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Toward an understanding of men and masculinity: some dimensions of the social construction of knowledge in social work professional journals

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TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF MEN AND MASCULINITY:
SOME DIMENSIONS OF THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF
KNOWLEDGE IN SOCIAL WORK PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS

by

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A practicum submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER
of
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Portland State University
1977

To the Office of Graduate Studies and Research:

Professor John Longres, Ph.D., approves the practicum of Robert Bailey
and Denny Patella, presented June 2, 1977.

John Longres, Ph.D.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES.	v
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION: SEX-ROLE KNOWLEDGE	1
Rationale for the Study	2
II PURPOSE, DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	6
Purpose	6
Design.	7
Sex Demography Journal Sample	
Methodology	10
Key Word Index Modes of Journal Participation Authorship	
III IDEOLOGICAL STATEMENT: MEN AND MASCULINITY	14
Preface	14
Patriarchal Legacies.	14
Gender Roles, the Caste Hierarchy, and the Sexual Division of Labor.	17
Sex-Roles and Problems in Living.	20
Male Problems in Living Female Problems in Living Non-Gender Related Problems in Living	

CHAPTER		PAGE
III	Dehumanizing Sex-Roles	23
	Social Change.	23
	Social Work Literature	25
	Evaluative Criteria	
	Methodological Application	
IV	ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY: "MEN'S ISSUES" ARTICLES	29
	Introduction	29
	Annotated Bibliography	29
V	SOME OBSERVATIONS ON ANNOTATED ARTICLES.	83
	Males and Masculinity.	83
	Characteristic Approaches of Female and Male Authors	85
	Other Themes	86
VI	A SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL WORK JOURNALS: SEX DEMOGRAPHY OF CONTRIBUTORS AND AN ANALYSIS OF THE SEX-ROLE ISSUE AREA	88
	Rationale.	88
	An Earlier Study	88
	The Present Study.	90
	Organization of Findings	
	Part I: Overall Findings	
	Part II: Female Time Trends	
	Part III: "Women's Issues"	
	Part IV: "Men's Issues"	
	Part V: A Sex Demography of the Social Work Profession at Large	
	Part VI: Sex-Role Issues and a Sociology of Knowledge in the Social Work Pro- fessional Journals	
VII	SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS	108
	Implications for the Social Work Profession.	110
BIBLIOGRAPHY		113
	Articles	113
	Books.	123

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
I	Sex of Author by Category; All Journals, All Years	92
II	Overall Time-Trend in Journal Contributions: Percent	
	Female Authors	93
III	Female Time-Trend by Journal, Category, and Year	94
IV	Sex Composition of Editorial Boards: 1972 and 1976	
	Females.	95
V	"Women's Issues" Article Authorship Count by Sex	97
VI	"Women's Issues" Book Reviews: Sex of Authorship	
	by Journal	98
VII	Female Participation in "Women's Issues" Related to	
	Female Participation Overall	99
VIII	Women and "Women's Issues" Through Time.	100
IX	"Men's Issues" Article Authorship Count by Sex	101
X	"Men's Issues" Book Reviews: Sex of Author by Journal	102
XI	Male Participation in "Men's Issues" Related to Male	
	Participation Overall.	103
XII	Men and "Men's Issues" Through Time.	104

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: SEX-ROLE KNOWLEDGE

Historically, various socially prescribed gender roles and ascribed sex statuses have been widely taken for granted, sanctioned through societal rationalizations, both religious and scientific. Thus, it has been "known" that the sex caste hierarchy, the sexual division of labor, and related gender roles were "preordained" and/or "innately" emanated from male-female biological differentiation (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

Today these rationalizations and the institutions they support, are receiving an increasingly broad critique, and the ensuing controversies are becoming established as legitimate personal and social issues. Societally, the sex-role debate is emerging, while this is more apparently true among women, than men. Women have taken the lead in identifying and cultivating issues relevant to their experience in society, while for men, issues are minimally emergent (Komarovsky, 1976).

Within the human sciences, these social issues are being reflected in the recent ascendancy of sex-role research. To date, this research has been substantially by women, about women (Millman, 1971). While historically, most social science research has almost by definition focused on men by men, the last several years has witnessed the emergence of a number of statements that focus specifically and critically on the

male sex status and masculine gender role experience. Titles are descriptive of this development, all dating since 1974: Dilemmas of Masculinity: A Study of College Youth (Komarovsky, 1976), The Hazards of Being Male: Surviving the Myth of Masculine Privilege (Goldberg, 1976), Men and Masculinity (Pleck and Sawyer, 1974), Men's Liberation: A New Definition of Masculinity (Nichols, 1974), The Male Machine (Fasteau, 1975), The Forty-Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role (David and Brannon, 1976), The Liberated Man, Beyond Masculinity: Freeing Men and Their Relationships With Women (Farrell, 1974).

