

Variations in Subjective Culture: A Comparison of Females and Males in Three Settings¹

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This article examines differences in subjective culture among three societies that vary in their extent of urbanization and differentiation and within these societies between females and males. David Bakan's agency-communion and Talcott Parsons' instrumental-expressive distinctions are used to capture both these rural-urban and male-female differences using data collected with Harry Triandis' antecedent-consequent method of studying subjective culture. Both between-society and within-society differences in subjective culture are found, although they occur independently of each other. Cross-cultural differences are stronger for concepts dealing with group life, and sex differences are stronger for concepts regarding individual actions and self-orientations. Specifications and extensions of existing theory, as well as directions for future research, are suggested.

Social theorists have long noted the importance of understanding *Zeitgeist* (how people organize and perceive their social world), which involves a subjective understanding of the world, or what has been called "subjective culture." This subjective culture may refer to people's common understandings of terms and colloquialisms, the way "they attend to cues from the environment, the way they think about 'what goes with what,' and the way they feel about different aspects of the environment" (Triandis, 1976, p. 3; see also Triandis, Vassilou, Vassilou, Tanaka, & Shanmugam, 1972).

The classic sociological work of Durkheim, Tonnies, Weber, and Simmel posited basic differences in world view or subjective culture between rural and urban societies; contemporary rural sociologists have continued an interest in

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this area. Other contemporary theorists such as Parsons suggest that within societies, males and females may also differ to some extent in personality orientation and social roles. It is unclear, however, how the sex differences in personality and roles relate to world views. Neither is it clear how rural-urban and male-female differences are related. Are the between-society and within-society differences equally salient in all aspects of subjective culture? Do the differences occur independently of each other? This article explores these questions by examining both between-society and within-society differences in subjective culture. Males and females in rural Greece, the rural United States, and the urban United States are studied.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Because the concept of subjective culture is so broad and inclusive, it requires theoretical specification if generalizations are to be made about its variations, either between societies or within societies. One useful conceptual device may be David Bakan's (1966) global distinction between

two fundamental modalities in the existence of living forms, agency for the existence of an organism as an individual, and communion for the participation of the individual in some larger organism of which the individual is a part. Agency manifests itself in self-protection, self-assertion, and self-expansion; communion manifests itself in the sense of being at one with other organisms. Agency manifests itself in the formation of separations; communion in the lack of separations. (pp. 14-15)

Working from a psychoanalytic and theological perspective, Bakan purposely keeps this distinction at a high level of abstraction, but discusses its manifestations in areas of human life ranging from religion to sexuality. Bakan stresses that the split between agency and communion arises from the nature of agency, which promotes the repression of communal qualities.

While Bakan's formulation is purposely broad, Talcott Parsons' instrumental-expressive distinction is somewhat more limited and thus potentially more useful. It refers to individuals' orientations to interaction within social systems. Expressive actions involve an orientation toward relations among the individuals within a social system; instrumental actions involve an orientation toward goals external to the immediate relational system. Expressiveness does not mean simply "being emotional," but being able to deal with emotions. The terms "expressive" and "instrumental" thus describe not subjective states of people, but orientations toward interaction or modes of relating in social groups as well as social roles (see Parsons, 1951; Parsons & Shils, 1952; Parsons, Bales, & Shils, 1954; Johnson, Stockard, Acker, & Nafziger, 1975). Expressive actions might be seen as acting out the principle of communion; instrumental actions might be seen as acting out the principle of agency.

Neither Bakan nor Parsons sees the concepts he developed as representing two ends of a single continuum. Instead, each stresses that both agentic and communal orientations are necessary for societies to exist and that both expressive and instrumental roles are necessary in social groups. Similarly, individuals incorporate both agentic and communal orientations and have both expressive and instrumental roles. Groups and individuals may differ, however, in the balance of these roles and orientations.

Between-Society Differences in Subjective Culture

Classical sociological theorists discussed between-society differences in social organization and in subjective culture. Emile Durkheim and Ferdinand Tonnies distinguished the ideal typical folk or communal society, or *Gemeinschaft* (Tonnies, 1957), with mechanical solidarity (Durkheim, 1933) from the more complex society, or *Gesellschaft*, with organic solidarity. Social relations in the former type of society are less differentiated and involve more emotional meaning for the participants, while in the latter more complex type of society relations are more often contractual and voluntary. Both Max Weber (1976) and Georg Simmel (Wolff, 1950) noted that the movement of society towards the more complex forms involves greater rationality in social organization, greater planning, and more efficiency as well as more impersonality in human relations (see also Mannheim, 1949).

Contemporary sociologists have continued an interest in rural-urban differences. Some have suggested that few correlates of urbanization cannot be accounted for by other variables such as income or education (e.g., Dewey, 1960; Gans, 1962). Others have suggested that rural-urban differences will gradually disappear (e.g., Sjoberg, 1964). Yet empirical studies continue to find significant differences in attitudes and behaviors of urban and rural dwellers, even when various individual characteristics such as income and education are taken into account (e.g., Willits, Beales, & Crider, 1973; Fischer, 1975; Glenn & Hill, 1977).

