

GENDER ROLES, ETHICS OF CARE AND SOCIAL DOMINANCE
ORIENTATION: A FEMINE VIEW ON HIERARCHY

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Thesis Abstract

Fatma Nur Bayram, “Gender Roles, Ethics of Care and Social Dominance Orientation:
A Feminine View on Hierarchy”

The present study is an investigation of the relationships between biological sex, socially acquired gender schemas, adoption of particular ethical paradigms (ethics of care vs. ethics of justice), and the interplay between these variables as they relate to attitudes towards hierarchy (social dominance orientation). Two samples; one from Istanbul (61 female, 41 male), and the other one from Çanakkale (61 female, 51 male) were recruited for the study. In addition to a demographic data sheet, Moral Orientation Scale Using Childhood Dilemmas, (Yacker and Weinberg, 1990), Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1981), and Social Dominance Orientation Scale-6 (Pratto et al., 1994) are utilized. Sex was found to have significant main effects on both gender roles and social dominance orientation (SDO). Males were higher than females in masculinity, and females were higher than males in femininity. Males were also higher than females on SDO. Participants from Çanakkale were higher both on masculinity and femininity than their Istanbul counterparts. For the Istanbul sample, ethics of care was positively correlated with femininity for males, and negatively correlated with masculinity for females. No such correlations were found for the Çanakkale sample. The results also revealed a negative correlation between femininity and social dominance orientation. The implications of the findings are discussed by bringing together the theoretical

frameworks of Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999), Gender Schema Theory (Bem, 1974), and Ethics of Care (Gilligan, 1981).

Tez Özeti

Fatma Nuir Bayram, “Cinsiyet Roller, İlgi Etiği ve Sosyal Baskınlık Yönelimi:

Hiyerarşiye Feminen Bir Bakış”

Mevcut çalışma, biyolojik cinsiyet, sosyal olarak edinilen cinsiyet şemaları, kullanılan etik paradigmlar (ilgi etiğine karşı adalet etiği) arasındaki ilişkiler ile bu ilişkilerin hiyerarşiye bakışa (sosyal baskınlık yönelimi) etkilerini araştırmıştır. Araştırmaya biri İstanbul’dan (61 kadın, 41 erkek) diğeri ise Çanakkale’den (61 kadın, 51 erkek) olmak üzere iki örneklem dahil edilmiştir. Nüfusbilimsel veri formuna ek olarak, Çocukluk İkilemleri Kullanan Ahlaki Yönelim Ölçeği (Yacker ve Weinberg, 1990), Bem Cinsiyet Rolü Envanteri (Bem, 1981), Sosyal Baskınlık Yönelimi Ölçeği-6 (Pratto ve diğeri, 1994) kullanılmıştır. Cinsiyetin, hem cinsiyet rolleri hem de sosyal baskınlık yönelimi (SBY) üzerinde anlamlı etkileri bulunmuştur. Erkeklerin kadınlara göre daha maskülen, kadınların ise erkeklere göre daha feminen olduğu görülmüştür. Ayrıca, erkeklerin sosyal baskınlık yöneliminin kadınlarınkinden daha yüksek olduğu görülmüştür. Çanakkale örnekleminin İstanbul örneklemine göre hem daha maskülen hem de daha feminen olduğu bulduğu bulunmuştur. İstanbul örneklemini için erkeklerde ilgi etiği ile feminenlik arasında olumlu bir korelasyon bulunurken, kadınlarda ilgi etiği ile maskülenlik arasında olumsuz bir korelasyon bulunmuştur. Ancak, Çanakkale örneklemini için benzer korelasyonlar saptanmamıştır. Sonuçlar ayrıca, feminenlik ile sosyal baskınlık yönelimi arasında olumsuz bir korelasyon olduğunu da ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bulgular, Sosyal Baskınlık Teorisi (Sidanius ve pratto, 1999) Cinsiyet Şema Teorisi (Bem , 1974) ve İlgi Etiği (Gilligan, 1981) çerçevesinde tartışılmıştır.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The production and reproduction of human social hierarchy is a complex issue that can be approached from various theoretical perspectives of psychology, sociology, and politics (e.g. Altemeyer, 1996, Van Den Berghe, 1978, Sandra and Levy, 2005). The present study, on the broadest level, is an investigation of the relationships between biological sex, socially acquired gender schemas, adoption of particular ethical paradigms, and the interplay between these variables as they relate to attitudes towards hierarchy. This investigation is carried out through an eclectic approach that views the implications of evolutionary psychology as complementing, rather than contradicting, the socially acquired cognitive components of human behavior. Inclination towards hierarchy, gender, and ethical judgement are all viewed as constructs that have their foundations in the genetic make-up that is adapted for social learning. For the present study, Social Dominance Theory, Gender Schema Theory, and Ethics of Care will be utilized in this light.

“All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others.”

George Orwell (Animal Farm, 1945)

The Orwellian caricature of the human reestablishment of hierarchy, even after benevolent attempts to diminish it, has had real life correspondence for thousands of years. Rooted in evolutionary survival mechanisms, hierarchy has primarily served the

better adaptation of the species and has enabled more apt coordination among the members of a society (Boehm, 1999). From an evolutionary perspective, forming coalitions of groups to assert power over others is a legitimate strategy to enhance reproductive fitness, especially from a male perspective (Dawkins, 1989). Gradually, it has become more and more complex a system of interactional organization in societies with economic surplus (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). The initial divides between the man and the woman, the strong and the weak, the skilled and the non-skilled has taken the forms of the patriarchic leader and the “second sex” (De Beauvoir, 1969), the wealthy and the rich, the educated and the non-educated.

Social Dominance Theory asserts that today, membership to a particular group by birth, or by later acquired qualities is often more important an indicator of power than individual characteristics (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). However, seen from a cognitive framework, the human drive towards hierarchy today is not a mere abstraction of the instinct, but rather a complex neural network of associations learned in a social context (Levine and Campbell, 1972). Hence, rooted in survival mechanisms but shaped through the environment, humans have varying attitudes towards hierarchy. These attitudes will be assessed by the Social Dominance Orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) framework, which evaluates the extent to which individuals are inclined towards a hierarchical society where certain groups of people dominate others. Of importance will be the effect of sex and gender roles, i.e., the biological and social meanings of being male vs. female in the appraisal of stratification in human society.

“One is not born a woman, one becomes one.”

Simone De Beauvoir (The Second Sex, 1949)

The differences between the sexes are highly marked by the differences in the genotypical and phenotypical features of each sex (Dawkins, 1982). Nonetheless, how that genetic material manifests itself in actual human social exchange is a complex developmental process that necessitates a society to learn from, to interact with, and to change (Maccoby, 1998). The gender norms of a particular society learned starting from the first years of life on, highly influence how an individual learns to perceive his or her gender (Mischel, 1996). However, although representing characteristics that are largely adhered to by the two sexes, these norms do not predict how each individual in a society will relate to them. A woman can possess what are called “masculine” traits more than a man does, and vice versa (Bem, 1981). Based on Bem’s Gender Schema Theory (Bem, 1974), gender roles are conceptualized into four distinct categories of femininity (high adherence to traditionally feminine roles), masculinity (high adherence to traditionally masculine roles), androgyny (high adherence to both feminine and masculine norms), and undifferentiation (low adherence to both feminine and masculine traits).

With the meanings of being male and female being subject to the socialization process, there is room to challenge how SDT’s position that the maintenance of hierarchy is primarily associated with being male is influenced by acquired cognitive gender schemas. This is one of the main issues that the present study addresses.

As aforementioned, inequality has always gone hand in hand with attempts to restore equality. Our ancestral need for morality (Hamilton, 1964), or an order by which to maintain the optimum good for all, has taken many forms throughout history. But this

morality has often been structured by those groups in power, and has based its priorities on masculine values (Stepan, 1998). As feminist critiques point out, in order to universalize the laws of ethics, morality imposed by dominant groups has often discounted different ethos of the subordinates. Depending on the assumption that all human experience is the same, many “moral” models have misconceptualized equality as equity (Jaggar, 1992), and have repeatedly allowed room for the reproduction of hierarchy. Overall, a masculine ethics of justice that emphasizes autonomy, self-assertion, and equidistance towards all others in the system is not separable from other social mechanisms which enhance the survival of the fittest by the standards set by the fit. A question of the present study is concerned with whether sex and gender are related to ethical paradigms adopted. Ethical paradigms will be conceptualized as ethics of justice vs. ethics of care, from the framework of the feminine ethicist Carol Gilligan.

“It all goes back to Adam and Eve- a story, which shows, among other things, that if you make a woman out of a man, you are bound to get in trouble.”

Carol Gilligan, (In a Different Voice, 1982)

Women do not constitute a homogenous group; their experiences between and within cultures vary dramatically. However, when compared to men of a particular group, women do show qualities which bring them together (Maccobby, 1998). According to Gilligan, one of those qualities that link closely to any form of social interaction is their inherent capacity to “care”. Partially owing to their genetic heritage and physiology (Maccoby, 1998), partially to what the embracement of the primary role in childrearing has taught over history (Chodorow, 1974), and partially how their relationship among themselves and with the other sex has reshaped their own construction of womanhood

(Maccoby, 1998), both theory and research (Timmers et al., 1998) demonstrate that women have a biological and social disposition to prioritize relationships over power, more than men do. Caring can often be a debilitating quality in a competitive environment, and taken to extremes, contributes to the negative images of women as “self-less”, “weak” and “irrational” (Helgeson, 2005). But it is also a great capacity which allows room for acknowledgement and nourishment of differences (Gilligan, 1982). Again, this is not to say that all women have the same relationship with caring, but rather to suggest that even when suppressed or reshaped, women, through their very nature and social experience, develop a more relational and solid understanding of the need to care than men do.

Research indicates that women are less power driven and more egalitarian (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999), and more sensitive to context than to abstract principles (Gilligan, 1982). However, as will be further demonstrated, there is mixed empirical evidence on how gender roles influence these two variables (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999, Foels and Pappas, 2005, Wilson and Liu, 2003, Gilligan, 1982, Karniol et al., 2007, Skoe, 1996, Rowley, 1994). Moreover, there is no study to date that has explored the relationship between care ethics and social dominance orientation. Seen in this light, it is meaningful to research how ethical models employed by women and men are related to their gender schemas and attitudes towards hierarchy. Before the formulation of the hypotheses, a more thorough look at each of the three concepts is necessitated.

Gender Roles

Theories regarding how the biological distinction between males and females, i.e. sex, is shaped into the social categorization encompassing psychological features and role attributes that are assigned to each sex, i.e. gender, are often seemingly contradicting, as well as complementing. Table 1 summarizes eight of such theories. The biological, socialization, and cognitive components of gender role acquisition are interrelated (Maccoby, 1998). With regards to the present study, exploration of the Gender Schema Theory (Bem, 1974), which emphasizes cognitive attributes learned in context, will be utilized.

Table 3. *Theories of Sex Differences (adapted from Helgeson, 2005)*

Theory	Description
Biological	Identifies genes and hormones as well as the structure and function of the brain as the cause of observed physical appearance, cognition, behavior, and gender roles.
Evolutionary	An extension of Darwin's theory of evolution that states different social behaviors may have evolved in men and women because it was adaptive for their survival.
Psychoanalytic	Original theory suggested that gender roles are acquired by identification with the same-sex parent. Modern versions emphasize the importance of all early relationships.
Social Learning	Contends that all behaviors-including those specifically related to

	gender role- are learned through reinforcement and/or modeling.
Gender-role socialization	States that people and objects in the child's environment shape behavior to fit gender-role norms.
Social role	Variant of gender-role socialization theory that suggests differences in men's and women's behavior are a function of the different roles that men and women hold in our society.
Cognitive development	Assumes the child is an active interpreter of the world and observational learning occurs because the perceiver cognitively organizes what he or she sees. Social cognitive theory extends this position by suggesting gender-role acquisition is influenced by social as well as cognitive factors.
Gender schema	Contends that children acquire gender roles due to their propensity to process information into sex-linked categories.

A schema is “a construct that contains information about the features of a category as well as its associations with other categories” (Helgeson, 2005). Gender schema refers to the emotions, cognitions, and behaviors attributed to the categories of male and female. In line with social role and cognitive development theorists, Sandra Bem (1981) has argued that a child learns information in male and female categories via rewards and observation and then encodes new information into these categories to maintain consistency. She posits that male and female role attributes in society creates a pervasive dichotomy that guide people to think in gender schematic ways. Masculinity is typically

associated with an instrumental orientation, a focus on getting the job done, and femininity is associated with a more expressive orientation, an affective concern for the welfare of the others (Bem, 1974). Aspects of development that are held to be important for the two sexes, often do not apply to the other sex. For example, Bem (1981) posits that the “strength-weakness” aspect is often lacking in the social assessment of a girl’s development, whereas “nurturance” is often lacking in boys.

What is noteworthy is that she suggests gender schematic thinking is found among both sex-typed people, e.g, feminine women, and cross-typed people, e.g. masculine women, and that both groups would be equally concerned about adhering to the norms associated with a particular sex group (Bem, 1981). However, given the variation in human thought processing on gender issues, she argues that thinking outside of a traditional male/female categorical system is possible. This argument puts forward the model of an individual who engages in gender aschematic thinking, and is therefore able to take on both traditionally masculine and traditionally feminine qualities when constructing his or her self-concept. Bem calls such individuals who demonstrate strong combinations of masculine and feminine characteristics “androgynous”, and those who demonstrate weak combinations of the two categories “undifferentiated”. (Bem, 1974)

Although there is debate over whether the construct of androgyny does in fact imply gender aschematic thinking, research using Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) suggests that sex-typed individuals more quickly endorse information consistent with their gender-role schemas than cross-sex-typed, androgynous or undifferentiated individuals (Bem, 1981). Furthermore, when deciding whether a particular item on the inventory described them or not, sex-typed college students, compared to androgynous

ones, were quicker in their judgment, suggesting sex-typed people engage in gender schematic thinking (Bem, 1984).

In her more recent work, Bem has argued that the construct of androgyny alone is not sufficient to create a more aschematic society, and that instead, different possible combinations of sex, gender role, and sexual orientation should be taken into account. The increased number of gender categories would make rigid schematic thinking more difficult, and would allow room for fluidity between categories. Thus, a less discriminatory conceptualization of gender lies not in androgyny, or adhering to the stereotypes associated with both sexes, but rather in a less-schematic society altogether (Bem, 1981).

Despite her own reframing of the constructs, male, female, androgynous, and undifferentiated roles serve as important variables in gender research. Of relevance to ethical thinking is the implications the literature has for the effects of gender schemas on shame, guilt, and aggression towards others.

Gender Schemas and Social Emotion Regulation

In line with the definitions of masculine and feminine roles proposed above, a study conducted by Benetti-McQuoid and Bursik (2005) on a sample of 104 undergraduate students (53 women and 51 men) in the United States has explored how experiences of and reactions to guilt and shame serve as a function of gendered views of the self. In addition to the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), a demographic data sheet, the 20-item trait guilt subscale of the Guilt Inventory (Jones, Schratte, & Kugler, 2000; Kugler & Jones, 1992), Guilt and Shame Vignettes (GSV; Benetti-McQuoid & Bursik, 2002), and Conscious Affect (TOSCA; Tangney, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1992) scales were used.

Heightened levels of guilt- and shame-proneness were observed among both men and women. However, although women reported greater proneness to guilt and shame, men reported more trait guilt, implying women's appraisal of guilt more as a contextual state, and men's more as a generalized abstraction. When gender schemas were considered in the analysis, individuals with a feminine gender role reported more guilt-proneness than did the masculine and undifferentiated gender role group. Increased masculinity was related to lower shame-proneness for women; whereas for men, increased femininity was associated with heightened shame-proneness. These results support the notion that increased femininity is linked to an individual's proneness to the effects his or her behavior have on others, whereas increased masculinity is linked to decreased internalization of the negative emotions caused by the consequences of one's actions.

The same study also found that women with a masculine gender role provided significantly more verbal responses on the issues of guilt and shame than did men with a masculine gender role. This shows that although women's adoption of masculine traits contributes to their decreased levels of shame and guilt, it does not take away from their need to communicate to others how they are feeling. Increased masculinity can help women cope with negative situations, as long as they maintain their social bonds. For traumatized American women from various ethnic backgrounds (n=200), androgyny has in fact been shown to act as a resilience factor in dealing with childhood stressors (Clauss-Ehlers, 2006); with a central theme to resilience being strong environmental, cultural, and social support.

On the other hand, higher levels of masculinity are also associated with increased aggressive behavior. Two studies demonstrate this point.

The first study, conducted on 100 male and 100 female inmates from various ethnic backgrounds in the United States, showed important relationships between the BSRI and Psychological Inventory of Criminal Thinking Styles (PICTS) (Walters, 2001). In male inmates, the BSRI masculinity scale correlated negatively with the PICTS problem avoidance scale, and positively with the self-deception/assertion scale, although the latter coefficient fell short of statistical significance. The self-assertion aspect of masculine individuals is linked closely to lack of problem avoidance in their engagement of criminal behavior. Importantly, in female inmates, the BSRI femininity scale correlated positively with denial of harm. This finding seemingly contradicts the data previously cited. However, it should be born in mind that the dynamics of criminal behavior are different than daily guilt-arousing interactions, and that once involved in serious harm-causing behavior, the maintenance of the self concept as a pro-social one is partially enabled by this denial mechanism.