The social work profession utilizes various professional journals as mediums for the development of its knowledge base and practice methods, and to identify existent and emergent social problems and issues. A summary overview of several of these journals over the past few years verifies for us that sex-role issues have entered into the currents of professional attention. However, this is more apparent with regards to women's issues. Most generally, this study proposes to explore the form and extent of men's issues, as written in several of the professional journals in the recent past.

Rationale for the Study

Within the human sciences most historical research has been conducted on male subjects, although the sex status or gender role were frequently not identified or controlled for, as significant variables (Hochschild, 1973). Rather, researchers, in attempting to develop models of personality and human behavior, sought out the dominant economic, political, and cultural institutions as research fields, in turn

dominated by men (Komarovsky, 1976). The consequent theories and models have since been critiqued as irrelevant to the understanding of both men and women, but with relevance to institutional processes. As a corrective to the dearth of information about women, many female researchers began studying women (Hochschild, 1973). As earlier noted, it has been only recently that some men have begun studying men, in a similar vein.

Within the social work profession, the importance of developing sex-specific information and understanding has been recently recognized in a number of dimensions. Mary Schwartz, in "The Importance of the Sex of Worker and Client" exemplifies one such dimension:

The social work profession has finally learned the necessity of examining the effects of class, ethnicity, and race on social work thinking...but it continues to undervalue the importance of the sex factor...Social workers are beginning to view the unisex concept of human behavior as unrealistic...Increasingly they realize that support systems, opportunity structures, aging patterns, emotional styles, and the expectations of child rearing, marriage, and work roles of the two sexes need to be taken more into account (1974, p. 177).

Sex-role issues have also been identified as active within and between the professional membership. Diane Kravetz, in "Sexism in a Woman's Profession" contends:

Social work is generally identified as a woman's profession, and the functions of social work are commonly viewed as extensions of the traditional female role.

Social work's orientation to service and its essential female composition have helped give rise to the erroneous assumption that sexism -that range of attitudes, practices, and policies discriminating against women or men on the basis of their gender- does not often affect women in this field. On the contrary, however, women in social work, like women in all professions, are subject to discrimination and sex-role stereotyping, both in their personal lives and in their careers (1976, p. 421).

Recently, a sample of the male minority in the social work profession responding to a questionnaire, were discussed in Alfred Kadushin's

"Men in a Woman's Profession:"

The role of women in social work can be better understood through an examination of the problems of the profession's male minority...A study reveals that many male social workers experience conflicts between their gender identity and occupational status- and that such difficulties affect relationships with colleagues, clients, and the general community (1976, p. 440).

Additionally, scenarios of future problems associated with social change, have included sex-role issues. Edward Lowenstein, in "Social Work in Postindustrial Society" is illustrative:

One result of these changes in social organization is that new human problems may be emerging and the character of existing ones be undergoing fundamental alteration... The problem of defining new roles and redefining old ones

emerges when there are no stable expectations or no consensus about how people are to behave...Marriage and parenthood are good examples of institutions in which roles are being redefined. Not only is the model of male-dominant, role specific, nuclear family being challenged by a more equalitarian model in which family work is allocated on a basis unrelated to sex, but completely different marital and family structures and roles are being discussed, tried, and tolerated... Professional help regarding role conflict and definitions of new roles, and the redefinition of old ones involves the worker not only in affecting social relationships but also in influencing the client's situation and his/her definition of self...Consequently, help with these problems will be routine, necessary, and universal (1973, p. 46).

Besides professional reasons, we have a personal rationale for focusing on this issue. As two males in graduate social work education, we have found our course offerings too frequently tailored to "neutered" workers and clients. We have undertaken this study as a corrective to this felt gap in our training. This study also offers us a medium through which we can take more responsibility for our own gender biases.

CHAPTER II

PURPOSE, DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Purpose

Our purpose in this paper is to evaluate critically the way men and masculinity have been portrayed in and through social work journals. We are motivated in this task by a keen awareness that time-honored assumptions about the nature of men and masculinity are no longer justifiable, nor even especially honorable. Having felt the impact of gender role change on our own lives, and seeking to work more knowledgeably with other men, we feel the need for a new understanding on "masculinity." Though we have chosen to focus on the masculine gender role, we will inevitably have to consider the wider gender role debate. In its rise as a legitimate social issue, this society-wide debate is most immediately responsible for spotlighting the processes and effects of gender role conditioning and politics.

