

Situational Influences on Gender Differences in Agency and Communion

D. S. Moskowitz, Eun Jung Suh, and Julie Desaulniers

Gender differences were examined in the context of situational effects. Participants monitored interpersonal behavior for 20 days, using an event-sampling strategy. The monitored behaviors reflected dominance and submissiveness (components of agency) and agreeableness and quarrelsomeness (components of communion). The situations reflected differences in the status of work roles: interactions with boss, co-worker, and supervisee. Status influenced agency. Individuals were most agentic when with a supervisee and least agentic when with a boss. Gender did not influence agency but did influence communal behaviors. Women were more communal regardless of social role status; women were especially communal with other women, compared with men with men. Findings about agency supported a social role theory interpretation of gender differences. Results for communion were consistent with accounts of the influence of sex segregation on interpersonal relationships.

The interpersonal circumplex has a long history of being used to represent the domain of interpersonal behavior (e.g., Carson, 1969; Foa, 1961; Kiesler, 1983; Leary, 1957; Wiggins, 1979, 1982). There are variations in the details of the circumplex, but typically, interpersonal traits are organized in a circle defined by two major axes commonly labeled as *status* (assertive-dominance vs. passive-submissiveness) and *love* (warm-agreeableness vs. cold-hostile-quarrelsomeness). These axes, status and love, have been described as aspects of the larger domains of agency and communion (Wiggins, 1992). Agency and communion are meta-constructs that refer to modes of relating to the world. Wiggins (1992) has defined agency as strivings for mastery and power that would enhance and protect the differentiation of the individual. Agency in behavior would be expressed in frequent dominant acts and infrequent submissive acts. Communion would be expressed in strivings for intimacy, union, and solidarity with a social or spiritual entity, and communality would be partly reflected in frequent agreeable behaviors and infrequent quarrelsome behaviors. The goal of the present research was to examine the extent to which agentic and communal behaviors are affected by gender roles and whether situations influence the degree to which agentic and communal behaviors are displayed.

Bakan (1966) argued that agency was prototypically masculine and communion was prototypically feminine. This theoretical formulation emphasized the generality of these prototypes in which men are expected to engage more frequently in agentic behavior than women and women are expected to engage more frequently in communal behavior than men. In contrast, Eagly (1987) argued that gender differences in social behavior are caused by the tendency of individuals to behave consistently with their social roles. Stereotypic male and female behaviors are postulated to arise from the distribution of men and women into different specific social roles. Accordingly, men and women behave differently, because they occupy social roles that are associated with different behaviors. For example, there are different behavioral expectations for the social roles of physician and nurse. Men are disproportionately represented in the role of physician, and women are disproportionately represented in the role of nurse. Therefore, the appearance of gender differences in social behavior between men and women occupying these roles is actually a consequence of differences in the distribution of men and women in the social roles of physician and nurse. Thus, men and women should behave similarly as long as the role they occupy is the same. Work settings provide particularly compelling social roles for comparing men's and women's behavior. A man and a woman who occupy the same role would therefore be likely to engage in similar agentic and communal behaviors in the course of executing their jobs.

There is considerable support for Eagly's (1987) theory from studies of organizations. Stereotypic sex differences have been largely discounted by psychologists who have studied leadership in organizations (Bartol, 1978; Bartol & Wortman, 1975, 1976; Brown, 1979; Butterfield & Powell, 1981; Day & Stodgill, 1972; Komives, 1991; Osborn & Vicars, 1976; Terborg, 1977). Also, studies of occupational stereotypes have found that people report no differences, or only small ones, between men and women described as occupying the same occupational role (e.g., Eagly & Steffen, 1984, 1986; Friedland, Crockett, & Laird, 1973; Hesselbart, 1977).

It has been argued that given equivalent social roles for men

D. S. Moskowitz, Eun Jung Suh, and Julie Desaulniers, Department of Psychology, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Portions of this research were presented at the 1993 meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association. The research was supported by Grant 410-91-1348 from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and Grant 93ER0162 from Fonds pour la Formation de Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche du Quebec.

The help of Daniel Tsui, who wrote the computer programming that prepared the data for analysis, is gratefully acknowledged. Thanks are also extended to David Zuroff, Morton Mendelson, and Alice Eagly for their comments during the preparation of this article.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to D. S. Moskowitz, Department of Psychology, McGill University, 1205 Dr. Penfield Avenue, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 1B1.

and women, gender differences are less pronounced in organizational settings than in laboratory settings (Eagly & Wood, 1991). Laboratory settings are thought to eliminate the salience of roles associated with occupation, thereby increasing the salience of gender roles in behavior. This claim was substantiated by a meta-analytic review of gender differences in leadership styles (Eagly & Johnson, 1990) that found that studies within organizations generally did not indicate gender differences in leadership styles, whereas laboratory studies largely yielded stereotypic sex differences. A pair of studies of West Point cadets illustrated this difference. One study during basic training indicated no gender difference in the behavior and success of male and female upper-class cadets who served as leaders (Rice, Instone, & Adams, 1984). Yet in a prior laboratory study of West Point cadets, Rice, Bender, and Vitters (1980) obtained stereotypic gender differences on leadership behaviors.

In summary, field studies in work settings have supported Eagly's (1987) theory by failing to document large gender differences for leadership, which falls within the agentic domain. Laboratory studies of leadership have produced larger gender differences, presumably because social roles are less salient. Because it is difficult to induct individuals into highly salient social roles in the laboratory, it appears necessary to study social roles in natural settings to examine systematically the effects of multiple social roles.

