

The Role of Women in Linguistic and Narrative Change: A Study of the Hebrew Pre-State Literature

Mira Ariel and Rachel Giora
Tel Aviv University

This article investigates gender stereotyping in the Hebrew literature in Palestine during the 1930s in order to find out the extent to which a new ideology effects linguistic and narrative changes. On the assumption that the foundation of the new society was motivated by an egalitarian ideology, the article examines the ideology's reflection in the literature of the period. To this end, three types of analysis were performed: an analysis of the linguistic devices for the introduction of female and male characters, a content analysis of the literary texts, and a quantitative analysis of the personal traits characteristic of women and men. Results support recent claims that the revolutionary ideology of the time hardly applied to women. The results further show that both male and female authors treat women stereotypically, though female authors are significantly less male biased than male authors. The female authors of the 1930s introduced androgynous characters, although those authors remained quite conservative at the linguistic level. We attempt to account for the inability of female authors to exercise a complete breakthrough. (*Linguistics*)

The period preceding the establishment of the state of Israel is taken to have involved a social revolution, women's status included. It is a founding myth in Israel that equality between the sexes has long been achieved, an assertion made precisely on the basis of the role that the female pioneers supposedly played in the establishment of the state. Indeed, when one reads about the political activity and the struggle of the women in Eretz-Yisrael (Palestine), one is struck by the blatant outcry against the traditional status of women:

mother . . . when I used to think for a moment that your destiny may be my future destiny—my hairs would stand on end. Do you remember that bleak night in

Russia when you were sitting lonely at the corner of our deteriorated house, mending an old sock . . . , you shed tears on your fate, the fate of a slave to your husband. . . . That bleak night I revealed to you my secret dream: a new country, a general commune, and in it a hard working woman side by side with the man" (Rosen, 1984, p. 17).

There is no doubt that many (even if not all) of the female immigrants to Eretz-Yisrael who had come in the second immigration wave (1905–1918) sought a personal redemption from the old female identity. Even the women who came in the third and fourth immigration waves (1919–1929), who were not as radical as the older immigrants (see Izraeli, 1981), shared the dream of equality between the sexes, mainly in their wish to take upon themselves "manly" jobs such as farming and construction (less so with respect to sharing housework and the rearing of children with their spouses). Circumstances were promising. These women were part of a new society in the making, a society in which the innovative faction was socialist (Smith, 1988) and in which sexual equality was taken for granted (Smith, 1988). Indeed, there was progress in women's status during the second immigration period. For example, in 1922, women comprised 16% of the construction collective, even if only half of them did men's jobs rather than domestic services (Izraeli, 1981). The right to vote for the elected settlement institutions was also achieved at that time.

However, dreams apart, reality was not so idyllic. Female workers were harshly discriminated against. Employers refused to take them for the "masculine" jobs, and even their mates opposed it. When they were employed, they received much lower wages than the men. The economic crisis of 1926–1930 worsened the situation. According to Izraeli (1981): "By 1930 the proportion of women in nontraditional jobs had dropped considerably" (p. 111). Izraeli marked the year 1927 as a turning point from a radically feminist women's movement to an organization coopted into the male institution, limiting its goals to helping working mothers.

Given the alleged egalitarian ideology that underlay the foundation of the new society on the one hand and the frustrating reality of women's lives on the other, we examine here the reflection of the ideology in the literature of the period. We focus on the 1930s, because only then was there already a variety of female and male authors writing in Hebrew. Moreover, on the plausible assumption that linguistic change always lags behind social change, the 1930s are to be preferred over the 1920s. The choice of authors is based on the periodization of Hebrew literature offered by Shaked (1977, 1983). In fact, we chose all the female authors of the period who have been canonized and then matched them with appropriate male authors.¹

What type of characters occupied the imagination of the Jewish authors writing in the then-Palestine? How traditionally stereotypic are the figures? Were there also other models, molded after a new ideal of the Jewish pioneer? We try to answer these questions addressing two different levels in storytelling. First, we examine the linguistic devices used by the various authors when they introduce their fictional characters. Second, we conduct a content analysis of the characters. Our assumption is that, although content decisions are largely intentional, language use tends to be more conventional and less conscious.² Thus, the level of stereotyping diagnosed by the two analyses will not necessarily be identical. The ability to diverge from conscious stereotypes, we expect, is higher than the ability to diverge from the unconscious conventions of language.

Nonetheless, one expects some correlation between content and form. To what extent does the conscious divergence penetrate the linguistic medium? Moreover, are there any differences between female and male authors portraying female and male characters? Given the alleged change in the status of the pioneer woman, our main interest lies with the female rather than the male characters. We therefore compare the nature of the characters depicted by the female and male authors, examining also the degree of stereotyping manifest in each sex's characterizations of the opposite sex. The linguistic patterns are presented first, followed by the content findings. We end with a few comments on the relationship between the two levels analyzed. But first, we turn to the theoretical background on which this research is based.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE STEREOTYPE

How are stereotypes formed? How is a cognitive representation of social information formed? A number of cognitive researchers (e.g., Cantor & Mischel, 1977, 1979) attested to the fact that when one forms a concept or an impression of an individual, one organizes the list of that individual's charac-

Steinberg, are what Shaked called "second generation" of Hebrew writers. All the authors were born outside Palestine between 1869 and 1888. The stories chosen were mostly written in Palestine (except for Bichovsky, for whom this was impossible); we preferred examining Hebrew writing that is already part of a living tongue. Because Shoffman only arrived in Palestine in 1938, his stories are from the early 1940s. For symmetry, we have also chosen a later collection of stories for Baron. The four others published their stories at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s. The story portions analyzed were limited to 32,000 words per author.

²Because the use of linguistic conventions is automatic and unconscious, its study helps reveal implicit attitudes regardless of questions of point of view, types of characters, or characters' life history. We are interested here in the impact language has on the recipient, which, at the level of the linguistic devices, is also largely unconscious. Hence the irrelevance of whose point of view the text presents (the narrator's, the implied author's, or the fictional character's).

¹Nehama Puchachevsky and Moshe Smilansky belong in the first generation of Hebrew writers in Palestine. The other four, Dvora Baron, Elisheva Bichovsky, Gershon Shoffman, and Yaakov

teristics in a categorical organization based on semantic networks of association (Anderson & Bower, 1973; Collins & Loftus, 1975). Within these theories an impression or concept is formed along the similarity principle, among other things. When similarity applies, features that are most similar (to each other) become the individual's central characteristics (Rosenberg & Sedlak, 1972). At the same time, features that do not seem consistent with or similar to the set of central characteristics get deleted in the process of the concept formation (Wyer & Gordon, 1984).