Since we wish to gain in-depth familiarity with social work norms regarding the masculine gender role, we will incorporate several goals in this study. We will present a personal perspective on men and masculinity in keeping with the objectives of the anti-sexist movement. From this perspective we will develop an annotated bibliography of the professional periodical literature as it relates to the masculine gender role. We will next turn our attention to an analysis of authorship to determine differential participation by the sexes in the journals.

Finally, we will interrelate findings and impressions from the several above analyses to assess the current status of "masculinity" and gender role issues in the profession and to indicate needed future development.

This project is preceded by several relevant studies. Mary Schwartz, in her review of commonly used graduate texts, noted that traditional gender role concepts were the accepted norm (1973). And Rosenblatt et al., in reviewing the professional periodical literature of the period 1964-1968, found a predominance of male authors published, reviewed, and reviewing (1970). Neither finding is surprising in light of recurrent observations that the social sciences are dominated by research developed by males and focused on male subjects (Acker, 1973 and Hochschild, 1973). What is more surprising is the dearth of attention paid to males as males by professional education, especially when contrasted with the currency of the women's movement.

At the outset of this study, we have two general expectations as to likely findings. The first is that the professional literature will reveal little discussion of male or masculine gender role related needs or problems. If so, the professional literature will mirror our experience of professional education. Our second expectation is that males will remain predominant contributors to the journals.

Design

The main design components of this study include a statement of our own position regarding the issues of masculinity and gender role, followed by an annotated bibliography of the recent professional periodical literature as it bears on the masculine gender role, and a

"sex demography" of overall contributions to the periodical literature.

The design of this study grew with our understanding of the range and complexity of the gender role issue area. Our original intent was to produce a critical review of the periodical literature regarding the masculine gender role. In order to do so, we have found it necessary to explicate our own position vis a vis the central issues. In the statement section we will discuss "masculinity" and "gender role" as societal constructs and discuss some liabilities of gender role typing. We will propose a range of social changes based on our analysis of the aforementioned concepts. Lastly, we will indicate the criteria by which journal articles were annotated.

Sex Demography

The "sex demography" approach, essentially a study of sex differentials between journal contributors, reflects our realization that what is "knowledge" is intimately related to who professes to "know." In order more fully to understand the significance of material presented in the journals, we undertook a demographic study of contributors to the knowledge base reflected in the journals, with special emphasis on gender role related works. Thus, in addition to "what" is said, we will be able to consider "who says," "to what extent," and "where." The design of this component resembles the approach utilized by Rosenblatt et al., in "Predominance of Male Authors in Social Work Publications," and will update some of their findings (1970).

Journal Sample

Our Journal sample includes all articles and book reviews published

in Social Work, Social Casework, Social Service Review, Social Policy, and the Journal of Education for Social Work during the period of January, 1972 through December, 1976. In choosing the professional periodical literature as our source of data we are mindful of the observations of Howe and Schuerman regarding the benefits and liabilities of such a focus:

The journal literature may provide a reliable indicator of professional change... Obviously articles published in journals form only a part of the contemporary literature of the field, and there are many journals relevant to the development of the profession... In addition, it is evident that the literature is an imperfect indicator of the state of practice generally. Nevertheless, analyses such as this may be a useful and inexpensive procedure in helping to confirm or reject suspicions of professional trends (1974, p. 5).

Our selection of the above listed journals was guided by several considerations. Certainly, Social Work, Social Casework, and Social Service Review must be regarded as among the most major of the periodicals. Social Policy was selected because of the wide range of policy issues it presents. Inclusion of the Journal of Education for Social Work reflects our interest in the impact of the gender role debate on student contemporaries and on our experience of professional education. While it could be argued that exclusion of publications such as Child Welfare, Public Welfare, and the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry are serious limitations to our study, we felt them to

be aimed at more narrowly defined areas of practice and therefore less representative of the profession as a whole.

The specific time span chosen is significant in light of two developments in the literature of the gender role debate. Not only has the Seventies seen the emergence of a "men's movement" and a body of writing on maleness; feminist writers have, likewise, found greater acceptance in social work periodicals. These trends confirm for us the professional relevance of the masculine gender role.

Methodology

Three methodological approaches were utilized in this project. The first is a "key word index" for isolating from the total five year sample all articles bearing on male concerns or on aspects of the "masculine" role (In addition to articles per se, we also surveyed the contents of sections such as "Brief Notes" in Social Work if they included titled passages. We excluded "Letters to the Editor" sections, though, again, letters were reviewed if they were titled and if they appeared in another regularly featured section.) The second is an evaluative tool which allowed us to organize our study of the articles so located around preselected identifying data and content variables. The third methodology is actually a series of procedures involved in the "sex demography" study.