The second study was conducted by Ginni and Pozzoli (2006), who recruited 113 Italian White children (64 boys and 49 girls) to explore the relationship between gender roles and involvement in bullying behaviors in elementary schools. Self-report of bullying and victimization (Caravita and Bartolomeo, 2001), teacher ratings of reactive and proactive aggression, and a Masculinity–femininity scale developed by the authors for children were used. Data from a hierarchical regression on bullying scores showed that, irrespective of sex, masculine traits predicted active bullying behavior. Moreover, bullying was also related to victimization and to teacher's evaluation of reactive aggression.

Overall, feminine traits are more associated with interpersonal relationships; and masculine ones more with the assertion of the self. Although the examples of criminal

behavior and bullying indicate how masculinity is related to anti-social behavior, this assertion can also take the prosocial forms of achievement and leadership.

Gender Schemas, Achievement, and Leadership

The findings cited below explore the relationships between gender roles, achievement, the achievement-orientation that parents teach their different sexed children, and leadership.

With regards to how gender schemas contribute to academic achievement, Erkut (1983) found that feminine gender-role orientation is associated with a debilitating pattern of expectancy and attribution and lower performance, especially among women.

Careerwise, women classified as feminine in Bem's Sex Role Inventory achieved less in their careers, attributed their career performance less to ability and effort, and had parents with lower educational expectations for them than women classified as masculine (Wong et al., 1985). Multiple regression analysis of a number of correlates revealed that education level and masculinity were the only significant predictors of career achievement in women. When education was not included in the regression analysis, both masculinity and the absence of femininity predicted women's achievement.

A study on achievement in sports in the Turkish population showed that, regardless of the gender stereotype of the particular sports they are active in, women who are athletes are masculine than those who are not. Koca and Asci (2005), studied 306 high achieving female athletes from feminine sports, e.g. ballet dancing, masculine sports, e.g. wrestling, and gender neutral sports, e.g. track and field, as well as 264 female non-athletes. The univariate analysis revealed a significant difference in

masculinity scores between females athletes from different types of sport and female non-athletes. Hence, regardless of the socially conceived gender of the field, sports achievement can be said to be linked to increased masculinity for women.

In researching how sex and gender play into how the young is motivated into achieving, a study done on 124 majorly middle class Caucasian American families and their 4-year-old children asked parents to tell their son or daughter stories about when the parent was growing up (Fiese & Skillman, 2000). The stories were coded for strength of affiliation, achievement, and autonomy themes. The parents also completed the BSRI and measures of child behavior. Fathers told stories with stronger autonomy themes than did mothers, and sons were more likely to hear stories with themes of autonomy than were daughters. An interaction was found between gender type of parent and the sex of child for strength of achievement theme. Traditional gender-typed parents told stories with stronger achievement themes to their sons, and nontraditional gender-typed parents told stories with stronger achievement themes to their daughters. Higher levels of internalizing behaviors were found in girls whose mothers told stories with strong affiliation themes, but endorsed weak feminine attitudes.

In order to be dominant in a group, personal achievement should be supported by the inter-personal skills of leadership.

Gershenoff and Foti (2004) tested the effect of gender role and intelligence on leadership in different contexts. Two hundred female undergraduate participants, categorized by their patterns of masculinity, femininity, and intelligence, were placed in groups of 4 members. Groups were randomly assigned to an initiating-structure or consensus-building task condition. In the initiating-structure task condition, both masculine-intelligent and androgynous-intelligent women emerged as leaders more than

feminine-intelligent or mixed-pattern women. In the consensus-building task condition, androgynous-intelligent women emerged as leaders more than the other groups. In no condition the feminine-intelligent women emerged as leaders. Thus, it can be inferred that for a structural leadership condition, masculine traits alone can be predictive of leadership, while for a more social condition, endorsement of female traits is also necessitated. However, in no condition, adherence to female traits alone predicts leadership. If one is to be influential over a group, i.e., dominant in a hierarchy, masculinity is a must, but if one is to do that in a more cooperative fashion, femininity cannot be discounted.

Overall, research indicates that Bem's theory of masculine and feminine schemas and their implications for social behavior still holds true after three decades. Some of the foundational elements of ethical thinking and acting, as well as those of dominance have been reviewed in their relation to gender roles. Next, the issues of hierarchy and dominance will be explored in detail.

Social Dominance Theory

Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999) is concerned with how intergroup differences in dominance manifest themselves in discrimination, oppression, and violence. In so doing, it discounts neither the evolutionary predispositions towards hierarchy, nor the psychological, social, and economic factors that enhance it. Therefore, description of hierarchy is of importance before introduction of the theory itself.

The Building Blocks of Hierarchies

Hierarchies are a nearly universal feature in communities of virtually every size and type, especially among ape societies (De Waal, 1982, 2001). A hierarchy can be said to exist whenever there are dominance differences between the members of a group. While historically adaptive for the species as a whole, and inevitable to the day, hierarchy today can hardly be viewed as a positive concept.

From an evolutionary perspective, survival of an individual and the continuation of his or her genes in future generations are based on two major selection processes: natural selection, which refers to the total of environmental factors acting in selection of particular adaptive qualities in a certain species; and sexual selection, which, in Charles Darwin's words, is the results of the "struggle between the individuals of one sex, generally the males, for the possession of the other sex" (Darwin, 1871).

For apes, these two are intertwined in the social environment in which specialized repertoires of social cognitions and behavior, gradually acquired by each member from birth on, act as a means to create a society in which every individual aims to maximize his or her reproductive fitness. Such fitness entails reproductive potential, or "the genetic, material, and/or social resources to enhance the physical and social well-being of offspring" and reproductive investment, which is "the actual use of these resources to enhance the physical and social welfare of the offspring" (Geary, 2004). Combination of the two defines an individual's mate value in the society (Symon, 1979, cited in Geary, 2004), which drives the intrasex competition for the members of the opposite sex. Hence, different mate values refer to different social status in the society, where depending on the size and particular characteristics of the group, each relative

position is held either by an individual, or groups of similar valued individuals. Moreover, intersex competition for resources desirable by both sexes marks a divide between the status of males and females, with males occupying higher positions than females. This stratification can be said to lay at the basis of any sophisticated system of hierarchy observable in human societies today.

Politicized Hierarchy: Right Wing Authoritarianism

A hierarchy is maintained by powerful groups of people, who will assert their dominance over less powerful ones by promoting social attitudes and policies that advantage themselves. (Blumer, 1960, cited in Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). The most elaborate version of this simple notion exists in Marxism, where power refers to power over the economic surplus created by technology and productive instruments, and where those who own capital will structure economic transactions in ways that will benefit them at the cost of exploitation of the working class (Marx, 1904). One explanation of how certain individuals submit to others is the authoritarian personality theory, proposed by Adorno and the Berkeley psychologists (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, Senford, 1950). Authoritarian personality is the endorsement of nine personality traits, i.e., conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intraception, superstition and stereotypy, power and "toughness," destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity, and exaggerated concerns over sex. In brief, the authoritarian is predisposed to follow the dictates of a strong leader and traditional, conventional values. An important concept based on this thinking is Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarianism.

Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) is a construct that constitutes of three highly interrelated sets of attitudes (Altemeyer, 1996): authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism. Submission refers to submission to individuals or groups deemed as holding legitimate authority in society, aggression to aggressive attitudes and behaviors sanctioned by those authorities and directed against unconventional individuals or groups, and conventionalism to the willingness to support existing conventions and standards as endorsed by societal authorities. RWA research has demonstrated that individuals who score high on RWA also tend to score low on measures of openness to experience (Butler, 2000), and moral judgment development (Van Ijzendoorn, 1989), and higher on measures of need for cognitive closure (Van Hiel et al., 2004), and value dimensions of tradition, conformity, security, and orthodoxy (Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002) than those who score lower on RWA.

From Ingroup Hierarchy to Intergroup Hierarchy: Social Dominance Theory

Although Right Wing Authoritarianism is a strong political construct in explaining individual tendencies towards hierarchy, it does not encompass how membership in a dominant or subordinate group influences these tendencies.

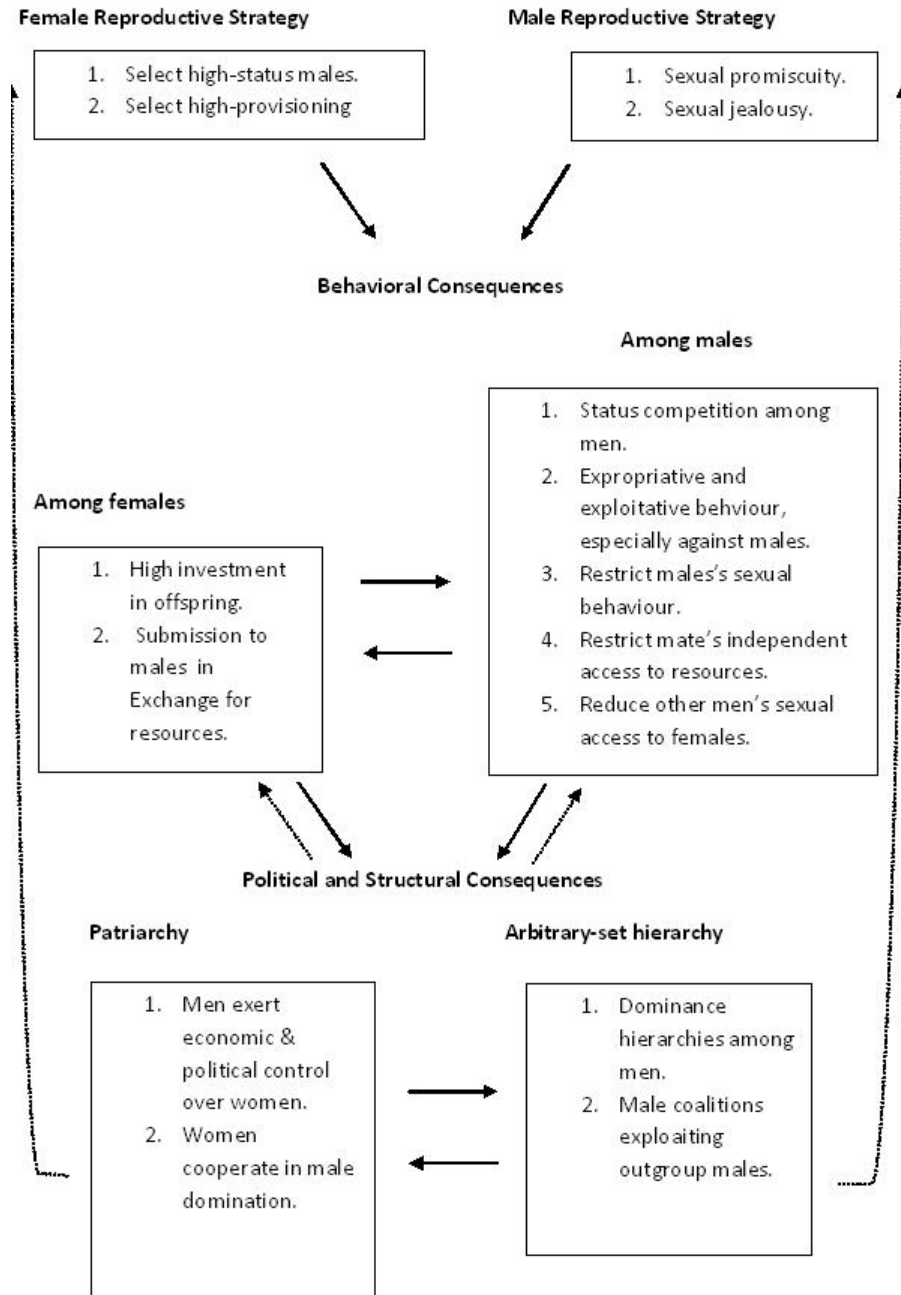
On the other hand, Social Dominance Theory (SDT) explores the issue of group based hierarchies, which refers to the social power that individuals possess via belonging to particular socially constructed groups such as race, religion, clan, tribe, lineage, linguistic/ethnic group, or social class (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). The two constructs are demonstrably different in their genesis (Duriez et al., 2005).

According to Sidanius and Pratto's Social Dominance Theory, the evolutionary heritage of hierarchies is due to the better adaptation of hierarchical societies in the ancestral environment. As aforementioned, hierarchy is thought to have served better the purposes of an effectively functioning group in terms of acquiring food, protecting territory, managing sexual behavior, settling disputes, and so on. Human social hierarchy today is thought to similarly consist of a hegemonic group at the top and negative reference groups at the bottom. SDT posits that as a role gets more powerful, the probability it is occupied by a hegemonic group member increases. Figure 1 demonstrates SDT's hypotheses on how the initial sexual selection strategies of reproduction expand to the mutual construction of hierarchy.

Sidanius and Pratto (1999) posit that individuals are stratified by three systems: (1) an age system, (2) a gender system, and (3) an arbitrary system. The arbitrary system differentiates between groups in terms of identification. Group identification is based on factors like ethnicity, religion, and nationality. Males are more dominant than females; and possess more political power. Most high-power positions will be held by males.

Moreover, it will be the males who strive for the creation and maintenance of hierarchical order more than females, referred to as the "invariance hypothesis".

Figure 1. *Behavioral and structural consequences of female and male reproductive strategies in SDT (adapted from Sidanius and Pratto, 1999)*



Social Dominance Theory is based on three major assumptions: “(1)While age- and gender-based hierarchies will tend to exist within all social systems, arbitrary-set systems of social hierarchy will invariably emerge within social systems producing sustainable economic surplus. (2)Most forms of group conflict and oppression (e.g. racism, ethnocentrism, sexism, nationalism, classism, and regionalism) can be regarded as different manifestations of the same basic human predisposition to form group-based social hierarchies. (3)Human social systems are subject to the counterbalancing influences of hierarchy-enhancing (HE) forces, producing and maintaining ever higher levels of group-based social inequality, and hierarchy attenuating (HA) forces, producing greater levels of group-based social equality.” (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999)

Hierarchy is driven by three proximal processes: (1) the aggregated individual discrimination, (2) aggregated institutional discrimination, and (3) behavioral asymmetry. While the first two processes refer to processes of daily discriminatory acts, the last of the three processes is a central theme in SDT. Behavioral asymmetry suggests that subordinates are not merely objects of oppression, but are also active agents who cooperate in their own subordination. For instance, instead of being passive victims of patriarchy, women do contribute to its maintenance. The deferential and obsequious behaviors of subordinates have four variates: (1) asymmetrical ingroup bias, (2) outgroup favoritism, (3) self-debilitation, and (4) ideological asymmetry. Ideological asymmetry refers to the differences between subordinates and dominants in their adherence to “legitimizing myths (that) consist of attitudes, values, beliefs, stereotypes, and ideologies that provide moral and intellectual justification for the social practices that distribute social value within the social system”. Legitimizing myths are cognitive schemas that enhance hierarchy.

The stance a particular individual has towards differences in dominance, or, “the degree to which a person desires to establish and maintain the superiority of his or her own group over other groups” (Sidanius & Liu, 1992) via endorsement in legitimizing myths, is defined as social dominance orientation (SDO), a construct repeatedly shown to be higher in men than women (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius et al, 2000). A novel insight that SDT demonstrates is, contradictory to the double-jeopardy hypothesis proposed by Social Identity Theory, women in minority groups do not suffer from higher rates of discrimination. In fact, it is the men of subordinate groups that demonstrate both perceived and actual discrimination. In explaining this phenomenon, Sidanius and Pratto posit the subordinate-male target hypothesis (SMTH), putting forward the idea that arbitrary-set aggression is directed at outgroup males rather than outgroup females.

Three consecutive studies by Nierman et al. (2007) demonstrate how perceived status raising of subordinate groups disturb the members of the dominant group. Two studies tested the hypothesis that perceiving gays to be increasing in status is threatening to heterosexuals’ privileged group position and leads to anti-gay prejudice, particularly among those high in social dominance orientation (SDO). In Study 1, perception of gays’ status was manipulated and participants were given coins to donate to beneficiaries that support, oppose or were unrelated to gay rights. SDO was correlated with more anti-gay donations *except* when gays were likely to remain low in status. In Studies 2A and 2B, high SDO was positively correlated with the perception that gays are increasing in status. Study 3 tested the hypothesis that prejudice causes heightened perceptions of threat by conditioning negative and positive affect toward immigrant groups and measuring perceptions of threat posed by economic or political gains.

Relative to economic gains, political gains of immigrants were more threatening to native-born Americans' status, and groups advancing in politics were seen as less warm. These findings support SDT's claim that dominants with high levels of SDO scores will fiercely react to any perceived threat to their position. The experimental conditions designed for this study have real life political and implications. One such implication is highly social dominance oriented people's thoughts on affirmative action, a policy against group-based discrimination.

