

## Putting Gender Into Context: An Interactive Model of Gender-Related Behavior

Kay Deaux  
Purdue University

Brenda Major  
State University of New York  
at Buffalo

A model that describes conditions influencing the display of gender-related behavior is presented as a supplement to existent models of sex differences. Whereas many previous models stress the importance of distal factors, our model emphasizes the degree to which gender-related behavior is variable, proximally caused, and context dependent. More specifically, we propose that gender-related behaviors are influenced by the expectations of perceivers, self-systems of the target, and situational cues. This model of gender-related behavior builds on theory and data in the areas of (a) expectancy confirmation processes and (b) self-verification and self-presentation strategies. Support for the model is presented, and suggestions are offered for its future development.

Are men and women different, and if so, why? These seemingly simple questions have proved remarkably resistant to satisfactory answers, despite a long tradition of attempts. Investigators of some eras have emphasized differences between women and men, whereas those of other eras have argued for the essential similarity of the sexes. For example, in recent years one can observe a minimization of sex differences in the benchmark work of Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) and a reendorsement of sex differences in the subsequent work of Gilligan (1982), Eagly (1987), and others. Proponents of both views have had problems. Those who predict stable sex differences have had trouble accounting for the often limited ability of sex to predict behavior and for a variability that sometimes appears random.

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Kay Deaux, who is now at City University of New York, Graduate Center, Box 325, 33 West 42 Street, New York, New York 10036-8099 or to Brenda Major, Department of Psychology, Park Hall, State University of New York at Buffalo, Amherst, New York 14260.

Those who argue that there are no stable sex differences, on the other hand, have had difficulty explaining widespread male-female differences in the culture at large. In short, researchers attempting to document and replicate sex differences have often found them elusive, a case of "now you see them, now you don't." These contrasting patterns of variability and stability, of similarity and difference, have presented a persistent challenge for theories of gender.

Our goal is to offer an interaction-based model of gender that captures both the stability and flexibility of sex differences in social behavior. The model emphasizes the extent to which gender-linked social behaviors are multiply determined, highly flexible, and context dependent. More specifically, we conceptualize gender as a component of ongoing interactions in which perceivers emit expectancies, targets (selves) negotiate their own identities, and the context in which interaction occurs shapes the resultant behavior. This model is distinctly social psychological in its roots.

We view our model as supplementing, although not supplanting, prior theoretical models of gender. The majority of models stress how gender-related behaviors emerge or are acquired. Biological models (e.g., Hutt, 1972; Wilson, 1975) argue for genetic, hormonal, and physical factors as the determinants of sex differences. Other theories emphasize the early acquisition of gender-related behaviors. Although their explanatory mechanisms differ considerably, such perspectives as psychoanalytic theory, social learning theory, and cognitive developmental theory assume that early learning ultimately accounts for adult sex differences in a wide variety of behaviors (Maccoby, 1966). More sociological models, such as social role theory (Eagly, 1987) and expectation states theory (Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch, 1980), propose that aspects of the social structure, such as the distribution of women and men into different social roles, promote stable patterns of behavioral differences between women and men. These latter models explain group or aggregate differences between men and women but are less useful for predicting when and whether individual men and women will behave differently.

In contrast to the aforementioned models, our model focuses on the *display* of gender-linked behaviors rather than their *acquisition*. Furthermore, we stress the importance of *proximal* rather than *distal* causes. That is, we propose that a variety of immediate influences on behavior, such as expectancies conveyed by perceivers, activation of gender-related self-schema, and situational pressures, account for the variable appearance of sex differences. We do not dismiss the influence of distal forces as shapers of men's and women's behavior. Shared cultural experiences may lead to the development of normative beliefs about the behavior of women and men, to differently formulated gender identities, and to different habitual behaviors and preferences. Similarly, biological factors may establish different propensities for men and women to react to their environmental circumstances. These distal forces introduce stability and difference into patterns of male and female behavior. However, immediate pressures produce a high degree of variability from one situation to the next. Consequently, although we acknowledge the stabilizing and differentiating influence of distal factors such as socialization histories, we also regard gender-related behavior as highly flexible and situationally influenced.

Other approaches also emphasize contemporaneous causes of gender-related behavior. Some focus on the degree to which perceivers impose a gender-schematic framework on human behavior, suggesting that sex differences reside in part in the eyes of the beholder (e.g., Bem, 1981; Kessler & McKenna, 1978). Others point to the importance of situational factors, such as the proportion of women and men in a given environment (e.g., Guttentag & Secord, 1983; Kanter, 1977). Still others emphasize personality dimensions such as masculinity, femininity, or androgyny (e.g., Bem, 1974). Although each of these approaches identifies an important set of factors, each presents only a partial perspective. Our model presents a more complete picture by integrating elements from each of these perspectives and, more important, by delineating the processes by which they interrelate.

Like sociologists such as Goffman (1976) and Gerson and Peiss (1985), we believe that the enactment of gender primarily takes place within the context of social interaction, either explicitly or implicitly. People in interaction are simultaneously perceivers of others, targets of others' perceptions, and perceivers of themselves. In accord with other recent theorists (cf. Athay & Darley, 1981; Swann, 1984), we view social interaction as a process of identity negotiation whereby perceivers and selves (targets) attempt to attain their interaction goals. This framework implies that both actors construct their behaviors to meet the demands of the immediate situation. Hence, people may assume different identities in different situations and at different times. Nevertheless, people also need to display a fair degree of stability in their behavior with particular others to ensure that interaction with them will be maintained. Thus, in their social encounters, people may experience tension between two needs: the need to routinize their behavior and cognition in accord with preestablished conceptualizations and behavioral patterns, and the need to contextualize their behavior and cognition to fit with immediate situational demands and interaction goals. These contrasting needs foster cross-situational sta-

bility versus variability in behavior, respectively (Athay & Darley, 1981).

Our conceptualization of gender-related behavior in terms of negotiated social interaction draws heavily on two recent process-oriented perspectives on human social behavior. Research concerned with expectancy confirmation processes focuses on the active role of perceivers in maintaining or creating social reality via their cognitions or behaviors toward a target. (For recent reviews of this literature, see Darley & Fazio, 1980, M. J. Harris & Rosenthal, 1985, and Miller & Turnbull, 1986.) This research has identified two major mechanisms by which a perceiver's expectancies for a target individual or group, even if initially false, may eventually be confirmed. The first has been referred to as *cognitive confirmation* (Darley & Gross, 1983), or *cognitive bolstering* (Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977), and describes the processes by which perceivers' cognitive biases operate to maintain their initial expectancies for a target. The second mechanism has been termed *behavioral confirmation* (Snyder et al., 1977), or the "self-fulfilling prophecy" (Merton, 1948), and refers to the processes by which a perceiver's expectancy for a target, communicated through his or her action, actually alters the target's behavior in such a way that the resultant behavior objectively confirms the perceiver's initial expectancy. Studies of expectancy confirmation tend to portray the target as a rather passive participant in social interactions, buffeted and shaped by perceivers' expectancies. We concur with others (cf. Darley & Fazio, 1980; Swann, 1984) that the failure to consider the active role of the target's own self-concept and goals in expectancy confirmation models has led to an unnecessarily static view of social interaction processes. Evidence from a number of sources indicates that a person's self-conceptions have a significant impact on his or her cognitive processing of and affective reactions to information derived through social interaction (cf. Markus, 1977; Markus & Kunda, 1986; Markus & Sentis, 1981; Shrauger, 1982; Swann, 1983; Swann & Read, 1981a). In addition, a large body of research demonstrates that people actively attempt to shape and construct others' perceptions of them through their behavior in social encounters (cf. Baumeister, 1982; E. E. Jones, 1964; E. E. Jones & Pittman, 1982; Swann & Read, 1981b). Although theories of gender have not, for the most part, ignored the individual, they have generally failed to consider the choices and options that men and women have in most situations.

Research on how the self functions in social interaction generally has reflected one of two contrasting viewpoints. One view stresses the degree to which behavior is guided by internal, private needs, especially the need to maintain consistency within the self-concept (cf. Lecky, 1945). Swann (1983) recently has coined the term *self-verification* to describe the ways in which people actively process information and structure their environments and behavior in ways designed to sustain their self-conceptions. According to this view, people process information in ways that ensure a stable self-concept and behave in ways that are consistent with this self-concept.

An alternative perspective stresses the degree to which people are sensitive to the social significance of their conduct and strive to create valued social identities in their encounters with others (cf. Baumeister, 1982; E. E. Jones & Pittman, 1982; Schlenker,

1980; Tedeschi, 1981; Tetlock & Manstead, 1985). This view of behavior as a form of *self-presentation* (Goffman, 1959) stresses that others not only provide a significant source of information about the self but also furnish important social rewards to the individual. Hence, people have a large stake in controlling the inferences that others draw about them from their behavior, and they commit to certain identities or selves that seem most suitable or most potentially rewarding in a particular situation (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934; Stryker, 1980; Stryker & Serpe, 1982). This is not necessarily a conscious process, nor is the resulting behavior necessarily an accurate portrayal of the self (Arkin, 1981; Baumeister, 1982).<sup>1</sup>

We concur with others (Scheier & Carver, 1981; Tetlock & Manstead, 1985) that these two views of how the self functions in social interaction each presents only a partial view of the person. Processes of self-verification and self-presentation are naturally interwoven; people monitor their behavior against both internal (private self-identity) and external (public identity) standards as they strive to attain their interaction goals. Furthermore, in many circumstances, it may be impossible to determine whether behavior is performed in the service of presenting oneself favorably to others so as to gain a positive public identity or in the service of presenting oneself in a manner that is consistent with a (positive) self-identity. We agree with Tetlock and Manstead's recent position that "the dichotomy between the two categories of theory is arbitrary" (1985, p. 72). The seemingly contradictory predictions from these research perspectives can be resolved only by acknowledging that the different theories speak to different occasions. Consequently, gender-related behavior may be motivated by either self-presentation or self-verification concerns. Although these motivations are not necessarily mutually exclusive, moderating factors can give greater weight to one or the other of these general concerns. In short, we believe that the processes of expectancy confirmation, self-verification, and self-presentation add appreciably to our understanding of the determinants of gender-linked behavior.