The similarity constraint is even more compelling when one forms an impression of outgroup individuals (Chance & Goldstein, 1975; Malpass & Kravitz, 1969; Tajfel, Sheikh, & Gardner, 1964). Secord, Bevan, and Katz (1956), for example, showed that the identification of the ethnic origin of an individual results in deletion of individual traits. When an individual is conceived of as an African American, she or he is taken to represent her or his social group at the cost of individuation. In other words, for the self, the others are all alike (Stephan, 1985). In terms of complexity, the concept of the other, as opposed to the concept of the self, is much simpler. Self-image is much more complex, because ingroup knowledge of individuals is more informative and detailed than knowledge of outgroup individuals (Linville & Jones, 1980). In fact, forming the concept of the other is a process of assimilating the individual other into her or his group—dehumanizing the other. No wonder, then, that self–other relations are typified by hostility. The attitude toward ingroup members is much more sympathetic than that toward outgroup members (Dion, 1979; Doise, 1976; Tajfel, 1978, 1981).

For the purpose of this study we define the *stereotypic concept* as a categorical scheme we have of the self and of the other. With this in mind, we predict that the female character in the works of male authors will be stereotypically formed in terms of the other. That is, we expect women in male authors' works to exhibit a homogeneous representation. In the works of female authors we expect female characters to be conceived of in terms of self, so that their portrayal will represent heterogeneity. Heterogeneity implies a combination of both feminine and masculine characteristics, resulting in androgyny (see Bem, 1974). We expect that the same applies to male characters written about by female and male authors respectively.

Cognitive research of ingroup and outgroup relations shows that a hypothesis, once formed, will not be easily given up, not even for the sake of a better hypothesis (McArthur & Friedman, 1980, 1981). In conflict research, for instance, Lillie and Rehm (1988) found that conflicts are difficult to reconcile precisely because of the difficulty of revising stereotypical attitudes towards the other. Hence the significant impact of the initial presentation of information on cognitive representations—those of literary characters, for instance. The way one conceives of a character in the beginning of the text will be crucial for the impression one forms of that character, regardless of subsequent con-

tradictory information (Perry, 1979). This is further confirmed by psychological findings concerning impression formation in general.

The linguistic research reported here analyzes the very first expressions used to introduce new characters into the stories. Psychological experiments, such as the one performed by Asch (1946), confirm this choice. Asch tested reactions towards some human character whose very same features were introduced in different linear orders. One group was presented with the set of features, starting with the most positive ones and ending with the most negative ones. Another group received an identical list of descriptions but in the reverse order. Findings showed that where positive characteristics were introduced first, subjects' reaction was significantly more favorable to the character, and vice versa.

In sum, the order of presentation of messages is functional in the cognitive representation of information. We therefore begin by checking the linguistic devices of introducing characters to the text for the first time.

LINGUISTIC PATTERNS: INTRODUCING CHARACTERS INTO THE TEXT

Background and Methodology

The categories of description chosen for analysis were the most popular features used by the authors in order to first introduce their characters. It had become evident in earlier studies using the same methodology (Ariel, 1986, 1988) that all authors without exception employ the same categories. Only 13% of all descriptions had to be classified as "miscellaneous" descriptions. The categories are: (a) name and name type (*Atalya*, a first name; *Uriel Shemesh*, a full name; *Michlin*, a last name); (b) a sex-based definition (e.g., *a woman*—the reader is reminded that Hebrew obligatorily marks people's sex in its grammatical gender system, thus rendering the sex-based definition redundant in effect); (c) a functional description (*teacher*, *landlady*); (d) a family description (*brother*, *divorcee*); (e) a dependent description (*X's friend*, *Y's son*); (f) an anchoring description (X and Y in the preceding example); (g) an external description (*pretty*, *tall*); and (h) a courtesy title (*Mr. X*).

The findings show that many more men than women were characterized via their profession (the functional description). More men than women received names. Last names were virtually limited to men. Women, on the other hand, were more often introduced via others (the dependent description), quite often as someone's relative. In many cases women were simply introduced as belonging to the feminine sex, as "women" (men were *bne-adam*, Hebrew for "humans"). When a woman was named, first names were common. Last, external descriptions were more characteristic of women than of men.

The following examples can best illustrate the popular patterns of introduction for the two sexes:

WOMEN

1. *His sister* [family + dependent] *Bilha* [first name], who works with him, *an architect* [functional] too, a *woman* [sex] *divorced three times* [family] (S. Hareven, 1982, "Loneliness," p. 14).
2. An *ugly* [external] and noisy *woman* [sex] (A. Oz, 1965, "Jackal Country," p. 45).
3. *A woman* [sex] *to receive customers* [functional]. *An assistant* [functional] (A. Cahana-Carmon, 1966, *Together*, p. 115).

MEN

1. The local *doctor* [functional] (Oz, 1965, p. 54).
2. One of *his ex-partners* [functional + dependent] (D. Baron, 1943, p. 17).
3. *Another person* [asexual] of these merchants (C. Hazaz, 1963, p. 154).

The generalization behind the previous claims concerning female and male patterns of introduction is that men, more often than women, are introduced as individuals. Individuality is primarily achieved by naming, and indeed men were named more often than women. When they were not identified by name, men were characterized by impersonal traits, usually their profession—a public feature of theirs. When women were not named, they were characterized by either their personal features, that is, their sex or their marital or familial status (e.g., as wives, mothers). The fact that the number of professions is quite large whereas the variability in family relationships is rather limited, combined with the binary nature of the human biological sex, means that women came out less complex and more homogenous. Men, however, were not as "human" as women are.

Men's independence was indicated first by the professional status they received, introducing them as mature, self-supporting beings. Second, they were rarely introduced as dependent on others. In fact, they tended to serve as the central character on whom the introduction of another depended (the anchoring descriptions). Women, by contrast, had quite a few "immature" characteristics: They were often introduced as dependent on others; they were commonly grasped as a part of a bigger whole (i.e., the couple, the family), and they were called by their first names quite regularly, a naming strategy normally reserved for children in Western culture.

The linguistic findings in this study are based on the same theoretical framework as in Ariel (1988). However, the data concerns a different period—

