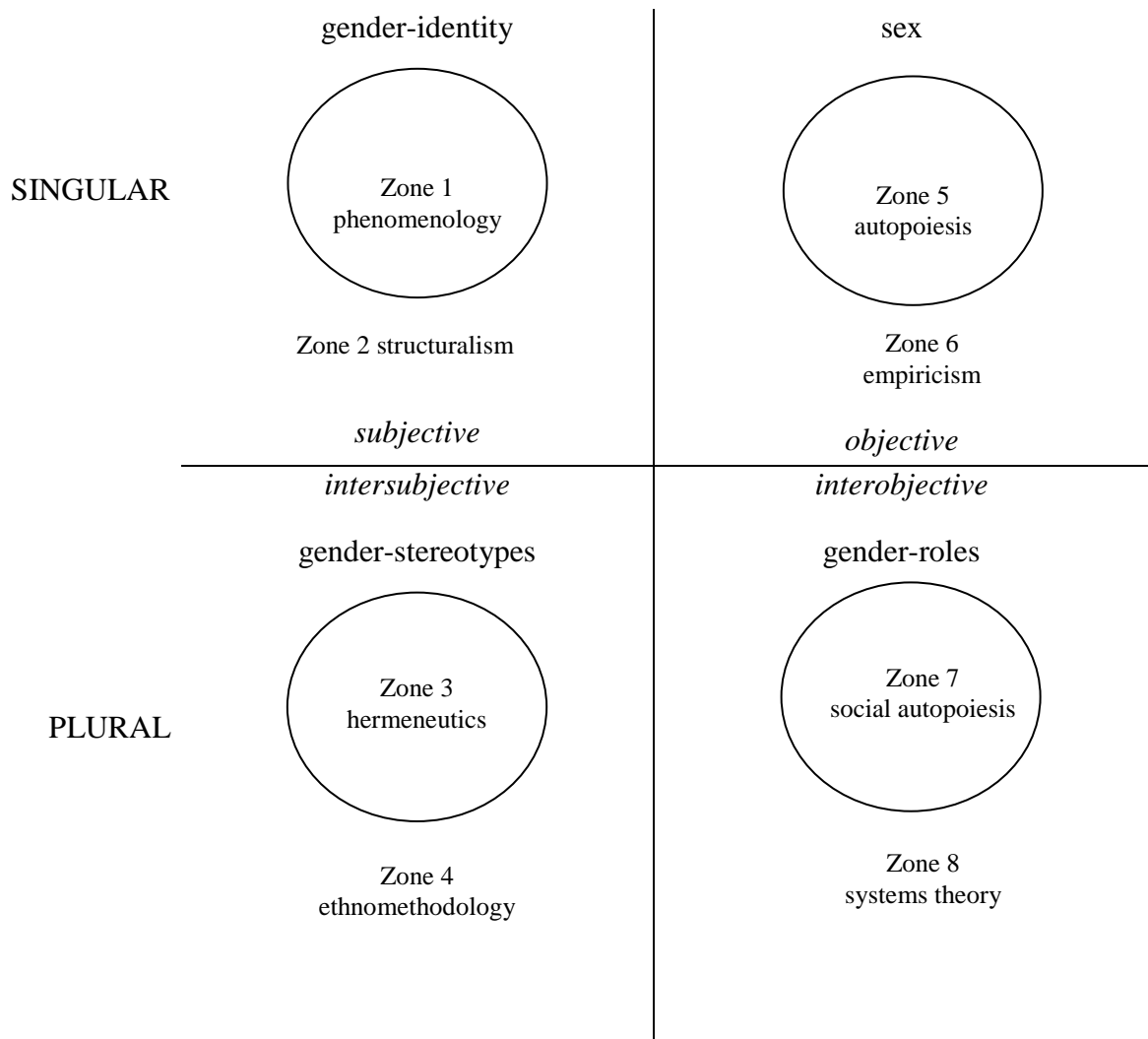


Figure 8: 8 major methodologies (extrapolated from Wilber, 2006, p. 37).

Examples of the particular methods of inquiry associated with this methodological family include introspection, meditation, contemplative prayer, and heuristic inquiry (see Patton, 2002; Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006). Notice that each of these methods of inquiry is aimed at disclosing the internal aspects of a phenomenon from the perspective of the experiencing individual her/him self. Using the language of IMP, these methods of inquiry are aimed at disclosing the “interior view of an inside view of an individual’s subjectivity” (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006, p. 88). When placed within the context of the analysis, these methods are aimed at disclosing the interior view of gender-identity.

Zone 2

Zone 2 approaches include methods of inquiry which fall within the methodological family of structuralism. Broadly defined, “structuralism...explores reoccurring patterns of direct experience” (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006, p. 87). While structuralism has been used to explore both individual and social patterns, for the purposes of the current analysis, we concentrate on the use of structuralism to disclose recurring patterns of direct experience within the individual (see Wilber (2006) for a more detailed discussion of why structuralism works best for individual as opposed to social structures).

Structuralism is based on some important principles. First, structuralism is primarily, if not solely, concerned with the whole, or totality of a particular structure (Lane, 1970; Robey, 1973). More specifically, structuralism is concerned with the way the parts of a particular whole relate to one another to create that whole (Lane, 1970). Second, structuralism is concerned with the interior aspects of a structure or what is “behind” empirical reality (Lane, 1970; Wilber, 2006). Finally, structuralism is concerned with “deducing laws of transformation such that structures as wholes may be compared” (Lane, 1970, p. 35). Perhaps the most clear and common illustration of a structuralist approach is seen in the stage-theories of development within the psychological literature (Wilber, 2006).

When looking at stage theories of development (like the ones which informed the formation of the path of gender-identity development discussed in the previous chapters), we can see that they are attempts at understanding the underlying structure of individual developmental processes. For instance, Piaget’s stage theory of development includes

four basic stages (i.e., sensorimotor, concrete operational, formal operational and postformal). Notice that Piaget's theory, while based on a retrospective analysis of specific developmental content, is only concerned with the content of these stages in terms of how they reveal the overall structure of cognitive development.

Another example of this is Gilligan's (1993) adaptation of Kohlberg's (1975) cognitive developmental theory. Gilligan (1993) used the same general structure that Kohlberg (1975) used (i.e., egocentric to ethnocentric to worldcentric), but showed how this underlying structure manifests differently for men and women. Of note is the fact that the structure of the developmental process remained intact, but the content of those structures differed (i.e., an ethics of care versus an ethics of rights).

Structuralism, as a methodological family, includes methods of inquiry such as personality tests, psychometric measures, and the various developmental tests used to disclose individual lines of development (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006). Notice that each of these methods of inquiry is aimed at disclosing how an outsider sees the interior of individuals. Using the language of IMP, these methods of inquiry represent the exterior view of the inside view of an individual's subjectivity (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006). Within the context of the current study, these methods tap into the outside view of an individual's gender-identity (e.g., the developmental path of gender-identity constructed in Chapter II).

Zone 3

Zone 3 approaches fall within the methodological family known as hermeneutics. Patton (2002) states that the foundational question for hermeneutic researchers is "what are the conditions under which a human act took place or a product was produced that

make it possible to interpret its meanings?” (p. 113). This foundational question is organized around two important characteristics of hermeneutic approaches.

First, as a broad methodological family, the primary characteristic of hermeneutical methods of inquiry is that they are focused on interpretation and understanding (Patton, 2002; Wilber, 2006). The second important characteristic of hermeneutic approaches or methods of inquiry is that they are concerned with shared understanding, or how groups of individuals come to a common shared understanding of the world and their collective experiences (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006; Patton, 2002; Wilber, 2006). In other words, “the essential subject matter of hermeneutics is the activity of understanding, the activity of joining *subjects* into *inter-subjects*, which brings forth a world perceived by neither alone” (Wilber, 2006, p. 157).

When we view hermeneutic approaches in this way, we begin to see that the methods of inquiry associated with it must be aimed at the interior of collectives. The only way to truly understand the original content and purpose of any occasion or phenomenon is to ask the individuals involved. Therefore, hermeneutic methods of inquiry have as their target the interior view of the inside view of a collective. In IMP terminology, hermeneutic methods of inquiry “explore intersubjective understanding” (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006). When applied to the study of Gender, hermeneutic methods of inquiry are aimed at illuminating the interior view of gender-stereotypes, or the shared understanding of gender-stereotypes, from the perspective of the members of a collective (e.g., group, society, family, friendship network, or social science discipline). Examples of specific methods of inquiry which fall within the hermeneutical methodological family

(i.e., Zone 3) include in-depth interviews/focus groups, textual analysis, interpretive analysis, dialogue and debate, and collective reflection (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006).

Zone 4

Those familiar with ethnographic research may be familiar with the notion of ethnomethodology as a specific method of inquiry (see Creswell, 2003; Patton, 2002). For the purposes of the proposed study, however, ethnomethodology is being used as an umbrella term for the methodological family which includes Zone 4 approaches. The methods of inquiry which fall into this category include ethnography (see Creswell, 2003), semiology, genealogy, archaeology, grammatology, and semiotics (see Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006; Wilber, 2006). Some of the more common techniques used within this family include participant-observer techniques, participatory evaluation, and cultural anthropological techniques (see Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006). For illustration purposes, let us look at the nature of one of these methods of inquiry, ethnography.

According to Creswell (2003), ethnographic studies are such that “the researcher studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily, observational data” (p. 14). Considering this example, we can begin to see the fundamental characteristics of the entire methodological family. Specifically, Creswell (2003) notes that ethnographic researchers are engaged in the in-depth study of shared cultural meaning from the perspective of an outsider (i.e., observational data). In essence, ethnographic research, and ethnomethodologies in general, are aimed at illuminating an outsider’s view of the external indicators of a particular group’s shared meaning.

When describing ethnomethodology from the IMP perspective, we are referring to methods of inquiry which “provide an interior view of an outside view of intersubjectivity” (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006, p. 88). These are interior views because they are based on the researcher’s own understanding, outside views because they are based on externally observable indicators and intersubjective because they deal with the shared meaning of a group/collective. An example of this approach is the cultural perspective taken in the previous two chapters (for another interesting example, see Kessler and McKenna, 1978).

Zone 5

Zone 5 is associated with the methodological family of autopoiesis. In a general sense, the use of the term autopoiesis within the context of epistemological approaches can refer to any study of the self-generating (or self-producing or self-making) aspects of an individual or system (see Seidl, 2005; Varela, 1979; Wilber, 2006). For our purposes, however, the term autopoiesis will be separated into two distinct, yet theoretically related methodological families. These two families are biological and social autopoiesis. The former, which is presented here as a Zone 5 approach, includes the autopoietic study of living systems (e.g., humans). Since, as Luhmann (2005) states, “the term ‘autopoiesis’ has been invented to define life. Its origin is clearly biological” (p. 64), this term will be considered synonymous with the application of autopoietic methodologies to humans (i.e., biological autopoiesis or the autopoiesis of living systems). The latter, which will be presented as a Zone 7 approach, includes the autopoietic study of social systems, and will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter (see Seidl (2005) for a more detailed discussion of the various applications of autopoietic methodologies).

Traditionally, the term autopoiesis has been most closely related with a theoretical position and not necessarily a methodological family. The discussion here, therefore, will begin with a description of autopoiesis in its original form (i.e., as a theory of living systems) and then move into how this theoretical position relates to a type of methodological family, including an example of how it has been operationalized within the field of the cognitive sciences.

As discussed above, autopoiesis literally translates as self-generating or self-making (Varela, 1979; Wilber 2006). Therefore, the first important characteristic of biological autopoiesis is that it is an attempt to describe the manner in which any living system is a result of its own creation. Scheper and Scheper (1996) state that the idea behind autopoiesis is that “a living system can be explained by showing how the phenomenon’s components, through their interactions and relations, generate it” (p. 3). If we apply this interpretation of autopoiesis to the current study, we can state that an autopoietic approach to understanding Gender is one in which we are attempting to elucidate the manner in which an individual’s own biological components interact to create what we, as observers, see as their biological sex, as well as how the individual comes to see themselves.

The concept of autopoiesis and its application as a broad methodological family is rather complex. In fact, the very nature of the theory and its methodological implications makes it difficult to establish a concrete operational definition. This very issue was the foundation for a serious critique of autopoiesis and its effectiveness as a scientific theory (see Scheper & Scheper, 1996). Specifically, the nature of an autopoietic system is such that any observation of the autopoietic organization is rendered impossible. Autopoietic

processes, including the interactions and relations among an autopoietic system's components, occur as momentary occasions which do not take place within physical space (Scheper & Scheper, 1996). This is why Varela (1979) talks about autopoiesis in terms of a biological phenomenology (see also Wilber, 2006). Because of this, any attempt at distinguishing between the interactions of an autopoietic system and that which is observed must be understood as "exclusively [lying] in the cognitive domain of the observer" (Scheper & Scheper, 1996, p. 6).

Therefore, all that we can do, as observers, is estimate or construct what we believe is the result of the autopoietic process. When we consider this important criticism, we can see why Wilber (2006), within the IMP framework, describes autopoiesis as a methodological family which is aimed at providing an outside view of an inside view of the exterior individual. What Wilber (2006) is essentially arguing is that autopoietic approaches are an attempt to describe, from the perspective of an outside observer (i.e., outside view), how an individual "views" (i.e., inside view) their own exterior components (i.e., exterior individual), which in the case of Gender includes the stages of biological sex development outlined in Chapter II.

More specifically, in an attempt to bridge this theoretical position with its methodological and epistemological implications, Wilber (2006) suggests that autopoiesis and the various methods of inquiry that fall within this methodological family (e.g., cognitive science, bio-medical psychiatry, evolutionary psychology, and sociobiology) are "...an objective account of the inside or subjective view...which itself is still approached in objective or scientific terms" (p. 170). Autopoietic methods of inquiry, therefore, are aimed at exploring "self-regulating behavior" or the "insides of

individual exteriors” (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006, p. 88). In terms of their relationship to autopoietic systems (i.e., cells, organisms, humans), Zone 5 approaches are an attempt to observe the self-generating process of individual biological organisms from the perspective of an outside observer. While autopoiesis in-and-of-itself is used to describe the self-generated reality (as well as behaviors, reactions, and cognition⁷) of individual organisms, Zone 5 approaches are aimed at disclosing what that self-generated reality “looks like” from the perspective of the individual organism her/him self, but still approached from a third-person objective stance.

Chalmers (1996) provides an excellent explanation as to why these autopoietic processes, or biological phenomenology, can only be explained in terms of exterior phenomena:

We have no independent language for describing phenomenal qualities. As we have seen, there is something ineffable about them. Although greenness is a distinct sort of sensation with a rich intrinsic character, there is very little that one can say about it other than that it is green. In talking about phenomenal qualities, we generally have to specify the qualities in question in terms of associated external properties...” (p. 22)

An example may help make this distinction more clear. Let us consider the contents of the developmental path of biological sex outlined in Chapter II. Within this developmental path, a number of stages were disclosed, beginning with chromosomes and moving in the direction of increased complexity towards genital development, brain structures, and so on. These developmental stages are an expression of what biological sex development looks like from the perspective of the outside observer (as will be

discussed below in terms of Zone 6 approaches). For instance, we can say that the introduction of pubertal hormones in males (i.e., androgens) has a specific biological impact on the body (e.g., growth of body hair or increased muscular development). What we cannot explain, at least not through the use of microscopes or other observational techniques, is what those biological changes feel like for the individual himself. These phenomena, however, are also “seen” by the individual her/him self. Autopoiesis, and the methods of inquiry situated within this methodological family, is concerned with this view. In other words, what do the brain structures involved in biological sex development “look like” from the perspective of the individual whose brain we are observing, or how does the brain “see” the processes of biological sex. Or, in Chalmers’ (1996) example, what does the experience of green feel or “look” like for the individual.

Within Zone 5 approaches, however, the individual’s view of their own biological sex (as one impetus for their self-generated reality) is considered from the perspective of an outside observer. Again, the idea here is that the individual does not “see” their hormones, but does generate a reality that is influenced by those hormones (or brain structures, or neurotransmitters, or mullerian/wolffian glands) as they self-generate within their own consciousness, a process that when viewed by an outside observer or even by the individual her/him self can only be expressed in third-person language using exterior indicators.

As will be discussed later in this dissertation, these types of approaches to studying Gender are rare; however, research in the area of the cognitive sciences offers some insights into how this approach can be applied to Gender. Luger (1994) identifies some of the fundamental questions that cognitive scientists are attempting to answer.

Among these, he includes the question of “what is the mind and how does it relate to the body?” (p. ix). Or, as Hannan (1994) puts it:

On the one hand, a person is taken to be a biological organism, the behavior of which is explainable in terms of events in its environment and in terms of physical goings-on in the brain and nervous system. On the other hand, a person is taken to be a subjective self, a rational agent with a point of view and purposes who performs actions for reasons and is responsible for his or her behavior. Just how these two conceptual schemes or descriptive/explanatory vocabularies mesh is less than clear. (p. 2)

For cognitive scientists, neuropsychological studies offer one possible approach to understanding the relationship between the biological and subjective self. For instance, neuropsychological researchers often map the activity of the brain (e.g., through the use of PET scans) at different times, in order to determine the impact of various stimuli on biological functioning (see Posner & Rothbart (1992) for an example of this research process in relation to attentional mechanisms and conscious experience). By comparing brain activity at different stages or as impacted by varying stimuli (e.g., changes in light, meditation, or stress), cognitive scientists are able to draw some conclusions about the relationship between behavior, biology, and, as some argue, human consciousness. While certainly rare, these types of approaches have been used to study Gender and its relationship to particular abilities, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. These applications are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Zone 6

As the reader may have gathered by this point, Zone 6 approaches correspond to the methodological family of empiricism. For the most part, those methods traditionally associated with the “hard sciences” are forms of empiricism (Wilber, 2006). More specifically, this family includes methods of inquiry such as neurophysiology, brain biochemistry, genetics, brainwave/brain-state research, and evolutionary biology (Wilber, 2006). The easiest way to understand the use of this term (i.e., empiricism) as a methodological family within the context of the current study is to consider the developmental path of sex outlined in Chapter II. Notice that the construction of this developmental path was informed by research in the areas of biology and genetics. What this path and the research that informed its construction is concerned with is the outside view of biological sex; it is an outside view of the exterior individual. The simplest example would be the observable secondary sex characteristics of an individual.

Zone 7

Social autopoiesis, as the name implies, is very similar to the methodological family discussed in relation to Zone 5 (i.e., autopoiesis). Its application in this context, however, is aimed at studying the internal aspects of social systems (as opposed to individual or living organisms). The primary consideration within this methodological family is the distinction between traditional systems approaches (what we are calling Zone 8 approaches) and the new systems approaches (what we are calling Zone 7). More specifically, social autopoiesis is concerned with distinguishing between action and communication. We will deal with this differentiation here, but it also has implications for the discussion of Zone 8 below.

According to Luhmann (2005) and Seidl (2005), communication is the form that autopoiesis takes within the context of social systems. They distinguish between the concept of communication and the concept of action. In a broad sense, action refers to the observable relations between particular parts of any system. In the case of social systems (at least how that term is being used here), the particular parts of the system are its human members. Therefore, action refers to the observable relationships between various people within a social system (e.g., kinship networks, friendship networks, societies). Communication, on the other hand, refers to the unobservable interaction between the various parts of any such system.

Wilber (2006) offers another way to approach this particular distinction. He states that “social systems are composed of members plus their exchanged artifacts; the members are inside, the artifacts are internal to, the social system” (p. 173). Combining these two descriptions, we can see that the system is made-up of members (who should certainly be considered inside the system), as well as exchanged artifacts (e.g., communication) which are internal (i.e., unobservable from the outside) to the system. In this sense, social systems are autopoietic to the extent that they “continue to communicate” (Luhmann, 2005, p. 78), or self-reproduce through the continued communication between or among their component parts. There are two important points that must be made clear in relation to the notion of communication and its applicability as a fundamental aspect of social autopoiesis.

First, Luhmann’s (2005) definition of communication includes three components, information, utterance, and understanding. For Luhmann (2005), information refers to the actual content of the communication (i.e., what is actually communicated from one part

to the other, or one person to the other). Utterance refers to both how the information is conveyed (e.g., through verbal or non-verbal cues) and why (e.g., the intent of the person who is communicating the information) it is being conveyed (Luhmann, 2005; Seidl, 2005). Finally, understanding refers to the combination of the information and the utterance (Luhmann, 2005; Seidl, 2005). Understanding occurs when the individual receives the information and makes some judgment as to how and why it is being conveyed.

The second consideration is one result of Luhmann's (2005) conception of communication. Specifically, communication must be considered in terms of immediate experience. Because communication includes all three of the components discussed above, it is only possible to truly illuminate communication (and therefore the autopoietic aspects of social systems) within the moment that it arises. This is inherently different than a retrospective account of the interaction, either by one or more of the individuals involved, or a third-party observer. In fact, Luhmann (2005) argues that "all structures of social systems have to be based on this fundamental fact of vanishing events, disappearing gestures or words that are dying away. Memory, and then writing, have their function in preserving not the events, but their structure-generating power" (p. 73).

Therefore, social autopoiesis, as a methodological family, is concerned with illuminating the communicative interaction between various parts of a social system. It is fundamentally concerned with the interior aspects of any social system. This is what Seidl (2005) means when he states that "while the traditional approach [systems theory] treats the external influence as crucial and the internal influence merely as noise, new systems theory [social autopoiesis] treats the internal influence as crucial and the external

influence as noise” (p. 7). For our purposes, social autopoiesis includes any method of inquiry which attempts to silence the noise of observable (i.e., exterior) influences in order to illuminate the interior influences (i.e., three components of communication), or any method which attempts to illuminate the interior of gender-roles. Put differently, social autopoietic approaches are aimed at tapping into how communication creates meaning between or among the various people within any given social system.

As an example, a study in which the researcher(s) uses focus-group interviews to disclose the manner through which a particular group communicates the roles that males and females play would be considered a Zone 7 approach. For instance, a researcher who conducts group interviews with members of a particular family and asks questions related to how the female family members’ roles are communicated (i.e., the information, utterance, and understanding of these roles) would be undertaking a Zone 7 approach to studying gender-roles. While it appears from the review of literature included in the previous chapters that this approach is rarely taken by social science researchers, the findings of the content analysis presented in Chapters V and VI reveal a different story. It will be shown that Zone 7 approaches offer a necessary addition to our attempts at understanding Gender as a complex social science construct.

Zone 8

In the above discussion of Zone 7, we made the distinction between the members of a particular social system (including the observable behaviors of that group) and the communication (or shared artifacts) of that system. While Zone 7 is concerned with the latter, Zone 8 is concerned with the former. Zone 8 most closely relates to the methodological family of systems theory. In a broad sense, systems theory asks the

question “why and how does this system as a whole function as it does?” (Patton, 2002, p. 119). But this broad definition of the foundation of systems theory does not necessarily tell the whole story. Two important points must be considered when addressing the particular use of systems theory as a concept within the IMP framework.

First, systems theory, while concerned with the “how and why” of a system’s function, approaches these concerns from an outsider’s perspective. Systems theorists are generally concerned with the observable behaviors and observable interrelationships among the constituent parts of any given system (in our case, a social system). As discussed above, this is very different from the interior aspects (i.e., communication) of a social system.

Second, systems theory, and the methods of inquiry associated with it, is concerned with both the constituent parts of the whole, as well as the whole in relation to larger wholes of which it is a part. As Patton (2002) states, systems theory views “things as whole entities embedded in context and still larger wholes” (p. 120). This type of approach requires holistic thinking. By this, we mean that a researcher who is using a systems theory approach must not only consider the whole and its constituent parts, but the whole in which that whole is embedded. It is, in essence, whole/parts all the way up and all the way down, which Wilber (2006) refers to as a holarchy.

With these considerations in mind, we can state that systems theory “explores the functional fit of parts within an observable whole” or “the outsides of collective exteriors” (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006, p. 88). One example of this type of approach is the developmental path of gender-roles presented in the last chapter. That developmental path relied heavily on research which was aimed at providing a holistic view of the

interrelationships between men and women in various societies. When looking at the developmental path and more specifically the research which informed its construction, we can see that it is based on information gained through observation. The research that was used to form this developmental path did not necessarily tap into the communicative properties of the various social systems. Instead, it was focused on how the social system functioned from the viewpoint of the researchers themselves. In this sense, the developmental path is an expression of exterior views of the outside of a collective, or the exterior view of gender-roles.

General Coding Scheme

Again, each of these zones relates to a different methodological family and each family's corresponding conceptual and operational definitions. By situating Gender within the context of this meta-framework, it became possible to address the fundamental questions that lie at the center of this study. Specifically, through the application of the general coding scheme outlined in Table 5 below, it became possible to locate the various conceptual and operational definitions of Gender currently being used by researchers in each of the three selected disciplines within the IMP framework. Once these definitions were placed within the IMP framework, and a common language was developed, it became possible to assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of our current approaches to studying and understanding Gender as a complex social science construct.

Because each zone of IMP corresponds to particular sets of methodologies, each zone also corresponds to a distinguishable type/set of conceptual and operational definitions. When we consider the 8 zones and their corresponding methodologies, conceptual definitions, and operational definitions, it becomes possible to construct a

clearer picture of the relationships between conceptual and operational definitions and the methodologies to which they correspond. This 8-zone approach, therefore, provided a comprehensive framework for addressing the specific research questions posed in this study.

Using the meta-framework described here, it was possible to identify the particular methods of inquiry associated with each zone and, in turn, use these zones to sort out the various conceptual and operational definitions, as well as assess whether we as social scientists are applying these conceptual and operational definitions appropriately. This became possible through the creation of a coding scheme based on the IMP framework and its corresponding 8-zone approach.

Table 5 illustrates how the IMP framework was applied in the current study. The first four columns of Table 5 outline what has been discussed previously in terms of the relationships among the four domains and the 8 zones. Remember that each zone represents either an inside or outside view of one of the four domains. For instance, Zone 1 is an inside view of the interior of an individual, or an inside view of gender-identity, while Zone 2 is an outside view of the interior of an individual, or an outside view of gender-identity. Next, each zone was linked to a distinct methodological family and corresponding perspective (column 6). In addition, these methodological families were linked to the types of conceptual (column 7) and operational (column 8) definitions that one might find within each particular family. This coding scheme provided a way to identify when and how a particular conceptual or operational definition fit within the IMP framework.

Table 5: *The Application of IMP to the Content Analysis (General Coding Scheme)*

Domain	Definition of domain	Zone	View	Methodological family	Perspective	Sample conceptual definition	Sample operational definition
gender-identity	The aspects of Gender which are experienced within an individual's own psyche	1	Inside	Phenomenology	Individual her/him self	The meaning that an individual places on their own gender-identity	Autobiographical account of gender-identity development
		2	Outside	Structuralism	Outside observer of individual	The underlying structure of an individual's gender-identity	Bem Sex Role Inventory
gender-stereotypes	Culturally shared beliefs about men and women within a given society	3	Inside	Hermeneutics	Members of group under study	The meaning of gender-stereotypes for a particular group	Focus group interviews disclosing shared beliefs about the value of men
		4	Outside	Ethnomethodology	Members of group or outside observer	Cultural patterns of symbolic interaction which disclose the underlying gender-stereotypes for a particular group	Examination of cross-cultural differences in relative value of females

Domain	Definition of domain	Zone	View	Methodological family	Perspective	Sample conceptual definition	Sample operational definition
sex	Biological traits associated with being female or male	5	Inside	Autopoiesis	Individual her/him self	The unconscious heuristic maps of an organisms own biological sex	Cognitive mapping of brain structures at different points of biological development
		6	Outside	Empiricism	Outside observer of individual	The exterior indicators of an individual's biological sex	Observed secondary sex characteristics among men/boys
gender-roles	Behaviors or activities performed by Gendered beings in a given society which have become institutionalized within various social systems	7	Inside	Social Autopoiesis	Members of group under study	The communication of gender-roles among members of a particular social system which delineate future communication of gender-roles	Focus group interviews disclosing communicative interrelationships among members of a group
		8	Outside	Systems Theory	Members of group under study or outside observer	Functional fit of gender-roles within a particular social system	Observed participation of women in the political system

At this point, it was possible to apply the basic framework of IMP (i.e., the four domains and 8 zones, as well as their corresponding methodological approaches) within the context of the content analysis. Specifically, by applying each zone's view of Gender within particular methodological families, represented by column five, it was possible to create a meta-framework for distinguishing between the various definitions of Gender currently being used within the selected social science disciplines.

Analytic Strategy

The analyses were divided into two distinct stages. The first stage involved the organization of data within the IMP framework (through the application of the coding scheme described above), as well as a qualitative assessment of the conceptual and operational definitions of Gender currently in use within the three selected social science disciplines. In stage two, the overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender across the three selected disciplines was analyzed. The combined findings from these two stages of analyses were then used to identify particular strengths and weaknesses of our current approaches to studying Gender in the social sciences. Upon completion of these analyses, findings were used to inform the construction of a more inclusive/integrated conceptual and operational framework for studying Gender within the social sciences, and criminology in particular. These two overall stages are described in more detail below, with the findings discussed in Chapters V and VI.

Analysis Stage I

The first stage of the overall analysis addressed research questions one and two: what conceptual definitions of Gender are currently being used within criminological, psychological, and sociological research and literature; and what operational definitions

of Gender are currently being used within criminological, psychological, and sociological research and literature? This was accomplished through the application of the general coding scheme described above. This stage of the analysis was performed in two steps. In the first step, a keyword search was conducted in which each article was searched for the inclusion of the following terms: gender, sex, man, woman, men, women, female, male. If none of these terms were present, it was assumed that there were no conceptual or operational definitions of Gender within the article. If, however, one or more of these terms were present, the content analysis moved to step 2.

In step two, the text of each article was reviewed. Each of these articles was read in the following sequence: 1) abstract; 2) literature review (looking for a transition or summary statement regarding specific research questions); 3) methods/data collection; and 4) discussion. When reading each of these sections, specific conceptual and operational definitions of Gender were recorded using the coding matrix presented in Table 6. In addition, space was available for the recording of qualitative descriptions of the conceptual and operational definitions of Gender included in each article. One coding matrix was completed for each of the articles included in the sample.

Table 6: *Coding Matrix*

	Abstract	Lit. Review	Methods	Discussion
Conceptual Def(s) and Corresponding Zone				
Operational Def(s) and Corresponding Zone				

Analysis Stage 2

The second stage of the overall analysis was conducted in order to assess any disparity between the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender within the selected social science disciplines. This stage, therefore, addressed research questions three and four: to what extent do the conceptual definitions currently being used within the criminological, psychological, and sociological research and literature match the operational definitions used to measure them; and what are the strengths and weaknesses of our current approaches to studying Gender?

Assessing the extent to which the conceptual and operational definitions of Gender match was again based on the application of the IMP framework, and relied on the findings from the analysis stage one. Specifically, this stage focused on a critical analysis of the relationship between conceptualization and operationalization. Consistencies and inconsistencies within specific articles as well as the overall trends in conceptualization and operationalization within and across the disciplines were analyzed.

As an example, a gap or inconsistency included the use of biological traits (i.e., physical sex characteristics) as an operational definition for gender-identity (i.e., the interior individual development of Gender). In this instance, it was suggested that the operational definition does not fit the conceptual definition, because gender-identity development, while certainly impacted by biological development, cannot be measured in terms of an individual's physical traits. Using IMP terminology, this instance is an example of using a Zone 6 approach (i.e., empiricism) to measure the interior individual domain of Gender (i.e., gender-identity or Upper Left quadrant/domain). Once completed, these findings were combined with those from stage one of the overall analysis in order

to determine the particular strengths and weaknesses of our current approaches to studying Gender as a social science construct.

Conclusion

The content analysis and analytic strategy described in this chapter were aimed at addressing two general research purposes. First, the two-stage analytic strategy was intended to provide a framework for describing and assessing the current social science approaches to studying Gender. More specifically, the content analysis was used to collect data on the current conceptual and operational definitions of Gender being used within the three social science disciplines: criminology, psychology, and sociology. In addition, the two-stage analytic strategy was used to assess the gaps between the current conceptual and operational definitions and the strengths and weaknesses of our current approaches to studying Gender. Findings from the overall analysis were then used to inform the construction of a more inclusive framework for the study of Gender as a complex social science construct, as well as the effectiveness of IMP as an analytic framework for the study of Gender.

In the next chapter, findings from stage one of the analysis are presented. This includes both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the conceptual and operational definitions of Gender currently in use within the three selected social science disciplines. In Chapter VI, findings from stage two of the analysis are presented. Like Chapter V, this includes both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the match between the current conceptual and operational definitions of Gender in use within the three selected social science disciplines. In the final chapter, a more inclusive framework for the study of Gender within the social sciences is offered. This framework is based on the findings

from the overall analysis and IMP. Also in Chapter VII, the application of the Integral model to the assessment of validity will be explored. Finally, the strengths and limitations of the IMP framework as applied in this study are discussed, as well as the general limitations of this research and its associated findings.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS: STAGE ONE: DEFINITIONS OF GENDER IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Stage one of the analysis addresses the first two research questions, namely, what conceptual and operational definitions of Gender are currently being used within criminological, psychological, and sociological research and literature. This is achieved through both qualitative and quantitative assessments of the definitions of Gender used by researchers in criminology, sociology, and psychology, as reflected in the articles included in the sample (see Chapter IV for a description of the sampling procedure). Specific conceptual and operational definitions are extrapolated from the articles themselves and are then placed within the quadrant/domain-based and zone-based frameworks of IMP. The categorization of these various definitions is based on the coding scheme described in Chapter IV.

The purpose of this stage of the analysis is two-fold. First, it is intended to provide rich descriptive illustrations of the types of conceptual and operational definitions associated with each of the quadrants/domains and their associated zones. Second, this stage of the analysis is intended to provide a clear picture of the overall trends in the use of conceptual and operational definitions from each of the zones of IMP. In order to achieve the first purpose, qualitative descriptive illustrations of sample conceptual and operational definitions from each zone are presented. In order to achieve the second purpose, statistics are generated that track the overall trends in the use of definitions constructed from each zone perspective. Trends in the use of conceptual and

operational definitions are compared across journals, within and across disciplines, and between mainstream and Gender-oriented journals (across journal type).

This first stage of the analysis also provides the foundation for stage two. In stage two, qualitative and quantitative analyses of the disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions (e.g., instances where there is a mismatch between conceptual and operational definitions in particular studies) are explored. Findings from both of these stages will then be used to construct a more inclusive approach to the study of the Gender-crime relationship. Where disjunctions in measurement exist and/or current research has yet to develop clear methodological strategies from particular zone-perspectives, the IMP framework will be employed in order to illustrate how future research could remedy these limitations.

Qualitative Illustrations of Zone-Based Conceptual and Operational Definitions

Each of the sections below begins with a table that presents the general labels/terms used to describe the domain under study. Following these tables, each section also includes detailed qualitative descriptions and sample definitions from the zones associated with each domain. Remember from Chapter IV that the domains of Gender under study are gender-identity (interior individual), gender-stereotypes (interior collective), sex (exterior individual), and gender-roles (exterior collective). Also remember that each of these domains of Gender is associated with two zones. These zones relate to the inside and outside perspective on each domain. For instance, gender-identity can be viewed from a Zone 1 (inside) perspective and a Zone 2 (outside) perspective. As such, the IMP framework includes four domains with eight corresponding zones.

The Interior Individual Domain: Gender-Identity, Zones 1 and 2

Gender-identity is defined as the aspects of Gender which are experienced within an individual's own psyche. Definitions of gender-identity generally fall within two broad categories: those concerned with an individual's view of her/him-self (self-related); and, those concerned with an individual's view of others (other-related) (see Table 7). As such, gender-identity primarily relates to how individuals view both themselves and others as Gendered beings. Regardless of the particular dimension(s) of gender-identity under study (e.g., self-concept vs. view of others), the inside and outside perspectives are marked by specific characteristics. Viewing gender-identity from the inside (i.e., Zone 1), for instance, requires approaches that are aimed at disclosing an individual's own perspective. Viewing gender-identity from the outside, on the other hand, requires researchers to use approaches aimed at disclosing the underlying (and possibly unconscious) dimensions of an individual's self-concept in relation to Gender. Unlike the inside views of gender-identity, these outside views are best disclosed through the application of psychological measures.

While these types of definitions incorporate gender-role, gender-stereotype, and sex related constructs, they are all primarily concerned with the ways in which individuals view these constructs and, therefore, are clearly related to the interior individual domain (i.e., the Upper Right or gender-identity). Not surprisingly, each of these broader conceptual themes/categories is approached from both an inside (Zone 1) and outside (Zone 2) perspective. In the following sections, illustrations of sample conceptual and operational definitions of gender-identity from each of these perspectives, which are drawn from the selected journal articles, are provided.

Table 7: *Labels/Terms Used to Describe Gender-Identity Constructs*

Self-Related Conceptual Labels	Other-Related Conceptual Labels
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “gender identity(ies)” (see Gilbert, 2007; Rudman, Dohn, & Fairchild, 2007, and Shapiro, 2007) • “white male identity” (see Brayton, 2007) • “masculine ideology” (see Levant, Good, Cook, O’Neil, Smalley, Owen, et al., 2006) • “gender-role orientation(s)” (see Guillet, Sarrazin, Fontayne, & Brustad, 2006 and Saunders & Kashubeck-West, 2006) • “conformity to traditional masculine norms” (see Mahalik, Lagan, & Morrison, 2006 and Mahalik, Levi-Minzi, & Walker, 2007) • “sexual self-concept” (see O’Sullivan, Meyer-Bahlburg, & McKeague, 2006) • “gender self-interest” (see Reyna, Henry, Korfmacher, & Tucker, 2006) • “gendered sense of self” (see Gallagher, 2007) • “an individual’s gender self-definition” (see Shapiro, 2007) • “masculine identity” (see Cohn & Zeichner, 2006) • “role identity” (see Maurer & Pleck, 2006) • “sexual identity” (see Sinclair, Hardin, & Lowery, 2006) • “feminist identity(fication)” (see Baird, Szymanski, & Ruebelt, 2007; Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2007; Case, 2007; Roy, Weibust, & Miller, 2007; and Zucker & Stewart, 2007) • “self-stereotyping based on the salience of gender” (see Sinclair et al., 2006) • “internalizing conventional femininity ideologies” (see Tolman, Impett, Tracy, & Michael, 2006) • body (dis)satisfaction (see Bessenoff, 2006; Frederick, Buchanan, Sadehgi-Azar, Peplau, Haselton, Berezoyskaya, et al., 2007; Jung & Forbes, 2007; Tiggemann, Martins, & Kirkbride, 2007; Trampe, Stapel, & Siero, 2007) • body image (see Johnson, McCreary, & Mills, 2007; Weaver & Byers, 2006) • body shame (see Kozee & Tylka, 2006; Kozee, Tylka, Augustus-Horvath, & Denchik, 2007; Sanchez & Kwang, 2007) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “gender schemas” (see Gallagher, 2007 and Levesque, Nave, & Lowe, 2006) • “sexual scripts” (see Masters, Norris, Stoner, & George, 2006) • “gendered sexual scripts” (see Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2007) • “individuals’ stereotyping of politicians as male vs. female” (see Hugenberg, Bodenhausen, & McLain, 2006) • “ambivalent sexism” (see Christopher & Mull, 2006) • “benevolent sexist attitudes” (see Fischer, 2006) • “sexist attitudes” (see DeMarni Cromer & Freyd, 2007) • “traditional gender attitudes” (see Rederstorff, Buchanan, & Settles, 2007) • “feminist attitudes” (see Wright & Fitzgerald, 2007) • “attitudes toward women in science and society” (see Wyer, Murphy-Medley, Damschen, Rosenfeld, & Wentworth, 2007) • “support for the sexual double standard” (see Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2007) • “egalitarian attitudes about gender” (see Karpiak, Buchanan, Hosey, & Smith, 2007) • “prejudice against women” (see Case, 2007)

Zone 1: An Inside View of the Interior Individual

Two specific characteristics distinguish Zone 1 perspectives on Gender from the other zones. First, definitions constructed from a Zone 1 perspective are focused on the ways in which individuals view Gender. While this is also the case for Zone 2

perspectives, Zone 1 perspectives are distinct in the way they address these individual views. Specifically, Zone 1 perspectives attempt to disclose individuals' understanding of and beliefs about Gender from the perspective of the individual her/him self. As such, whether researchers are addressing an individual's self-concept or views of others in terms of Gender, it is the expression of these from the perspective of the individual her/him self that sets definitions of Gender constructed from a Zone 1 perspective apart from those constructed from Zone 2 or any other perspective. These two foci form the common thread among the illustrations that follow, and must be considered central to the construction of a Zone 1 perspective on Gender.