### A Model of Gender and Social Interaction

The proposed model attempts to define those factors that critically influence the frequency and extent to which differences between women's and men's social behavior will occur. As already noted, this model deals with the display, rather than the acquisition, of gender-related behaviors. As such, its terrain is observable social behaviors where the person presumably has a choice in how to behave. We do not dispute that there are differences in underlying properties and potentials of people, such as biological factors and socialization histories, some of which may be gender related. Nonetheless, we also assume that men and women are relatively equal in their potentialities for most social behaviors and that behaviors may differ widely as a function of personal choice, the behavior of others, and the situational context.

Our model further assumes that these behaviors take place in the context of social interaction, either explicitly or implicitly. Although the model is presented in the form of dyadic interaction for ease of presentation, the theoretical assumptions are

applicable to a larger group context as well. The model is presented in Figure 1.

This model proposes a hypothesized sequence of events but does not represent a causal model in the statistical sense. It contains three key elements: (a) a perceiver, who enters the interaction with a set of beliefs about gender and with personal interaction goals; (b) a target individual, who enters the interaction with his or her own gender-related self-conceptions and interaction goals; and (c) a situation, which can vary in the degree to which it makes gender-related issues salient. To simplify matters, we have arbitrarily labeled one individual the *perceiver* (expectancy-holder) and the other the *self* (target), although we recognize that these roles are interchangeable. We believe that this model, in its general form, is applicable to a broad range of social interactions, each with its own dimensions of importance. In the present discussion, however, we focus particularly on the applicability of the model to gender-related behaviors and beliefs.

Let us briefly describe the processes involved in this model (see Figure 1). From the vantage point of the perceiver, the model stipulates that perceivers approach situations with a set of beliefs about the target—beliefs that are based on categorical assumptions or that derive from past experience with the particular individual (Box A). These beliefs, which constitute only one of a number of possible schemata that might be appropriate to the situation, can be activated by a variety of factors (Box B). Influenced by these beliefs as well as by specific interaction goals, the perceiver then acts toward the target (Box C).

Shifting to the vantage point of the target or the self, we suggest that targets enter situations with a set of beliefs about themselves (self-concepts, self-schemata, self-systems) (Box D), particular aspects of which may be activated by factors similar to those that affect the perceiver (Box E). After interpreting the actions of the perceiver (Box F), the target then weighs possible alternatives and takes some action in accord with his or her interaction goals—action that may either confirm or disconfirm the beliefs of the perceiver (Box G).

This interaction sequence is far from invariant, and its course is affected by two general classes of modifying conditions (Box H). First, characteristics of the transmitted expectancy may vary. Of specific importance to this model are the social desirability of the expected behavior, the certainty with which the expectancy is held by the perceiver, and the degree to which it is conveyed by situational cues. A second set of modifying conditions concerns the relative balance between the target's concerns with self-presentation and self-verification.

To complete the cycle, and in a manner consistent with Darley and Fazio (1980), the model considers the perceiver's inter-

<sup>1</sup> Swann (1983, 1984) has proposed that people engage in self-presentational behavior with the goal of eliciting self-verifying reactions from others. Self-presentation in the service of self-verification should be less responsive to variations in the specific audience and more sensitive to the degree to which a particular dimension of the self-concept is certain, salient, and important to the individual (Baumeister, 1982; Swann, 1983). This view suggests greater stability and consistency of behavior across situations because people try to bring others to see them in a manner consistent with a (relatively stable) self-concept.

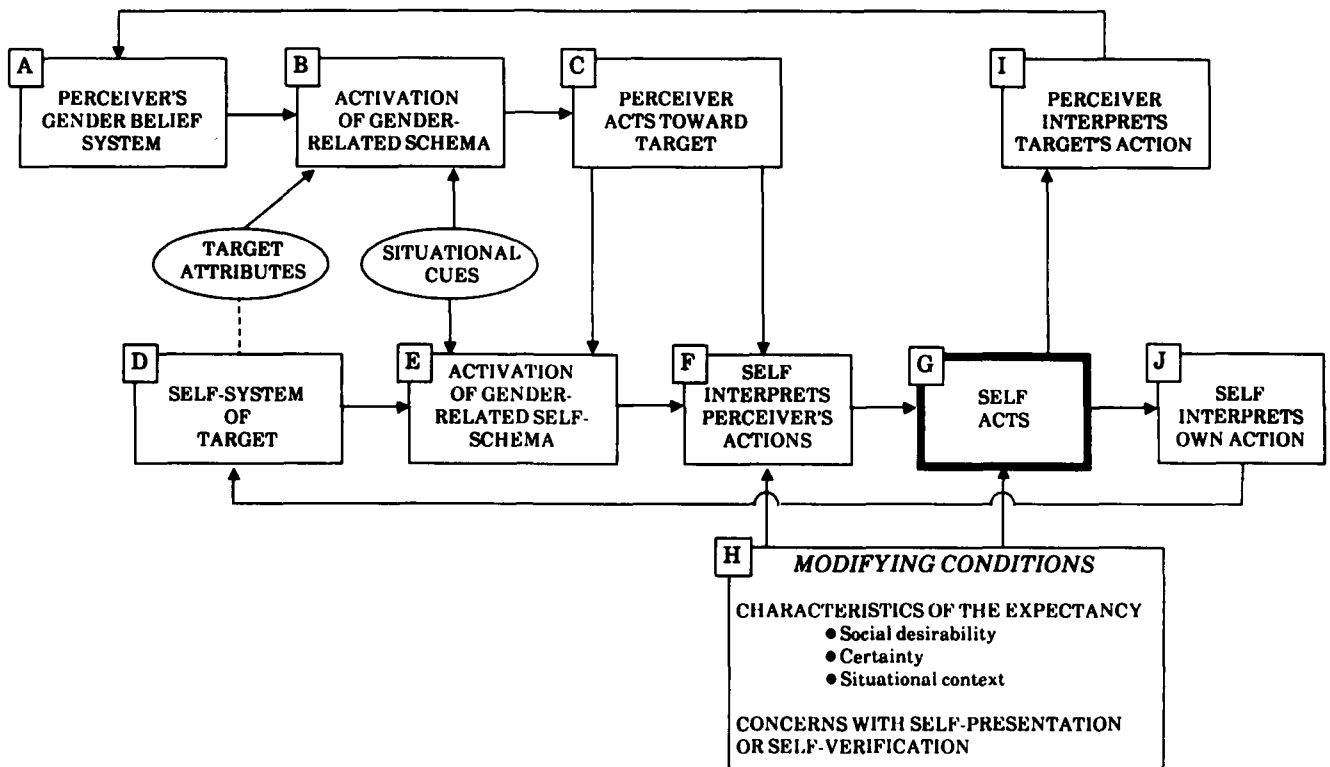


Figure 1. A model of social interaction for gender-related behavior.

pretation of the target's action (Box I) and the target's interpretations of his or her own actions (Box J).

Before turning to a more detailed analysis of each stage in this model, we might consider how an instance of gender-related behavior would be interpreted within this framework. Specifically, the model should be able to point to situations in which the behavior of women and men would be (a) similar or (b) different as a function of different conditions. Consider the case of targets Joan and John, both entry-level managers. They face the situation of a performance appraisal exercise that involves leadership of a small group. The perceiver in this example is Manager X, who has supervisory responsibility over both persons.

We begin by summarizing an interaction sequence that should maximize the likelihood that sex differences in leadership style will emerge. Manager X firmly believes that men and women have quite different characteristics, particularly in the area of leadership style (Box A). These beliefs are not only chronically accessible for Manager X but have been recently activated by an incident at work that highlighted differences between women and men (Box B). These beliefs prompt Manager X to convey quite different messages to Joan and John as to what is expected in the exercise (Box C). For example, Manager X hints to John that the group session is an opportunity for him to show his ability to take charge, but Manager X emphasizes the cooperative aspects of the group situation when talking to Joan.

To continue our maximal sex differences example, assume

that Joan and John have quite different histories of leadership experience and quite different self-images as to their leadership abilities and preferred styles (Box D). Furthermore, the group context, because of past associations, activates different issues for the two managers, differences that are accentuated by the expectancy the manager has conveyed (Box E). Not surprisingly, John interprets the situation as an opportunity to show how well he can take charge, whereas Joan interprets the situation as an opportunity to show her cooperative talents (Box F). Joan and John then act quite differently in the group setting (Box G). This observable sex difference in behavior then feeds back to confirm the initial beliefs of Manager X (Box I) as well as the initial self-assessments of John and Joan (Box J).

Given the same basic scenario, we would expect to find few if any sex differences to the extent (a) that Manager X held very similar beliefs and expectancies regarding male and female leadership styles or (b) that gender-related beliefs were not activated in the perceiver; and (c) that Joan and John had equivalent self-systems or (d) that similar self-schema regarding leadership style were activated in Joan and John.

Frequently, however, perceiver-generated and self-generated expectations for behavior are inconsistent. For example, although Manager X might believe that men and women manage differently, Joan and John might in fact have quite similar self-conceptions and behavioral tendencies. Alternatively, Manager X might expect Joan and John to behave similarly, but they may bring quite different self-conceptions, dispositions, and leadership preferences to the setting. In such instances, the proposed

modifying conditions (Box H) become important in predicting the outcome of the interaction sequence. Sex differences in leadership style would be more apt to emerge, for example, to the extent that the supervisor who conveyed different expectancies had a great deal of power or made the message quite clear. Furthermore, whether Joan and John behaved assertively or cooperatively would be influenced not only by their own self-schemata but also by the degree to which they interpreted the manager's expectation as desirable or the degree to which they were more concerned with self-presentation or self-verification goals.