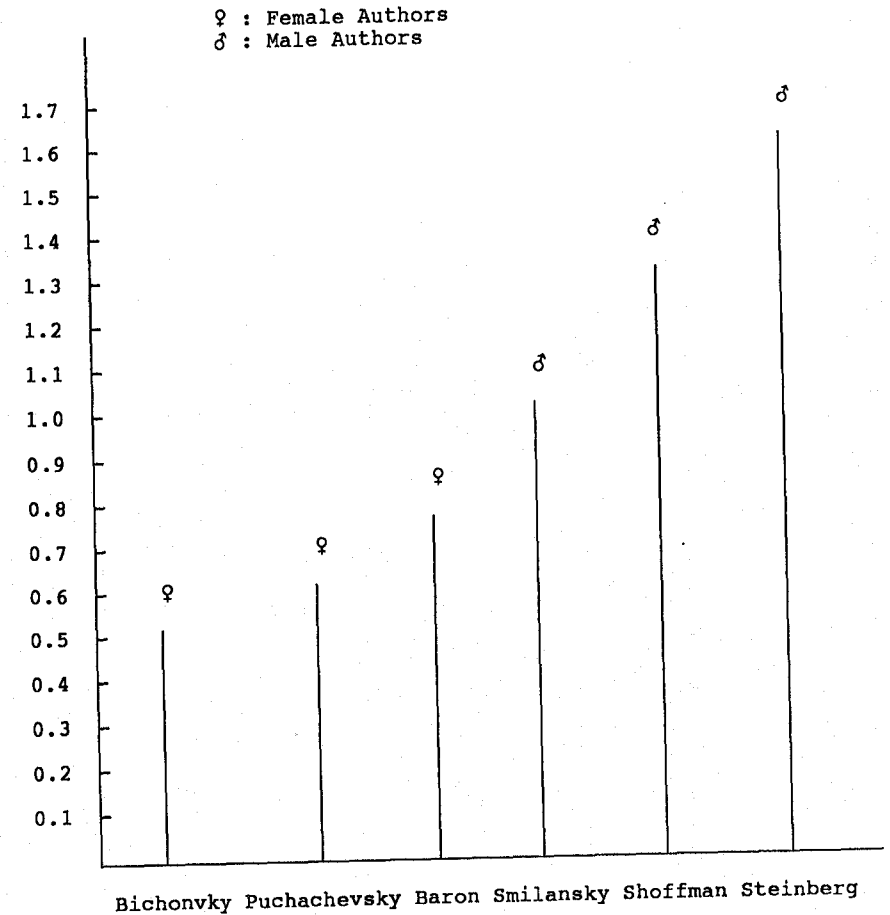


FIGURE 1 Index of dissimilarity between female and male characters for each author.

the secular Jewish community in pre-state Palestine that is normally thought of as revolutionary. As we see later, this so-called social and ideological revolution apparently applied only to men who revolted against their bourgeois families in Europe. It did not entail a revolution against patriarchy. In this respect, our linguistic research supports conclusions reached in historical and sociological research by Shilo (1980), Izraeli (1981, 1984), and Bernstein (1985), which conclusions defy the myth of equality in pre-state times.³

³The stories analyzed are as follows (but see the reference list for precise references): Bichonvsky: all the collection; Baron: all the collection; Puchachevsky: pp. 59-168; Shoffman: pp. 11-170; Smilansky: all of *'im Preda, Bne-'arav* pp. 117-137; Steinberg: pp. 219-263.

The Male Bias

We consider as a male-biased view the stereotypic perception of men as the self, manifesting independent, central, and individual traits, and the stereotypic perception of women as the other, manifesting dependent, peripheral, and indistinct traits. The opposite constitutes a female bias, namely, the perception of women as exhibiting characteristics of self and the perception of men as exhibiting characteristics of the other. Overall, however, no author is female biased, as we see shortly. In order to quantify the extent to which each author is male biased, another criterion was added to the linguistic devices listed previously: the female-male ratio of characters, because that too was found to be highly correlated with degree of male bias. We then constructed an index of dissimilarity between the sexes regarding introductory patterns (Figure 1), which index could have theoretically reflected either identity between the sexes (the zero line), a female bias (any figure below the zero line), or what it actually shows, a male bias (figures above the zero line). The numbers are calculated by adding up the dissimilarities between the descriptions of the female and male characters.⁴

Although Figure 1 demonstrates that the claim of a clear male bias is true for all authors, authors do differ in the extent to which they are male biased. Their divergence from the presumably ideal line (the zero line) can easily be seen to correlate with their sex. Without exception, all the female authors precede the male authors in Figure 1, indicating that their male bias is smaller. In order to see that female authors are less male biased than the male authors, compare the following statistics.⁵ The female authors included 1.4 more men than women in their stories. The male authors mentioned 2.25 more men than women. Functional descriptions were more popular for male characters, but again, the gap for the female authors is 1.4, whereas the one for the male authors is 3.5.⁶ Sex-based

⁴We thank Dalia Moor for suggesting a way to construct the index of dissimilarity between the sexes (Figure 1). For each source, we calculated the number of descriptions for each category had there been no bias at all. As a basis we chose that sex that got more descriptions of the specific category. We then deducted that hypothetical number from the actual number of characters receiving that description. Finally, we added all the results for each source and divided the sum by the number of characters the specific source contained.

⁵A detailed summary of all the findings is available from the authors upon request.

⁶The categories examined are extracted from the first three descriptions a character may have received when initially introduced. Hence, they are not mutually exclusive and may add up to more than 100%. Furthermore, the numbers here and elsewhere in this article are not absolute, but proportional. That is, what is compared is the number of occurrences of a given description divided by the number of female characters described by means of these terms, with the number of occurrences for that description divided by the number of male characters so described. In other words, we compared the popularity of a given description among female as opposed to male characters. Because we counted all relevant instances, which constitute a full account of the data at hand (rather than sampling it in order to make predictions), we stipulated that differences of 10% or less count as insignificant.

definitions occurred more for female characters. For the female authors, women outnumbered men in this category by 3.7. The male authors almost doubled this difference (a 6.3 gap). Last, the female authors were balanced in their choice of that character who serves as anchor in the introduction of another. The male authors had three men for each woman in that role. Graphically, we represent the difference between the male authors and the female authors in Figure 2, where the male line is twice the size of the female one.

Interestingly enough, the dissimilarity between the sexes mainly derives from a disagreement between the two types of authors concerning their female characters. They tend to agree on the male introductory description much more than on the female introductory description. Table 1 shows this quite clearly (also see again footnote 6). The numbers in the right-hand columns (descriptions of men by both female and male authors) are much closer to each

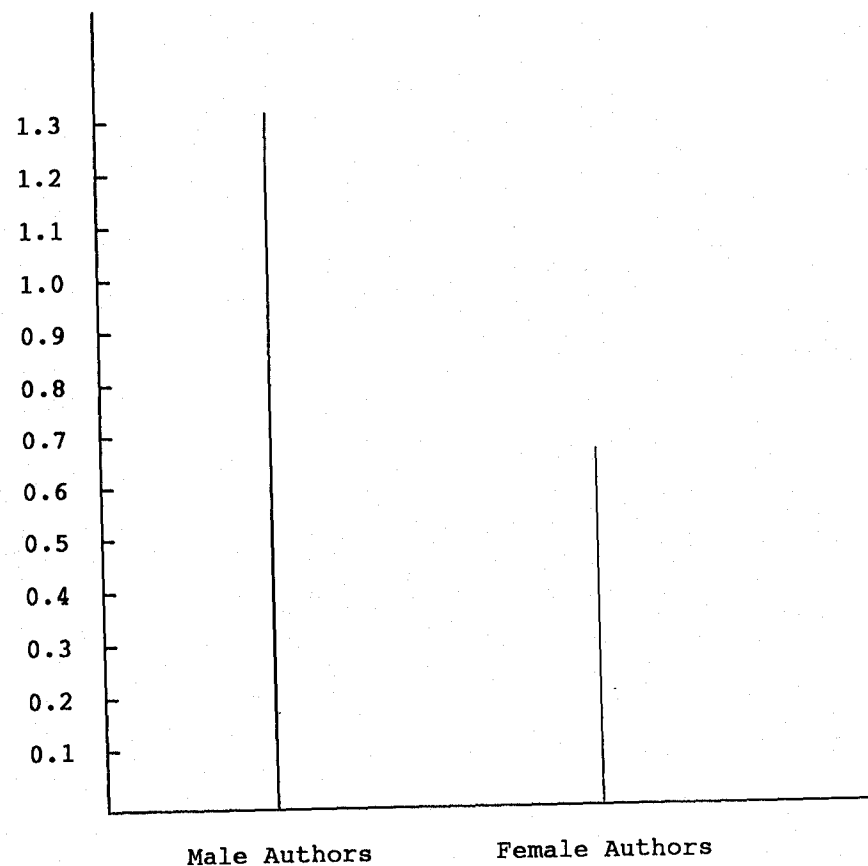


FIGURE 2 Index of dissimilarity between female and male characters for female authors and male authors.