From these classical theoretical formulations and more recent empirical findings it can be hypothesized that people in more complex and differentiated societies that value organization, planning, and efficiency will more often incorporate an agentic orientation or instrumental mode of relating into their subjective culture. Persons in less complex and less differentiated settings marked by greater attention and value on personal relations will more often incorporate communal and expressive orientations. In other words, while both urban and rural dwellers will incorporate communal and agentic orientations, we would expect that people in rural settings, with less differentiated and more personal associations, would more often define actions and situations as involving relations among others and ties with other people (an expressive and communal

orientation). Their counterparts in more urban settings, because such environments require more contractual and rational relationships, would be expected to more often define actions and situations as involving goals external to the immediate relational system (an instrumental and agentic orientation).

Within-Society Differences in Subjective Culture

Contemporary social theorists provide the basis for examining sex-based within-society differences in subjective culture. Bakan (1966) suggests that agency represents the "male principle," while communion represents the "female principle." He reviews the literature on sex differences in achievement, orientation toward others, aggression, longevity, and sexuality and suggests that the cumulative results from these studies differentiate the actions and personality orientations of females and males in a way that reflects the agency-communion distinction (Bakan, 1966, pp. 107-153). Parsons suggests that the roles females play more often involve an expressive orientation, while males' assigned roles more often involve an instrumental orientation. Empirical evidence lends some support to these views, with findings that females more often express communal and expressive orientations, while males more often express agentic and instrumental orientations (Bennett & Cohen, 1959; Carlson, 1971; Block, 1973; Johnson et al., 1975). This does not imply that only females have a communal or expressive orientation and only males have an agentic or instrumental orientation. Both sexes may incorporate aspects of both orientations into their world views, although with a somewhat different balance. The difference appears to stem from men's rejection of expressiveness and communion, and women's tendency to incorporate both orientations more evenly than men (Johnson et al., 1975; Carlson, 1971; Bakan, 1966, pp. 109, 150).

Theoretical explanations of how these orientations develop suggest that this sex difference will appear cross-culturally (see Johnson et al., 1975; Stockard & Johnson, 1980). These explanations stress that in all societies known to anthropologists, children's first associations are with the mother or another woman. Both boys and girls learn expressiveness (how to relate to others in social interactions) in their early association and identification with the mother. As children grow older, become more independent, and develop relations with others besides the mother, they also develop their views of themselves as males or females. In developing their masculine identity, males tend to reject their first identification with the mother and also the expressiveness learned in their association with her. Because females need not reject this first identification with the mother in establishing their view of themselves as female, they do not reject or repress the expressiveness they have learned in interactions with her, but tend to incorporate both orientations more evenly than men do (Johnson

et al., 1975; Carlson, 1971). This male pattern of an early expressive relation with the mother that must be subsequently broken occurs in all cultures. Thus, we would expect an expressive or a communal orientation to be more associated with females than with males cross-culturally. To the extent that males reject expressiveness or a communal orientation in favor of an emphasis on an instrumental or agentic orientation, the latter would be more commonly found with males cross-culturally.

It must be noted that personality orientations and social roles are not synonymous with subjective culture. Even though females and males relate to others and the world in different ways, they may not necessarily define the world in different ways. On the other hand, if these different personality orientations are as deep-seated as some would suggest, they may extend into the ways in which females and males define actions and situations in their environment, thus involving differences in subjective culture.

Summary

The work of these theorists suggests that between-society and within-society differences in subjective culture exist. People in more traditional, less differentiated, and less urbanized societies are expected to exhibit expressive and communal orientations more often than people in more differentiated and urbanized societies. A reverse pattern is expected for instrumental and agentic orientations. Because of constant features of early socialization, a male-female difference in subjective culture may also be expected within all societies, with males more often expressing agentic or instrumental orientations and females expressing communal or expressive orientations.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

A sample of young people in three different settings—an isolated island village in Greece, a very small farming community in the western United States, and the inner city of a large metropolitan area in the western United States—is used to examine the hypotheses presented above. The three communities range in the order listed from the least complex, differentiated, and urbanized to the most complex, differentiated, and urbanized environment. The Greek and the United States settings also differ in language and culture, while the two United States settings differ in race and income. Thus, while the three communities vary along the rural-urban or *Gemeinschaft-Gessellschaft* continuum, they should

be viewed only as examples of three distinct cultural settings that vary in their extent of urbanization.

The age and educational attainment of the sample is consistent from one subgroup to another, an important characteristic, given that both education and maturity influence one's view of the world. Students in the regular public schools in each community provided the data for the study. The Greek students were in the equivalent of the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades; the students in the two United States communities were all in the seventh and eighth grades.

The Greek island has an area of 208 square kilometers and a population of around 3,000 people. Connections with other areas of the country are maintained through boats that travel to and from the island several times a week. Close to two-thirds of the people in the island's work force participate in agriculture, animal breeding, and fishing. Few women work for wages. Less than 10% of the island's population has completed secondary school, and life remains fairly traditional.

The rural United States community has a population of under 2,000 people, with several hundred more living on farms in the surrounding area. Many of the residents are descendants of the people who first settled in the area over 100 years ago and are related to each other. Large grain elevators dominate the middle of town, indicating the importance of farming to the community. A few residents work in paper and lumber mills in nearby towns, and some commute to a city of close to 100,000 population that is 20 miles away. Leisure activities center on the local school, the churches, and surrounding attractions of hunting, camping, and fishing. Major shopping is done in the nearby city.