Having provided this hypothetical example of the process, we now consider the model in more detail by discussing the research that supports the applicability of this model to gender-related interactions.

### *Belief System of the Perceiver*

A first assumption of this model is that a perceiver forms or has an expectancy regarding the target individual's behavior, intentions, or dispositions. Such expectancies can be based on direct observation of the target's behaviors or on inferences derived from the class of individuals to which the target belongs or roles he or she occupies. These expectancies can be thought to be organized in terms of schemata that affect the way experience is interpreted and evaluated (Hastie, 1981; S. E. Taylor & Crocker, 1981).

In the specific case of gender, we suggest that perceivers have a set of beliefs about women and men, which we refer to as the *gender belief system* (Deaux & Kite, in press). The gender belief system consists of a set of beliefs about men and women, including both descriptive and prescriptive elements. In any given situation, this belief system may be evidenced in specific expectancies about what a particular man or woman will do.

Probably the most familiar manifestation of the gender belief system is the stereotype. A body of research on gender stereotypes over the past 20 years has shown that there are consensual beliefs about the personality traits that characterize the average man and women (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Broverman, 1968; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975; Williams & Best, 1982). Specifically, traits related to instrumentality, dominance, and assertiveness are believed to be more characteristic of men than women, and traits related to expressiveness, warmth, and concern for other people are believed to be more characteristic of women than men. Many other attributes are associated with women and men as well, such as certain role behaviors, physical characteristics, and occupational positions (Deaux & Lewis, 1983, 1984).

In addition to these global beliefs about the general categories of women and men, people have more specific beliefs about certain types of women and men, such as career woman, housewife, business man, and macho man (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Titus, 1984; Clifton, McGrath, & Wick, 1976; Deaux, Winton, Crowley, & Lewis, 1985; Holland & Davidson, 1983; Noseworthy & Lott, 1984). These types correspond to the roles that men and women typically occupy in society. To the extent that a target individual is believed to be representative of a particular type of woman or man, these more particularized beliefs may take

priority over the general conceptions of women and men. Whether the perceiver bases his or her expectancies on the general category or the more circumscribed subtype, these beliefs exemplify the category-based expectancies that E. E. Jones and McGillis (1976) have discussed.

The more individuating information that is available to the perceiver, the less likely it is that general categories will be used. For example, in a long-term relationship, some elements of gender stereotypes may become unimportant. At the same time, negotiated role relationships (e.g., a division of labor within the household) may perpetuate and even strengthen other elements of the gender belief system. In short, although gender beliefs are pervasive and may be readily applied to targets on the simple basis of their sex, we expect perceivers to form expectancies more on the basis of individuated information about the target to the extent that it is available.

Individual perceivers unquestionably differ in the content of their gender belief systems and in their readiness to apply these beliefs to any given situation (Martin, 1987). Nevertheless, attempts to assess individual differences in gender-related beliefs have met with varying degrees of success. Part of the difficulty lies, we suspect, in the multidimensional nature of the gender belief system and in the diverse behaviors that investigators have tried to predict. Bem (1981) has suggested that some people are *gender schematic*, prone to interpret most situations in gender terms and to process and store information according to gender, whereas others (labeled *gender aschematic*) are less likely to use gender as an organizing principle. Although the general idea is a reasonable one, there are substantial grounds for questioning Bem's particular formulation and measurement of gender schematicity (cf. Deaux, Kite, & Lewis, 1985; Pyke & Graham, 1983; Spence & Helmreich, 1981). More specific measures of attitudes toward the roles of women and men, such as the Attitudes Toward Women scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972; Spence, Helmreich, & Strapp, 1973) and the FEM scale (Smith, Ferree, & Miller, 1975) have shown more predictive utility. When these dimensions are relevant to the interaction, the perceiver's position on them should influence his or her subsequent behavior toward the target.

### *Activation of the Perceiver's Schema*

Given that a perceiver has many possible schemata that can be used in a given situation, what factors are responsible for triggering a particular gender-related schema? We identify three major sources of influence: from the perceiver, target, and situation. More specifically, we propose that a particular gender-linked schema will be more likely to be activated in a perceiver to the degree that (a) it is chronically high in the perceiver's schema hierarchy, (b) it is primed by immediately preceding thoughts and events, (c) it is triggered by immediately observable general attributes of the target, or (d) it is prompted by situations that are sex linked or that make the target's gender salient.

Perceivers differ in both the chronic and momentary accessibility of gender-related schemata (Higgins & King, 1981). In terms of chronic accessibility, the gender schematic individual might always be more likely to activate a gender schema than

would a gender aschematic individual. Frequently used schemata may, in a sense, be permanently primed and hence chronically activated (Higgins, King, & Mavin, 1982). In terms of momentary accessibility, the likelihood that a person will activate his or her gender belief system should be influenced by immediately preceding thoughts and events (Bargh, Bond, Lombardi, & Tota, 1986; Wyer & Srull, 1980). Thus the person who had just watched the Miss America pageant on television, for example, would be more apt to be thinking in gender schematic terms than would a person who had been watching an evening news report of a hijacking.

A second impetus for activation of a particular schema is aspects of the target individual himself or herself. Immediately observable attributes such as sex, race, and physical appearance may be particularly likely to activate corresponding stereotypes and belief systems (Herman, Zanna, & Higgins, 1986; E. E. Jones et al., 1984; McArthur, 1982). Indeed, Kessler and McKenna (1978) have argued that what they term *gender attribution* is a universal process, taking precedence over many other forms of categorization. Thus, we would suggest that there is a high probability that the gender schema will be activated quickly, particularly in the initial stages of social interaction. Certain features of a target such as dress or nonverbal gestures may cause a perceiver to invoke particular gender subtypes and their associated beliefs. For example, Spence and Sawin (1985) found that when asked to describe the characteristics of a very feminine woman, 84% of women and 64% of men mentioned physical attributes such as physical shape (e.g., petite, shapely), movements and speech (e.g., graceful, soft voice), and dress and care of appearance (e.g., frilly dresses, pretty hairdo). Similarly, 68% of women and 59% of men mentioned physical attributes when asked to describe a very masculine man. Thus, through the use of identity cues such as possessions, attire, cosmetics, and nonverbal mannerisms, targets may evoke particular expectancies in perceivers before any interchange has taken place (Swann, 1984).<sup>2</sup>

Characteristics of the immediate situation are a third influence on the activation of gender-related expectancies. For example, a nursery school may make beliefs about women's interest in children salient, just as an auto mechanic's shop may make certain beliefs about men prevalent. The fraternity-sorority mixer, with its fairly explicit heterosexual goals, would similarly activate gender-related beliefs about dating, flirting, and the like. The salience of the target vis-à-vis other aspects of the situation also increases the probability that gender-related schemata will be activated (Fiske & Taylor, 1984). Consequently, perceivers interacting with the only woman among a group of men or the only man among a group of women may be particularly likely to activate expectancies with respect to the target's sex. In a work context, Gutek and Morasch (1982) have proposed that a skewed sex ratio elicits "sex role spillover," which they define as "the carryover into the workplace of gender-based expectations for behavior" (p. 58). We would interpret this as the activation of gender belief systems.

### *The Perceiver Acts*

Once a particular gender schema has been activated in a perceiver, his or her behavior toward the target will be channeled

by this schema as well as by his or her goals for the interaction. This behavioral channeling can be demonstrated in several ways. At one extreme, a perceiver's expectancies may be manifested by active avoidance of a target or the rapid termination of interaction with that target (Darley & Fazio, 1980). Such behavior can have important consequences for the target if the perceiver holds some power over the target. For example, beliefs that women are less competent than men, less suited to positions of authority, or in other ways different from men may set up a process whereby women are less likely to be hired, promoted, elected, or admitted to certain occupations, institutions, offices or clubs (cf. Heilman & Guzzo, 1978; Schein, 1973, 1978; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975). Thus, a perceiver's stereotypes about women and men can create and perpetuate sex discrimination and segregation in employment and other domains.

When the perceiver's expectancies do not lead to active avoidance or premature termination of the interaction, these expectancies can affect the manner in which he or she behaves toward the target, thus coloring the nature of the subsequent interaction. The perceiver may communicate his or her expectancies to the target through a variety of mechanisms, including verbal cues, nonverbal cues, and overt action (Harris & Rosenthal, 1985). The exact form the perceiver's behavior takes depends on a number of factors, including his or her goals for the interaction (Miller & Turnbull, 1986). The effects of social stereotypes on perceivers' behaviors have been well documented. For example, Word, Zanna, and Cooper (1974) found that White interviewers showed less nonverbal immediacy toward Black job applicants than White job applicants, and Snyder et al. (1977) found that male college students behaved in a more warm and sociable manner with women they believed to be physically attractive than with those they believed to be unattractive. Similarly, students who hold negative attitudes toward homosexuality behave differently toward a man identified as a homosexual than do students whose attitudes are less negative (Kite & Deaux, 1986).

With particular reference to gender, Skrypnik and Snyder (1982) asked male perceivers to negotiate a division of labor on sex-linked tasks with a partner believed to be either male or female. When the perceivers believed their partner was female rather than male, they allotted more feminine tasks to their partner and were less likely to accede to their partner's preferences. Although in this instance selection of one's own task and assignment to partner were not independent, Lewis (1985) found a similar pattern in the assignment of chores to male or female partners by subjects of both sexes when the two choices were not dependent on one another. Further, her research showed that this allocation pattern was associated with the indi-

<sup>2</sup> Physical information may allow for activation of more than one schema, an issue that Rothbart and John (1985) have recently explored. At this point, however, we do not really know whether a Black woman, for example, would activate the beliefs about Blacks *and* the beliefs about women, or whether people typically have more specific prototypes, such as Black woman, that contain their own unique set of associations.

vidual's liberal or traditional attitudes toward equal rights, as assessed on the FEM scale (Smith et al., 1975).