Key Word Index

The "key word" index is a three level process designed to facilitate discovery of relevant articles in a relatively short time (McGlynn and Francis, 1972). The usefulness of the key word system rests on two

assumptions: first, that article titles are generally descriptive of topics; and, second, that certain topic areas, as suggested by key words, are most likely to deal with masculine gender role issues. Thus, at the first level we screened article titles only, tentatively selecting those articles whose titles included a key word or a synonymous word or phrase. The key words were as follows: male, masculine, femininism, sex/gender role, family, marriage, parent, sex-related issue, and human sexuality. Of course, each term might be suggested by a range of synonymous terms. Thus, "son," "Vietnam vet," "father," "husband," and "men" could all serve as key words, being synonymous with "male."

Since our goal was to sample out articles dealing with the masculine gender role, our final criterion for selecting relevant articles was the presence of a word synonymous with, or implying "male," gender role, or a role-related issue. Any article that satisfied this requirement at the title level was included in the "male" sample. Remaining articles were subjected to secondary and tertiary level scrutiny, focused respectively on article abstracts and subsection headings. Each of the remaining articles which satisfied the final criterion at either of these two levels was likewise included in the "male" sample. For example, an article entitled "Myths that Intrude on the Adaption of the Step-family" satisfies the general key word criterion with the word "step-family." It does not, however, unequivocally indicate "male." The abstract includes the words "family" and "remarriage," but still does not meet the essential criterion of "male." A subheading, "Previously Unmarried Father" finally meets this requirement, and the article would be included in the "male" sample.

We will undoubtedly have missed a few articles via this approach. Nonetheless, the time economy the key word system affords well outweighs the gain from the few sample additions that a reading of the total body of articles might uncover.

Modes of Journal Participation

The goal of the "sex demography" is to show overall male and female participation in the journals received. For the purpose of study we identified four modes of journal participation, including authorship of articles, authorship of books and pamphlets reviewed, authorship of said reviews and membership on editorial boards of the respective journals.

Authorship

Article authorship is reviewed on two levels. On the broadest, we compare total male to female authors published in the five year period. We also compare male to female authorship of articles relating specifically to gender role issue areas. This latter sample includes all articles in the "male" sample, plus all articles whose titles contain a "female" or "female oriented" term. In cases of multiple authorship of a given article, each contributor listed is counted. Any specific author was counted as often as he or she published in any of the journals throughout the five year period. In instances where the name did not disclose the author's sex, the author was excluded from the counts.

Our approach to book, pamphlet, and review authorship was essentially the same. We overview the total body of reviews and also sample

out those reviewers and reviews of works whose titles specify one sex.

Finally, information on editorial board composition is taken from the first issue of 1972 and the last edition of 1976 for each of the five journals.

CHAPTER III

IDEOLOGICAL STATEMENT: MEN AND MASCULINITY

Preface

In this ideological statement, we seek to make overt the philosophical and personal values, as well as the theoretical perspectives through which we have come to understand men and masculinity. In doing so we are advocating certain social changes both for society and for the social work profession. We realize variation is present, and that social changes are taking place, but for heuristic purposes we are approaching our analysis as if time were frozen, consciously stereotyping dominant patterns. We also realize that the determinants of societal organization and individual character are plural. However, we choose to concentrate on emphasizing the impact of sex status and gender role, to the conscious exclusion of such other factors as social class, ethnicity, race, and sexual orientation.

Patriarchal Legacies

A realistic discussion of men and masculinity begins by relating the male sex status and masculine gender role to social structures and institutional arrangements. The way in which sex status is structured is essentially patriarchal; men experience dominant status relative to the subordination of women. The institutional orders, of which we view the economic to be paramount, have been and remain dominated by men.

Interrelated with this institutional domination, social authority, values, and rewards are principally androcentric, that is preferentially centered on and toward men.

This power and privilege differential reflects an institutionalized caste-like hierarchy, a vertical pecking order that functions to rank people on the basis of biological sex, and prescribes different character traits and social spheres respectively. Men constitute the empowered and privileged minority at 49% of the population, and experience preferential eligibility and access to societal rewards and opportunity. Women, the relatively subjugated majority, are socially handicapped by the constraints of caste, and their relative powerlessness to define social reality and value (Andreas, 1971).