There is an additional account of the influence of context on gender differences that raises questions about the influence of another set of situational variables. Maccoby (1990) integrated evidence documenting the development of sex segregation in social relationships. She argued that sex segregation is accompanied by the development of characteristic interaction patterns, with sex-segregated groups of boys and men more frequently engaging in behaviors to maintain dominance and position in the social hierarchy and sex-segregated groups of girls and women more frequently engaging in behaviors that reflect mutual reciprocity, such as acknowledging each other and expressing agreement. The behaviors expected to differentiate sex-segregated groups parallel the characteristics of agency and communion such that men in all-male groups would be expected to engage in more agentic behavior than women in all-female groups, and women in all-female groups would be expected to engage in more communal behaviors than men in all-male groups.

On the basis of Maccoby's review, patterns of behavior in mixed-sex groups are not easy to predict. Maccoby (1990) suggested that women in mixed groups become more like men by acting more assertively with men than with women. More generally, interactions in mixed-sex pairs may be less sex differentiated than behavior in sex-segregated groups. In a laboratory study of dominance and friendliness, Moskowitz (1993) found smaller differences between men and women in mixed-sex than in same-sex groups.

The aim of the present study was to examine the influence of situational variables on gender differences in interpersonal behavior and thereby to test the predictions of Eagly's (1987) theory and Maccoby's (1990) overview. To sample interpersonal behavior using constructs at a similar level of conceptual breadth, we selected dimensions of behavior from the interpersonal circumplex. Four dimensions were examined: domi-

nance, submissiveness, agreeableness, and quarrelsomeness. Dominance-submissiveness and agreeableness-quarrelsomeness, respectively, represented agentic and communal characteristics. Dominance and Submissiveness encompass such behaviors as voicing an opinion, giving information, setting goals, waiting for others to act, and avoiding being responsible. Agreeableness and Quarrelsomeness refer to behaviors that include listening attentively to others, providing help, showing impatience, and withholding useful information.

Interpersonal behavior was studied in natural settings. By so doing, the present study attempted to overcome limitations of many earlier laboratory studies on gender role differences in social behavior that not only neglected the impact of social roles on behavior but also generally occurred in a context of short-term interactions with strangers (see Eagly, 1987). To overcome these weaknesses, gender differences in interpersonal behavior were examined in the context of participants' occupational roles for an extended period. The experience-sampling method used in the present study was developed to examine the multiple occurrences of individuals' social behaviors in their natural environments rather than in the laboratory. Considerable evidence has demonstrated the reliability and validity of this method for assessing interpersonal behavior (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1987; Diener & Larsen, 1984; McAdams & Constantian, 1983; Moskowitz, in press).

One way that situations varied was with respect to social roles at work. Social roles are reflected in patterns of interactions with others in complementary roles. Someone interacting with a boss is in the complementary role of supervisee. Someone interacting with a supervisee is in the complementary role of boss-supervisor. Thus, an individual's social role reflects the status of the person with whom the individual is interacting.

Consistent with Eagly's social role theory and previously conducted research on leadership behaviors, we hypothesized that there would not be gender differences in agentic behaviors in an occupational setting. Specifically, men and women should show equal levels of dominance and submissiveness in their social interactions at work. Instead, the social status of the partner in the interaction was predicted to have an effect on the individual's behavior. Participants were expected to behave more submissively when interacting with a partner of superior rather than equal status (i.e., boss vs. co-workers). Moreover, participants were expected to be more dominant with supervisees than with co-workers or bosses.

Many of the behaviors examined from a social role theory perspective have been relevant to leadership, which is usually considered a form of agentic behavior. There is less evidence relevant to the social role theory interpretation of communal behaviors. Stereotypically, women are expected to be more communal than men. If this gender role difference is mediated by social roles, status but not gender should influence communal behavior. Consequently, both men and women were expected to be more communal (i.e., more agreeable and less quarrelsome) when with a boss than when with co-workers or supervisees.

A second set of situation variables was also examined. Consistent with Maccoby (1990), gender differences might be influenced by the sex composition of the dyad. It was predicted that men interacting with other men would engage in more

agentic and fewer communal behaviors than women interacting with other women. It was also hypothesized that there would be smaller gender differences when men and women were in mixed-sex groups than when men and women were in same-sex groups.

Method

Subjects

The sample used in the present analyses was drawn from two previous studies. Both studies used the same procedure for soliciting participants. Study 1 was conducted to gain validation evidence for the experience-sampling method (Moskowitz, in press), and Study 2 was conducted 1 year later.

Participants were recruited from the community. Advertisements in eight newspapers offered \$100 to adults who were working at least 30 hours a week to take part in a study of social interaction. There were more than 200 responses to the advertisement for each study. In Study 1, the first 40 male callers and the first 41 female callers were invited to participate. (One additional woman was included in the initial sample, because of a dropout who was replaced during the first few days of the study.) In Study 2, the first 50 male callers and the first 50 female callers were invited to participate. The rate of completion for both studies was high: 95% for Study 1 and 89% for Study 2.

There was a wide age range in both studies: 20 to 56 years in Study 1 and 19 to 61 years in Study 2. Participants in both studies held a wide variety of occupations (e.g., political attache, business manager, parts clerk, technician, craftsman, administrative assistant, journalist, and cook).