The urban United States community is a center-city area that is predominantly Black. While the average income in the area is lower than in other regions of the city, most of the homes are modest well kept single-family dwellings. Most of the families moved to the area during and after World War II. Residents work throughout the city, and leisure activities involve the resources of the entire city.

Data

The antecedent-consequent method of studying subjective culture (Triandis et al., 1972) is used. This method is a modification of open-ended sentence completion procedures that can be used in surveys. The data collection involved two phases. In the first phase one of the authors visited the classrooms and gave each student a number of statements to complete. These statements were in a form such as "When you have _____, then you have SUCCESS," and "When you have SUCCESS, then you have _____." The students wrote three responses for each blank. Twenty Greek students, 102 rural United States students, and 55 urban United States students participated in this first phase. For the second

phase of data collection with the Greek sample, the 20 most frequently occurring responses to each item were chosen. For each of the two United States samples, the 15 most frequent responses from that sample and the 5 most frequent Greek responses to each item were chosen. The statements were again presented to the students with only these 20 responses available in a fixed choice manner. The format gave each term an equal chance of being selected by the respondents and each respondent a chance to choose four terms for each stimulus item. (The questionnaire items and instructions are in the Appendix.) The Phase II questionnaires were developed separately for each cultural group and were completed by 61 Greek students, 110 rural United States students, and 71 urban United States students. Approximately an equal number of males and females were in each subgroup.

Analysis

This analysis examines the items given as antecedents and consequents to four concepts: success, progress, happiness, and cooperation. The first two concepts relate to an instrumental or agentic orientation, while the latter two relate more to a communal or expressive orientation. Using another dimension, it may also be seen that while success and happiness both generally connote individual achievements and emotions, progress and cooperation relate more to the general nature of a society's actions and movement toward ultimate group aims and goals.

Using the definitions given earlier, the responses used in the Phase II schedules were classified by two judges as related to an expressive orientation, an instrumental orientation, or neither. Discrepancies between the two judges were settled by the decisions of a third person. Examples of items judged as representing an expressive or communal orientation are love, happiness, friends, teamwork, understanding, willingness, and *philotimo*, a Greek word used to characterize a person who conforms to the values of a primary group. Items such as respect, leadership, obedience, money, power, control, education, and willpower were judged to be instrumental or represent an agentic orientation. Items such as intelligence, pride, good life, talent, and sense were placed in the "other" category.

The theoretical work discussed above leads to hypotheses about both within-society and between-society differences that will appear in the antecedents and consequents given to the various items. It is hypothesized that females more often will give expressive and communal terms as antecedents and consequents to the four concepts and that males will more often associate instrumental and agentic terms with them. Moreover, it is hypothesized that the Greek students will most often choose items classified as expressive, the

rural United States culture the next most often, and the urban United States culture the least often. A reverse trend is expected for responses classified instrumental. Some authors (e.g., Tanner, 1974) have suggested that the urban Black culture in the United States is a matrifocal one in which males and females are less differentiated than in other settings. It could then be hypothesized that the sex differences in the urban United States would be less pronounced than in the two other cultures.

Log-linear analysis is used to examine these hypotheses (Goodman, 1970, 1978, 1979). Three models of association are examined: (1) an interaction between the stimulus terms and culture (the hypothesis that there are between-society differences, but no sex differences, in subjective culture); (2) an interaction between the terms and sex (the hypothesis that sex differences exist, but between-society differences in subjective culture do not); and (3) interactions both between terms presented and the culture and between terms and sex (differences exist between both the sex groups and the cultural groups). Because an independent variable is designated in this analysis and logits rather than simple logarithms are used, the interaction between the two independent variables, sex and culture, is also included in each possible model. These models are hierarchical. Thus, if the third hypothesis does not hold, only a three-way interaction model will fit the data (sex differences and cross-cultural differences exist, but there is no consistent pattern from one culture to another or one sex group to another). This three-way interaction could lend support to the hypothesis that sex differences in the urban United States culture are less than in the other two settings.

An information statistic (similar to a chi square) and its associated probability level indicate the goodness of fit of each model. Standardized effect parameters, which may be interpreted as *z* scores, describe the extent to which the distribution differs from chance. Standardized percentages are also given. In computing both the effect parameters and the standardized percentages, all the variables in the model are taken into account.

RESULTS

Table I summarizes the testing of each of the hypothesized models with each stimulus term. The model of a single interaction effect between the terms given and sex (number 2) is supported only in the instance of consequents given to happiness. The model of an interaction effect between the terms given and culture (number 1) has some support, especially in the responses to the consequents and antecedents of progress and the antecedents to cooperation. The model of interactions between both the items given and culture and between the items given and sex holds in all instances, although the support in consequents to happiness and cooperation is least strong.