We take the position that this caste hierarchy is neither born of necessity, nor a natural consequence of biological sex; rather, we view it as having no intrinsic validity, but a "validity" that comes about through the perpetuation of the humanly created patriarchal legacies. We do not believe the existence of the patriarchal order necessarily conspiratorial, but see it as a mix of sociocultural "hangover" and the tendency of the privileged to perpetuate their vested interests in this system of social inequity. It also offers them the medium to validate their personal investment in gender identity and sex status. We also understand that these inequities can, once an ideology favoring the powerful infuses social relationships, be perpetuated by the subordinate caste. They may act as accomplices to their own subjugation, or be powerless to manifest their vested interests in society; or perhaps through the attempts to validate their learned investment in the subor-

dinate gender role and sex status (Dahrendorf, 1959).

The patriarchal legacies include an ideology that intrinsically relates biological sex differences to consequential status and role differences: men are "naturally" superior, intelligent, and powerful; women are "naturally" submissive, insensible, and weak. The function of the ideology is to make "natural" the caste hierarchy, to make legitimate the inequities, to lend authority to the respective gender role orientations, and to sanctify the sexual division of labor in society (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). This patriarchal ideology attempts to rationalize the existing status and role structures through mythological theories that tend to obscure their human creation, by casting them in terms of the supernatural and/or scientific absolutes. This ideology, through adherence, provides the definitional support through which these patriarchal and androcentric structures and arrangements survive (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

Within this social order, conflict between men and women is institutionalized, and made part of the socially expected. The "battle between the sexes" is a reality, a "reality" that has been socially created and fostered by patriarchal legacies. Conflict is inherent between dominant and subordinate groups: the dominant group enjoying, and often seeking to protect its vested interests in power and privilege; the subordinate group seeking to redress caste constraints, and gain access to societal goods and values (Dahrendorf, 1959).

Although we believe social conflict to be universally present in social orders, we do envision an order where conflict is not structured in, on the basis of the sociocultural elaborations made on biological

sex differences. Elimination of the caste hierarchy would defuse some of the conflict between men and women, though attention must also be given to the interactional medium of the caste hierarchy-gender role relations. This is the arena where dominance and submission, authority and obedience, subjection and deference are exchanged in traditional gender rituals...through the orientations, skills, standards, and demeanors differentially prescribed to masculinity and femininity (Henley, 1973).

Gender Roles, the Caste Hierarchy,
and the Sexual Division of Labor

Gender roles are the behavioral, emotional, and attitudinal repertoires associated with the performance of the rights and duties attached to sex status. "Personality" is the mosaic of one's biological endowments as they intermingle with one's biographical role learning experiences (Brim, 1960).

The socialization into gender role is the strongest, single influence on "personality" development; largely predefined and prescribed role repertoires that influence our social being and becoming throughout the life cycle. Gender role socialization takes place through the primary socialization in the infant-parent relationship, though continues on in the life cycle, through both formal and informal processes, covering the expanse of social relationships (Mead, 1934).

Gender roles are social creations, in form and content. Mindful of the research on nature/nurture determinants of gender endowments, our review leads us to understand that primary differences between women and

men appear to be ruled out, and that what nuances thought to exist have yet to be clearly explicated (Stoll, 1974). Sociocultural learning is powerful enough to obscure possible nuances, regardless, and that it is a societal "choice" which truly determines gender roles (Berger, 1963). This "choice" is strongly shaped by two factors: (1) gender role content is influenced by caste position (2) gender role content is influenced by the related sexual division of labor in society; both of which are shaped by aforementioned patriarchal legacies (Friedl, 1975).

Masculinity prescriptions reflect the dominant male caste-status, in that they emphasize dominance towards others and an achievement orientation focused on the attainment of social position and power. Femininity prescriptions reflect the subordinate female caste-status, in that they accent submissive obedience towards men and an indifference toward achievement in extra-domestic pursuits for position and power (Stoll, 1974).

Masculinity norms reflect the sexual division of labor in that men are comparatively not expected to attain skills of domestic self-reliance and child nurturance. Conversely, femininity norms do include an emphasis on domestic skills, responsibility, and child nurturance (Stoll, 1974).

Thus, men and women, as individuals and as collectives, are dynamically linked to the social order, through gender role "personality" components. Dynamic in that the individuals and collectives are in continual interaction with the social order; variously adhering to role expectations, while also redefining them; the latter a source of both individual change and social change (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

This "polarization" of gender roles, whereby females and males are

socialized into relatively dichotomous, caste-like roles has been perceived as "functional." This perspective explains a "complementarity" which functions to organize women and men into role specializations, thereby increasing expertise in the respective arenas. Competition between the sexes is "thus" foreclosed, "avoiding" tension in inter-sex relations. Female-male relations are argued to be enhanced by the sharing of "personality" polarities.