Situation was defined by the type of partner (gender and status) with whom the individual was interacting. To examine gender of partner by social role interactions, it would have been necessary to select individuals who had interactions with men and women bosses, co-workers, and supervisees. There were only five people from both samples who would have met this criterion. So, an individual was included in the subsample if the person had reported experiences with a boss, a co-worker, and a supervisee. The combined subsample comprised 55 individuals, 24 men and 31 women.

Chi-square analyses were performed to examine whether the same proportion of men and women participants had experience with male and female representatives of each role category (Table 1). All of the chi-squares were nonsignificant, indicating that approximately the same proportion of men and women had experience with supervisors, co-workers, and supervisees of each gender.

Table 1
Percentage of Men and Women Who Had Experience
With Each Kind of Partner

Partner	Men	Women
Boss		
Male	79	71
Female	50	68
Co-worker		
Male	92	84
Female	96	100
Supervisee		
Male	71	61
Female	63	77

Procedure

Self-monitoring. Participants attended a meeting at which the procedure was explained. They were told that they would be completing record forms to monitor their social interactions every day for 20 days. Participants were asked to complete a form for each significant interaction. A significant interaction was defined as an interaction lasting at least 5 min. Participants were asked to complete the form as soon as possible after the social interaction occurred.

Participants were also given signaling devices (i.e., beepers) and told that they would be signaled three times a day during the week and twice a day on the weekend. During the week, the beepers signaled at random times, once during the morning, once in the afternoon, and once during the evening; on the weekend, the morning signal was omitted. Participants were asked to record the times of the signal on a separate daily form. Records of signal times were kept so we could be assured that participants were keeping records for the study throughout the day. Records of the signal times were approximately 90% accurate.

Participants were reminded to record information for as many interactions as occurred as soon as the interactions occurred and not to limit themselves to recording one interaction after each signal. These instructions were successful, because participants typically completed six forms a day. Participants mailed each day's forms on the day after their completion.

Record forms. The record form provided a list of behaviors that could occur during a social interaction and requested information about the situation in which the social interaction occurred. The situation was conceptualized as varying according to characteristics of the person(s) with whom the participant was interacting. The participant was asked to indicate, for each person involved in the social interaction, the individual's gender, the individual's work relationship (i.e., supervisor, co-worker, supervisee, or none), and the individual's personal relationship to the participant (i.e., friend, acquaintance, romantic partner, or other). Record forms involving work relationships were the focus of the present report.

Behaviors. The only procedural difference between Study 1 and Study 2 was in the list of behaviors provided on the record forms. There were 83 items in Study 1 and 46 items in Study 2. The 46 items used in Study 2 had been shown in Study 1 to be the best indicators of Dominance, Submissiveness, Agreeableness, and Quarrelsomeness. Scores for the dimensions, to be referred to as *traits*, were generated on the basis of the 46 items used in both studies. There were 12 items for each trait. One behavior was used for both the Dominance and the Quarrelsomeness scales (i.e., "I criticized the other"), and one behavior was used for both the Submissiveness and the Agreeableness scales ("I went along with the other"). The overlap in scale items was not a problem, because items on one axis of the circumplex are expected to have varying values on the other axis of the circumplex. Accordingly, it is theoretically plausible that one behavior reflects both Dominance and Quarrelsomeness and that another behavior reflects both Submissiveness and Agreeableness.

Participants were asked to indicate which of the behaviors listed on a form they had engaged in during each recorded social interaction. A pilot study had indicated that when participants were given the same form to complete every day, they quickly adopted a response set of checking the same behaviors for every interaction. So, four forms were used. In Study 1, three forms had 21 behavior items and one form had 20 behavior items. In Study 2, two forms had 12 behavior items and two forms had 11 behavior items. Participants were given Form 1 on Day 1 to complete for all interactions on that day, Form 2 on Day 2, Form 3 on Day 3, and Form 4 on Day 4, and then the rotation was begun again and repeated for the 20 days of the study. The behaviors representing Dominance, Agreeableness, Submissiveness, and Quarrelsomeness were divided about equally among the four forms.

Construction of ipsatized situation-specific scores. There were four

steps in the construction of the situation-specific trait scores. First, frequencies were tallied for the number of times each behavior was checked toward each type of partner. Second, a score for each trait toward each type of partner was calculated by computing the mean frequency in each situation of the 12 behaviors corresponding to the trait. Third, an ipsatized score was constructed, because there was considerable individual variation in the number of behavior items checked on each record form; there were participants who checked many items in all interactions, whereas other participants checked only a few behavior items in all interactions. To adjust for the individual difference in rate of checking items, a mean frequency was calculated for each participant for all the behaviors checked in each situation. Then each ipsatized trait score was calculated by subtracting the mean frequency for all behaviors checked in a situation from each trait score in that situation. Thus, the ipsatized trait score reflected the frequency with which the trait was checked, adjusted for a participant's general rate of responding (cf. Horowitz, Rosenberg, Baer, Ureño, & Villaseñor, 1988). Subsequently, the ipsatized trait scores in each situation were divided by the number of forms completed in that kind of situation to adjust for rate of participation in each kind of situation. Because this procedure produced very small numbers, all scores were multiplied by 100. The final score represented the probability of engaging in a behavior in a situation, adjusted for the individual's overall rate of responding.

Validity of the experience-sampling method. Moskowitz (in press) presented considerable evidence for the convergent and discriminant validity of the experience-sampling measures used. The pattern of correlations generally corresponded to structural predictions based on the interpersonal circumplex.