For example, some researchers construct conceptual definitions specifically aimed at an individual's understanding of the self as a Gendered being. These definitions are concerned with the ways that an individual's gender-identity constitutes an aspect of their self around which their understanding of who they are and how they fit within the larger community can be organized. Beauboeuf-Lafontant (2007), as an illustration, conceptually defines gender-identity as the "meaning of womanhood and beauty for Black women" (p. 34) and uses a Zone 1 operational approach that includes interviews, which

...began with the women discussing the first three traits that came to mind when thinking about being a Black woman. Subsequent interview questions inquired about whether they had heard the term "strong Black woman" and what it meant to them, how they were viewed by others and how they reacted to those perceptions... (p. 35)

Additionally, other researchers construct Zone 1 conceptual definitions of gender-identity such as “how men feel about themselves and their bodies” (Farquhar & Wasylkiw, 2007, p. 145), and body shame and its relationship to women’s self-worth (see Sanchez & Kwang, 2007). When operationalized from a Zone 1 perspective, researchers use various methodological approaches in order to disclose an individual’s own expression of feelings towards their bodies. For instance, Engeln-Maddox (2006) asked participants to think about and then describe, in writing, what they believe their “culture’s ideal woman looks like according to the media” (p. 260). Engeln-Maddox then asked individual respondents to “take a moment to imagine that *you look just like* the woman you just described... [and] explain all of the ways you think your life would change if you looked like this woman...” (p. 260). These definitions clearly relate to individuals’ understanding of the self as Gendered and, more importantly, require researchers to explore these processes from the perspective of the individual’s themselves.

Although distinct in terms of the type of performance targeted, researchers also develop Zone 1 conceptual and operational definitions that are aimed at the link between an individual’s gender-identity (i.e., Gendered sense of self) and particular abilities. For example, gender-stereotype threat, as defined by Beilock, Rydell, and McConnell (2007) “occurs when the awareness of a negative stereotype about a social group in a particular domain produces suboptimal performance by members of that group” (p. 256). This gender-identity related phenomenon is also referred to as gender identity threat (see Rudman, Dohn, & Fairchild, 2007) and stereotype threat (see McGlone, Aronson, & Kobrynowicz, 2006). Notice that utilizing this particular conceptual definition of gender-stereotype threat requires researchers to measure whether an individual is actually aware

of the negative stereotypes associated with their social group (e.g., females/males or men/women), which constitutes a Zone 1 perspective.

Gatrell (2006) does just this when reflecting on her experiences as a woman interviewing men and women about their identities as fathers and mothers. In this study, the researcher explores how she understands the relationship between her own gender-identity and her ability to engage in interviews with other individuals. In a sense, Gatrell (2006) positions herself as both a researcher and an object of study. It is not just the participants' identities which are salient to this research, but the researcher's own understanding of the self in relation to those who she interviews and how that may impact her ability to draw valid conclusions.

Again, the open-ended nature of these operational approaches provides the context within which participants are able to express their own ideas/beliefs about Gender, in general, or the gender-identity of others, from their own perspective. As such, the respondents themselves are required to not only label the self and/or others, but also create an understanding of what that label means to them in the process. This is in contrast to the use of Zone 2 operational definitions, which, as will be seen below, often rely on the use of researcher-imposed categories.

As illustrated in all of the above examples, when constructing Zone 1 definitions, it is the perspective of the individual under study that forms the basis for the operational approach employed by the researchers. Nowhere in these examples, nor in any of the other operational approaches constructed from a Zone 1 perspective, do researchers attempt to impose their own views on the participants. Instead, these operational definitions illustrate one of the most important defining characteristics of an inside

perspective on gender-identity; namely, they must disclose how individuals describe their own experiences in their own words and from their own perspectives.

Zone 2: An Outside View of the Interior Individual

Similar to definitions constructed from a Zone 1 perspective, Zone 2 definitions also focus on individuals' views of Gender, both in terms of the self and others. Unlike Zone 1 definitions, however, those constructed from a Zone 2 perspective attempt to disclose these individual views through a consideration of the underlying dimensions of an individual's cognitive processes. In other words, Zone 2 perspectives on gender-identity cannot be directly disclosed by the individual under study because they are rooted in often unconscious cognitive schemas and scripts. As such, researchers who employ Zone 2 approaches to studying Gender rely heavily on psychometric analyses in order to place individuals within particular categories along various Gendered continuums.

The concepts Gender Role Stress (see Cohn & Zeichner, 2006), Gender Role Conflict (see Fallon & Jome, 2007; Liu & Iwamoto, 2006, 2007; Rochlen, McKelley, & Pituch, 2006; Schaub & Williams, 2007; Wester, Christianson, Vogel, & Wei, 2007; and Wester, Kuo, & Vogel, 2006), and Masculine Role Conflict (see Good, Schopp, Thomson, Hathaway, Sanford-Martens, Mazurek, et al., 2006) offer an opportunity to illustrate these important distinguishing characteristics of Zone 2 perspectives on gender-identity. Conceptually, gender-role stress includes "the degree to which a man experiences cognitive stress when adhering to masculine norms" (Cohn and Zeichner, 2006, p. 179). Or, as Liu and Iwamoto (2006) state, "a pattern of gender role conflict is defined as a set of values, attitudes, or behaviors learned during socialization that causes negative

psychological effects on a person or on other people” (p. 157). These definitions, however, can also be applied to women who experience cognitive stress or conflict when attempting to incorporate mainstream feminine norms into their own gender-identity. Gender role conflict/stress, therefore, relates to the symptoms of a conflict between how an individual sees her/him-self in terms of Gender and how their Gender category is defined by the larger cultural milieu of which they are a part.

Because Zone 2 perspectives are concerned with the underlying dimensions of these psychological constructs, it is not necessarily the ways in which individuals describe their experiences of conflict between their Gendered sense of self and larger cultural views of Gender that sit at the center of these Zone 2 definitions. Instead, researchers who construct Zone 2 definitions are interested in how this conflict is reflected in an individual’s cognitive processes. Researchers who employ these Zone 2 definitions, therefore, use psychometric analyses such as the Gender Role Conflict Scale [GRCS] (see Cohn & Zeichner, 2006; Good et al., 2006; Levant et al., 2006; Liu & Iwamoto, 2006; Rochlen, McKelley, & Pituch, 2006; Schaub & Williams, 2007; Wester et al., 2007; and Wester, Kuo, & Vogel, 2006), “a 37-item instrument designed to assess dimensions of gender role conflict” (Liu & Iwamoto, 2006, p. 157), which as Wester, Kuo, and Vogel (2006) describe, “is a measure of men’s reactions to the tensions between traditionally socialized male gender roles and situational demands” (p. 88). They then combine individual’s scores on these measures in order to place respondents along a continuum, with the assumption that those who have similar cognitive structures will exhibit similar degrees of gender-role stress.

The psychological concept known as male alexithymia (see Cusack, Deane, Wilson, & Ciarrochi, 2006) or men's restrictive emotionality (see Wong, Pituch, & Rochlen, 2006) provides a similar illustration of Zone 2 perspectives on gender-identity. Researchers in this area make the argument that the male gender-role is marked by an inability to express emotions with words. It is not that men are biologically incapable of forming words to describe their emotional states but that men are not raised in a way that promotes the use of "emotion words" and, therefore, are not provided with the opportunity to incorporate emotionality into their gender-identity.

What distinguishes this particular definition as a Zone 2 conceptualization of gender-identity is that these researchers are basing their argument on underlying cognitive/psychological processes that cannot be clearly disclosed by the individual her/him-self. Male alexithymia is a construct that is based on the perspective of psychologists and researchers in the field of psychology. While certainly impacted by and a reflection of the experiences of individuals who suffer from male alexithymia, the construct itself was not introduced by these individuals. Instead, it is derived from the examination of patterns in data collected from various samples of males from which interpretations about the structure of the overall male cognitive experience are extrapolated. Once extrapolated, the construct(s) that emerges (e.g., male alexithymia) is assessed through the implementation of psychometric devices intended to place respondents along a continuum of scores in order to disclose their particular identity type.

Zone 2 operational approaches to the study of male alexithymia include the use of scales like the Restrictive Emotionality subscale of the Gender Role Conflict scale (see Cusack et al., 2006 and Wong, Pituch, & Rochlen, 2006) as well as the Toronto

Alexithymia Scale (see Cusack et al., 2006). These operational approaches center on the underlying dimensions of an individual's cognition that disclose an inability to express emotions with language. Again, these can be viewed in contrast to operational approaches that allow individuals to describe their inability to articulate emotional states from their own perspectives, using their own words (i.e., Zone 1 operational approaches).

Like the Zone 2 operational definitions of self-related gender-identity constructs, researchers who construct Zone 2 operational definitions of other-related gender-identity constructs also rely on scales and/or psychometrics. For example, the scales/psychometrics used as Zone 2 operational definitions include the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (see Case, 2007; Christopher & Mull, 2006; DeMarni, Cromer & Freyd, 2007; and Fischer, 2006), the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (see Wright & Fitzgerald, 2007 and Wyer et al., 2007), the Traditional Beliefs about Gender and Gender Identity Scale (see Dasgupta & Rivera, 2006), the Sex Roles Egalitarianism Scale (see Karpiak et al., 2007), the Gender Fairness Environment Scale (see Settles, Cortina, Stewart, & Malley, 2007), the Contemporary Gender Discrimination Attitude Scale (see Weisgram & Bigler, 2007), the Antifemininity and Rationality/Status factors of the Male Role Norms Scale (see Holz & DiLalla, 2007), the Sexual Double Standard Scale (see Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2007), the Modern Sexism Scale (see Case, 2007), the Female Sexual Subjectivity Inventory (see Horne & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2006), and the Gender Attitudes Inventory (see McMullin & White, 2006). Again, through the analysis of individual scores on these psychometric tools, researchers are able to place respondents along a continuum based on the underlying cognitive processes (believed to be) disclosed by the items included on the scales.

It is essential to the construction of a more inclusive and methodologically harmonious model for studying Gender to acknowledge that both Zone 1 and Zone 2 approaches are valuable in their own sense. It is also essential to acknowledge that neither is able to provide data that shed light on the other. In order to address the full complexity of gender-identity, therefore, it is necessary to construct and include both Zone 1 and Zone 2 conceptual and operational definitions. We must, for instance, explore how an individual experiences their gender-identity both by asking them to describe it in their own words and through the application of psychometric analyses that capture aspects of an individual's gender-identity that may lie within the cognitive structures of which they are not aware (and possibly cannot be).

As will be seen throughout the remainder of this chapter, the construction of definitions from both inside and outside perspectives is a necessary component of any multi-methodological study of Gender and its relationship to other social science constructs. Without addressing both, we will continue to rely on a partial understanding of complex social science constructs such as Gender when developing our theories, implementing policies, and interacting with those around us. This foundational issue will be taken up in more detail later in this dissertation. For now, however, we move to the qualitative analysis of gender-stereotype definitions.

The Interior Collective Domain: Gender-Stereotypes, Zones 3 and 4

Based on the literature review and the construction of the coding scheme used in the current analysis, "gender-stereotypes," as an overall construct, refers to culturally shared beliefs about men and women within a given society. Gender-stereotypes, therefore, represent the interior collective view of Gender. This interior collective can be

Table 8: *Labels/Terms Used to Describe Gender-Stereotype Constructs*

Role-based	Meaning-based	Socialization
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “gender labeling of jobs” (Villarreal & Yu, 2007, p. 385) • “gender ideologies about work and caregiving” (Zhang, Chin, & Miller, 2007, p. 699) • feminized/masculinized occupations (see Gerber, 2006) • “female-typed occupations” (Mandel & Semyonov, 2006, p. 1910) • culturally held beliefs about roles in industries with feminine (clothing manufacturing) and masculine (auto manufacturing) images (Killeen, López-Zafra, & Eagly, 2006) • “changing conceptions of the opportunity structure for women in society” (Buchmann & DiPrete, 2006, p. 519) • “...women face negative stereotypes regarding their competence in the workplace” (Lockwood, 2006, p. 36) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gender norms (see Schippert, 2007; Walsh & Smith, 2007) • gender-stereotypes(ing) (see Ames & Flynn, 2007; Basow, Phelan, & Capotosto, 2006; Diekman & Goodfriend, 2006; Fiedler, Freytag, & Unkelbach, 2007; Guimond et al., 2007; Kruttschnitt & Carbone-Lopez, 2006; Sinclair, Hardin, & Lowery, 2006;) • gender images (see Bright, Decker, & Burch, 2007) • sex-role stereotyping (see Buchmann & DiPrete, 2006) • attitudes toward women (see Danigelis & Cutler, 2007; Herzog, 2007; Paxton, Hughes, & Green, 2006) • “...attitudes to both traditional femininity and feminist politics” (Schoene, 2006, p. 133) • femininity (see Gilbert, 2007) • male gender stereotype (see Clark & Kashima, 2007) • “traditional masculine gender norms” (Jakupcak et al., 2006, p. 203) • prejudice against women (see Major, Kaiser, O’Brien, & McCoy, 2007) • “rigid hetero-normative masculinity” and “white masculinity” (Brayton, 2007, p. 57) • “codes of masculinity” (Short, 2007, p. 183) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • masculine socialization (see Lisak & Beszterczey, 2007) • gender socialization (see Mahalik, Levi-Minzi, & Walker, 2007) • male gender role socialization (see Mahalik, Levi-Minzi, & Walker, 2007; McKelley & Rochlen, 2007; Wester, Kuo, & Vogel, 2006) • women’s communally oriented socialization (see Sanchez & Kwang, 2007)

viewed from both an inside and outside perspective. From an inside perspective (i.e., Zone 3), gender-stereotypes can be viewed in terms of the shared meaning that particular groups or cultures place on Gender. From an outside perspective (i.e., Zone 4), gender-stereotypes can be viewed as the cultural patterns of symbolic interaction which disclose the meaning that these groups/cultures place on Gender.

Viewing gender-stereotypes from an inside perspective requires approaches that are aimed at disclosing the shared views of the actual members of the group/culture under study, as well as the processes through which these shared views are constructed. For instance, a researcher may conduct a study in which they use focus groups to disclose the construction of a shared meaning of Gender from the perspective of group members, using the members' own language. Viewing gender-stereotypes from an outside perspective, on the other hand, requires researchers to use approaches aimed at disclosing exterior indicators of these shared beliefs. This includes the use of observation, content analysis, as well as ethnographic studies that allow researchers to explore shared constructions of Gender without having to necessarily directly include members' own thoughts.

It should also be noted that gender-stereotype definitions incorporate constructs related to gender-roles, gender-identity, and sex. These constructs, however, are incorporated in a manner that reflects their relationship to the construction, maintenance, and expression of shared meanings. Gender-stereotype definitions relating to societal roles, for instance, should not be confused with the actual roles performed by individuals within a particular society (i.e., gender-roles). Rather, these definitions reflect the accepted roles as proscribed by the larger cultural milieu. That is to say, even though

these stereotypes may have implications for or are impacted by gender-roles, they have as their central focus the shared beliefs about the appropriateness of men/women or females/males to perform those roles, not their actual performance.

For instance, Kruttschnitt and Carbone-Lopez (2007) conceptually define gender-stereotypes as “common views of women’s involvement in public and private violence” (p. 345). Notice that the main focus of this conceptual definition is not women’s actual involvement in violence but, rather, common (or cultural) views surrounding their involvement. Thus, these conceptual definitions, while certainly intimately related to gender-roles, are an expression of cultural beliefs surrounding gender-roles and not the roles in-and-of themselves.

Zone 3: An Inside View of the Interior Collective

Two characteristics distinguish Zone 3 perspectives on Gender from the other zones. First, Zone 3 perspectives focus on the shared meaning among particular groups or cultures. Second, and perhaps more importantly, these perspectives focus on the views of actual members of a particular group or culture. Regardless of the particular aspect of gender-stereotypes under study, this specific defining characteristic sets Zone 3 definitions apart from others (in particular Zone 4 definitions). In the illustrations that follow, several distinct threads of research on gender-stereotypes are discussed, but all share a similar focus on the perspective of group members in regards to the formation of a shared meaning of Gender.

Some researchers employ Zone 3 conceptual definitions of gender-stereotypes in ways that express the social construction of Gender. This includes the construction of categories such as man/woman, female/male, feminine/masculine, and boy/girl, among

others. Perhaps the clearest example of these types of conceptual definitions is what researchers refer to as “hegemonic masculinity,” or the predominant form of masculinity among a particular culture. In fact, several researchers within the sociological literature provide interesting conceptual definitions of hegemonic masculinity from an inside (i.e., Zone 3) perspective.

As Schrock and Padavic (2007) put it, “while most research emphasizes hegemonic masculinity as a cultural ideal, we unpack the interactional processes through which the most honored way to be a man is locally constituted” (Schrock and Padavic, 2007, p. 630). There are, therefore, both macro- and micro- processes at work in the construction of hegemonic masculinity. This argument, of course, can be expanded to include hegemonic femininity or other forms of gender-stereotype construction. What is important for our understanding of Zone 3 gender-stereotype definitions, however, is the concentration on interactional processes and locally constituted ways of being a man. In these two foci, we see a clear representation of Zone 3 approaches to studying Gender, where researchers attempt to disclose the construction of shared meanings of Gender from the perspective of members of the group/culture under study.

This is also reflected in the operational approach that Schrock and Padavic (2006) use to measure their Zone 3 conceptual definition of hegemonic masculinity. In their study, Schrock and Padavic (2006) were interested in how current members of an all-male batterer intervention group constructed a shared meaning of masculinity/male-ness. As part of their operational approach, these researchers attended meetings where group members discussed their shared understanding of what it means to be a man. Using a Zone 3 operational approach (i.e., focus-groups), therefore, these researchers allowed

members of a particular group to express their shared understanding of what it means to be a man in their own words, while also allowing for the continued construction of that shared meaning by the members themselves.

The inclusion of these foci is also apparent in studies which address the relationship between specific gender-stereotypes and group behaviors. For instance, DeKeseredy, Schwartz, Fagen, and Hall (2006) look at the processes involved in male peer support for sexual violence. The conceptual argument made in this research is that males, as a collective, engage in the construction of a specific type of masculinity that promotes, or at the very least tolerates the use of violence against women. The focal concern of this research study, therefore, is the relationship between the group's culturally constructed gender-stereotype and the behavior of group members.

Interestingly, these same processes are conceptualized from a Zone 3 perspective in ways that illuminate the impact of gender-stereotypes on those who are the recipients of male-socialized violence. Specifically, Makarios (2007) offers a Zone 3 conceptual definition which suggests that "perhaps the concentration of sexual exploitation and victimization of women in their community makes violence against women feel like an everyday occurrence for minority females. Thus, minority females may be socialized to expect victimization and perhaps learn mechanisms to internally cope with abuse" (p. 112). Here, the researcher is arguing that when it comes to minority females, part of their shared understanding of what it means to be a woman (i.e., gender-stereotype) is based in the process through which they form a collective identity as victims of violence.

What is most important for the current analysis, however, is that in all of these illustrations it is the perspective of the members of the group/culture under study that

distinguishes a Zone 3 perspective from the other zones. In order to construct a definition of gender-stereotypes from a Zone 3 perspective, a researcher must address shared beliefs in a manner that discloses their development, maintenance, and/or impact from the perspective of the actual members of the group being studied. Keep in mind, however, that if these shared beliefs are then used to produce formal policies that reflect the treatment of Gendered beings within or by the system, they would likely be engaging in a Zone 7 approach. This distinction will be discussed in more detail in the presentation of findings from the analysis of Zone 7 conceptual and operational definitions later in this chapter.

Zone 4: An Outside View of the Interior Collective

In contrast to the inside perspectives on gender-stereotypes, Zone 4, or the outside perspective, approaches the study of gender-stereotypes through the consideration of the symbolic interactions among members of particular groups, as well as the exterior indicators of shared beliefs surrounding what it means to be a Gendered being within particular cultures. As an example of the former, Yeung, Stomblor, and Wharton (2006), state that “researchers have found that fraternities on American campuses produce a particular type of men through the construction of ‘hegemonic masculinity’ ...*a set of gender practices valorizing men over women and reinforcing patriarchal legitimacy* [italics added]” (p. 6). They go on to state that “hegemonic masculinity is therefore not a thing but a *structural* [italics added] and cultural consequence resulting in the negotiations and *interactions within and between genders* [italics added]” (p. 8).

Continuing along these lines, Yeung, Stomblor, and Wharton (2006) point out that the construction of a shared meaning of Gender can also be used as a way to cope with

and/or de-construct the more hegemonic Gender constructions of the larger cultural milieu within which a particular group operates. In their analysis of a self-identified gay fraternity, they describe this process conceptually:

The group practices of DLP show that there was plenty of space in which gay fraternity brothers could *redefine what 'fraternity men' meant* [italics added]. At one level, these *practices* [italics added] self-consciously deployed notions of femininity within the framework of a traditionally masculine environment. But given the persisting homophobic college environment, DLP members had to constantly renegotiate their status as marginalized men....*DLP members often used demonstrative and flamboyant feminine gender performances as a means to individually and collectively construct their sexual identity* [italics added] and express their queer sensibility. (pp. 12-13)

These researchers have constructed a conceptual definition of hegemonic masculinity that is based on practices, demonstrations, and performances which they interpret as means through which members of a group define what it is to be a man or woman. In contrast to the Zone 3 conceptual definitions of hegemonic masculinity discussed earlier, these Zone 4 definitions are more concerned with the practices and interactions that disclose shared meaning among the group members. As described below, the operational approach used by these researchers includes the gathering of data through ethnographic type observations, where interpretations are then made about the shared meaning portrayed in the behaviors and practices of the group. In fact, the data that are provided to support this conceptual claim were collected using participant observation

and content analysis, two methodologies closely associated with Zone 4 perspectives. As Yeung, Stomblor, and Wharton (2006) describe, their operational approach includes

...participant observation for one year in 1996 in a DLP chapter-in-formation....Archival data consisted of the official fraternity handbook (shared by the local chapter), Web sites of the national and all local chapters with a presence on the Web, and newspaper and magazine articles identified through Internet and LexisNexis searches (using “Delta Lambda Phi” and “gay fraternity” as common search terms) (pp. 11-12)

As an illustration of Zone 4 perspectives that rely on the consideration of exterior indicators of shared beliefs surrounding what it means to be a Gendered being within particular cultures, Wall and Arnold (2007) address the ways in which popular culture in Canada represents or portrays fatherhood and the roles of men within the family, or what they call “the culture of fatherhood” (p. 508). This conceptual definition of gender-stereotypes reflects an important characteristic of a Zone 4 perspective. Namely, this is not a study of the actual familial roles performed by Canadian men, but the ways in which these roles are represented and expressed within the larger culture. Operationally, Wall and Arnold (2007) attempt to measure “the culture of fatherhood through an analysis of a yearlong Canadian newspaper series dedicated to family issues” (p. 508). This study relies on content analysis, which, again, is a clear Zone 4 operational approach that relies on the exterior indicators of shared meaning.

Kucukalioglu (2007) offers another good example of the use of a Zone 4 content analysis as an operational approach to measuring gender-stereotypes. In this study, Kucukalioglu (2007) addressed the formation of a gendered national identity that

includes a shared understanding of what it meant to be a woman before, during, and after the transformation from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. Kucukalioglu (2007) explains the benefit of using a content analysis in a study of this nature:

Novels can play a significant role in terms of representing the imagined boundaries and functioning as mediums through which cultural difference is expressed....The aim of this article is to examine the representation of women's images in novels in the pre-Republican (Ottoman-Turkish) and early Republican period (1908-1923) in order to analyze the formation of gendered national identity. (p. 3)

Notice that Kucukalioglu (2007) is relying on exterior representations as “mediums” for the interpretation of shared understandings of womanhood, as expressed via literary imagery. This researcher is correct in stating that literary analysis is an effective approach to disclosing shared meanings surrounding Gender. It should also be noted, however, that this is not the same as the actual gender-stereotypes or the expression of those same shared meanings from the perspective of the members of the culture under study. The distinction between the exterior indicators (Zone 4), the members' expression (Zone 3), and the actual shared meanings must be considered in order to fully grasp the complexity of gender-stereotypes as a social science construct.

The Exterior Individual Domain: Sex, Zones 5 and 6

Sex, as defined and applied in this dissertation, refers to the biological traits associated with being female or male. When viewed from the outside (Zone 6), sex is often associated with the exterior indicators of an individual's biological sex. When viewed from an inside perspective (Zone 5), on the other hand, sex is associated with the

unconscious heuristic maps of an organism's own biological sex. As described in Chapter IV, Zone 5 definitions reflect the link between the biological aspects of an organism (e.g., humans) and the ways in which that organism views and/or interacts with the world around it. Zone 6 definitions, on the other hand, reflect the empirical assessment of biological components in-and-of themselves. While Zone 5 definitions are linked to biological components (Zone 6), they are more complex and incorporate non-biological measures as well.

The presentation of qualitative findings for conceptual and operational definitions of sex begins with Zone 6, followed by Zone 5. The sections are organized this way because Zone 5 conceptual and operational definitions incorporate Zone 6 definitions. As the findings illustrate, it does not appear to be possible to generate a Zone 5 conceptual or operational definition without incorporating Zone 6 definitions, because Zone 5 reflects the link between these biological components and other phenomena, such as consciousness, behavior, worldviews, etc.

Zone 6: An Outside View of the Exterior Individual

As described in more detail in the presentation of quantitative findings later in this chapter, Zone 6 conceptual and operational definitions are, by far, the most common type of definitions used in the selected journals/disciplines, with 39% of the articles including at least one Zone 6 conceptual definition and 72% of the articles including at least one Zone 6 operational definition. This finding is consistent with one of the fundamental questions guiding this study. Namely, to what extent are researchers in the social sciences relying on Zone 6 definitions of Gender (i.e., biological empiricism) as a proxy for the complex ways in which Gender is experienced and enacted by individuals and collectives.

This is likely the result of Zone 6 perspectives being closely tied to what is traditionally called empirical science, an issue which will be taken up in more detail in the discussion chapter. The qualitative analysis of Zone 6 conceptual and operational definitions does, however, shed light on the various ways researchers are conceptualizing and operationalizing these biological components of Gender. In fact, three distinct approaches to conceptualizing and operationalizing sex from Zone 6 perspectives emerged during the analysis.

First, researchers use a Zone 6 definition of Gender that relies on respondents' self-reported sex or "gender." For instance, they will ask respondents to check whether they are male or female on a survey instrument. Interestingly, many of those who include a self-report Zone 6 operational definition of Gender do not actually provide a clear detailed conceptual definition. The second approach is that researchers construct Zone 6 conceptual and operational definitions based on the observation of exterior sex characteristics by someone other than the individual participant. Fernandez and Fernandez-Mateo (2006) describe one of these Zone 6 operational approaches in their study of the relationship between race and hiring networks:

In order to be hired, all applicants to the plant must come into the receptionists' area to turn in a completed and signed application form. After accepting the application form, the receptionist logs the receipt of the application and *records the applicant's apparent race and gender* [italics added]. (p. 48)

Notice here that the operationalization of "gender" is based on the receptionist's observations of individuals' biological sex. Similar to the issue raised in regards to self-reported sex, however, these researchers often do not provide a clear discussion of what

this measure of biological sex offers in terms of conceptual understanding. These researchers include this Zone 6 measure of biological sex in order to draw conclusions about differences between males and females.

In a study of academic earnings, Leahey (2007) offers a similar type of Zone 6 operational definition of Gender. Leahey (2007) states,

The gender of respondents is, in most cases, evident from an examination of first names. In ambiguous cases, I determine gender from a question on the Web-based survey or from Internet searches (*which yielded pictures* [italics added] or short biographical sketches that used gender-specific pronouns). (p. 545)

It was in the absence of a Zone 4 measure of Gender (i.e., first names and/or gender-specific pronouns) that this researcher used pictures, or observed sex, as a way to measure an individual's "gender" (i.e., biological sex).

The third general category of Zone 6 definitions is physiological sex characteristics. These are the most detailed conceptual and operational definitions constructed from a Zone 6 perspective. What these definitions have in common is an emphasis on the biological components of Gender that reflect physiological changes in the body. Mare and Maralani (2006), for instance, offer a conceptual definition from this perspective that includes women's fertility. Similarly, Gangestad, Garver-Apgar, Simpson, and Cousins (2007) provide a conceptual definition that includes the ovulatory cycle, a clear Zone 6 construct. In describing their operationalization of this conceptual definition, Gangestad et al., (2007) state that

Women ($n = 277$) were then recruited from introductory psychology classes at the University of New Mexico to participate in a study of attraction. All were

normally ovulating (i.e., not using a contraceptive pill or injection). Women who had not had a menstrual period in the preceding 50 days ($n = 4$) or who did not provide information sufficient to determine their cycle day ($n = 8$) were excluded from the analyses. (p. 154)

These types of conceptual and operational definitions are presented in terms of other biological sex components as well. Chivers, Seto, and Blanchard (2007), for instance, offer a physiologically-based Zone 6 conceptual definition that includes men's and women's sexual responses, genital responses, and gender differences in specificity of genital responses. In this example, the Zone 6 conceptual definition is being used as part of the dependent variable. This is somewhat unique to the physiologically-based definitions when compared to the other Zone 6 definitions discussed above. It is rare to see the two previously discussed types of Zone 6 conceptual and operational definitions of Gender situated as dependent variables.

These physiologically based Zone 6 conceptual definitions are also accompanied by complex operational definitions. Take the operational definition of testosterone levels included here as an example:

Analysis of saliva samples followed published protocols (Granger, Schwartz, Booth, & Arentz, 1999). The time at which saliva samples were collected ranged between 0700 and 0110. Participants had been awake at the time of collection for between 0001 and 1630. T[estosterone] concentration declines over the course of the waking day (Nelson, 2000). Therefore, all analyses include time awake as a covariate.... The assay method used is a modified version of Granger et al. (1999) that was based on an application of the ^{125}I double antibody kit produced by

Diagnostic Systems Laboratories (Webster, TX). (McIntyre, Gangestad, Gray, Chapman, Burnham, O'Rourke et al., 2007, pp. 644-645)

As is illustrated by these examples, definitions of Gender constructed from a Zone 6 perspective range from an individual's self-reported biological sex to dynamic measures of physiological sex characteristics. All of these Zone 6 definitions, however, have two important similarities. First, they are all focused on the exterior indicators of an individual's biological sex characteristics. Second, they all rely on the use of scientific empiricism in order to disclose the specific characteristics under study. Importantly, these Zone 6 measures are sometimes used in conjunction with conceptual definitions that have been constructed from other zone or domain perspectives. This issue, the use of Zone 6 proxy measures, is partly the focus of the next chapter, when we consider disparities in the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender in the social sciences and their sources.

Zone 5: An Inside View of the Exterior Individual

Before getting into a detailed presentation of Zone 5 definitions, it may be helpful to revisit some of the distinguishing characteristics of Zone 5 methodologies discussed in Chapter IV. First, Zone 5 is associated with autopoiesis. In a general sense, the use of the term autopoiesis within the context of epistemological approaches refers to any study of the self-generating aspects of an individual or system (see Seidl, 2005; Varela, 1979; Wilber, 2006). Second, the very enactment of autopoietic processes is such that any direct observation of the autopoietic organization is rendered impossible. Autopoietic processes, including the interactions and relations among an autopoietic system's components, occur as momentary occasions (Scheper & Scheper, 1996). Because of this, any attempt at

distinguishing between the interactions of an autopoietic system and that which is observed must be understood as “exclusively [lying] in the cognitive domain of the observer” (Scheper & Scheper, 1996, p. 6).

As will be seen below, the Zone 5 operational definitions of Gender found in the selected journals are conditioned by this important restraint on our ability as researchers to observe autopoietic processes as they unfold. We are forced, therefore, to approximate what these autopoietic processes look like based on those characteristics that can be directly observed. Importantly, these issues place serious limitations on the ability of researchers to develop Zone 5 operationalizations of Gender.

With these issues in mind, however, it is possible to determine the basic characteristics of a Zone 5 methodological approach to the study of Gender. Specifically, Zone 5 definitions share several characteristics. First, they all include some form of physiological sex characteristics (e.g., hormones, genitals). Second, they all include some form of an individual’s attitudes, behaviors, worldviews, etc. Finally, and this may be the most important defining characteristic, they all attempt to link the physiological sex characteristics to the attitudes, behaviors, and/or worldviews of individual respondents. It is not simply the inclusion of physiological sex characteristics or behaviors/viewpoints, but the relationship between those characteristics and how individuals see and/or interact with the world around them that marks a Zone 5 definition. The illustrations that follow are included because they provide clear examples of these three components.

We begin with a study that “investigated theoretically predicted links between attachment style and a physiological indicator of stress, salivary cortisol levels, in 124 heterosexual dating couples” (Powers, Pietromonaco, Gunlicks, & Sayer, 2006, p. 613).

As Powers et al. (2006) state, “previous work suggests that gender may serve as an important contextual variable because it is connected to HPA [hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis] reactivity...attachment...and behavior for men and women during conflict discussions” (p. 614). What these two excerpts suggest is that there is some association among gender (measured from a Zone 6 perspective), physiological characteristics (i.e., HPA), and attachment style. These represent the necessary components of a Zone 5 conceptual definition. Further, Powers et al. (2006) attempt to measure these relationships using a Zone 5 operational definition.

Specifically, Powers et al. (2006) include a measure of physiological characteristics through the recording of HPA levels. Second, they include a measure of relationship attachment that includes the “Experiences in Close Relationships scale...a 36-item self-report measure used to assess attachment in romantic relationships” (p. 618). Finally, they attempt to draw conclusions regarding the relationship between these two measures. In this example, that link is provided when the physiological measures are compared at different points throughout the couples’ interactions.

Next, looking back at the study of the relationship between testosterone and mating preferences described earlier, McIntyre et al. (2006) suggest that

Testosterone (T) appears to facilitate what biologists refer to as mating effort—the investment of time and energy into same-sex competition and mate-seeking behavior....The authors proceeded on the basis of the idea that men who retain interests in sexual opportunities with women other than a primary partner continue to dedicate more time and energy to mating effort when romantically

paired, and so they predicted that the association between relationship status and T depends on men's extrapair sexual interests. (p. 642)

Remember that these researchers measure testosterone levels through an analysis of participants' saliva. This operational definition, in-and-of-itself, is appropriately categorized as Zone 6. However, when this Zone 6 measure is looked at it in the context of the overall study, it becomes clear that McIntyre et al. (2006) use it in the process of constructing a Zone 5 operational approach. This becomes clearer when we consider the other measures included in the study; specifically, mating preferences:

Men's degree of interest in pursuing or being open to sex outside of a relationship may vary along a dimension. Sociosexual orientation refers to individual differences in the willingness to engage in sex outside of a committed, emotionally involved romantic relationship (Simpson & Gangestad, 1991)...Sociosexual orientation can be measured with the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory (SOI), a short, seven-item questionnaire assessing past sexual history, sexual fantasies, and attitudes toward uncommitted, casual sex (Simpson & Gangestad, 1991). High scores reflect relatively unrestricted sociosexual orientation; low scores reflect a relatively restricted one. (p. 644)

So, when used in conjunction with other measures in order to assess the relationship between testosterone levels and mating preferences, this Zone 6 operational definition becomes an important component of the construction of a more complex Zone 5 operational approach. One final example may help illustrate this process.

In their study, Chivers, Seto, and Blanchard (2007) attempt to link physiological sexual responses to sexual orientation as expressed through the observation of sexual activity. As they explain conceptually:

In this study, the authors investigated the hypothesis that women's sexual orientation and sexual responses in the laboratory correlate less highly than do men's because women respond primarily to the sexual activities performed by actors, whereas men respond primarily to the gender of the actors. (p. 1108)

Chivers, Seto, and Blanchard (2007) go on to describe their measure of genital responses and sexual orientation. As they explain, "women's genital responses were assessed with vaginal photoplethysmography (Sintchak & Geer, 1975)... [which] represents the phasic changes in vaginal blood flow associated with each heartbeat, such that higher amplitudes reflect greater vaginal vasocongestion" (p. 1111) and "men's genital response was measured with a mercury-in-rubber strain gauge, a reliable and valid method of measuring changes in penile circumference (see Janssen & Geer, 2000)" (p. 1111). In addition, "participants were classified as heterosexual or homosexual on the basis of their self-assessment on the Kinsey Sexual Attraction Scale (Kinsey, et al., 1948; Kinsey et al., 1953)" (p. 1111).

The final component of a Zone 5 perspective on Gender is accomplished by having each respondent observe sexual activity in order to induce a physiological sexual response so that comparisons can be drawn across participants, as described in the following excerpt:

The experimental stimuli consisted of 18 film clips that were 90 s[econds] and that were presented with sound, representing nine stimulus categories: control

(landscapes accompanied by relaxing music), nonhuman sexual activity (bonobos or *Pan paniscus* mating), female nonsexual activity (nude exercise), female masturbation, female–female intercourse (cunnilingus and vaginal penetration with a strap-on dildo), male nonsexual activity (nude exercise), male masturbation, male–male intercourse (fellatio and anal intercourse), and female–male copulation (cunnilingus and penile–vaginal intercourse). (p. 1111)

When considering the physiological measures and the measure of sexual orientation in conjunction with the stimuli described here, we again see the process by which a Zone 5 operational approach is constructed from the inclusion of multiple measures of Gender from multiple zone perspectives.

Again, perhaps the most interesting and meaningful finding from the qualitative analysis of definitions of sex is the fact that Zone 5 operational approaches rely partly on the construction of Zone 6 operational definitions. When researchers construct their Zone 5 operational approaches, Zone 6 measures are transformed, at least in some sense, through the connection of physiological constructs to other Gender constructs in a manner that allows for an exploration of the links among them. This finding, as we will see, also emerged during the qualitative analysis of gender-role definitions from Zones 7 and 8.

The Exterior Collective Domain: Gender-Roles, Zones 7 and 8

As a domain of Gender, gender-roles are defined as the behaviors or activities performed by Gendered beings in a given society which have become institutionalized within various social systems. As is the case for all of the domains of Gender discussed thus far, when viewed from an inside or outside perspective, gender-role definitions take

on particular characteristics. From an inside (Zone 7) perspective, they are generally viewed as the communication of gender-roles among members of a particular social system which delineate future communication of gender-roles. From an outside (Zone 8) perspective, they are generally viewed as the functional fit of the roles that Gendered beings play within a particular social system.

Table 9 presents the labels/terms used to describe gender-role constructs. Similar to the literature review presented in Chapter III, these labels/terms have been organized around the private and public spheres. In the presentation of qualitative findings that follows, we begin with gender-role definitions constructed from a Zone 8 perspective and then move on to those constructed from a Zone 7 perspective. This section has been organized in this manner because Zone 7 approaches are often complex multi-methodological studies which require at least some understanding of Zone 8 constructs. This is not all that dissimilar to the presentation of findings from the qualitative analysis of sex definitions presented in the previous section, and reflects the difficulty many researchers face when attempting to construct conceptual and operational definitions aimed at social autopoietic (Zone 7) and/or autopoietic (Zone 5) processes.