From our point of view, such polarized gender roles, intimately related as they are to social status, can be not only a source of social conflict between the sexes, but also a source of psychosocial distress for the individuals, within the collectives. Traditional masculine experience is overly specialized and in polarization, contains serious constraints and sacrifice of human needs. The traditional feminine experience is hobbled by narrow specialization, role subordination and sacrifice of human need. Certain and different psychosocial problems in living, we contend, are a significant consequence of these constraints, and strains. Human potential, divided in the social world by sex status, is divided in "personalities" by polarization of roles (Bem, 1975).

A "coalescence" of gender roles, on the other hand, whereby men and women are socialized into relatively shared and androgynous roles would function to de-institutionalize such hazards of the feminine and masculine experiences (Goldberg, 1976). On a societal level, this would facilitate a flow across sex status lines, in the breadth of social roles and positions. Women and men would have the skills and abilities to pursue chosen arenas without gender "handicaps." Androgynous roles would function to balance and integrate human potential: people would

have balanced rationality-emotionality, assertivity-passivity, cooperation-competition, dominance-submission. The structures of oppressor-oppressed, related to the sex status hierarchy, would thus collapse, and a non-sexist pursuit of human expression could be enhanced (Steiner, 1974). People would relate on the basis of shared "integration" rather than shared "dichotomies."

Sex Roles and Problems in Living

We think that this patriarchal social arrangement victimizes women and men, and that men and women experience problems in living in their attempts to cope with these social arrangements. We view these problems of living, once again, to be primarily shaped and defined by respective sex status and gender role influences. The strains and restrictions of the respective gender roles, as they mix with the constraints and/or expectations of sex statuses, result in a set of male problems in living, as well as female problems in living (Stoll, 1974).

From this position, typically male problems in living can be characterized. Various manifestations of exaggerated aggressivity, exaggerated attempts for the achievement of power, and an exaggerated repression of emotional expression can be viewed as predictable extensions of masculinity, in traditional form. Likewise, exaggerated and destructive nonconformity, and the victimization of others, can be seen to flow from unsuccessful attempts to adjust to a dysfunctional role. Health problems can be viewed in relation to the environmental stress, importantly defined by status position, role expectations, and labor sphere (Stoll, 1974).

Typically female problems in living can also be characterized. Various manifestations of exaggerated passivity, and exaggerated senses of powerlessness and depersonalization can be viewed as consequences of attempting to cope with status deprivation and subjugation. Fears of success and achievement and a devaluation of one's gender identity can be seen as predictable exaggerations on traditional feminine roles (Stoll, 1974).

We offer as documentation supporting this contention some research findings on indicators of "psychological well-being," that controlled for sex: suicide rates; longevity rates; sex patterns in mortality, criminality, addiction; mental illness diagnostic rates, health statistics, divorces statistics, and victimization studies.

Male Problems in Living

Among men, suicide is completed three to four times as frequently as among women (Hart and Sechrist, 1970). Men constitute upwards of 95% of correctional prisoners, are arrested eight times more frequently than women, and dominate all felony categories of crime (Haskell and Yablonski, 1970). Psychiatrically, men are five times as likely to be labeled with "psychopathic personality disorder," three times as likely to be labeled with "obsessive-compulsive neurosis," while the range of "personality disorder" labels are "dominated" by men (Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1976). Men have a higher mortality rate for all major diseases, except diabetes, while they specifically "dominate" those conditions known to be most influenced by stress (Stoll, 1974). For example, men constitute 90% of the peptic ulcer population, while coronary heart attacks occur

five times as frequently among men, than women. Cancer rates are 40% higher for males than females (Kaye, 1975).

Female Problems in Living

Among women, suicide is attempted three times as frequently as among men, though much less frequently successful, as among men who are more specialized at techniques of violence (Stoll, 1974). Women show higher overall rates in the range of mental illness diagnostic labels, and are "specialized" in the "neuroses," most specifically the "depressive neurosis" (Gove and Tudor, 1973). Women are more likely to be addicted to drugs, although most frequently these are "legal" drugs, while men dominate illicit drugs and alcohol (Stoll, 1974). Women divorce their spouses three times as frequently as visa versa (Goode, 1964). Single women and working women display consistently lower rates, than do "housewives," of such symptom as: nervous breakdown, nervousness, insomnia, nightmares, perspiring hands, headaches, and heart palpitations (Stoll, 1974). Women constitute 100% of the "battered wife" and "rape victim" populations. A larger proportion of females than males showed a preference for the role of the opposite sex (Stoll, 1974).