Results

It would have been desirable to examine Gender of Partner \times Social Role interactions in the same analysis. However, as previously mentioned, the large majority of participants did not have interactions in the six situations that would result from considering gender of partner and social role simultaneously. Consequently, two sets of analyses were conducted. The first set of analyses was focused on gender of participant and social role, and the second set of analyses was focused on gender of participant and gender of partner.

Gender of Participant and Social Role

A repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) with two between-subject factors and one within-subject factor was conducted for each of the experience-sampling scales. The between-subject factors were study (1 and 2) and gender of participant. The within-subject factor was social role (i.e., whether the partner was a boss, a coworker, or a supervisee). Significant effects were further examined with Tukey's post hoc test.

Dominance. In the analysis of dominance, there were main effects for study, $F(1, 51) = 23.58, p < .001$, and social role, $F(2, 102) = 5.33, p < .01$. Participants in Study 2 reported higher rates of dominance than did participants in Study 1 (Table 2). Participants also reported more dominance toward supervisees than toward bosses or co-workers (Figure 1). These differences were confirmed with Tukey's post hoc test ($\alpha < .05$).

Submissiveness. In the analysis of submissiveness, there was a main effect for social role, $F(2, 102) = 5.32, p < .01$. Participants reported more submissiveness toward bosses than toward co-workers or supervisees (Figure 1). The differences in behav-

Table 2
Means and Standard Deviations of Traits for Each Sample

Measure	Study 1		Study 2	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Dominance	1.45	1.42	3.90	2.15
Submissiveness	-0.57	1.22	-1.42	2.13
Agency	2.01	2.33	5.33	3.24
Agreeableness	0.93	1.63	2.42	2.02
Quarrelsomeness	-1.84	1.70	-5.07	2.28
Communion	2.77	3.10	7.48	3.51

ior between boss and co-worker and between boss and supervisee were found to be significant by Tukey's post hoc test.

Agency. Submissiveness was subtracted from dominance to create the variable, agency. The analysis of agency indicated a main effect for study, $F(1, 51) = 17.73, p < .001$ (Table 2). Individuals in Study 2 had a higher rate of agency than individuals in Study 1. There was also a main effect for social role, $F(2, 102) = 5.41, p < .001$. Individuals reported the highest level of agency when with supervisees and the lowest level of agency when with their supervisors (Figure 1). The differences between agency toward a boss, a co-worker, and a supervisee were significant (Tukey's post hoc test).

Agreeableness. In the analysis of agreeableness, there was a main effect for study, $F(1, 51) = 8.91, p < .01$. Individuals in Study 2 reported more agreeableness than individuals in Study 1 (Table 2).

Quarrelsomeness. In the analysis of quarrelsomeness, there were main effects for study, $F(1, 51) = 33.53, p < .001$, and gender, $F(1, 51) = 5.06, p < .05$. Participants in Study 1 reported more quarrelsomeness than participants in Study 2 (Table 2). Men reported more quarrelsomeness than women (Table 3).

Communion. Quarrelsomeness was subtracted from agreeableness to create the communion variable. There was a main effect for study, $F(1, 51) = 26.22, p < .001$. Individuals in Study 2 reported higher levels of communion than individuals in Study 1 (Table 2). There was also a main effect for gender of participant, $F(1, 51) = 5.14, p < .05$. Women had higher communion scores than men (Table 3).

There were no interaction effects for any of the variables. The absence of interactions between study and other main effects was particularly important for the interpretation of the results. Even though there were differences in the base rate of responding on five of the six variables, these different base rates between the two studies did not interact with the main effects of theoretical interest, namely gender and social role.

Gender of Participant and Gender of Partner

Analyses were conducted to examine social interaction as a function of gender of the interaction partner. A repeated measures ANOVA with two between-subject factors and one within-subject factor was conducted for each characteristic. The between-subject factors were study (1 and 2) and gender of the participant. The within-subject factor was gender of the person