other than those in the left-hand columns (descriptions of women by both female and male authors).

We take these consistent differences between male and female authors' introductions of female characters to reflect the female authors' attempt to present a more androgynous character. This attempt is not shared by male authors.

Taking the Opposite Sex to Be the Other

Is the horizontal line in Figures 1 and 2 really the ideal marker of equality? In other words, does equality entail identity between the sexes? The answer seems to be negative, for equality need not necessarily mean neutralization of personal differences, including those derivative of sexual differences. As predicted by cognitive research in image of self and other (detailed previously), it is our claim that in certain categories one should expect each sex to be self-biased. Indeed, linguistic research concerning point of view (Cooper & Ross, 1975; Kuno, 1976) has demonstrated that speakers naturally take their own point of view, rather than that of others. In terms of the categories under examination, one should expect female authors to introduce men by relating them to women (as anchors), whereas male authors should adopt a male point of view, dictating that women are to be introduced via men. The same applies to other descriptions where one expects each sex to take its own point of view. Regarding sex-based definitions, female authors should define their male characters as men, whereas male authors should relate to their female characters as women. If one assumes heterosexuality, one should expect both women and men to be less aware of the biological sex of members of their own sex. Such an opposite-sex attraction should dictate the same trend with respect to external descriptions (each sex is expected to be more interested in the appearance of members of the opposite sex), whereas naming should be higher for one's

TABLE 1
(Dis)agreement Among Male and Female Authors Regarding Male and Female Characters

	Female Characters		Male Characters	
	FAs	MAs	FAs	MAs
Functional description	31.3	15.1 ^b	44.4 ^a	53.4
Sex-based definition	19.7	31.6	5.4	5.0
Names	27.2	15.8	31.7	26.4
Family description	42.8	54.6 ^a	22.9 ^b	22.6

Note. MAs = male authors; FAs = female authors. All numbers are percentages.

^aStereotypical descriptions. ^bNonstereotypical descriptions.

own sex, because naming provides individuation, and each sex is presumably more sensitive to its own ingroup distinctions than to distinctions among the outgroup others. Such expectations form the core of the analysis of de Beauvoir (1953) and are supported by sociopsychological studies cited previously.

Thus, even if the traditional view consists of a unidimensional conception of each sex, encouraging maximal differentiation between the sexes (the so-called equal but different view), one should expect each sex to be influenced by its own bias, dictating an other versus self view. The findings show that this is not in fact so. There is no symmetry between the perception of the other assumed by the dominant group (male authors, in our case) and that assumed by the nondominant group (female authors, in our case). This explains the figures in Table 2, where one can see that there is no symmetry between the sexes regarding the perception of the opposite sex as a biological being (affecting both sex-based definitions and external descriptions). Similarly, there is no symmetry in the choice of men and women, respectively, for the roles of anchoring/dependent character. The only finding that manifests balance is the view of the other as less individuated (affecting the number of unnamed characters).

Table 2 indeed corroborates our claims regarding the difference between dominant versus nondominant groups concerning the concept of the other. Note that the percentages in the central column (male authors describing women) are always higher than those in the left-hand column (female authors describing men), which suggests that women may not actually perceive men as the other. This is especially so when the sexual aspect is concerned (the two top categories).⁷

Finally, assuming that the reality of the 1930s was such that men were identified with their jobs rather than with their families, whereas women were

TABLE 2
Perception of the Opposite Sex as Other

	FAs Describing Males (%)	MAs Describing Females (%)	Ratio
Sex definition	5.4	31.6	5.9
External description	5.4	14.7	2.7
Non-anchor	50.0	74.3	1.5
Dependent	24.4	34.2	1.4
Nameless	68.3	73.6	ns

Note. The ratio is calculated by dividing the higher percentage by the lower one.

⁷Note that the female-male ratio, not included in Table 2 because it is not a linguistic factor, also fits this pattern. Although each sex is predicted to write less on the opposite sex, both sexes include more male characters in their stories. The gap between the sexes in adopting one's point of view in this category is 1.9.

primarily identified as wives and mothers, one should expect a symmetrical stereotyping of each sex by the other. However, the self versus other view predicts that each sex should use more stereotypic descriptions for the opposite sex than for itself, and less nonstereotypic descriptions for the other sex than for itself.

As can be deduced from Table 1, there is a difference in the degree of stereotyping of the other among the sexes. Male authors were more apt to stereotype, presenting women more often in their stereotypic description (family description, 54.6%) than female authors presented male characters in their stereotypic description (functional description, 44.4%). Moreover, male authors did not present as many women in nontraditional roles (functional descriptions, 15.1%) as female authors presented men in nontraditional roles (as part of a family, 22.9%). The ratio of stereotypic versus nonstereotypic introductions to female and male characters by male and female authors, respectively, is quite significant. Female authors used 1.9 more stereotypic descriptions than nonstereotypic ones for men. Male authors used 3.6 more stereotypic descriptions than nonstereotypic ones for women.⁸

Summing Up the Linguistic Pattern of Character Introduction

Almost all the findings show that the male bias is stronger than the (rare) female bias. This accounts for the fact that the index of dissimilarity (Figures 1 and 2) reflects only a male bias (female biases were deducted from male biases). The great extent of the male bias is due to the fact that the dominant pattern in introducing fictional characters, women and men, by both female and male authors, was the masculine style. Thus, 52 out of 60 counts (10 categories multiplied by 6 authors) reveal male biases of various degrees. The male authors, as expected, contributed more to such counts than did the female authors (29 vs. 23). Balanced views and female biases were both marginal (5 show balance, 3 show a female bias). It was the female authors who contributed most of these.