Table I. Summary of Results of Testing of Three Hypothesized Models

Stimulus terms (concepts)	Information statistic ^a	Degrees of freedom	Probability
A. Success antecedents			
1. (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	19.156	3	< .001
2. (Terms × Sex) + (Culture × Sex)	12.944	4	.012
3. (Terms × Sex) + (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	1.869	2	.393
B. Success consequents			
1. (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	9.131	3	.028
2. (Terms × Sex) + (Culture × Sex)	17.851	4	.001
3. (Terms × Sex) + (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	1.454	2	.483
C. Progress antecedents			
1. (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	5.442	3	.142
2. (Terms × Sex) + (Culture × Sex)	32.899	4	< .001
3. (Terms × Sex) + (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	.126	2	.939
D. Progress consequents			
1. (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	.950	3	.813
2. (Terms × Sex) + (Culture × Sex)	38.967	4	< .001
3. (Terms × Sex) + (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	.930	2	.628
E. Happiness antecedents			
1. (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	14.290	3	.002
2. (Terms × Sex) + (Culture × Sex)	13.200	4	.010
3. (Terms × Sex) + (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	.392	2	.822
F. Happiness consequents			
1. (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	14.755	3	.002
2. (Terms × Sex) + (Culture × Sex)	5.278	4	.260
3. (Terms × Sex) + (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	3.941	2	.139
G. Cooperation antecedents			
1. (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	3.500	3	.321
2. (Terms × Sex) + (Culture × Sex)	61.144	4	< .001
3. (Terms × Sex) + (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	.994	2	.608
H. Cooperation consequents			
1. (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	11.676	3	.009
2. (Terms × Sex) + (Culture × Sex)	10.125	4	.038
3. (Terms × Sex) + (Terms × Culture) + (Culture × Sex)	4.118	2	.128

^aThe information statistic is a chi-square-like statistic used to test the null hypothesis that the model fits the data.

Table II. Standardized Effect Parameters and Standardized Percentages for Three-Interaction Model for Each Stimulus Term (Concept)^a

	Terms X Culture				Terms X Sex			Sex X Culture					
	Urban U.S.		Rural U.S.		Greece		Totals			Urban U.S.		Rural U.S.	Greece
	Expressive Totals ^b	Expressive Totals ^c	Expressive Totals ^b	Expressive Totals ^c	Expressive Totals ^b	Expressive Totals ^c	Expressive Totals ^b	Expressive Totals ^c	Expressive Totals ^b	Expressive Totals ^c	Expressive Totals ^b	Expressive Totals ^c	Expressive Totals ^b
Success antecedents													
Expressive	-3.193 (42)	2.101 (42)	1.691 (42)	-3.780 (32)	3.780 (46)	-6.508 (39)							
Expressive	-6.298	10.896	-2.506	.010	-.010	-2.610							
Totals ^d	(N = 179)	(N = 417)	(N = 211)	(N = 417)	(N = 390)	(N = 807)							
Success consequents													
Expressive	-2.568 (43)	-1.773 (46)	4.002 (62)	-2.663 (44)	2.663 (55)	-.222 (49)							
Expressive	-2.326	7.507	-4.207	.585	-.585	-2.540							
Totals	(N = 213)	(N = 350)	(N = 194)	(N = 391)	(N = 366)	(N = 757)							
Progress antecedents													
Expressive	-4.397 (5)	1.119 (15)	5.036 (25)	-1.875 (13)	1.875 (18)	-15.513 (15)							
Expressive	-5.180	5.787	1.556	-.939	.939	-2.948							
Totals	(N = 217)	(N = 372)	(N = 226)	(N = 416)	(N = 399)	(N = 815)							
Progress consequents													
Expressive	-5.638 (19)	1.716 (39)	4.853 (50)	-1.128 (36)	.128 (36)	-7.380 (36)							
Expressive	-5.333	10.509	-3.076	1.300	-1.300	-2.641							
Totals	(N = 190)	(N = 385)	(N = 178)	(N = 399)	(N = 354)	(N = 753)							
Happiness antecedents													
Expressive	3.067 (85)	-.237 (79)	-3.168 (70)	-3.484 (78)	3.484 (84)	13.792 (79)							
Expressive	-3.034	6.372	-2.430	1.469	-1.469	-2.760							
Totals	(N = 218)	(N = 348)	(N = 180)	(N = 366)	(N = 380)	(N = 746)							
Happiness consequents													
Expressive	.612 (83)	.536 (82)	-1.139 (79)	-3.117 (76)	3.117 (87)	14.440 (81)							
Expressive	-3.115	5.666	-1.836	2.890	-2.890	-2.796							
Totals	(N = 184)	(N = 339)	(N = 188)	(N = 373)	(N = 338)	(N = 711)							
Cooperation antecedents													
Expressive	-5.131 (56)	-3.885 (60)	6.973 (85)	-1.375 (63)	1.375 (68)	9.874 (65)							
Expressive	-2.237	9.836	-7.015	1.233	-1.233	-2.655							
Totals	(N = 257)	(N = 432)	(N = 226)	(N = 471)	(N = 444)	(N = 915)							
Cooperation consequents													
Expressive	-2.225 (60)	-.121 (64)	2.145 (70)	-2.618 (60)	2.618 (69)	8.508 (64)							
Expressive	-1.298	8.025	-5.519	1.698	-1.698	-2.582							
Totals	(N = 261)	(N = 419)	(N = 219)	(N = 465)	(N = 434)	(N = 899)							

^a *N*s are given in parentheses, percentages are given in parentheses when *N* is not specified. All percentages and parameters are standardized to take into account the influence of the third variable not included in that part of the table. Percentages for attributes not included in the table may be obtained by subtracting those given from 100%.

^b Standardized effect parameters for females are the negative of those for males.

^c Standardized effect parameters for instrumental terms are the positive of those for males.