An Australian study (Feather & Boeckmann, 2007) examined how SDO, perceptions of inequities, and attitudes toward diversity impact reactions to affirmative action policies and beneficiaries. The results provide support for several of the predictions derivable from SDT. Social dominance orientation (SDO) had a direct influence on participants' endorsement of two legitimizing myths: perceptions of race-based inequities and attitudes towards diversity. Moreover, endorsement of these legitimizing myths was directly related to support for affirmative action and reactions to beneficiaries of affirmative action.

However, as stated above, it is not only the dominant groups who are responsible for the creation and maintenance of hierarchy. The notion that social ranking is constructed by the participation of the dominant and subordinate groups alike is supported by Snellman et al. (2005). Based on self-report data from a community sample (N= 600), this study examined (1) the correspondence of ratings and rankings of six ethnic target groups among various subgroups of participants (Swedish and immigrant men and women), and (2) the relationship of inclination to ethnic ranking with ethnic prejudice and social dominance orientation. In accord with the predictions of SDT, the results disclosed that (1) irrespective of gender and ethnic origin, the various

subgroups of participants ranked and formed similar hierarchies of the six ethnic target groups, and (2) people's inclination to ethnic ranking showed significant correlations with their ethnic prejudice as well as social dominance orientation.

Overall, SDT provides a valid framework by which to evaluate class differences, prejudice, and discrimination, all of which lead to unequal treatment of different groups. In order to overcome the inequalities linked to social dominance, ethical thinking and action are the primary tools humans have.

Ethics of Care

Some Basic Ethical Concepts in Western Philosophy and Developmental Psychology

The study of ethics, in the broadest sense, is the study of developing a theoretical apparatus with which to assess conduct in terms of right or wrong. There is much debate regarding the distinction between ethics and morality, with the former frequently used to indicate the study of the latter (Audi, 1995). However, when used in this sense, ethics can be said to be a discipline that encompasses the study of both ethical and moral behavior. Ethics, coming from the Greek word *ethos*, refers to a particular state of being, a standing, or a habit. Morality, on the other hand, stemming from the Latin word *moralis*, i.e., manner, character, proper behavior, concerns itself with norms and traditions held to represent the good in a society (www.oed.com). Although the two are often used synonymously, the fine distinction lies in the central subject of the two issues. While ethics is concerned with what is good, morality is concerned with what is

held good by a society. This distinction will be discussed later as it relates to the ethics of care; however, for the present section, the word ethics will be used to refer to the sub-branch of philosophy that concerns itself with the study of ethical/moral behavior.

Ethics is traditionally subdivided into normative ethics, metaethics, and applied ethics. Normative ethics seeks to establish norms or standards of conduct. In so doing, it works towards the establishment of norms for conduct and the proper means by which to evaluate what constitutes adherence to those norms. At the same time, at least in certain schools, it considers the nature and constitution of the good, the good life or even the *summum bonum*, the highest good. The three major schools of contemporary normative ethics in philosophy are virtue ethics, deontology, and consequentialism.

Virtue ethics focuses on moral character. Though not its earliest theorist, Aristotle wrote the foundational text in virtue ethics with his *Nicomachean Ethics*. He held that the purpose of studying moral theory is to enable people to lead better lives, to achieve and maintain a state of *eudaimonia* (happiness or flourishing). In essence, a virtue theorist believes that an agent should act in moral ways in particular situations because so doing strengthens a quality in him that he has already determined characterizes the moral person. The morality of an act is evaluated by the degree to which it contributes to the virtue of the actor. The concept of virtue is based on the ideal qualities of *manhood*, and entails adherence to those qualities in any context (Aristotle, 350 B.C., Ross, 1996). Virtue ethics had little influence over contemporary philosophical debate from about the time of Kant until the publication of G.E.M. Anscombe's *Modern Moral Philosophy* in 1958, since which point it has enjoyed a significant resurgence.

Deontological ethics sees moral conduct as stemming from adherence to the established norms, irrespective of the consequences that follow that conduct, whether good or bad. It is most often associated with Kant and his “categorical imperative”, which suggests the following three formulations for ethical action: (1) “Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law.” (2) “Act in such a way that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, always at the same time as an end and never merely as a means to an end.” (3) “Therefore, every rational being must so act as if he were through his maxim always a legislating member in the universal kingdom of ends.” (Kant, 1785, trans. Ellington, 1993)

Contrary to the emphasis that deontology puts on intentions and motives underlying behavior, consequentialism evaluates conduct in terms of the outcomes in which they will result. It has taken many forms from the varying social contract theories of Hobbes and Rousseau to the utilitarian theories of Mill and many others, and has enjoyed great influence since the 1970’s via the work of John Rawls, whose moral and political writings utilize contractarian aspects to strengthen a theoretical program concerning distributive justice (Rawls, 1971). In general, a consequentialist assesses conduct according to whether it has maximized, or at least promoted, ‘the Good’; and believes that the ends, rather than the means, are to be emphasized.

Theories of moral development in psychology have been greatly influenced by the aforementioned ideas in ethics, and have mostly focused on the acquisition of morality. Some of such central theories stem from biological, psychoanalytical, social learning, and cognitive developmental perspectives.

A biological theory of ethics is explored contemporarily through the works of evolutionary psychologists (Joyce, 2006). Concepts of altruism and reciprocal altruism are seen central to the optimum adaptation of a species whose every individual member will directly or indirectly benefit from a society that can function as an ordered whole. From an evolutionary framework, reciprocal altruism contributes to the maintenance of a hierarchical society where each member of the group will act in accordance to the social display rules appropriate for his or her particular place within the line of dominance (Hauser, 2000). Such a system helps eliminate chaos and contributes to the predictability of the social environment, fostering a more sophisticated communication between individuals, which results in the advancement of the species. Thus, the ability to learn social norms is a key factor in human survival. The physiological disposition for acquiring morality is then shaped by the environment and is specified through experience, resulting in variation according to context.

From a Freudian perspective, moral development is a gradual process that occurs through the strengthening of the superego across the psychosexual stages (Freud, 1924). The superego is necessarily in relation to both the past and the present experiences when reminding of the conformity to norms in a particular society. Moral behavior in adherence to these internalized norms is seen as having a function of protecting the ego from feelings of guilt and shame. According to Freud, a crucial period in moral development is the phallic stage, during which, boys need to separate from their mothers and identify with their fathers if they are to overcome their castration anxiety. Doing so involves developing an individual sense of morality. Girls, on the other hand, not needing such a separation to overcome their oedipal complex or penis envy, remain closely attached to their mothers and fail to develop a true sense of autonomy that leads

to higher levels of moral reasoning. Boys, after they detach from childhood stressor, can contribute to the progress of society by challenging the norms of the previous generation, but girls, trapped in their “dependence on emotions”, do not acquire such a position. Freud concludes that “women show less sense of justice than men, that they are less ready to submit to the great exigencies of life, (and) that they are more influenced in their judgments by feelings of affection or hostility” (Freud, 1924, cited in Gilligan, 1982).

A social learning account of morality suggests that the moral codes are learnt via positive reinforcement, punishment, and observational learning; and then are internalized in a way that they still govern behavior even in the absence of reinforcing agents (Bandura, 1977).

From a cognitive framework, Jean Piaget further elaborates on this idea of the child as an active learner. He proposes a three-stage model where the child is first amoral (0-5 years) and hence oblivious to any moral reasoning, and then goes through the heteronymous and autonomous stages of morality. In the heteronymous stage (5-10 years), the source of the rules to abide by is external. As the child moves into late childhood, s/he develops an increased awareness of the reciprocal force of moral rules. Through the shift from parents to peers as social influences, the child gradually recognizes the motivations for cooperation and fairness in social relationships. However, depending on his observations, Piaget suggests that the acquirement of morality is different for boys and girls. While boys emphasize the issues of justice and rules in their games, girls tend to use rules merely as tools for the game itself. While boys regulate their play around rules, girls regulate the rules around the game, making exceptions to the rules whenever more convenient to the continuation of the communication and

sharing. Coming from a different theoretical model than Freud, but reaching a similar conclusion with him, Piaget states that the central theme of morality, “the legal sense”, is “far less developed in little girls than boys” (Piaget, 1932, cited in Gilligan, 1982).

Following Piaget’s footsteps, Lawrence Kohlberg has proposed a more detailed theory of moral stages of cognitive development (CMD) that constitutes of six stages in three levels (Kohlberg, 1976). In level one, the preconventional level, the child goes from heteronomous morality to individualism, instrumental purpose, and exchange. Moving from an egocentric point of view to a concrete individualistic perspective, the child grasps an understanding of the world as a place where one should follow the rules that are in accord with immediate interests of the self and others. In the second, namely conventional level, the two stages are one of mutual interpersonal expectations, relationships, and interpersonal conformity; and one of social system and conscience. In this level, the individual is first viewed in relationships with other individuals, and later as a part of a bigger society, whose stance on moral behavior influences the individual relations. In the final post-conventional or principled level, the individual first goes onto the stage of social contract or utility and individual rights, and finally, if ever, to the stage of universal ethical principles. Here, the perspective of a rational individual, aware of values and rights prior to social attachments and contracts develops into a universal perspective of a moral point of view. Basing his norms of moral development primarily on research with males, the females in Kohlberg’s studies rarely move beyond stage three. He suggests women’s “goodness” and their inclination towards “helping and pleasing others” is perfectly moral as long as they remain in the house, engaging only in close personal relationships. However, according to Kohlberg, if women are to step

outside the house, they will recognize the inadequacy of their thinking and like men, will first have to appreciate the value of rules and regulations, than of universality.

Feminist Critiques of Dominant Schools of Ethics

From a feminist perspective, among the very dissimilar theories of aforementioned western ethics, an underemphasized similarity can be found: they are, on the most part, driven from a men's perspective of understanding of human relationships and conduct. Alison Jaggar (1992) points out to five problems in such perspectives. Western ethics, according to Jaggar, "shows little concern for women's as opposed to men's interests and rights. Second, it dismisses as morally uninteresting the problems that arise in the so-called private world. Third, it suggests that, on the average, women are not as morally developed as men. Fourth, it overvalues culturally masculine traits like independence, autonomy, separation, mind, reason, culture, transcendence, war, and death, and undervalues culturally feminine traits like interdependence, community, connection, body, emotion, nature, immanence, peace, and life. Fifth, and finally, it favors culturally masculine ways of moral reasoning that emphasize rules, universality, and impartiality over culturally feminine ways of reasoning that emphasize relationships, particularity, and partiality" (Jaggar, 1992).

A universal conception of ethics, according to Nancy Leys Stepan (1998), "result(s) from the elevation of a particularism to a universal status, so that the act of universal inclusion is always at the same time an act of exclusion." Likewise, Seyla Benhabib (1992) has argued that social contractors from Hobbes to Rawls, when defining a public agreement, have *privatized* the experiences of women because they do

not fit in with the universal principles, which are based mostly on male experiences and leave no room for a different, feminine, conception of ethics.

In response to Freud's depiction of women as being unable to develop autonomous moral thinking, Nancy Chodorow (1974) suggests that girls fuse the experience of attachment with the process of identity formation. In contrast, as mothers "experience their sons as a male opposite", boys have to detach from "their primary love and sense of empathic tie", losing, at an early age, the ability to care while forming their identity. She argues that this difference does not result in girls being weaker in morality, but on the contrary, in them having a "stronger basis for experiencing another's needs or feelings as one's own".

In acknowledging the feminist critiques above, it is necessary to explore this alternative development of morality that women go through. When boys' and men's norms are not used as the ideal route to reach high levels of ethical thinking, a different developmental process emerges. Chodorow describes the sense of self and morality that girls develop as "less differentiated, more continuous with and related to the external object-world, and as differently oriented to their inner object-world as well", a notion that is central to Gilligan's Ethics of Care.

Ethics of Care

One of the pioneers of feminine ethics, Carol Gilligan (1981) wrote in response to the Freudian notion of the inferior moral development of women due to the lack of a castration complex, and a following lack of detachment from the mother. The view of girls as being less autonomous and less responsible moral agents is rejected by Gilligan. Instead, she proposes that the feminine experience be viewed as being a "different

voice”. She also challenges the universality, invariance, and hierarchy of the stages of moral development proposed by her former professor, Lawrence Kohlberg. According to Gilligan, western ethics is traditionally an “ethics of justice”, prescribing higher principles of rights and rules to guide individual human actions. She, on the other hand, proposes that women have an “ethics of care”, emphasizing relationships and responsibilities.

As Kohlberg has based his model on research with men, Gilligan has based hers primarily on her research with women on the verge of an abortion decision. She developed a three level model of ethics. In the first level, “self-interest”, women overemphasize the interests of themselves, thinking what decision will serve their needs the most. This level can be likened to Kohlberg’s preconventional level. In the second level, “self-sacrifice”, they overemphasize the interests of the others, thinking about the possible reactions they will get and the people they will effect upon their decision. This level can be likened to Kohlberg’s conventional level. The third stage, however, is one that cannot be explained by Kohlberg’s terminology, because it takes the individual as a part of a network, rather than an independent agent acting on that network. This level is “care as a universal obligation”, where the woman achieves a balance between interests of herself and those of others. The decision made at this level is relational, not solitary.

The dilemmas that women face often entail selfishness vs. selflessness at first, and their resolution requires the responsibility of care for self and others. From this perspective, Kohlbergian assessments of morality, placing the individual at a stance of autonomous and universal decision making, do not apply to women who have a more relational ethos to start with. Notably, the biological differences between the sexes are

only the foundation for this different conception of ethical thinking. Gender, as discussed earlier is a socially acquired concept.

Studies on Gilligan's Ethic of Care Interview (ECI) have repeatedly shown to demonstrate that women score significantly higher on ethics of care than men do. The results of one such study (Skoe et al., 1996) showed that more women than men generate interpersonal real-life dilemmas, and more men than women generate impersonal ones. A second study by the same authors has also shown that longitudinal data indicates care levels are moderately stable in mid- to late adulthood. The ECI was found negatively related to authoritarianism and positively related to justice levels, role taking, and cognitive complexity. People scoring higher in care also felt more positively about their physical health and experience of aging (Skoe et. al, 1996).

So far, Gender Schema Theory, Social Dominance Theory, and Ethics of Care have been introduced. The interplay between gender roles, hierarchical attitudes and ethics is the issue of exploration of the present paper. Before statement of the problem, empirical data on the relationships between these three constructs will be reviewed.

Linking the Paradigms of Gender Roles, Social Dominance Orientation, and Ethics of Care

Social Dominance Orientation and Gender Roles

Although Social Dominance Theory asserts that gender-based differences are related to biological sex, some authors have questioned the possible mediating of gender roles. One such study, utilizing Gender Group Identification and SDO scales on 250 registered electors in New Zealand, has shown that strength of gender identification was found to

moderate the gender-SDO relationship, such that increasing group identification was associated with increasing SDO scores for males, and decreasing SDO for females (Wilson and Liu, 2003).

Three experiments by Foels and Pappas (2004) provide further support for this mediation. In experiment one, 111 college students, (43 women, 68 men) were tested with both SDO6 and the BSRI. The results indicated that group based discrimination (SDO-D) and opposition to equality (SDO-E) factors of SDO were more highly correlated for men than women. Both socialized gender roles and biological sex made significant contributions in explaining SDO-D, whereas both gender and sex were unrelated. Simple and multiple regression analyses showed that masculinity and sex were significantly related, with men being higher in masculinity than women, and SDO-D and sex were significantly related, with men having higher scores than women. Importantly, when masculinity was controlled for, the relationship between SDO-D and sex was reduced. On the other hand, no reduction was found on the relationship between SDO-D and masculinity when sex was controlled for, implying a partial mediating effect of masculinity's effect on SDO-D. However, when the study was replicated with 169 other students (85 women, 84 men), to test for the mediating effect of femininity, no such relationship was found. In the third study, the authors explored why that was the case, and called into question feminist identity, a hierarchy-attenuating factor that is also linked to conception of gender roles. In addition to the BSRI and SDO, Feminist Identity Scale (FIS; Rickard, 1987) was utilized to test 90 female college students. Results showed that as strength of feminist identity increases, SDO levels decrease.

Thus, as the invariance hypothesis of the SDT enjoys ample empirical support, its identification of sex, or in Sidanius and Pratto's words, gender, as a biological

predictor of social dominance orientation might be faulted. Gender roles mediate the relationship between sex and attitudes towards hierarchy, where endorsement of masculinity increases inclination toward stratification between groups, and endorsement of femininity decreases it. On the other hand, studies on how gender roles effect ethical orientation provide mixed results.

Ethics of Care and Gender Role Orientation

An Israeli study conducted on 85 newly married college students, (Karniol et al., 2007) explored the relationships between gender roles, Kohlbergian morality, and ethics of care. BSRI, a short form of the Defining Issues Test (DIT) (Rest, 1979), and World View Questionnaire (WVQ) (Jensen, 1991) were respectively used to measure each variable. In addition, parental status was taken into consideration. For men, parental status was not related to gender role orientation; for women, those with children had lower masculinity scores. Men's adoption of ethics of care was a function of gender role orientation, with all but androgynous men having lower care scores when they had children. Women's adoption of ethics of care was a function of both parental status and masculinity, with masculine women having lower scores.