Zone 8: An Outside View of the Exterior Collective

Zone 8 conceptual and operational definitions of gender-roles fall within two broad categories: those dealing with the private sphere (e.g., familial roles); and, those dealing with the public sphere (e.g., occupational roles). In the past, as illustrated by the literature review, and currently, as illustrated by the content analysis, researchers seem to be concentrating on these two broad categories within which social systems are situated. Two additional defining characteristics of Zone 8 conceptual and operational definitions

are their focus on the roles in-and-of themselves and the activities associated with those roles. Again, those who take a Zone 8 perspective are not necessarily concerned with how roles are originally constructed, maintained, or altered, or what they mean to the individual who occupies that role, but rather, the roles themselves and the actual activities associated with those roles. In other words, Zone 8 perspectives on Gender have as their central focus the performance of gender-roles and changes in the demographic make-up of those who perform those roles.

Table 9: *Labels/Terms Used to Describe Gender-Role Constructs*

Private Sphere	Public Sphere
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “roles of men and women within families” (Misra, Moller, & Budig, 2007, p. 804) • “gender division of labor in the family” (Roth & Kroll, p. 217) • marital status (see Davis & Robinson, 2006; Kasen et al., 2006; King, Massoglia, & MacMillan, 2007; Mare & Maralani, 2006; Sørensen, 2007) • relationship status (see Arriaga, Reed, Goodfriend, & Agnew, 2006; Assad, Donnellan, & Conger, 2007; Gonzaga, Campos, & Bradbury, 2007; Overall, Fletcher, & Simpson, 2006; Simpson, Collins, Tran, & Haydon, 2007) • parental investment (see Griskevicius, Cialdini, & Kenrick, 2006) • parenting behaviors of mothers and fathers (see Maurer & Pleck, 2006) • parental role (see Zentner & Renaud, 2007) • same/opposite gender parent (see McFarland, Beuhler, von Rüti, Nguyen, & Alvaro, 2007) • biological parental relationship (see Kochanska et al., 2007) • paternal caregiving (see Milan, Kershaw, Lewis, Westdahl, Rising, Patrikios, et al., 2007) • parental status (see Kochanska, Aksan, Penney, & Boldt, 2007) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • chivary hypothesis (see Griffin & Wooldredge, 2006; Smith, Makarios, & Alpert, 2006; Felson & Pare, 2007) • evil woman and vengeful equity hypotheses (see Meyer & Post, 2006) • sexual double standard (see Bright, Decker, & Burch, 2007) • organizational patriarchy (see Mizrachi, Drori, & Anspach, 2007) • governance of Gender and Gender of governance (see Mirchandani, 2006) • labor force participation among men/women (see Andersen, Curtis, & Grabb, 2006; Brooks & Manza, 2006; Mandel & Semyonov, 2006) • occupational sex segregation or stratification (see Bagilhole & Cross, 2006; McVeigh & Sobolewski, 2007; Tomaskovic-Devey, Zimmer, Stainback, Robinson, Taylor, & McTague, 2006; Zhang, Chin, & Miller, 2007) • wage gaps across Gender (see Cohen, 2007; Leahey, 2007; Sørensen, 2007; Villarreal & Yu, 2007)

Although the illustrations included below are confined to particular social systems within the private and public spheres, the definitions that emerged during the analysis are not restricted to these particular systems. There are, for example, many gender-roles associated with the private sphere (e.g., husband, wife, father, mother, daughter, son, etc.). In addition, there are a large number of social systems that are associated with the public sphere (e.g., politics, productive labor, etc.), and these social systems also contain specific gender-roles.

One area where researchers are constructing Zone 8 definitions of gender-roles is within intimate relationships, or the roles that men and women play within spousal and/or other forms of intimate relationships (e.g., non-married couples). As was the case for most of the Zone 8 conceptual definitions, these relationship-related definitions are most often measured in terms of Zone 8 operational definitions that require respondents to indicate whether or not they are currently or had ever been in an intimate relationship with another person. These operational definitions include the use of dummy variables such as married/not-married or in/out of relationship, or additional categories such as married/unmarried/living with romantic partner (see Scollon & Diener, 2006).

This pattern also emerges among Zone 8 definitions related to parenting roles, or the roles of those who care for and are responsible for children within the familial system. Just like the analysis of relationship-based operational definitions discussed above, those who construct these Zone 8 conceptual definitions also rely on Zone 8 operational measures of their constructs. Parental-based conceptual definitions, for instance, are often measured in terms of the number of dependent children a respondent reports having (see Griffin & Wooldredge, 2006 and Reynolds & Aletraris, 2006). Andersen, Curtis, and

Grabb (2006) provide a similar type of operational definition when stating that their measure of “*parental status* distinguished those with children under 18 years of age living at home, from all other respondents” (p. 381). Notice that the concept parental status, at least as measured through these Zone 8 operational definitions, does not distinguish between those who spend quality time engaging in parenting behaviors with their children from those who do not. Instead, parental status is measured solely on the basis of whether or not an individual is living with children, regardless of the quality of the relationship they have with those children.

This can be contrasted with other Zone 8 approaches such as the one Maurer and Pleck (2006) offer in their study of parental caregiving. In this study, “parents’ caregiving behavior was assessed with the Caregiving Involvement Scale (CIS)... [Where] items on the CIS ask how frequently parents engage in specific caregiving activities” (p. 105). Although more involved than simply asking whether an individual lives with a child, these definitions still focus on the exterior behavioral indicators of the parental role, as opposed to the ways in which the parent and child work together to construct parental roles, which would constitute a Zone 7 perspective.

A similar focus on these exterior indicators of role behaviors is found in the analysis of public sphere related gender-roles. In order to keep the presentation of public sphere related Zone 8 definitions manageable, the illustrations used in this section are taken from research in specific areas such as the paid labor market, the political system, and the educational system. The findings that follow, however, apply to research aimed at other public-sphere social systems as well.

When considering Zone 8 conceptual and operational definitions pertaining to the paid labor market, it may be helpful to contrast them with labor market related definitions that are constructed from Zone 3 and 4 perspectives. Remember that some of the research illustrations presented earlier in this chapter included Zone 3 and 4 definitions that address the feminization and masculinization of particular occupations. These conceptual and operational definitions deal with the ways in which cultures delineate female and male typed jobs as a reflection of a collective understanding of what it means to be a man or a woman. In contrast, Zone 8 conceptual and operational definitions deal with the actual participation of individuals in the overall paid labor market as well as specific occupational sectors. What these definitions, and all those that attempt to address these issues from a Zone 8 perspective, have in common is their focus on the exterior indicators of a Gendered labor force.

An example of this comes from the sociological literature, where Duffy (2007) constructs a historical perspective on the relationships among gender, race, and a form of reproductive labor (labor related to household care and maintenance):

Changes in the organization of cooking and cleaning tasks in the paid labor market have led to *shifts in the demographics of workers engaged in these tasks* [italics added]. As the context for cleaning and cooking work shifted from the dominance of private household servants to include more institutional forms, *the gender balance of this reproductive labor workforce has been transformed* [italics added], while racial-ethnic hierarchies have remained entrenched. (p. 313)

The shifts that this researcher is referring to primarily focus on the changing demographics of those who engage in paid reproductive labor. As this excerpt clearly

shows, it is not the culturally shared meanings associated with reproductive labor, but the actual roles that men and women play in providing this labor that sits at the center of this Zone 8 perspective. This becomes all the more clear when we consider how Duffy (2007) measures this Zone 8 construct:

The larger study from which this article is drawn uses U.S. census data to analyze the development of reproductive labor in the paid labor market from 1900 to 2000, focusing on occupational shifts as well as the gender, racial-ethnic, and immigrant composition of the reproductive labor workforce. (p. 319)

Again, contrasting this to Zone 3 or 4 operational approaches, we can see that Zone 8 operational definitions are based on the actual participation of men/women or females/males in particular occupations (roles), whereas, Zone 3 and 4 operational definitions are based on culturally derived beliefs regarding the appropriateness of men/women or females/males to take on these roles.

Similar issues emerged in the analysis of Zone 8 conceptual and operational definitions related to Gender and political systems. For instance, in a study of the relationship between the international women's movement and women's political representation, Paxton, Hughes, and Green (2006) include a Zone 8 conceptual definition of women's political representation that targets the "progression of women's political incorporation" (p. 906). In order to operationalize this Zone 8 construct, these researchers include measures of the "attainment of female suffrage" as indicated by year women were first allowed to vote in a particular country, "first female parliamentarian" also measured in year, and the "achievement of 10, 20, and 30 percent women in its national legislature" (p. 898). This is a clear Zone 8 operational definition because it relies on

measures associated with exterior indicators of women's political representation. For example, there is no concern for whether women are meaningfully participating in the political process as voters, parliamentarians, or legislators.

One final example comes from the educational system and England and Li's (2006) study of "the changing gender composition of college majors" (p. 657), in terms of "gender segregation in baccalaureate degree fields" (p. 657). In this study, England and Li (2006) use "data published annually by the National Center for Education Statistics (1973-2003) on the number of women and men receiving bachelor's degrees in all fields of study from academic year 1970-1971 to 2001-2002" (p. 661). As is the case for the other Zone 8 approaches to studying Gender issues within the educational system, this operational approach is focused on trends in educational participation compared across Gender categories. Again, it is the observation of these exterior indicators of gender-roles and trends over time that constitutes the major defining characteristics of Zone 8 perspectives on Gender.

Zone 7: An Inside View of the Exterior Collective

When applied to the study of Gender, Zone 7 perspectives are enacted in two particular ways. Researchers who are looking at gender-roles from a Zone 7 perspective focus on how a system itself becomes Gendered, as well as how a system (through the communicative aspects of its members) treats Gendered beings. To help illustrate these two ways in which Zone 7 perspectives on gender-roles are enacted, consider an excerpt from a study of the relationship between the battered women's movement and domestic violence courts:

I examine changes not in domestic violence legislation, which have been documented to be extensive (Weldon 2002), but in the actual implementation of that legislation in domestic violence courts. My findings, that courts show transformations in both their governance of gender and their gender of governance, lend support to positive theories of the state. (Mirchandani, 2006, p. 785)

Mirchandani (2006) goes on to define both the governance of gender and gender of governance:

The *governance of gender* refers to how the various institutions and practices of governance differentially regard, reward, produce, and position men and women.... In contrast, the *gender of governance* (Brush 2003) refers to the structures, procedures, and discourses of the state. (p. 783)

In terms of the governance of gender, what this excerpt discloses is a focus on how systems create and re-create themselves in ways that change how Gendered beings are treated (i.e., rewarded, produced, and positioned). Alternatively, the gender of governance is related to the ways in which the system itself is created and re-created in ways that make it Gendered. Interestingly, as the analysis progressed, these two foci emerged as central themes among the Zone 7 conceptual and operational definitions. The presentation that follows, therefore, is organized around these two themes.

As an illustration of the governance of gender, consider a study of a multinational organization conducted by Mizrachi, Drori, and Anspach (2007). In this study, these researchers include a complex conceptual definition that clearly illustrates a Zone 7

perspective on Gender. In describing “organizational patriarchy,” Mizrachi, Drori, and Anspach (2007) state:

In Israel, managers had developed a paternalistic and familistic strategy to control Palestinian factory workers by incorporating the young women’s family structure into a Fordist organization of production. Because young women factory workers were under the strict control of the men in their families, it was the men who controlled absenteeism and turnover in the plant. With this in mind, managers often invited fathers and older brothers to the plant or visited them in the villages to win their trust. By discussing details of their daughters’ attendance and work, *Israeli managers attempted to co-opt fathers and use them to control the job performance of workers on the shop floor* [italics added]. (p. 151)

In this excerpt, Zone 7 is reflected in the ways that managers are able to communicate specific practices within the system and, in turn, generate control mechanisms that reflect the governance of Gender both by the system and by the larger society in which the system is situated. This did not simply occur from the implementation of particular policies or procedures, but from the communicative aspects of the relationships among the managers, employees, and employees’ family members. In another factory in Jordan, owned by the same multi-national corporation, for instance, similar policies would have been ineffectual because while the “Israeli managers viewed this mode of labor control as highly successful and made an effort to export it to Jordan....Jordanian managers rejected the use of patriarchal leverage and manipulation of familial roles, adhering strictly to a formal hierarchy of clearly defined roles. They

adamantly resisted blurring the boundaries between family and work” (Mizrachi, Drori, & Anspach, 2007, p. 151).

This study also includes a Zone 7 operational approach that is constructed in order to measure organizational patriarchy and allow the researchers to draw the conclusions discussed in the above excerpts. The operational approach they use combines several methodologies in a way that incorporates the defining characteristics of Zone 7 operationalizations. First, Mizrachi, Drori, and Anspach (2007) used an ethnographic research approach that “included participant observation two to three days a week, on the shop floor and during management meetings and social encounters, as well as *in situ* interviews with Jordanian and Israeli managers” (p. 148).

Three specific characteristics position this operational approach as a clear Zone 7 perspective. First, the use of ethnography allows the researchers to conduct interviews and observations with actual members of the system under study. In order for a researcher to construct a Zone 7 operational approach, they must gain access to the members of the system under study. If this is not accomplished, it is not possible to measure the communicative aspects of systems (i.e., the inside view of the exterior collective).

Second, the use of ethnographic interviews and observations allows the researchers to measure the communicative aspects of the system as close to their actual occurrence as possible. Remember from the discussion of the characteristics of Zone 7 methodologies in Chapter IV, that it is only possible to truly illuminate communication (and therefore the autopoietic aspects of social systems) in the moment that it arises. The use of the methodological approaches described in the above excerpt provides a context

for the “real-time” study of Zone 7 constructs. Through interviews and observations of meetings and social gatherings inside and outside the factories, the researchers are able to tap into these hard to capture constructs.

Finally, Zone 7 operational approaches share a similar characteristic with Zone 5 approaches. Like the Zone 5 operational approaches discussed earlier in this chapter, Zone 7 approaches are limited by our inability as researchers (and even humans) to actually observe the communicative aspects of gender-roles. While we as members of particular systems certainly experience social autopoietic processes as they unfold, we must rely on our memory and linguistic abilities to describe these processes to others and even to ourselves. Researchers must, therefore, rely on measures of how members of the system under study describe and engage in the exterior indicators of these communicative processes in order to gain any understanding of social autopoietic processes as actual lived experiences. This, again, is reflected in the above excerpts through the use of interviews and observations within the context of an overall ethnographic methodological approach. All three of these characteristics are what differentiate Zone 7 operational approaches from the use of proxy measures of Zone 7 constructs. Similar insights are reflected in the findings from the analysis of Zone 7 approaches aimed at the creation/re-creation of gender-roles within systems.

The second example comes from a study that addresses the human smuggling trade. In this study, Zhang, Chin, and Miller (2007) argue that

...the limited place of violence and turf as organizing features of human smuggling, the importance of interpersonal networks in defining and facilitating smuggling operations, gender ideologies about work and caregiving, and the

impact of safety as an overriding concern for clients *combine to create a more meaningful niche for women in human smuggling operations* [italics added]... (p. 699)

Although this conceptual point incorporates components from several other zones including Zones 3 and 4 (i.e., gender ideologies about work and caregiving) and Zone 8 (i.e., organizing features of human smuggling), the central focus is how these components combine to create and re-create specific roles for women in the human smuggling trade. This central focus is the defining characteristic of a Zone 7 conceptual definition. It is not the roles themselves or the underlying beliefs about those roles, but rather communication among the members of the system that results in the continued transformation of those roles that constitutes a Zone 7 perspective. This becomes clearer when we consider the operational approach that these researchers use in order to measure these constructs. As Zhang, Chin, and Miller (2007) describe:

The data in this article were obtained through interviews with 129 individuals who were directly involved in organizing and transporting Chinese nationals to the United States.... Formal interviews involved face-to-face conversations around a set of semistructured and open-ended questions.... Informal interviews took place over dinner tables or other social gatherings where formal inquiries into the smuggling business were neither feasible nor socially acceptable. (p. 706)

These researchers also rely on field observations to further strengthen the operational approach described in the above excerpt. These formal and informal interviews and the field observations are all aimed at the ways in which both men and women created, sustained, and entered into their particular roles within the human smuggling ring.

Like the operational approach used by Mizrachi, Drori, and Anspach (2007), this approach includes all three of the defining characteristics of a Zone 7 operationalization. First, the interviews and observations center on the actual members of the system under study. Second, the settings in which the interviews and observations take place allow the researchers to address the “real-time” communication of gender-roles. Finally, they rely on a multi-methodological approach based on a retrospective account of these communicative aspects of the system.

As was stated earlier, the Gender of governance refers to the process whereby systems become Gendered in-and-of themselves. The Gendering of governance is primarily reflected as part of the internal processes of social systems. For the first example, let us take another look at the study of a gay-identified fraternity discussed earlier in this chapter. In this study, Yeung, Stomblor, & Wharton (2007) are concerned with the ways in which fraternity members create a differentially Gendered organization within the larger context of the Greek system. These researchers are able to apply the construct of “hegemonic masculinity” to both individual members and the entire fraternity as a system. Relying on the same methodological strategies, therefore, these researchers are able to construct Zone 1, Zone 3, and Zone 7 conceptual and operational definitions based on the same Gendered construct. This issue (i.e., the link between perspectives/zones and specific methodologies) will be discussed in more detail later, as it becomes all the more important when we consider which specific characteristics of the research process allow us to distinguish particular definitions based on the zone-based framework of IMP. For now, however, notice how this study reflects the defining characteristics of a Zone 7 approach to the study of Gender.

In their study, Yeung, Stombler, & Wharton (2007) include a Zone 7 conceptual definition:

College fraternities....*are part of a larger gender system* [italics added], one that is defined by power and conflict between two sets of socially constructed binaries: men/women and masculinity/femininity. Following this binary logic, *the traditional fraternity institution maintains itself through the exclusion of both women and marginal men who are rejected by the terms of hegemonic masculinity* [italics added]. (p. 6)

The last sentence in this excerpt illustrates several of the important characteristics of this type of Zone 7 conceptual definition. First, like those discussed in terms of the governance of Gender, these types of Zone 7 definitions are concerned with the creation and re-creation or maintenance of the system. Second, these types of Zone 7 definitions are also concerned with how this creation/re-creation process is reflected in communication among the members of the system. Unlike those discussed in terms of the governance of Gender, however, these types of Zone 7 definitions are uniquely concerned with the ways in which communicative aspects Gender the system itself, as opposed to creating gender-roles for its members or altering the treatment of Gendered beings by the system. Another way to frame this is to state that those who take a Zone 7 perspective on the Gender of governance are concerned with the masculinization and/or feminization of particular social systems.

In this study, Yeung, Stombler, & Wharton (2007) also present a compelling illustration of the characteristics of Zone 7 perspectives that require a multi-methodological operational approach. As they describe:

Data for the article came from 42 open-ended, in-depth interviews, two years of participant observation, and extensive archival data....In the first phase, Stomblor conducted participant observation for one year in 1996 in a DLP chapter-information....In the second phase, Yeung and Wharton joined the project and interviewed the previously recruited members from various chapters by telephone....Archival data consisted of the official fraternity handbook (shared by the local chapter), Web sites of the national and all local chapters with a presence on the Web, and newspaper and magazine articles identified through Internet and LexisNexis searches (using “Delta Lambda Phi” and “gay fraternity” as common search terms). (pp. 11-12)

Again, these methodological/operational approaches can be used to draw conclusions based on Zone 3, Zone 4, and even Zone 1 conceptual constructs. When used to disclose information about the process whereby the system becomes Gendered through communication among the members of the fraternity, however, this multi-methodological operationalization transforms (in a sense) into a Zone 7 approach. Interestingly, through the construction of this Zone 7 perspective on the Gendering of DLP, these researchers found that the social system (DLP) maintains and re-creates itself through the communication of specific criteria for inclusion in the group. If they do not communicate these distinctions, the gay fraternity (as a distinct social system) ceases to exist and/or takes on the characteristics of any other GLBT organization. As Yeung, Stomblor, and Wharton (2007) state,

“Including women...meant that DLP would no longer be different from other GLBT organizations...the construction of a gay brotherhood as a male-only space

should be viewed partly as a result of DLP brothers' fear of losing their collective identity vis-à-vis other similar student groups on campus" (Yeung, Stomblor, & Wharton, 2007, p. 20).

These researchers capture the defining characteristics of a Zone 7 approach to the study of the Gender of governance. As reflected in the preceding excerpts, the focus of this part of their research is how the fraternity itself becomes and maintains itself as a uniquely Gendered system. They also focus on communication among the members of the system as opposed to a review of established policies and procedures. Finally, they construct an operational approach that includes the members of the system itself, divulge information about the communicative aspects of the system (through the use of in-depth interviews and participant observation), and allow for a close approximation of the actual experience of communication among the members of the system.

These defining characteristics are also reflected in a study in which Craig and Liberti (2007) explore "the making of a feminized gym" (p. 676). In offering the conceptual basis for their study, Craig and Liberti (2007) state that the study would

Examine the organizational processes within a chain of women-only gyms to *explore whether and how these processes have feminized the historically masculine gym* [italics added]. They examine the physical setting and equipment, the established procedures for customers' use of machines, and the *interactional styles of the employees* [italics added] as components of the organization's structure. (p. 676)

It is their concern with the interactional styles of the employees that situates this conceptual basis as a Zone 7 perspective. If these researchers are only concerned with the

physical setting, equipment, and established procedures, this would be a clear Zone 8 perspective. The inclusion of the study of interactional styles, however, does provide at least some connection to a Zone 7 conceptual approach. This interpretation is bolstered by their operational approach, where they used “seven small focus groups of up to 6 women, five interviews of pairs of women, six semistructured individual interviews, and one follow-up interview with a member of a focus group” (p. 679).

The combined use of focus groups and individual interviews allows the researchers to gather information about the communicative aspects of the social system under study. Through the use of these methodological approaches, participants are able to describe the ways in which the members of the system (both employees and gym-members) interact with and communicate how the system would/should work and, in turn, create a specifically feminized gym. This Zone 7 perspective is further reflected in the researchers’ description of some of their major findings:

Studying the organizational culture at GetFit illuminates processes that naturalize constructions of gender in everyday contexts. The gym’s women-only composition was official and easy to see, and consequently it may appear to outsiders and to the members themselves that the feminization of the gym was an inevitable result of the gym’s gender composition. However, *we have argued for the importance of the less visible contributions of technology and labor to the gendering of the gym* [italics added]...Rather than merely accommodating women’s behaviors, organizational processes shaped them. The layout and procedures for the use of machines and *the speech norms modeled by the staff*

called on women to enact particular performances of femininity [italics added].
(pp. 696-697)

In this excerpt Craig and Liberti (2007) are making an appropriate claim based on the type of operational approach they employ. They could not have made a similar claim if they did not conduct focus groups and individual interviews. The observation of the gym's layout and procedures alone could not divulge information about the modeling of "speech norms" by the gym's staff. Nor would the observation of these exterior indicators alone provide any context within which these researchers could have drawn conclusions about the communicative aspects of the feminization of the gym. It is only through the combined use of these various operational approaches, which are designed to illuminate the inside views of individuals and collectives, that a researcher can begin to explore the inside of the exterior collective.

Quantitative Trends in the Use of Conceptual and Operational Definitions of Gender by
IMP Zone

Now that we have some understanding of the distinguishing characteristics of definitions constructed from each of the zone perspectives, we can explore overall trends in the use of these conceptual and operational definitions by social science researchers. Combining the coding scheme described in Chapter IV and the qualitative analyses presented above, it becomes possible to place conceptual and operational definitions of Gender within each of the zones of IMP. In so doing, it also becomes possible to track the number/rate of definitions from each zone included in the sample articles.

For instance, in Table 10, the third column is labeled "1-C," which represents Zone 1 conceptual definitions. The first row is labeled "Crim," which represents the

journal *Criminology*. The number “1” located in the cross-tab of these two categories indicates that one article from the journal *Criminology* included at least one Zone 1 conceptual definition of Gender. It is important to keep in mind that many of the sample articles included more than one definition of Gender (either from the same zone or from multiple zones); therefore, the total number of tallies within the body of these tables does not add to the total number of articles included in the sample.

Two additional categories are included in each of the tables. The first, “No Keyword Hits” [NKH], refers to articles which do not include any Gender construct. The second, “None,” refers to articles which include some form of Gender construct but do not provide any clearly stated definition for that construct. This particular category includes any article that does not provide either a clear conceptual or operational definition that explains the aspects of Gender under study. If, however, an article includes at least one conceptual or operational definition, it cannot be included in this category.

Table 10 presents findings on the use of conceptual and operational definitions among each of the journals included in this sample. It is interesting to note that *Journal of Gender Studies* [JGS] contains the highest rate of articles falling within the “none” category. This is surprising considering that this is a Gender-oriented journal. What this indicates, however, is not a lack of attention being paid to Gender, but rather, a lack of detail in the definition of Gender constructs within specific research articles. In other words, while researchers who publish in *Journal of Gender Studies* are primarily focused on Gender and its relationship to other social science constructs and lived experiences, in general they do not provide clear or detailed conceptual or operational definitions of exactly what aspects of Gender they are considering.

Table 10: *Comparison of Trends in the use of Zone Definitions by Journal*

Discipline	Journal	NKH	None	1-C	1-O	2-C	2-O	3-C	3-O	4-C	4-O	5-C	5-O	6-C	6-O	7-C	7-O	8-C	8-O
Criminology (N=138)	Crim (N=58)	4 (6.9)	9* (5.5)	1 (1.7)	1 (1.7)	1 (1.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (8.6)	1 (1.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	37 (63.8)	38 (65.5)	4 (6.9)	1 (1.7)	3 (5.2)	4* (6.9)
	JQ (N=49)	8* (16.3)	7 (4.3)	2 (4.1)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (6.1)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.00)	26 (53.1)	32 (65.3)	4 (8.2)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)
	FC (N=31)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.2)	10* (32.3)	7* (22.6)	1* (3.2)	0 (0.0)	10* (32.3)	2* (6.5)	11* (35.5)	6* (19.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	24* (77.4)	21* (67.7)	3* (9.7)	3* (9.7)	5* (16.1)	1 (3.2)
	ASR (N=84)	12 (14.3)	1 (1.2)	5 (6.0)	1 (1.2)	2 (2.4)	1 (1.2)	8 (9.5)	2 (2.4)	16 (19.0)	9 (10.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	37 (44.0)	55* (65.5)	11 (13.1)	2 (2.4)	33** (39.3)	26** (31.0)
Sociology (N=250)	AJS (N=71)	27** (38.0)	10 (14.1)	2 (2.8)	2 (2.8)	1 (1.4)	1* (1.4)	2 (2.8)	0 (0.0)	5 (7.0)	4 (5.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	16 (22.5)	27 (38.0)	9 (12.7)	1 (1.4)	12 (17.0)	10 (14.1)
	G&S (N=62)	0 (0.0)	2 (3.2)	25* (40.3)	19** (30.6)	1 (1.6)	0 (0.0)	22 (35.5)	13** (21.0)	28 (45.2)	25 (40.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	41* (66.1)	33 (53.2)	28** (45.2)	18** (29.0)	23 (37.1)	14 (22.6)
	JGS (N=33)	0 (0.0)	7** (21.2)	9 (27.3)	7 (21.2)	3* (9.1)	0 (0.0)	12** (36.4)	2 (6.1)	15** (45.5)	15** (45.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	12 (36.4)	5 (15.2)	5 (15.2)	1 (3.0)	6 (18.2)	0 (0.0)
	JExp:G (N=73)	20* (27.4)	4* (5.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.7)	3 (4.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0)	2 (2.7)	48 (65.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Psychology (N=463)	JPSP (N=282)	20 (7.1)	8 (2.8)	12 (4.3)	4 (1.4)	13 (4.6)	11 (3.9)	4 (1.4)	1 (0.4)	13 (4.6)	5 (1.8)	5 (1.8)	3** (1.1)	40 (14.2)	252 (89.4)	9 (3.2)	0 (0.0)	12 (4.3)	14 (5.0)
	PMM (N=36)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	24** (66.7)	6* (16.7)	23** (63.9)	21** (58.3)	1* (2.8)	1* (2.8)	7 (19.4)	3* (8.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	32 (88.9)	33** (91.7)	2 (5.6)	0 (0.0)	5* (13.9)	4* (11.1)
	PWQ (N=72)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	40 (55.6)	7 (9.7)	40 (55.6)	40 (55.6)	2* (2.8)	1 (1.4)	19* (26.4)	5 (6.9)	2** (2.7)	0 (0.0)	66** (91.7)	66** (91.7)	6* (8.3)	0 (0.0)	7 (9.7)	3 (4.2)

Number (percent) of articles with at least one definition from corresponding zone perspective. Journal names are coded as *Criminology* [Crim]; *Justice Quarterly* [JQ]; *Feminist Criminology* [FC]; *American Sociological Review* [ASR]; *American Journal of Sociology* [AJS]; *Gender & Society* [G&S]; *Journal of Gender Studies* [JGS]; *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* [JExp:G]; *Journal of Personal and Social Psychology* [JPSP]; *Psychology of Men and Masculinity* [PMM]; *Psychology of Women Quarterly* [PWQ]. (* = Highest percent within discipline; ** = Highest percent among all journals).

Trends in the use of Gender Definitions across Disciplines

Overall, findings from the quantitative analysis of trends in the use of zone definitions suggest that researchers who publish in the sociology journals are providing the greatest extent of coverage across the most zone perspectives (see Table 11). The greater extent of coverage among sociology journals is not surprising considering the broad array of social phenomena that falls under the umbrella of sociological research and the pervasiveness of Gender as an organizing principle in most societies and cultures. Ironically, sociology also has the greatest rate of articles falling within the “No Keyword Hits” category. Sociology as a discipline, therefore, is providing the greatest breadth of coverage while containing the highest rate of research that does not include Gender as a construct.

Researchers in psychology, however, are providing the greatest extent of coverage in terms of Zone 1 conceptual definitions, Zone 2 conceptual and operational definitions, as well as Zones 5 and 6 operational definitions. The greater extent of coverage of Zone 2 definitions among psychology journals is not surprising, considering that Zone 2 perspectives are most closely associated with the underlying structures of human cognition. The greater extent of Zone 5 coverage is also not surprising considering that the cognitive sciences, which are intimately linked to Zone 5 methodologies, are also closely associated with the larger discipline of psychology. What is surprising, however, is the extent to which psychology researchers are employing Zone 6 operational definitions. This reflects the use of Zone 6 proxy measures as operational definitions, as well as the use of biological sex as a categorical variable in psychological research in order to draw comparisons across “gender.”

Table 11: *Comparison of Trends in the use of Zone Definitions by Discipline*

Discipline	NKH	None	1-C	1-O	2-C	2-O	3-C	3-O	4-C	4-O	5-C	5-O	6-C	6-O	7-C	7-O	8-C	8-O
Criminology (N=138)	12 (8.7)	17* (12.3)	13 (9.4)	8 (5.8)	3 (2.8)	0 (0.0)	11 (8.0)	2 (1.4)	19 (13.8)	8 (5.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	87* (63.0)	91 (65.9)	11 (8.0)	4 (2.9)	9 (6.5)	5 (3.6)
Sociology (N=250)	39* (15.6)	19 (7.6)	41* (16.4)	29* (11.6)	7 (2.8)	2 (0.8)	44* (17.6)	17* (6.8)	64* (25.6)	53* (21.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	106 (42.4)	120 (48.0)	53* (21.2)	22* (8.8)	74* (29.6)	50* (20.0)
Psychology (N=463)	40 (8.6)	13 (2.8)	76* (16.4)	17 (3.7)	78* (16.8)	75* (16.2)	7 (1.5)	3 (0.6)	40 (8.6)	13 (2.8)	7* (1.5)	3* (0.6)	140 (30.2)	399* (86.2)	17 (3.7)	0 (0.0)	24 (5.2)	21 (4.5)

Number (percent) of articles with at least one definition from corresponding zone perspective (* = Highest percent among all disciplines)

As a discipline, criminology has the greatest extent of coverage of Zone 6 conceptual definitions. Interestingly, criminology also has the greatest rate of articles falling in the “none” category. When considered in conjunction with the findings from the qualitative analyses presented earlier, it becomes clear that these findings are inter-related. Specifically, while researchers in criminology are certainly concerned with the extent to which Gender relates to crime/delinquency and other criminological constructs, they seem to lack any clear language or theoretical framework within which to place their understanding of these complex inter-relationships. Additionally, when they are able to construct a clear definition of Gender, they rely on Zone 6 measures as proxies for conceptual definitions constructed from other zone perspectives. This, again, will be taken up in more detail in the next chapter, as it is another example of the disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions.

Trends in the use of Gender Definitions across Journal Type

Tables 12 and 13 present findings from the cross-journal type (i.e., mainstream versus Gender-oriented) analyses. Specifically, Table 12 presents within-discipline differences in the ways that mainstream and Gender-oriented journals treat Gender as a construct, while Table 13 presents these differences combined across all three disciplines.

As can be seen in Table 12, and consistent with the assumption that Gender-oriented journals are more likely to include Gender constructs and approach Gender from more varied theoretical and methodological perspectives, the mainstream journals in all three of the selected disciplines had the highest rate of articles falling within the “No Keyword Hits” category. In fact, none of the Gender-oriented journals

in any of the three selected disciplines included any articles in the “No Keyword Hits” category.

Somewhat surprisingly, sociology mainstream journals had a lower rate of articles falling within the “none” category when compared to Gender-oriented sociology journals. This finding is, however, consistent with the earlier finding that showed that *Journal of Gender Studies* had the highest rate of articles falling within the “none” category among all sociology journals. In contrast, both criminology and psychology mainstream journals had a higher rate of articles falling within the “none” category when compared to Gender-oriented journals in the same disciplines.

Also consistent with the assumption that the Gender-oriented journals are more likely to include greater breadth of coverage, the Gender-oriented journals contain the highest rate of coverage for the greatest number of zone perspectives. There are, however, several inconsistent findings worthy of attention. First, mainstream criminology journals have a higher rate of coverage of Zone 8 operational definitions. Also, mainstream sociology journals have a higher rate of coverage of Zones 2, 6, and 8 operational definitions. It should be noted that these zone perspectives are all associated with the outside views of various aspects of Gender. So, while not conclusive, these findings do suggest that researchers who publish in mainstream social science journals are more likely to rely on outside perspectives when studying Gender. This issue will be considered in more detail in the remaining chapters.

Moving on to a comparison between the overall combined mainstream and Gender-oriented journals (see Table 13), we see that the mainstream journals contain more articles (both in terms of raw number and percentages) that do not address

Gender constructs at all (“No Keyword Hit”) or that address Gender but provide no clearly stated definitions (“None”). On the other hand, Gender-oriented journals have the highest rate of articles that include at least one definition that fits within all but two of the sixteen zone categories. Although this finding is predictable, it does offer additional support for the notion that Gender-oriented journals are doing more to attempt to address the multiple aspects of Gender from multiple perspectives.

Interestingly, the only definitions not included at a higher rate by Gender-oriented journals compared to mainstream journals are Zone 5 and Zone 6 operational definitions. The greater coverage of Zone 5 operational definitions among mainstream journals is likely due to the general lack of Zone 5 coverage across all of the selected journals/disciplines and the difficulty many researchers confront when trying to construct Zone 5 definitions of Gender. This disproportionate use of Zone 6 operational definitions among mainstream journals does provide some indication of the over-use of Zone 6 operational definitions among researchers who publish in mainstream social science journals.

Table 12: *Comparison of Trends in use of Zone Definitions by Discipline and Type of Journal (Mainstream vs. Gender-oriented)*

Discipline	Type	NKH	None	1-C	1-O	2-C	2-O	3-C	3-O	4-C	4-O	5-C	5-O	6-C	6-O	7-C	7-O	8-C	8-O
Criminology	Main N=107	12 [*] (11.2)	16 ^{**} (15.0)	3 (2.8)	1 (0.9)	2 (1.9)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.9)	0 (0.0)	8 (7.5)	2 (1.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	63 (58.9)	70 (65.4)	8 (7.5)	1 (0.9)	4 (3.7)	4 [*] (3.7)
	Gender N=31	0 (0.0)	1 (3.2)	10 [*] (32.3)	7 [*] (22.6)	1 [*] (3.2)	0 (0.0)	10 [*] (32.3)	2 [*] (6.5)	11 [*] (35.5)	6 [*] (19.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	24 [*] (77.4)	21 [*] (67.7)	3 [*] (9.7)	3 [*] (9.7)	5 [*] (16.1)	1 (3.2)
Sociology	Main N=155	39 ^{**} (25.2)	11 (7.1)	7 (4.5)	3 (1.9)	3 (1.9)	2 [*] (1.3)	10 (6.5)	2 (1.3)	21 (13.5)	13 (8.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	53 (34.2)	82 [*] (53.0)	20 (12.9)	3 (1.9)	45 (29.0)	36 ^{**} (23.2)
	Gender N=95	0 (0.0)	9 [*] (9.5)	34 [*] (35.8)	26 ^{**} (27.4)	4 [*] (4.2)	0 (0.0)	34 ^{**} (35.8)	15 ^{**} (15.8)	43 ^{**} (45.3)	40 ^{**} (42.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	53 [*] (55.8)	38 (40.0)	33 ^{**} (34.7)	19 ^{**} (20.0)	29 ^{**} (30.5)	14 (14.7)
Psychology	Main N=355	40 [*] (11.3)	12 [*] (3.4)	12 (3.4)	4 (1.1)	15 (4.2)	14 (3.9)	4 (1.1)	1 (0.3)	14 (3.9)	5 (1.4)	5 (1.4)	3 ^{**} (0.8)	42 (11.8)	300 (84.5)	9 (2.5)	0 (0.0)	12 (3.4)	14 (3.9)
	Gender N=108	0 (0.0)	1 (0.9)	64 ^{**} (59.3)	13 [*] (12.0)	63 ^{**} (58.3)	61 ^{**} (56.5)	3 [*] (2.8)	2 [*] (1.9)	26 [*] (24.1)	8 [*] (7.4)	2 ^{**} (1.9)	0 (0.0)	98 ^{**} (90.7)	99 ^{**} (91.7)	8 [*] (7.4)	0 (0.0)	12 [*] (11.1)	7 [*] (6.5)

Number (percent) of articles with at least one definition from corresponding zone perspective (* = Highest percent within discipline; ** = Highest percent across disciplines/types)

Table 13: *Comparison of Trends in the use of Zone Definitions by Type of Journal—Combined*

	NKH	None	1-C	1-O	2-C	2-O	3-C	3-O	4-C	4-O	5-C	5-O	6-C	6-O	7-C	7-O	8-C	8-O
Main (N=617)	91 [*] (14.7)	39 [*] (6.3)	22 (3.6)	8 (1.3)	20 (3.2)	16 (2.6)	15 (2.4)	3 (0.5)	43 (7.0)	20 (3.2)	5 (0.8)	3 [*] (0.5)	158 (25.6)	452 [*] (73.3)	37 (6.0)	4 (0.6)	61 (9.9)	54 (8.8)
Gender (N=234)	0 (0.0)	11 (4.7)	108 [*] (46.2)	46 [*] (19.7)	68 [*] (29.1)	61 [*] (26.1)	47 [*] (20.1)	19 [*] (8.1)	80 [*] (34.2)	54 [*] (23.1)	2 [*] (0.9)	0 (0.0)	175 [*] (74.8)	158 (67.5)	44 [*] (18.8)	22 [*] (9.4)	46 [*] (19.7)	22 [*] (9.4)

Number (percent) of articles with at least one definition from the corresponding perspective (* = Highest percent)

Notice that among the mainstream journals, 158 articles included at least one Zone 6 conceptual definition of Gender. Notice also that among these same mainstream journals, 452 articles included at least one Zone 6 operational definition of Gender. Two issues seem to be driving this finding. First, researchers who publish in mainstream journals may be relying on the use of Zone 6 measures of Gender without providing a conceptual context within which we can situate their measure. In other words, researchers in these journals are including Zone 6 measures without providing clear conceptual definitions that outline just what kind of link is being drawn between the outside view of the exterior individual and Gender (i.e., they include an operational definition but no clear conceptual definition). Second, and perhaps more troublesome, researchers who publish in these mainstream journals may be using Zone 6 operational definitions as proxy measures for all of the other zone perspectives on Gender. In order to make this claim, however, it is necessary to analyze disparities in our approaches to studying Gender. This is the focus of the next chapter, where findings from stage two of the overall analysis are presented.