Variations in Subjective Culture

Table II gives the standardized effect parameters and associated standardized percentage distributions for the two-interaction term model (number 3). The single variable or total effect in each model reflects the distribution of the marginals. Clearly, the rural United States group is the largest, and the rural Greece and urban United States groups are somewhat smaller.² The single variable effects for the terms show that in general the respondents give more expressive responses than instrumental responses as both antecedents and consequents of cooperation and happiness and to a very slight degree as consequents of success. Instrumental responses are more often given as antecedents to success and as both antecedents and consequents of progress. The single variable effects for the sex variable are usually small because approximately an equal number of males and females are in the sample.³

The effect parameters in the interactions between terms and societies show that the hypothesized pattern of more expressive responses in Greece, somewhat less in the rural United States group, and the least in the urban United States holds in all cases except the antecedents to success and both the antecedents and consequents of happiness. The corresponding pattern of the urban United States respondents giving the most instrumental or agentic responses and the rural Greek respondents the least also occurs in all but these three cases. The largest between-society differences are in the antecedents and consequents given to progress and the antecedents to cooperation.

Special attention should be given to the three cases that do not conform to the hypothesized direction of between-society differences. Of the three, the antecedents to success are least deviant, while the responses to happiness show a pattern opposite to that hypothesized. In the antecedents to success, the standardized percentages for the rural United States and rural Greek settings are identical. Their difference from the urban United States occurs as hypothesized, but the effect parameters for the rural United States group are slightly higher because of its larger sample size. Although the between-society differences in the consequents of happiness are quite small, those in the antecedents to happiness are larger. In both cases, the rural Greek setting gives the smallest standardized proportion of expressive responses and the highest proportion of instrumental responses.

The pattern of sex differences is as hypothesized in all cases, with females giving more expressive and communal terms as responses and males giving more instrumental and agentic terms. The magnitude of the effect parameters indicates

² The size of the single variable effect parameters for each culture varies slightly from one stimulus term to another because a different proportion of the total responses were classed in the "other" category in each case.

³ The single variable effect parameters for sex vary slightly from one stimulus term to another because the proportion of "other" items chosen by each sex may vary slightly from one stimulus term to another.

that the sex differences are strongest in antecedents and consequents of success and happiness and consequents of cooperation. The sex differences are quite small in the consequents of progress.

Support for the third model of interactions between terms and sex and between terms and culture is lowest for the consequents of happiness and cooperation. Inspection of the raw data for these two cases indicates that although the direction of sex differences is consistent in the three cultures, the magnitude of the sex differences varies somewhat. The variations are not, however, in the direction expected if the Black urban dwellers were to exhibit fewer sex differences than those in other settings. Instead, with the consequents of happiness, sex differences are smallest with the rural Greeks and largest with those from the rural United States. In contrast, with the consequents of cooperation, sex differences are greatest with the rural Greeks, but only somewhat less in the two United States groups. There is no support for the hypothesis that sex differences in subjective culture are less in the urban United States than in the two other settings.

DISCUSSION

These results generally support the hypotheses of between-society and within-society differences in subjective culture. They also provide qualifications and extensions of earlier theory and suggest avenues for further research.

Between-Society Differences

While students in all the settings basically agree on whether an item is related to agentic or communal qualities, they differ in the balance of agentic and communal attributes that they associate with it. The students from the rural and isolated settings more often define actions and situations as involving expressive and communal orientations, while students from the more urban settings tend to define these same situations in agentic and instrumental terms. Large between-society differences occur with both progress, judged agentic or instrumental, and cooperation, an expressive and communal item. For example, students in all the cultures usually see instrumental qualities such as skill, ability, and willpower as leading to progress. Yet only students in the two rural societies mention the expressive and communal item cooperation as an antecedent to progress. Students in all three cultures see agentic qualities such as success, education, and improvement as resulting from progress, yet only those in the two rural settings see happiness and joy as consequents. Those in the most isolated Greek setting more often give expressive words than those in the somewhat less isolated rural United States setting.

Similarly, in responding to the communal and expressive item cooperation, the students in all three settings usually give expressive rather than instrumental terms, but expressive responses are much more common in the most isolated Greek island setting. Students in all three cultures see understanding, trust, and patience as leading to cooperation, but only those in the two United States settings mention instrumental and agentic items such as control, respect, and power as antecedents. While students in all the cultures see trust, friendship, understanding, and happiness (all judged expressive) as resulting from cooperation, only those in the United States settings see respect, leadership, power, and control (all judged instrumental or agentic) as consequents. Those in the urban United States setting most often mention these agentic and instrumental terms.

The stimulus concepts progress and cooperation are more closely tied to actions of social groups than are the other two stimulus concepts, happiness and success; in fact, the between-society differences are much stronger with the former items than with the latter. The direction of results is as hypothesized with the antecedents and consequents of success, with students in the rural settings more often mentioning happiness, love, and joy as consequents and those in the urban setting more often mentioning education, money, and jobs. In contrast, with the individually oriented and expressive stimulus happiness, the cross-cultural differences, while again not large (especially in the consequents), lie in a direction opposite to that hypothesized. In this case, although many more expressive responses are given by all the students, those in the most isolated and rural setting are more likely to mention agentic and instrumental items such as luck and success as leading to happiness, while those in the urban setting are more likely to mention communal or expressive items such as love, friendship, family, and kindness. A similar trend occurs with the consequents to happiness, although the differences are too small to be substantively important.