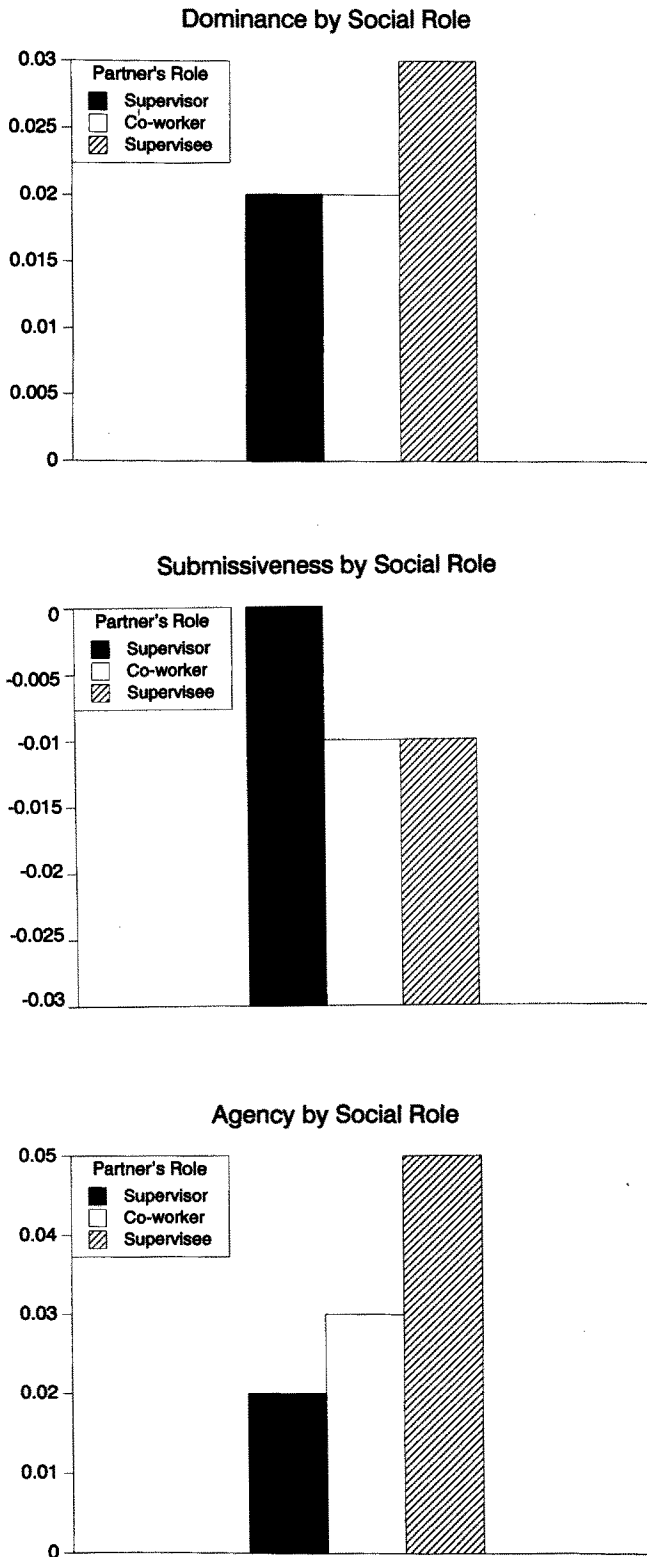


Figure 1. Social role effects on dominance, submissiveness, and agency.

Table 3
Means and Standard Deviations by Gender

Measure	Men		Women	
	M	SD	M	SD
Agreeableness	0.99	1.98	1.98	1.81
Quarrelsomeness	-2.45	2.30	-3.76	2.58
Communion	3.44	3.58	5.74	4.08

with whom the participant was interacting. Details concerning study and gender of participant effects that have previously been reported are not repeated in this section.

Dominance. As reported before, there was a main effect for study.

Submissiveness. In the analysis of submissiveness, there was a main effect for study, $F(1, 51) = 7.13, p < .05$. Participants reported less submissiveness in Study 2 (Table 2). There was also a Gender of Participant \times Gender of Partner interaction, $F(1, 51) = 4.03, p < .05$. It was predicted that men with men would be less submissive than women with women. The pattern of results did not support this prediction. The means (Table 4) indicated the reverse pattern: women with women appeared to be less submissive than men with men, but the post hoc test was not significant. It was also predicted that behavior in mixed-sex dyads would be less extreme than behavior in same-sex dyads. Inspection of the means (Table 4) did not provide support for this prediction. The largest mean difference was between men and women with female partners, but this and other pairwise comparisons were not statistically significant.

Agency. As reported previously, there was a main effect for study.

Agreeableness. As reported previously, there was an effect for study. There was also a main effect for gender of participant, $F(1, 51) = 10.40, p < .01$. Women were more agreeable than men. Finding the gender effect was surprising, because this effect had not been significant in the previous analysis of agreeableness. A follow-up analysis was conducted to resolve the difference between the two analyses. To avoid possible statistical artifacts due to the effect of missing data on averaging, a score for agreeableness was calculated by averaging at the level of the six kinds of partner (e.g., male supervisor and female supervisor). A *t* test was then calculated on the resulting scores for agreeableness. There was no significant difference between men and women on the *t* test, suggesting that gender of participant does not affect agreeableness.

Table 4
Means and Standard Deviations of Submissiveness by Gender of Participant and Gender of Partner

Situation	Men		Women	
	M	SD	M	SD
Men as partners	-1.35	1.70	-0.93	2.59
Women as partners	-0.32	3.46	-1.59	1.44

Quarrelsomeness. As reported previously, there were main effects for study and gender of participant. There was also a triple interaction among study, gender of participant, and gender of partner, $F(1, 51) = 4.59, p < .05$. It was predicted that men with men would be more quarrelsome than women with women. In Study 2, there was a significant difference in quarrelsomeness between the same-sex dyads (Table 5). In Study 1, men with men were more quarrelsome than women with women, but this difference was not large enough to be statistically significant by Tukey's post hoc test.

It was also predicted that behavior in mixed-sex dyads would be less extreme than behavior in same-sex dyads. This prediction was not supported. Quarrelsomeness in the mixed-sex dyads was usually at the same level as in one of the same-sex dyads. Sometimes, quarrelsomeness in mixed-sex dyads was similar to behavior in male dyads, and other times it was similar to behavior in female dyads.

Communion. As reported previously, there were main effects for study and gender of participant, $F(1, 51) = 10.32, p < .01$. There was also a triple interaction of study, gender of participant, and gender of partner, $F(1, 51) = 4.08, p < .05$. As with quarrelsomeness, there was support for the prediction that there would be differences in the level of communion in same-sex groups. In Study 2, women with women were more communal than men with men, and this difference was found to be significant by Tukey's post hoc test. In Study 1, the difference between the means was in the predicted direction, but the post hoc test was not significant (Figure 2).

The prediction that behavior in mixed-sex dyads would be less extreme than in same-sex dyads was not supported. The level of communion in mixed-sex groups exhibited opposite patterns in the two samples studied (Figure 2).