Conclusion

Beyond the various observations discussed throughout this chapter in terms of each zone, one important overarching insight emerged from the first stage of analysis. Specifically, it is not necessarily the particular methodology that researchers use, but the target of that methodology that situates a definition within the zone-based framework of IMP. The use of one-on-one in-depth interviews, for instance, does not automatically situate a particular operational approach as part of a Zone 1 perspective. In-depth interviews with individual respondents could be aggregated in a way that discloses

information about the shared understanding of a particular group. In this instance, an operationalization that would normally be considered a Zone 1 perspective is transformed into an approach that more appropriately fits within a Zone 3 perspective.

This same dynamic is found both within particular domains (i.e., between a Zone 3 and Zone 4 operational approach) and across domains (as is described in the above example). This finding also holds both in terms of the interior and the exterior domains. In other words, this represents one of the defining characteristics of the IMP framework. It also illustrates the importance of a detailed analysis of the ways in which social scientists are conceptually and operationally defining complex constructs such as Gender. If we do not take the time to identify the particular distinguishing characteristics of our methodological approaches, it becomes very difficult to ensure that our conclusions, and the policies that are developed based on those conclusions, are valid. This insight has serious implications for our ability to construct appropriate multi-methodological and multi-perspectival approaches to studying Gender. This issue is explored in much more depth in the discussion chapter.

In the next chapter, we move to the second stage of the overall analytic strategy. In stage two, disparities in the ways researchers use conceptual and operational definitions of Gender are discussed. Specifically, we will consider the link between conceptual and operational definitions within particular studies. Also, possible explanations for the disparities in the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender are considered. Combined with the analyses included in this chapter, we can then begin to construct a picture of the overall strengths and weaknesses of current approaches to the study of Gender as a social science construct. In the final chapter, findings from

stages one and two will be combined in order to better inform the construction of a multi-methodological, multi-perspectival, zone-inclusive approach to the study of Gender as it relates to important criminological issues.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS: STAGE TWO: DISPARITY IN THE USE OF CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF GENDER IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Stage two of the analysis addresses the third and fourth research questions: to what extent do the conceptual definitions of Gender currently being used within criminological, psychological, and sociological research and literature match the operational definitions used to measure them; and, what are the strengths and weaknesses of our current approaches to studying Gender? Similar to stage one, stage two draws on both qualitative and quantitative data collected through the content analysis described in Chapter IV. However, while the first stage focused on describing the types of definitions currently in use within the social sciences, this second stage focuses on assessing disparities in the use of conceptual and operational definitions.

More specifically, stage one of the analysis provided qualitative illustrations of conceptual and operational definitions from each zone-perspective. In addition, stage one provided quantitative trends in the use of definitions from each of the zone-perspectives. This stage builds on these findings by considering differences in the overall use of these conceptual and operational definitions of Gender. As will be seen below, not only are there differences in the rate of use of each domain and zone-perspective (as outlined in the previous chapter), but there are differences in the use of conceptual and operational definitions within particular studies. These differences have led to an overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender across all three of the selected social science disciplines. Explanations for this disparity are considered through an

analysis of the match, or lack thereof, between conceptual and operational definitions of Gender within the studies included in the sample. In the next chapter, the findings from stages one and two are used to inform the construction of a more inclusive model for examining Gender and its relationship to other important social science constructs such as crime and delinquency.

Disparity in the Use of Conceptual and Operational Definitions of Gender

Building off of the findings from stage one of the overall analysis, Tables 14 and 15 provide a different perspective on the use of Gender definitions. Again, the focus in this stage is not on trends in the use of conceptual and operational definitions, but the mismatch between conceptual and operational definitions within particular studies that has led to a disparity between the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender within the social sciences as a whole. For instance, Table 14 presents data on the overall use of conceptual and operational definitions from each zone, allowing for comparisons across discipline. Table 15 continues along these lines by presenting similar data in a way that allows for comparisons across journal type (mainstream versus Gender-oriented). In both cases, readers should focus on overall disparities in the use of conceptual and operational definitions from each zone-perspective.

Table 14 shows that Zone 6 is the only perspective for which the use of operational definitions is greater than the use of conceptual definitions. This is most clearly illustrated in the psychological literature, where 86.2% (n=399) of the articles include a Zone 6 operational definition while only 30.2% (n=140) include a Zone 6 conceptual definition. This finding, however, is also true for the other two selected social science disciplines. When considered in combination with the findings outlined in Table

15, it appears that this is driven by researchers publishing in mainstream journals. As Table 15 shows, 73.3% (n=452) of the articles published in mainstream journals include at least one Zone 6 operational definition of Gender, while only 25.6% (n=158) of these same articles include a Zone 6 conceptual definition of Gender. In contrast, 74.8% (n=175) of the articles in Gender-oriented journals include a Zone 6 conceptual definition, while 67.5% (n=158) include a Zone 6 operational definition.

Table 14: *Comparisons of the use of Conceptual and Operational Definitions by Discipline*

		Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6	Zone 7	Zone 8
Criminology (N=138)	Conceptual	13 (9.4)	3 (2.8)	11 (8.0)	19 (13.8)	0 (0.0)	87 (63.0)	11 (8.0)	9 (6.5)
	Operational	8 (5.8)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.4)	8 (5.8)	0 (0.0)	91 (65.9)	4 (2.9)	5 (3.6)
Sociology (N=250)	Conceptual	41 (16.4)	7 (2.8)	44 (17.6)	64 (25.6)	0 (0.0)	106 (42.4)	53 (21.2)	74 (29.6)
	Operational	29 (11.6)	2 (0.8)	17 (6.8)	53 (21.2)	0 (0.0)	120 (48.0)	22 (8.8)	50 (20.0)
Psychology (N=463)	Conceptual	76 (16.4)	78 (16.8)	7 (1.5)	40 (8.6)	5 (1.1)	140 (30.2)	17 (3.7)	24 (5.2)
	Operational	17 (3.7)	75 (16.2)	3 (0.6)	13 (2.8)	3 (0.6)	399 (86.2)	0 (0.0)	21 (4.5)
Combined (N=851)	Conceptual	130 (15.3)	88 (10.3)	62 (7.3)	123 (14.5)	7 (0.8)	333 (39.1)	81 (9.5)	107 (12.6)
	Operational	54 (6.3)	77 (9.0)	22 (2.6)	74 (8.7)	3 (0.4)	610 (71.7)	26 (3.1)	76 (8.9)

Table 15: *Comparisons of use of Conceptual and Operational Definitions by Type of Journal (Mainstream versus Gender-oriented)*

Journal Type	Definition	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6	Zone 7	Zone 8
Mainstream (N=617)	Conceptual	22 (3.6)	20 (3.2)	15 (2.4)	43 (7.0)	5 (0.8)	158 (25.6)	37 (6.0)	61 (9.9)
	Operational	8 (1.3)	16 (2.6)	3 (0.5)	20 (3.2)	3* (0.5)	452* (73.3)	4 (0.6)	54 (8.8)
Gender-oriented (N=234)	Conceptual	108* (46.2)	68* (29.1)	47* (20.1)	80* (34.2)	2* (2.6)	175* (74.8)	44* (18.8)	46* (19.7)
	Operational	46* (19.7)	61* (26.1)	19* (8.1)	54* (23.1)	0 (0.0)	158 (67.5)	22* (9.4)	22* (9.4)

Number (percent) of articles with at least one definition from corresponding zone (* = Highest percent)

Two additional findings presented in Table 15 are worth noting here. First, the articles published in the Gender-oriented journals are more likely to include definitions from all zone perspectives, except for Zone 5 and Zone 6 operational definitions. Second, the use of conceptual definitions outnumbers the use of operational definitions in all categories except for mainstream journal's use of Zone 6 perspectives. It appears as though researchers who publish in mainstream journals are disproportionately relying on the use of operational definitions constructed from a Zone 6 perspective. The important question now becomes why this disparity in the use of definitions of Gender exists.

Based on stage two of the analysis, three possible explanations for the overall disparity between the use of conceptual and operational definitions are considered. First, zone-gaps in the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender are assessed. The term "zone-gaps," as applied in this dissertation, refers to the use of operational definitions from one zone to measure conceptual definitions constructed from the perspective of another zone. For example, a researcher who uses an operational definition constructed from a Zone 7 perspective to measure a conceptual definition constructed from a Zone 4 perspective, within the analytic framework applied here, is committing a zone-gap infraction.

Second, some of the disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions can be explained by researchers who include a conceptual definition without including an operational definition or include an operational definition without including a conceptual definition (heretofore referred to as "single definition studies"). These studies present unique problems for those who wish to assess our current approaches to the study of

Gender and its application as a social science construct. These studies, however, may not be as fundamentally flawed as those that include a zone-gap.

Finally, the use of domain-based conceptual definitions explains some of this disparity as well. Domain-based conceptual definitions are those which cannot be easily placed within a particular zone, but are constructed from the perspective of one of the four domains of Gender described earlier in this dissertation (i.e., gender-identity, gender-stereotypes, sex, or gender-roles). The use of domain-based definitions creates additional problems when attempting to apply a meta-framework such as that offered by IMP.

As will be discussed later, all three of these issues have serious implications for our ability to capture the complexity of Gender as a construct and its relationship to other social science phenomena such as crime and delinquency. Therefore, each is considered in detail below, through an analysis of quantitative and qualitative findings from stage two of the overall analysis.

Zone-Gaps in the Measurement of Gender

The first possible explanation for the overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions identified above is the occurrence of zone-gaps in research. These zone-gaps represent direct disjunctions between conceptual and operational definitions within particular studies. In other words, researchers are sometimes developing conceptual definitions of Gender from one zone-perspective while simultaneously using operational definitions from another zone-perspective to measure them. Table 16 presents quantitative data concerning the overall trends in the occurrence of zone-gaps.

In addition to these quantitative findings, qualitative data from the analysis of zone-gaps provide illustrations of what forms they take within the social science literature. As the below table shows, zone-gaps in the use of conceptual and operational definitions are not unique to any particular discipline. Nor are these zone-gaps unique to any particular zone of IMP. Researchers in all three of the selected disciplines are introducing zone-gaps in their use of definitions constructed from the perspectives of all eight zones of IMP. In the examples that follow, illustrations of these zone-gaps are included. In several instances, these zone-gaps are contrasted to what may be considered legitimate cross-zone uses of operational definitions, such as the use of aggregated Zone 1 data to construct Zone 3 operational definitions, or Zone 2 data to construct Zone 4 operational definitions.

Table 16: *Zone-Gaps by Discipline, Journal Type and Journal*

Discipline	Journal Type	Journal	# of Articles	# with zone-gap(s)	% with zone-gaps
Criminology	Mainstream	Criminology	58	6*	10.3
		Justice Quarterly	49	5	10.2
	Gender-oriented	Feminist Criminology	31	4	12.9*
	Criminology Journals Combined		138	15	10.9
Sociology	Mainstream	American Sociological Review	84	16	19.0
		American Journal of Sociology	71	7	9.9
	Gender-oriented	Gender & Society	62	21**	33.9**
		Journal of Gender Studies	33	9	27.3
	Sociology Journals Combined		250	53	21.2
Psychology	Mainstream	Journal of Experimental Psychology: General	73	0	0.0
		Journal of Personality and Social Psychology	282	18*	6.4
	Gender-oriented	Psychology of Men and Masculinities	36	5	13.9
		Psychology of Women Quarterly	72	18*	25.0*
	Psychology Journals Combined		463	41	8.9
All Mainstream			617	52	8.4
All Gender-oriented			234	57	24.4
All Journals			851	109	12.8

(* = highest within discipline; ** = highest across disciplines)

Zone-Gaps in the Measurement of Gender-Identity

The first illustration of a zone-gap in the measurement of gender-identity comes from a study of the cycle of violence (Lisak & Beszterczey, 2007). In this study, the researchers collected data on male death row inmates from several states using a life history approach that was based on direct contact with inmates' attorneys. These life histories included information provided by "psychologists, social workers, and psychiatrists based on interviews with the inmates and third party sources (family members, acquaintances, former teachers, etc.), as well as life history documents such as school, medical, psychiatric, social services, and military records" (p. 120). Drawing on these data, Lisak and Beszterczey (2007) attempt to link masculine socialization to violent behavior. In other words, they attempt to link violent behavior with the internalization of early childhood experiences which lead these men to seek deviant expressions of masculinity.

For instance, Lisak and Beszterczey (2007) argue that "abused and neglected in multiple ways, rendered helpless and powerless by these experiences, it would not be surprising to find many of these men grasping onto extreme versions of masculinity in an effort to restore a sense of personal power and to defend against the very real powerlessness instilled in them through the chronic abuses of their childhood" (p. 125). They go on to conclude that these early childhood experiences of abuse likely lead to feelings of shame and guilt, which they argue are "antithetical to traditional masculinity" (p. 125). In response to these feelings of shame and guilt, these individuals turn to anger and violence in order to restore their masculine identity. Notice that these arguments are all based on the internalization of experiences, emotions, feelings, and identity. Also

notice that the data used to draw these conclusions is based on operational definitions constructed from Zones 2 (e.g., psychological assessments) and 4 (e.g., school and military records).

This represents a zone-gap in the measurement of gender-identity. In order to draw the conclusions regarding the internalization of masculine socialization and identity transformation, these researchers would need to collect data using a Zone 1 operational approach. Instead, they are extrapolating Zone 1 conceptual arguments from data collected via Zones 2 and 4. In fact, Lisak and Beszterczey (2007) recognize this limitation prior to offering their conclusions. As they state, “this data set did not permit the assessment of gender attitudes or masculine identification. However, it is possible to infer how at least some aspects of traditional masculinity ideology might interact with the abject developmental conditions identified in this study” (p. 125). It is true that we could infer these important insights from the data, but this is not the same as actually measuring these interior individual constructs from an inside perspective (Zone 1).

Another example of a zone-gap in the study of gender-identity offers a somewhat different perspective on how researchers may be mis-operationalizing complex Gender constructs. In this example, McGlone, Aronson, and Kobrynowicz (2006) attempt to assess the link between stereotype threat and “gender” differences in political knowledge. Remember from Chapter V that gender stereotype threat is defined as situations in which “the awareness of a negative stereotype about a social group in a particular domain produces suboptimal performance by members of that group” (Beilock, Rydell, & McConnell, 2007, p. 256). Keep in mind that an important aspect of this gender-identity construct is the individual’s awareness of the negative stereotype.

In order to assess the impact of gender stereotype threat, McGlone et al. (2006) conduct telephone surveys asking respondents to answer ten questions relating to politics. In order to induce gender stereotype threat, these researchers manipulate two factors: the gender (bio-sex) of the interviewer and the instructions. In manipulating the instructions, interviewers either stated that “the survey you are participating in this evening has been shown to produce gender differences in previous research” or that “the survey you are participating in this evening has not been shown to produce any gender differences in previous research whatsoever” (p. 395). McGlone et al. (2006) use these two manipulations to assume a state of gender stereotype threat on the part of respondents.

There is, however, an important distinction between this operational approach and the concept of gender stereotype threat. Based on this operational approach, there is no way to determine if respondents are actually aware of any sort of negative stereotype. Nowhere in the manipulations are respondents told that their particular group (i.e., men versus women) is more or less knowledgeable regarding politics. In order to truly assess whether particular respondents are experiencing stereotype threat, the researchers would have to ask respondents about their beliefs regarding any differences between females and males in political knowledge (Zone 1). Or, at the least, they would have to introduce stereotype threat by actually stating that research shows that either females or males are more or less knowledgeable regarding politics. Instead, they are relying on proxy measures in order to make assumptions about possible gender stereotype threat.

Zone-Gaps in the Measurement of Gender-Stereotypes

During the analysis of zone-gaps in the study of gender-stereotypes, an interesting finding emerged. While some researchers are introducing clear zone-gaps to the study of

gender-stereotypes, others are utilizing aggregation techniques to transform Zone 1 and Zone 2 operational definitions into Zone 3 and Zone 4 measures, respectively. This, it is argued, is an appropriate use of aggregated data that does not violate the required link between conceptual and operational definitions. Examples of both zone-gaps and the aggregation of individual data to group measures are provided in this section in order to illustrate this important distinction.

Two examples of zone-gaps in the measurement of gender-stereotypes offer insights into some of the issues researchers face when attempting to operationalize complex constructs such as Gender. The first illustration comes from the criminological literature, where Chiricos, Barrick, Bales, and Bontrager (2007) attempt to gain some understanding of the link between official labeling and the likelihood of recidivism. In order to study this link, Chiricos et al. (2007) compare recidivism (i.e., commission of a new crime within first two years of probation) between adults who are formally labeled as felons and those who are not. In addition, these researchers draw comparisons between females and males along these same dimensions. The data, therefore, are collected via operational definitions constructed from a Zone 6 perspective (i.e., bio-sex and behavior).

Their data show that “those formally labeled are significantly more likely to recidivate in 2 years than those who are not” (p. 547), which, in combination with their Zone 6 measure of Gender (bio-sex) led Chiricos et al. (2007) to conclude that “labeling effects are stronger for women...without a prior conviction” (p. 547) when compared to similarly situated men. Additionally, in drawing conclusions based on these measures, Chiricos et al. (2007) make the claim that as “Giordano, Cernkovich, and Lowery (2004: 189) hypothesized...the greater social stigma attached to “antisocial” behavior by

females could 'be more limiting to life chances/opportunities for a return to conventional roles' and thus more conducive to recidivism" (p. 572). While this may be a legitimate explanation for the sex differences found in their study, there is no way to draw these connections based on a Zone 6 operational approach. To their credit, Chiricos et al. (2007) recognize this limitation when stating that "although our results are consistent with those expectations, the process whereby labeling comes to have more consequence for women than for men cannot be known from these data" (p.572). This is because they are not using appropriate measures from Zones 3 or 4 to determine our differential cultural beliefs regarding females and males who are engaged in criminal behavior.

In the second illustration, Kreager (2007) comes to a similar conclusion about the impact of introducing zone-gaps to the study of gender-stereotypes. In this study, Kreager (2007) addresses how male peer networks within the context of school sports impacts the likelihood that male adolescents will engage in violent behavior. The conceptual argument is that males who participate in certain sports (football and wrestling) and "males whose friends play football are more likely to fight than other males, supporting perspectives that emphasize peer contexts as important mediators" (p. 705). In essence, Kreager (2007) is attempting to point out the link between male adolescents' construction of a shared understanding of masculinity within the context of contact sports and violent behavior.

In order to measure this relationship, Kreager (2007) relies on measures of self-reported involvement in violent fights, percent of male friends who play various sports, and other demographic and background variables. All data are taken from a nationally representative survey of adolescents. Using these data, Kreager (2007) finds that those

who participate in contact sports and those who have a high percentage of male friends who participate in contact sports are more likely to engage in violent fights. However, based on these measures, there is no way to draw conclusions regarding why this may be. In fact, as was the case for Chiricos et al. (2007) and many other researchers who introduce zone-gaps, Kreager (2007) admits the limitations of exterior measures of interior constructs (gender-identity). As Kreager (2007) states:

...this study is unable to identify the causal mechanisms that explain the observed relationships. Although some of the results are consistent with arguments derived from masculinity and socialization theories [Zones 3 and 4, parenthetical added], an inability to identify specific mechanisms (e.g., subjects' identification with hegemonic masculinity, objective reinforcement for violence, or victims as "weaker" peers) leaves open the possibility for alternative explanations. This is a problem often associated with cultural, identity, and values research. These concepts are elusive and open to interpretation. Qualitative research provides the best hope for understanding the mechanisms underlying this article's findings...only ethnographic studies can gain leverage on the intersections of context, opportunity, and motivations that surround sports-related violence.

(p.721)

In this statement, Kreager (2007) is rightfully calling for the use of Zone 3 and Zone 4 methodological approaches in order to construct more appropriate operational definitions for the study of gender-stereotype phenomena. It is not unusual for researchers to accurately recognize the limitations associated with zone-gaps, and yet we continue to see these situations arise in social science research and literature. Possible reasons for this

discrepancy between understanding and action will be taken up in more detail in the discussion chapter.

In contrast to these zone-gaps in measurement, some researchers are using similar strategies to measure gender-identity constructs in a more appropriate manner. This is most often seen when researchers attempt to measure collective beliefs about Gender by aggregating individual data to the collective. For instance, Lin and Tong (2007) aggregate data collected through one-to-one interviews with Korean men in order to gain some understanding of the ways in which Korean men, as a social group, understand the social construction of Gender as a “binary system of masculinity and femininity” (p. 217). This represents the use of aggregated Zone 1 data to draw conclusions about Zone 3 and 4 constructs. Guimond, Branscombe, Brunot, Buunk, Chatard, Désert, et al. (2007) used a similar operational aggregation in their cross-cultural study of psychological differences between men and women. Based on the use of a Zone 2 operational definition, these researchers were able to make the following claim:

The results of the present research provide significant insights into how culture can produce similarities and differences between men and women. Overall, the findings suggest, consistent with previous research (e.g., Williams & Best, 1986), that gender stereotypes are similar across cultures. What differs and accounts for the variations in gender differences in self-construals across cultures is the extent to which women and men use the stereotype of their own group to define themselves, an outcome largely driven by the operation of social comparison processes. (p. 1128)

It is only through the use of aggregated data that Guimond et al. (2007) are able to tap into the relationship between culture and gender stereotypes outlined in the above excerpt.

Comparing these two sets of examples, upon close examination, it becomes clear that what may, at first glance, seem like a zone-gap does not violate the assumptions of the zone-based framework of IMP. There are situations in which the use of operational definitions from one zone can be used to measure conceptual definitions derived from another zone perspective. This issue is directly tied to one of the findings from the first stage of the overall analysis. Namely, by focusing on perspectives as opposed to methodologies, we are better able to distinguish between aggregated data and zone-gaps. This particular issue will be discussed in more detail later in this dissertation.

Zone-Gaps in the Measurement of Sex

The analysis of zone-gaps in the measurement of sex constructs offers yet another interesting dynamic concerning the ways researchers are introducing zone-gaps to the study of Gender in the social sciences. Specifically, all of the zone-gaps found in the analysis of sex constructs are associated with the measurement of Zone 5 constructs. This is most likely a reflection of the characteristics of Zone 6 and Zone 5 perspectives.

First, this may be a reflection of the lack of complexity of Zone 6 definitions. Because most Zone 6 perspectives on Gender are conceptualized in relatively straightforward ways (i.e., self-reported or observed biological indicators), researchers are also able to construct relatively straightforward Zone 6 operational measures of these Zone 6 concepts. As a result, there are no examples of research where Zone 6 conceptual definitions are measured from any other zone perspective. Alternatively, it appears as

though researchers who are interested in measuring Zone 5 conceptual definitions are finding it difficult to construct the required intricate methodological approaches. As discussed in the previous chapter, however, in constructing their Zone 5 conceptual definitions, these researchers are interested in the link between biological aspects of Gender and individuals' behaviors, attitudes, or worldviews. The combination of an interest in the biological links to these interior phenomena and the complexity of constructing Zone 5 operational approaches seems to be leading some researchers to rely on more easily constructed Zone 6 operational definitions in lieu of complex Zone 5 operational definitions.

For example, Quinn, Kallen, Twenge, and Fredrickson, (2006) attempt to research the link between self-objectification (OBC; a gender-identity related construct) and the modified Stroop test, which assesses specific individual abilities. In describing their study, Quinn et al. (2006) state:

We predicted that women experiencing state self-objectification would be slower to respond to the modified Stroop task. There are no gender stereotypes about color-naming, but ...responses to the Stroop are affected by allocation of attentional resources (Cohen, Dunbar, & McClelland, 1990). If women in a state of self-objectification are slower to name ink colors, this finding would help us to rule out stereotype threat as an explanation and, more importantly, to show that self-objectification interferes with attention and performance at a *very basic level* [italics added]. (p. 60)

The “basic level” that Quinn et al. (2006) are alluding to in this excerpt is the physiological characteristics associated with the allocation of attentional resources. This

study is attempting to separate the physiological from the non-physiological links between self-objectification and the allocation of attentional resources. Unfortunately, this is not possible without measuring the physiological aspects associated with the allocation of attentional resources, which is not accomplished through the operational approach used by Quinn et al. (2006). Instead, Quinn et al. (2006) rely on Zone 2 operational definitions of OBC and the modified Stroop test (another Zone 2 operational approach). At best, these researchers can claim that stereotype threat is not a mediating factor in the relationship between objectified body consciousness and the allocation of attentional resources, because the naming of colors within the modified Stroop test is not something that would introduce a state of stereotype threat.

They cannot, however, draw the conclusion that the absence of a relationship between stereotype threat and the naming of colors necessarily means that the relationship between OBC and the differential allocation of attentional resources is directly linked to physiological sex characteristics. In order to make such a claim, they would need to include a direct measure of some form of physiological sex characteristic(s). To their credit, these researchers do not make such absolute claims regarding the mediating effects of physiological characteristics on the relationship between OBC and the allocation of attentional resources, although they do allude to it in the excerpt above, which may also lead to misunderstandings concerning Zone 5 constructions of Gender. This may be further indication of, or a result of, the great difficulty social scientists face when attempting to develop operational definitions from a Zone 5 perspective.

Zone-Gaps in the Measurement of Gender-Roles

One of the clearest examples of zone-gaps in the measurement of gender-roles comes from a widely used criminological construct: the chivalry hypothesis. Within the criminological literature, there is a consistent thread of research concerned with the ways that people are differentially processed through the criminal and juvenile justice systems. Some of this research is specifically targeted at differences in treatment across Gender categories (i.e., the governance of Gender). Griffin and Wooldredge (2006), for instance, are concerned with the “chivalry hypothesis,” or the idea that women are treated differently because of our cultural views of them as weak and in need of assistance from the criminal or juvenile justice systems.

While this conceptual definition includes a Zone 4 construct (i.e., cultural views of women), the central focus is not the study of these views but the ways in which these views are communicated within the criminal justice system and result in differential treatment of individuals based on Gender. However, it is clear that in order for a researcher to make claims about the chivalry hypothesis they must include some measure of beliefs about men or women among criminal justice professionals. This focus on the treatment of individuals by the system based on Gender situates the chivalry hypothesis as a Zone 7 construct. Several of the researchers who published articles in the criminological journals included in this sample introduced zone-gaps when attempting to study the impact of the chivalry hypothesis on the processing of girls/women in the criminal justice system.

For example, Griffin and Wooldredge (2006) introduce a zone-gap to the study of the chivalry hypothesis in their study of differential treatment during the conviction stage

of criminal trials. In their study, these researchers attempt to disclose information regarding the differential treatment of men and women within the system by using three measures. These measures include defendant's sex (Zone 6), parental status (Zone 8), and conviction outcomes (Zone 8) (Griffin & Wooldredge, 2006). At first glance, these measures may seem like appropriate ways to establish evidence that either supports or refutes the chivalry hypothesis. Upon further examination, however, it becomes clear that the best these data can offer are the (potential) exterior indicators of the chivalry hypothesis.

Let us consider two of the conclusions that Griffin and Wooldredge (2006) offer. As they state, the lack of sex-differences in conviction "counter the applicability of the chivalry perspective to the conviction stage, suggesting that any interest held by prosecutors or juries in protecting women does not translate into real differences in the treatment of women in general at the conviction stage" (p. 910). In addition, they state that "...women with more dependent children were more likely to be convicted on a felony...[which] refutes the applicability of the paternalism perspective to the odds of felony conviction in cases involving female defendants with children..." (p. 912). Unfortunately, without any measures of prosecutors' or jury members' beliefs about the need to protect women, there is no way to truly connect the lack of sex-disparities to chivalry or paternalism.

This study, however, does raise an interesting point. Does the fact that Griffin and Wooldredge (2006) did not find sex-disparities in conviction make it more likely for readers to accept the findings as indicators of a lack of chivalry or paternalism? In other words, since the exterior indicators (Zone 8) of chivalry/paternalism are not present, it

may make sense to conclude that the underlying beliefs that form the foundation for the chivalry hypothesis or paternalism are also not present. In contrast, if Griffin and Wooldredge (2006) did find some sex-differences in conviction they would not be able to make similar absolute claims regarding chivalry as the source of these differences based on their operational approach. They would, in this case, need to include measures of prosecutorial or juror beliefs. It may be that the introduction of zone-gaps to the study of Zone 7 constructs is only a problem when differences in treatment are found.

The second example of zone-gaps in the study of gender-roles deals with the mis-operationalization of Zone 8 constructs. Matsueda, Kreager, and Huizinga (2006) attempt to link perceptions of risk to engagement in theft and violence. In assessing these relationships, these researchers suggest that “social structural location will affect risk perceptions directly by structuring other sources of information, and indirectly by affecting a person’s own experiences as well as structuring peer networks” (Matsueda, Kreager, & Huizinga, 2006, p. 100). One of the social structural locations that these researchers consider is “gender.”

As they argue, “gender” will situate someone in a particular position within the social structure and this position will affect a person’s own experiences. These structural locations, in this case gender, are intimately linked to the roles and activities that individuals engage in. Interestingly, in order to measure individuals’ social structural location as it relates to “gender,” Matsueda, Kreager, and Huizinga (2006) rely on biological sex as an operational definition. In describing their findings, they state that “as expected, we find that males and high impulsive individuals engage in substantially more theft and violence...” (p. 113) and “that females and younger respondents perceive a

higher risk of arrest for both theft and violence...” (p. 107). While these are legitimate conclusions based on the operational approach employed in this study, they tell us very little about the relationships among Gender, social structural location, and involvement in violence or theft. In essence, these authors make a claim regarding the links between Gender, as a social structural variable, and criminal behavior, but do not employ any operational definitions of gender-roles. The authors, therefore, are making a conceptual assumption that cannot be assessed using a Zone 6 operational definition. We have no indication as to what aspects of biological sex (or Gender) place an individual within a particular social structural location (Zone 8), which then leads females to be more likely to perceive higher risk of arrest or males to engage in more theft and violence.

Zone-gaps in the measurement of Gender constructs have serious implications for our ability to draw valid conclusions regarding the relationship between Gender and other important social science constructs such as crime and delinquency. It should be noted, however, that zone-gaps alone cannot explain all of the disparity in the overall use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender within the sample. If they could, then the number of articles that include zone-gaps in research indicated in Table 16 would correspond to the total disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions presented in Tables 14 and 15. Because these numbers do not correspond, there must be additional explanations for the disparity found in the use of conceptual and operational definitions. The second explanation considered here are articles that include single definitions, or, in other words, those that include a conceptual definition without an operational definition or an operational definition without a conceptual definition.

The Use of Single Definitions in the Study of Gender

In this section, the use of single definitions in research on Gender is considered through an analysis of quantitative trends. Single definition studies refer to instances where researchers use either conceptual or operational definitions without any reference to the other. For example, a researcher may employ a Zone 1 conceptual definition of Gender that includes an individual's understanding of others as Gendered beings without providing any discussion of how their particular conceptual definition is measured. On the other hand, researchers may include a Zone 4 operational definition of gender-stereotypes looking at the ways a particular cultural group portrays manhood without providing any discussion of what it is that operational definition is actually measuring. In either of these instances, the reader is left to make assumptions about particular aspects of the research process.

For those studies that only include a conceptual definition(s), the reader is left to assume whether or not the conceptual claims the researchers make are verifiable through the use of rigorous scientific methodologies. For those that only include an operational definition(s), the reader is left to assume exactly what aspects of Gender the researcher is attempting to disclose with their methodology. Both of these instances introduce problems for social scientists who are attempting to draw valid and reliable conclusions about Gender and its relationship to other complex social science constructs.

Table 17 presents quantitative trends in the use of single definition studies among the articles included in the sample. In some cases, an article included either several conceptual or several operational definitions. In these instances, all of the zone perspectives are tabulated. If an article included a Zone 1 and a Zone 3 conceptual

definition without any operational definitions, both the Zone 1 and Zone 3 definitions are tabulated in Table 17. Therefore, the total number of single definition studies presented in Table 17 does not reflect the total number of articles that include single definitions⁸. The data are tabulated in this manner because it better reflects the overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions within the context of the zone-based framework of IMP. The implications of these trends for our understanding of Gender and its relationship to complex social science constructs are considered below, including a presentation of the major findings associated with this quantitative analysis and how the use of single definition studies may be contributing to our inability to appropriately address Gender as a complex construct.

Several findings stand out from an examination of Table 17. First, although the extent to which each journal includes single definition studies varies, all of the journals include at least one instance of a single definition study. This means that the use of single definition studies is not limited to any particular discipline, journal type, or journal. Second, looking at the comparisons between articles that include only conceptual definitions (single conceptual definition studies) and those that include only operational definitions (single operational definition studies), we can see that the latter is more common. In fact, among all of the journals, there are 52 instances of single conceptual definition studies and 315 instances of single operational definition studies. By taking journal type into consideration, however, it becomes clear that this disparity is being driven by mainstream journals, where there are 27 instances of single conceptual definition studies and 313 instances of single operational definition studies. This is in contrast to Gender-oriented journals, where there are 25 instances of single conceptual

Table 17: Comparison of Articles that Include only Conceptual or Operational Definition(s) by Discipline, Journal Type, and Journal

Discipline	Type	Journal	1C	1O	2C	2O	3C	3O	4C	4O	5C	5O	6C	6O	7C	7O	8C	8O
Criminology (N=138)	Mainstream	Crim (N=58)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (8.6)	7 (12.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (5.2)
		JQ (N=49)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (6.1)	8 (16.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)
		FC (N=31)	1 (3.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (9.7)	0 (0.0)	3 (9.7)	1 (3.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (12.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.5)	0 (0.0)
	Gender-oriented																	
		Total Criminology	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (2.2)	0 (0.0)	4 (2.9)	1 (0.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	12 (8.7)	15 (10.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (2.2)	3 (2.2)
Sociology (N=250)	Mainstream	ASR (N=84)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.2)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (4.8)	16 (19.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.4)	6 (7.1)
		AJS (N=71)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	10 (14.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.8)	0 (0.0)
		G&S (N=62)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.6)	1 (1.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	Gender-oriented	JGS (N=33)	1 (3.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	Total Sociology		1 (0.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.8)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (2.4)	27 (10.8)	1 (0.4)	0 (0.0)	4 (1.6)	6 (2.4)
Psychology (N=463)	Mainstream	JxP:G (N=73)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (4.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	47 (64.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		JPSP (N=282)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.7)	0 (0.0)	5 (1.8)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.1)	2 (0.7)	195 (69.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (2.1)
	Gender-oriented	PMM (N=36)	1 (2.8)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		PWQ (N=72)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.8)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)
	Total Psychology		1 (0.2)	2 (0.4)	1 (0.2)	8 (1.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.2)	2 (0.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.6)	6 (1.3)	242 (52.3)	1 (0.2)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.2)	6 (1.3)
Combined	Mainstream (N=617)		0 (0.0)	3 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	8 (1.3)	2 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	4 (0.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.5)	16 (2.6)	283 (45.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (0.8)	15 (2.4)
	Gender-oriented (N=234)		3 (1.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.4)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.3)	0 (0.0)	5 (2.1)	1 (0.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	8 (3.4)	1 (0.4)	2 (0.9)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.3)	0 (0.0)
	Total (N=851)		3 (0.4)	3 (0.4)	1 (0.1)	8 (0.9)	5 (0.6)	1 (0.1)	9 (1.1)	1 (0.1)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.4)	24 (2.8)	284 (33.4)	2 (0.2)	0 (0.0)	8 (0.9)	15 (1.8)

definition studies and 20 instances of single operational definition studies. Digging even deeper into the data, it becomes clear that both the overall differences and those tied to journal type are a function of the high number of single operational definition studies found in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (JPSP).

JPSP includes 212 instances of single operational definition studies, compared to only three instances of single conceptual definition studies. Upon further examination, this disparity can be almost entirely explained by the large extent to which researchers who publish in this journal are including Zone 6 operational definitions of Gender without linking them to specific conceptual definitions (N=195). This is not only driving the discrepancy for this particular journal, but for the entire sample of journals included in this study. It should be noted, however, that even when these instances are removed, there is still a greater use of single operational definitions compared to single conceptual definitions across the three disciplines.

More specifically, if instances of the use of Zone 6 conceptual and operational single definition studies within *JPSP* are removed from the analysis, 96 instances of single operational definition studies remain, compared to 28 instances conceptual single definition studies. Furthermore, if *JPSP* is completely removed from the analysis, 103 instances of single operational definition studies remain, compared to 49 instances of single conceptual definition studies. All of these findings point to *JPSP* as the primary but not sole source of the disparity between the use of conceptual and operational definitions identified earlier in this chapter. There are several issues at play in explaining the findings discussed above in terms of the use of single definition studies in researching

Gender. In addition, these findings have several implications for our ability to fully address the complexity of Gender as a social science construct.

First, the studies that include only conceptual definitions are often theoretical pieces, meta-analyses, or research summaries. In these instances, the aim is not to provide direct measures of particular Gender constructs. Instead, these articles are often used to inform future research endeavors. Those researchers who only include conceptual definitions rarely make absolute claims about the relationship between their conceptual arguments and particular aspects of Gender. These pieces are often intended to provide other researchers with possible lines of inquiry through creative thinking, as opposed to drawing solid scientific conclusions. While certainly not ideal, the existence of articles that only include conceptual definitions does not appear to present a serious threat to our ability to fully grasp the complexity of Gender as a social science construct. It could be argued, in fact, that this type of more purely theoretical work is a necessary step in the process of developing and implementing operational definitions of Gender that can then be used to test the conceptual arguments these theorists are making.

Including only operational definitions within an article, in contrast, may present problems in regards to our ability to fully address the complexity of Gender as a social science construct. There are several reasons why this may be the case. First, the inclusion of only operational definitions suggests that these researchers are making assumptions about the reach of one zone-perspective into the other zones. Taking the researchers who published articles with single Zone 6 operational definitions in *JPSP* as an example, it can be argued that they are assuming that a strictly biological measure based on an individual's sex accounts for any differences across individuals that may be connected to

the other zone-perspectives. These researchers seem to be assuming that all biological females identify themselves in the same manner, are functioning within the context of the same gender-stereotypes, and are performing the same gender-roles. Making such an assumption represents a form of gross reductionism, which has been identified as one major problem endemic to current views on what constitutes scientific research, an issue that is explored more fully in the next chapter.

For now, it is sufficient to recognize the inclusion of single definitions as another explanation for the overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender within the social science literature. In addition, it is important to keep in mind that these instances of single definitions are primarily concentrated within the psychological literature (although examples exist within all three disciplines), and are most often associated with the use of Zone 6 operational definitions without regard to exactly what aspects of Gender the operational definition is aimed at measuring.