These results suggest two conclusions regarding between-society differences in subjective culture. First, the results support the classical sociological distinctions between simple, undifferentiated, rural societies and more complex, differentiated, urban societies. At least in terms of concepts related to what is needed for a group to attain its goals and to work together and what happens when this occurs—such as cooperation and progress—those in the rural and undifferentiated settings show a more expressive and communal orientation. Whether it involves progress (moving forward and advancing) or cooperation (getting along with others), students in the rural settings more often associate these actions with relations with others. Those in more urban settings more often associate them with separations and more solitary goal-oriented behaviors apart from interpersonal relations. This finding supports the view of the classical social theorists that a society's division of labor and social bonds affect how the group members view the world.

Second, the influence of the complexity of a society on subjective culture may actually be contrary to the classical theoretical view when the antecedents of happiness are considered. In this study, those in the most urbanized settings most often see communal and expressive orientations as leading to happiness. Happiness is probably an important goal of life for both rural and urban dwellers, yet rural and urban dwellers differ in the ways they may obtain it. Because of the impersonal pressures of urban life—a reflection of the largely instrumental and agentic orientation of urban areas—city dwellers may conceive of happiness as related not to the instrumental or agentic world of work, but mainly to the expressive and communal world of family and friends. Rural dwellers need not compartmentalize their lives to this extent, but may gain happiness from a variety of activities and aspects of life (cf. Zaretsky, 1973). Thus, in describing what leads to happiness, those in the urban settings are more restricted to expressive and communal concepts than are their rural counterparts. The between-society differences in subjective culture that reflect a society's division of labor and social bonds exist, but the nature of these differences may depend on the aspect of life that is considered.

Within-Society Differences

As hypothesized, sex differences occur in all the settings and with stimulus terms judged instrumental or agentic, as well as with stimulus terms judged expressive or communal. All the students more often see instrumental and agentic qualities as leading to success. Females more often see expressive and communal qualities and conditions such as friends, patience, cooperation, and love as leading to success; males more often suggest that agentic and instrumental qualities such as brains, confidence, education, power, money, and willpower promote success. Females more often mention dignity and love as resulting from success, while males mention "a future," pride, and achievement. As antecedents to happiness, a communal and expressive stimulus concept, both boys and girls more often mention expressive or communal items such as love than instrumental or agentic items such as money or job. Yet the girls more often give items judged communal or expressive such as family, parents, or contentment, while the boys more often mention agentic or instrumental items such as "what you want," luck, and success. Similar results occur with the consequents given to happiness.

While the between-society differences are stronger with stimulus concepts related to social groups, the within-society differences are stronger in response to the stimulus concepts that concern the individual: success and happiness. The pattern of females giving more expressive and communal responses occurs in the responses given as antecedents and consequents to the group-oriented progress

and cooperation, but the standardized effect parameters are somewhat smaller than with the other items.

Again these results support the hypothesis. Females in the sample incorporate more expressive and communal orientations into their world view than males do. This trend is more striking in concepts involving individual attributes, such as happiness and success, than in group-related concepts, such as progress and cooperation. This probably reflects the source of the sex difference in early socialization. Because the different orientations of females and males develop as they are learning to relate to others and are first gaining some degree of independence, it could be expected that sex differences would appear most strongly in relation to concepts that involve individual actions. In contrast, because cross-cultural differences in world view stem from the nature of group life and the interdependence of a society's members, it would be expected that cross-cultural differences would appear most strongly in relation to concepts that actually involve actions of groups, such as progress and cooperation.

While writers such as Bakan (1966), Carlson (1971), and Johnson and associates (1975) discuss sex differences in general personality orientation and assigned roles, the results discussed here suggest even broader sex differences. These results suggest that males and females in three different cultural settings see the causes and results of various actions and situations in different ways; that is, males and females have different subjective cultures. The expressive-instrumental and communion-agency distinction may describe sex differences not only in social roles and personality traits but also in definitions of what the world is like and how it operates. Members of each sex clearly agree on the basic nature of certain concepts. For instance, all the subjects perceive that attaining progress and success generally involves an agentic and instrumental orientation. They differ in the mix of characteristics attached to these concepts. Females more often emphasize an expressive and communal orientation to actions and situations; males more often emphasize an agentic and instrumental view.

Further Implications

It is important to realize that the between-society and within-society differences are independent of each other. The between-society differences occur with both females and males; within each society, differences between males and females occur. This means that while within each society males and females may show differences, the males in one society may be just as or even more expressive than the females in another group. Similarly, while the females in one society may be less instrumental than the men in that setting, they may be just as or even more instrumental than the men in other settings. For example, Greek males give a higher proportion of expressive terms as consequents of success

than the females in either the rural or urban United States settings. Similarly, females in the urban United States give a higher proportion of instrumental terms as antecedents and consequents of progress than males in either of the other two settings. Thus, both the culture in which one lives and the nature of one's early socialization influence the development of world view. Each of these influences may, however, affect different aspects of subjective culture. Cultural or societal differences may have more influence on aspects related to group life, while early socialization may have more influence on aspects related to individual actions.