Differential behaviors toward a target on the basis of his or her sex are not limited to the task division of labor studied by Skrypnik and Snyder (1982) and Lewis (1985). A number of studies have demonstrated that people behave differently toward women and men. For example, people allocate rewards more generously (Callahan-Levy & Messe, 1979), engage in more self-disclosure (Cozby, 1973), and behave somewhat less aggressively (Eagly & Steffen, 1986) when they believe the recipient of their action is female rather than male. In short-term encounters, more help typically is offered to women than to men (Eagly & Crowley, 1986), especially if women are wearing feminine attire (M. B. Harris & Bays, 1973). Women are approached more closely, gazed at more (Hall, 1984), and touched more than are men (Major, 1981). In general, the nonverbal cues that have been implicated in much of the expectancy confirmation work are particularly operative in the gender area (Henley, 1977). Through such processes, perceivers translate their activated belief systems about women and men into differential behaviors directed toward male and female targets.

### *Self-System of the Target*

We regard targets not as "blank slates," but as active agents who enter interactions with their own unique set of self-conceptions and interaction goals. In accord with recent cognitive models of the self (cf. Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984; Kuiper, 1981; Markus, 1977; Rogers, 1981), we conceptualize the self-concept as a system of self-schemata that both structures experience and aids in the processing of self-relevant information. Because people develop self-schemata only for those aspects of their behavior that are personally important, systems of self-schemata are highly idiosyncratic. Nevertheless, some self-schemata may be universal, that is, possessed by almost everyone to some degree (Markus & Sentis, 1981).

Gender undoubtedly qualifies as a universal self-schema. As Spence has stated, "it is unarguable . . . that gender is one of the earliest and most central components of the self-concept and serves as an organizing principle through which many experiences and perceptions of self and other are filtered" (1985, p. 64). There is, of course, a substantial history of research that has studied the acquisition of gender identity, generally defined as a "fundamental, existential sense of one's maleness or femaleness, an acceptance of one's gender as a social-psychological construction that parallels acceptance of one's biological sex" (Spence, 1984, p. 83; see also Green, 1974; Money & Ehrhardt, 1972; and Stoller, 1968). Gender identity is acknowledged to be acquired quite early, generally by 2 or 3 years of age (Money & Ehrhardt, 1972). Somewhat later, gender constancy is learned (see Martin & Halverson, 1983, for a review). Thus at some very basic level of self-definition, people consider themselves to be masculine or feminine.

Attempts to assess these self-conceptions of masculinity and femininity have a long history, beginning with the early work of Terman and Miles (1936) and their development of a single bipolar dimension to assess masculinity and femininity. Forecast by Constantinople's (1973) important critique of the unidi-

dimensional concept, investigators have introduced two-dimensional assessment systems (e.g., Bem, 1974; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974). Although some (e.g., Bem, 1974) have suggested that these two dimensions could predict behavior in an almost unlimited realm of gender-related domains (and have made equally sweeping claims for the combination category of androgyny<sup>3</sup>), it has become apparent that these measures of masculinity and femininity are more limited in scope. As indexes of self-reported instrumental/agentive and communal/expressive tendencies, respectively, they predict primarily to domains that draw on those tendencies (cf. Feather, 1984; Spence, 1984, 1985; M. C. Taylor & Hall, 1982). For example, being high in communal characteristics might be related to success in an occupation like nursing that presumably draws on communality, but would not necessarily predict success in an occupation unrelated to communion, like cooking.

The concepts of masculinity and femininity incorporate far more than these two trait dimensions (see Spence, 1984, 1985, for a discussion of these issues). Furthermore, the behaviors that any one person associates with masculinity or femininity are often idiosyncratic. Applying this formulation to the present model, it becomes clear that available measures of masculinity or femininity will have limited predictability for a person's gender-related behaviors. Not all people will have coded the same behaviors as part of their masculine or feminine self-schemata. Furthermore, not all behaviors that differentiate the sexes are consciously linked to gender identity or masculinity/femininity. A particular woman might define herself as more nurturant than a particular man either (a) because nurturance is more closely linked to femininity or (b) because her self-schema for nurturance is more central and well developed, independent of any link to femininity. Thus we view masculinity and femininity as self-schemata that are idiosyncratic and multidimensional.

### *Activation of Self-Schemata*

Gender, or any other aspect of the self, will guide behavior only to the degree that it is activated. This assumption is predicated on contemporary and classic views of the self as multifaceted (Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984; James, 1890; Rosenberg & Gara, 1985; Scheier & Carver, 1981). The particular aspect of the self that is active at a given moment has been termed the *phenomenal self* (E. E. Jones & Gerard, 1967) and, more recently, the *working self-concept* (Markus & Kunda, 1986). Given that there are multiple selves, what determines when any particular gender-related working self-concept will be salient? Many of the same factors that determine which perceiver expectancy is activated are relevant here. We propose that gender schemata are more likely to be activated in a given interaction to the degree that (a) gender is a central, well-differentiated component of the self-concept, (b) the target's working self-concept with respect to gender has been recently activated or activated frequently in the past, (c) immediate situational cues make gen-

<sup>3</sup> The specific concept of androgyny is not directly relevant to the present model and thus that voluminous literature is not included here.

der schemata salient, or (d) a perceiver's actions make gender schemata salient.

People differ in their core self-conceptions. Those unique aspects of the self that are central, well differentiated, and held with high certainty (e.g., for which a person is schematic) may be chronically accessible and hence activated across a wide variety of situations (Higgins & King, 1981). As McGuire and his colleagues have shown, accessibility of gender is affected by one's stable environment. For example, school children who came from households in which their sex was the minority were more likely to mention gender when listing self-attributes than were children who came from households in which their sex was a majority (McGuire, McGuire, & Winton, 1979). Presumably, their minority status made gender more salient on more occasions, thus increasing its standing in the self-concept hierarchy. Note, however, that only 20% of the children mentioned sex even in the minority condition, which suggests that gender is not always activated.

The particular subset of self-conceptions that is active at any given moment also is dependent on ongoing social events. For example, those aspects of the self that have been recently activated are more likely to be accessible. Situational factors also affect the working self-concept. A particularly important feature of situations is the extent to which they make a person feel distinctive. McGuire and his colleagues have found that school children are more likely to refer to their ethnicity, height, or eye color when these attributes are more distinctive in their classroom (McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978). With specific reference to gender, Cota and Dion (1986) reported that college students are more likely to mention their sex when their sex is in the minority in a group. Kanter (1977) has vividly described the salience of gender for the person who is a token in an organizational setting.

Specific characteristics of a situation often force people to consider certain aspects of themselves. There are many tasks and situations that have fairly clear gender-linked connotations and hence may be apt to activate a person's gender schema. In numerous studies, for example, subjects have been told explicitly that a task is performed better by men or by women, with differing consequences (e.g., Deaux & Farris, 1977). Only slightly less explicit are those studies that use material associated more strongly with one sex than the other, such as cooking utensils or infant care as opposed to mechanical tools (e.g., Deaux & Emswiller, 1974; Karabenick, Sweeney, & Penrose, 1983). Such manipulations, we suggest, are likely to activate gender-related aspects of the self-concept.

Particular life events also make certain schemata salient. Spence (1984, 1985), for example, has suggested that gender identity becomes more salient for a woman when she loses a spouse through death or divorce. Similarly, men's strong identification with the role of worker and family provider may mean that the loss of a job makes masculinity particularly salient. Physical threats, such as breast cancer for women or prostate cancer for men, can also make gender particularly salient.

Finally, gender schemata may be activated by specific actions of the perceiver toward the target. Gender may become salient for the target to the extent that a perceiver clearly predicates his or her behavior on certain assumptions about gender. For

example, the colleague on a softball team who comments, "You throw just like a woman," may activate a gender schema where only an athletic schema or recreation schema was operative in working memory prior to the comment. Similarly, the vice president who turns to one of her male staff members and asks for the "man's view" on some issue may displace his worker schema and make gender salient.

### *The Self Interprets the Perceiver's Action*

As the perceiver acts in some manner toward the target, we assume (along with Darley & Fazio, 1980, and others) that the target engages in some interpretation of the perceiver's actions. There is considerable room for variation in such interpretations. Abbey (1982), for example, found that men and women will interpret friendliness on the part of a female quite differently, with men assuming more sexual intent than do women for the same behavior. Although not necessarily conscious, some interpretation is necessary for subsequent action on the part of the target and, as the example suggests, can be expected to lead to different courses of action. Thus the target at this point is attempting to determine the perceiver's intentions, is engaged in some self-evaluation, and may be making more complex attributions about interactions between perceiver, target, and the particular situation (Darley & Fazio, 1980).

In extracting information from the perceiver's presentation, targets are especially likely to pay attention to information that is consistent with their working self-concept; in turn, they disregard or ignore information that is discrepant from their self-view (Swann, 1984). For example, recent research on cognitive processing of self-relevant information shows that people selectively attend to information that they think is consistent with their self-view and recall such information better (Swann & Read, 1981a). They prefer to acquire self-consistent feedback, are willing to pay more money for it, and think it is more informative than self-discrepant feedback (Swann & Read, 1981b). At the same time, people will disregard self-discrepant feedback as inaccurate (Shrauger & Lund, 1975) and regard ambiguous feedback as confirmatory (Jacobs, Berscheid, & Walster, 1971). When interpreting this feedback, people make more dispositional attributions for self-consistent feedback and more situational attributions for self-discrepant feedback (Kulik, Sledge, & Mahler, 1986).

Although considerable evidence supports a powerful self-protective motive, it is certainly not the case that targets are oblivious to contradictory messages. Insufficiently explored but of critical importance are the goals that the target has for an interaction and the context in which it occurs. Evidence indicates that people are more likely to attend to, and more likely to remember, information about a person the more they expect to interact with that person in the future (Berscheid, Graziano, Monson, & Dermer, 1976). Furthermore, people pay more attention to others providing negative evaluations of the self than to others providing positive evaluations of the self, particularly when they expect to interact with the evaluator (Graziano, Brothen, & Berscheid, 1980). Hence, targets may be particularly motivated to attend to self-discrepant or negative feedback



when they can use this feedback to adjust their behavior and control future interactions with the perceiver.