However, it is not just that the male-biased pattern is more recurrent than the other patterns. Male biases are also qualitatively different from female biases. They tend to be more extreme. Whereas the average male bias is a 2.6 gap between the sexes, the average female bias is significantly lower, a 1.6 gap. This difference is closely related to the overstereotyping by the male authors. Indeed, the average male bias is larger among the male authors. Once one adds to this difference the fact that the female authors had 7 out of the 8 balanced

⁸We should add that this male tendency to overstereotype carries over to the men's concept of themselves, where again they are more apt to stereotype than women.

and female-biased counts, one can safely conclude that the linguistic styles of female and male authors are distinct. Although the linguistic pattern adopted by the female authors does present a male-biased view of human characters rather than a genuinely feminine view, it is at least a less extreme masculine outlook.

We turn now to a content examination, so that we can later establish what the correlations are between content patterns and linguistic patterns as reflected in the fictional writing of the 1930s.

CONTENT STRUCTURE: WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION

Having looked into the linguistic devices available for the representation of men and women, it becomes quite obvious that both male and female authors behaved conventionally. Though female authors are in fact slightly "deviant" compared to male authors, still this deviation is not uniform. Thus, for example, female authors were conservative as far as sex was concerned but were more daring where they depicted women's roles. On one hand, it seems safe to contend that female authors portrayed independent women, because in half of the cases other people relied on them for their introduction. On the other hand, more women than men were presented through the dependency perspective. This duality emerges upon examining the part these characters play at the plot level. This inconsistency is entirely absent from the male writings. It is only with female authors that women's representation exhibits tension between old and new forms, resulting in androgyny.

Women's Representation: Plot Perspective

The major finding concerning women's representation in male writings is women's uniformity: They are all alike. In addition, their characteristics are all organized along the similarity principle. Steinberg's (1957) female characters, for instance, are all endowed with the passivity of the princess of the fairy tales. Their role model is the "sleeping beauty". All they do is passively wait for their groom. Marriage is their destiny ("Bveit Aniiim," pp. 219-224). And if they are loved by a man who is not a potential husband, they are doomed ("Al Hof Hadesna," pp. 225-231). Women do show some activity, though, when they are the other, either non-Jewish ("Ehad Hahanafim," pp. 256-261) or married (somebody else's wife)—an object of threatening desire ("Halom," pp. 232-255).

Shoffman's (1942) female characters, too, are princesslike, ornamental, pas-

sive, as if born only to please others ("Hatsayeret," p. 9, "Dvora," pp. 88–89). They either play the piano ("Hi Vahaverta," pp. 65–66, "Bat Adam," pp. 111–112), or sing ("Hanshika," pp. 67–69) to entertain others. When their erotic charm is over, the alternative giving type is the mother. As a mother, too, each woman's mental energy is geared towards others, to protect and shield them ("Haem," pp. 41–43, "Al Tsad," pp. 48–49). Shoffman's female characters thus do not do anything that implies commitment towards the self. They are only committed to others.

The most overtly sexist, male-biased description of female characters among male authors is to be found in Smilansky's (1934) writings. In his stories, women are the origin of all evils. For example, one male character Hooten ("Hooten," pp. 15–17) "had a wife that hated him and his daughter" (p. 16) and was the cause of all his losses and sorrows. In Smilansky's other stories the woman is devilish: "if you touch her you will die at once" (p. 23). And indeed the Sheik's sons died when they kissed a woman. Others got killed because of a woman's love ("Goel Hadam" pp. 44–70). According to Smilansky, femininity implies destruction of men.⁹

An altogether different picture is revealed when one checks the female authors' work. The topic that governed their writing concerned female identity including the sense of being an other. In Bichovsky's (1976) writings women question their national identity, a state of mind that reflects their independence. Though they are not active heroines par excellence, it is clear that it is precisely their inactivity that is criticized.

Reading "Yamim Arukim" (pp. 30–41) and "Haemet" (pp. 125–136), it becomes quite obvious that Bichovsky was critical of women for being passive and dreamy, reluctant to take control of their own lives. The heroine of "Yamim Arukim" is hopeless because of her dependence on others. The heroine of "Haemet" who is entangled in a dream of her own creation, that is, in self-deceit, never reaches a point when she can materialize her wishes. Metaphorically they are treated as dead, either as an overripe apple already fallen, or as smelling of deadly sheets.

Other characters reject compliance. Mania Lubin ("Mikre Tafel," pp. 7–29) fights over her mental independence with little success. Yet she tries to fight and to protest. Although she starts out by denying her Jewish identity, as the story evolves she attempts fighting antisemitism. Despite the failure, this signifies a massive endeavor to change. Malia, another character ("Malka Layivrim," pp. 42–71), has already taken a step forward: She does not deny her Jewishness. Her identification with the mermaid indicates that she is aware of her alienation in the non-Jewish world. To reform her situation she refuses to marry her non-Jewish lover and finally marries a Jew. Still, this is an act on

a small scale, at the personal level. To bring about a change, a more drastic, more revolutionary action is necessary.

Lyova ("Shigyonot," pp. 72–95), by contrast, is already enthusiastic about the national awakening of the Jewish spirit in her place. Though she does not actually join the movement, she is described as independent, mature, and critical. Another female character who develops independence is the woman in "Nerot shel Shabbat," pp. 96–124, who is not Jewish, but who finds her own way to taste the flavor of Jewish life, which she so urgently craves. Bichovsky's characters, then, are inwardly active, seeking to legitimize their national/Jewish identity.

Similarly, Puchachevsky's (1930) female characters are involved in a search for their female identity. As Bichovsky's heroines conceive of their Jewish identity as reflecting their strangeness, their otherness, so are Puchachevsky's female characters aware of their femininity as signalling their otherness. The female characters of both female authors are conscious of their difference and fight for recognition, independence, and equality.

Puchachevsky was very blunt about feminine and feminist issues. All her heroines protest their social inferiority in what is considered an egalitarian society. Nevertheless, they too do not reach a breakthrough. They all make do with expressing their anger and dissatisfaction, which, in fact, is rarely given an outlet. Puchachevsky let the reader have access to the heroines' consciousness: Instead of using their mental energy to change the course of their lives, they turn it against themselves. So, even here, in a professedly egalitarian society, women continue to play the role of the victim, protecting men and justifying the traditional ways of life.

Tamara ("Betzel Hakvutza," pp. 5–58) is still not prepared to cope with the problem of discrimination against women. When one of the women complains about women's facilities being neglected by the men who are responsible for their repair, Tamara is angry with her and blames the women instead. Though Puchachevsky was critical of women too, her main ideological dispute was with patriarchy. Puchachevsky's heroine breaches the myth of equality in the Commune. She aches that the privileges of working in the fields and undertaking management responsibilities are only men's, whereas women are restricted to housekeeping chores, childcare, gardening, and poultry—the traditional services.

When Puchachevsky treated inequality at the personal, family level, her language became blunt. The family unit is referred to as a "prison" (p. 35) for the married woman, who is "sentenced for life" (p. 155). And likewise, marriage is dealt with in terms of the slavery of the wife. Lack of equality is not merely a question of relationships but primarily a question of legal rights, claimed Puchachevsky. Her female characters protest being deprived of the right to private property and inheritance.