These results also suggest that the expressive-instrumental and communion-agency distinctions can be important conceptual tools in visualizing group differences in subjective culture. Objections are often raised to the use of such global distinctions, especially in describing sex differences, because of the fear that such distinctions will disparage women. This has often proved true, for a male-dominant society generally devalues that which is associated with females. This does not mean that there are not sex differences nor that the traits associated with women are actually of less importance or value than those associated with men. In fact, agency unmitigated by communion may be a real danger to societal and individual well-being (cf. Bakan, 1966), and expressiveness may be an important and essential part of a society without male dominance (cf. Stockard & Johnson, 1980). Certainly, the fact that the urban subjects in this study emphasized expressive and communal concepts as important antecedents to happiness underscores the importance of this orientation for human beings. Thus, in contrast to recent dismissals of such concepts (e.g., Crano & Aronoff, 1978), it is suggested that the expressive-instrumental and communion-agency distinctions, when properly understood, can prove useful in understanding the nature of social life.

The results of this study cannot shed light on the extent to which the cultural and sex differences in world view reflect relatively permanent aspects of individuals' personalities resulting from early socialization or simple differences in their current environment. For instance, if rural young people move to the city, would they retain views of the world that differ from those of their urban counterparts? Perhaps when living in the more instrumental and impersonal urban environment, the former would come to adopt the world views of their neighbors. Similarly, if definitions of appropriate sex roles were to change, would the young women in the sample continue to view the world differently than the young men? For instance, if women's success in education were rewarded by occupations and incomes in the same way as men's educational success, would women alter their world views to more closely resemble those of men?

While an answer to these questions can only come from additional studies, some previous work suggests hypotheses. In examining influences on attitudes and

self-reported behaviors, Glenn and Hill (1977) found that the size of community of origin is often an equal or stronger predictor than the size of community of present residence, even when other variables such as social class and age are controlled. Finigan (1979) examined the influence of the sex-typed nature of work group (measured by the ratio of males to females) and a worker's sex on expressive and instrumental behaviors in the work setting. He found that both the workers' environment and their sex had important effects. If one assumes that the sex-typed nature of one's environment is related to sex-role expectations (see Finigan, 1979, for a discussion of this point), these findings suggest that changes in one's environment may affect attitudes and behaviors, but one's community of origin and one's sex will also retain an influence. To the extent that behaviors and attitudes are related to one's view of the world or subjective culture, this hypothesis may be extended to involve the dependent variable used in this study. However, to fully explore this question, further research is needed.

Further research is also needed to replicate and expand the findings reported here. Future studies should employ cultural settings that minimize the variation in race, language, and income which occurred with this sample, thus providing a clear-cut view of the rural-urban differences in subjective culture. Studies should employ subjects of different age groups to explore the extent to which subjective culture varies over the life span and how sex differences vary at different levels of maturity. Triandis' antecedent-consequent method of measuring subjective culture appears to be a useful method of data collection. Because the technique allows the respondents to define their own subjective culture, it helps to minimize the extent to which the researcher forces his or her prejudices on them. Moreover, because it allows a number of responses per subject, Triandis' method can be used to tap distinctions, such as those between expressive and instrumental or communion and agency, in which the categories are not two ends of a continuum, but may both be incorporated into a world view.

SUMMARY

This article examines differences in subjective culture between three societies that vary in their extent of urbanization and differentiation, and between females and males in these societies. David Bakan's agency-communion and Talcott Parsons' instrumental-expressive distinctions are used to capture these rural-urban and male-female differences. Classical sociological theory is used to hypothesize that people in rural and less differentiated societies will express communal or expressive orientations more often than those in more urban and differentiated societies. Contemporary theory is used to predict that women in all cultures will express a communal or expressive orientation more

often than men. Harry Triandis' (1972) antecedent-consequent method of studying subjective culture and log-linear analysis techniques (Goodman, 1970, 1978, 1979) are used to examine these hypotheses.

Both hypotheses are generally supported, although cross-cultural differences are stronger in relation to concepts dealing with group life, and sex differences are stronger in relation to concepts regarding individual actions and self-orientations. The between-society and within-society differences occur independently of each other, so that females in the most urban setting often profess a more agentic and instrumental orientation than males in the rural settings.

These results may help specify the classical theoretical view of the influence of urbanization on subjective culture and expand the contemporary view of sex differences to involve not just personality and roles but also definitions of how the world works. This work should be replicated in other settings and with different age groups, and the antecedent-consequent method and the conceptual distinction of instrumental-expressive and agency-communion may be useful in tapping differences in subjective culture.

APPENDIX: THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

As noted in the text, the data collection occurred in two phases in each cultural setting. In Phase I the students were requested to complete open-ended, standardized, antecedent and consequent sentences. The forms used for data collection in all cultures are shown below.

Antecedent-Consequent Pilot Questionnaire

I would like to find out what certain *concepts* mean to you. On the following page you will find these words capitalized in a standardized sentence which you are to complete.

There are two kinds of sentences. The first kind will ask for an ANTECEDENT, which is a word that you think *goes before, precedes, or causes* the concept to come about. Please write in three words that you think are ANTECEDENTS for each concept.

Here is an example:

- If you have
1. leadership, then you have POWER.
 2. respect.
 3. intelligence.

The second kind of sentence will ask for a CONSEQUENT, which is a word that you think is a *result, consequence, or outcome* of the concept. Please write in three words that you think are CONSEQUENTS for each concept.