Dominant self-schemata can unquestionably bias the target's interpretations of the perceiver's actions. This analysis suggests that when people's self-schemata linked to gender are activated, they may be especially prone to interpret others' behavior toward them in sex-linked terms. For example, the solo female manager may be particularly sensitive to the gender-related implications of her coworkers' behaviors toward her.

### *The Self (Target) Acts*

The target's action is the primary focus of this model. Whether the behaviors of women and men will or will not resemble each other depends on the preceding sequence of events (as well as a sequence of modifying conditions to be discussed shortly). It is at this point in the interaction sequence that self-relevant interaction goals such as self-verification or self-presentation may compete with behavioral confirmation processes initiated by the perceiver. Faced with expectancy-generated behavior from a perceiver, does the target's own behavior confirm or disconfirm this expectancy?

Substantial evidence indicates that under some circumstances targets will confirm a perceiver's expectancies (for reviews, see Darley & Fazio, 1980; M. J. Harris & Rosenthal, 1985). For example, targets behave in a more hostile manner with perceivers who behave in a hostile manner toward them (S.C. Jones & Panitch, 1971; Snyder & Swann, 1978a); women who are treated in a more friendly and sociable manner by perceivers respond in turn in a more friendly and sociable way (Snyder et al., 1977); and people interviewed by perceivers who think they are extraverted respond in a more extraverted manner than those interviewed by perceivers who think they are introverted (Snyder & Swann, 1978b).

Behavioral confirmation processes are equally relevant to the enactment of gender-linked behaviors. As a number of authors have noted (cf. Unger, 1985), the fact that women and men are perceived and often treated differently by others may cause women and men to respond differently in turn. For example, women who are offered more help may in turn act more helpless; those who are disclosed to more may reciprocate with greater self-disclosure, and so forth. Similarly, the social and task behaviors of women and men in groups can be affected by the actions of other group members toward them (Wood & Karten, 1986). The exact form of these confirmatory behaviors, that is, whether they are stereotypic or nonstereotypic, varies as a function of the specific expectancy conveyed (Wagner, Ford, & Ford, 1986). To illustrate, Skrypnek and Snyder (1982) found that women who interacted with men who thought they were male chose more masculine tasks for themselves than did women who interacted with men who thought they were female.

Men and women do not always confirm the gender-linked expectancies of others. For example, in a partial replication of the Skrypnek and Snyder study, in which the women's choices were independent of the men's, Lewis (1985) did not replicate their results. She found that the sex linkage of the tasks was only one of several dimensions on which the task could be evaluated and

that when sex was not made explicit, that is, not activated, an alternative dimension (task difficulty) was more salient.

The few interaction studies that have simultaneously manipulated perceivers' expectancies and measured targets' self-conceptions have found little evidence of behavioral confirmation when the perceiver's expectancy is discrepant from the target's self-concept (Major, Cozarelli, Testa, & McFarlin, 1986; Swann & Ely, 1984; Testa & Major, 1986). Furthermore, several studies suggest that targets may work especially hard to disconfirm a perceiver's expectancy when they are aware that it is self-discrepant (Swann & Hill, 1982; Swann & Read, 1981b). Simple awareness of the perceiver's expectancy may also be a critical factor in the confirmation process. Hilton and Darley (1985) found that perceivers maintained their belief in their (false) expectancy only when they interacted with naive (i.e., uninformed) targets. When targets were aware of the perceiver's expectancy, they were able to overcome the belief (in this case, a belief that the target had a "cold" personality). In neither condition, however, did targets behaviorally confirm the perceiver's expectancy. As this example should make clear, the desirability of the conveyed expectancy is of obvious importance as well, a factor we shall discuss in the next section.

In summary, it is increasingly apparent that the actions of a target are multidetermined and influenced by a variety of factors. Simple expectancy confirmation models must be supplanted by models that explicitly recognize the multiple factors that influence behavior and, consequently, can deal with the variability in behavior that results. We propose that self-conceptions and goals, perceivers' expectancies and goals, and situational cues exert essentially additive effects on an individual man's or woman's behavior. That is, once attended to, each of these exerts an independent influence on behavior. For example, nurturant behavior is more likely to be displayed to the degree that (a) the target believes that he or she is nurturant and this working self-concept has been activated, (b) the target interacts with a perceiver who has an activated expectancy that the target is nurturant and conveys this expectancy to the target, and (c) the situation provides cues that nurturant behavior is appropriate (e.g., a crying baby).

This analysis further suggests that whether the target's behavior will appear to confirm the perceiver's expectancy depends to a critical extent on the fit among the target's self-conceptions and goals, the content of the perceiver's expectancy, and the situational cues to behavior. When these three factors are consistent, expectancy confirmation, self-verification, and self-presentation processes work in concert to elicit behavior that corresponds to the perceiver's expectancy. When expectancies generated by the self, the perceiver, and the situation are in conflict, however, what factors determine which of these expectancies will guide the target's behavior? These moderating factors are discussed in the following section.

### *Modifying Conditions*

The behavior of women and men, we have argued, is influenced by several sets of factors: the target's own goals and self-schemata, the expectancies and goals of other people with whom the target interacts, and the context in which that interac-

tion takes place. In our view, the weights of these factors are not stable, but fluctuate. This pattern of fluctuation, we suggest, depends on two major modifying conditions: (a) characteristics of the expectancy, such as the degree to which it is perceived as socially desirable, the degree to which it is held with high certainty by the perceiver or the self, and the degree to which it is clearly conveyed by situational cues; and (b) the degree to which concerns with self-presentation or self-verification are aroused in the target.<sup>4</sup>

### *Characteristics of the Expectancy*

*Social desirability.* In general, we assume that the more socially desirable or positive men and women perceive the expected behavior as being, the more likely they are to provide confirming evidence. This assumption is supported by research indicating that people strive to disconfirm negative social labels (Dutton & Lake, 1973; Farina, Allen, & Saul, 1968; Sherman & Gorkin, 1980; Steele, 1975). Because most people have generally favorable self-conceptions (Swann, Griffin, & Ely, 1982), it is consistent with their self-identity to confirm a positive expectancy. Furthermore, because most people prefer positive over negative feedback and prefer to have others view them in a positive light (McFarlin & Blascovich, 1981; Shrauger, 1975), confirming a positive expectancy also is consistent with self-presentational concerns.

It is also the case that perceivers are less willing to express negative expectancies directly, or even indirectly, because of good manners, charity, or fear of the consequences (Blumberg, 1972; Shrauger, 1982). This pattern has been demonstrated in several studies in which perceivers given a negative (e.g., cold, unsociable, dull) expectancy about a target behaved even more positively to targets than those given a positive expectancy (Bond, 1972; Ickes, Patterson, Rajecki, & Tanford, 1982; Major et al., 1986; Swann & Snyder, 1980). In a similar vein, Goffman (1955) noted the "not even your best friend will tell you" phenomenon, in which unfavorable evaluations are rarely given even to close associates. It is noteworthy that the majority of studies showing behavioral confirmation effects have induced positive expectancies in perceivers (e.g., intellectual potential, sociability) and that those inducing negative expectancies have been less likely to find evidence of behavioral confirmation (e.g., Hilton & Darley, 1985; Major et al., 1986).

Although it seems reasonable to assume that positive expectancies will be confirmed more often than negative expectancies, it may not be equally reasonable to assume that all expectancies can be readily scaled on a positive-negative dimension. In the case of gender, it is not clear whether expecting a man to be competitive is necessarily good or bad, or whether assuming a woman is modest has the same positive connotations that intelligence or sociability would have. Thus the social desirability postulate is contingent on our ability to scale behaviors accordingly.

It is also important to recognize that men and women may differ in their interpretation of the desirability of a particular behavior. Buss (1981), for example, found that men and women differed in their evaluation of various acts of dominance. Men judged self-enhancing and self-asserting acts as more socially

desirable than did women, whereas women rated group-oriented communal acts as more desirable than did men. Such differences in the judged desirability of a behavior, or of an expectancy, may occur within as well as between demographically marked groups. Thus some women may find a comment such as "I bet you'd be a tough competitor" quite positive, whereas others might not. Accordingly, behavioral confirmation would be more likely in the former case than in the latter, despite the equivalence of the expectancy (and probably of the perceived desirability of the statement on the part of the sender).

*Certainty.* We propose that expectancies that are strong and held with high certainty by either the target or the perceiver are more likely to influence the target's behavior than are those that are weak or uncertain.

Targets are especially likely to behave in ways consistent with self-conceptions of which they feel highly certain (Swann & Ely, 1984) and that are personally important to them, that is, that are part of their core rather than peripheral self-concept (Reis, in press). In contrast, targets are more likely to behaviorally confirm others' expectancies when their self-conceptions with respect to those expectancies are uncertain or peripheral. In the case of gender, we assume that all people have some central self-schemata defined around the core concept of masculinity and femininity that are held with a reasonable degree of certainty. The more specific expectancies and behaviors associated with that general concept, however, will differ across individuals and in strength and certainty within individuals.

Similarly, we propose that the influence of a perceiver's expectancies on a target's behavior is greater to the extent that the perceiver's expectancy is held strongly and with high certainty and is perceived (by the perceiver and target) as being especially credible or valid. For example, behavioral confirmation in the Swann and Ely (1984) study occurred only when perceivers were certain of their expectancy for the target (and when targets were relatively uncertain of their self-concept with regard to the expected behavior).