Dvora Baron (1943) is a different author. Despite her early period of femi-

⁹As only "Bnei Arav" was checked for purpose of content analysis, our findings may be limited in range of application.

nist writing,¹⁰ her later period reflects either only latent feminist attitudes or none at all. Her female characters are not concerned with questions of social equality or discrimination. Very rarely did Baron in her writing voice the grievances of women. In "Kritut" (pp. 55-66), she openly complained about the injustice done to women in divorce, but her tone is not so much that of anger as that of pity. In "Derech-Kotzim" (pp. 7-54), however, her heroine is formed à la the victim model. Representing the stagnation of the childish woman, she becomes unfit even for motherhood. Her immaturity is a result of her dependence on the ever-salvaging man. Her crippled mentality is given physical embodiment. Even if this story is not an explicit protest, it may be read as "showing" rather than "telling" the dissatisfaction with the ways of women's life. In "Leet Ata" (pp. 67-180), women are given a wider range of representation and expression. There is a variety of characters, ranging from the vivid, tireless, and inventive wife to the single, young, and independent pharmacist, though the ailing mother and her daughter are portrayed as well.

All in all, female authors represented female characters differently than male authors did. Though the plot structure is not novel, differing only slightly from the traditional/male plot structure, female representations are less stereotypic. The heroines in the writings of the female storytellers are on the verge of change. Their development is mental. Against the passive role that women play in both male and female writings, their protest and active, inward change is brought to the foreground only in the writings of women.

Women's Representation: Quantitative Perspective

In this section we compare these character portrayals with the prior linguistic findings. To do this, we looked for a way to quantify the impressionistic findings just presented. One way of doing so was to apply Bem's (1974) parameters to fictive characters. Bem built a questionnaire containing dozens of characteristics that subjects rate on a 7-point scale ranging from *full absence of trait* (1) to *full presence of trait* (7). In an attempt to quantify stereotyping, we chose to grade the traits of both male and female authors' female characters according to Bem's 20 stereotypically masculine and 20 stereotypically feminine features (for the latter, "married/mother vs. single" was substituted for "sportif vs. delicate" to adjust the measures historically; see Appendix for lists). Note that the feminine characteristics have febleness and inactivity in common, whereas the masculine characteristics share power and activity. The organization of the various traits along the similarity principle reflects their stereotypic tendency.

Measures were taken by five readers, who attributed Bem's various traits

¹⁰A recent research (Guvrin, 1988) has rediscovered a number of early stories by Baron in which Baron's feminist protest is much more explicit than in her later stories.

to each of the female characters of both male and female authors.¹¹ Each character was graded according to the scale just given. Each character's stereotyping was then calculated in accordance with Bem's procedures such that an outcome greater than 2.025 was an indication of a stereotypically feminine characterization, and an outcome smaller than -2.025 was an indication of a stereotypically masculine portrayal. An outcome ranging between 1 and -1 reflected androgyny: The character was classed as neither stereotypically feminine nor stereotypically masculine. Such a character is less flat and is conceived of as more human. She or he is more complex in the sense that her or his characteristics are not so much alike but are instead comprised of dissimilar features.

Results showed that at the level of female characterization none of the female authors is male biased. Female authors' heroines are all androgynous (-1.29). The closest to having created optimal androgyny is Bichovsky. The average grade of her characters is -1.1611. (When "Haemet"—an exceptionally different story—is included, the average grade is -0.6967.) Next is Dvora Baron, the average grade of whose female characters is -1.3161. Puchachevsky's heroines are androgynous to the extent that they are close to being manly, their average grade being -1.8576.

However, female characterization by male authors is stereotypical (6.2664). The average grade of Steinberg's female characters is 5.37, and of Shoffman's, 7.15. These two grades are much higher than the stereotypic minimum (2.025). Smilansky's characters are unclassifiable in terms of Bem's parameters. Attitudes towards these characters are so negative that they become entirely inhuman. They are merely monstrous.

To sum up, Bem's test of stereotyping enables us to formulate more accurately the different attitudes of male and female authors towards their female characters. At the three levels of examination—the level of conventional linguistic use, the level of plot structuring, and the level of characterization—the male authors' treatment of the female characters is homogeneously stereotypical. Female authors, however, were less consistent. Although Bem's test singles them out as having astereotypical female characterization in their writing, this finding is not entirely compatible with the findings at the levels of either plot or linguistics. As seen before, the role that female authors allocated to female characters at the level of the plot is ambiguous between traditional surface inactivity and novel inward change. This incompatibility is reflected at the level of conventional linguistic devices. Though here, too, the

¹¹The grading of male and female characteristics was assigned by each of the authors independently. Agreement between authors was 89%. In addition, male and female characters were graded for feminine and masculine characteristics by three students who had not been informed of the research goal. Total agreement was 84%. Where agreement was not reached initially, characters were given the average grade of the five judgements.

female authors' characters were not as stereotypical as those of the male authors, they are nevertheless quite stereotypical. Wrapping up, then, we can say that although from a content perspective, female authors' representation of female characters is suggestive of a "new woman" role model, one cannot correlate this representation with a respective linguistic change.

CONTENT PATTERNS AND LINGUISTIC PATTERNS: CONSISTENCIES, INCONSISTENCIES, AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE

In this section, we consider our results in terms of the correspondence between form and content. On the common assumption that there is a correlation between form and content, we expect the linguistic expressions introducing the fictional characters to serve as a basis for predicting certain types of content. If indeed style matters, one should expect a high correlation between the linguistic findings and content findings presented earlier. If, however, language is simply an arbitrary system of conventional signs, then one should not expect any special correlation between the two types of results.

The linguistic patterns for introducing characters in the chosen stories manifest an implicit ideology regarding women and men. Although the linguistic findings show that the female authors of the pre-state period in Israel were less apt to stereotype, especially with regard to female characters, the dominant pattern of both the female and the male authors is quite male biased. However, whereas the male authors exhibited a similar amount of stereotyping at all the levels of analysis, the female authors' degree of stereotyping was not uniform (for similar results see Ariel & Giora, 1992, and Giora, 1992).¹² Moreover, the differences between the female and male authors do not constitute a deep chasm. Rather, they support the claim that the female authors presented a weakened, milder version of the same world view exhibited by the male authors.

However, the female authors did attempt a change at two content levels. There they were less apt to stereotype than the male authors. To use de Beauvoir's (1949/1953) terminology, the female authors presented more "human" women, women with a variety of characteristics, not all of which are stereotypical. In terms of simplicity versus complexity, the female characters in the female authors' writings are more complex than those in the male

¹²In Ariel and Giora (1992), a linguistic study of Israeli female and male scriptwriters of the 1980s and 1990s, we found a similar pattern. In that study we measured various parameters of power and cooperativeness. Results showed that the male scriptwriters exhibit a male bias along all the parameters, whereas the female scriptwriters hold an inconsistent view of female and male characters. Such writers manifest a weakened version of a male bias alongside a weak female bias.

authors' writings. In other words, the female characters constructed by the female authors are more androgynous on both plot and characterization levels than such characters are in the male authors' writings. It is in this respect that the female authors correspond to the expectation that each group should favor its own members. Thus, even if the female authors did not quite adopt as feminine an outlook as the male authors did a masculine outlook, some attempt at treating women as subjects rather than as objects is discernible.