In the analyses of gender of partner, quarrelsomeness and communion were the only variables that interacted with study. Once again, the general absence of interactions between study and other main effects indicated that the different base rates between the two studies did not usually interact with the main effects of theoretical interest, in this case, gender of participant and gender of partner. When there was an interaction with study, as for quarrelsomeness and communion, results concern-

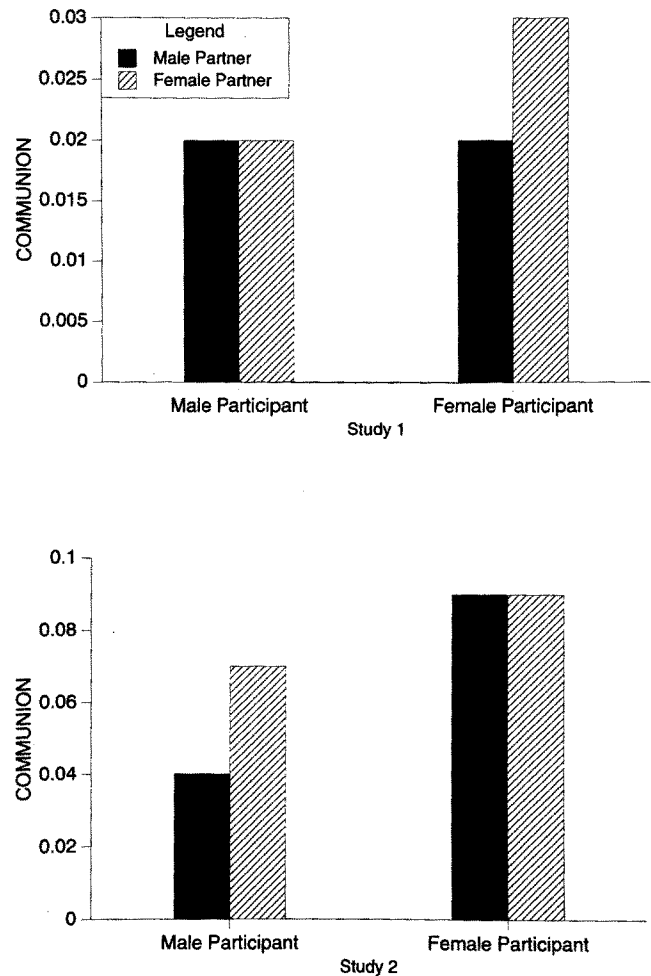


Figure 2. Gender of Partner \times Gender of Participant effects on communion.

ing the major theoretical predictions were consistent for the two studies.

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine the influence of situational variables on the appearance of gender differences in systematically sampled interpersonal behavior. Consistent with Eagly's (1987) social role theory, it was hypothesized that when social roles were salient, men and women would behave in accordance with the prescriptions of that role and forgo their gender roles. The results for agentic behaviors supported this hypothesis. Gender was not found to influence agentic behavior at work. Instead, social role influenced agentic behaviors. Individuals were more dominant when they were in a supervisory role than when they were with co-workers or in the role of supervisee. Individuals were more submissive when they were being supervised than when they were with a co-worker or in a supervisory role.

Social role theory did not explain gender differences in communal behavior. Gender role and not social role was found to

Table 5
Means and Standard Deviations of Quarrelsomeness and Communion by Study, Gender of Participant, and Gender of Partner

Trait and situation	Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Study 1				
Quarrelsomeness				
Men as partners	-1.19	1.64	-1.54	1.58
Women as partners	-1.35	1.12	-1.84	1.17
Study 2				
Quarrelsomeness				
Men as partners	-2.22	4.19	-5.75	3.11
Women as partners	-4.60	2.68	-5.24	1.48

influence communal behaviors. Men were more quarrelsome than women, independent of social role.

The social role theory has usually been examined with reference to agentic rather than communal behaviors in situations that exhibit differences in power or social influence, such as leader–follower paradigms (see Eagly, 1987). A reasonable presumption is that the status of a social role reflects socially ascribed differences in power. Bosses have more power than supervisees. Agency in interpersonal behavior in these situations is consistent with social expectations about who in the situation has authority. It appears then that status of the social role, which reflects differences in socially prescribed power, is likely to influence agentic behaviors in which the individual attempts self-assertion and expresses mastery and influence.

It should be noted that the classification of social roles used here is broader than in Eagly's (1987) discussion. This study has not been focused on specific occupational roles such as physician or nurse, but rather has been focused on classes of roles that shift depending on the person with whom an individual is interacting. Behavior in occupational roles is flexible. Consistent with the data presented, a nurse would be likely to engage in different agentic behaviors depending on whether she is interacting with the supervisory physician or a hospital aide. Thus, the procedure used in the present study permits generalizations across differing occupational roles.

It may be possible to find social roles that differ in interrelatedness, which would affect communal behaviors. The literature on intimate relationships indicates sex-stereotypic behavior in casual relationships that does not occur in more intimate relationships and in marriage, although these studies have been focused more on agentic rather than communal behaviors (Heiss, 1962; Shaw & Sadler, 1965). It might also be possible to identify work roles that explicitly differ in expectations for communal behavior (e.g., social worker and securities analyst), and these roles would produce the expected role differences in communal behavior. Thus, a possible modification to the role theory explanation of gender differences may be that the appearance of gender differences in interpersonal behavior is a joint function of the kind of social role and the kind of interpersonal behavior. Salience of social role may not simply be necessary for overriding gender differences, but the social role must be associated with expectations relevant to the interpersonal behavior of interest.