Domain-Based Conceptual Definitions and the Study of Gender

The third explanation for the overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender is the inclusion of domain-based conceptual definitions. Domain-based conceptual definitions refer to instances where a researcher includes a conceptual definition but does not provide enough detail to allow for a clear categorization within any particular zone. In these instances, researchers are often including operational definitions from one of the two zone perspectives associated with that domain. For example, a researcher may include a conceptual definition that relates to an individual's gender-identity but cannot be placed within Zone 1 or Zone 2, while measuring this construct with an operational definition developed from a Zone 2

perspective. This is not necessarily a zone-gap, since a Zone 2 operational definition is an appropriate approach to measuring gender-identity constructs. Nor is this a single definition, since the researcher has included both a conceptual and an operational definition.

The use of domain-based definitions, therefore, is a different explanation that comes with unique implications for our ability to fully grasp the complexity of Gender as a social science construct. The discussion of findings from the analysis of domain-based definitions below begins with qualitative illustrations of domain-based conceptual definitions and the zone-based operational definitions used to measure them. This is followed by quantitative data regarding the overall use of these definitions among researchers who published in the three selected social science disciplines.

Qualitative Illustrations of Domain-Based Definitions

In order to illustrate the use of domain-based definitions among social science researchers, examples from each of the domains where these types of definitions are employed are included in this section. As will be seen in the presentation of quantitative statistics regarding the use of domain-based definitions below, there are no instances of domain-based definitions of sex. For this reason, this section only includes illustrative examples from the other three domains of Gender (i.e., gender-identity, gender-stereotypes, and gender-roles).

In terms of gender-identity, the concept gender role conflict/stress offers a clear example of how some researchers are employing definitions that are constructed from a more abstract domain-based perspective. Consider the definition of gender role conflict offered by Liu and Iwamoto (2006), “a pattern of gender role conflict is defined as a set

of values, attitudes, or behaviors learned during socialization that causes negative psychological effects on a person or on other people” (p. 157). It is clear from this definition that the researchers are concerned with an individual’s experience of negative psychological effects of the disjunction between socialized shared beliefs and their own understanding of their gender. Based on this definition, however, there is no way to determine if gender role conflict is being viewed from the perspective of the individual who is experiencing the conflict (Zone 1) or a researcher who is attempting to identify the underlying structure of such an experience (Zone 2).

When these more abstract domain-based definitions of gender-identity are employed in a study, the researchers are forced to make one of several choices. First, they could measure this domain-based definition using a more specific zone-based operational definition constructed from either a Zone 1 or a Zone 2 perspective. Second, they could employ a multi-zone operational approach that includes both Zone 1 and Zone 2 measures. Finally, they could decide not to include an operational definition at all, requiring the reader to make broad assumptions about what zone-perspective they are actually taking. This last option is consistent with the use of single definitions discussed earlier in this chapter.

Ultimately, the second of these three choices would be optimal. The use of multi-zone approaches to the study of any construct is preferred. This, however, is not always possible within the context of particular research studies. The next best approach, it is argued here, is the use of at least one operational definition constructed from one of the zones associated with the same domain. For instance, researchers may approach the measurement of gender role conflict/stress from either a Zone 1 or a Zone 2 perspective.

From a Zone 1 perspective, this may look something like what Fallon and Jome (2007) did when they used interviews “to explore how women rugby players negotiate gender-role expectations and conflict as women participating in a traditionally masculine sport” (p. 311). From a Zone 2 perspective, this may be the use of the Gender Role Conflict Scale which is “a measure of men’s reactions to the tensions between traditionally socialized male gender roles and situational demands” (Wester, Kuo, & Vogel, 2006, p. 88).

Liu and Iwamoto (2006) chose to employ a Zone 2 operational definition in order to measure the domain-based conceptual definition described above. As they describe, the Gender Role Conflict Scale is “a 37-item instrument designed to assess dimensions of gender role conflict” (p. 157). While this is not a zone-gap in measurement, it is important to recognize the limitations of such an approach. First, the use of either a Zone 1 or a Zone 2 operational definition does not necessarily negate the need to also explore gender role conflict/stress from the other perspective. Second, those researchers who choose to only employ either a Zone 1 or a Zone 2 operational definition should also make explicit the limitations of that approach in illuminating the other perspective on gender role conflict/stress, perhaps most especially if they have provided a broader or more abstract domain-based conceptual definition.

To their credit, some researchers are recognizing the limitations of choosing to employ only one zone-based operational approach when measuring their more abstract domain-based conceptual definitions. For instance, Mahalik, Lagan, and Morrison (2006) employ a Zone 2 operational approach (the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory) in order to measure whether “men’s health behaviors would significantly relate to their

conformity to traditional masculine norms” (p. 191). After conducting their study, these researchers make the following suggestion:

Constructions of masculinity and health behaviors are culturally defined, and future research might consider qualitative designs such as grounded theory to explicate a more contextual view of these phenomena when examining the intersection of men’s health behaviors and masculinity in cross-cultural samples. (p. 200)

What Mahalik, Lagan, and Morrison (2006) are arguing for is the inclusion of inside perspectives on these relationships. This includes the use of Zone 1 operational approaches. It is not until researchers begin to consider both inside and outside perspectives on these complex domain-based definitions of Gender that we will be able to fully address their relationship to other important social science phenomena.

These same issues apply in the use of domain-based definitions of gender-stereotypes and gender-roles. For instance, Mallicoat (2007) includes a domain-based conceptual argument with regards to gender-stereotypes when suggesting “it appears that probation officers are beginning to acknowledge the impact of these factors [issues of sexuality, drug use, and family conflict] in explaining delinquent behaviors” (p. 4). With this, Mallicoat (2007) is arguing that probation officers’ shared beliefs about sex-based differences in culpability are changing. To test this domain-based conceptual argument, Mallicoat (2007) employs a Zone 4 operational approach that includes the use of a content analysis of presentence investigation reports looking at the attribution of culpability that investigators place on female as compared to male offenders. In discussing the findings of this study, Mallicoat (2007) claims that “these analyses

demonstrate that not only does the assignment of attributions in explaining culpability vary by gender, but probation officers often define and/or apply the same construct differently for boys and girls” (p.28).

While this may be true, only employing a Zone 4 operational approach does not allow for any exploration for the reasons why these changes are occurring. What Mallicoat (2007) has provided is a description of a problem associated with the domain-based conceptual argument. In fact, a more appropriate conclusion based on the fact that an inside perspective is missing would be that the analyses demonstrate that probation officers apply the same construct differently. We do not know, however, how these probation officers are defining the constructs because that would require a Zone 3 operational approach in addition to the Zone 4 approach employed here. Again, the choices that researchers make in regards to measuring their domain-based conceptual definitions have serious implications for what conclusions can be validly drawn from the data.

To illustrate how the choice to employ an operational approach that draws on only one of the two associated zones in order to measure a domain-based conceptual definition is limited, let us contrast these two examples with one from the study of gender-roles. In this study, Cranford (2007) includes a domain-based conceptual argument that concentrates on an examination of “changes in gender inequality” (p. 409) within a Latina/Latino immigrant union. In further explicating the specific dimensions of gender inequality, Cranford (2007) includes aspects that could be viewed from either a Zone 7 or Zone 8 perspective. In contrast to the prior two examples, in order to measure the degree to which gender inequality changed within this particular immigrant union, Cranford

(2007) employs a multi-zone approach that includes operational definitions from both Zone 7 and Zone 8:

To address practices of gender within the union, I analyzed data collected through observations of interactions between women and men members in both small and large union settings. I [also] drew on interviews with the women members to explore whether changes at the levels of the organization and practice had a subjective transformative outcome in terms of women's empowerment, politicization, and feminist consciousness. (p.415)

Notice that this operational approach includes the use of observations of interactions and practices (Zone 8) and interviews disclosing the inside perspectives of those who are engaged in the change under study (Zone 7). Based on this multi-zone operational approach, Cranford (2007) is able to draw more solid conclusions regarding the domain-based definition of gender inequality that lays at the foundation of this study.

Specifically, Cranford (2007) concludes that

Union renewal weakened the structural division of union labor, allowing women on staff to realize feminist values of leadership development in concrete goals. These changes made space for women members to engage in new leadership practices that undermined gender inequalities in interactions with men and empowered and politicized women at the individual level...The ethnography shows the need to move from the study of women and unions to an analysis of how gendered transformations intersect with economic restructuring and immigration within social movement organizations. (p. 409)

What this example shows is that using multi-zone operational approaches to measure broad domain-based conceptual definitions provides researchers with opportunities for more authentic interpretations of the relationships among complex social science constructs. If Cranford (2007) had relied only on either a Zone 7 or a Zone 8 operational approach, it is unlikely that the above conclusions would be supported by the data obtained. It will be argued in the final chapter of this dissertation that these multi-zone approaches can and should be expanded to include multiple zones from multiple domains. As the quantitative analysis below suggests, the use of these multi-zone operational approaches is not as common as the use of single-zone approaches to the measurement of domain-based conceptual definitions.

Quantitative Analysis of the Use of Domain-Based Definitions of Gender

Table 18 presents statistics on the use of domain-based definitions of Gender, including data on the use of these definitions across journal type (mainstream vs. Gender-oriented) and individual journals. It should be noted up front that this table does not include domain-based operational definitions because there are no instances in which researchers develop operational definitions that cannot be tied to a specific zone of IMP.

In addition to the absence of domain-based operational definitions, there are no domain-based definitions associated with sex. This is likely a reflection of the characteristics of Zone 5 and Zone 6 definitions of Gender discussed in the previous chapter. Specifically, it was argued in the previous chapter that Zone 5 definitions of Gender are distinguished by three important, and specific, characteristics. The preciseness by which these definitions are identified precludes the creation of an abstract version of a Zone 5 conceptual definition. Similarly, Zone 6 definitions are

straightforward in the sense that they are associated with specific biological aspects of Gender that do not lend themselves to abstract conceptualizations.

Table 18: *Use of Domain-Based Conceptual Definitions Compared Across Discipline, Journal Type, and Journal*

Discipline	Journal Type	Journal	Gender-Identity	Gender-Stereotypes	Sex	Gender-Roles
Criminology (N=138)	Mainstream	Crim (N=58)	1 (1.7)	2 (3.4)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)
		JQ (N=49)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		FC (N=31)	1 (3.2)	2 (6.5)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.5)
	Gender-oriented					
	Total Criminology		2 (1.4)	4 (2.9)	0 (0.0)	3 (2.2)
Sociology (N=250)	Mainstream	ASR (N=84)	0 (0.0)	4 (4.8)	0 (0.0)	3 (3.6)
		AJS (N=71)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.8)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.8)
		G&S (N=62)	4 (6.5)	1 (1.6)	0 (0.0)	2 (3.2)
	Gender-oriented	JGS (N=33)	4 (12.1)	10 (30.3)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.1)
	Total Sociology		8 (3.2)	17 (6.8)	0 (0.0)	9 (3.6)
Psychology (N=463)	Mainstream	JxP:G (N=73)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		JPSP (N=282)	9 (3.2)	7 (2.5)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.1)
		PMM (N=36)	22 (61.1)	5 (13.9)	0 (0.0)	2 (5.6)
	Gender-oriented	PWQ (N=72)	36 (50.0)	6 (8.3)	0 (0.0)	3 (4.2)
	Total Psychology		67 (14.4)	19 (4.1)	0 (0.0)	8 (1.7)
Combined	Mainstream (N=617)		10 (1.6)	16 (2.6)	0 (0.0)	9 (1.5)
	Gender-oriented (N=234)		67 (28.6)	24 (10.3)	0 (0.0)	11 (4.7)
	Total (N=851)		77 (9.0)	40 (4.7)	0 (0.0)	20 (2.4)

Number (percent) of articles that include at least one domain-based conceptual definition of Gender

More important to our discussion here, however, is the existence of conceptual definitions associated with the other three domains of Gender. As Table 18 shows, 9.0%

(N=77) of the sample articles include at least one domain-based conceptual definition of gender-identity, 4.7% (N=40) for gender-stereotypes, and 2.4% (N=20) for gender-roles. This means that 16.1% (N=137) of the articles in this sample include a domain-based definition of Gender. Additionally, comparisons across journal-type reveal that Gender-oriented journals (43.6%; N=102) include more domain-based definitions than mainstream journals (5.7%; N=35). This contrast is most notable among articles that employ domain-based definitions of gender-identity, where 28.6% (N=67) of the articles in Gender-oriented journals included a domain-based definition compared to 1.6% (N=10) of the articles in mainstream journals. It is likely that these findings are directly connected to several issues already raised in this dissertation.

First, there is a greater breadth of conceptual coverage among Gender-oriented journals compared to mainstream journals. Second, drawing on findings from stage one of the overall analysis, the use of outside zone-perspectives when constructing operational definitions is more likely than the use of inside zone-perspectives. In other words, there is a greater use of operational definitions constructed from the perspective of Zones 2, 4, 6, or 8 than from Zones 1, 3, 5, or 7. This suggests that although researchers who publish in Gender-oriented journals are more likely to include conceptual definitions from all of the zone-perspectives (and more likely to include domain-based definitions), they are still primarily relying on outside zone-perspectives when developing their operational measures.

This finding, the over-reliance on outside perspectives when developing operational definitions of Gender, is also supported by the quantitative analysis of operational definitions used to measure these domain-based conceptual definitions.

Tables 19 thru 21 present quantitative data on the link between domain-based conceptual definitions and the zone-based operational definitions used to measure them. Each of these tables presents data from a different domain-perspective.

Table 19: *Link between Domain-Based Conceptual Definitions of Gender-Identity and Zone-Based Operational Definition Used to Measure Them*

Discipline	Journal Type	Journal	Zone 1	Zone 2	Both	Neither
Criminology (N=2)	Mainstream	Crim (N=1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
		JQ (N=0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		FC (N=1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
	Gender-oriented					
	Total Criminology		0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)
Sociology (N=8)	Mainstream	ASR (N=0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		AJS (N=0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		G&S (N=4)	4 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	Gender-oriented	JGS (N=4)	2 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (50.0)
	Total Sociology		6 (75.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (25.0)
Psychology (N=67)	Mainstream	JxP:G (N=0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		JPSP (N=9)	0 (0.0)	7 (77.8)	0 (0.0)	2 (22.2)
		PMM (N=22)	4 (18.2)	18 (81.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	Gender-oriented	PWQ (N=36)	3 (8.3)	31 (86.1)	1 (2.8)	1 (2.8)
	Total Psychology		7 (10.4)	56 (83.6)	1 (1.5)	3 (4.5)
Combined	Mainstream (N=10)		0 (0.0)	7 (70.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (30.0)
	Gender-oriented (N=67)		13 (19.4)	49 (73.1)	1 (1.5)	4 (6.0)
	Total (N=77)		13 (16.9)	56 (72.7)	1 (1.3)	7 (9.1)

Number (percent) of articles that include an operational definition used to measure a domain-based conceptual definition.

Table 20: *Link between Domain-Based Conceptual Definitions of Gender-Stereotypes and Zone-Based Operational Definitions Used to Measure Them*

Discipline	Journal Type	Journal	Zone 3	Zone 4	Both	Neither	
Criminology (N=4)	Mainstream	Crim (N=2)	0 (0.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (50.0)	
		JQ (N=0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	
	Gender-oriented	FC (N=2)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	
		Total Criminology		0 (0.0)	3 (75.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (25.0)
	Sociology (N=17)	Mainstream	ASR (N=4)	0 (0.0)	1 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (75.0)
AJS (N=2)			0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)	
G&S (N=1)			0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	
Gender-oriented		JGS (N=10)	1 (10.0)	6 (60.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (30.0)	
		Total Sociology		1 (5.9)	7 (41.2)	1 (5.9)	8 (47.1)
		Psychology (N=19)	Mainstream	JxP:G (N=1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
JPSP (N=7)	0 (0.0)			3 (42.9)	0 (0.0)	4 (57.1)	
PMM (N=5)	0 (0.0)			0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)	
Gender-oriented	PWQ (N=6)		0 (0.0)	2 (33.3)	0 (0.0)	4 (66.7)	
	Total Psychology		0 (0.0)	5 (26.3)	0 (0.0)	14 (73.7)	
	Combined		Mainstream (N=16)		0 (0.0)	5 (31.2)	0 (0.0)
Gender-oriented (N=24)		1 (4.2)	10 (41.7)	1 (4.2)	12 (50.0)		
Total (N=40)		1 (2.5)	15 (37.5)	1 (2.5)	23 (57.5)		

Number (percent) of articles that include an operational definition used to measure a domain-based

conceptual definition.

Table 21: *Link between Domain-Based Conceptual Definitions of Gender-Roles and Zone-Based Operational Definitions Used to Measure Them*

Discipline	Journal Type	Journal	Zone 7	Zone 8	Both	Neither
Criminology (N=3)	Mainstream	Crim (N=1)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		JQ (N=0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		FC (N=2)	0 (0.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (50.0)
	Gender-oriented					
	Total Criminology		0 (0.0)	2 (66.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (33.3)
Sociology (N=9)	Mainstream	ASR (N=3)	0 (0.0)	2 (66.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (33.3)
		AJS (N=2)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		G&S (N=2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)	0 (0.0)
	Gender-oriented	JGS (N=2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)
	Total Sociology		0 (0.0)	4 (44.4)	2 (22.2)	3 (33.3)
Psychology (N=8)	Mainstream	JxP:G (N=0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
		JPSP (N=3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
		PMM (N=2)	0 (0.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (50.0)
	Gender-oriented	PWQ (N=3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
	Total Psychology		0 (0.0)	1 (12.5)	0 (0.0)	7 (87.5)
Combined	Mainstream (N=9)		0 (0.0)	5 (55.6)	0 (0.0)	4 (44.4)
	Gender-oriented (N=11)		0 (0.0)	2 (18.2)	2 (18.2)	7 (63.6)
	Total (N=20)		0 (0.0)	7 (35.0)	2 (10.0)	11 (55.0)

Number (percent) of articles that include an operational definition used to measure a domain-based conceptual definition.

There are three findings in these tables that add to the discussion of the current analysis. First, and consistent with claims made earlier, researchers are more likely to use operational definitions constructed from the outside perspectives (i.e., Zones 2, 4, and 8) than those constructed from the inside perspectives (i.e., Zones 1, 3, and 7). This is true for all three domains of Gender included in these tables.

Second, researchers are not very likely to include multi-zone operational approaches when attempting to measure their domain-based definitions of Gender (indicated as “Both” in the tables). In fact, only 1 (1.3%) of the articles that included a domain-based definition of gender-identity and only 1 (2.5%) of the articles that included a domain-based definition of gender-stereotypes included a multi-zone operational approach. In terms of gender-roles, 2 (10.0%) of the articles that included a domain-based definition employed a multi-zone operational approach. In all four of these instances, the multi-zone operational approaches are found in articles published in Gender-oriented journals.

In contrast, a larger percentage of researchers who include domain-based definitions of Gender are doing so without providing clear indication of how those constructs are measured. This is indicated by the relatively large number of articles included in the “neither” category in Tables 19 thru 21. In terms of gender-identity, 9.1% (N=7) of the articles that include a domain-based definition did so without any indication of measurement from a corresponding zone. This was true for 57.5% (N=23) of the articles that include a domain-based definition of gender-stereotypes, and 55.0% (N=1) of the articles that include a domain-based definition of gender-roles.

This quantitative analysis of domain-based definitions provides two important insights into why it appears to be difficult to capture the full complexity of Gender as a social science construct and its relationship to other important constructs such as crime and delinquency. First, the findings highlight the over-reliance on outside perspectives, especially when attempting to measure the interiors of Gender. Second, they highlight a serious lack in the area of multi-perspectival or mixed-methods approaches to the study

of complex social science constructs. Both of these findings will help frame the development of a more inclusive approach to the study of Gender and its relationship to other important social science constructs such as crime and delinquency, which is the focus of the next chapter.

Conclusion

The first goal of this stage of the analysis was to identify and begin to provide some explanation for the overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender within the three selected social science disciplines. It is clear that social science researchers are much more likely to include conceptual definitions of Gender compared to operational definitions. This greater use of conceptual definitions has led to a greater breadth of conceptual coverage across all eight zones of IMP. This was found to be particularly true for Gender-oriented journals. In contrast, researchers in both mainstream and Gender-oriented journals are not employing the same breadth of coverage in terms of operational definitions. In fact, most researchers appear to be relying primarily on the use of the outside perspectives (Zones 2, 4, 6, and 8) when attempting to measure their Gender constructs, with the heaviest emphasis being on Zone 6.

This represents one of the major weaknesses of our current approaches to studying Gender. Specifically, the lack of breadth of operational coverage means that social scientists are not relying on appropriate measures of Gender when making broader conceptual claims about its relationship to important social science constructs. As was indicated by the findings from stage two of the analysis, this lack of operational coverage is a direct result of three relatively common practices among social science researchers, the introduction of zone-gaps, the use of single definitions, and the use of domain-based

conceptual definitions. Each of these practices creates unique problems for our ability to construct inclusive models for studying Gender. Perhaps at the foundation of each of these practices is that researchers appear to be allowing operationally driven methodological choices to shape their studies, as opposed to conceptually driven research questions. This state of affairs, it will be argued, is a fundamental weakness in our current approaches to studying the complexity of Gender as a social science construct.

The news, however, is not all bad. Some of the findings from stage two of the analysis point to potential strengths in our current approaches. For instance, the surprisingly large extent to which researchers are including conceptual definitions from all eight zones of IMP should be recognized as very promising. This implies that researchers are open to studying the complexity of Gender, and also seems to indicate that perhaps the next step is to identify a more workable model. Second, there is some indication that researchers are attempting to adapt their methodological approaches in order to measure the complexity of their conceptual arguments. This was initially indicated by the creative aggregation of Zone 1 and Zone 2 data to construct Zone 3 and Zone 4 operational perspectives, respectively. Finally, we must acknowledge the willingness of researchers to recognize the limitations of their own operational approaches. Even those researchers who introduce zone-gaps, single definition studies, and domain-based definitions are often cognizant and quick to point out the inability of these approaches to fully address the complexity they are attempting to explain.

All of these issues point to something that has, until now, been missing from our study of Gender and its relationship to other important social science constructs, namely, a workable trans-disciplinary model that allows for a multi-methodological, multi-

perspectival approach to the study of Gender. This, it is argued, is what the Integral model and IMP provide. Not only can the IMP framework be used to analyze current approaches to the study of Gender, but also to inform a more inclusive trans-disciplinary approach. In the next chapter, the insights gained from stages one and two of the analysis will be combined in order to construct a more inclusive and appropriate model for the study of Gender and its relationship to other social science phenomena. This new model will take advantage of the strengths identified here and compensate for the weaknesses uncovered with the analyses.

While the Integral model and IMP are not the only means through which this can be accomplished, they do offer a starting point from which additional adjustments in our current approaches may be made. At the very least, the application of the Integral model and IMP to the future study of Gender will provide a common language with which researchers will be able to communicate in a more genuine way, with the ultimate goal of providing a context within which the complexity of Gender and other social science constructs can be honored.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION, APPLICATION, AND CONCLUSION

The findings from the analyses of current approaches to studying Gender in the social sciences have provided important insights, which should help us begin to develop a deeper, more inclusive understanding of this complex construct. From stage one of the overall analysis, we learned that all zone-perspectives disclose equally valuable information regarding the complexity of Gender as a social science construct. This important finding supports the claim that all of the zone-perspectives of IMP should be considered if one is to construct a more inclusive model for the study of Gender. Additionally, findings from stage one indicate that Gender-oriented journals have a greater breadth of conceptual coverage, across all eight zone-perspectives. The researchers who are publishing in these journals, therefore, seem to be providing an important service to those who wish to explore the complexity of Gender from multiple perspectives. Finally, stage one of the overall analysis also yielded the finding that within the IMP framework, a zone-perspective should not be confused with the methodologies used to disclose it.

Findings from stage two of the overall analysis also have important implications for our ability to construct a more inclusive model. In this stage it became clear that our conceptual approaches to studying Gender are far more developed than our operational approaches. This is true for research reported in both mainstream and Gender-oriented journals. This finding was most clearly indicated by the overall disparity between the use of conceptual and operational definitions identified in Chapter VI. As was indicated in the previous chapters, this disparity is being driven by three specific circumstances: the

inclusion of zone-gaps in measurement; single definition studies; and, the use of domain-based conceptual definitions of Gender. Finally, this disparity also seems to be related to the disproportionate use of operational definitions constructed from the four outside zone-perspectives (i.e., Zones 2, 4, 6, and 8), and Zone 6 in particular, as well as a general lack of multi-zone operational approaches to studying Gender. It was hinted at in the previous chapters that these issues are intimately related to current broader conceptualizations of and approaches to science, disciplinary myopia, and what seems to be the general over-reliance on measurement methodology as the foundation for the construction of research studies in the social sciences.

The purpose of this dissertation, however, is not limited to a description of our current approaches and the strengths and weaknesses associated with them. As indicated earlier, the ultimate goal of these analyses is to inform the construction of a more inclusive framework for the continued study of Gender and its relationships with other important social science constructs. Based on the findings from the current analyses, it is argued here that the perspective-based framework of the Integral model and IMP in particular can provide the context for the formation of a new approach to research that is based on a deeper view of science; one that alleviates the problems outlined above while honoring the value of often times competing perspectives.

This chapter begins with a more detailed discussion of the major lessons learned from the overall analysis of current approaches to studying Gender in the social sciences. This is followed by the application of IMP to the study of Gender in criminology, and the application of the Integral model to the assessment of validity in social science research. These applications will be informed by the findings from the analyses, as well as

additional literature. This chapter ends with a general conclusion regarding the current study, its associated limitations, and how it may be used to inform future research in the areas of Gender Studies, Integral Studies, and the social sciences as a whole.

Discussion

The Domains and Zones as Perspectives

Perhaps more than any other finding associated with this study, the notion that each of the domains and zones corresponds to a unique perspective that discloses distinct yet equally valuable information regarding the complexity of Gender offers an important insight for the future of social science research. As discussed throughout this dissertation, and according to the Integral model applied herein (see Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006; Wilber, 2000a, 2000b, 2006), all human phenomena can be viewed in terms of four distinct domains. These domains correspond to the interior/exterior individual/collective. As applied to the study of Gender in this dissertation, these four domains are referred to as gender-identity, gender-stereotypes, sex, and gender-roles. Further, according to the IMP framework applied throughout this dissertation, these four domains can be viewed from either an inside or outside perspective; establishing eight irreducible zone-perspectives (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006; Wilber, 2000a, 2000b, 2006). Each of these zone-perspectives relates to a distinct view of Gender, and when applied within the context of social science research, discloses distinct information regarding its complexity.

As stated earlier, gender-identity refers to the aspects of Gender which are experienced within an individual's own psyche. From an inside or Zone 1 perspective, gender-identity is viewed and expressed from the perspective of the individual her- or him-self. In other words, the individual is describing their own experiences of Gender

from their own perspective and in their own words. From an outside or Zone 2 perspective, on the other hand, gender-identity is viewed and expressed as the underlying dimensions of an individual's cognitive (and other) processes. For the most part, at least within the social science research analyzed in this study, Zone 2 perspectives are enacted through the combination of individual scores on particular psychometric measures in order to place respondents along a kind of gender-identity continuum, with the assumption that those who have similar cognitive structures will adopt and exhibit similar gender-identities.

In contrast, "gender-stereotypes" refers to the culturally shared beliefs about men and women within a given society. From an inside or Zone 3 perspective, gender-stereotypes are viewed and expressed from the perspective of the actual members of a particular group or culture. More specifically, Zone 3 perspectives address the shared beliefs in a manner that discloses their development, maintenance, and/or impact from the perspective of the actual members of the group or culture under study, in their own words, as that meaning emerges. From an outside or Zone 4 perspective, however, these same shared belief structures are disclosed through a consideration of the symbolic interactions among members of a particular group or culture, as well as the exterior indicators of what it means to be a Gendered being within that particular group or culture.

Similar to gender-identity and gender-stereotypes, sex can also be viewed from an inside or outside perspective. Remember that sex, as a domain of Gender, refers to the biological traits associated with being female or male. From an inside or Zone 5 perspective, sex is viewed as the link between physiological sex characteristics and some form of individual attribute such as attitudes, behaviors, and worldviews. From an outside

or Zone 6 perspective, this same domain is viewed as the exterior indicators of biological sex, such as genitalia, body structure, and hormones.

Finally, “gender-roles” refers to behaviors or activities performed by Gendered beings in a given society which have become institutionalized within various social systems. This domain can also be viewed from an inside (Zone 7) or outside (Zone 8) perspective. From a Zone 7 perspective, gender-roles are viewed in terms of communication among members of a particular social system which delineate future communication of gender-roles. In other words, these perspectives focus on communication among members of a social system with a particular focus on the continued creation and re-creation of gender-roles within that system. In contrast, Zone 8 perspectives on gender-roles focus on the roles in-and-of themselves as well as the actual activities associated with those roles. This includes disclosing information regarding the performance of gender-roles and changes in the demographic make-up of those who perform such roles.

To be sure, any researcher who employs one or more of these zone-perspectives is attempting to address Gender as a social science construct and lived experience. Recognizing that each of these zones corresponds to a particular perspective and offers an equally valuable contribution is a foundational step in the process of developing a more inclusive approach to the study of Gender in the social sciences. This recognition also indicates that in not considering all of these various perspectives, we will be unable to disclose the full complexity of Gender as a construct and/or lived experience, or its relationship to other important social science constructs such as crime.

Perspectives, Methodologies, and Measurement

Another fundamental insight garnered from this project relates to the perspective-based framework of IMP. Specifically, we must, as social scientists, begin to shift our focus from methodologies to perspectives. In other words, we must begin to base our research endeavors on what it is we are attempting to disclose about Gender (or other complex constructs) as opposed to what it is we are able to measure through the application of a particular (and privileged) methodological strategy or measurement model. This shift from a focus on methodology to a focus on perspectives also provides a context within which we can begin to deal with the overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender found in this study, which, as alluded to earlier, may be attributed to zone-gaps in measurement, single definition studies, and the use of domain-based conceptual definitions. Further, if we do not take the time to identify the particular distinguishing characteristics of our methodological approaches in terms of how they relate to these various perspectives (which includes, by definition, a consideration of their similarities), it becomes very difficult, if not impossible, to ensure that our conclusions, and the policies we develop based on those conclusions, are valid.

In discussing the overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender identified in Chapters V and VI, differences across discipline and journal type were considered. In both stages of the overall analysis, it was noted that there was a consistent pattern of greater use of conceptual definitions when compared to operational definitions constructed from the zone-perspectives. Although the magnitude of this disparity differed from one zone-perspective to another and from one discipline to another, a general trend towards greater variety in the use of conceptual definitions across

disciplines and journal type emerged. As indicated in Chapter VI, this seems to be driven by the use of a limited range of operational definitions to measure a broader range of conceptual definitions constructed from the various zone-perspectives.

This trend towards the use of a limited range of operational definitions to measure a variety of conceptual definitions was also indicated by the finding that, in all but a few cases, the use of operational definitions constructed from the outside zone-perspectives (i.e., Zones 2, 4, 6, and 8) was greater than the use of those constructed from the inside zone-perspectives (i.e., Zones 1, 3, 5, and 7) across the various domains of Gender. This suggests that as a whole, social scientists are more likely to rely on the exterior “objective” empirical measures of Gender associated with the outside perspectives compared to the interior “subjective” measures associated with the inside perspectives.

When put this way, and when considered in conjunction with the breadth of knowledge regarding the fluidity of Gender described throughout this dissertation, it is disconcerting to think that social scientists would rely so heavily on exterior indicators of Gender. However, this is exactly what is being done when relying primarily on operational definitions constructed from an outside perspective, regardless of the conceptual definition under study. Drawing distinctions between male and female psychological functioning across self-reported biological sex, for instance, introduces opportunities for inaccurate interpretations of the reach of biology in terms of Gender and its impact for individuals and collectives. This could be looked at as a subtle (or perhaps not so subtle) form of biological determinism that may lead to scientific reductionism. When researchers rely on a limited range of operational definitions based on disciplinarily privileged measurement models, they become more susceptible to pitfalls

such as zone-gaps and the other issues identified in this study. Taking an example from the current analysis, we can see how disciplinary cultures can impact the ability of researchers to explore alternative approaches by limiting the range of operational definitions researchers are willing to use.

Looking back at the studies included in the current sample, it is clear that gender-identity is the primary conceptual foci of those who study Gender in the psychological literature. This, of course, makes intuitive sense considering that psychology, as a discipline, is primarily concerned with interior individual phenomena. As such, gender-identity is something that psychological researchers are willing to conceptually define from both inside and outside perspectives, as indicated by the findings of this study in which there were 76 instances of conceptual definitions of gender-identity constructed from Zone 1 perspectives and 78 instances of conceptual definitions constructed from Zone 2 perspectives.

While it is clear that researchers who publish in psychology journals are considering both inside and outside perspectives when constructing conceptual definitions, they are almost exclusively relying on outside perspectives when constructing their operational definitions (17 instances of operational definitions constructed from a Zone 1 perspective and 75 from a Zone 2 perspective). Instead of carrying their perspective-based focus on gender-identity all the way through, by constructing measurement models that disclose both inside and outside perspectives, researchers who publish in psychology journals seem to be limiting their measurement models to conform to the particular methodological strategies that are most widely accepted in their discipline (i.e., Zone 2 or psychological assessments).

Remember, outside or Zone 2 perspectives on gender-identity are viewed and expressed as the underlying dimensions of an individual's cognitive processes, and are often measured (operationalized) as the combination of individual scores on particular psychometric assessments in order to place respondents along a gender-identity continuum, with the assumption that those who have similar cognitive structures will adopt and exhibit similar gender-identities. It appears that since researchers with a background in psychology are more likely to have training in the application of psychometric assessments they are also more likely to construct operational definitions of gender-identity from Zone 2 perspectives.

On the other hand, those researchers who are publishing in the criminology and sociology journals are not as closely tied to the methodological mores of psychology. Perhaps due to their relative lack of training in the use of psychological assessments, these researchers are more likely to approach gender-identity from an inside or Zone 1 perspective when constructing both their conceptual and operation definitions, including the use of in-depth interviews in which respondents describe their experiences of Gender in their own words. It is important to note, however, that although these researchers' conceptual and operational models tended to be more closely linked, their heavy reliance on inside perspectives ignores the important contributions of those researchers who approach gender-identity from outside or Zone 2 perspectives. This, again, is perhaps the result of an emphasis on the types of methods that are most acceptable or even most often practiced within a particular discipline.

As mentioned previously, both inside and outside perspectives are equally valuable when attempting to obtain a complete understanding of Gender or any other

scientific construct. What is suggested here is not that one is more important than the other, but that we must begin to sever the close ties between our disciplines and particular methodological strategies, and shift our focus to the inclusion of multiple perspectives, which requires the implementation of a broad range of methodological and measurement strategies.

At the most base level, what actually seems to be called for here, is a fundamental change in our current understanding and practice of science; one that shifts our emphasis away from methodology-centered research towards a perspective-centered research agenda. This shift, it is argued below, offers one possible avenue through which we can fundamentally change the way we approach science within and across disciplines and diminish our over-reliance on any one particular set of methodological or measurement models, in the end providing the context for a more inclusive approach to the study of Gender and other important social science constructs. In order to illustrate the effectiveness of this shift towards a focus on perspectives in creating a more inclusive approach to studying complex constructs, the next section describes a new vision for the study of Gender in criminology; one that takes this important shift into consideration.

An Integral Vision for the Perspective-Centered Study of Gender in Criminological Research

In the preceding chapters, the Integral model and Integral Methodological Pluralism (IMP) were applied as a framework for assessing current social science approaches to the study of Gender. As discussed above, the content analysis and subsequent qualitative and quantitative analyses provided an overview of these current approaches as well as their strengths and weaknesses. While the findings from these

analyses are valuable to researchers who would like to gain a deeper understanding of the complexity of Gender as both a social science construct and lived experience, the utility of the perspective-centered frameworks of the Integral model and IMP can also be reflected in their application to more specific areas of discipline-based research.

For instance, criminological researchers continue to be interested in the relationship between broad, complex constructs such as Gender and Crime. Through an application of the Integral model and IMP, and with specific emphasis on the perspective-centered approach they offer, it is hoped that researchers will be better able to conduct more inclusive, multi-perspective, multi-methodological studies that address the complexity of Gender and its relationship to constructs such as Crime. In this section, the potential effectiveness of the shift away from methodologically-centered research towards perspective-centered research in generating more inclusive frameworks for the study of the Gender-Crime relationship is explored.

This new perspective-centered vision, informed by the findings of this study, could likely take several forms. First, researchers may be interested in constructing a similar approach to that which is taken in this dissertation. Such an approach would include a broad overview of current criminological research, a critique of the strengths and weaknesses associated with that research, and the construction of a new framework that emphasizes those strengths and accounts for those weaknesses. Through the application of IMP, this type of approach would be grounded in the eight zone-perspectives and their corresponding methodologies, and researchers would be better able to situate current strategies in the context of a variety of rigorous scientific methods. In these types of applications, the perspective-based framework of IMP could help provide a

common language that can be used to communicate across the various approaches to studying crime, delinquency, and other important criminological constructs.

Second, researchers may also be interested in applying the Integral model and IMP to particular cases, from particular zone-perspectives. For example, researchers may conduct an integral assessment of an individual offender's views of her- or him-self as a Gendered being and how those views relate to engagement in criminal or delinquent activity (Zone 1). This type of approach may also focus on criminal justice professionals' shared beliefs regarding Gendered beings and how those beliefs relate to perceptions of criminal propensity (Zone 3 or 4). Taking an exterior individual perspective, researchers may conduct studies on the relationship between physiological characteristics and differential engagement in criminality or delinquency (Zone 5 or 6). Or, researchers may be interested in studying the treatment of Gendered beings within various criminal justice systems (Zones 7). These are just some examples of how IMP can be used to inform single-perspective approaches to studying important criminological constructs/relationships.

Although these types of applications rely on one particular zone-perspective, the awareness of the other zone-perspectives and their unique value will make these researchers fully cognizant of both the partial nature of their research/data and the value such research/data provide in generating a more complete understanding of Gender as a complex construct. Applying only one zone-perspective is not necessarily a problem in-and-of itself. Rather, problems arise when researchers attempt to extrapolate their findings beyond the reach of the particular zone-perspective they have applied. By adopting a perspective-centered agenda, whether informed by the Integral model, IMP, or

some other framework, criminological researchers could be better prepared to avoid over-reliance on particular perspectives and the tendency to exaggerate findings beyond the scope of the particular perspective(s) or methodology(ies) they employ.

Finally, through the application of a perspective-centered agenda, some researchers may be inclined to apply the Integral model or IMP as a framework for generating mixed- or multi-zone approaches. In these instances, researchers could use any combination of the various zone-perspectives in order to develop a more inclusive strategy. For instance, researchers may study the progression of Gendered beings through criminal justice processing, looking at how an individual views the process (Interior Individual) through the use of face-to-face interviews, how they are viewed by those who are processing them (Interior Collective) through the use of focus groups, as well as their behavior within (Exterior Individual) and treatment by (Exterior Collective) the system through observations. This, obviously, is just one example of how these perspectives could be applied within a single study. Perhaps one of the greatest utilities of the perspective-based approach of the Integral model and IMP is that researchers would be able to modify their application of these frameworks in a way that suits their needs but maintains the integrity of rigorous mixed-methods inquiry.