However, it is evident that, unlike the male authors, the female authors show a significant incongruity between the linguistic level and the content level. Even the two content analyses are not entirely uniform. It seems that at the unconscious level of messages (the linguistic style) the female authors remain quite conservative, despite the fact that they are relatively innovative when compared with the male authors. That is, at the formal, linguistic level, the female authors manifest many traces that disclose the fact that they were still part of the male-biased value system of the time. At the plot level, the female authors diverge more drastically from the masculine norms. And it is only on the less explicit content level (the nature of the characters) that the stereotyping disappears entirely. In other words, the female authors did try to convey a nonstereotypic message with regard to the female characters, but this intention seems to have suffered from inhibitions and hence appears more as a potential rather than as a secured achievement.

A further look into female authors' styles reveals some individual inconsistencies. Although at the linguistic level Bichovsky adopted a feminine point of view to a larger extent than did Puchchevsky and Baron (in order of most to least feminine), at the content level, Puchachevsky outrates the others. She adopted a feminine point of view to a larger extent than did either Baron or Bichovsky (in that order).

The gap between the linguistic and content levels is not accidental, of course. It is easier to protest the explicit content bias than the built-in implicit bias that is inherent to the linguistic expressions at hand. But before we move to discussing the relevant differences among various linguistic and content levels, we should clarify what is actually in need of explanation.

We have found many apparently incongruent findings in the literature of the 1930s. How is it possible, for example, that there is such a great difference between the male and female linguistic patterns without one's feeling that either men or women use the language wrongly or at least inappropriately? Why did some authors (the males) match content with linguistic dress, whereas others (the female authors) did not attempt a linguistic change to suit their intent? What can the conclusion be from such inconsistent findings concerning the relationship among language, culture, and society? The male authors' linguistic behavior suggests that there is a high correspondence between language and ideology, but the analysis of the female authors' writings

... plausible precisely the opposite conclusion, namely that the relationship between language and ideology is quite arbitrary.

We suggest that the discrepancy found among the various levels of content and language use (of the female authors) can be explained by reference to different levels of consciousness. A social revolution is usually the result of a conscious ideology, and its manifestations tend to be conscious too. The penetration of new ideas into deeper, linguistic levels of which one is less conscious is a long and gradual process. Also, most people are not aware of the significance of different linguistic choices. This can then account for the way the relationship between content and form differs for female and for male authors. For the female authors, the conscious wish to reform thinking about women may not yet have sunk deep enough to effect linguistic change beneath the narrative change.

In fact, the discrepancy between the linguistic conventions and the egalitarian ideology of the female authors does not preclude a correlation between language and ideology. Indeed, when one compares the linguistic conventions used in periods of less as opposed to more feminist conviction, the effect of ideology on language is obvious after all. Ariel (1986) found that there is a tendency to correlate introductory patterns with ideology. Thus, when she examined female authors writing in the early 1970s at the peak of the nonfeminist period in Israel, she found that they were often more male biased in their linguistic choices than were the female authors of the 1930s (in functional descriptions and sex specifiers, mainly). No such overall difference was diagnosed for the modern male authors as compared with the early male authors (see Ariel, 1986, for other changes in introductory patterns that reflect social changes). However, *Noga*, Israel's only feminist magazine, was found to be drastically different from other women's magazines in the 1980's (see Ariel, 1988). The overall result for *Noga* is almost balanced, that is, neither male biased nor female biased. The other magazines examined were all distinctly male biased.

This explanation, which is no more than plain common sense, does not exempt us from the need to propose a linguistic answer to the question: why does one not feel that there is something wrong with the female authors' writing, even though there is no correspondence between its content and its form? Also, is this account correct in implying that every social change will bring about a linguistic change—that in principle, one should expect to find a correlation between language and ideology, except for temporary gaps caused by fresh developments that have not yet been fully accommodated into linguistic use?

The key to starting to answer these old and complex questions depends on our ability to tease apart the concept "language," as it is commonly understood (especially among nonlinguists). Linguists normally distinguish between grammatical rules and optional stylistic conventions of use (e.g., the introductory patterns discussed here). Hence, one should not expect to find a relationship between grammar and thought similar to that between use conventions and thought. We must assume that the relationship borne by the grammar to

thought is largely arbitrary, because grammar is highly inflexible, changing only at an extremely slow pace. This should not be the case where language use is concerned.

Rather, when use conventions are concerned, one should expect great variability among writers trying to create compatibility between different ideologies and linguistic conventions. However, the findings for the female authors, and even more so the findings regarding linguistic patterns of introduction in *Noga* (see Ariel, 1988), show that despite a feminist awareness, one may still make an almost automatic use of these conventions as if they were rigid grammatical rules. Recall that despite its revolutionary content, *Noga* was merely balanced in its introductory patterns and not as female biased, at least in some categories, as one would expect it to be.

Thus, although introductory patterns are a linguistic phenomenon that reflects social and cultural changes, a linguistic rebellion lags behind a content revolt, possibly because speakers tend to attribute a much more rigid status to use conventions than such conventions actually have. In other words, even though violating use conventions is not at all costly in terms of communicative success (e.g., compared with a violation of an inflectional rule), one may not take full advantage of this rebellious option, either because one is not aware of how easily acceptable the change is, or because one is ignorant of the difference made by the linguistic choice. Hence, the female authors, who were quite successful in introducing narrative changes, failed to support them with corresponding linguistic changes.

However, the inconsistency within the linguistic level of analysis and among all the levels discussed undoubtedly signals more than a delayed linguistic reaction. The female authors of the 1930s were ambivalent in their criticism of the traditional female stereotype. We detected a duality, which created a discrepancy between expectations for a brave, new, and just world on the one hand, and an acceptance of women's status as it actually was at the time on the other hand. In this respect, our research confirms other, sociological works on the period (see Bernstein, 1985, 1987; Izraeli, 1981, 1984; Shilo, 1980).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank Ruth Berman for her comments on an earlier version of this article. We also thank our consulting statisticians Erela Daor and Ilana Galanta.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, J. R., & Bower, G. H. (1973). *Human associative memory*. Washington, DC: Winston.
- Ariel, M. (1986). *Character introductions in Israeli short-stories: A comparative study of male and female authors from two periods*. Unpublished manuscript.