Although targets may often have more confidence in their self-conceptions than perceivers do in their expectancies, general social stereotypes are probably an exception. As Swann (1984) pointed out, perceivers may be quite certain of their expectancies if they receive consensual validation from a large segment of society, as typically occurs with gender stereotypes. By extension, we would expect those people who are highly stereotyped in their views about the sexes to be more likely to elicit stereotypic behaviors from the target.

*Situational context.* Situations differ in the extent to which they provide clear and salient cues to appropriate action. From the early proposals of Lewin to more recent arguments of interactionism (Endler & Magnusson, 1976; Magnusson & Endler, 1977), there has been a recognition that characteristics of a situation have more than trivial influence on behavior. At a general level, situations can be characterized as strong or weak (cf. Mis-

<sup>4</sup> Swann (1984) has proposed four moderator variables that partially overlap with those that we have identified. These include the certainty of the perceiver's expectancy and the target's self-conception, the structure of the interpersonal relationship, the interaction goals of the perceiver and target, and the content of the expectancy.

chel, 1977; Snyder & Ickes, 1985). As defined by Snyder and Ickes, strong situations are ones that "provide salient cues to guide behavior and have a fairly high degree of structure and definition" (1985, p. 904). Weak situations, in contrast, lack these salient cues, have less structure and definition, and presumably allow for a greater range in behavioral choices. Another term for this general dimension is situational constraint (Schutte, Kenrick, & Sadalla, 1985). In a highly constrained situation, such as a job interview, there is more consensus as to what behaviors will be performed. In contrast, the low-constraint situation elicits greater variability in predicted behavior and presumably greater diversity in actual behavior.

Individual influences, whether of the perceiver or the target, should be more evident in the weak or unconstrained situation (Monson, Hesley, & Chernick, 1982). In contrast, when the situation strongly presses for a particular behavior, as for example gender-stereotypic behavior, these pressures may be capable of overriding individual inclinations. Thus, both men and women may respond with speed to the screams of a child in pain, whereas individual differences in nurturance toward children would be more apparent under less constraining circumstances.

To move from the general notion of a strongly defined situation to the prediction of specific behaviors, it is necessary to stipulate just what behaviors are likely in any given situation. Working from a social cognition perspective, Schutte et al. (1985) have shown that there are situational prototypes and that behaviors become more predictable the more prototypical a situation is. In the case of gender, we would suggest that it is possible to define prototypical situations for a variety of gender-linked behaviors. (Eagly's meta-analytic work on aggression and prosocial behavior offers one approach to this kind of situational analysis; see Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Crowley, 1986; Eagly & Steffen, 1986.)

### *Concerns With Self-Presentation or Self-Verification*

A second major factor in predicting whether the target's behavior will confirm or disconfirm a perceiver's expectancy that is self-discrepant is the degree to which self-presentational or self-verification concerns are aroused in the target. We propose that the relative strengths of these two self-relevant motivations and the degree to which gender schemata have been activated in the perceiver or target greatly determine the course of gender-related social behavior. Specifically, to the extent that the target's concerns with self-presentation are aroused, the behavior of women and men is most apt to be shaped by the expectancies of the perceiver or conform to salient situational norms, assuming that these are not perceived as negative. Whether this elicits sex differences, of course, depends on the content of the perceiver's expectancies and the nature of the situational cues. In contrast, when the target's concerns with self-verification are enhanced, it is more likely that his or her behavior will conform to self-beliefs. Under these circumstances, women's and men's behavior should best be predicted by the content of their individual gender-linked self-schemata. In accord with Tetlock and Manstead (1985), we believe that people frequently are simultaneously concerned with both self-presentation and self-verification implications of their behavior. We suggest that the rela-

tive weight of these concerns will be influenced by characteristics of the situation, the target, and the perceiver.

*Characteristics of the situation.* In general, situations are more likely to enhance concerns with self-presentation to the extent that they focus a person's attention on the public or observable aspects of themselves. Concern with self-verification is enhanced by focusing a person's attention on private aspects of the self such as privately held attitudes, beliefs, and dispositions (Baumeister, 1982; Greenwald, 1982; Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984; Scheier & Carver, 1981; Snyder, 1979).

One characteristic of situations that affects the relative weight of these self-relevant concerns is whether behavior in the situation is public or private. Characteristics of situations that make them more public include a salient audience (particularly one that is evaluative), the potential for evaluation of behavior by others, the expectation of future interaction with another, a camera, and personal identifiability. Under these conditions, behavior is more likely to conform to external standards of appropriateness. In contrast, situations are more private when behavior is and will remain unknown to others, is anonymous, and is performed in front of a mirror and when there is no expectancy for future interaction with others. Under these conditions, concerns with self-verification are more likely to be aroused and behavior is more likely to conform to internal standards of appropriateness (for reviews, see Greenwald, 1982; Scheier & Carver, 1981).

Other situational characteristics also affect the likelihood that people will be more concerned about self-presentation or self-verification. A concern with self-presentation is more likely when situations (a) are novel, unfamiliar, and contain relevant sources of social comparison; (b) make people uncertain or conflicted about their inner states; or (c) suggest that one's attitudes are socially undesirable or deviant (Snyder, 1979). In contrast, a concern with self-verification is more salient when the situation (a) makes the person reflect on internal attitudes and dispositions, (b) increases the salience of internal self-conceptions, or (c) increases the certainty with which a particular self-view or attitude is held (Snyder & Swann, 1976; Swann, 1983).

Considerable evidence indicates that people do alter their behavior as a function of these situational characteristics (for reviews, see Baumeister, 1982; Scheier & Carver, 1981; Schlenker, 1980; Tedeschi, 1981). For example, people are more generous when their reward allocations are publicly known or when future interaction with the recipient is expected than when their allocations are private or no interaction with the recipient is expected (Major & Adams, 1983; Reis & Gruen, 1976; Shapiro, 1975). Charitable donations are greater when made in public rather than private (Satow, 1975), and conformity is greater when others are present rather than absent (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955). People work harder when their work is monitored (Latané, Williams, & Harkins, 1979; Major, McFarlin, & Gagnon, 1984), and they make more self-serving attributions when their attitudes are public rather than private (cf. Bradley, 1978). Thus when situations make self-presentational concerns more salient, behavior is more likely to conform to external standards of appropriateness, including those that are particular to a given situation, to a given perceiver, or to general social norms. In contrast, when situations make concerns about self-

verification more salient, behavior is more likely to be consistent with internal attitudes and self-views.

Gender-related behaviors are subject to these same influences. Accordingly, we predict that when gender is salient, situations that arouse self-presentational concerns will elicit gender-related behavior consistent with the perceived external demands. These external demands are often implicit and reflect social norms regarding appropriate behaviors for men and women. Gould and Slone (1982) have shown a "feminine modesty" effect in causal attributions for task performance that is consistent with this interpretation. Women in their study made more modest attributions following failure when the situation was public rather than private. Male behavior is also influenced by the presence of an audience. For example, a man's greater show of nonconformity is more evident in public than in private conditions (Eagly, Wood, & Fishbaugh, 1981). Similarly, men are more likely than women to help when their behavior can be observed by others than when no observers are present (Eagly & Crowley, 1986). We assume that these differences reflect cultural norms for women to be modest, for men to resist conformity, and for men to engage in heroic or chivalrous action. Thus in each instance the public conditions presumably elicit self-presentational concerns that propel behavior to align with normative expectations.

*Characteristics of the self (target).* Independent of the particular situation, people differ in their propensity to be concerned about and to engage in self-presentation versus self-verification. Two psychological constructs in particular have been implicated here. The first is the construct of self-monitoring (Snyder, 1974, 1979). According to Snyder (1979) and Snyder and Campbell (1982), high self-monitors take a pragmatic approach to social interactions, tailoring their social behavior to fit situational and interpersonal specifications of appropriateness. Low self-monitors, in contrast, are hypothesized to endorse a more principled approach to social interaction, valuing congruence between their private attitudes and behavior across situations and encounters. (For a review of the evidence supporting these contentions, see Snyder, 1979, and Snyder & Campbell, 1982.) Thus high self-monitors are chronically more concerned about self-presentation, whereas low self-monitors are chronically more concerned about self-verification.

The second relevant construct is self-consciousness (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975). Separate subscales of the Self-Consciousness Scale measure *private self-consciousness*, conceptualized as a tendency to be aware of and attentive to the covert and hidden aspects of the self, and *public self-consciousness*, conceptualized as a tendency to be aware of and attentive to the publicly displayed aspects of the self. Research has shown that high public-self-conscious women are more sensitive to rejection by others (Fenigstein, 1979) and more likely to moderate their expressions of opinions prior to participating in a public discussion (Scheier, 1980). In contrast, high private-self-conscious people are less compliant (Froming & Carver, 1981), are more resistant to coercive communication (Carver & Scheier, 1981), and show the strongest relation between privately held and publicly stated attitudes (Scheier, 1980).

To the extent that gender is a salient aspect of a person's working self-concept, we expect those low in self-monitoring and

high in private self-consciousness to behave in a manner more consistent with their own activated gender-related beliefs. Similarly, we predict that high self-monitors and high public-self-conscious people are more prone to conform to gender-related demands of a situation. To date, however, very little evidence supports or refutes these predictions. Snyder and Kendzierski (1982) reported one relevant study. In assessing who was willing to volunteer to participate in a discussion of affirmative action policies, these authors found that the participation of low self-monitors was predicted by their attitudes toward affirmative action. Among high self-monitors, participation was predicted by sex alone. Snyder and Kendzierski (1982) reasoned that women were more willing to participate than men because the topic is presumably more relevant for women; thus the situational cues favor women rather than men. In contrast, Crowley and Deaux (1985) did not find any moderating effects of self-monitoring on the willingness of men or women who were high or low in expressivity to engage in a task requiring expressive behavior, where the task was further defined as male or female appropriate.