Interestingly, researchers are already calling for these types of multi-perspective mixed-methods approaches. As was indicated in Chapter VI, several of the researchers whose studies were included in the current sample called for a more inclusive mixed-methods approach that relies on both quantitative and qualitative methodologies and a variety of measurement models (see Cranford, 2007; Kreager, 2007; and Mahalik, Lagan, and Morrison, 2006). Within the discipline of criminology in particular, Kruttschnitt and

Carbone-Lopez (2006) call for what can be interpreted as a multi-perspective approach that would necessitate the application of a variety of methodological, conceptual, and operational models:

... expressions of male and female offending share many similarities and, as we have seen, are often determined by the same sorts of personal and political concerns. Perhaps, then, our greatest challenge lies in reconciling the seemingly contradictory notion of the centrality of gender to crime and the acknowledgment that gender is interwoven with other social statuses—social class and race—that may be at least as important as, if not more important than, gender in facilitating crime. *It may be that the answer to this challenge will require a significant scholarly investment in research on identity formation and the relative roles of culturally determined gender scripts and economic status and prospects in identity work [italics added].* (p. 345)

Based on the current analyses, it is argued the perspective-centered focus of the Integral model and IMP can provide one avenue for the significant scholarly investment that Kruttschnitt and Carbone-Lopez (2006) call for. The remainder of this section provides examples of how this perspective-centered focus and the application of the zone-based framework of IMP can be used to accomplish this very task. Again, the argument put forth here does not exclude the development and application of additional perspective-centered frameworks. In fact, researchers are encouraged to continue to seek new and innovative ways to shift our focus from methodologies to perspectives; whether this be through the continued refinement of the Integral model and IMP or the

development of additional perspective-centered models/frameworks that will assist in generating a more inclusive vision for criminological and social science research.

As one final caveat, readers should be aware that the ultimate goal of this section is not to provide the final word on the Gender-Crime relationship or criminologists' ability to study and understand it. As discussed in Chapter IV, one of the most appealing aspects of the Integral model and IMP is the fact that they are content free. As such, readers are encouraged to explore new and innovative approaches to applying these models within this and other areas of interest. In other words, readers should view what follows as a springboard that can help them begin to formulate their own more inclusive multi-methodological approaches to the study of the Gender-Crime relationship or other important areas of study. To remain consistent, however, the discussion that follows is organized around the four domains and their corresponding zone-perspectives.

The Interior Individual, Gender-Identity, and Criminological Research

From an interior individual perspective, Gender is intimately linked to an individual's understanding of the self and others as Gendered beings (i.e., gender-identity). If researchers are to develop a perspective-centered approach to studying the impact of gender-identity in criminology through the application of IMP, they must begin with broad questions that relate to this particular domain-based perspective. For example, researchers who take this particular perspective may be interested in an individual's view of their own Gender and the Gender of those around them, beliefs about the relationship between Gender and crime/criminality, and beliefs about the ability of Gendered beings to perform the duties of criminal justice professionals. The first step, therefore, is to develop foundational questions that are directly tied to the domain-based perspective they

have adopted, such as: What impact does an individual's gender-identity have on their willingness to engage in criminal or delinquent behavior?

Once this is accomplished, researchers can then begin to apply the zone-based perspectives of IMP to further refine their study. As discussed throughout this dissertation, the interior individual perspective can be viewed from either inside (Zone 1) or outside (Zone 2) perspectives. When taking an interior individual perspective on the relationship between Gender and crime, a perspective-centered, mixed-methods approach would require researchers to include a variety of methodologies or measurement models aimed at disclosing both inside and outside perspectives on the foundational question(s) they have developed. To illustrate possible measurement models that could be used to disclose these particular zone-based perspectives, consider a few examples from the current sample.

The first study offers what could be considered a fairly straightforward Zone 1 perspective on the relationship between an individual's gender-identity and their involvement in criminal or delinquent activity. In this study, Kruttschnitt and Carbon-Lopez (2006) use face-to-face interviews to explore the relationship between individuals' understanding of their status as women and their involvement in violence. Based on this Zone 1 operational approach, these researchers offer the following conclusion

Consistent with the notion that violence is motivated by gendered considerations, the explicit explanations women gave contained more hegemonic, or taken for granted, assumptions about their place in the world...Here we are referring not just to the fact that women drew on their behavior but also on their identities as partners or mothers, or both, to justify their acts...Their stories often directed

attention to their perceived threats to their status as a good mother or a faithful partner. (Kruttschnitt & Carbon-Lopez, 2006, p. 344)

No one other than the individual herself can truly disclose these important interrelationships between Gender and involvement in criminal activity. As such, it might reasonably be concluded that researchers should be expanding the use of operational approaches constructed from Zone 1 perspectives. In so doing, they may be able to provide more thoughtful and effective strategies for dealing with these and similar issues.

On the other hand, individuals may not be fully aware of their beliefs regarding their own Gender or the Gender of those around them. We all have, to some degree, unconscious belief structures which may not be readily available to us in our own awareness. To more fully access such structures, it is necessary to include measurement models that disclose the impact of gender-identity on criminal propensity from an outside perspective. These approaches, constructed from Zone 2 perspectives, can then be combined with the findings from operational approaches constructed from Zone 1 perspectives in order to offer a more inclusive, and arguably complete, view of gender-identity within the criminological literature.

Herzog (2007) offers one such approach in a study of the relationship between individuals' beliefs about Gender and their attitudes towards violence against women. In this study, Herzog (2007) had participants respond to items from the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, the Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale, the Modern Sexism Scale, and the Benevolent Sexism Scale. Each of these scales is aimed at disclosing an individual's underlying belief structures regarding women and their place in society. While this particular study was focused on the beliefs of citizens in Israel and their attitudes towards

violence against women, similar surveys could be given to those who commit crimes of violence against women (or men), those who respond to these types of crimes (e.g., police, prosecutors, judges), and even those who are victims of such crimes. In addition, scales such as the Bem Sex Role Inventory or other psychometric devices may be used in similar contexts in order to disclose the underlying structure of an individual's gender-identity. Individual scores on these assessments could then be compared to types of crimes committed, approaches to criminal justice employment, correctional programming, and other important criminological issues.

Combining the Zone 2 and Zone 1 approaches discussed above would provide a more complete view of the relationship between an individual's gender-identity and important criminological constructs. Together, these would form one part of an integrally informed, perspective-centered vision for criminology. Again, it is the movement from broad perspectives to measurement, as opposed to the movement from what methods are most practiced within our discipline to the broad perspectives that marks a perspective-centered research agenda. In order to be fully inclusive, however, criminological researchers must also explore Gender from the other perspectives of IMP.

The Interior Collective, Gender-Stereotypes, and Criminological Research

Equally important to the construction of a more inclusive perspective-centered approach to studying Gender and its relationship to important criminological constructs are studies that address the interior collective perspectives (gender-stereotypes, Zones 3 and 4). From a domain-based interior collective perspective, researchers would likely be interested in disclosing the shared beliefs of those who work for and come into contact with the criminal justice system. Taking on this broad domain-based perspective can lead

to studies that incorporate inside and outside perspectives on the impact of gender-stereotypes on crime, criminality, and those who work within and are processed through the criminal justice system. If, in fact, researchers are interested in a complete understanding of this particular domain-perspective on the relationship between Gender and important criminological constructs, they must incorporate measurement models that are constructed from both inside (Zone 3) and outside (Zone 4) perspectives.

In attempting to disclose the importance of gender-stereotypes in the criminological literature, Zhang, Chin, and Miller (2006) constructed a measurement model from an inside perspective (Zone 3). In this study, the researchers attempted to disclose “gender ideologies about work and caregiving” and how they help to create a specific niche for females who participate in the trans-continental human smuggling trade. This is clearly a study that addresses the relationship between shared beliefs regarding women and men (i.e., gender ideologies) and their abilities to perform particular tasks (i.e., work and caregiving).

As described in Chapter V, Zhang, Chin, and Miller (2007) employ an aggregation method based on interview data from “129 individuals who were directly involved in organizing and transporting Chinese nationals to the United States” (p. 706). Findings from the analysis of these aggregated interview data led these researchers to conclude that “undocumented immigrants and would-be clients often considered female smugglers easy to work with, trustworthy, and less likely to resort to violence or to expose female clients to possible sexual exploitation” (p. 725). In this example, we can see how an operational approach constructed from a Zone 3 perspective can be used to

disclose evidence to support a conceptual argument constructed from an interior collective (i.e., gender-stereotype) perspective.

Notice that like Kruttschnitt and Carbon-Lopez (2006), Zhang, Chin, and Miller (2006) employ interviews as part of their methodological strategy. This helps to illustrate the importance of a perspective-centered agenda for criminology. Specifically, while interviews can be used to disclose the inside view of the interior individual perspective (i.e., Zone 1), the data obtained through interviews can also be aggregated to disclose important insights into shared meanings of Gender among particular groups or cultures from an inside perspective (i.e., Zone 3). Again, it is not the methodology or measurement strategy that should sit at the center of our research agenda, but the perspectives they are able to disclose and how those perspectives can be combined to generate a more inclusive understanding. Researchers who adopt this new perspective-centered agenda, therefore, will need to adjust their methodological and measurement models to better suit the particular perspective(s) they are taking, rather than adjusting their perspective(s) to those methodologies or measurement models they are most familiar or comfortable with.

While Zhang, Chin, and Miller (2006) constructed and employed a measurement model from an inside (Zone 3) perspective, it is equally important to construct and employ measurement models designed to disclose gender-stereotypes from outside (Zone 4) perspectives as well. For instance, Ulmer and Bradley (2006) suggest that "...female defendants tend to arouse less fear, are often seen as less crime-prone and less morally blameworthy, and tend to be the objects of more sympathy" (p. 640). In order to obtain data to support this claim, these researchers could interview members of the courtroom

workgroup (e.g., jurors, defense attorneys, prosecutors, and judges) and aggregate the data to determine if, in fact, there is a culturally shared belief regarding female defendants.

These courtroom workgroup members, however, could be less than completely honest in their personal descriptions of their views of female defendants. In order to obtain a complete understanding, therefore, these researchers would also need to adopt methodological or measurement strategies that disclose the shared beliefs of these same courtroom workgroup members from an outside perspective. They could, for instance, analyze court transcripts to disclose the language used to describe female defendants during trials. If the content analysis of court transcripts also indicated that there was indeed a shared understanding of women as less blameworthy or crime-prone, the argument put forth by these researchers would be much more solid. Again, it is not that either of these approaches is more or less appropriate, but that the inclusion of both provides a more complete understanding than the employment of only one or the other.

The Exterior Individual, Sex, and Criminological Research

Traditionally, approaches to the study of the exterior individual domain of Gender and its relationship to important criminological constructs have been limited to relatively rudimentary approaches to operationalizing Zone 6 perspectives. This includes the exploration of the relationship between biological sex characteristics and propensity to commit criminal acts based on measures of self-reported or observed biological sex. These studies have led to some general conclusions such as males are more likely to commit crimes, more likely to commit serious violent crimes, more likely to be processed through the criminal justice system, and more likely to find themselves under the

supervision of the correctional system. What these types of Zone 6 approaches do not and cannot alone offer, however, is an explanation as to why these broad sex-based differences exist. Certainly the inclusion of studies that view these issues from other zone-perspectives is fundamentally important to the integrally informed, perspective-centered criminology described here. There are, however, important contributions to be made by those who take an exterior individual perspective on the Gender-Crime relationship.

For instance, some criminological researchers have applied Zone 5 perspectives to the study of Gender through attempts to link hormonal differences between the sexes and involvement in crime. More specifically, the cyclical nature of women's hormonal secretions has been used as a criminal defense (Fishbein, 1992; Rose, 2000), and testosterone has been used to explain the disproportionate involvement of males in aggressive behavior and violent crimes (Ellis, 2005; Pederson, Wichstrom, & Blekesaune, 2001; Pollock, Mullings, & Crouch, 2006; Prins, 2005; Thompson, Dabbs, & Frady, 1990). When these more complex approaches constructed from Zone 6 and Zone 5 perspectives are employed, criminologists tend to discover that the research evidence indicates a complex relationship between biological sex and criminal propensities.

Some research, for example, has pointed to a connection between premenstrual syndrome and criminality (Fishbein, 1992). In these studies, it was found that "a significant number of females imprisoned for aggressive criminal acts were reported...to have committed their crimes during the premenstrual phase; moreover, female offenders studied were found to be more irritable and aggressive during this period" (Fishbein, 1992, p. 112). These studies, however, do not indicate that there is a direct biological link

between premenstrual syndrome and criminality. In fact, studies of the biological link between premenstrual syndrome and emotionality (which would include negative emotions such as anxiety, aggressiveness, and anger) show a much more complex picture.

One group of researchers found that there was no real biological link to the symptoms of PMS (McFarlane et al., 1988). Specifically, the study showed that the symptoms of PMS seem to be the result of expectation or some other emotional problems (e.g. depression), and not necessarily directly associated with biological differences between males and females. This study also found that both females (those cycling and those not) and males experienced cyclical emotionality that was not consistent with PMS (McFarlane et al., 1988). The findings of this study suggest that there is no real determining biological difference between males and females in terms of emotionality or moodiness. It is more likely that the differences in emotionality found between females and males is the result of a complex combination of biological, psychological, social, and cultural factors (something that could be more easily evaluated through the adoption of an Integrally informed perspective-centered research agenda in criminology). If it was not for this more intricate perspective on the link between cyclical hormonal secretions and particular psychological states, it would not be possible to disclose these important findings. In other words, if we only rely on cross-sex analyses of moodiness or emotionality based solely on an operational definition constructed from a Zone 6 perspective such as self-reported biological sex, we would not be able to determine the complexity of the link between these emotional states and criminal behaviors.

Similarly, researchers have attempted to study the link between testosterone and aggressiveness/violence (Ellis, 2005). These studies also show that employing more

intricate and complex operational approaches constructed from Zone 6 and Zone 5 perspectives provides a much more complex picture of the relationship between testosterone and aggressive, violent, or criminal behavior. Most of these studies have found modest, if any, significant relationships between testosterone levels and criminal involvement (Ellis, 2005). Interestingly, of the studies that Ellis (2005) reviewed, those that included adult samples provided consistent results (all reported “a modest but significant positive testosterone-offending relationship,” p. 297), while those that included juvenile samples provided mixed results (3 out of 5 showed a modest positive relationship, one showed a negative relationship and one did not show any significant relationship). This suggests that testosterone may be more important in assessing adult criminality than juvenile delinquency. According to Ellis, these findings support his “evolutionary neuroandrogenic theory,” in which he proposes that a number of biological factors must be considered when attempting to explain criminal behavior; a suggestion that is echoed by the findings of this dissertation and for which IMP provides an effective perspective-centered framework.

As a study by Thompson, Dabbs, and Frady (1990) shows, these more complex approaches constructed from Zone 6 and Zone 5 perspectives can also be used to study the relationship between sex and other important criminological constructs such as rehabilitation. Thompson et al. (1990) took a more complex approach to operationalizing a Zone 6 perspective (i.e., the use of physiological measures as discussed in Chapter V) in their study of testosterone levels among inmates in a shock incarceration program. These researchers found that testosterone levels initially dropped and then later increased during the course of the program. They concluded that “[t]he overall pattern is most

plausibly attributed to changing physical and social stress experienced by the inmates” (Thompson et al., 1990, p. 250). Additionally, these researchers suggested that “[p]erhaps inmates who initially dropped less had more confidence in their own efficacy and personal dominance and refused to feel “defeated” (Mazur, 1985). Not feeling personally diminished by the treatment they received, they might have been better able to accept and respond to the challenge of a demanding program” (Thomspon et al., 1990, p. 250). The combination of these findings suggests a bidirectional relationship between testosterone and certain psychological and behavioral factors.

These illustrations and the discussion of the biological development of Gender that was included in Chapter II provide us with two important conclusions. First, in terms of sex-differences, within-group biological variation is much more prevalent than between-group variation. For instance, differences in testosterone levels are found when making both between group (i.e., male vs. female) and within group (i.e., male vs. male and female vs. female) comparisons. In other words, although males, on average, have higher levels of testosterone than females, not all males have higher levels than all females, some females have higher levels than other females, and some males have lower levels than other males. Second, while sex-differences do exist, they represent general, average, differences and not necessarily an individual’s pre-determined biological destiny. It appears, however, that these findings have been ignored, or at least conveniently discarded, in both popular and academic discourse, where a great deal of emphasis continues to be placed on rudimentary biological differences between males and females and their impact on specific behaviors and abilities, including criminality and delinquency. This is perhaps partly the result of not having a framework within which to

place these types of studies or a language with which to discuss the findings, both of which could be addressed through the application of the perspective-centered framework of IMP.

It is argued here that by exploring the more intricate exterior individual perspectives provided by the IMP framework, we can begin to more fully address the complexity of the sex-crime relationship and place it within the broader context of the overall study of Gender in criminological discourse. The answer is not to simply ignore or demonize the exterior individual perspectives. To the contrary, we should be embracing the value of these perspectives by exploring just what it is they offer and, perhaps more importantly, what they do not offer, in terms of our understanding of Gender and its relationship to important criminological constructs. On the other hand, we must remain cognizant of the limitations associated with relying on gross assessments of biological sex constructed from the exterior individual zone-perspectives (i.e., Zones 5 and 6). What is called for here is a deeper understanding of the contributions as well as limitations of these Zone 5 and Zone 6 perspectives in order to better assess their fit within the broader framework of an integrally informed criminological discourse.

The Exterior Collective, Gender-Roles, and Criminological Research

From the exterior collective perspectives, criminologists would likely be interested in several important lines of research. First, those who take a Zone 7 perspective are going to be interested in the ways that the system is created and re-created by its members, and how the communicative aspects of the various criminal justice systems impact the Gendered-roles of those who work in these systems as well as the treatment of those who come into contact with them. Similarly, researchers may develop

definitions from a Zone 7 perspective in their studies of systems of crime, such as various organized crime groups and how they create and re-create themselves as organizations/systems. Those who take a Zone 8 perspective will likely be concerned with the actual roles that females and males or men and women play within various criminal justice systems. This would include such issues as the number of men or women who work as judges, police, or prosecutors and the differences in how those jobs are performed by females and males. Also, these researchers may be interested in how the performance of gender-roles in the broader society impacts an individual's likelihood of committing crimes or delinquent acts, and also in how the system views those people.

Based on the findings of this study, it appears as though criminological researchers have a relatively decent grasp on approaches constructed from a Zone 8 perspective. Also, somewhat surprising and encouraging, several criminological researchers appear to have begun developing more complex approaches constructed from Zone 7 perspectives as well. Examples from the original sample are offered here as illustrations of how criminological researchers are attempting to study Gender from the exterior collective perspectives.

The first example comes from the same study of human smuggling which was discussed in detail in Chapter V and earlier in this chapter. In this study, Zhang, Chin, and Miller (2007) provide a wonderful example of how a Zone 7 conceptual and operational approach can be used to study the Gendered dynamics of human smuggling. Remember that these researchers made the conceptual claim that

...the limited place of violence and turf as organizing features of human smuggling, the importance of interpersonal networks in defining and facilitating

smuggling operations, gender ideologies about work and caregiving, and the impact of safety as an overriding concern for clients *combine to create a more meaningful niche for women in human smuggling operations* [italics added]... (p. 699)

As was discussed previously, this is clearly a conceptual definition constructed from a Zone 7 perspective because it addresses the inside view of the exterior collective, or how the members of a human smuggling system work together to communicate the roles of Gendered beings. This point is further reflected in the following excerpt:

In part, this preference for working with female smugglers was a reflection of general Chinese cultural definitions of gendered roles and responsibilities in social interactions. We believe it was also a product of a collective knowledge among many illegal immigrants who had experienced the differences in how male and female smugglers handled their clients. (pp. 725-726)

This excerpt reflects the importance of disclosing the underlying communicative aspects of any particular system in order to completely address the Gendered dynamics of criminal activity. These conceptual claims were supported by an operational approach that was also constructed from a Zone 7 perspective and included the use of interviews with individuals involved with the human smuggling trade. This type of conceptual and operational approach could (and I argue should) be expanded to study the Gendered dynamics of other criminal trades and even the criminal justice system itself, as was the case for Meyer and Post (2006).

In their study, Meyer and Post (2006) attempted to address the “evil woman” and “vengeful equity” hypotheses. These hypotheses are both aimed at disclosing how the

criminal justice system is created and recreated in ways that differentially impact the treatment of men and women. In order to study these Gendered dynamics of the criminal justice system, Meyer and Post (2006) used interviews to understand how responses (communications) within criminal justice systems (e.g., by police or the courts) have impacted further reactions and responses to violent victimization among women and how they then change or adapt their behavior in response to personal victimization.

Other criminological researchers can learn a great deal from these examples. Most importantly, they provide illustrations of the usefulness of taking Zone 7 perspectives in ways that disclose the inside view of the exterior collective, or how the criminal justice system and its various components are dynamic and continue to be re-created in ways that impact the roles and treatment of Gendered beings. Without these important insights, the criminal justice system would be viewed as static and unresponsive to those who work in it or are processed through it. Also, this provides yet another illustration of how the same methodological or measurement strategies can be adapted to disclose information from multiple zone-perspectives of IMP, and that the perspective matters more than the methodology used to disclose it.

As many would likely suspect, there is no dearth of criminological research constructed from Zone 8 perspectives, as this is to a great extent what we would likely consider more traditional systems kinds of research. For example, some have applied these perspectives in order to gain a better understanding of the impact of gender-roles on victimization rates. For instance, Vieraitis, Britto, and Kovandzic (2007) studied the impact of “structural inequality between men and women” (p. 57) on female homicide victimization rates. To measure this structural inequality, these researchers included

measures of women's educational attainment, income, and employment compared to men's. This is a clear Zone 8 perspective since it deals with the functional fit of men and women within particular social systems and the differential likelihood of homicide victimization in various communities.

In addition, Zone 8 perspectives on gender-roles can be used to address the Gendered nature of criminal offending. Miller (2007) took such an approach when studying "whether gender operates to stratify the places where delinquent opportunities appear" (p. 209). In other words, Miller (2007) employed a Zone 8 perspective to study the relationship between Gendered practices (gender-roles) and their impact on the places where boys and girls engage in delinquent behavior. Miller went on to argue that "the limitation of physical range in the daily routines of girls and the wider range of activities for boys is one consequence of the practice of gender among adolescents" (p. 209). These differences in the activities or roles of boys and girls lead them to engage in different types of delinquent behaviors. The findings of approaches constructed from Zone 8 perspectives could then be combined with those constructed from Zone 7 perspectives to develop more targeted prevention strategies that take important Gender dynamics into consideration.

Summary

This section began with a description of several ways in which an integrally informed, perspective-centered criminology may take form, including the use of the Integral model and IMP as a meta-analytic tool for assessing our current approaches to the study of Crime and Gender. In addition, it was argued that researchers may use the IMP framework to better inform their construction of specific studies, from any one of

the particular domain- or zone-perspectives. Finally, researchers may conduct studies that include all (or some combination) of the zone-perspectives and apply them to a particular criminological issue. The illustrations that followed were intended to provide researchers with suggestions on how to begin to incorporate these various perspectives in their studies. Two issues must be considered, however, as we begin to move towards a more integrally informed, perspective-centered criminology.

First, researchers must understand that the domain- and zone-perspectives are not and should not be wedded to specific methodologies. In other words, researchers can and should employ a variety of methodologies when conducting research from any of the particular perspectives of IMP. For instance, when constructing a study from a Zone 1 perspective, researchers could employ face-to-face interviews, introspective journaling, the diary method, or any other method of inquiry that discloses the inside view of the interior individual. If, on the other hand, researchers continue to be narrowly focused on a few specific methodologies, the benefits associated with the use of the Integral model and IMP would be diminished, and likely substantially so. While the shift towards a more perspective-centered agenda can provide the context within which criminologists can explore the construction of a more inclusive discipline, it does not, in and of itself, insure we will not fall victim to continued dogmatism in our view of what constitutes science and legitimate methodology. We must, therefore, continue to be self-critical in our application of particular methodologies and attempt to incorporate new and innovative research methodologies (especially those that call for mixed-methods approaches) from all of the zone-perspectives outlined in this dissertation.

Second, perhaps the greatest contribution of the IMP framework to the study of Gender in criminology is its emphasis on the importance of including, or at least being aware of, all of the zone-perspectives. Whether this is accomplished in the context of a single study or through the consideration of multiple studies, each constructed from different zone-perspectives, criminological researchers and other social scientists would benefit from this type of inclusive framework. Of course, the Integral model and IMP are not without their limitations, and we must remain cognizant of these limitations and the implications for applying these models within particular disciplines. Later in this chapter, these limitations will be explored, along with a discussion of the barriers that may prevent or at the least slow the adoption of this type of framework within the social sciences generally, and criminology in particular.

The Researcher's Role in "Creating" the Findings: An Integral Vision for Assessing Validity in Qualitative Research

Before we get to a discussion of the limitations and implications of the current study, we must consider any threats to the validity of its associated interpretations and findings. Ultimately, any research endeavor must be filtered through the lens of both the researcher and those who consume it. In this section, findings from the multi-perspective approach to validity assessment employed in the current study are discussed. This multi-perspective approach was intended to serve two important functions. First, it was intended that readers will be able to use the findings from this multi-perspective assessment of validity to construct a more informed understanding of the impact that the researcher may have had on the research process. Second, this multi-perspective approach to assessing validity was intended to provide yet another context in which the

Integral model can be applied in order to inform the construction of more genuine and open approaches to social science research.

While validity is often raised as an important issue for qualitative researchers, the strategy implemented here is relatively new and has only recently come to the fore as a framework for assessing validity (see Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006). The current approach, therefore, not only represents an important aspect of any research design (i.e., the assessment of validity), but also a somewhat groundbreaking attempt to integrate the Integral model with the assessment of validity in a manner that honors both the integrity of social science research and the ever-increasing need for new and innovative methods for disclosing the impact that a researcher has on the research process.

Conceptualizing Validity in Qualitative Research

The term validity is often applied within the context of specific methodological approaches (e.g., causal validity in experimental designs) (Cook & Campbell, 1979; Maxfield & Babbie, 1998; Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). However, the term also can be used more broadly to describe “the approximate truth of an inference” (Shadish et al., 2002, p. 34; see also Cook & Campbell, 1979; Maxfield & Babbie, 2001). In other words, validity can be used to refer to the process by which information is used to determine whether what is inferred or described (i.e., the findings of a particular study) is a close approximation of the true nature of the relationship under study. It is important to keep in mind that validity cannot be completely guaranteed in any specific situation; instead, the objective is to provide enough information so that the reader can make an informed decision about the relative validity of any claims made by the researcher (Cook & Campbell, 1979; Maxfield & Babbie, 2001; Shadish et al., 2002).

When interpreting validity in the context of the current study and from the broad sense described here, we must consider the impact that the researcher himself had on the research process. We must make a determination of the accuracy of the inferences made based on how the researcher's own experiences with and interpretations and understanding of the content under study impacted the findings. Maxwell (2005) describes this in terms of researcher bias. When discussing researcher bias, Maxwell (2005) identifies "two important threats to the validity of qualitative conclusions...the selection of data that fit the researcher's existing theory or preconceptions and the selection of data that 'stand out' to the researcher" (p. 108). What Maxwell (2005) is describing in this statement is the impact that the researcher has on the process, from the selection of the research topic, to the ways in which their own beliefs impact the research process, all the way through to the discussion of the findings.

Using the conceptualization of validity described above, the approach to assessing validity adopted here is based on the application of the Integral model. The discussion below begins with a description of how the Integral model was used to organize the current approach to assessing validity. This is followed by the presentation of the specific methods that were used within the context of the current study, including their associated findings.

The Integral Model and Assessing Validity

Throughout this dissertation, Integral Methodological Pluralism (IMP) has been applied as a framework for assessing current approaches to studying Gender in the social sciences. As discussed in Chapter I, however, IMP is actually an extension of a broader philosophical orientation known as the Integral model. In fact, the four domains

discussed throughout this dissertation were first introduced as part of the Integral model and later refined to include the more specific zone-perspectives of IMP. While it is certainly possible to apply the IMP framework to the assessment of validity, the multi-perspective approach to validity assessment employed in this study is based in the broader framework of the Integral model. The decision to employ this broader Integral framework, as opposed to IMP, was based on two important considerations.

First, it would have been logistically difficult to engage in an 8 zone-perspective assessment of validity within the context of this dissertation. The full application of the 8 zone-perspectives of IMP to an assessment of validity would be a dramatically new approach, and would require the same level of analysis that was undertaken in the primary purpose of this dissertation. In other words, the application of the IMP framework to validity assessment must be understood as a project worthy of a dissertation, in and of itself.

Second, although not as intricate as the IMP framework, the Integral model does allow for a broader application of the perspective-centered approach to social science research suggested by the findings of the current analysis. More specifically, if we understand that the four domains associated with the Integral model also represent distinct perspectives, we can use these domain-perspectives as a framework for the formation of a multi-perspective approach to validity assessment. This may, therefore, also offer another illustration of the variety of ways in which the Integral model and IMP can be applied to social science research. Let us begin by taking another brief look at the Integral model, including the four domains discussed previously.

Figure 9 presents the Integral model, with its four corresponding domain-perspectives. Notice that, in Figure 9, we have introduced additional terms to describe the domains (i.e., first-person “I,” second-person “we,” and third-person “it/its”). Within this broader framework, the interior individual domain corresponds to the first-person perspective or “I,” the interior collective domain corresponds to the second-person perspective or “we,” and both the exterior individual and exterior collective domains correspond to the third-person perspective or “it/its” (see Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006; Wilber, 1998; 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; 2001; 2006). Similar to the IMP framework, the Integral model can also be used to represent various methodological approaches or specific methods of inquiry.

Upper Left Interior Individual Subjective First-person “I”	Upper Right Exterior Individual Objective Third-person “It”
Lower Left Interior Collective Inter-subjective Second-person “We”	Lower Right Exterior Collective Inter-objective Third-person “Its”

Figure 9: The integral model and its four quadrants/domains (figure adapted from Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006 and Wilber, 2000a; 2000b; 2006).

When considering these three broad perspectives, it becomes possible to explore the various methods of inquiry associated with each. In so doing, it is then possible to construct a mixed-methods and multi-perspective approach which incorporates at least one method of inquiry from each of the perspectives described here. Similar to the

application of IMP to the content analysis and analytic strategy, any occasion (or phenomenon) can be looked at from these various perspectives.

For instance, this approach was used by Gail Hochachka (2005), in her study of community development from an integral perspective. Within this study, Hochachka (2005) defined each of these domain-perspectives in terms of a particular methodological approach. As Hochachka (2005) describes, “the three sides [perspectives] describe an ‘Integral’ approach to development, where self-reflection, communicative action, and instrumental action are all integrated in a more holistic methodology” (p. 114). By self-reflection, Hochachka (2005) is referring to the “psychological and cognitive processes involved in making meaning, constructing identity, structuring reasoning, and forming worldviews” (p. 114). Not surprisingly, methods that tap into this notion of self-reflection (i.e., first-person perspective; “I”) include phenomenology and structuralism. In describing communicative action, Hochachka uses various terms, including mutual understanding, social appropriateness, and dialogue. These particular terms correspond to the methodological families of hermeneutics and ethnomethodology. In terms of community development, Hochachka describes instrumental action as “the quantifiable, measurable, and exterior components of development” (p. 114). In a broader sense, however, instrumental action can include application (Hochachka, 2005) or any objective/empirical approach, including techniques such as documentation, observation, and statistical analysis (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006). All of these approaches correspond to a third-person perspective or the application of empirical analysis and systems theory.

Furthermore, these perspectives also offer a framework for providing information which can be used by the reader to assess the validity of the findings of any particular

study. Esbjörn-Hargens (2006) suggests a variety of methods which could be used within this three-perspective approach, including phenomenological, structural, hermeneutical-interpretive, ethnomethodological, empirical, and systems analysis techniques. Ultimately, it would be possible to include methods of inquiry from each of these six areas (as well as from the 8 zone-perspectives of IMP). For the current study, however, this was both impractical (based on time and resources) and may have taken us too far afield, considering that this was not the primary purpose of the current study.

Keeping in mind the goals of this portion of the study (i.e., to provide readers with information so that they can make a determination of the validity of the findings and to provide an example of how the perspective-centered frameworks of IMP and the Integral model can be used to explore mixed-methods research), five of the six methods suggested by Esbjörn-Hargens (2006) were employed. These five methods are described in the following sections, along with the specific techniques and findings associated with each.

First-Person Perspectives (Illuminating the “I”)

The first two methods used to provide the reader with information so that he/she can assess the validity of the findings, address the first-person perspective, as described above. These include phenomenological and structural methods of inquiry, respectively. Both of these methods were aimed at reflexivity, which is a widely accepted approach to assessing validity in qualitative research (see Creswell, 2003; Maxwell, 2005).

First, the researcher employed introspective journaling (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2006). The researcher’s journaling concentrated on important decision-making points throughout the data collection and analysis process. As applied within the current study, the journaling process was fluid in that the researcher did not begin with a particular schedule

in mind. Instead, the researcher utilized the journal in a way that helped to clarify important decisions that he felt impacted the interpretation of findings. As such, the journaling process may not have been as consistent as it would have been had the researcher followed a specific rigid schedule of entries. It is believed, however, that the more open-ended approach to journaling applied here was both more consistent with this particular researcher's analytic approach/style and more likely to disclose the most crucial and influential decisions regarding analysis and interpretation. Within this introspective journal, the choices that were made at each stage of the research process were made explicit. Accounts of the various critical stages of the research process were explored, with specific emphasis on the choices the researcher made within the context of the study.

Second, the assessment of validity included a structural analysis of the researcher's gender-identity (or the interior individual domain of Gender as related to the researcher himself). This was accomplished through the completion of various psychological tests (i.e., the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI); BEM Sex Roles Inventory (BSRI); Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI); Index of Homophobia (IH); and Personality Assessment Inventory (PAI)) which have been created to tap into the structure of an individual's gender-identity (See Appendix A for a brief biographical sketch of the individual who administered these psychological assessments).

Both of these methods of inquiry are aimed at elucidating the impact of the researcher on the research process. As Creswell (2003) suggests, it is important to "clarify the bias the researcher brings to the study" in order to "transport readers to the

setting and give the discussion an element of shared experiences” (p. 196). This was the aim of the two methods described here.

Findings from Introspective Journaling

One of the fundamental characteristics of qualitative research is that data collection and analysis are reciprocal processes (Maxwell, 2005). Although I entered into this study with pre-conceived notions regarding potential findings, the data collection and analysis stages provided me with opportunities to re-evaluate these original positions. In this section, several of the important decisions that helped shape data collection and analysis are discussed. Included in this discussion are what I perceive to be the implications of such decisions for the findings of the current study. It is hoped that readers will be able to gain a deeper understanding of the impact of the researcher on the research process through a consideration of the pivotal decision points discussed here.

Admittedly, I entered into this project with a great deal of cynicism. My early writings projected a clear distaste for what I perceived to be biological determinism, an over-reliance on rudimentary biological measures of Gender (e.g., self-reported sex), and what seemed to me to be an over-use of these biological measures as a proxy for other possible measures of Gender. This initial bias was partially informed by my own prior research on the measurement of Gender (see Cohen & Harvey, 2006) as well as my own underlying beliefs regarding Gender (see the findings of the psychological assessments discussed in the next section). Early on, therefore, I began to seek out data that would confirm my preconceptions. For instance, because I was already convinced that zone-gaps (i.e., mismatches between conceptual and operational definitions within particular studies) were the major cause of the problem I was attempting to disclose, my early

analysis concentrated almost completely on the comparison of conceptual and operational definitions within particular articles. As the analysis continued to emerge, however, it became clear that this was no longer a viable approach.

While it certainly took time, the reciprocal processes of data collection and analysis provided me with the opportunity to re-evaluate my preconceptions regarding the treatment of Gender as a construct and variable in social science research. I was, in fact, confronted with data that directly contradicted my original notions regarding the fundamental questions being addressed within the study. As data collection and analyses emerged and evolved, my original preconceptions began to fall away. I began to consciously broaden my focus to include data that did not necessarily fit these preconceptions. This conscious effort allowed me to stay within the data, and reduce (although not eliminate) the impact of these preconceptions on the data collection process and analyses. As a result of several key decisions in terms of coding and analysis, I was forced to revisit previously coded articles and consider data that were not included in the original analysis.

For example, I struggled in deciding what to do with articles that included only a conceptual or operational definition, but not both. In my view, this struggle was mainly due to my initial concentration on zone-gaps. If an article did not include both a conceptual and operational definition, it would not be possible to identify it as a zone-gap. These articles, therefore, violated my preconception of zone-gaps as the primary source of the overall problems associated with our current approaches to studying Gender in the social sciences. As I continued to be confronted with these types of articles, however, I was forced to make a decision. I could ignore these articles and continue on

my path towards solidifying zone-gaps as a sole explanation, or I could include these articles and see what emerged. I decided to include these articles and, as a result, two additional explanations for the overall disparity in the use of definitions emerged (i.e., single-definition studies and the use of domain-based conceptual definitions).

Once this decision was made, another important pattern began to emerge. As noted in my journal, I began to see a pattern in which “conceptual definitions can be coded into specific categories, [but] operational definitions are dependent on the conceptual argument and overlap (at least in terms of methodology) across zones.” This was the point at which the theme of perspective-centered versus methodology-centered research began to emerge. What this quotation illustrates is the pattern of researchers using a broad range of conceptual definitions from across all of the various zone-perspectives, while constricting their measurement models to a limited number of operational approaches (usually those most closely associated with their particular discipline).

Even as I continued to notice this pattern, I did not frame it as a tension between perspective-centered and measurement-centered research until later in the process, when I took part in an Integral Research conference. At this conference, I was exposed to others who were using the Integral model and IMP as a framework for their own research. Several of these scholars described how they were struggling with the link between the zone-perspectives and specific methodological approaches or measurement models. It was during this conference that I began to see this as the major driving force behind the overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions that was emerging in

my own research. This again, required a reconsideration of the data and a re-framing of the analysis.

As illustrated in this brief discussion, the emergence of additional explanations for the overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions led to the final conclusion that a shift from methodologically-centered to perspective-centered research may be one way to reduce the overall disparity and its associated limitations. This important shift in my thinking was sparked by decisions that were made during the reciprocal processes of data collection and analysis. If I only concentrated on zone-gaps and ignored any data that contradicted this original position, I would have been unable to disclose what I now believe to be the fundamental underlying problem with our current approaches to studying Gender as a social science construct. In this instance, the reciprocal processes of data collection and analysis changed the course of the study and forced me to confront my own preconceptions through a consideration of contradictory evidence. I did, however, make decisions that conformed to my preconceptions as well.

Although the decisions described above allowed me to consider contradictory evidence, I also made decisions that lent support to my preconceptions. It is important, therefore, to consider some of these decisions here and discuss their implications for the findings of the current study. Two specific decisions are illustrative of this particular process. First, I decided to exclude instances where some form of Gender construct was used as part of a measure of a non-Gender construct (i.e., gendered-variables). For instance, several researchers used “number of female-headed households” as a measure of “structural disadvantage.” Certainly, it could be argued that female-headed household is a Gender construct. In fact, this could be accurately coded as a Zone 8 definition of

Gender. These researchers, however, were not using this particular definition as a means through which they could measure Gender. As such, these instances were not included as definitions of Gender in the current study. Only those definitions that were intended as explicit measures of Gender were included in the analysis. Second, I had to decide what to do with articles that simply used a gender label in describing the sample (i.e., male/female as a demographic variable). Ultimately, I decided to include these instances in the analysis, as definitions of Gender.

These decisions had serious implications for the findings of the current study. The exclusion of what were deemed gendered-variables and the inclusion of demographic variables simultaneously decreased the number of definitions from several of the zone-perspectives (e.g., Zone 8) and increased the number of definitions from Zone 6. This is most notable in the psychological literature, where a large number of researchers used male/female in their description of the participants in their experiments. More importantly, the use of male/female as a demographic variable was coded as a Zone 6 operational definition. I made the explicit assumption that these researchers were basing their description of the study participants on either the self-reported or observed sex of the participants. The overall disparity in the use of conceptual and operational definitions of Gender described in this dissertation was heavily influenced by the disproportionate use of these demographic measures in the psychological literature.