Non-Gender Related Problems in Living

It is of related interest to note that female and male rates for the "functional psychosis" and "schizophrenia" diagnostic labels, thought by some to have biological etiology, show no consistent sex differences (Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1976). Also, the general rates for these same categories have been found to be relatively consistent across

cultures. This is not true for the "neuroses" and "personality disorders" which are more culturally shaped (Kiev, 1972).

Dehumanizing Sex Roles

Summarizing our position of sex role problems in living, we assert that patriarchal and institutionalized sex roles intensely influence female and male experiences in such ways as to lead to the problems of living. Internally experienced, while externally derived from institutionalized status structures and role contents, these problems of living represent to us, the traditionally low priority this society has placed on the legitimization of human need and expression. The societal arrangements are valued, at the expense of human need and solidarity. Sexism is both a tradition and a predictable byproduct of patriarchal, socio-economic arrangements. "Personalities" in the traditional arrangement most cope to fit the system. Recently, this is being seriously challenged by women that are refusing continued complicity in their own subjugation and victimization. Men are beginning to focus on the feminist critique of society, and some realize the victimization of males, by these institutional arrangements. To the extent men will attend to both their own hazards in the system, as well as the hazards they and the patriarchal legacies oppress on women, will importantly redefine our society in the years to come.

Social Change

Based on our analysis of institutionalized sex statuses and gender roles, we advocate certain social changes. In particular, change in the

caste hierarchy, gender role contents, and the intervention strategies, used, when relating to people experiencing sex-based problems in living.

We begin by acknowledging that social change does not necessarily foreclose psychosocial distress and problems in living, but rather can even foster new problems. We recognize that social change inevitably creates transitional anomie, and even in the long run some will not necessarily experience enhancement from the social changes. From this caution, however, we take the firm position that there is an increasingly human mandate in the feminist critique of society; an increasingly human mandate in the emerging male critique of society. Change is both expanding and intensifying, and the sex-role revolution is happening. We feel that this change should be legitimated and supported, and not dealt with through reaction: reaction that delays, exacerbates, confuses, and entrenches (Pleck, 1973).

We advocate for the de-institutionalization of the patriarchal caste hierarchy. In our belief that for a society coercively to ascribe statuses that include differential entitlement to social power, opportunity, and privilege on the basis of biological sex is dehumanizing and oppressive. To help bring this about, we identify the patriarchal ideology as a system of rationalizations that needs to be de-mystified. Interrelated to this, the status and role structures, per se, need to be de-reified: in other words, society should realize the creative choice and responsibility in one arrangement compared to others. Along with this, we support the aggressive institutionalization of equal rights and opportunities for women in all sectors of society, and the elimination of the sexual division of labor. This should come about through affirma-

tive and restitutive policies that facilitate the redress of patriarchal subjugation of women.

We advocate for the serious reappraisal and redefinition of gender role orientations... From our belief that for a society coercively to prescribe roles that include built-in strains, inconsistencies and contradictions, is alienating and destructive to legitimate human expression. We support egalitarian and androgynous role models, in our conviction that this is both a prerequisite for equality of rights and opportunity in society, while also importantly related to "psychological well-being" of the people (Bem, 1975).

We propose that intervention strategies be brought to bear on the female and male problems in living. This would include increased study into the dynamics of sex status and gender role, in society. It would also include a specific cultivation of the unique issues and processes faced by women and men. Behavioral helpers should be trained with awareness of these issues, and skilled in aiding those seeking redress from these problems in living. Importantly, we underline the negative effects that some traditional theoretical and practice models have had on such clients: too frequently women and men are "therapeutically" realigned with traditional norms and roles that have in their arrangement, victimized the person.

Social Work Literature

The social work profession lays claim to working with clients in their social environments. One important milieu the professional literature should be addressing, is that of problematic and institutionalized

sex-role arrangements. As our ideological statement has sought to make clear, we value certain orientational stances, theoretical models, interventional foci, and normative positions. Here then, we select out from our statement, these areas that we consider both imperative and useful, leading to the social changes advocated. Although we do not intend to be definitive in framing these evaluative criteria, we do seek to effectively define some of their boundaries.

Evaluative Criteria

1. A Critical Stance. We expect that our sample articles should include some critical stance and analysis of traditional sex-role arrangements. This might entail an identified rejection of applying traditional sex-role norms and stereotypes to relevant subpopulations being addressed by the articles. It could also include a value appraisal of the existent sexual division of labor, or sex-role related problems in living, among others.