- Ariel, M. (1988). Female and male stereotypes in Israeli literature and media: Evidence from introductory patterns. *Language and Communication*, 8(1), 43–68.
- Ariel, M., & Giora, R. (1992). Gender versus group relations analysis of impositive speech acts. *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*.
- Asch, S. E. (1946). Forming impressions of personality. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 41, 258–290.
- Baron, D. (1943). *Le'et ata* [For the time being]. Tel Aviv: Am Oved.
- Beauvoir, S. de. (1953). *The second sex* (H. M. Parshley, Trans.). Middlesex, England: Penguin. (Original work published 1949)
- Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42, 155.
- Bernstein, D. (1987). Maamadan ve-hitargenutan shel nashim ovdot ba-yishuv ha-yironi bi-shnot ha-esrim ve-hashloshim [Working women—their status and organization in the urban Yishuv in the 20s–30s]. *Katedra*, 34, 115–144.
- Bernstein, D. (1987). *Isha Be'ertz Israel* [A woman in the land of Israel]. Tel Aviv: Hakibutz Hameuhad.
- Bichovsky, E. (1976). *Mikre Tafel Ve'od Hamisha Sipurim* [A minor case and another five stories]. Tel Aviv: Tarmil.
- Cantor, N., & Mischel, W. (1977). Traits as prototypes: Effects on recognition memories. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35, 38–48.
- Cantor, N., & Mischel, W. (1979). Prototypes in person perception. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 12, 4–52.
- Chance, J. E., & Goldstein, A. G. (1975). Differential experience and recognition memory of faces. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 97, 243–253.
- Collins, A. M., & Loftus, E. F. (1975). A spreading-activating theory of semantic processing. *Psychological Review*, 82, 407–428.
- Cooper, W. E., & Ross, J. R. (1975). Word order. In R. E. Grossman, L. J. San, & T. J. Vance (Eds.), *Papers from the parasession on functionalism* (pp. 63–111). Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Dion, K. L. (1979). Intergroup conflict and intergroup cohesiveness. In W. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 211–224). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Doise, W. (1976). *L'articulation psychosociologique et les relations entre groupes* [The sociopsychological articulation and group relations]. Brussels: De Baeck.
- Giora, R. (1992). *Fe/male interviewing styles in Israeli media*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Guvrin, N. (1988). *Hamahatzit harishona* [The first half]. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute.
- Izraeli, D. N. (1981). The Zionist women's movement—Palestine, 1911–1927: A sociological analysis. *Signs*, 7(1), 87–114.
- Izraeli, D. N. (1984). Tnuat ha-poalot be-eretz-israel me-reshita ad 1927 [The women workers' movement since its beginning up to 1927]. *Katedra*, 32, 109–140.
- Kuno, S. (1976). Subject, theme, and speaker's empathy—A reexamination of relativization phenomena. In C. N. Li (Ed.), *Subject and topic* (pp. 417–444). New York: Academic.
- Lillie, W., & Rehm, J. (1988). Judgmental processes as bases of intergroup conflict. In W. Stroebe, A. Kruglanski, D. Bar-Tal, & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup and international conflict: Theory, research and applications* (pp. 29–46). Berlin: Springer-Verlag.
- Linville, P. W., & Jones, E. E. (1980). Polarized appraisals of out-group members. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, 689–704.
- Malpass, R. S., & Kravitz, J. (1969). Recognition for faces of own and other race. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 13, 330–334.
- McArthur, L. Z., & Friedman, S. (1980). Illusory correlation in impression formation: Variations in shared distinctiveness effect as a function of the distinctive person's age, race and sex. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39, 615–624.
- McArthur, L. Z., & Friedman, S. (1981). Judging a book by its cover: A cognitive analysis of the relationship between physical appearance and stereotypes. In A. Hastorf & A. Isen (Eds.), *Cognitive social psychology* (pp. 67–82). New York: Elsevier.
- Perry, M. (1979). Literary dynamics: How the order of a text creates its meanings. *Poetics Today*, pp. 35–64, 311–361.
- Puchachevsky, N. (1930). *Bakfar Uva'avoda* [In the village and at the workplace]. Tel Aviv: Hedim.
- Rosen, O. (1984). *Changes in the conditions of women in the workers' settlement. The idea and its realization: A comparison between women in collective and individual settlements (1919–1929)*. Unpublished master's thesis, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv.
- Rosenberg, S., & Sedlak, A. (1972). A structural representation of implicit personality theory. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 6, pp. 235–297). New York: Academic.
- Secord, P. F., Bevan, W., & Katz, B. (1956). The negro stereotype and perceptual accentuation. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 53, 78–83.
- Shaked, G. (1977). *Hasifrut ha'ivrit 1800–1970* [The Hebrew literature 1800–1970]. Tel Aviv: Keter, Hakibbutz Hameuchad.
- Shaked, G. (1983). *Ein makom acher: al sifrut ve-chevra* [No other place: On literature and society]. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad.
- Shilo, M. (1980). Chavat ha-poalot be-kineret, 1911–1917 ke-fitron le-veayat ha-poelet ba-aliya ha-shniya [The women farm workers in Kineret]. *Katedra*, 14, 81–112.
- Shoffman, G. (1942). *Beterem argaa* [Before relaxing]. Tel Aviv: Am Oved.
- Smilansky, M. (1934). *Bnei Arav* [The Arabs]. Tel Aviv: Hitachdut Ha'ikarim.
- Smilansky, M. (1955). *Im preida* [While taking a leave]. Tel Aviv: Tversky.
- Smith, D. C. (1988). *Palestine and the Arab–Israeli conflict*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Steinberg, Y. (1957). *Kol kitvei Yaakov Steinberg* [The collected writings of Ya'acov Steinberg]. Tel Aviv: Dvir.
- Stephan, G. W. (1985). Intergroup relations. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* 2 (Vol. 2, pp. 599–658). New York: Random House.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H. (Ed.). (1978). *Differentiation between social groups*. London: Academic.
- Tajfel, H., Sheikh, A. A., & Gardner, R. C. (1964). Content of stereotypes and the inference of similarity between members of stereotyped groups. *Acta Psychologica*, 22, 191–201.
- Wyer, R. S., & Gordon, S. E. (1984). The cognitive representation of social information. In R. S. Wyer & T. K. Srull (Eds.), *Handbook of social cognition* (Vol. 2, pp. 110–149). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

APPENDIX
List of Characteristics

Feminine Characteristics

1. Yielding
2. Cheerful
3. Shy
4. Affectionate
5. Flatterable
6. Loyal
7. Feminine
8. Sympathetic
9. Sensitive to the needs of others
10. Understanding
11. Compassionate
12. Eager to soothe hurt feelings
13. Soft spoken
14. Warm
15. Gentle
16. Gullible
17. Childlike
18. Does not use harsh language
19. Loves children
20. Mother/wife

Masculine Characteristics

1. Self-sufficient
 2. Defends own beliefs
 3. Independent
 4. Single
 5. Assertive
 6. Strong personality
 7. Forceful
 8. Analytical
 9. Has leadership abilities
 10. Willing to take risks
 11. Makes decisions easily
 12. Self-reliant
 13. Dominant
 14. Masculine
 15. Willing to take a stand
 16. Aggressive
 17. Acts as a leader
 18. Individualistic
 19. Competitive
 20. Ambitious
-