I do not believe that the findings of this study would have been significantly altered if I were to have excluded these particular instances from the analysis. While I certainly stand by these decisions and the findings associated with them, it is important for readers to understand the potential impact of such decisions on the findings of this

study. Throughout the data collection and analysis process, I, as do all researchers, made decisions that directly impacted the findings of this study. Like all researchers, I began this process with some preconceptions. Some of the decisions I made directly contradicted my preconceptions and opened up opportunities to explore new lines of inquiry. Others conformed to my preconceptions and may have limited my ability to disclose convergent findings. This, I would argue, illustrates both the value and limitations of qualitative research. Ultimately, it is the responsibility of the researcher to be open and honest regarding these important decision points, and the responsibility of the reader to be diligent in their interpretation of the impact these decisions have on the research process and their implications for the findings.

Findings from Structural Analyses

Below are the findings from the psychological assessments administered to the researcher. Specifically, what follows are the findings from the analyses of the underlying structure of the researcher's gender-identity. The results of the psychological assessments are taken directly from the written report provided by the individual who administered the assessments, in his original language. They are reported with no additional commentary so as to allow the reader to draw their own conclusions relating to the potential impact on the results of the study.

On a measure designed to tap the three subcomponents hypothesized to make up hostile and benevolent sexism: Paternalism (dominative and protective), Gender Differentiation (competitive and complementary), and Heterosexuality (hostile and intimate), J.C.'s responses differed significantly from the normative sample. J.C.'s overall ambivalent sexism score as well as his hostile and benevolent

sexism scores were significantly lower than the normative sample, indicating that he does not identify with traditional attitudes towards women's roles.

Alternatively, J.C.'s responses indicate that he holds a more egalitarian view of the sexes, endorsing an attitude of equal power and status towards women.

J.C. completed a measure designed to assess Gender-Role perceptions (i.e., beliefs related to the expectations about what is appropriate behavior for each sex) based on identification with empirically categorized masculine, feminine, and gender neutral adjectives/descriptors. His responses indicated that he identifies strongly with both masculine and feminine attributes, resulting in a classification of Gender-Role Androgyny. J.C. appears to embrace all aspects of his gender identity and rejects the rigid societal expectations of gender expression.

Additionally, J.C. completed a measure designed to assess the extent that an individual male conforms or does not conform to the actions, thoughts, and feelings that reflect masculinity norms (i.e., Winning, Emotional Control, Risk-Taking, Violence, Power Over Women, Dominance, Playboy, Self-Reliance, Primacy of Work, Disdain for Homosexuals, and Pursuit of Status) of the dominant culture in U.S. society. J.C.'s responses on most masculine norm scales, although not statistically different from the male normative sample, more closely resembled averages for the female sample, indicating a more moderate acceptance of, and conformity to, traditional masculinity. However, J.C.'s responses on two scales, Power Over Women and Disdain for Homosexuals, were significantly lower than both the male and female normative samples, reflecting a more

egalitarian view of the sexes and acceptance of alternative gender expression and sexual orientation.

Lastly, J.C. completed a measure designed to assess how an individual feels about working or associating with individuals who identify as homosexual. Consistent with the above measure, J.C. responses indicated that he endorses mostly positive feelings towards individuals who identify as homosexual.

The PAI provides a number of validity indices that are designed to provide an assessment of factors that could distort the results of testing. Such factors could include failure to complete test items properly, carelessness, reading difficulties, confusion, exaggeration, malingering, or defensiveness. For this protocol, the number of uncompleted items is within acceptable limits.

Also evaluated was the extent to which the respondent attended appropriately and responded consistently to the content of test items. J.C.'s scores suggest that he did attend appropriately to item content and responded in a consistent fashion to similar items.

The degree to which response styles may have affected or distorted the report of symptomatology on the inventory is also assessed. The scores for these indicators fall in the normal range, suggesting that J.C. answered in a reasonably forthright manner and did not attempt to present an unrealistic or inaccurate impression that was either more negative or more positive than the clinical picture would warrant. (D. G. LaLonde, personal communication, September 13, 2008)

Second-Person Perspectives (Illuminating the “We”)

The third method used to provide information for readers so that they can assess the validity of the findings was the use of “external auditors” (Creswell, 2003, p. 196). Creswell (2003) suggests that researchers “use an external auditor to review the entire project...this auditor [should be] new to the researcher and project and can provide an assessment of the project throughout the process of research or at the conclusion of the study” (pp. 196-197). For the purposes of the current study, two external auditors were used (See Appendix A for brief biographical sketches of the two external auditors). The first external auditor is someone who is considered an expert in the field of Gender Studies, but has very limited, or no experience with the Integral model or IMP. The second external auditor is someone who is considered an expert in Integral theory and IMP, but who has not yet explored its application within the context of Gender Studies.

Each of these external auditors provided an assessment of the study from their own perspectives. Specifically, the auditors were asked to analyze the study in terms of their own experiences with, and understanding of Gender and the application of the Integral model and IMP, respectively. This, it is hoped, will provide the reader with some understanding of the cultural (i.e., interior collective) assessment of the study. Particular attention was paid to how the study resonates with each auditor in terms of their own area of expertise, as well as the mutual understanding which should result from the communication between the researcher and the auditors. The final reports from each of the external auditors can be found in Appendix B. What follows is a brief summary of the core findings from each audit.

Findings from External Audits

Several of the key findings from the audit reports provide important contributions to the ability of readers to fully grasp the impact of the researcher on the research process. These key findings also reflect issues similar to those disclosed by the other methods employed here. For instance, Robert Heasley's observation that the basic argument being made in this dissertation (i.e., that social scientists take a fragmented view of gender) is not new, supports the notion that the contribution made herein is not tied to the content under study. In other words, Heasley seems to have recognized the significance of the content-free nature of the Integral model and IMP as applied in this study. As he states:

There is clear evidence – which Cohen provides, that the sciences has a fragmented view of gender as well as a history of using sex as the base for measuring gender – as if sex is gender, and gender denotes sex...This argument is not new – though it is recent in the discourse on gender and sex....What is new in terms of Cohen's research is locating the way in which researchers have historically, and continue to, both disregard and misinterpret these constructs...Cohen's findings make a very important contribution to the broad interdisciplinary field of gender studies. Though I am not familiar with Integral theory, the use of this framework here makes sense. (Personal Communication, March 20, 2009)

These comments reflect two important aspects of the current study. First, as stated above, this study does not necessarily present new content regarding the complexity of Gender as a social science construct. That complexity, as Heasley points out, has been addressed

by a growing number of scholars. Instead, this study's contribution is the application of a trans-disciplinary model for the study of Gender that provides scholars with a common language and approach. Second, the fact that Heasley is new to the Integral model and IMP, but was still able to grasp its utility in the current study lends support to the notion that this study may be the beginning of a new approach to gender studies, one that is based on a more inclusive framework. Those involved in the emerging field of gender studies may, therefore, be able to use this study as a springboard for the construction of a more inclusive approach to the study of Gender in the social sciences.

Several key findings from Sean Esbjörn-Hargens' audit report also provide important information for readers who are attempting to assess the validity of the current study. First, Esbjörn-Hargens accurately points out the relatively limited discussion of Zone 6 in Chapter IV. Specifically, Esbjörn-Hargens stated that the discussion of "zone 6 was quite short, which seemed odd given how big a role this zone played in the findings in later chapters" (Personal Communication, March 16, 2009). This observation reflects some of the issues raised in the introspective journal. It is likely that my initial focus on biological determinism as the major contributing factor to our reliance on a fragmented view of Gender impacted my willingness to fully address the complexity of Zone 6 (outside view of exterior individual) during the early stages of the research process.

Additionally, Esbjörn-Hargens points out that the discussion of Zones 5 and 7 in Chapter IV were not as strong as the other zones. As he states, "Not surprisingly (due to their complex nature) zones 5 and 7 could have used a little more "unpacking" and clarification. Some aspects of these sections (zones 5 and 7) were a "little off" but not enough to compromise the research" (Personal Communication, March 16, 2009). He

later states, however, that he “like[d] the point you make that zone 5 needs zone 6 and zone 7 needs zone 8. Thus there were many important insights you came to on your own that highlight the underdeveloped areas of exploration within integral theory” (Personal Communication, March 16, 2009). These two statements accurately reflect the evolution of my own understanding of Integral theory and IMP throughout the research process.

Finally, Esbjörn-Hargens picked up on some important points regarding transparency. As will be discussed in the next section, transparency is important when attempting to provide readers with opportunities to assess validity and replicate a particular study. The issue of transparency is reflected in the following excerpt from Esbjörn-Hargens’ audit report:

The 8 zone coding scheme developed (Table 5) is really well done and serves as a model for future integral researchers....You provide a good amount of examples of how the zones are used in the various articles. This is a strength of your research as it allows future integral scholars to really look closely at what you were looking at when you made your interpretations. While I didn’t always agree with you I could see the logic of your thinking and felt you could justify your position. (Personal Communication, March 16, 2009)

While agreement among multiple scholars is certainly important, equally important is the ability of readers to understand the decisions a particular research made and how those decisions may have impacted her/his conclusions. Therefore, even though Esbjörn-Hargens may not agree with all of the interpretations I made regarding the Integral model and IMP in particular, he was able to assess those interpretations because of the inclusion of rich descriptive data.

Third-Person Perspective (Illuminating the “It/Its”)

The last set of techniques deal with the third-person perspective. For the purposes of the current study, the third-person perspective is considered in terms of the actual data being collected. Both of the techniques described below were aimed at providing readers with information that will help them objectively assess the coding scheme and its application within the current study. The first technique was used to ensure transparency, while the second technique was used to evaluate the coding scheme and its consistency within the broader context of Integral theory. In both cases, it is hoped that these techniques provide readers with the information necessary to replicate the current study and associated analyses.

First, in order to provide transparency, the use of rich descriptive data during the data collection phase of the current study allows readers to compare and contrast the researcher’s interpretation of the data with their own (Creswell, 2003; Maxwell, 2005). This was accomplished, to the extent possible, through the inclusion of the actual language used by the authors of the articles included in the content analysis. The original conceptual and operational definitions, as written by the author(s) of each article, formed the basis of analyses employed in the current study. This allows readers to identify potential inconsistencies between the researcher’s interpretation and other possible interpretations. The inclusion of the actual coding scheme, and a detailed description of how it was developed (see Chapter IV), was also aimed at providing transparency. Readers are encouraged to refer to the coding scheme and original sample articles in order to compare the researcher’s interpretations with their own.

Second, in terms of consistency, the researcher employed a multiple coder strategy (Maxfield & Babbie, 2001). Two additional coders were given a sub-set of articles from the sample of articles included in the analysis. Each coder was asked to identify the conceptual and operational definitions of Gender within the selected articles. Also, each coder was asked to place those conceptual and operational definitions within the coding scheme described in Chapter IV. Coding of the selected articles among the researcher and the two additional coders was then compared. Table 22 presents the findings from each of the coders as well as the researcher.

Table 22: *Findings from the Application of the Coding Scheme by Additional Coders*

Article	Identified Zones		
	Researcher	Coder 1	Coder 2
Yeung, Stomblor, & Wharton (2006)	CD: 4, 3, 6, 7 OD: 3, 7	CD: 6, 1, 2, 4, 7, 8 OD: 6	CD: 8, 4, 3, 1 OD: 2, 4, 6, 8
Chesney-Lind (2006)	CD: 6, 4, 3 OD: none	CD: 6, 4, 2, 8 OD: none	CD: 8, 4 OD: 4
Elwert & Christakis (2006)	CD: 8 OD: 6	CD: 6, 8 OD: none	CD: 6 OD: 6
Morselli, Tremblay, & McCarthy (2006)	CD: 6 OD: 6	CD: 6 OD: none	CD: 6 OD: none
Basow, Phelan, & Capotosto (2006)	CD: 4, 6 OD: 4, 6	CD: 1, 3, 5, 6 OD: none	CD: 2, 4, 6 OD: 2, 4, 6
Zwaan & Taylor (2006)	CD: none OD: 6	CD: none OD: none	CD: none OD: none

CD = conceptual definition(s); OD = operational definition(s)

Upon consideration of the findings presented in Table 22, it is clear that there was not wide-spread agreement regarding the application of the coding scheme. For instance, there were only five instances in which all three coders identified the same zone-definition. All five of these instances were conceptual definitions. Additionally, there

were 17 instances in which two of the three coders identified the same zone-definition. In this case, 10 of these instances were conceptual definitions and 7 were operational definitions. There were, however, also 17 instances in which one coder identified a zone-definition that was not identified by either of the other two coders (7 conceptual definitions; 10 operational definitions).

Even with a generous interpretation of these findings (combining the totals for consistency across all three and two of the three coders), agreement was reached only 56.4 % of the time (15 instances of agreement across conceptual definitions; 7 instances of agreement across operational definitions). While this does not seem to bode well for the current study and its associated findings, it is important to keep in mind that these measures of consistency were not meant to assess reliability across the multiple coders but, rather, to assess whether the coding scheme itself was consistent with other applications of the Integral model and IMP. Therefore, the findings presented in Table 22 and the discussion of those findings above do not necessarily threaten the validity of the coding scheme itself. In fact, the way in which this approach to assessing the validity of the coding scheme was applied may have actually created the discrepancies outlined above.

For instance, the approach employed here did not include a formal discussion among the researcher and additional coders prior to its application. In other words, the additional coders were asked to apply the coding scheme without being provided any information on how the researcher himself understood its application within the context of the study. In essence, this was a “blind” application of the coding scheme by two additional coders who are well-versed in the Integral model and Integral Methodological

Pluralism (See Appendix A for brief biographical sketches of the two coders). Again, what is most important in terms of assessing validity is whether the coding scheme applied in this study is consistent with applications of the Integral model and IMP in other contexts. It is clear from the responses of these coders, that while we may have had discrepancies in the application of the coding scheme, these discrepancies were based on interpretations of the definitions within particular studies and not on the coding scheme itself.

Attempting to apply a detailed coding scheme on to prior research requires a great deal of interpretation on the part of the reader/coder. Obviously, the research included in the current sample was not developed with the intention of fitting within the IMP framework. More importantly, as discussed in terms of domain-based definitions, authors often force the reader to interpret their meaning when they include relatively vague definitions or labels for Gender related variables. The need for the reader/coder to interpret the meaning of particular labels/definitions came up several times in the external coders' writings. For instance, P. J. Harvey (personal communication, March 6, 2008) described the difficulty in coding a particular article because it was

...littered with gender/male/female terms but all seem rooted in biological (zone 6) sense of the word WITHOUT any discussion (or operationalization) about what is meant by gender. It seems as though the authors leave it to be a largely reader/self-determined (Zone 1) term while also implying its importance across all zones of attention.

R. L. Martin (personal communication, June 20, 2008) expressed similar concerns when attempting to fit a particular definition into one of the zones. As he stated, the coding of

the definition “depends on how you look at the methods.” While certainly a limitation, this particular issue does not necessarily threaten the validity of the findings, since interpretation is one of the basic qualities of content analysis and qualitative research.

Another issue that impacted the consistent application of the coding scheme across all three coders was how each coder interpreted “operationalization.” Looking at the Chesney-Lind (2006) article, for example, we see that two of the three coders claimed there were no operational definitions of Gender, while the third coder identified a Zone 4 operational definition. In his explanation, the third coder stated that the article was “basically [a] hermeneutical approach” (R. L. Martin, personal communication, June 20, 2008). In this article, the authors provide theoretical arguments regarding the various meanings of Gender. The third coder identified this as an example of a Zone 4 operational approach because he viewed the article itself as a hermeneutical exchange. The other two coders, however, interpreted this article merely as a theoretical piece, without looking at the overall article as a method in-and-of itself.

Along these same lines, the Elwert and Christakis (2006) article also disclosed a distinct interpretation of what is or is not an operational definition. Notice that in terms of this article, two of the three coders identified a Zone 6 operational definition, while the third coder did not identify any operational definition. In explaining his coding of this article, P. J. Harvey stated that “If I as a reader have to make an assumption of meaning; it’s not operationalized” (personal communication, March 6, 2008). In contrast, R. L. Martin made the claim that “it appears to me that gender is only viewed as bio sex as indicated in records—I would say simply Zone 6” (personal communication, June 20, 2008). Here we see two distinct interpretations of what is a legitimate operational

definition. This example also ties in to one of the important decision points identified in the introspective journal.

These instances of disagreement among the coders helped to clarify an important decision point; namely, what to do with an article that includes biological sex as a demographic variable or in the description of the participants/sample. Not only did this issue arise in the study identified above, but also in two additional studies included in the sub-sample provided to the coders. Notice in Table 22 that the researcher coded the Morselli, Tremblay, and McCarthy (2006) and the Zwaan and Taylor (2006) articles as including a Zone 6 operational definition, while both of the other coders did not identify an operational definition in either case. Both of these instances reflect the researcher's decision to consider the use of sex as a demographic variable as a Zone 6 operational definition in the analysis. The implications of this decision were discussed previously. It should be emphasized, however, that it is not the particular decision that is most important when considering the validity of the findings, but the evaluation of what impact that decision had on the findings and what may have been found if a different decision had been made.

It is safe to say that the extent to which there was agreement in the application of the coding scheme between the researcher and the two additional coders was limited. This, however, must be considered in the context of the overall study and the other methods used to assess the relative validity of the findings. Also, this should be considered in the context of the purpose of this particular method for assessing validity. While there were obvious differences in the application of the coding scheme to particular articles/definitions, neither of the additional coders pointed to fundamental

problems with the coding scheme itself. It may just be that as long as the mechanisms through which we generate coding schemes based on IMP remain consistent and transparent, we will need to be comfortable with divergent interpretations and applications.

Summary

As noted early in this dissertation, the Integral model and IMP are content-free. It appears from the overall assessment of validity described here that this is both one of their most useful and most limiting aspects. It is useful because these models can provide a common language that can be used to “speak” across disciplines. It is limiting because it becomes difficult to untangle the various interpretations of data, all of which conform to its underlying framework. Again, it is ultimately the responsibility of the reader to decide whether the application of the IMP framework in this study conforms to their understanding of its underlying structures. It is hoped that the full disclosure of both the positive and negative aspects of its application within this study, outlined in this multi-perspective approach to validity assessment, provides readers with the necessary information to make such decisions.

More broadly, it is hoped that this multi-perspective, multi-method approach will provide other researchers with opportunities to explore innovative strategies for assessing validity. The use of only one method severely limits our ability to assess a researcher’s interpretations of data. While many researchers may not want to open their interpretations up to such overt criticism, I believe there is no other way to fully assess the validity of our findings and interpretations. This, again, illustrates the importance of considering

multiple perspectives in order to shed light on those aspects of the research process that may not be easily accessible by the researcher her- or him-self.

Without including these multiple perspectives on the development and implementation of this study, it would not have been possible to uncover the link between the underlying structure of my gender-identity and the interpretations I made regarding the data. For instance, the findings of the psychological assessments provide clear indications of my orientation towards an integration of the feminine and masculine self. This underlying structure of my personality has obvious implications for the ways in which I interpreted prior research and how I understand Gender as a construct and lived experience. Nor would it have been possible to compare my own understanding of my impact on the research process to that of experts in the fields of Gender Studies and Integral Theory without providing a context within which these experts could reflect on my interpretations and compare them to their own. Finally, by incorporating multiple methods of inquiry in the assessment of validity, based in multiple perspectives, it becomes easier to identify the various strengths and limitations associated with any particular research endeavor.

Conclusion

It is intended that this research will be used as a springboard for the construction of a more inclusive, multi-perspective, trans-disciplinary approach to the study of Gender in the social sciences. Based on the findings of this study and the multi-methodological approach to validity assessment, it is clear that the Integral model and IMP offer one avenue through which this new approach can be realized. Importantly, as researchers continue to develop complex conceptual definitions of Gender the need for a more

inclusive model that makes room for this complexity grows. If, however, researchers continue to rely on a limited range of disciplinarily approved operational approaches our understanding of the complexity of Gender and its relationship to other important social science constructs such as crime will be limited.

It may well be that researchers in the social sciences, and criminology in particular, are open to the notion of a more inclusive approach to the study of Gender (and its relationship to crime). Perhaps all they need is a model within which to situate this new approach. As such, the underlying issue may not be a lack of interest in constructing more inclusive models, but a narrow disciplinary view of what constitutes scientific inquiry and the devaluation of “alternative” methodologies. Through the application of the Integral model and IMP, however, researchers who are interested in a broader, more inclusive approach to scientific inquiry may find a voice and a common language. This, it is hoped, will also provide a context in which scholars in other areas can begin to explore innovative multi-perspective, trans-disciplinary approaches based in the application of the Integral model and Integral Methodological Pluralism.

NOTES

¹ For purposes of clarity and uniformity, throughout this dissertation the term “Gender” will be used as a label for the overall construct, the term “gender” (lower case) will be used as a label for the more specific explanations (e.g., “gender-roles” for social explanations, “gender-identity” for individual psychological explanations, and “gender-stereotypes” for cultural explanations), and the term “sex” will be used as a label for biological explanations.

² This brief presentation of these stages is only meant to provide the basic foundation for the cognitive developmental approach to the development of the psychological aspects of Gender. For a more detailed, and in depth discussion, please see Baldwin, 1967; Langer, 1969; and Wilber, 2000b.

³ There is a small but important distinction between sex-constancy and gender-constancy within the literature. Specifically, sex-constancy is most likely a more accurate term because Kohlberg’s notion of constancy is based on unchanging physical characteristics and not socially proscribed (and often more fluid) gender characteristics (e.g., masculine and feminine traits). Therefore, the terms sex-constancy, sex-consistency and sex-stability will be used in this text.

⁴ Somewhat surprisingly, sex-differences in femininity did not increase during this age period. The reasons for this particular finding are not clear, however; the next chapter may shed some light on this issue as it discusses the variation in emphasis placed on the masculine role as compared to the feminine role in our culture.

⁵ In his text, Gebser (1953/1985) primarily uses the term “mental” to describe this belief structure. For him, mental referred to the world of man which was the hallmark of the shift from mythic (i.e., the complete separation of the physical and spiritual or body and mind). His discussion of the label “rational” is limited to what he calls the deficient form of the mental structure, whereby we separate, diminish, or dissociate the parts of a whole to the point where they are no longer seen as parts, but wholes in and of themselves. Others, including Wilber (2000a, 2006), primarily use the label “rational.” I have chosen to use rational because of Gebser’s (1953/1985) description of it as deficient, which corresponds to our current emphasis, at least within the social sciences, on the body or exterior (something that will come to light in the next chapter).

⁶ The present day dichotomy is based on the differentiation of the body and mind or the differentiation of female/male and feminine/masculine. However, within the context of the magic belief structure, there has been no differentiation. It may be easy, therefore, to look back at these earlier belief structures and the societies in which they existed and conclude that they somehow move beyond our current day dichotomized view of Gender and sexuality (see Archer & Lloyd, 2002). But a more appropriate interpretation, which takes into account the changing structures discussed here, leads to an understanding that these societies have not yet moved beyond the view of binary sex differences. It is not until much later in cultural development that we see the beginnings of this differentiation. As for these magic cultures, what we see looking back as the re-unification of the female/male dichotomy is actually the result of the belief that the undifferentiated individual is the manifestation of a common undifferentiated ancestor.

⁷ According to Wilber (2003, Two Major Approaches to Systems Theory section, ¶ 8), “in this context, ‘cognition’ is used...in its wider and more accurate meaning, which is any organism’s attempt to register its environment (e.g., an amoeba reacts to light, so it has a rudimentary cognition of light). In this sense, if I take a ‘cognitive’ view of biology, then I will try to explain, *from the inside view of the organism*, the types of reactions, behaviors, and cognitions that the organism itself makes as it encounters, enacts, and brings forth its world.”

⁸ Within the sample, there were 28 single conceptual definition studies and 291 single operational definition studies.

REFERENCES

- Ames, D. & Flynn, F. (2007). What breaks a leader: The curvilinear relation between assertiveness and leadership. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 2, 307-324. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.2.307
- Andaya, B.W. (2004). Gender history, southeast Asia, and the “world regions” framework. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 323-342). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Andersen, R., Curtis, J., & Grabb, E. (2006). Trends in civic association activity in four democracies: The special case of women in the United States. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 3, 376-400. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Archer, J. & Lloyd, B. (2002). *Sex and gender* (2nd ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Arriaga, X., Reed, J., Goodfriend, W., & Agnew, C. (2006). Relationship perceptions and persistence: Do fluctuations in perceived partner commitment undermine dating relationships?. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 6, 1045-1065. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.91.6.1045
- Assad, K., Donnellan, M., & Conger, R. (2007). Optimism: An enduring resource for romantic relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 2, 285-297. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.93.2.285
- Austad, S. N. (2001). The comparative biology of aging. *Annual Review of Gerontology and Geriatrics*, 21, 19-39.

- Bagilhole, B. & Cross, S. (2006). 'It never struck me as female': Investigating men's entry into female-dominated occupations. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 15, 1, 35-48. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Baird, M., Szymanski, D., & Ruebelt, S. (2007). Feminist identity development and practice among male therapists. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 2, 67-78. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Baldwin, A. L. (1967). *Theories of child development*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Baron, R. A., Byrne, D., & Kantowitz, B. H. (1977). *Psychology: Understanding behavior*. Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders.
- Basow, S., Phelan, J., & Capotosto, L. (2006). Gender patterns in college students' choices of their best and worst professors. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 1, 25-35. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Bates, A. P. & Julian, J. (1975). *Sociology: Understanding social behavior*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Bay-Cheng, L., & Zucker, A. (2007). Feminism between the sheets: Sexual attitudes among feminists, nonfeminists, and egalitarians. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 2, 157-163. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Beilock, S., Rydell, R., & McConnell, A. (2007). Stereotype threat and working memory: Mechanisms, alleviation, and spillover. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 136, 2, 256-276. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.

- Bem, S. L. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review*, 88, (4), 354-364.
- Bem, S. L. (1989). Genital knowledge and gender constancy in preschool children. *Child Development*, 60, 649-662.
- Berger, P. L. & Berger, B. (1975). *Sociology: A biographical approach*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bertrand, A. L. (1967). *Basic sociology: An introduction to theory and method*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Bessenoff, G. (2006). Can the media affect us? Social comparison, self-discrepancy, and the thin ideal. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 3, 239-251. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Biernat, M. (1991). Gender stereotypes and the relationship between masculinity and femininity: A developmental analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 61, 3, 351-365.
- Bonvillain, N. (1998). *Women and men: Cultural constructions of gender (2nd ed.)*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Brannon, L. (2002). *Gender: Psychological perspectives (3rd ed.)*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Brayton, S. (2007). MTV's jackass: Transgression, abjection and the economy of white masculinity. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 16, 1, 57-72. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Bright, C., Decker, S., & Burch, A. (2007). Gender and justice in the progressive era: An investigation of Saint Louis juvenile court cases, 1909-1912. *Justice Quarterly*,

- 24, 4, 657-678. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Brooks, C., & Manza, J. (2006). Social policy responsiveness in developed democracies. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 3, 474-494. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Broom, L. & Selznick, P. (1963). *Sociology: A text with adapted readings*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Brown, R. W. & Bernstein, R. J. (1975). *Psychology*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Browne, K. R. (2002). *Biology at work: Rethinking sexual equality*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Buchmann, C., & DiPrete, T. (2006). The growing female advantage in college completion: The role of family background and academic achievement. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 4, 515-541. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Bussey, K. & Bandura, A. (1992). Self-regulatory mechanisms governing gender development. *Child Development*, 63, 1236-1250.
- Case, K. (2007). Raising male privilege awareness and reducing sexism: An evaluation of diversity courses. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 4, 426-435. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Chalmers, D. J. (1996). *The conscious mind: In search of a fundamental theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Chaudhuri, N. (2004). Clash of cultures: Gender and colonialism in South and Southeast Asia. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 430-443). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Chesney-lind, M. (2006). Patriarchy, crime, and justice: Feminist criminology in an era of backlash. *Feminist Criminology*, 1, 1, 6-26. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Criminology: A Sage Full-Text Collection database.
- Chiricos, T., Barrick, K., Bales, W., & Bontrager, S. (2007). The labeling of convicted felons and its consequences for recidivism. *Criminology*, 45, 3, 547-581. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Chivers, M., Seto, M., & Blanchard, R. (2007). Gender and sexual orientation differences in sexual response to sexual activities versus gender of actors in sexual films. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 6, 1108-1121. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.93.6.1108
- Chodorow, N. (1978). *The reproduction of mothering: Psychoanalysis and the sociology of gender*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Christopher, A., & Mull, M. (2006). Conservative ideology and ambivalent sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 2, 223-230. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Clark, A. & Kashima, Y. (2007). Stereotypes help people connect with others in the community: A situated functional analysis of the stereotype consistency bias in communication. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 6, 1028-1039. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.93.6.1028

- Clements, B.E. (2004). Continuities amid change: Gender ideas and arrangements in twentieth-century Russia and Eastern Europe. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 555-567). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Cohen, P. (2007). Working for the woman? Female managers and the gender wage gap. *American Sociological Review*, 72, 5, 681-704. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Cohen, J. W. & Harvey, P. J. (2006). Misconceptions of gender: Sex, masculinity, and the measurement of crime. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 14, 2.
- Cohn, E. G. & Farrington, D. P. (1998). Changes in the most-cited scholars in major American criminology and criminal justice journals between 1986-1990 and 1991-1995. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 26, 2, 99-116.
- Cohn, E.G. & Farrington, D. P. (2007). Changes in scholarly influence in major American criminology and criminal justice journals between 1986 and 2000. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 18, 1, 6-34.
- Cohn, A., & Zeichner, A. (2006). Effects of Masculine Identity and Gender Role Stress on Aggression in Men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7, 4, 179-190. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Cook, T. D. & Campbell, D. T. (1979). *Quasi-experimentation: Design & analysis issues for field settings*. Hopewell, NJ: Houghton Mifflin.
- Craig, M. L. & Liberti, R. (2007). "'Cause that's what girls do": The making of a feminized gym. *Gender & Society*, 21, 5, 676-699. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.

- Cranford, C. J. (2007). "It's time to leave machismo behind!": Challenging gender inequality in an immigrant union. *Gender & Society*, 21, 3, 409-438. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cusack, J., Deane, F., Wilson, C., & Ciarrochi, J. (2006). Emotional expression, perceptions of therapy, and help-seeking intentions in men attending therapy services. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7, 2, 69-82. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Daly, M. (1991). I thank thee, lord, that thou has not created me a woman. In E. Ashton-Jones & G.A. Olson, *The gender reader* (pp. 158-162). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- D'Andrade, R. G. (1975). Sex differences and cultural institutions. In E. E. Maccoby (Ed.), *The development of sex differences* (pp. 173-203). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Danigelis, N., & Cutler, S. (2007). Population aging, intracohort aging, and sociopolitical attitudes. *American Sociological Review*, 72, 5, 812-830. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Dasgupta, N. & Rivera, L. (2006). From automatic antigay prejudice to behavior: The moderating role of conscious beliefs about gender and behavioral control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 2, 268-280. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.91.2.268

- Davis, N., & Robinson, R. (2006). The egalitarian face of islamic orthodoxy: Support for islamic law and economic justice in seven muslim-majority nations. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 2, 167-190. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Dekeseredy, W. S., Schwartz, M. D., Fagen, D., & Hall, M. (2006). Separation/Divorce sexual assault: The contribution of male support. *Feminist Criminology*, 1, 3, 228-250. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Criminology: A Sage Full-Text Collection database.
- DeMarni Cromer, L., & Freyd, J. (2007). What influences believing child sexual abuse disclosures? The roles of depicted memory persistence, participant gender, trauma history, and sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 1, 13-22. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Demerath III, N. J. & Marwell, G. (1976). *Sociology: Perspectives and applications*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Deutsch, H. (1944). *The psychology of women: A psychoanalytic interpretation* (Vol. 2: Motherhood). New York, NY: Bantam.
- Diekman, A., & Goodfriend, W. (2006). Rolling with the changes: A role congruity perspective on gender norms. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 4, 369-383. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Dietz, T. L. & Jasinski, J. L. (2003). Female-perpetrated partner violence and aggression: Their relationship to gender identity. *Women and Criminal Justice*, 15, (1), 81-99.

- Dobres, M.A. (2004). Digging up gender in the earliest human societies. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 211-226). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Dornbusch, S. M. (1975). Afterword. In E. E. Maccoby (Ed.), *The development of sex differences* (pp. 204-222). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Dressler, D. & Carns, D. (1973). *Sociology: The study of human interaction*. New York: Knopf.
- Duffy, M. (2007). Doing the dirty work: Gender, race, and reproductive labor in historical perspective. *Gender & Society*, 21, 3, 313-336. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Edwards, D. C. (1968). *General psychology*. New York: Macmillan.
- Ellis, L. (2005). A theory explaining biological correlates of criminality. *European Journal of Criminology*, 2, 3, 287-315.
- Elwert, F., & Christakis, N. (2006). Widowhood and race. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 1, 16-41. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Engeln-Maddox, R. (2006). Buying a beauty standard or dreaming of a new life? Expectations associated with media ideals. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 3, 258-266. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- England, P., & Li, S. (2006). Desegregation stalled: The changing gender composition of college majors, 1971-2002. *Gender & Society*, 20, 5, 657-677. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.

- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Esbjörn-Hargens, S. (2006). Integral research: A multi-method approach to investigating phenomena. *Constructivism and the Human Sciences*, 11, 1, 79-107.
- Fagot, B. I. & Leinbach, M. D. (1989). The young child's gender schema: Environmental input, internal organization. *Child Development*, 60, 663-672.
- Fagot, B. I. & Leinbach, M. D. (1994). Gender-role development in young children. In M. R. Stevenson (Ed.), *Gender roles through the life span: A multidisciplinary perspective* (pp. 3-24). Muncie, IN: Ball State University Press.
- Fallon, M., & Jome, L. (2007). An exploration of gender-role expectations and conflict among women rugby players. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 3, 311-321.
Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Farquhar, J., & Wasylkiw, L. (2007). Media images of men: Trends and consequences of body conceptualization. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 3, 145-160.
Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Felson, R., & Pare, P. (2007). Does the criminal justice system treat domestic violence and sexual assault offenders leniently?. *Justice Quarterly*, 24, 3, 435-459.
Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Fernandez, R., & Fernandez-Mateo, I. (2006). Networks, race, and hiring. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 1, 42-71. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Fiedler, K., Freytag, P., & Unkelbach, C. (2007). Pseudocontingencies in a simulated classroom. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 4, 665-677.
Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.4.665

- Fischer, A. (2006). Women's benevolent sexism as reaction to hostility. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 4, 410-416. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Fishbein, D. H. (1992). The psychobiology of female aggression. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 19, 2, 99-126.
- Frader, L. L. (2004). Gender and labor in world history. In T. A. Meade & M. E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 26-50). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Frederick, D., Buchanan, G., Sadehgi-Azar, L., Peplau, L., Haselton, M., Berezovskaya, A., et al. (2007). Desiring the muscular ideal: Men's body satisfaction in the United States, Ukraine, and Ghana. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 2, 103-117. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Freedman, R. (1956). *Principles of sociology: A text with readings*. New York: Holt.
- Galambos, N. L., Almeida, D. M., & Peterson, A. C. (1990). Masculinity, femininity, and sex role attitudes in early adolescence: Exploring gender intensification. *Child Development*, 61, 1905-1914.
- Gallagher, S. K. (2007). Agency, resources, and identity: Lower-income women's experiences in Damascus. *Gender & Society*, 21, 2, 227-249. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Gangestad, S., Garver-Apgar, C., Simpson, J., & Cousins, A. (2007). Changes in women's mate preferences across the ovulatory cycle. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 1, 151-163. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.1.151

- Gatrell, C. (2006). Interviewing fathers: Feminist dilemmas in fieldwork. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 15, 3, 237-251. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Gazzaniga, M. S. (1973). *Fundamentals of psychology: An introduction*. New York: Academic Press.
- Gebser, J. (1985). *The ever-present origin* (N. Barstad, trans.) (with A. Mickunas). Athens, OH: Ohio University Press (Original work published in 1953).
- Gerber, T. (2006). Getting paid: Wage arrears and stratification in Russia. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111, 6, 1816-1870. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from SocINDEX with Full Text database.
- Gilbert, E. (2007). Performing femininity: Young women's gendered practice of cigarette smoking. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 16, 2, 121-137. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Gilligan, C. (1993). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gonzaga, G., Campos, B., & Bradbury, T. (2007). Similarity, convergence, and relationship satisfaction in dating and married couples. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 1, 34-48. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.93.1.34
- Good, G., Schopp, L., Thomson, D., Hathaway, S., Sanford-Martens, T., Mazurek, M., et al. (2006). Masculine Roles and Rehabilitation Outcomes Among Men Recovering from Serious Injuries. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7, 3, 165-176. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.

- Green, A. W. (1972). *Sociology: An analysis of life in modern society*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Griffin, T., & Wooldredge, J. (2006). Sex-based disparities in felony dispositions before versus after sentencing reform in Ohio. *Criminology*, 44, 4, 893-923. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Griskevicius, V., Cialdini, R., & Kenrick, D. (2006). Peacocks, Picasso, and parental investment: The effects of romantic motives on creativity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 1, 63-76. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.91.1.63
- Guillet, E., Sarrazin, P., Fontayne, P., & Brustad, R. (2006). Understanding female sport attrition in a stereotypical male sport within the framework of Eccles's expectancy-value model. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 4, 358-368. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Guimond, S., Branscombe, N., Brunot, S., Buunk, A., Chatard, A., Désert, M., et al. (2007). Culture, gender, and the self: Variations and impact of social comparison processes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 6, 1118-1134. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.6.1118
- Hall, C. S. (1960). *Psychology: An introductory textbook*. H. Allen.
- Halsall, P. (2004). Early western civilization under the sign of gender: Europe and the Mediterranean. In T. A. Meade & M. E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 285-304). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Hannan, B. (1994). *Subjectivity & Reduction: An introduction to the mind-body problem*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

- Hardwick, J. (2004). Did gender have a renaissance? Exclusions and traditions in early modern western Europe. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 343-357). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Herzog, S. (2007). An empirical test of feminist theory and research: The effect of heterogeneous gender-role attitudes on perceptions of intimate partner violence. *Feminist Criminology*, 2, 3, 223-244. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Criminology: A Sage Full-Text Collection database.
- Hochachka, G. (2005). *Developing sustainability, developing the self: An integral approach to international and community development*. Victoria, Canada: Polis Project.
- Holz, K., & DiLalla, D. (2007). Men's fear of unintentional rape: Measure development and psychometric evaluation. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 4, 201-214. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Horne, S., & Zimmer-Gembeck, M. (2006). The female sexual subjectivity inventory: Development and validation of a multidimensional inventory for late adolescents and emerging adults. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 2, 125-138. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Horney, K. (1939). *New ways in psychoanalysis*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Hugenberg, K., Bodenhausen, G., & McLain, M. (2006). Framing discrimination: Effects of inclusion versus exclusion mind-sets on stereotypic judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 6, 1020-1031. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.91.6.1020
- Hutt, C. (1975). *Males & females*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin.