Postconventionalism scores were influenced by sex and age, but not by gender role orientation. For androgynous and undifferentiated men, post conventionalism scores increased with having a child, however, only androgynous men evidenced high scores of post conventionalism. For women, neither gender role orientation, nor parental status influenced post conventionalist thinking.

The results of this study suggest that while for men, ethics of justice is reinforced by parenthood, for women, unless feminine identity is undermined, ethics of care

prevail. Although masculinity mediates the effect of being female on the endorsement of ethics of care; no moderation effect of gender roles for either sex is demonstrated on the ethics of justice. However, there is other evidence for the latter relationship.

The mediating role of gender roles on the relationship between sex and cognitive moral development was explored in a study conducted on 194 business professionals (Kracher and Marble, 2007). The results indicate that high femininity is associated with significantly lower Kohlbergian-type CMD scores among business practitioners. Sex moderates the effect of gender on CMD, but only indirectly. These findings underline the importance of socially acquired gender roles over biological sex in influencing the endorsement of ethics of justice, and are in line with the assumption that feminine individuals have different conceptions of ethics than what masculine norms suggest. However, there is not enough evidence for high levels of femininity being linked to care ethics.

In a study on 30 (15 male, 15 female) African-American college seniors, participants were asked to complete the BSRI as well as being interviewed by Gilligan's own interview on ethics, the ECI (Rowley, 1994). With all of the participants being categorized as androgynous, and 25 of them engaging in ethics of care, the study failed to demonstrate any relationship between sex, gender orientation and ethical reasoning. However, the two distinct reasoning styles were demonstrated, as well as the importance of context in moral decision making.

Social Dominance Orientation, Egalitarianism and Ethical Behavior

Social dominance orientation has been demonstrated to be correlated with authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 2004), prejudice and discrimination (Michinoc et al.,

2005); and be predictive of racism and anti-egalitarian approaches (Bates & Haven, 2001, Sidanius et al., 1992, cited in Wilson, 2003). It is also closely linked to hostile sexism of men towards women (Christopher & Mull, 2006) and prejudice of heterosexual individuals against homosexuals (Elridge, 2007). On a broader sense, SDO is correlated negatively with endorsement of and commitment to, and positively with restriction of human rights (McFarland & Mathews, 2005), but also with achievement (Hing et al., 2007) and leadership (Hing et al., 2007), indicating people with high levels of social dominance are less likely to engage in egalitarian thoughts and behaviors.

Moskowitz (2000) demonstrated that in the opposite case, individuals with chronic egalitarian goals do not have the cultural stereotype for the group African Americans activated when exposed to a picture of an African American.

A recent Canadian study of 364 Army Anglophone personnel explored the relationship between SDO, RWA, ethical climate, ethical behavior and ethical decision making (Okefee, 2006). Results indicated that people who score low in SDO and perceived a strong rules climate reported fewer instances of unethical behavior in the past, or less likelihood that they would engage in unethical behavior in the future, compared with people who were low in SDO but perceived a weak rules climate, and people who were high in SDO and perceived a weak or strong climate as it pertains to rules.

Over all, high levels of social dominance orientation are closely linked to unethical thinking, judgment and behavior. However, recognizing the literature cited above, one might inquire into whether a concept of hierarchy meshes with distinct ethical paradigms, as well as ultimate judgment and behavior. One such study (Wilson, 2003) has investigated the correlation between the SDO scale scores and two subscales

of ethical ideology: Relativism and Idealism (Forysth, 1980, cited in Wilson, 2003). The results revealed a negative relationship between SDO and Idealism, but no significant relationships between SDO and relativism. The author concludes that “people with high SDO might be described as ‘ruthless’ in their pursuit of desirable goals and are indifferent about whether the morality of different actions can be compared, or, even matter”.

One interesting finding of the same study that the author does not discuss in detail, was that women, in addition to displaying lower scores of SDO, were more likely to associate themselves with an idealist set of ethics. Notably, idealism can be reached via different routes of ethical development, and is not exclusive to ethics of justice, that is associated with masculine thinking. The question arises then, how exactly women’s more egalitarian, i.e., less hierarchical attitudes towards interpersonal relationships are effected by the variation in their gender schemas and ethical thinking? And how exactly is masculinity, a construct that is related to both higher levels of ethics of justice and desire towards stratification in society, play into both men’s and women’s thinking? The present paper attempts to answer these questions, as well as exploring how membership in a dominant or subordinate group effect this interplay between the three constructs.

Statement of the Problem and Hypotheses

As both theoretically and empirically suggested, construction and maintenance of a hierarchical interaction system between groups of individuals is more strongly associated with masculine predispositions and interests than with feminine ones. Since

gender is conceived as a fluid phenomenon that individuals are actively socialized into, what is traditionally considered feminine or masculine can in fact apply to both sexes, For instance, femininity can have a negative effect on hierarchical thinking for both males and females, or increased masculinity can nurture hierarchical attitudes for both sexes.

Likewise, ethics of care, which can in fact be said to be an expression of a particularly feminine ethos, is not exclusive to those who are biologically female, and can be endorsed by males and females alike.

The present study therefore, attempts to explore whether femininity in fact links to an ethics of care in the construction of a non-hierarchical framework. Furthermore, biological sex, gender role orientation, achievement and socioeconomic status, i.e., membership in a dominating group, will be tested for their effects on individuals' association with ethics of care or justice, and social dominance orientation. In addition, whether or not individuals believe their current line of reasoning, i.e., care or justice, is in fact egalitarian, will also be explored. Thus, it will be possible to investigate how perceivably egalitarian ethical reasoning meshes with intergroup egalitarianism for ethics of care vs. ethics of justice.

The study will be carried out in two cities of Turkey, Istanbul and Çanakkale. The following hypotheses will be tested:

Gender Schemas (Bem Sex Role Inventory)

- 1- Males will score higher than females on masculinity.
- 2- Females will score higher than males on femininity.
- 3- Males from Istanbul will be more masculine than males from Çanakkale.

- 4- Females from Çanakkale will be more feminine than females from Istanbul.
- 5- As income levels of the participants increases, the masculinity scores will also increase.

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)

- 1- Males will score higher on SDO than females.
- 2- As income levels increase, SDO score will also increase.
- 3- SDO scores will correlate negatively with the egalitarianism items.

Ethics of Care (Moral Orientation Scale)

- 1- Females will have higher care scores than males.
- 2- Males will have higher justice scores than females.
- 3- As income levels of participants increases, justice score will increase and care score will decrease.

BSRI & MOS

- 1- Femininity will correlate positively with ethics of care, and negatively with ethics of justice.
- 2- Masculinity will correlate positively with ethics of justice, and negatively with ethics of care.
- 3- Participants identified as feminine will have higher care scores than those identified as masculine.
- 4- Participants identified as androgynous and undifferentiated will have balanced care and justice scores.

BSRI & SDO

- 1- Masculinity will correlate positively with SDO and femininity will correlate negatively with SDO.
- 2- Participants identified as masculine will have higher SDO scores than the other three gender groups.
- 3- Participants identified as feminine will have lower SDO scores than the other three groups.

MOS & SDO

- 1- Participants with higher care scores will have lower SDO scores.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Procedure

Two samples, one from Istanbul and the other from Çanakkale were recruited for the study. The Boğaziçi University students were tested in a classroom setting, in groups of 3 to 15 people at a time. They were awarded one experiment credit on their psychology course for their participation. The rest of the Istanbul sample were tested in public settings in groups of 3 to 5 and were not awarded in any way. The Çanakkale 18 Mart University students were also tested in classroom settings, with the group size ranging between 10 and 40. Their participation was completely voluntary. Before the distribution of the inventory, participants were given an ethical consent form and verbally instructed as follows: “The study you are about to take part in is conducted for academic research in psychology. Before participating, please read and sign the ethical consent form. This form will be collected separately and will not be matched with the booklet you will complete. Your responses will be held anonymous. Before answering the questions, please carefully read the instructions provided before each section. In giving your responses, please think only for yourself and do not spend too much time on any item. Please do not skip any item. Completing the booklet will take 35 to 45 minutes of your time. If you have any questions, you may raise your hand and ask. Thank you very much for your participation.” The sections of the instrument were counterbalanced, so that three different versions of same number were used.

Participants

Sample 1: Istanbul

The first sample consists of 102 university students (61 female, 41 male, mean age: 20.90) from Istanbul. 85 of these students (51 female, 34 male), enrolled in an introductory psychology course at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, come from 16 different departments (e.g. psychology, administration, economics) and have a mean age of 20.53 (s.d: 1.385, Min: 18, Max: 26). Additionally, 17 students (10 female, 7 male) come from four different universities in Istanbul, from art departments (e.g. music, graphic design, visual arts), as well as social sciences and engineering. The mean age for these 17 students is 22.76 (s.d: 3.401, Min: 18, Max: 28)

Sample 2: Çanakkale

A total of 112 students (61 female\ 51 male) are recruited from Çanakkale 18 Mart University. These students are enrolled in the two-year vocational schools in administration, accounting, banking and assurance, or communication; and were recruited from four different campuses of the same university. The mean age is 19.50 (s.d: 1.433, Min: 17, Max: 23)

What is noteworthy regarding the differences between samples is the diversion of pre-university academic achievement among them. Sample 1 represents students who are considered high achievers according to the national entrance exam (ÖSYS)¹ in Turkey. Enrolling at any department at Boğaziçi University requires scoring in the top 1

¹ ÖSYS (Öğrenci Seçme Sınavı): Student Selection Examination. A centrally administered national aptitude test that is used in the placement of students in higher education in Turkey.

percentile among the approximately 1,5 million students who take the ÖSYS each year. The non-Boğaziçi students in Sample 1 also represents a group of high achievers, who have been placed in various universities in Istanbul, indicating they have scored in the top 10 percentile. The Çanakkale University students, on the other hand, do not come from four-year programs which require high achievement on the ÖSYS, but rather two year vocational programs, placement in which only requires having graduated from a vocational high school (www.osym.gov.tr). Thus, an academic hierarchy can be said to exist between the groups, which will be meaningful in the interpretation of the results.

Instrument

The instrument consists of a demographic information sheet and four scales.

Demographic Information Sheet

The information sheet is designed to gather demographic data on sex, age, department, perceived individual and family socioeconomic status (measured categorically on a six choice scale ranging from very low to very high), and monthly family income.

SDO-6

Pratto and Sidanius's 16-item balanced SDO-6 scale (Pratto et al. 1994) is utilized to measure SDOs. The items in the scale comprise statements about general group-based egalitarianism—for example, “Some groups of people are simply inferior to others” and “Group equality should be our ideal”—and participants rate them on a 7-point scale, with 1 = *Strongly Disagree* and 7 = *Strongly Agree*. Analysis of the 16-item Social

Dominance Orientation scale showed it to be internally consistent, with a Cronbach's alpha for this sample of .88. Each participant is given an SDO score by calculating the mean response to the 16 items, with higher scores indicating stronger dominance orientation. The Turkish version was created using translation-back translation method.

BSRI

Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) is used to determine the gender role orientation of the participants. It is a paper-pencil measure that asks the participants to identify how well each of the 60 items (20 measuring masculine, 20 feminine, and 20 social desirability attributes) describes them on a 7-point likert scale. Examples of masculine, feminine, and socially desirable items are respectively "ambitious", "nurturant", and "traditional". The scores of masculinity and femininity are attained by the sum of the responses given to each construct. The scale has been demonstrated to be valid in Turkish university students (Dökmen, 1991). In a recent study (Özkan and Lajunen, 2005), five hundred thirty-six students (280 men and 256 women) volunteered to complete the short-form of the BSRI and answer demographic questions. In factor analyses, the original factor structure (Bem, 1981) was found both in the men's and women's data. Comparisons of the factor structures showed no difference among men and women. The internal consistency of the masculinity and femininity scales was acceptable for the Turkish sample, and *t*-tests showed that women scored higher on the femininity scale, and men scored higher on the masculinity scale.

MOS

Moral Orientation Scale Using Childhood Dilemmas (MOS) (Yacker and Weinberg, 1990) consists of 12 ethical dilemmas “that 8 to 10 year old boys and girls might typically face with their families and friends”. The dilemmas used in the scale were selected by the authors through a thorough investigation of universality, simplicity, and their equal likelihood to be experienced by parents and children of both genders. Based on Carol Gilligan’s theory, the scale presents the adult subject with two “care” responses and two “justice” responses in resolving the dilemma. Although the subject is asked to rank the choices from 1 to 4 to reflect his or her likely path of reasoning; only the item ranked with number 1 is considered in the evaluation. An exemplary one of the 12 items on the scale is as follows:

“Your child is having a birthday party and wants to invite most of the children in the class. One classmate, who lives down the street, is not popular with your child or the other children in the class. Your child does not want to invite the neighbor child.

- Since the other child lives on the block, I would explore how my child would feel when she/he saw the child in the future if the child were not invited to the party and how the other child would feel after being left out.

- I would explain to my child that if most of the class is invited, the unpopular child must be as well. It is not fair to leave out one or two.

- I would remind my child that there are times when neighbors help each other. Especially because the child is unpopular, it would be best to be friendly with the neighbor child and invite him/her to the party.

- I would want my child to consider the reasons why the child is not popular. If the child is just shy, she/he should be invited. If the child is out of control or abusive, it would be unfair to include the child.”

(Yacker and Weinberg, 1990)

A study conducted with 99 graduate students (49 male, 40 female; aged between 20-42; mean age: 27) of predominantly Caucasian middle class background tested for the

psychometric properties of the scale. “Tests of significance on the means indicate(d) that, as expected, females ($M = 6.46$) are more care oriented than males ($M = 5.73$), $t = 1.51$, $p < .07$, and differences between female social work students ($M = 6.86$) and male law students ($M = 5.62$) are even more pronounced in the predicted direction, $t = 2.20$, $p < .02$. Effect sizes (in terms of correlation.) of the two hypotheses tested (were) .16 and .28, respectively. Individually and collectively, these results support(ed) the differential or discriminant validity of this scale. (Yacker and Weinberg, 1990)

Translation-Back translation method was used in the formation of the Turkish form of the MOS.

Questions on Egalitarianism

At the end of the MOS, an additional scale of eight items, to be rated on a 5-point likert type scale, with 1= *Very Positive* and 5= *Very Negative*, is placed. Participants are asked to review their answers on the MOS and then answer “Below are some important concepts that your child will face during his/her development. Depending on the answers you have provided above, how do you think your child will feel towards each concept? The items include (1)equality, (2)feeling privileged, (3)sharing, (4)discrimination, (5)respect for authority, (6)respect for differences, (7)importance of relationships with friends and family, and (8)self-confidence. Items 1, 3, and 6 are related to egalitarianism, where as items 2, 4 and 5 are related to dominance orientation. Items 7 and 8 are filler items.

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

In the first two sections, descriptive statistics on masculinity and femininity are presented and the effects of biological sex and city of education are explored by analysis of variance (ANOVA). The third section explains how the participants were categorized into one of the four gender roles and one of the three income levels. After that, ANOVA results of significant and non-significant effects of sex, level of income, city of education and income level on social dominance orientation (SDO) scores and ethics of care vs. ethics of justice are presented. Sections three to six explore two tailed Pearson correlation results between femininity, masculinity, ethics of care, ethics of justice, SDO and the egalitarianism items. The last section summarizes the findings.

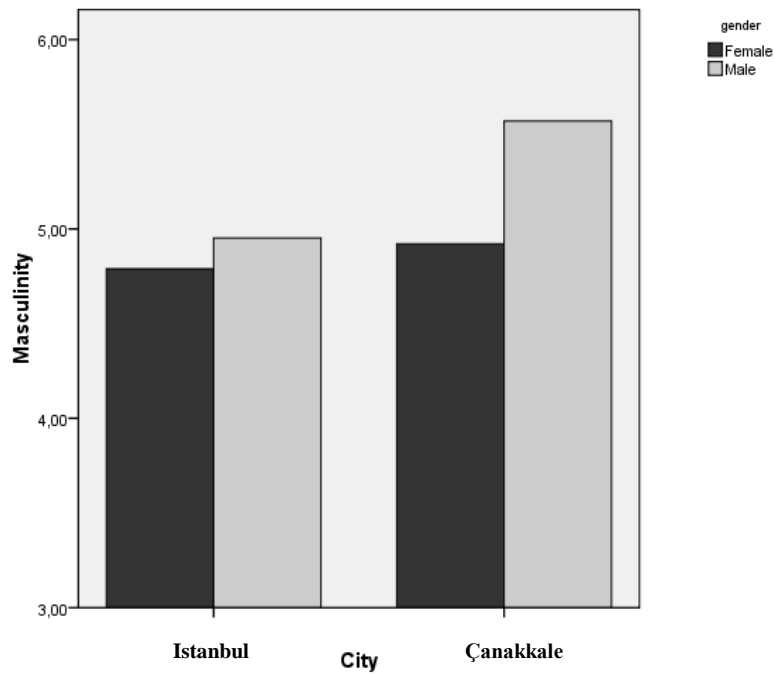
Sex, City of Education and Masculinity

Means and Std's of masculinity in relation to city of education and sex are presented in table 2. ANOVA results indicated a significant main effect of sex; $F(1,194)=12,03, p < .001$ and city of education; $F(1,194)=10,31, p < .005$. In addition, a significant interaction effect of sex and city of education was found on masculinity; $F(1,194)=4,32, p < .05$.