*Characteristics of the perceiver.* By definition, self-presentational behavior occurs vis-à-vis a specific perceiver or audience. Furthermore, once self-presentational concerns are aroused, one cue to appropriate behavior is the perceived idiosyncratic values of the perceiver (Baumeister, 1982; E. E. Jones & Wortman, 1973). Thus characteristics of the perceiver(s) should have an important influence both on the extent to which the target is concerned with self-presentation or self-verification and the form the person's behavior takes.

Evidence suggests that the more socially desirable rewards a perceiver controls or dispenses and the more dependent the target is on the perceiver, the more likely target individuals are to be concerned about creating a favorable public image in the eyes of the perceiver (cf. R. G. Jones & Jones, 1964; Stires & Jones, 1969). Furthermore, implicit or explicit values of perceivers can effect changes in behaviors such as aggression (Borden, 1975), reward allocation (Reis & Gruzen, 1976), and helping behavior (Schwartz & Gottlieb, 1976).

Perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of the effects of perceiver characteristics on targets' gender-related behavior is the well-known study by Zanna and Pack (1975). Women modified their self-presentations in a more liberal or traditional manner in order to fit the presumed preferences of an attractive man, but they did not modify their self-descriptions for an unattractive man. Fried and Major (1980) obtained similar results with male subjects and attractive female partners. Similarly, von Baeyer, Sherk, and Zanna (1981) found that women adapted their self-presentation, in this case their physical appearance and nonverbal style, to match the presumed values of an interviewer for a prospective job.

In these studies the values or expectancies of the perceiver were explicitly communicated to the target. People may also infer different expectancies or values on the simple basis of the perceiver's sex and alter their behavior accordingly. For example, people display more aggression in the presence of a man than a woman, presumably because there is an assumption that women are less tolerant or less encouraging of aggression than are men (Borden, 1975). Megargee's (1969) often-cited study of

leadership demonstrated that women's assumption of a leadership position depended on the sex of their partner. Replications of this study have found that sex rather than dominance scores predicts leadership for mixed-sex pairs when the task is either masculine (Carbonell, 1984) or gender neutral (Nyquist & Spence, 1986); when the task is feminine, however, dominance scores rather than sex are predictive (Carbonell, 1984). Similarly, Klein and Willerman (1979) showed that behavior varies as a function of the sex of the audience as well as the perceived demands of the situation. Women were less dominant with a male than with a female partner when no experimenter instructions were given. When told by the experimenter to behave in as dominant a manner as possible, however, women showed no variation as a function of the sex of the partner (whose demands were presumably weaker than the strong experimental situation). The arousal of self-presentation concerns is also strongly implicated in the willingness of people to seek help from another person (Nadler, Shapira, & Ben-Itzhak, 1982). When paired with a person of the other sex, men seek less help from an attractive than from an unattractive woman; in contrast, women seek more help from an attractive man than from an unattractive man. Assuming that the cultural norms are for women to need help and for men not to need help, we interpret these results as supporting the arousal of self-presentation concerns by the valence of the partner.

In summary, characteristics of the perceiver (expectancy holder), the situation, and the self (target) all affect the likelihood that a person will alter his or her behavior to meet self-presentation or self-verification goals. Self-presentational concerns are more likely to be aroused in the target to the extent that (a) the perceiver has control over rewards that the target desires, (b) the situation elicits in the target public self-awareness and a concern about evaluation by others, and (c) the target is dispositionally prone to be concerned about how he or she is seen and evaluated by others. Self-verification concerns, in contrast, are more likely to be aroused in the target to the extent that (a) the perceiver does not control rewards the target desires, (b) the situation elicits in the target private self-awareness and concern about self-evaluation, and (c) the target is dispositionally prone to be concerned about maintaining consistency between his or her internal states and overt behavior.

### *The Perceiver Interprets the Target's Action*

Perceivers typically engage in some interpretation of the target's behavior. Owing to a variety of cognitive biases, a perceiver's initial expectancies for a target are apt to be maintained, regardless of whether the target's behavior confirms, disconfirms, or is ambiguous with respect to the perceiver's expectancy (Darley & Fazio, 1980). Instances of a target's behavior that confirm an initial expectancy are selectively attended to, more easily stored in memory, more cognitively available for recall, preferentially recalled, and are seen as more relevant and informative than disconfirmatory instances (cf. Darley & Gross, 1983; Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Snyder & Cantor, 1980; Zandney & Gerard, 1974). Attributional processes further reinforce the maintenance of a perceiver's expectancies. In the case of confirmatory behavior on the part of the target, the perceiver

is likely to commit the "fundamental attribution error" (Ross, 1977), underestimating his or her own causal role in producing the target's behavior and overestimating the causal contribution of the target's dispositions. Even when the target's behavior disconfirms the perceiver's expectancy, however, the perceiver's expectancy is not necessarily changed. Initial impressions tend to persevere despite exposure to discrediting information (Ross, Lepper, & Hubbard, 1975; Ross, Lepper, Strack, & Steinmetz, 1977); expectancy-inconsistent information tends to be attributed to situational forces, whereas expectancy-consistent information tends to be attributed to dispositional qualities of the target (cf. Kulik, 1983; Regan, Straus, & Fazio, 1974). Such cognitive processes help to explain the perseverance of stereotypes despite objectively similar behaviors on the part of women and men.

These processes clearly operate in the gender realm. For example, because people often assume that men will perform better than women on a variety of tasks, they are likely to evaluate a specific man's performance more highly than an equivalent performance by a woman (see reviews by Nieva & Gutek, 1980; Wallston & O'Leary, 1981). Furthermore, observers frequently explain the performance of women and men in different ways, often using ability to explain a successful male performance and some more temporary explanation such as effort or luck to account for female success (for reviews of this literature, see Deaux, 1976; Frieze, Fisher, Hanusa, McHugh, & Valle, 1978). Physical appearance, an important cue for subtype stereotyping, can exacerbate these differences. In judgments of corporate success, physical attractiveness enhances ability attributions to men and diminishes those to women (Heilman & Stoepeck, 1985).

Despite such biases, stereotypes are not immutable. Under some circumstances, perceivers do moderate their expectancies, such as when the target has provided disconfirming evidence (Major et al., 1986; Testa & Major, 1986). Certainty of the expectancy and activation of the target's working self-concept with regard to the expectancy are critical factors in predicting whether perceivers will abandon false expectancies. Swann and Ely (1984), for example, found that perceivers who were uncertain of their expectations were willing to change them fairly readily. In a study by Hilton and Darley (1985), perceivers abandoned (false) expectancies when the target was aware of their beliefs (in this case, beliefs that the target was "cold").

There is some question as to how readily observers will abandon gender stereotypes. Locksley and her colleagues have argued that category-based expectancies have relatively little durability in the face of more individuating information (Locksley, Borgida, Brekke, & Hepburn, 1980; Locksley, Hepburn, & Ortiz, 1982). Similarly, Eagly and her colleagues have found that information about occupational roles outweighs gender as a basis of trait inference under certain conditions (Eagly, 1983; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Eagly & Wood, 1982). Yet the influence of stereotypic categories may not be quite so ephemeral. We suspect that in actual interactions, potent cues such as physical appearance often activate stereotypic beliefs about particular subcategories of women or men that have a continuing influence on judgments and behavior.

### *The Self (Target) Interprets His or Her Own Action*

The final step in the sequence is the target's perception of his or her own action. Depending on the action taken, this interpretation process may lead to one of several possible outcomes. Darley and Fazio (1980) suggested that a target may infer from his or her behavior a new attitude toward

(a) the situation, which may prompt similar confirming behaviors in later similar situations; (b) the perceiver, which may prompt expectancy-confirming behavior in later interactions with the perceiver; or (c) himself or herself, which may represent a modification of self-concept and may influence behavior in a variety of later situations. (1980, p. 879)

Thus the effects of behaviorally confirming an expectancy can persist far beyond a single interaction with a given perceiver, particularly if changes in the target's self-concept have occurred.

Do the self-conceptions of women and men change readily as a function of behaving in ways that confirm the views of others? Several studies suggest they might. For example, Snyder and Swann (1978a) found that targets who made dispositional attributions for their expectancy-confirming behavior continued to behave in a manner consistent with the original expectancy in a subsequent interaction with a different person. Targets who made situational attributions for their behavior did not show this perseverance. In another investigation, subjects who were induced to answer biased extraverted questions came to view themselves as more extraverted than did subjects who answered biased introverted questions. The former also acted in a more extraverted manner in a subsequent interaction with a naive confederate. "In effect, the target person has become the person the perceiver expected" (Fazio, Effrein, & Falender, 1981, p. 240). E. E. Jones, Rhodewalt, Berglas, and Skelton (1981) have used the term *carry-over effects* to refer to changes in the phenomenal self that result from self-presentational strategies; both self-perception and dissonance processes can account for these changes (E. E. Jones et al., 1981; Rhodewalt & Agustsdottir, 1986).

Although the malleability of the self-concept can be demonstrated, the bulk of research (not to mention the logic of common sense) suggests that the self is a stable and enduring structure that actively protects itself against change (Greenwald, 1980; Markus, 1977; Shrauger, 1982; Swann & Read, 1981a). Just as perceivers engage in hypothesis-driven processing and cognitive distortions that confirm their beliefs about others, so do people use these strategies to confirm their beliefs about themselves. From this perspective, we would not expect the gender-related self-schemata of women and men to change markedly as a consequence of their actions in social encounters.

Several factors affect whether a person's self-conceptions will change. One critical factor is whether the target's behavior indeed confirms or disconfirms the perceiver's expectancy. As we pointed out earlier, behavioral confirmation is not a foregone conclusion of such interactions, especially when the perceiver's expectancy is self-discrepant for the target. Thus in studies by Major et al. (1986) and Swann and Ely (1984), targets showed little evidence of behavioral confirmation or self-rating change after interacting with a perceiver who held a self-discrepant ex-

pectancy. In addition, targets were less likely to alter their self-conceptions after receiving self-discrepant feedback when they were given an opportunity to refute self-discrepant feedback (Swann & Hill, 1982), when they were supported in their self-conceptions by intimates who view them as they view themselves (Swann & Predmore, 1985), and when they were low rather than high in public self-consciousness (Major et al., 1986).