Here is an example:

- If you have POWER, then you have
1. control.
 2. influence.
 3. strength.

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Be sure to fill in all the blank lines. Please don't be careless in your responses, because I would like to know what you really think. Everything on this questionnaire will be confidential. Please do not write your name on this paper.

THANK YOU!

ANTECEDENTS

- If you have
1. _____, then you have SUCCESS.
 2. _____,
 3. _____,
- If you have
1. _____, then you have COOPERATION.
 2. _____,
 3. _____,
- If you have
1. _____, then you have FREEDOM.
 2. _____,
 3. _____,
- If you have
1. _____, then you have PROGRESS.
 2. _____,
 3. _____,
- If you have
1. _____, then you have EDUCATION.
 2. _____,
 3. _____,
- If you have
1. _____, then you have HAPPINESS.
 2. _____,
 3. _____,

CONSEQUENTS

- If you have SUCCESS, then you have
1. _____.
 2. _____.
 3. _____.
- If you have COOPERATION, then you have
1. _____.
 2. _____.
 3. _____.
- If you have FREEDOM, then you have
1. _____.
 2. _____.
 3. _____.
- If you have PROGRESS, then you have
1. _____.
 2. _____.
 3. _____.
- If you have EDUCATION, then you have
1. _____.
 2. _____.
 3. _____.
- If you have HAPPINESS, then you have
1. _____.
 2. _____.
 3. _____.

The instructions for the Phase II questionnaires in the Greek and United States settings are reproduced below. Following the instructions is an example of the items given the students. Because it was assumed that the context in which words were judged would affect their chances of selection as an antecedent or consequent, four variations of the Phase II questionnaires were typed for each cultural group. In each of these four versions the sequence of words

associated with each sentence was shifted one position. The four versions of the Phase II questionnaire were randomly distributed to the students in each sample group, thus assuring that each combination of terms had an equal chance of consideration.

*Phase II: Antecedent-Consequent Final Questionnaire—Greece Directions
(Translated Copy)*

I would like to learn what certain concepts mean to you. On the following pages you will find these words capitalized in a standardized sentence which you are to complete.

There will be two kinds of sentences on each page. The first will be like the following sample:

If there is _____, then there is MURDER.

Beneath each sentence will be four sets of five words each. Here is an example of one such set:

- _____ revenge
- hate
- _____ insanity
- _____ theft
- _____ fear

In *each* set of five words you are to check the *one* which, in your opinion, *best* completes the sentence. As you can see in the sample, "hate" has been checked. What I am asking you for in the first sentence is what *goes before, precedes, or causes* the concept to come about.

In the second sentence on each page I will ask you for the *result, consequence, or outcome* of the capitalized concept. The following is an example of the second kind of sentence:

If there is MURDER, then there is _____.

Again, beneath the sentence you will find four sets of five words each:

- _____ imprisonment
- grief
- _____ execution
- _____ disgust
- _____ police

Once more you are to check *one* of the five words in *each* set, as in the example above. Work at a fairly high speed and try to give me your *best* "first" impressions. But please do not be careless because I want your true impressions. Thank you very much for your cooperation!

Please complete the following: SEX: _____ female _____ male
CLASS: Secondary _____ 1, _____ 2, _____ 3
AGE: _____

Phase II: Antecedent-Consequent Final Questionnaire—United States Directions

I would like to find out what certain concepts mean to you. On the following pages you will find six words capitalized in a standardized sentence, which you are to complete.

There are two kinds of sentences. The first kind will ask for an ANTECEDENT, which is a word you think *goes before, precedes, or causes* the concept to come about. Be-

neath each sentence will be four sets of five words each. In *each* set of five words you are to check the *one* which, in your opinion, *best* completes the sentence. Here is an example:

If you have _____, then you have LAUGHTER,

- 1
- _____ happiness
- _____ joy
- _____ humor
- funny things
- _____ entertainment

The second kind of sentence will ask for a CONSEQUENT, which is a word that you think is a *result, consequence, or outcome* of the concept. These sentences will also have four sets of five words each beneath them. In *each* set of five words you are to check the *one* which, in your opinion, *best* completes the sentence. Here is an example:

If you have LAUGHTER, then you have

- 1
- good time
- _____ noise
- _____ fun
- _____ happiness
- _____ humor

Remember to choose the word that you think is the best in each set. Everything in this questionnaire is confidential.

Please complete the following:

- (check one) SEX _____ female
_____ male
- GRADE _____ 7th grade
_____ 8th grade

(fill in) AGE _____

THANK YOU!

Phase II: Urban United States

If you have _____, then you have SUCCESS.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| _____ love | _____ friends | _____ school | _____ talent |
| _____ fame | _____ fortune | _____ completion | _____ patience |
| _____ education | _____ money | _____ will power | _____ a job |
| _____ leadership | _____ courage | _____ power | _____ intelligence |
| _____ willingness | _____ brains | _____ pride | _____ confidence |

If you have SUCCESS, then you have

- | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| _____ friends | _____ wealth | _____ power | _____ a future |
| _____ money | _____ love | _____ intelligence | _____ glory |
| _____ satisfaction | _____ happiness | _____ joy | _____ education |
| _____ fame | _____ a good life | _____ a business | _____ brains |
| _____ dignity | _____ leadership | _____ pride | _____ a job |

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