Table 4. *Descriptive statics on masculinity*

	Masculinity					
	Istanbul		Çanakkale		Total	
	Mean	Std.	Mean	Std.	Mean	Std.
Male	4,95	0,79	5,57	0,84	5,37	0,86
Female	4,79	0,69	4,92	0,73	4,87	0,71
Total	4,87	0,74	5,25	0,78	5,12	0,79

Figure 2. *Mean masculinity scores in relation to sex and city of education*



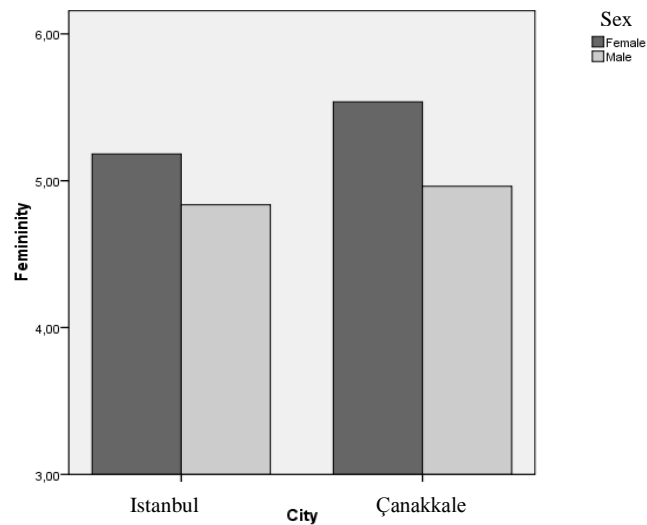
Sex, City of Education and Femininity

Means and Std's of femininity in relation to city of education and sex are presented in Table 3. ANOVA results indicated a significant main effect of sex; $F(1,194)=18,03$, $p < .001$ and city of education; $F(1,194)=4,91$, $p < .05$. However, no significant interaction effect of sex and city of education was found on femininity.

Table 3. *Descriptive statistics on femininity*

	Femininity					
	İstanbul		Çanakkale		Total	
	Mean	Std.	Mean	Std.	Mean	Std.
Male	4,84	0,58	4,96	0,63	4,92	0,61
Female	5,18	0,78	5,54	0,75	5,41	0,78
Total	5,05	0,73	5,29	0,75	5,21	0,75

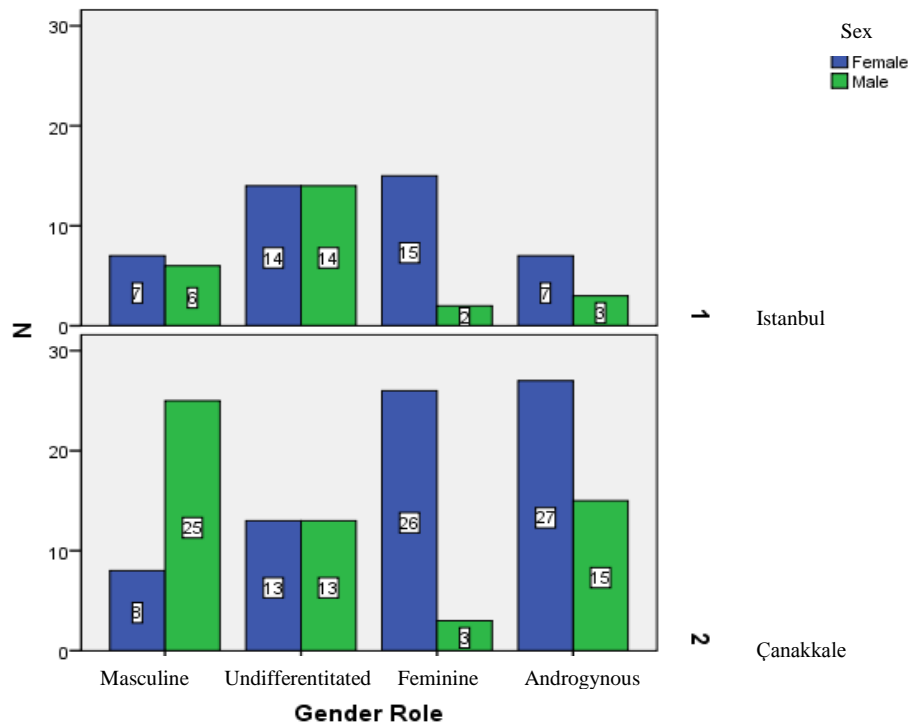
Figure 3. *Mean femininity scores in relation to sex and city of education*



Categorization of Gender Roles and Income Levels

Using median split technique suggested by the literature, participants were grouped into one of the four gender roles; (1) masculine (above the median in masculinity and below the mean in femininity), (2) feminine (above the median in femininity and below the mean in masculinity), (3) androgynous (above the median in both masculinity and femininity), and (4) undifferentiated (below the median in both masculinity and femininity).

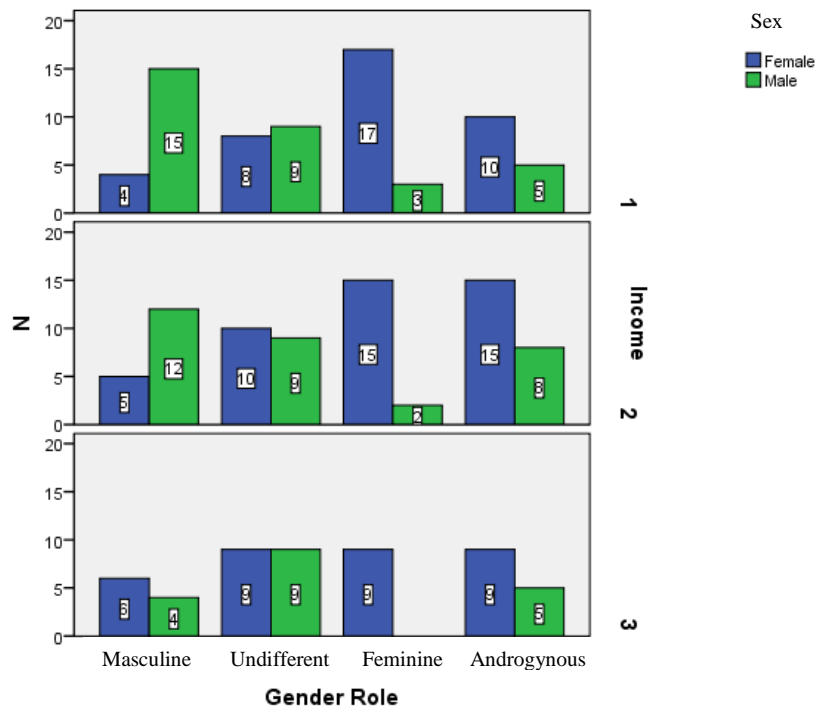
Figure 4. *Numbers of participants in each gender role category*



According to the continuous variable of monthly income of their family, participants were grouped into one of the three relative income levels; (1) low income

(999 YTL and below), (2)middle income (1000-1950 YTL), and (3) high income (2000 YTL and above).

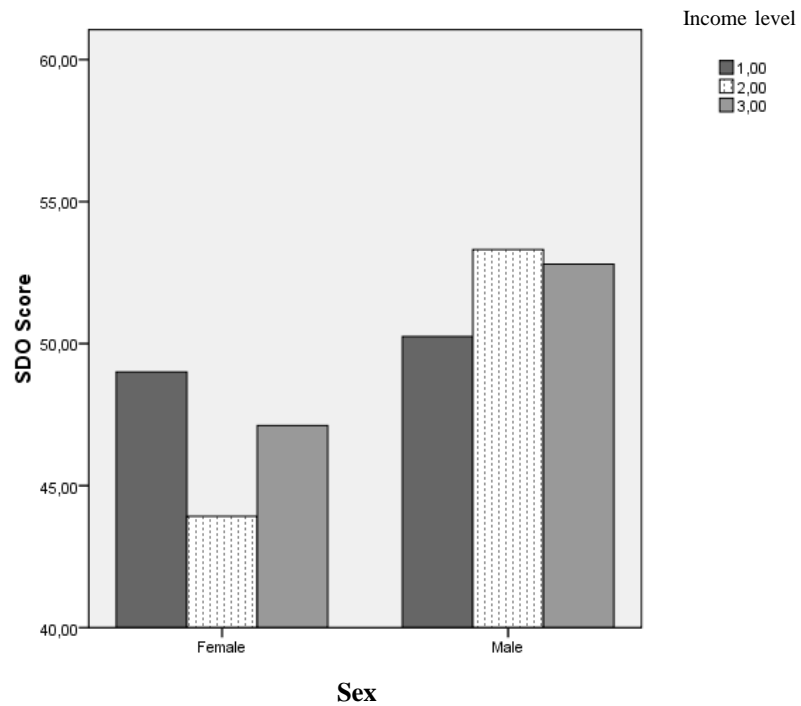
Figure 5. *Numbers of participants in each income level category.*



Sex, Level of Income and SDO

ANOVA results of SDO Sex X Level of Income revealed a significant main effect of sex; $F(1,225)=9,21$, $p < .005$. Neither the main effect of level of income, nor the interaction effect of sex and income was significant. The mean scores of SDO were 46.4 for females, and 52.3 for males.

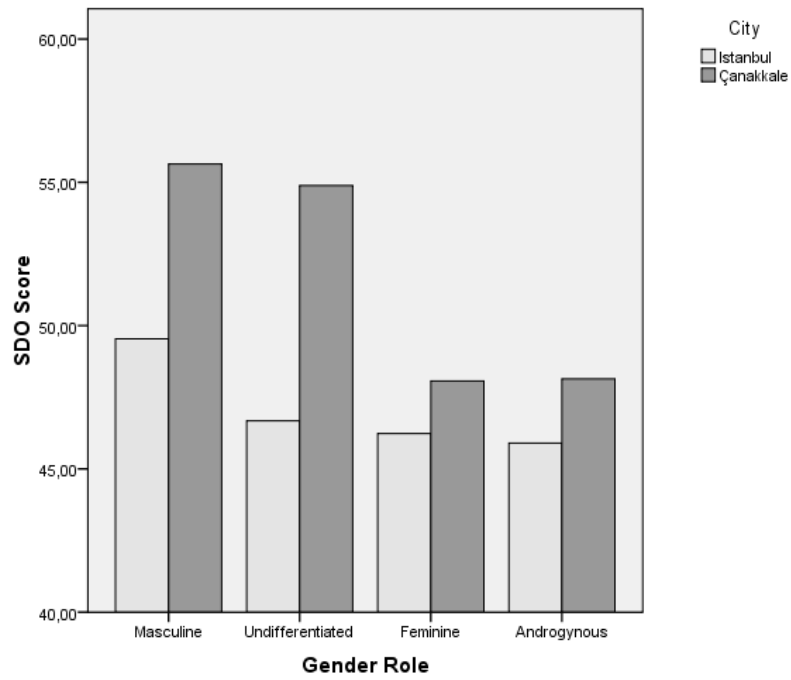
Figure 6. *SDO scores in relation to sex and income level*



City of Education, Gender Role and SDO

The city of education had a significant main effect on SDO $F(1,90)=4,86$, $p < .05$. The main effect of gender role, and the interaction effect of city of education and gender role failed to be significant. However, post hoc results of LSD showed that masculine category is different than the feminine ($p=.019$) and the androgynous ($p=.021$) ones.

Figure 7. *SDO scores according to gender role and level of income*



Sex, City of Education and Ethics of Care

Means and Std's of care scores in relation to city of education and sex are presented in table 4. ANOVA results indicated no significant main effect of sex or city of education.

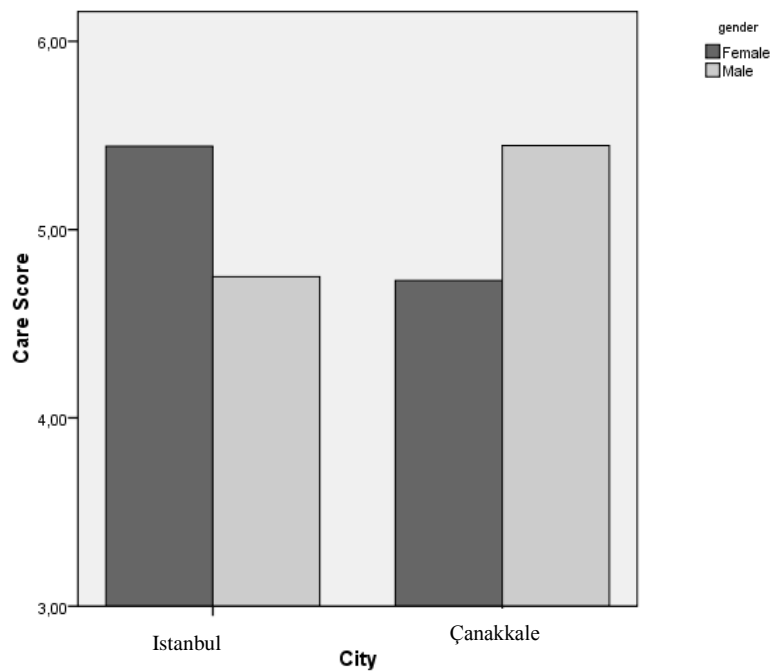
However, there was a significant interaction effect of sex and city of education;

$F(1,227)=8,81$, $p < .005$.

Table 4. *Descriptive statistics on ethics of care*

	Care					
	Istanbul		Çanakkale		Total	
	Mean	Std.	Mean	Std.	Mean	Std.
Male	4,75	1,78	5,45	1,52	5,16	1,66
Female	5,44	2,09	4,73	1,61	5,05	1,87
Total	5,17	2,00	5,04	1,61	5,10	1,78

Figure 8. *SDO scores according to sex and city of education*



ANOVA results indicated no significant main effect of gender role or income, or of an interaction of the two.

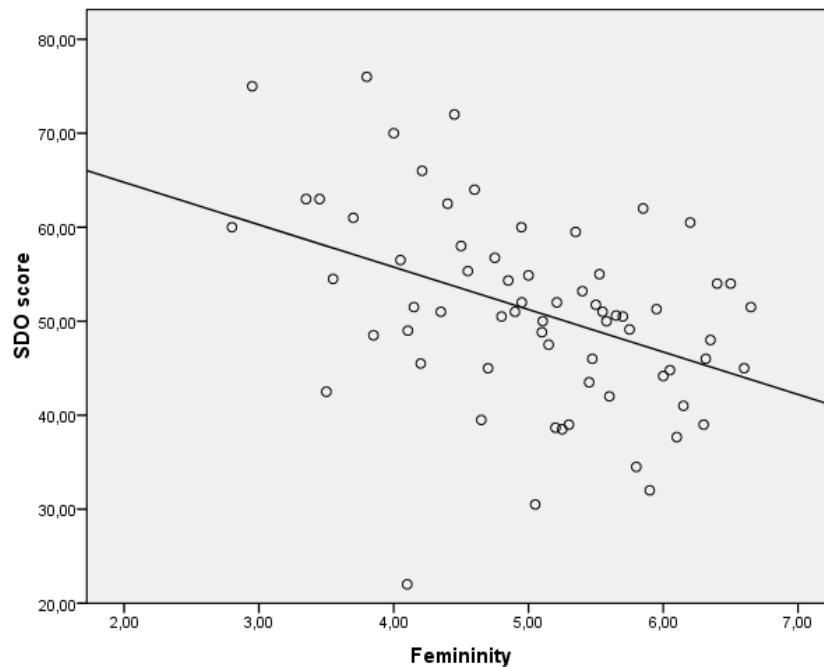
Ethics of Care, Ethics of Justice, Femininity, Masculinity, SDO and Egalitarian

Attitudes

To test for correlations between ethics of care, justice, femininity, masculinity, and SDO scores, Pearson correlation analysis was conducted. The two samples were first analyzed together, then one by one, and then according to sex within themselves.