Markus and Kunda (1986) have suggested that very general self-descriptive measures such as those used in the aforementioned studies are insufficient for revealing how a person adjusts and calibrates his or her self-concept in response to the social environment. They argued that although the core self-concept may be resistant to change, the working self-concept varies with the social situation and depends on the social context for its expression. Analysis of the phenomenal self in terms of latitudes of acceptance and rejection offers a compatible approach to the question of stability and malleability of self-conceptions (E. E. Jones et al., 1981; Rhodewalt, in press; Rhodewalt & Agustsdottir, 1986).

With reference to gender, it is certainly unlikely that one's core sense of masculinity and femininity will change readily as a result of limited interaction. However, more specific beliefs about behaviors that are associated with masculinity and femininity may be much more amenable to change. Furthermore, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that people may alter some gender-related aspects of their existing self-conceptions or develop new self-conceptions if they are exposed repeatedly to a wide number of perceivers who share a particular view of them. Thus, the pervasiveness of gender belief systems and the frequency with which they are activated and acted on in social encounters suggests that gender stereotypes may exert a powerful channeling influence on targets' self-conceptions, particularly among children who have less well-developed self-conceptions.

### Research Directions

Conceptualizing gender as a component of ongoing interactions in which perceivers emit expectancies, selves negotiate their own identities, and the context shapes the resultant behavior is a more process-oriented and proximal-cause model of gender-related behavior than previous approaches. Although acknowledging that distal factors such as socialization, biology, and social roles may promote stable patterns of female and male behavior in the aggregate, our model emphasizes the flexibility and context dependence of many individual gender-linked behaviors. Because perceivers, individual selves, and situations all vary in the content and salience of gender-linked expectations, we expect a wide range in observed female and male behaviors, from virtual identity of the sexes in some circumstances to striking differences in others. The task of the investigator thus becomes one of specifying how each of these sources of influence will operate in a specified circumstance. The moderators that we have identified should permit this specification.

There are many issues that call for further investigation. On the perceiver side of the model, there has been a great deal of progress in recent years in charting the components of the gen-

der belief system and, in particular, the contents and structure of gender stereotypes. That these beliefs exist is not in doubt. Still to be developed, however, is a satisfactory means to identify and assess the individual variation in such beliefs. Martin (1987) has recently developed a promising measure of individual differences in gender stereotypes. The work on gender schematicity (e.g., Bem, 1981) represents another approach to this issue. Alternative conceptualizations of gender-related schemata have been offered by Markus and her colleagues (Markus, Crane, Bernstein, & Siladi, 1982). Still another approach to conceptualizing the gender belief system might consider whether beliefs about women and men are situationally specific. The person-in-situation prototype work of Cantor and her colleagues (Cantor, Mischel, & Schwartz, 1982) could be relevant to gender beliefs. Which of these approaches proves most useful for this model will depend on their demonstrated ability to predict differences in behavior directed toward a target person.

Questions regarding the activation of gender schemata are particularly important. Research on this issue can benefit from the recent work in social cognition, insofar as general conditions that prime a particular concept should be translatable to a gender-specific realm. A key step in predicting the gender-related behaviors of women and men, according to our model, is to be able to specify the conditions under which gender-linked as opposed to other available schemata are activated. This is a general question for social cognition (cf. Rothbart & John, 1985), but one whose resolution will greatly benefit our understanding of gender as well. The role that physical appearance plays in the activation and maintenance of stereotypes deserves attention. The work that is being done on physical appearance cues, both with regard to gender (cf. Ashmore & Del Boca, 1983; Deaux & Lewis, 1984) and to other social categories such as the elderly (e.g., Brewer, Dull, & Lui, 1981), is useful in this regard. Unquestionably related to this issue is the question of gender subtypes, whose schemata are triggered at least in part by physical appearance cues.

Although our model stresses the cognitive processes of the perceiver, we recognize that other elements come into play as well. In particular, it will be important to give further consideration to the goals that a perceiver may bring to an interaction. Actions toward a target are not simply automatic consequences of an activated schema but may be deliberate attempts to accomplish a particular goal or objective. The interaction between perceiver and target also depends on a negotiation of goals, the result of which will affect the actions of both participants.

On the self side of the model, a number of issues also call for further consideration. As in the case of the perceiver, it will be important to specify when gender-linked schemata, as opposed to some other self-schemata, become activated. Although gender identity is generally agreed to be a very central aspect of self, its centrality does not mean that it is always accessible or a part of the working self-concept. As analyses of the self-concept become more detailed, we will need to assess the relative place of gender-related constructs in the totality of self-schemata. A related question is how domain specific a self-schema needs to be in order to predict behavior. Recent work that attempts to define multidimensional selves will need to be adapted to the more specific issue of gender identity and gender-related do-

main of self. There is also a question as to how conscious the person is of the link between gender identity and various behaviors. Some behaviors, for example, could show strong sex differences but not be linked by the person to his or her sense of masculinity or femininity. Hence cues that activate a general awareness of gender may have no influence on these unacknowledged gender-associated behaviors.

As in the case of the perceiver, the stress on cognitive processes is not meant to deny the influence of motivational forces. The analysis of self-presentation and self-verification recognizes the importance of goals in the person's choice of behaviors. In addition, the stipulation that characteristics of the target, such as status and power, affect the strategic choices of the person implicates motivational aspects. Nonetheless, there are points of the model where more detailed motivational analysis would likely prove useful. The target's interpretation of the perceiver's actions, for example, may be influenced by motivational concerns in ways that influence subsequent behavior.

Another area for future research is a consideration of changes in the self-concept. As we have suggested, global conceptions of gender identity probably remain relatively constant, whereas more specific gender-linked schemata may change. Just how these changes occur is a question that has implications for both immediate behaviors and longer developmental processes as well.

As we noted initially, we assume that the roles of perceiver and target are shared by both participants in an interaction. This assumption has a number of implications. For example, one might question the degree to which the schematic representations of perceiver and target are similar. Markus, Smith, and Moreland (1985) have suggested that self-schemata (specifically, of masculinity) correspond directly to stereotypes of others, postulating that self-schemata define an expert system. Thus conditions that activate a person's schemata about self could be simultaneously activating beliefs about the other person as a target.

In considering the interchangeability of perceiver and target positions, we will also need to consider how particular role relationships and reinforcement histories might modify the postulated sequence. Certainly many interchanges that people have are the products of negotiated understandings and prior interactions (cf. Ashmore & Del Boca, 1986). We assume that our general model applies to well-developed relationships as well as to the more tentative encounter between strangers or acquaintances. Just what factors might vary between these conditions, however, remains to be explored.

Finally, there is a need for a much more thorough analysis of situations. Because the model assumes that sex differences will be evident in some areas and absent in others, it will be necessary to identify those cues most likely to make gender salient and those situations that are most likely to elicit male-female differences. The prototype analysis of Schutte et al. (1985) is an intriguing approach and should be explored for its applicability to the case of gender.

#### Gender Model Versus General Model

We have emphasized the applicability of this model to gender-related behavior while incorporating processes that speak to a

much broader range of social behaviors. Indeed, we suggest that a perspective that recognizes both the importance of the perceiver's expectancies and expectancy-conveying behavior and the active identity management of the self is fundamental to an analysis of social interaction (an opinion that we share with Swann, 1984). Recognizing the importance of context by incorporating situational parameters is necessary, we believe, to understand the complexity and variability of social behavior. Thus, on the one hand, we believe that most specifiable dimensions of social behavior could be analyzed in terms of this model. On the other hand, there are a number of ways in which gender-related behavior patterns differ, at least in degree, from some other social dimensions.

First, there is probably more consensus in beliefs about gender than there is about many other social categories or behavioral dimensions. At least some aspects of the gender belief system have been shown to be durable over time and place, such as the instrumentality-expressiveness distinction. As a consequence of this relatively greater consensus, perceivers may be more certain of their gender-related beliefs, more readily act on their beliefs toward a particular woman or man, and be less likely to abandon these beliefs in the face of nonconfirmatory information. The availability of a seemingly limited number of gender subtypes, while testifying to the ability of people to become more differentiated in their views, allows perceivers to handle a broad range of information in relatively simple fashion, making the need for truly individuated impressions less pressing.

Second, gender as a category is more salient than many other dimensions that could be analyzed (and that have, in fact, been used in many of the experimental approaches to this issue). In common with some other categorical variables, such as ethnicity, hair color, height, and weight, a person's sex is immediately apparent. It is virtually impossible for a person to be "sex blind," as Kessler and McKenna (1978) have argued. As a consequence, the gender belief system may be activated very quickly, before other potentially contradictory information can be introduced.

The ready availability of this information also means that gender is potentially relevant to a broader range of situations than many other dimensions on which people are categorized. Gender-linked expectations also appear much more complex than many other types of expectations. There is not a single class of behaviors that is to be expected given a male or female identity, but rather, there are multiple classes of expected behaviors that vary across situations. Some of these behaviors may be closely related, as Eagly (1987) has suggested in her role analysis. Nonetheless, situational specificity appears to us to be a necessary feature of the explanatory framework.

### Concluding Remarks

The questions of when and how men and women differ can be approached from several perspectives. Many of the traditional psychological models have stressed distal causes of behavior, such as heredity and early socialization, as they affect the initial acquisition of gender-related behavior. These models are important in accounting for the stability of and differences in male

and female behavior. Yet there is another aspect of gender-related behavior in which flexibility and variability are as evident as stability. To account for these different patterns, we have offered a model that is grounded in social interaction, where the expectations of others and the goals of the individual converge. Within this immediate context, either sex differences or sex similarities may result, and the pattern of such differences can be understood upon analysis of specifiable processes. This model, proposed as a supplement to traditional models of gender, allows a more complicated but more authentic view of gender to emerge.

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