Whereas it can be argued that other social roles might eliminate the gender difference in communal behaviors, it is also possible that this gender difference is independent of situation. There are a considerable number of other reports of gender differences in communal behaviors. Women smile and laugh more than men (see reviews by Hall, 1984, and Hall & Halberstadt, 1986). Women are also more attentive and express more agreement with what others have said (Carli, 1989; Duncan & Fiske, 1977). As argued by Maccoby (1990), gender differences in communal behaviors may reflect developmental continuities from children's early interactive styles in which girls express more agreement and use more techniques than boys to bind and continue social relationships (also see Maltz & Borker, 1983). Evidence for the influence of same-sex dyad groupings was found in the present study. Women with women were more communal than men with men. In particular, women with

women were less quarrelsome than men with men. These results contrasting communal behavior in same-sex groups are consistent with Maccoby's account that some gender differences are derivative of differences in behavior in all-male and all-female groups.

Limitations and Future Research

The present data were based on self-reports. There is some evidence based on one-occasion self-reports that women may be less accurate reporters of their levels of dominance and that men may be less accurate reporters of their levels of friendliness, presumably a communal behavior (Moskowitz, 1990). It may well be that the present method, which relies less on long-term memory and less on the subjective or schematic integration of past behavior, is more veridical for both men and women than self-reports on a single occasion. It would be desirable to obtain additional information about people's social interactions by obtaining information from the partner in the interaction.

An additional limitation is that the present study was focused solely on the actor's behaviors, neglecting the impact of the partner's behaviors in social interactions (e.g., Kenny & Kashy, 1991). Future work should consider expanding the present methodology to designs that permit analysis of the influence of the behavior of the partner. For example, there may be actor–partner correlations that indicate the reciprocal influence of the partner's and participant's levels of agreeableness, as has been found for friendliness (Kenny & Malloy, 1988; Moskowitz, 1993).

The current research did not simultaneously examine the influence of social role and gender of partner. The theories forming the background of the present research do not make predictions about the interaction between social role and gender of interaction partner. Moreover, it would be difficult to examine this question with roles in natural settings. A within-group design is unlikely, because it would be extremely difficult to assemble a reasonably sized sample; only 5 of the 166 people surveyed for the present research had interactions with bosses, co-workers, and supervisees of both genders. It might be possible to assemble separate subsamples (e.g., individuals who have had interactions with a male boss and individuals who have had interactions with a female boss), which would permit a between-groups study of this issue. The subgroups would need to be large for analyses to have sufficient power, given the sizable individual differences that would be reflected in the error term. A laboratory study would be another alternative for examining Gender of Partner \times Social Role interactions. The situations used in the laboratory would have to be carefully constructed to evoke the same intensity of responses as natural-setting roles.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of studying Gender of Partner \times Role Status interactions, the present results suggest that there may be important issues embedded in these interactions. In the present study, status of social role influenced agentic behaviors, and gender composition of the dyads influenced communal behaviors. On some tasks, a woman's tendency to be communal may conflict with supervisory role demands. For example, a woman manager may experience greater discomfort than a male counterpart when she needs to criticize or assign an undesirable task to a woman subordinate with whom she has

often expressed agreement and provided sympathy and reassurance. Equally, it may sometimes be more difficult for a male supervisor to engage in communal behaviors, such as providing support and reassurance, that might enhance the work of male subordinates. Thus, there may be the potential for women to have interpersonal difficulties when social role expectations for agentic behavior conflict with gender role expectations for communal behavior. There may also be potential for men to have difficulties when social role expectations for communal behavior conflict with gender role expectations for agentic behavior. Future research might explore the affective consequences of gender role and social role conflicts for agentic and communal behaviors.

Conclusion

The current research indicates that a greater understanding of the mechanisms underlying gender differences in behavior is achieved when the context of behavior is considered and interpersonal behaviors are systematically sampled. The present study confirmed that differences in agentic behavior are a function of the situation when defined in terms of specific roles differing in status. Both men and women adapt their agentic behaviors to fit specific social roles that reflect power differentials ascribed by the work setting. When expected by the social role, men and women display equivalent agentic behaviors. Nonetheless, men and women were not equal on communal behaviors. Social roles reflecting ascribed social power may not provide prescriptions that affect communal behaviors. It may be necessary to compare interpersonal behavior in roles that pull for differential relatedness or intimacy to perceive the power of social role rather than gender on communal behavior. However, there was evidence that communal behavior is influenced by the sex composition of the dyad, which may be a consequence of learned predispositions stemming from personal histories reflecting sex segregation in play and work. At present, it can be concluded that consistent with Bakan (1966) and MacCoby (1990), gender differences are present for communal behaviors in work situations, particularly when same-sex dyads are compared. Consistent with Eagly (1987), agentic behaviors at work are primarily influenced by social roles varying in status and power.