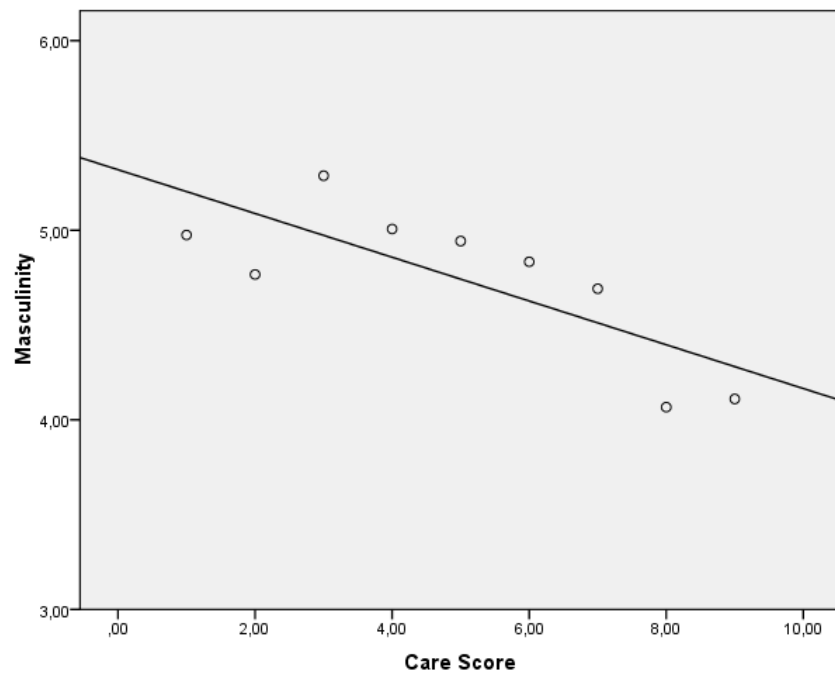
When the two samples were analyzed together, a significant negative correlation between femininity and SDO scores was found ($r = -.231$, $p < .01$). In addition, a positive correlation between femininity and masculinity scores was observed ($r = .142$, $p < .05$).

Figure 9. *The correlation between Femininity and SDO*



When sample 1 (Istanbul) was analyzed separately, masculinity correlated negatively with care score ($r = -.359$, $p < .01$) and positively with justice score ($r = .327$, $p < .01$). A significant positive correlation was also found between monthly income of the family and SDO score ($r = .287$, $p < .01$).

Figure 10. *The correlation between masculinity and ethics of care for sample 1*



For the females of sample 1, a significant negative correlation between care score and masculinity ($r = -.504$, $p < .01$), a positive correlation between justice score and masculinity ($r = .492$, $p < .01$) and a positive correlation between income of the family and SDO score ($r = .299$, $p < .05$) were found again. However, no such significant correlations were found for the males of this sample.

Figure 11. *The correlation between masculinity and ethics of care for the females of sample 1*

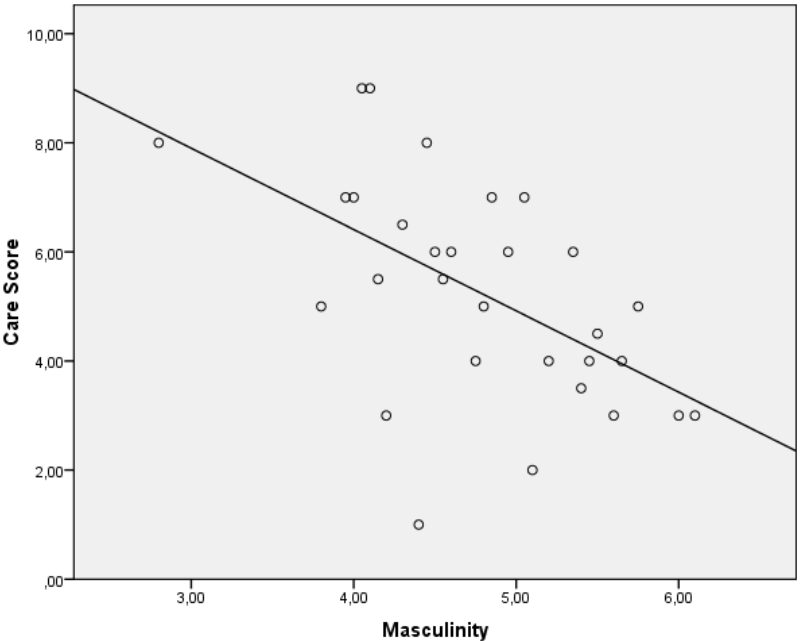
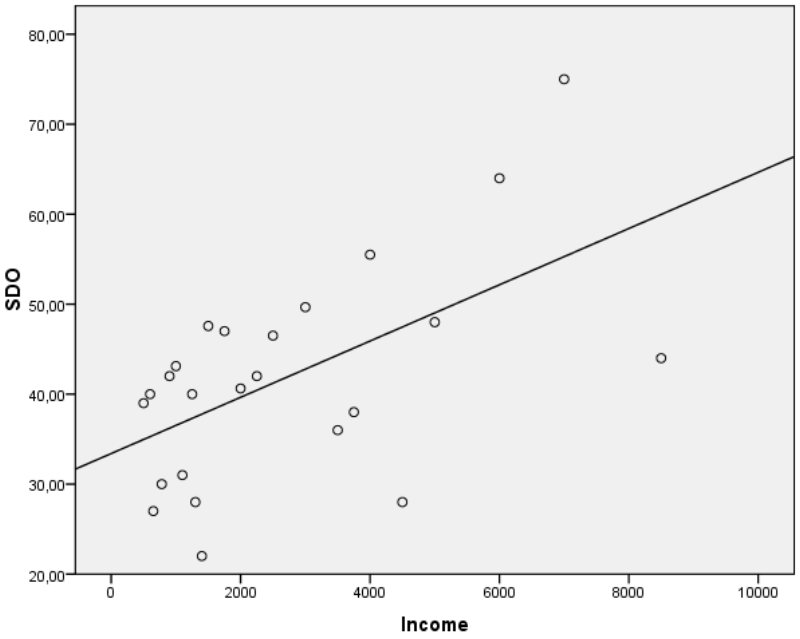


Figure 12. *The correlation between SDO and monthly income for the females of sample 1*



For the males of sample 1, a significant positive correlation between femininity and masculinity ($r = .340$, $p < .01$), and a significant negative correlation between justice score and femininity were found ($r = -.222$, $p < .05$).

Figure 13. *The correlation between femininity and masculinity for the males of sample 1*

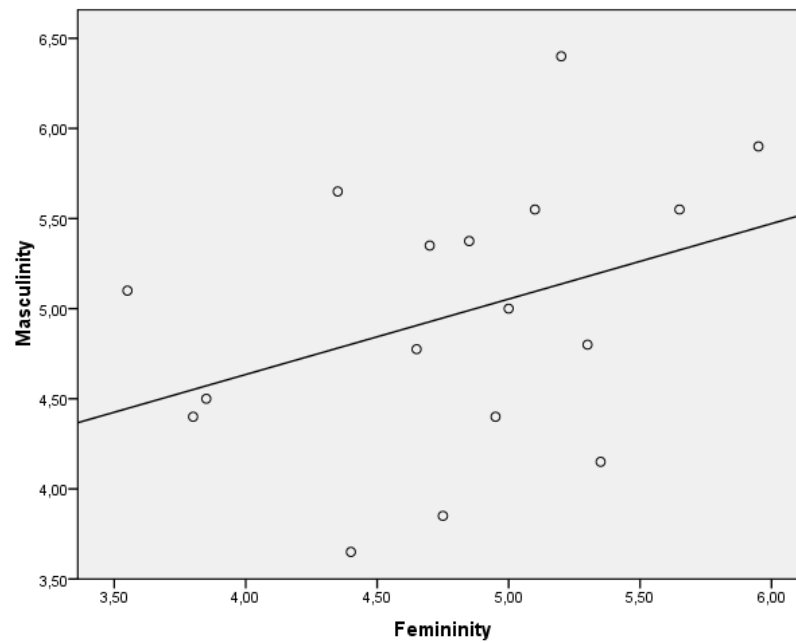
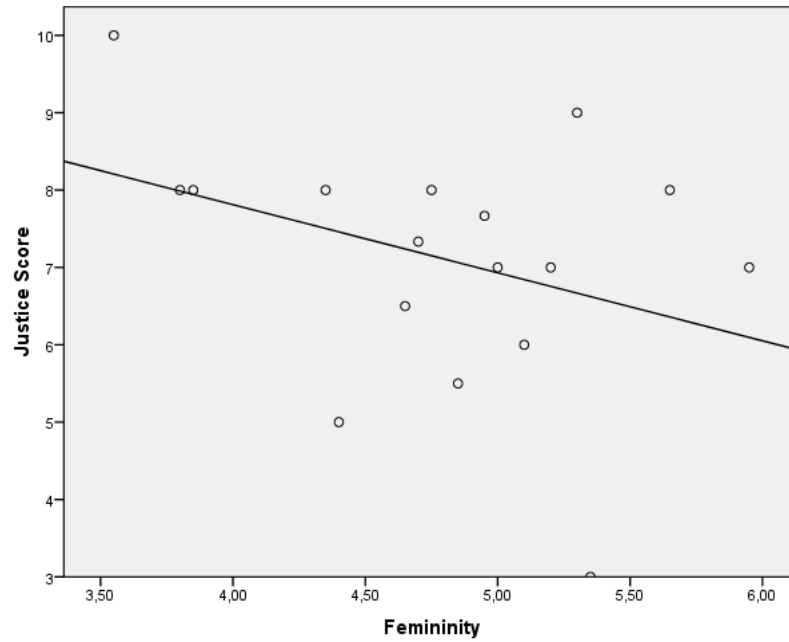


Figure 14. *The correlation between femininity and ethics of justice for the males of sample*

1



For sample 2 (Çanakkale), a significant negative correlation was found between femininity and SDO ($r = -.280$, $p < .01$). However, this correlation was not repeated when males and females were analyzed separately. The only significant correlations present then were the ones between masculinity and femininity ($r = .313$, $p < .01$, for females), ($r = .322$, $p < .05$, for males).

Figure 15. *The correlation between femininity and SDO for sample 2*

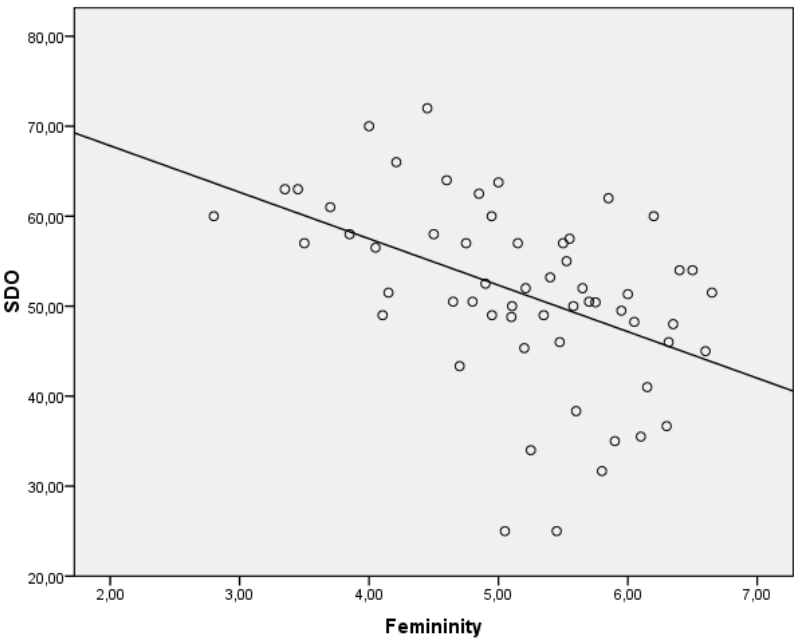


Figure 16. *The correlation between masculinity and femininity for the females of sample 2*

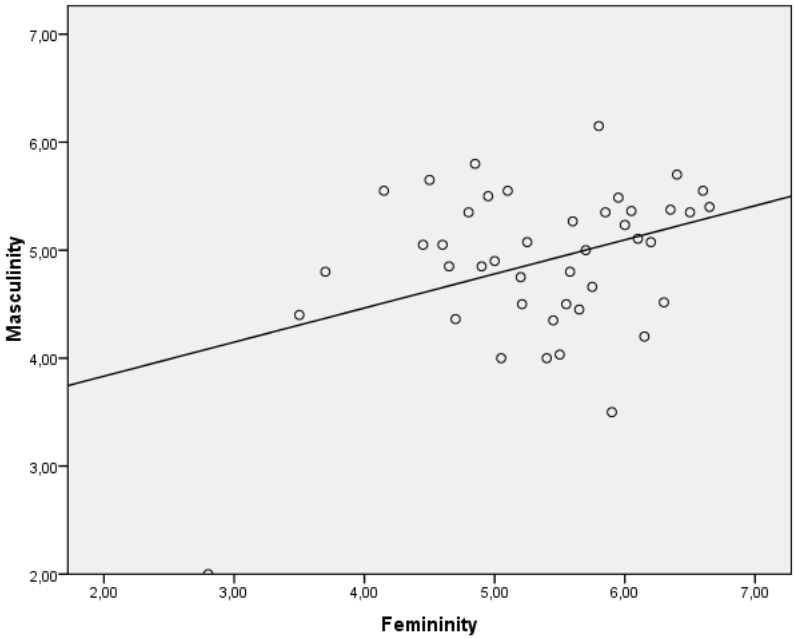
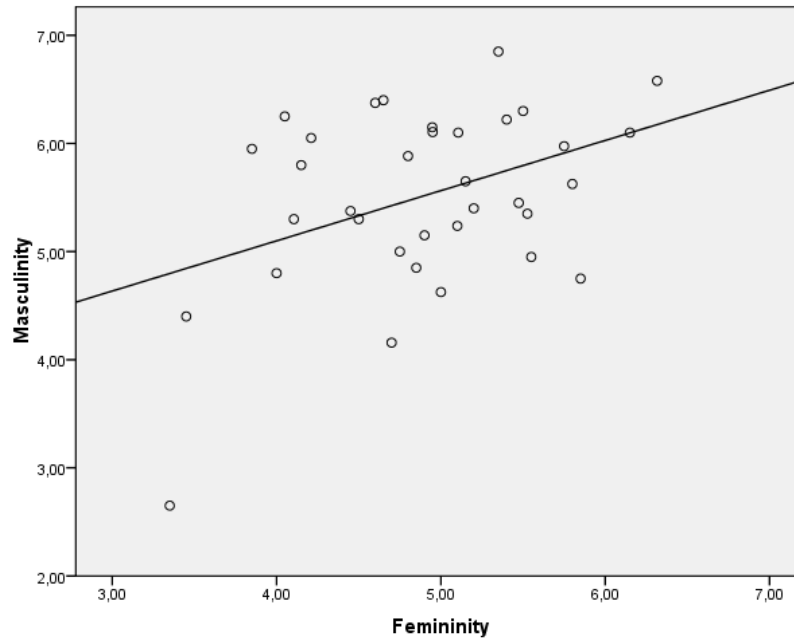


Figure 17. *The correlation between masculinity and feminity for the males of sample 2*



When the egalitarianism items were tested for their correlations with SDO and ethics of care scores, feeling privileged ($r = .173$, $p < .01$), discrimination ($r = .200$, $p < .01$), respect for authority ($r = .159$, $p < .05$) correlated positively with SDO; and respect for authority correlated negatively with ethics of care ($r = -.158$, $p < .01$).

Summary of the Results

The result presented above show that males were more masculine than females, and females were more feminine than males. Also, participants in Çanakkale had both higher

masculinity and higher femininity scores than those in Istanbul. There was no significant interaction effect of sex and city of education on femininity. As figure 5 illustrates, the most frequent categories for the females of the Istanbul sample were feminine (34.88%) and undifferentiated (32.55%). For the Çanakkale sample, the feminine category had a very similar frequency (35.13%), hence the lack of an interaction effect between sex and city of education. However, instead of being undifferentiated, the females of Çanakkale were more likely to be androgynous (36.48%). In addition to the main effects of sex and city of education, there was also an interaction effect of the two on masculinity. While 44.64 % of the Çanakkale males were categorized masculine, only 24 % of the Istanbul males were. As with females, a trend towards increased undifferentiation was observed in the males of Istanbul. Also, androgyny was more frequent among the Çanakkale males than it was among the Istanbul males.

The main effects of sex and the city of education were significant also on social dominance orientation (SDO). With no interacting or main effect of gender role orientation (as categorized into one of the four gender roles), males had higher levels of SDO than females. However, there was a negative correlation between femininity and SDO.

For the Istanbul sample, SDO also correlated positively with monthly income level of the family. However, this finding was not replicated for the Çanakkale sample analyzed alone, or both samples analyzed together. Nonetheless, an interaction between sex and level of income was observed for the middle class. The middle class males had higher SDO scores than the middle class females.

For the Çanakkale sample, there was a negative correlation between femininity and SDO.

For both samples analyzed together, there was a significant effect of the interaction between sex and city of education on ethics of care. Males in Çanakkale were higher on ethics of care than the males in Istanbul. On the other hand, females in Istanbul were higher on ethics of care than the females in Çanakkale. For the Istanbul sample, masculinity correlated negatively with ethics of care, and positively with ethics of justice.

For the males of Istanbul, ethical orientation was related to femininity level, such that as femininity increased, scores of ethics of care increased and those of ethics of justice decreased. For females of Istanbul, this orientation was strongly related to masculinity; such that as masculinity increased, scores of ethics of care decreased ($r = -.504$, $p < .01$), where the tendency towards ethics of justice increased ($r = .492$, $p < .01$).