- Isaacson, R. L., Hutt, M. L., & Blum, M. L. *Psychology: The science of behavior*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Jakupcak, M., Osborne, T., Michael, S., Cook, J., & McFall, M. (2006). Implications of Masculine Gender Role Stress in Male Veterans With Posttraumatic Stress Disorder. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7, 4, 203-211. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Johnson, H. M. (1960). *Sociology: A systematic introduction*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Johnson, P., McCreary, D., & Mills, J. (2007). Effects of exposure to objectified male and female media images on men's psychological well-being. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 2, 95-102. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Joyce, R.A. (2004). Gender in the ancient Americas: From earliest villages to European colonization. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 305-320). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Jung, J., & Forbes, G. (2007). Body dissatisfaction and disordered eating among college women in China, South Korea, and the United States: Contrasting predictions from sociocultural and feminist theories. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 4, 381-393. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Kagan, J. & Havemann E. (1976). *Psychology: An introduction*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

- Karpiak, C., Buchanan, J., Hosey, M., & Smith, A. (2007). University students from single-sex and coeducational high schools: Differences in majors and attitudes at a catholic university. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 3, 282-289. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Kasen, S., Chen, H., Sneed, J., Crawford, T., & Cohen, P. (2006). Social role and birth cohort influences on gender-linked personality traits in women: A 20-year longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 5, 944-958. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.91.5.944
- Katz, P. A. & Ksansnak, K. R. (1994). Developmental aspects of gender role flexibility and traditionality in middle childhood and adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*, 30, 2, 272-282.
- Kealey, L. (2004). North America from north of the 49th parallel. In T. A. Meade & M. E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 492-510). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kent, S. K. (2004). Gender rules: Law and politics. In T. A. Meade & M. E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 86-109). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kessler, S. J. & McKenna, W. (1978). *Gender: An ethnomethodological approach*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Killeen, L., López-Zafra, E., & Eagly, A. (2006). Envisioning oneself as a leader: Comparisons of women and men in Spain and the United States. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 3, 312-322. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.

- King, U. (2004). Religion and gender: Embedded patterns, interwoven frameworks. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 70-85). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- King, R., Massoglia, M., & MacMillan, R. (2007). The context of marriage and crime: Gender, the propensity to marry, and offending in early adulthood. *Criminology*, 45, 1, 33-65. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Kochanska, G., Aksan, N., Penney, S., & Boldt, L. (2007). Parental personality as an inner resource that moderates the impact of ecological adversity on parenting. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 1, 136-150. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.1.136
- Kohlberg, L. (1975). A cognitive-developmental analysis of children's sex-role concepts and attitudes. In E. E. Maccoby (Ed.), *The development of sex differences* (pp. 56-81). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Kollmann, N. S. (2004). Self, society and gender in early modern Russia and eastern Europe. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 358-370). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kozee, H., & Tylka, T. (2006). A test of objectification theory with lesbian women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 4, 348-357. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Kozee, H., Tylka, T., Augustus-Horvath, C., & Denchik, A. (2007). Development and psychometric evaluation of the interpersonal sexual objectification scale.

- Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 2, 176-189. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Kreager, D. (2007). Unnecessary roughness? School sports, peer networks, and male adolescent violence. *American Sociological Review*, 72 5, 705-724. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Krienert, J. L. (2003). Masculinity and crime: A quantitative exploration of Messerschmidt's hypothesis. *Electronic Journal of Sociology*. Retrieved April 7th, from http://www.sociology.org/content/vol7.2/01_krienert.html
- Kruttschnitt, C., & Carbone-Lopez, K. (2006). Moving beyond the stereotypes: Women's subjective accounts of their violent crime. *Criminology*, 44, 2, 321-352. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Kucukalioglu, E. (2007). The representation of women as gendered national subjects in Ottoman-Turkish novels (1908-1923). *Journal of Gender Studies*, 16, 1, 3-15. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Lane, M. (1970). Introduction. In M. Lane (Ed.), *Introduction to structuralism* (pp. 11-39). New York: Basic Books.
- Langer, J. (1969). *Theories of development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Lazerson, A. (1975). *Psychology today: An introduction*. Del Mar, CA: CRM/Random House.
- Leahey, E. (2007). Not by productivity alone: How visibility and specialization contribute to academic earnings. *American Sociological Review*, 72, 4, 533-561. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.

- Levant, R., Good, G., Cook, S., O'Neil, J., Smalley, K., Owen, K., et al. (2006). The Normative Male Alexithymia Scale: Measurement of a Gender-Linked Syndrome. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7, 4, 212-224. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Levesque, M., Nave, C., & Lowe, C. (2006). Toward an understanding of gender differences in inferring sexual interest. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 2, 150-158. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Levy, G. D. (1999). Gender-typed and non-gender-typed category awareness in toddlers. *Sex Roles*, 41, 11/12, 851-873.
- Levy, G. D. & Boston, M. B. (1994). Preschooler's recall of own-sex and other-sex gender scripts. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 155, 3, 369-271.
- Lipsett-Rivera, S. (2004). Latin America and the Caribbean. In T. A. Meade & M. E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 477-491). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lisak, D., & Bezterczey, S. (2007). The cycle of violence: The life histories of 43 death row inmates. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 2, 118-128. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Liu, W., & Iwamoto, D. (2006). Asian American Men's Gender Role Conflict: The Role of Asian Values, Self-Esteem, and Psychological Distress. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7, 3, 153-164. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.

- Liu, W., & Iwamoto, D. (2007). Conformity to Masculine Norms, Asian Values, Coping Strategies, Peer Group Influences and Substance Use Among Asian American Men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 1, 25-39. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Lockwood, P. (2006). "Someone like me can be successful": Do college students need same-gender role models? *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 1, 36-46. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Luger, G. F. (1994). *Cognitive science: The science of intelligent systems*. New York: Academic Press.
- Luhmann, N. (2005). The autopoiesis of social systems. In D. Seidl & K. H. Becker, *Niklas Luhmann and organizational studies* (pp. 64-82). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Lynch, G. & Gerling, S. (1981). Aging and brain plasticity. In J. G. March (Series Ed.) & J. L. McGaugh & S. B. Kiesler (Vol. Eds.), *Aging: Biology and behavior* (pp. 201-228). New York: Academic Press.
- Mahalik, J., Lagan, H., & Morrison, J. (2006). Health Behaviors and Masculinity in Kenyan and U.S. Male College Students. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7, 4, 191-202. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Mahalik, J., Levi-Minzi, M., & Walker, G. (2007). Masculinity and health behaviors in Australian men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 4, 240-249. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Major, B., Kaiser, C., O'Brien, L., & McCoy, S. (2007). Perceived discrimination as worldview threat or worldview confirmation: Implications for self-esteem.

- Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 6, 1068-1086. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.6.1068
- Makarios, M. D. (2007). Race, abuse, and female criminal violence. *Feminist Criminology*, 2, 2, 100-116. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Criminology: A Sage Full-Text Collection database.
- Mallicoate, S. L. (2007). Gendered justice: Attributional differences between males and females in the juvenile courts. *Feminist Criminology*, 2, 1, 4-30. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Criminology: A Sage Full-Text Collection database.
- Mandel, H., & Semyonov, M. (2006). A welfare state paradox: State interventions and women's employment opportunities in 22 countries. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111, 6, 1910-1949. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from SocINDEX with Full Text database.
- Marcus, D. E. & Overton, W. F. (1978). The development of cognitive gender constancy and sex role preferences. *Child Development*, 49, 434-444.
- Mare, R., & Maralani, V. (2006). The intergenerational effects of changes in women's educational attainments. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 4, 542-564. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Martin, C. L. & Halverson, C. F., Jr. (1981). A schematic processing model of sex typing and stereotyping in children. *Child Development*, 52, 1119-1134.
- Martin, C. L. & Little, J. K. (1990). The relation of gender understanding to children's sex-typed preferences and gender stereotypes. *Child Development*, 61, 1427-1439.
- Martin, C. L., Wood, C. H., & Little, J. K. (1990). The development of gender stereotype components. *Child Development*, 61, 1891-1904.

- Martin, R., Mutchnick, R. J., & Austin, W. T. (1990). *Criminological thought: Pioneers past and present*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Masters, N., Norris, J., Stoner, S., & George, W. (2006). How does it end? Women project the outcome of a sexual assault scenario. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 3, 291-302. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Matsueda, R., Kreager, D., & Huizinga, D. (2006). Deterring delinquents: A rational choice model of theft and violence. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 1, 95-122. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Maurer, T., & Pleck, J. (2006). Fathers' caregiving and breadwinning: A gender congruence analysis. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7, 2, 101-112. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Maxfield, M. G., & Babbie, E. (2001). *Research methods for criminal justice and Criminology (3rd ed.)*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- McFarland, C., Beuhler, R., von Rüti, R., Nguyen, L., & Alvaro, C. (2007). The impact of negative moods on self-enhancing cognitions: The role of reflective versus ruminative mood orientations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 5, 728-750. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.93.5.728
- McFarlane, J., Martin, C. L., & Williams, T. M. (1988). Mood fluctuations: Women versus men and menstrual versus other cycles. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 12, 201-223.

- McGlone, M., Aronson, J., & Kobrynowicz, D. (2006). Stereotype threat and the gender gap in political knowledge. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 4, 392-398.
Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- McIntyre, M., Gangestad, S., Gray, P., Chapman, J., Burnham, T., O'Rourke, M., et al. (2006). Romantic involvement often reduces men's testosterone levels--but not always: The moderating role of extrapair sexual interest. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 4, 642-651. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.91.4.642
- McKelley, R., & Rochlen, A. (2007). The Practice of Coaching: Exploring Alternatives to Therapy for Counseling-Resistant Men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 1, 53-65. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- McMullin, D., & White, J. (2006). Long-term effects of labeling a rape experience. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 1, 96-105. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- McVeigh, R., & Sobolewski, J. (2007). Red counties, blue counties, and occupational segregation by sex and race. *American Journal of Sociology*, 113, 2, 446-506. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from SocINDEX with Full Text database.
- Meade T.A., & Wiesner-Hanks, M.E. (2004) Introduction. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 1-7). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Mealey, L. (2000). *Sex differences: Development and evolutionary strategies*. New York: Academic Press.

- Meyer, E., & Post, L. A. (2006). Alone at night: A feminist ecological model of community violence. *Feminist Criminology*, 1, 3, 207-227. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Criminology: A Sage Full-Text Collection database.
- Milan, S., Kershaw, T., Lewis, J., Westdahl, C., Rising, S., Patrikios, M., et al. (2007). Caregiving history and prenatal depressive symptoms in low-income adolescent and young adult women: Moderating and mediating effects. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 3, 241-251. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Miller, K. (2007). Traversing the spatial divide?: Gender, place, and delinquency. *Feminist Criminology*, 2, 3, 202-222. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Criminology: A Sage Full-Text Collection database.
- Mirchandani, R. (2006). "Hitting is not manly": Domestic violence court and the re-imagination of the patriarchal state. *Gender & Society*, 20, 6, 781-804. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Mischel, W. (1975). A social-learning view of sex differences in behavior. In E. E. Maccoby (Ed.), *The development of sex differences* (pp. 56-81). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Misra, J., Moller, S., & Budig, M. J. (2007). Work family policies and poverty for partnered and single women in Europe and North America. *Gender & Society*, 21, 6, 804-827. Retrieved January 22, 2008, from SAGE online.
- Mizrachi, N., Drori, I., & Anspach, R. (2007). Repertoires of trust: The practice of trust in a multinational organization amid political conflict. *American Sociological*

- Review*, 72, 1, 143-165. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Molony, B. (2004). Frameworks of gender: Feminism and nationalism in twentieth-century Asia. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 513-539). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Money, J. (1987). Sin, sickness, or status? Homosexual gender identity and psychoneuroendocrinology. *American Psychologist*, 42, 4, 384-399.
- Morselli, C., Tremblay, P., & McCarthy, B. (2006). Mentors and criminal achievement. *Criminology*, 44, 1, 17-43. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Nashat, G. (2004). Women in the middle east, 8000 bce to 1700 ce. In T. A. Meade & M. E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 229-248). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Nye, R.A. (2004). Sexuality. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 11-25). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Ohno, S. (1979). *Major sex-determining genes*. New York: Springer-Verlag Berlin.
- O'Sullivan, L., Meyer-Bahlburg, H., & McKeague, I. (2006). The development of the sexual self-concept inventory for early adolescent girls. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 2, 139-149. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Overall, N., Fletcher, G., & Simpson, J. (2006). Regulation processes in intimate relationships: The role of ideal standards. *Journal of Personality and Social*

- Psychology*, 91, 4, 662-685. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.91.4.662
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods (3rd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Paxton, P., Hughes, M., & Green, J. (2006). The International Women's Movement and Women's political representation, 1893–2003. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 6, 898-920. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Pollock, J. M., Mullings, J. L., & Crouch, B. M. (2006). Violent women: Findings from the Texas women inmates study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 21, 4, 485-502.
- Posner, M. I. & Rothbart, M. K. (1992). Attentional mechanisms and conscious experience. In A.D. Milner & M.D. Rugg (Eds.), *The neuropsychology of consciousness* (pp. 91-112). New York: Academic Press.
- Powers, S., Pietromonaco, P., Gunlicks, M., & Sayer, A. (2006). Dating couples' attachment styles and patterns of cortisol reactivity and recovery in response to a relationship conflict. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 4, 613-628. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.90.4.613
- Powlishta, K. K. (1995). Gender bias in children's perceptions of personality traits. *Sex Roles*, 32, 1/2, 17-28.
- Powlishta, K. K. (2000). The effect of target age on the activation of gender stereotypes. *Sex Roles*, 42, 3/4, 271-282.

- Prins, H. (2005). Mental disorder and violent crime: A problematic relationship. *Probation Journal: The Journal of Community and Criminal Justice*, 52, 4, 333-357.
- Pulaski, M. A. S. (1980). *Understanding Piaget: An introduction to children's cognitive development*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Quinn, D., Kallen, R., Twenge, J., & Fredrickson, B. (2006). The disruptive effect of self-objectification on performance. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 1, 59-64.
Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Quinney, R. (1975). *Criminology: Analysis and critique of crime in America (3rd ed.)*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Redding, S. (2004). Women and gender roles in Africa since 1918: Gender as a determinant of status. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 540-554). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Rederstorff, J., Buchanan, N., & Settles, I. (2007). The moderating roles of race and gender-role attitudes in the relationship between sexual harassment and psychological well-being. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 1, 50-61.
Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Reyna, C., Henry, P., Korfmacher, W., & Tucker, A. (2006). Examining the principles in principled conservatism: The role of responsibility stereotypes as cues for deservingness in racial policy decisions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 1, 109-128. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.90.1.109

- Reynolds, J., & Aletraris, L. (2006). Pursuing preferences: The creation and resolution of work hour mismatches. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 4, 618-638. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Robey, D. (1973). Introduction. In D. Robey (Ed.), *Structuralism: An introduction* (pp. 1-4). New York: Oxford University.
- Rochlen, A., McKelley, R., & Pituch, K. (2006). A Preliminary Examination of the 'Real Men. Real Depression' Campaign. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7, 1, 1-13. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Rogers, W. S. & Rogers, R. S. (2001). *The psychology of gender and sexuality: An introduction*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.
- Rose, N. (2000). The biology of culpability: Pathological identity and crime control in a biological culture. *Theoretical Criminology*, 4, 1, 5-34.
- Roth, L., & Kroll, J. (2007). Risky business: Assessing risk preference explanations for gender differences in religiosity. *American Sociological Review*, 72, 2, 205-220. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Roy, R., Weibust, K., & Miller, C. (2007). Effects of stereotypes about feminists on feminist self-identification. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 2, 146-156. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Rudman, L., Dohn, M., & Fairchild, K. (2007). Implicit self-esteem compensation: Automatic threat defense. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 5, 798-813. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.93.5.798
- Sanchez, D., & Kwang, T. (2007). When the relationship becomes her: Revisiting women's body concerns from a relationship contingency perspective. *Psychology*

- of Women Quarterly*, 31, 4, 401-414. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Sanday, P. R. (1981). *Female power and male dominance: On the origins of sexual inequality*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Saunders, K., & Kashubeck-West, S. (2006). The relations among feminist identity development, gender-role orientation, and psychological well-being in women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 2, 199-211. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Schaub, M., & Williams, C. (2007). Examining the Relations Between Masculine Gender Role Conflict and Men's Expectations About Counseling. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 1, 40-52. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Scheper, W., & Scheper, G. (1996). Autopsies on autopoiesis. *Behavioral Science*, 41, 1, 3. Retrieved October 20, 2007, from Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection database.
- Schippert, C. (2007). Can muscles be queer? Reconsidering the transgressive hyper-built body. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 16, 2, 155-171. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Schoenbrun, D. (2004). Gendered themes in early African history. In T. A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 249-272). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Schoene, B. (2006). The wounded woman and the parrot: Post-feminist girlhood in Alan Warner's *The Sopranos* and *Bella Bathurst's Special*. *Journal of Gender Studies*,

- 15, 2, 133-144. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Schrock, D. P. & Padavic, I. (2007). Negotiating hegemonic masculinity in a batterer intervention program. *Gender & Society, 21*, 5, 625-649. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Scollon, C. & Diener, E. (2006). Love, work, and changes in extraversion and neuroticism over time. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 91*, 6, 1152-1165. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.91.6.1152
- Seidl, D. (2005). Introduction. In D. Seidl & K. H. Becker, *Niklas Luhmann and organizational studies* (pp. 1-34). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Settles, I., Cortina, L., Stewart, A., & Malley, J. (2007). Voice matters: Buffering the impact of a negative climate for women in science. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 31*, 3, 270-281. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Shadish, W. R., Cook, T. D., & Campbell, D. T. (2002). *Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for generalized causal inference*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Shapiro, E. (2007). Drag kinging and the transformation of gender identities. *Gender & Society, 21*, 2, 250-271. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Sheley, J. F. (1995). *Criminology: A contemporary handbook*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

- Short, D. (2007). The informal regulation of gender: Fear and loathing in the locker room. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 16, 2, 183-186. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Siegel, L. J. (1995). *Criminology*. Minneapolis/St. Paul: West.
- Simpson, J., Collins, W., Tran, S., & Haydon, K. (2007). Attachment and the experience and expression of emotions in romantic relationships: A developmental perspective. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 2, 355-367. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.2.355
- Sinclair, S., Hardin, C., & Lowery, B. (2006). Self-stereotyping in the context of multiple social identities. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 4, 529-542. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.90.4.529
- Smith, M., Makarios, M., & Alpert, G. (2006). Differential suspicion: Theory specification and gender effects in the traffic stop context. *Justice Quarterly*, 23, 2, 271-295. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Sørensen, J. (2007). Corporate demography and income inequality. *American Sociological Review*, 72, 5, 766-783. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Sowerwine, C. & Grimshaw, P. (2004). Equality and difference in the twentieth-century west: North America, Western Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 586-610). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

- Spencer, M. (1979). *Foundations of modern sociology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Stearns, P. N. (2000). *Gender in world history*. New York: Rutledge.
- Steiner, B. & Schwartz, J. (2007). Assessing the quality of doctoral programs in criminology in the United States. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 18, 1, 53-86.
- Steuer, J. & Jarvik, L. F. (1981). Cognitive functioning in the elderly: Influence of physical health. In J. G. March (Series Ed.) & J. L. McGaugh & S. B. Kiesler (Vol. Eds.), *Aging: Biology and behavior* (pp. 231-253). New York: Academic Press.
- Stevenson, M. R., Paludi, M. A., Black, K. N., & Whitley, B. E., Jr. (1994). Gender roles: A multidisciplinary life-span perspective. In M. R. Stevenson (Ed.), *Gender roles through the life span: A multidisciplinary perspective* (pp. ix-xxxi). Muncie, IN: Ball State University Press.
- Stockard, J. & Johnson, M. M. (1980). *Sex roles: Sex inequality and sex role development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Stolcke, V. (2004). A new world engendered: The making of the Iberian transatlantic empires. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 371-389). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Strong, B., DeVault, C., Sayad, B. W., & Yarber, W. L. (2005). *Human sexuality: Diversity in contemporary America* (5th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Taft, D. R. & England, R. W. (1964). *Criminology* (5th ed.). New York: MacMillan.

- Thompson, W. M., Dabbs Jr., J. M., & Frady, R. L. (1990). Changes in saliva testosterone levels during a 90-day shock incarceration program. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 17, 2, 246-252.
- Tiggemann, M., Martins, Y., & Kirkbride, A. (2007). Oh To Be Lean and Muscular: Body Image Ideals in Gay and Heterosexual Men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 1, 15-24. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Tolman, D., Impett, E., Tracy, A., & Michael, A. (2006). Looking good, sounding good: Femininity ideology and adolescent girls' mental health. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 1, 85-95. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Tomaskovic-Devey, D., Zimmer, C., Stainback, K., Robinson, C., Taylor, T., & McTague, T. (2006). Documenting desegregation: Segregation in american workplaces by race, ethnicity, and sex, 1966–2003. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 4, 565-588. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Trampe, D., Stapel, D., & Siero, F. (2007). On models and vases: Body dissatisfaction and proneness to social comparison effects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 1, 106-118. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.1.106
- Tucker, J. (2004). Rescued from obscurity: Contributions and challenged in writing the history of gender in the Middle East and North Africa. In T.A. Meade & M.E.

- Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 393-412). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Ulmer, J., & Bradley, M. (2006). Variation in trial penalties among serious violent offenses. *Criminology*, 44, 3, 631-670. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Urberg, K. A. (1979). Sex role conceptualizations in adolescents and adults. *Developmental Psychology*, 15, 1, 90-92.
- Valenze, D. (2004). Gender in the formation of European power, 1750-1914. In T. A. Meade & M. E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 459-576). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Varela, F. J. (1979). *Principles of biological autonomy*. New York: North Holland.
- Vetter, H. J. & Wright Jr., J. (1974). *Introduction to Criminology*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.
- Vieraitis, L. M., Britto, S., & Kovandzic, T. V. (2007). The impact of women's status and gender inequality on female homicide victimization rates: Evidence from U.S. counties. *Feminist Criminology*, 2, 1, 57-73. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Criminology: A Sage Full-Text Collection database.
- Villarreal, A., & Yu, W. (2007). Economic globalization and women's employment: The case of manufacturing in Mexico. *American Sociological Review*, 72, 3, 365-389. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Vold, G. B., Bernard, T. J., & Snipes, J. B. (2002). *Theoretical criminology* (5th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Wall, G. & Arnold, S. (2007). How involved is involved fathering?: An exploration of the contemporary culture of fatherhood. *Gender & Society*, 21, 4, 508-527. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Walsh, P., & Smith, J. (2007). Opposing standards within the cultural worldview: Terror management and American women's desire for uniqueness versus inclusiveness. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 1, 103-113. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Weaver, A., & Byers, E. (2006). The relationships among body image, body mass index, exercise, and sexual functioning in heterosexual women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 4, 333-339. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Weisgram, E., & Bigler, R. (2007). Effects of learning about gender discrimination on adolescent girls' attitudes toward and interest in science. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 3, 262-269. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Wester, S., Christianson, H., Vogel, D., & Wei, M. (2007). Gender role conflict and psychological distress: The role of social support. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8, 4, 215-224. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Wester, S., Kuo, B., & Vogel, D. (2006). Multicultural coping: Chinese Canadian adolescents, male gender role conflict, and psychological distress. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7, 2, 83-100. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.

- Whittaker, J. O. (1965). *Introduction to psychology*. Philadelphia: Saunders.
- Wilber, K. (1998). *The marriage of sense and soul: Integrating science and religion*.
New York: Broadway Books.
- Wilber, K. (2000a). *Sex, ecology, spirituality: The spirit of evolution* (2nd ed.). Boston,
MA: Shambhala.
- Wilber, K. (2000b). *Integral psychology: Consciousness, spirit, psychology, therapy*.
Boston, MA: Shambhala.
- Wilber, K. (2000c). *A brief history of everything*. Boston: Shambhala.
- Wilber, K. (2001). *A theory of everything: An integral vision for business, politics,
science, and spirituality*. Boston: Shambhala.
- Wilber, K. (2003). *Introduction to excerpts from volume 2 of the kosmos trilogy*: Excerpt
C: The ways we are in this together. Retrieved October 18, 2007 from
<http://wilber.shambhala.com>.
- Wilber, K. (2006). *Integral spirituality: A startling new role for religion in the modern
and postmodern world*. Boston, MA: Integral Books.
- Williams III, F. P. (1999). *Imaging criminology: An alternative paradigm*. NY: Garland
Publications.
- Wong, Y., Pituch, K., & Rochlen, A. (2006). Men's restrictive emotionality: An
investigation of associations with other emotion-related constructs, anxiety, and
underlying dimensions. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7, 2, 113-126.
Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.

- Wright, M. (2004). Gender, women, and power in Africa, 1750-1914. In T.A. Meade & M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (Eds.), *A companion to gender history* (pp. 413-429). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Wright, R. A., Bryant, K. M., & Miller, J. M. (2001). Top criminals/top criminologists: The most-cited authors and works in white-collar crime. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 17, 4, 383-399.
- Wright, C., & Fitzgerald, L. (2007). Angry and afraid: Women's appraisal of sexual harassment during litigation. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 1, 73-84. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Wyer, M., Murphy-Medley, D., Damschen, E., Rosenfeld, K., & Wentworth, T. (2007). No quick fixes: Adding content about women to ecology course materials. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 1, 96-102. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Yeung, K. T., Stomblor, M., & Wharton, R. (2006). Making men in gay fraternities: Resisting and reproducing multiple dimensions of hegemonic masculinity. *Gender & Society*, 20, 1, 5-31. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.
- Zhang, S., Chin, K., & Miller, J. (2007). Women's participation in Chinese transnational human smuggling: A gendered market perspective. *Criminology*, 45, 3, 699-733. Retrieved December 22, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.
- Zentner, M. & Renaud, O. (2007). Origins of adolescents' ideal self: An intergenerational perspective. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 3, 557-574. Retrieved March 5, 2008, doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.3.557

Zucker, A., & Stewart, A. (2007). Growing up and growing older: Feminism as a context for women's lives. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 2, 137-145. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from Academic Search Complete database.

Zwaan, R., & Taylor, L. (2006). Seeing, acting, understanding: Motor resonance in language comprehension. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 135, 1, 1-11. Retrieved December 21, 2007, from PsycARTICLES database.

APPENDIX A – BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CODERS AND AUDITORS

Coders:

Randy Martin, Ph.D. is a Professor of Criminology at Indiana University of Pennsylvania and has extensive experience with Integral Theory and its application. He is a founding member of the Integral Institute (II), taught the first ever graduate course in Integral Theory sponsored by II, and helped develop and deliver the first two graduate programs in Integral Studies sponsored by II. Randy is one of the few scholars currently involved with applying Integral Theory in criminology and criminal justice, and he published some of the seminal articles in that area. He has published articles applying the Integral model to criminological theory in the *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, the *Journal of Crime & Justice*, *AQAL Journal*, and *ERCES: The Online Quarterly Review of Crime, Ethics, and social Philosophy*. He also has extensive experience in incorporating the Integral model into his classes and in introducing students at all levels to the model.

Patrick J. Harvey has been studying and exploring Integral Studies and Integral Theory since 2002. He recently completed his dissertation entitled *The Cycle of Violence: Addressing Victimization & Future Harmfulness through an Integral Lens*. Patrick has also attended the Integral Psychotherapy Seminar, Boulder Co May/June 2006. In his spare time Patrick enjoys looking at his broke-down 78 electraglide, slow dancing to fast music, and being a general nuisance to the loitering tourists he must suffer on a daily basis.

Auditors:

Sean Esbjörn-Hargens Ph.D. is an associate professor and founding Chair of the Integral Theory Program at John F. Kennedy University in Pleasant Hill, California. He is founding Director of the Integral Research Center, which supports graduate and post-graduate mixed methods research. In addition, he is the founding Executive Editor of the *Journal of Integral Theory and Practice*. Recently, he co-founded and co-organized the biennial Integral Theory Conference.

Sean is a leading scholar-practitioner in Integral Theory. He has worked closely with Ken Wilber for a decade operationalizing the integral (AQAL) model in multiple contexts. He is a founding member of Integral Institute and currently serves as their Vice President of Applications and Research. He is currently the most published author applying the integral model to a variety of topics: education, sustainable development, ecology, research, intersubjectivity, science and religion, consciousness studies, and play. His articles have appeared in academic journals such as the *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, *World Futures*, *ReVision*, and *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*. Sean co-edited Ken Wilber's book *The Simple Feeling of Being* and has just completed writing a 800-page book with environmental philosopher Michael Zimmerman: *Integral Ecology: Uniting Multiple Perspectives on the Natural World*. Currently, he is co-editing an anthology on Integral Education and editing an anthology on Integral Theory.

Sean has over twenty years of leadership experience always serving in multiple major roles simultaneously. His passion as a leader comes from his love of being alive,

his commitment of looking directly at reality without blinking, and his desire to increase people's experience of intimacy with Being. He is a practitioner within both Tibetan Buddhism (Shangpa Kagyu lineage) and A. H. Almaas' the Diamond Approach. He lives in Sebastopol, California on five-acres of redwoods with his wife and two daughters. Sean is as an integral coach and consultant through Rhizome Designs (www.rhizomedesigns.org).

Robert Heasley is Associate Professor of Sociology at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. He received his M.S. (1985) and Ph.D. (1990) from Cornell University. He is the author of over twenty chapters and journal articles on the topics related to sexuality and gender with a focus on men and masculinities. He is co-editor of *Sexual Lives: A reader on theories and narratives of human sexualities* (McGraw Hill, 2003), and co-author of *Sociology of Sexualities* (under contract with Oxford University Press). Dr. Heasley teaches courses in men and masculinities, queer theory, and sexuality. He is currently president of the American Men's Studies Association and holds an adjunct position of Associate Professor of Psychiatry at the State University of New York Upstate Medical School where he teaches seminars in sexuality.

Psychological Assessments Administrator:

Dennis LaLonde Jr., M.A., received his B.A degree in Psychology and Biology from Niagara University in May 2000. His honors thesis examined MMPI correlates of juvenile delinquency and crime. After Niagara, Dennis worked as a research assistant for three years at the Research Institute on Addictions in Buffalo, NY. Currently, Dennis is a 4th year doctoral student in Clinical Psy.D. at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. His research interests lie in gender socialization and role conflict, emerging adulthood, and college counseling. In his free time, Dennis enjoys Frisbee golfing, gardening and relaxing with his cats.

APPENDIX B – EXTERNAL AUDIT REPORTS

External Audit Report

Robert B. Heasley, Ph.D.

Associate Professor, Sociology

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Dissertation Reviewed

What's sex gotta do with it? The study of gender in criminology and the social sciences.

A dissertation submitted to the Department of Criminology, Indiana University of

Pennsylvania

By Jeff Cohen

Background

I am offering my comments on the author's discussion of gender and sex. I have conducted research, taught and written theoretically on this topic over the past twenty years. The focus of my comments is on the author's use and interpretations of existing research/theory and his treatment of gender throughout the project.

Critique

Mr. Cohen's discussion of sex and gender, and the many dimensions of each, as well as their intersection, is well informed, insightful and draws on existing literature in ways that are astute and lay solid groundwork for his analysis.

The distinction between sex and gender is critical to the research presented here. The description of the breakdown of the meaning and measure of gender presented in the first and second chapters is very well formulated. As the author indicates, the

development of theories regarding these constructs has been extensive – and this dissertation outlines, and interprets that history both well and thoroughly.

As Mr. Cohen documents, there is an on-going tendency by researchers to conflate gender and sex, to suggest that one is the other, and to suggest that neither one is complex in terms of interpretation. Cohen's discussion outlining the historical background of how these constructs evolved in the social science literature is well informed, and makes the case for the relevance of his current research. Not to jump ahead too quickly in commenting on his findings, but the findings that gender is likely to be used in ways that over-simplifies and misinterprets the effects of gender, can be understood as being the result of a long history of misrepresentation and confusing interpretations in a still newly evolving field. There is clear evidence – which Cohen provides, that the sciences has a fragmented view of gender as well as a history of using sex as the base for measuring gender – as if sex is gender, and gender denotes sex.

This argument is not new – though it is recent in the discourse on gender and sex. R.W. Connell's work in Australia which introduces the plural nature of masculinities, and identifies a hierarchy within the construct of what is considered masculine (whether a form of masculinity is held by a person who is sex male or female) is a case in point. Related arguments have been made by psychologist Sandra Bem who argues there is greater difference within than between the sexes when we consider gender, but also variations even with experience and expression of biological sex. As Cohen notes, sociologist Judith Lorber, in her 1994 work, *Paradoxes of gender* articulates a similar argument, one that acknowledges the complication of gender as a construct and challenges historical assumption of gender association with biological sex.

What is new in terms of Cohen's research is locating the way in which researchers have historically, and continue to, both disregard and misinterpret these constructs. The first several chapters of the dissertation are devoted to a thorough – even exceptional! detailed discussion of the complexity of biological sex and the range of ways to consider, and interpret gender. Chapters II and III are very well informed, thorough and clear in the insightful use of existing literature and interpretation of developmental changes that influence sex and social factors that affect both how gender is experienced and interpreted. Cohen invites us to step away from the common reliance on looking to ideal type when it comes to sex and gender, and in its place, consider the pluralities of types and ways to interpret these constructs.

Having laid the groundwork through the first two chapters, I found both the questions addressed and the methods used in analysis of the presentation of gender in criminal justice, psychological and sociological journals to be reasonable and insightful. The work displays a very clear delineation between the conceptual and operational definitions of gender, and how extensively both sex and gender are incorporated in social sciences publications without consistency in how these constructs are applied and interpreted. The simple, yet very insightful display in the methods chapter (Chapter IV) of how the three disciplines cover the terms in textbooks (Table 2) is an excellent illustration of the problematic use of sex and gender.

Cohen's findings make a very important contribution to the broad, interdisciplinary field of gender studies. Though I am not familiar with Integral theory, the use of this framework here makes sense. The findings present a strong argument about the weakness of the current use of gender as a key variable in analysis of human

behavior. That journals and texts display inconsistency and lack a model for adequately theorizing is a significant finding of this research. Cohen's argument that this calls for "a workable trans-disciplinary model that allows for a multi-methodological, multi-perspectival approach to the study of Gender" is readily defensible and well articulated in this research.

References

- Bem, S. (1995). Dismantling gender polarization and compulsory heterosexuality: Should we turn the volume up or down? *The Journal of Sex Research*, 32, 4, 329-334.
- Connell, R. (1987). *Gender and Power*. Cambridge, MA: Polity.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press.

Audit of Jeffrey Cohen's Dissertation "What's Sex Gotta Do with It?"

Performed March 2009 by Sean Esbjörn-Hargens

Introduction

Congratulations on a well-done dissertation. Overall, I think you have created a fine document which presents valuable research and analysis that not only makes a contribution to the social sciences and their understanding of Gender but also to the growing field of mixed methods research in general and Integral Studies in particular.

There are numerous dissertations out there which use Integral Methodological Pluralism but none of them are, in my opinion, as innovative as yours. Your use of IMP is exciting on at least two counts. First, you have created a coding scheme based on the 8 methodologies, which can serve as a model for how other researchers can operationalize the conceptual framework of IMP for their own projects. Second, you have folded the model in on itself by using your triadic validity approach to assess your entire project. Consequently, you are modeling to the reader and anyone who wants to evaluate your findings the very thing that you are claiming needs to occur more frequently in the social sciences. Namely, a multi-zone/multi-method approach is needed to really honor the complexities of something as foundational and dynamic as Gender.

By weaving together first-person, second-person, and third-person aspects throughout your research project you are breaking new ground in integral thinking and research. Our disciplines, our communities, and our world face very complex problems, which require complex solutions. Bygone are the days of simple analysis. More and more I see the need for complex thinking and analysis that weaves together multiple

perspectives in a rigorous and reflective fashion. Below are some specific points by chapter.

Chapter 1 does a solid job of introducing Gender from the four perspectives associated with the Integral model and why all four are needed for a complete picture. I feel you do a good job of introducing your project and justifying its timeliness and value of redressing the fragmented view of Gender within three major fields in the social sciences, which all have a tendency to over rely on biological sex as a “proxy for Gender.” Your point that the conceptual knowledge of Gender is only going to grow is an important one and highlights why a multi-perspective/multi-zone approach to Gender is essential. Your approach to validity is both complex and novel. You do a solid job of introducing the integral model.

Chapters 2 and 3 do a nice job of giving the reader a feel for the way Gender looks from each of the perspectives of the Integral model. These chapters provide an in depth look at the developmental dynamics of Gender in each quadrant and as a result establish a solid foundation for the rest of the dissertation to stand on. It is refreshing to see a non-static view of Gender presented in each area. You identify the important contributions on and about Gender from multiple schools associated with each quadrant. These chapters (as is the case with the whole dissertation) are well written and easy to follow your line of argumentation. You use the integral model to help summarize historical positions and various debates within each domain – helping to build a multi-dimensional understanding of Gender. Your survey of Gender in these chapters provides an important model to future researchers of how they might use the four quadrants in their own projects. Also, you provide critical and reflective comments throughout thereby

modeling integral discourse. You are able to substantiate your position, through multiple sources, that Gender in each quadrant demonstrates increased differentiation and eventual integration. In particular, I found the last 10 pages of analysis where you link the four perspectives by highlighting the “interrelationships among the developmental paths” to be a great illustration of integral thinking.

Chapter 4 I found the methodology to be well thought-out, interesting, straightforward, and worthwhile. It is a simple but revealing approach, which illustrates how an integral method doesn’t have to be overly complex to shine new and important light into an area. You provide clear statements of purpose and your five research questions are simple but important. You do a good job of explaining your rationale for each component of the design. Your selection of 11 journals and 851 articles gives you a broad and deep basis for a powerful content analysis. Your overview of the 8 zones associated with IMP is well done. I would have liked to see you make more connections between each zone and Gender. Also, zone 6 was quite short, which seemed odd given how big a role this zone played in the findings in later chapters. Not surprisingly (due to their complex nature) zones 5 and 7 could have used a little more “unpacking” and clarification. Some aspects of these sections (zones 5 and 7) were a “little off” but not enough to compromise the research. The 8 zone coding scheme developed (Table 5) is really well done and serves as a model for future integral researchers.

In Chapters 5 and 6 I found your research and analysis to be very engaging and revealing of interesting dynamics within the social sciences around Gender. You provide a good amount of examples of how the zones are used in the various articles. This is a strength of your research as it allows future integral scholars to really look closely at

what you were looking at when you made your interpretations. While I didn't always agree with you I could see the logic of your thinking and felt you could justify your position. One area that I felt would have benefited from more clarity is the sections in Chapter 5 on zones 2 and 5. Many of the zone 2 examples could have also been used for zone 5 in so far as they drew on cognitive schemas, cognitive science, and heuristics. So more analysis of these possible links would have benefited the reader. Also, I would have liked to have seen some examples in the zone 2 section on how individuals at different stages of psychological development (e.g., Kegan's orders of consciousness) make sense of Gender. I like the point you make that zone 5 needs zone 6 and zone 7 needs zone 8. Thus, there were many important insights you came to on your own that highlight underdeveloped areas of exploration within integral theory. Overall I found the findings in these chapters to be really fascinating and engaging (e.g., that outside zones are used more than inside zones). I really liked the three kinds of dynamics you outline in Chapter 6 (e.g., "zone-gaps") and feel these distinctions are the unique result of using IMP and thus provide a valuable contribution to the development of integral research itself. Given the many important points made in Chapters 5 and 6 I would like to see a summary of these key insights – in a table or bullet point form – that could serve as a set of guidelines for social scientists in particular and integral researchers in general. In other words, I feel that many can benefit from your research and would like to see you take a meta-view on your findings and situate it in a broader context so they are more accessible to others so they can better avoid the pitfalls you have documented.

In conclusion, I feel you do a great job of building a case for the utility and value of a multi-method approach. Your research highlights the complexity of Gender and how

an integral approach can help avoid some of the mismatches and blind spots of research that fails to take into account multiple perspectives and methods. While I point out a few areas above that could be improved I feel that what you have done is admirable and groundbreaking. Again, congratulations on a solid dissertation – one that I will be sure to point future students to as a resource for their own integral research.