References

- Bakan, D. (1966). *The duality of human existence: An essay on psychology and religion*. Skokie, IL: Rand McNally.
- Bartol, K. M. (1978). The sex structuring of organizations: A search for possible causes. *Academy of Management Review*, 3, 805-815.
- Bartol, K. M., & Wortman, M. S. (1975). Male versus female leaders: Effects on perceived leader behavior and satisfaction in a hospital. *Personnel Psychology*, 28, 533-541.
- Bartol, K. M., & Wortman, M. S. (1976). Sex effects in leader behavior self descriptions and job satisfaction. *Journal of Psychology*, 94, 177-183.
- Brown, L. K. (1979). Women and business management. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 5, 266-288.
- Butterfield, D. A., & Powell, G. N. (1981). Effect of group performance, leader sex, and rater sex on ratings of leader behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 28, 129-141.
- Carli, L. L. (1989). Gender differences in interaction style and influence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56, 565-576.
- Carson, R. C. (1969). *Interaction concepts of personality*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Larson, R. (1987). Validity and reliability of the experience sampling method. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, 175, 526-536.
- Day, D. R., & Stodgill, R. M. (1972). Leader behavior of male and female supervisors: A comparative study. *Personnel Psychology*, 25, 353-363.
- Diener, E., & Larsen, R. J. (1984). Temporal stability and cross-situational consistency of positive and negative affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 47, 871-883.
- Duncan, S., Jr., & Fiske, D. W. (1977). *Face-to-face interaction: Research methods and theory*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Eagly, A. H., & Johnson, B. T. (1990). Gender and leadership style: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 233-256.
- Eagly, A. H., & Steffen, V. J. (1984). Gender stereotypes stem from the distribution of women and men into social roles. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46, 735-754.
- Eagly, A. H., & Steffen, V. J. (1986). Gender stereotypes, occupational roles, and beliefs about part-time employees. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 10, 252-262.
- Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (1991). Explaining sex differences in social behavior: A meta-analytic perspective. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 17, 306-315.
- Foa, U. G. (1961). Convergences in the analysis of the structure of interpersonal behavior. *Psychological Bulletin*, 68, 341-353.
- Friedland, S. J., Crockett, W., & Laird, J. D. (1973). The effects of role and sex on the perception of others. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 91, 273-283.
- Hall, J. A. (1984). *Nonverbal sex differences: Communication accuracy and expressive style*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hall, J. A., & Halberstadt, A. G. (1986). Smiling and gazing. In J. S. Hyde & M. C. Linn (Eds.), *The psychology of gender: Advances through meta-analysis* (pp. 136-158). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Heiss, J. S. (1962). Degree of interaction and male-female interaction. *Sociometry*, 25, 197-208.
- Hesselbart, S. (1977). Sex role and occupational stereotypes: Three studies of impression formation. *Sex Roles*, 3, 409-422.
- Horowitz, L. M., Rosenberg, S. E., Baer, B. A., Ureño, G., & Villaseñor, V. S. (1988). Inventory of interpersonal problems: Psychometric properties and clinical applications. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 56, 885-892.
- Kenny, D. A., & Kashy, D. (1991). Analyzing interdependence in dyads. In B. Montgomery & S. Duck (Eds.), *Studying interpersonal interaction* (pp. 275-285). New York: Guilford Press.
- Kenny, D. A., & Malloy, T. E. (1988). Partner effects in social interaction. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*, 12, 34-57.
- Kiesler, D. J. (1983). The 1982 Interpersonal Circle: A taxonomy for complementarity in human transactions. *Psychological Review*, 90, 185-214.
- Komives, R. S. (1991). The relationship of same and cross-gender work pairs to staff performance and supervisor leadership in residence hall units. *Sex Roles*, 24, 355-363.
- Leary, T. (1957). *Interpersonal diagnosis of personality*. New York: Ronald Press.
- Maccoby, E. E. (1990). Gender and relationships: A developmental account. *American Psychologist*, 45, 513-520.
- Maltz, D. N., & Borker, R. A. (1983). A cultural approach to male-

- female miscommunication. In J. A. Gumperz (Ed.), *Language and social identity* (pp. 195–216). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McAdams, D. P., & Constantian, C. A. (1983). Intimacy and affiliation motives in daily living: An experience-sampling analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45*, 851–861.
- Moskowitz, D. S. (1990). Convergence of self-report and independent observers: Dominance and friendliness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58*, 1096–1106.
- Moskowitz, D. S. (1993). Dominance and friendliness: On the interaction of gender and situation. *Journal of Personality, 61*, 387–409.
- Moskowitz, D. S. (in press). Cross-situational generality and the interpersonal circumplex. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.
- Osborn, R. N., & Vicars, W. M. (1976). Sex stereotypes: An artifact in leader behavior and subordinate satisfaction analysis? *Academy of Management Journal, 19*, 439–449.
- Rice, R. W., Bender, L. R., & Vitters, A. G. (1980). Leader sex, follower attitudes toward women, and leadership effectiveness: A laboratory experiment. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 25*, 46–78.
- Rice, R. W., Instone, D., & Adams, J. (1984). Leader sex, leader success, and leadership process: Two field studies. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 69*, 12–31.
- Shaw, M. E., & Sadler, D. W. (1965). Interaction patterns in heterosexual dyad varying in degrees of intimacy. *Journal of Social Psychology, 66*, 345–351.
- Terborg, J. R. (1977). Women in management: A research review. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 62*, 647–664.
- Wiggins, J. S. (1979). A psychological taxonomy of trait descriptive terms: I. The interpersonal domain. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 37*, 395–412.
- Wiggins, J. S. (1982). Circumplex models of interpersonal behavior in clinical psychology. In P. C. Kendall & J. N. Butcher (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in clinical psychology* (pp. 183–221). New York: Wiley.
- Wiggins, J. S. (1992). Agency and communion as conceptual coordinates for the understanding and measurement of interpersonal behavior. In W. M. Grove & D. Cicchetti (Eds.), *Thinking clearly about psychology* (pp. 89–113). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Received July 23, 1993

Revision received October 18, 1993

Accepted October 21, 1993 ■