The antiegalitarianism items on the egalitarianism scale were positively correlated with SDO, and of those items, respect for authority was negatively correlated with ethics of care.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

The present study investigated the possible relationships between gender roles, social dominance orientation, and ethics of care in two university samples in Istanbul and Çanakkale, Turkey. In so doing, it also explored the effects of biological sex, city of education (and hence achievement on the national entrance exam (ÖSS)), and socioeconomic status on these three variables. The major present findings are in accord with the theoretical orientation of the study, as well as previous studies, whereas some findings remain controversial and outside the framework employed here.

Gender Schemas

In a study conducted among Turkish university students about 18 years ago, males scored higher on the BSRI masculinity scale than females (Dökmen, 1991). In a more recent study (Özkan and Lajunen, 2005), comparisons between males and females showed that females scored higher on femininity than males, whereas no differences between the sexes were found on masculinity scores. Hence, it seems that Turkish female students have adopted a more masculine gender roles within the time in between the two studies.

For the current study, based on eminent data from gender schema research, it was hypothesized that males would be higher in masculinity than females and females would be higher in femininity than males. Both of these hypotheses were supported.

Males scored higher than females on masculinity, and females scored higher than males on femininity. However, there were also noteworthy unexpected findings with regards to the different adoptions of gender schemas in the Istanbul and Çanakkale samples.

Based on the positive correlation between achievement and masculinity (Koca and Aşçı, 2005), and the negative relationship between achievement and femininity (Wong et al.,1985), it was hypothesized that males from Istanbul would be more masculine than males from Çanakkale, and females from Çanakkale would be more feminine than females from Istanbul. The findings revealed that Çanakkale males were in fact more likely to be categorized as masculine than the Istanbul males, while the females of the two cities were equally categorized as feminine. Higher endorsement of masculine schemas for the males of Çanakkale might be related to more traditional thinking (Bem, 1981). Yet, these males also scored higher on femininity, and were more likely to be categorized androgynous than their Istanbul counterparts. Similarly, the females of Çanakkale showed increased levels of both femininity and masculinity, and when compared to the females in Istanbul, were more likely to be in the androgynous category. Clearly, these findings cannot be explained by traditional dichotomous thinking, where each sex strictly adheres to the associated gender schemas. Rather, they demonstrate that in Çanakkale, high endorsement of both gender roles is present.

In her study of three generations of the Turkish family, Sunar (2002) found that all three generations show a trend of increasing encouragement of emotional expression and independence for their children. This finding is in line with high levels of both masculine and feminine schemas found for the both sexes of the Çanakkale sample. For the females, literature suggests that compared to boys, Turkish girls are brought up to be more obedient and less assertive by their parents (Başaran, 1974), but this divide is

moderated in the contemporary modern, better educated urban population (Kağıtçıbaşı and Sunar, 1992). Results of Twenge's (1997) meta-analysis of gender schema research likewise indicate that women's self-ratings on masculinity have been increasing and gender differences on masculinity have been decreasing over time. A possible reason for high endorsement of feminine traits in addition to the masculine ones by the males of the Çanakkale sample might lie in family relationships. Fişek (1994) has demonstrated that in Turkey, the male child grows in proximity to his mother, and is therefore able to maintain interpersonal sensitivity and expressiveness.

Thus, the socioeconomic backgrounds of parents and their relation to their children might be responsible for these differences. The economical aspect investigated was not sufficient alone to demonstrate differences in gender schemas.

According to Bem's theory, as gender schemas are learned socially, individuals will grow to associate themselves with the characteristics socially attributed to their biological sex (Bem, 1974). Spence (1984, 1993) similarly asserts that the firm sense of gender identity most people develop in early childhood remains a central part of their self-image throughout their lives. People tend to use those gender congruent characteristics they possess to verify and maintain their gender identity and to dismiss the importance of those gender congruent characteristics they do not possess or to discount the gender incongruent characteristics that they do possess. Seen under this light, the different effects of sex vs. cognitive gender schemas employed were investigated for their relation to the different levels of social dominance orientation and different processes of ethical judgment adopted by individuals. Results revealed the two variables to have differing effects.

Social Dominance Orientation

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), or the cognitive component of inclination towards hierarchy, has been repeatedly found to be in higher levels in men than women (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). Based on the invariance hypothesis of Social Dominance Theory, it was predicted that males would score higher on SDO than females. The results support this hypothesis and are in line with at least 45 other samples across 10 countries (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). With no interacting or main effect of gender role orientation (as categorized into one of the four gender roles), males had higher levels of SDO than females did. The assumption of Sidanius of Pratto with regards to this difference is the evolutionary heritage of different mating strategies employed for males and females. One manifestation of male reproductive competition is the forming of alliances between males to enhance individual fitness and suppression of subordinates by dominants in a society, resulting in the strong male inclination towards hierarchy. But as the case with any construct, social dominance orientation is also subject to the effects of socialization. The authors themselves acknowledge these effects (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999).

Although the invariance hypothesis is widely supported by previous literature and the findings of the present study, the social component of gender, or how biological sex is socially acted out, is also of major importance. Previous literature has found that identification with masculinity increases SDO for men, and identification with femininity decreases it for women (Wilson and Liu, 2003). However, data on the effects of femininity in both sexes' relationship to SDO has been lacking (Foels and Pappas,

2004). Perhaps one of the fundamental findings of the present study was the one supporting the existence of such an effect. When participants were categorized into one of the four gender roles, this categorization did not have an effect on their social dominance orientation. However, when the sample was taken as a whole, femininity correlated negatively with social dominance orientation. Since participants from all three categories had varying degrees of femininity, this result demonstrates that increased femininity has a negative effect on hierarchical thinking.

It can be inferred that endorsement of feminine traits like interdependence, connection (Jaggar, 1992), empathy, caring (Chodorow, 1974) are linked to the adoption of a less hierarchical view on life. The lack of these traits, both in the absence and presence of the autonomy, separation, and assertiveness (Bem, 1974) traits of masculinity is related to the view that certain groups should dominate the others. Hence, when identifying themselves with feminine traits, males and females alike have decreased tendencies to see the world as comprising of group based hierarchies.

With the sample with higher femininity scores, i.e. Çanakkale demonstrating higher levels of SDO, this finding might appear controversial at first. But it should be born in mind that the same sample also had higher masculinity scores. For the subjects of the present study, the more androgynous Çanakkale sample also showed heightened levels of social dominance orientation. Thus, it can be inferred that androgynous identity, in this case, was related to more schematic thinking than it was to egalitarianism. There is evidence that androgyny is linked to rigid and conformist thinking (Anderson, 1986) for men, and increased leadership for women (Koca and Asci, 2005), all of which are traits that enhance hierarchy (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999).

Therefore, the androgynous thinking styles of the Çanakkale participants may be linked to the schematic worldview of high identification with a certain group and preservation of the hierarchy within groups. Nonetheless, when Çanakkale was analyzed separately, there was again a negative correlation between femininity and SDO. Thus, although high endorsement of both masculine and feminine traits is linked to hierarchical thinking, there is reason to think that it may be the masculine, rather than feminine schemas that enhance hierarchy. Identification with masculine traits has in fact been previously demonstrated to strengthen hierarchical thinking, whereas identification with feminine traits weakened it (Wilson and Liu, 2003).

Based on SDT research (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999), it was also hypothesized that SDO scores would increase in relation to income level. This hypothesis was partially supported, since results revealed such a correlation to be significant only for the Istanbul sample.

To test how SDO is related to ethical thinking, the relationship between hierarchy enhancing schemas and ethical judgment processes were explored. Participants who stated the ethical reasoning they would employ in bringing up their child would cause the child to have negative attitudes towards seeing oneself more privileged than others, having respect for authority, and discrimination, also had lower SDO scores. Notably, regardless of adherence to an ethics of care or justice, participants thought ethical judgment is related to a less hierarchical thinking. Hence, the results demonstrate that individuals believe ethical orientation is linked to overcoming a hierarchical attitude towards human relations.

The hypothesis that participants with higher ethics of justice scores would have higher SDO scores compared to those with higher care scores was not supported. It

seems that, regardless of the ethical paradigm employed, the belief that that paradigm has egalitarian consequences has effects on low social dominance orientation. Individuals with both ethics of care and justice paradigms demonstrate varying degrees of SDOs, but those who believe their paradigm is negatively linked to discrimination, feeling privileged and respect for authority also demonstrate lower hierarchical attitudes on SDO. Interestingly, the respect for authority item on the egalitarianism scale correlated negatively with ethics of care. This finding deserves further exploration, since obeying the rules is thought to be central to development of ethics of justice (Piaget, 1932; Kohlberg, 1976).

Ethics of Care

It was hypothesized that females would be more likely to adopt an ethics of care, and males would be more likely to adopt an ethics of justice. Contrary to previous research and theory, biological sex had no effect on the endorsement of an ethics of care or justice for the present sample, and the hypotheses were not supported. Males from Çanakkale had higher care scores and lower justice scores than males from Istanbul. On the other hand, females from Çanakkale had higher justice scores and lower care score than females from Istanbul. Income level did not contribute to these differences.

Gilligan's ethics of care (Gilligan, 1982), based on traditionally feminine values of care, emotional understanding and relationalism, was hypothesized to be related to gender role schemas. The results from the Istanbul sample indicated support for this hypothesis. For the males of Istanbul, femininity correlated positively with ethics of care, and negatively with ethics of justice. For the females of Istanbul, masculinity

positively correlated very strongly with ethics of justice, and negatively with ethics of care. Hence, adoption of the gender schemas related to the opposite sex was influential in the adoption of the ethical paradigm associated with it. However, no such relationships were found for the Çanakkale sample or the two analyzed together, and the hypothesis was only partially supported. Gender role categories also had no significant effect.

In a multicultural study of people from six different nationalities, French and Weiss (2000) found that The Turks fell under Hofstede's classification as feminine in cultural values, and were more likely to found their reasoning on ethics of care rather than ethics of justice. The values underlying this foundation were honesty as a reciprocal obligation/right, friendship as entailing reciprocity, beneficence to friends in need, nonmaleficence in not adding to friends' pain, and filial piety as a prime responsibility. When compared to the French and the Chinese participants who carried similar values, Turks were found to be less consequentialist and more focused on relationships. Seen under this light, the relationships present between gender schemas and ethical orientation found for the Istanbul sample are meaningful, suggesting that feminine gender schemas are related to ethics of care, and masculine ones to ethics of justice. The lack of support for the Çanakkale sample might be related to methodological reasons discussed in the next section.

Limitations, Directions for Further Research and Concluding Remarks

With the hypotheses on the confluence between ethics and gender schemas, strong support was found for the Istanbul sample, but not for Çanakkale. Bearing in mind the notion that the Istanbul participants are exposed to a more international education and are more accustomed to evaluating long passages with western influence, the usage of the ethics scale employed (MOS) in Çanakkale might be one reason underlying this lack of interrelationship. After a data collection session in Çanakkale, one participant noted “I don’t think my child would ever encounter some of the issues you are asking about here.”, and another participant reported his frustration by saying “The stories on the children were too long. We don’t read such long things in class.”. Hence, the applicability of the MOS should be assessed in terms of the relevance of the vignettes to the broader Turkish sample. With regards to the length of the scale, its administration at a different time should be considered if it is to be combined with other scales.

Another limitation of the study was its inability to explain the differences found between the two cities in terms of the predicted variable of achievement, as indicated by the scores in the national entrance exam. Based on previous literature, it was hypothesized that the high achievers, i.e. Istanbul participants, would be more masculine and have higher levels of SDO (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). As stated by the results, no such relationships were found. However, city of education had strong main effects on several constructs, as well as mediating effects. Thus, as discussed previously, additional variables are needed to explain the differences between the participants from the two cities. These differences in gender schemas, social dominance orientation, and

ethical thinking should be explored more in depth with regards to socioeconomic, ideological backgrounds and family relationships. As Kağıtçıbaşı and Sunar (1992) point out, fairly large modernized and traditional segments coexist in Turkey. These segments differ considerably in terms of social, economical, and ideological grounds. The present study has only taken into consideration the effect of economic status, and has fallen short of explaining how the variables investigated link to the differences between the cities through various social and ideological backgrounds.

The negative correlation found between femininity and social dominance orientation calls into question the universality of the “gender system” in Social Dominance Theory. With high levels of femininity contributing to a more egalitarian outlook, there is room for further research to explore how gender might actually be operating as an “arbitrary system” in the context of Turkey’s changing gender roles.

Overall, this study has demonstrated important relationships between biological sex, gender roles, and social dominance orientation. Both being biologically female and having feminine schemas decrease the degree to which individuals are inclined towards hierarchy. In addition to differences between the two sexes, the socially acquired gender roles were also found to predict individuals’ outlook on group-based dominance systems. With gender seen as a fluid construct, the mandates of the ancestral environment might be reshaped with the prioritization of more feminine traits by both of the sexes. The study has also found that ethics is seen as a means to decrease hierarchical thinking. However, there was only partial support to indicate the endorsement of feminine traits increasing the likelihood of adoption of an ethics of care. With development of an ethics scale that is applicable in the broader Turkish sample, there is room for further research to demonstrate how the adoption of ethics of care,

combined with feminine gender schemas, contributes to less discriminatory thinking that favors certain groups over others. The findings of the present study are preliminary to more in-depth research on the effects of adoption of feminine schemas in more egalitarian thinking styles that result in less differences among different groups of people.

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APPENDIX

1.Bölüm: Demografik Bilgiler

-Cinsiyetiniz(lütfen işaretleyiniz):

- a) Kadın
- b) Erkek

-Yaşınız:_____

-Okuduğunuz bölüm:_____

-Size göre aileniz ekonomik olarak hangi gruba girer (lütfen birini işaretleyiniz)?

- a) Çok fakir
- b) Fakir
- c) Orta altı
- d) Orta halli
- e) İyi halli
- f) Zengin
- g)Çok zengin

-Ailenizin ortalama aylık geliri: _____

-Sizce sizin yaşadığınız ekonomik şartlar hangi gruba girer (lütfen birini işaretleyiniz)?

- a) Çok düşük
- b) Düşük
- c) Orta altı
- d) Orta
- e) İyi

f) Yüksek

g)Çok yüksek

Aşağıdaki bölümde kendimizi tanımlarken kullanabileceğimiz bazı sıfatlar yer almaktadır. Lütfen her sıfatın sizce size ne kadar uygun olduğunuz düşününüz, ve bunu yansıtan sayıyı işaretleyiniz.

	Bana Hiç Uygu n Değil (1)	Bana Uygu n Değil (2)	Bana Pek Uygu n Değil (3)	Emin Değili m (4)	Bana Biraz Uygu n (5)	Bana Uygu n (6)	Bana Çok Uygu n (7)
1. Liderlik eden							
2. Saldırgan							
3. Sevecen							
4. Neşeli							
5.Şartlara uyan							
6. Kendini beğenmiş							
7. Hırslı							
8. Olayları tahlil eden							
9. Çocuksu							
10. Şefkatli							
11. Vicdanlı							
12. Geleneksel							
13. Kendi fikirlerini ortaya koyan							
14. Atletik							
15. Sert söz söylemeyen							
16. Gönül almaya istekli							
17. Dost							
18. Yetersiz							
19. Rekabetçi							
20. İnançlarını savunan							

21. Kadınsı							
22. Pohpohlanmaktan etkilenen							
23. Mutlu							
24. Kıskanç							
25. Hükmeden							
26. Güçlü							
27. Nazik							
28. Kolay aldanan							
29. Yardımsever							
30. Günü gününe uymayan							
31. Lider yeteneği olan							
32. Bağımsız							
33. Çocuk seven							
34. Sadık							
35. Sevimli							
36. Düşünce ve duygularını gizleyen							
37. Bireyci							
38. Kolay karar verebilen							
39. Başkalarının gereksinimlerine duyarlı							
40. Utangaç							
41. Güvenilir							
42. Asık suratlı							
43. Erkeksi							
44. Kendine güvenen							
45. Tatlı dilli							
46. Derde ortak olabilen							
47. Samimi							

48. Yapmacıklı							
49. Kendine yeterli							
50. Sağlam kişilikli							
51. Yumuşak							
52. Anlayışlı							
53. Yol-yordam bilen							
54. Sağı-solu belli olmayan							
55. Fikrini açığa vurmaya istekli							
56. Riskleri göze alan							
57. Sıcak							
58. Uysal							
59. Doğru sözlü							
60. Düzensiz							

2. Bölüm: Ahlaki İkilemler

Bu ölçek 8-10 yaşları arasındaki çocukların karşılaşılabileceği ahlaki ikilemleri kullanarak yetişkinlerin ahlaki akıl yürütme tarzlarını ölçmektedir. Ölçeği tamamlarken kendinizi 8-10 yaşlarındaki bir çocuğun ebeveyni olarak düşünmeniz gerekmektedir. Her ikileme yanıt verirken, şunu düşünün: ‘kendi çocuğunuz böyle bir ikilemle karşılaşsa ve ne yapacağına karar vermeye çalışsa, ona nasıl yardım edersiniz? Diğer bir deyişle, ne yapacağına karar verirken çocuğunuzun en çok neyi göz önünde bulundurmasını isterdiniz?

Her ikilemden sonra çocuğunuza yardım ederken göz önünde bulundurabileceğiniz dört bakış açısı sunulmaktadır. Lütfen göz önünde bulunduracağınız konuları 1’den 4’e kadar tercih sıralamasına koyunuz. İkilem ile ilgili görüşünüze en yakın olan seçeneği 1 ile, ikinci en yakın düşüncüyü 2 ile, üçüncüyü 3 ile numaralandırınız. Bu şekilde, 4 sayısını ‘sizin çocuğunuzun’ düşünmesini isteme ihtimalinizin en düşük olduğu seçeneğe ayırınız.

Lütfen sıra numaralarını ölçekte her seçeneğin sol tarafında bulunan çizgilerin üzerine koyunuz. Hiç bir seçenek tam olarak ne söyleyeceğinizi veya yapacağınızı belirtmiyor olsa dahi, lütfen seçenekleri kendi düşüncenize en uygun şekilde sıralandırınız. Bütün seçeneklere birer sayı koyunuz. Hiç bir soruda doğru ya da yanlış cevap bulunmamakta, bu ölçekte farklı düşünce tarzları araştırılmaktadır. Verdiğiniz tüm cevaplar araştırmacı tarafından gizli tutulacaktır.

1. Çocuğunuz bir doğum günü partisi veriyor ve sınıftaki çocukların çoğunu çağırmak istiyor. Sınıf arkadaşlarından birisi iki bina yanınızda oturuyor ve diğer çocuklar ve sizin çocuğunuz tarafından pek sevilmiyor. Çocuğunuz komşu çocuğu çağırmak istemiyor.
- Çocuk aynı sokakta oturduğu için, çocuğumun davet edilmeyen çocuğu gelecekte gördüğünde neler hissedeceğini ve dışarıda bırakılan çocuğun kendini nasıl hissedeceğini çocuğumla beraber bulmaya çalışırım.

- Çocuğuma sınıfın çoğunluğu davet ediliyorsa popüler olmayan çocuğun da davet edilmesi gerektiğini anlatırım. Bir ya da iki kişiyi dışarıda bırakmak doğru değildir.
- Çocuğuma komşuların bazen birbirlerine yardım ettiğini hatırlatırım. Özellikle çocuk popüler olmadığı için, ona arkadaşça davranmak ve partiye davet etmek en iyisi olacaktır.
- Çocuğumun diğer çocuğun popüler olmama sebeplerini düşünmesini isterim. Eğer çocuk sadece çekingense, davet edilmeli. Eğer çocuk kontrolsüz veya saldırgansa, bu çocuğu çağırmak diğer çocuklara haksızlık olacaktır.

* * * * *

2. Çocuğunuz kazayla başka bir çocuğun oyuncasını kırıyor. Çocuğunuzun bunu yaptığını kimse görmüyor ve çocuğunuz itiraf etmek istemiyor.
 - Çocuğuma dürüstlüğün en iyi yol olduğunu ve yapılacak şeyin oyuncayı kırıldığını itiraf etmek olduğunu anlatırım.
 - Çocuğumun yaptığını itiraf etmediği takdirde bir başka kişinin oyuncayı kırmakla suçlanabileceğini ve cezalandırılabileceğini düşünmesini isterim.
 - Çocuğumla ileride oyuncasını kırdığı çocukla oynamasının duyduğu suçluluk yüzünden ne kadar zor olacağını konuşurum.
 - Çocuğumun bunun sorgulanacak bir konu olmadığını bilmesini isterim. Kırıldığın şeyin yenisini alman gerekir.

* * * * *

3. Çocuğunuzla diğer bir çocuk öğretmen dışarıdayken sınıfta yaramazlık yapıyorlar. Öğretmen sınıfa girdiğinde çocuğunuz yaramazlık yaparken yakalanıyor, ama diğer çocuk yakalanmıyor. Çocuğunuz ne yapacağını düşünüyor.
 - Çocuğumun yalnızca kendi davranışını düşünmesini ve kendisi ilk başta doğru davranmış olsa bunun olmamış olacağını bilmesini isterim.
 - Çocuğumun gammazlık yapmamasını beklerim. Diğer çocuğun durumu, öğretmenle o çocuğu ilgilendirir.

- Çocuğumun diğer çocuğun başını belaya sokmanın kırıcı olacağını ve diğer çocuğa karşı hissettiği sinirin ve üzüntünün geçici olduğunu anlamasına yardım ederim.
- Çocuğumla sınıf arkadaşını şikayet etmesi durumunda arkadaşıyla ilişkilerinin nasıl etkileneceğini konuşurum.

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4. Çocuğunuz okul sonrası çalışmalar gerektiren bir faaliyete katılıyor. Faaliyet zamanı yaklaştıkça hava dışarıda oyun oynamaya daha uygun hale geliyor. Çocuğunuz artık faaliyete katılmak ya da hazırlıklara yardım etmek istemiyor.

- Çocuğumun onun katılımını bekleyen kişilerin yaşayacağı hayalkırıklığını düşünmesini isterim.
- Çocuğumun verilen taahhütlerin bağlılık getirdiğini ve kişinin üstlendiği sorumlulukları yerine getirmesi gerektiğini anlamasına yardım ederim.
- Çocuğum bir söz vermiş. Çocuğumun birinin ona verdiği sözü tutmaması halinde neler hissedeceğini düşünmesini isterim.
- Çocuğumun isteklerinin bencilliğini düşünmesini isterim ve bu şekilde hareket etmenin ileride kendisini kötü hissetmesine yol açabileceğini vurgularım.

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5. Çocuğunuz genellikle iki arkadaşıyla oynuyor. Bir nedenden dolayı arkadaşlarından biri diğerine bozuluyor ve çocuğunuzun da diğer çocukla ilişkisini kesmesini istiyor. Çocuğunuz kendisini arada kalmış hissediyor ve ne yapacağını düşünüyor.

- Üçü beraber oynamasalar bile çocuğumu her iki çocukla da arkadaş kalmaya teşvik ederim.
- Çocuğumun sorunun ne olduğunu anlamasına yardım ederek iki çocuğun tekrar arkadaş olup olamayacağını değerlendirmesini isterim..
- Çocuğumun kiminle arkadaşlık edeceğine bir başkasının karar vermesinin doğru olup olmadığını düşünmesini isterim.
- Çocuğumun eğer üçüncü çocuğun yerinde olsaydı kendisini nasıl hissedeceğini düşünmesini isterim. Çocuğumun başkalarına kendisine davranılmasını istediği gibi davranmasını isterim.

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6. Çocuğunuz dokunmaması yönündeki uyarılara rağmen çok da pahalı olmayan bir ev eşyasını kuyuyor ve haftalık harçlığından para biriktirerek kırdığı eşyanın parasını ödemeyi kabul ediyor. Birikimleri çoğaldıkça çocuğunuz parasını uzun zamandır istediği bir şeyi almak için kullanmak istiyor.
 - Çocuğuma hayatta bazen yapmak istemediğimiz şeyleri yapmak zorunda kaldığımızı anlatırım. Kurallara göre oynamak her zaman kolay değildir.
 - Çocuğumun orta yolu bulabileceğimizi bilmesini isterim. Kırdığı şeyin parasını ödemesi daha uzun sürecek olsa da, biriktirdiği paranın bir bölümünü almak istediği şey için kullanmasına izin veririm.
 - Çocuğumun önceliklerin önemini düşünmesini ve öncelikli olan sorumluluğunun isteklerinden önce gelmesi gerektiğini anlamasını isterim.
 - Çocuğuma eşyanın küçük de olsa benim için önemli olduğunu anlatırım ve benim duygularımı göz önünde bulundurarak istediği şeyi almadan önce kırdığı eşyayı yenilemesini isterim.

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7. Çocuğunuz arkadaşına ait bir oyuncağı çok beğeniyor. Arkadaşı oyuncağını sizin evinizde unutuyor. Arkadaşı oyuncağını aramıyor görünüyor ve çocuğunuzdan oyuncağını geri vermesini istemiyor. Çocuğunuz da oyuncağın kendisinde kalmasını istiyor.
 - Çocuğumun oyuncağını kaybeden arkadaşının kendisini nasıl hissedeceğini düşünmesini isterim. Arkadaşı oyuncağını önemsemiyor görünse de, aslında onun için önemli olabileceğini söylerim.
 - Çocuğumun onun olan bir oyuncağı bir arkadaşına alsaydı kendisini nasıl hissedeceğini düşünmesini isterim. Bu durumda insanın kendisine yapılmasını istemediği şeyi başkasına yapmaması prensibi anahtar olmalı..
 - Çocuğumun oyuncağın kimin olduğunu düşünmesini isterim. O anki durum ne olursa olsun, oyuncak hala başkasına ait ve önemli olan şey sahibine iade edilmesi.

- Çocuğumun oyuncağı arkadaşına geri verdiğinde hissedeceği güzel şeyleri ve geri vermediği takdirde arkadaşı sonradan oyuncağı hatırladığında çıkabilecek sorunları düşünmesini isterim.

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8. Evde temizlik yapıldığı gün çocuğunuzun da kendi odasını toplaması ve temizliğe olduğunca yardım etmesi gerekiyor. Temizlik günü, çocuğunuz televizyonda özel bir program izlemek istediğini söylüyor. (Evde programın kayıt edilebileceği bir cihaz yok.)
- Çocuğumun programı izlemesinin diğer aile bireylerine karşı düşüncesizlik olacağını fark etmesini ve onların nasıl hissedeceklerini düşünmesini isterim.
 - Çocuğumun diğer aile bireylerinden ayrıcalıklı olmadığını ve üzerine düşen sorumluluğu yerine getirmesi gerektiğini anlamasını isterim.
 - Bir aile için önemli olan sorumluluk, birliktelik ve aidiyet konularını ve ailede herkesin birbirine güvенеbilmesi gerektiğini vurgularım.
 - Çocuğumun ailesine bir söz verdiğini ve son dakikada fikrini değiştirmesinin adil olmayacağını hatırlamasını isterim.

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9. Çocuğunuz sokakta içinde bazı küçük eşyalar olan bir çanta buluyor. Eşyalardan ilgisini çeken bir kaçını ya da hepsini saklamak istiyor.
- Çocuğumun aidiyet kavramının önemini anlamasını isterim. Çocuklar bazen ‘kim bulduysa onundur’ deseler de, insanların eşyaları üzerinde hakları olduğunu unutmamak gerekir,
 - Çocuğuma ‘kendine yapılmasını istemediğini bir başkasına yapma’ ilkesini hatırlatırım.
 - Çocuğumun çantanın sahibini bulmaya çalışmadan eşyaları sakladığı takdirde başkasının ihtiyaç duyabileceği bir şeyi almaktan duyacağı suçluluğu düşünmesini isterim.
 - Çocuğuma eşyaların sahibi için muhtemelen özel olduğunu ve sahibinin onları geri isteyeceğini hatırlatırım.

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10. Çocuğunuz bir arkadaşına arkadaşının ertesi güne teslim edeceği bir okul ödevi ile ilgili yardım etme sözü veriyor. Çocuğunuz size bunu söylediğinde ona o

akşam ailece bir saat uzaklıkta oturan aile dostlarınıza misafirlige gidecek olduğunuzu hatırlatıyorsunuz. Çocuğunuz ne yapacağını bilemiyor.

- Çocuğuma eğer geçerli mazeretler yoksa verilen sözün tutulması gerektiğini hatırlatırım, Önce diğer aileye söz verilmiş olduğu için, öncelik bu sözü tutmak olmalı.
- Çocuğumun ailenin beraber olmasının önemini ve anne-babanın plan yaptıklarında çocuklarıyla birlikte olmak istediklerini düşünmesini isterim.
- Çocuğumla bireyin grup içindeki özgürlükleri konusunu konuşurum ve aile plan yaptığında aileden herhangi bir kişinin ayrı bir plan yapma hakkının olmadığını anlatırım.
- Çocuğumun diğer çocuğun durumunun zorluğunu gözden geçirmesini isterim. Eğer çocuğun gerçekten yardıma ihtiyacı varsa, çocuğum evde kalarak arkadaşına yardımcı olabilir.

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11. Çocuğunuz oturduğunuz yerden uzağa taşınmış olan ve az görüştüğü bir arkadaşının evinde geceleme planı yapıyor. Buluşma günü bir başka arkadaş arayarak çocuğunuzun katılmayı çok istediği bir etkinliğe bileti olduğunu söylüyor.

- Çocuğumun hem arkadaşının onu beklediğini hem de evdeki büyüklerin onun için hazırlık yaptıklarını düşünmesini isterim.
- Çocuğumun arkadaşının hislerini düşünmesini ve onu incitmeden planını değiştirmesinin mümkün olup olmadığına karar vermesini isterim.
- Çocuğumun ilk verdiği sözün öncelikli olduğunu anlamasını isterim.
- Çocuğumun önceliklerini gözden geçirmesini isterim. Hangisi daha önemli; etkinlik mi, arkadaş mı?

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12. Çocuğunuz okuldaki öğretmenlerinden biri tarafından yapmadığı bir yanlış yüzünden azarlanıyor. Çocuğunuz durumunu izah etmek istiyor, ama öğretmene cevap verdiği için tekrar azarlanmaktan korkuyor.

- Çocuğumun adalet kavramını düşünmesini ve yok yere suçlanmanın kabul edilemeyeğini anlamasını isterim.
- Çocuğumun öğretmenle konuşmasının ne kadar önemli olduğunu düşünmesini isterim; hem suçsuzluğunu anlatması için, hem de özgüvenini koruması için.
- Çocuğumun öğretmenlerin de insan olduğunu ve bazen hata yapabileceklerini düşünmesini isterim. Çocuğum çok üzgün değilse, bu seferlik olayı unutmasını öneririm.
- Çocuğumun insanlar bazen duymak istemeseler de gerçeği söylemenin önemli olduğunu düşünmesini isterim.

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Şimdi lütfen yukarıda verdiğiniz yanıtlara bir göz gezdiriniz ve aşağıdaki bölüme geçiniz.

Aşağıda çocuğunuzun gelişimi sırasında karşılaşacağı bazı kavramlar bulunmaktadır. Sizce yukarıda vermiş olduğunuz yanıtlar çocuğunuzun bu kavramlara karşı nasıl bir tavır takınmasını sağlayacaktır?

‘Çok olumlu’ için 1’i, ‘olumlu’ için 2’yi, ‘ne olumlu ne olumsuz’ için 3’ü, ‘olumsuz’ için 4’ü, ‘çok olumsuz’ için 5’i işaretleyiniz.

1- Eşitlik	1	2	3	4	5
2- Kendini öncelikli görme	1	2	3	4	5
3- Paylaşım	1	2	3	4	5
4- Ayrımcılık	1	2	3	4	5
5- Otoriteye saygı	1	2	3	4	5
6- Farklılıklara saygı	1	2	3	4	5

7- Aile ve arkadaş ilişkilerinin önemi	1	2	3	4	5
8- Kendine güven	1	2	3	4	5

3.Bölüm: Gruplar Arası İlişkiler

Aşağıdaki sorular ikinci bölümden bağımsız olarak SİZİN gruplar arası ilişkilere yaklaşımınız ile ilgilidir. Lütfen her cümleyi dikkatle okuyarak o cümle ile ilgili bireysel duygu ve düşüncenizi yansıtan seçeneği işaretleyiniz.

- 1)Çok olumlu
- 2)Olumlu
- 3)Biraz olumlu
- 4)Ne olumlu ne de olumsuz
- 5)Biraz olumsuz
- 6)Olumsuz
- 7)Çok olumsuz

1- Bazı grup insanlar diğerlerinden daha aşağı konumdadır.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2- İstedğini elde ederken bazen diğer gruplara karşı şiddet kullanmak gerekir.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3- Bazı grupların hayatta diğerlerinden daha az bir şansa sahip olması kabul edilebilir.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4- Hayatta öne geçmek için bazen diğer grupların üstüne basmak gerekir.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5- Eğer bazı gruplar yerlerinde dursalardı, daha az sorunumuz olurdu.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6- Bazı grupların üstte, diğerlerinin ise altta olması muhtemelen iyi bir şeydir.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7- Aşağıda konumdaki gruplar yerlerinde kalmalıdır.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8- Bazen diğer gruplar yerlerinde tutulmalıdır.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9- Gruplar eşit olabilse iyi olurdu.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10- Grup eşitliği idealimiz olmalıdır.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11- Bütün gruplara hayatta eşit bir şans verilmelidir.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12- Farklı gruplar için şartları eşitlemek için elimizden geleni yapmalıyız.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13- Arttırılmış sosyal eşitlik.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14- İnsanlara daha eşit davransaydık, daha az sorununuz olurdu.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15- Gelirleri mümkün olduğunca eşit yapmaya çalışmalıyız.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16- Hiçbir tek grup toplumda baskın olmamalıdır.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7