2. Sociopsychological Models. We value sociopsychological models of human behavior and "personality." We consider that such orientations importantly recognize the dynamic relationships between institutionalized sex-role processes, and the psychosocial adaptations of social beings. Use of such models will be identifiable through some analysis of the impact of sociocultural variables on individuals and groups. Importantly, they might also include some focus on how individuals and groups re-shape and re-create those institutionalized sex-role arrangements and processes.

3. The Identification of Men's and Women's Issues. We understand that sex-role processes encompass a host of issues, especially in their

combination with class, race, age, and sexual orientation variables. While we do not expect a specific article to address this breadth, we will value articles that identify and cultivate women's and men's sex-role issues, as they become pertinent to the particular analysis. For example, the problems of domestic violence can be cultivated as a men's issue, through some analysis of the dynamics keyed to understanding "battering husbands." Likewise, an exploration of these problems can also be framed more directly as a women's issue, through some analysis of what arrangements impact on the situations of "battered wives." When and how articles identify and cultivate such issues will be noted and critiqued.

4. Ethics, Values, and Dilemmas. As we have sought to do through our ideological statement, we expect that sample articles should likewise seek to clarify and frame value considerations, ethical imperatives, and the social and personal dilemmas that become relevant to the discussion of sex-role issues. For example, value dilemmas attendant to traditional sex-role arrangements should be addressed, as well as possibly undesirable and/or unintended consequences of changing sex-role arrangements.

5. Remedial Intervention on Sex-Role Problems. In the ideological statement we modeled some of our concerns for how sex-role problems should be remedied. We will critically evaluate sample articles for the interventional strategies that they endorse, when and as they relate to sex-role problems. For example, if an article identifies a strategy found to be useful in overcoming stereotypic and sexist myths about "battered women," we will briefly describe and so credit it.

6. Educational Implications. Our curriculum experience with graduate work education has been inconsistent in relating to sex-role processes. We increasingly recognize the necessity of stimulating critical awareness of such taken-for-granted assumptions as those so frequently applied to sex-role arrangements. Therefore, we seek to identify and evaluate those components of the articles that specify issue implications for social work education. Although we will primarily attend to graduate training, our concerns embrace continuing education, knowledge base gaps, and research needs.

Methodological Application

As we apply this evaluative methodology to selected articles, we intend to follow this basic ordering of the criteria. As we engage the articles, certain and other important components may strike us as interesting and/or crucial to sex-role issues, and we will attempt to reflect them. We will do so less rigorously, however, than those that relate to our criteria. Once again, we remind the reader that for heuristic purposes, we will annotate with an emphasis on sex-role issues, to the conscious exclusion of other and less related areas. Obviously, this process will include a subjective dimension on our parts, while we have sought to reduce some of this bias by subjecting our evaluations to several levels of critique.

CHAPTER IV

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY: "MEN'S ISSUES" ARTICLES

Introduction

In the previous chapter we have evolved a perspective on "masculinity" and gender role, and have indicated six criteria by which we will evaluate the professional periodical literature. In the following annotations we evaluate each article for its relevance in terms of these six criteria. Articles are discussed in chronological order, with one exception which is so indicated.

Annotated Bibliography

"On Being Vasectomized"

Matthew P. Dumont

Social Policy, 2:5 (January, February, 1972) pp. 22-23.

In this brief and satirical statement, the recently "vasectomized" author tells men not to read Mailer's Prisoner of Sex, post-surgery. The article then proceeds to satirically debunk some of Mailer's cautions about vasectomies, including an analysis of some myths of masculinity prevalent in society.

However, there is no serious attempt to develop a critique of the male sex status in society. The writer does assume sociopsychological dynamics, but they are not clearly identified as such. Translating

from the satirical medium, the author values vasectomies as a means whereby men can take responsibility for birth control, and without the torments that some suggest. The statement thus supports men taking this course, and also values the demystification of myths about the loss of masculinity, post-vasectomy. In this manner, it does become critical of certain aspects of traditional masculinity.

"Life Functioning in Families of Delinquent Boys: An Assessment Model"

Eva Y. Deykin

Social Service Review, 46:1 (March, 1972) pp. 90-102

The author studies predefined areas of family functioning as an aid to predicting treatment outcomes for delinquent boys. Nothing in the article reflects any awareness of gender role as a relevant factor. In fact, the author rejects all but psychodynamic interpretations of the subject families. At the same time she leaves sufficient hints to suggest that an approach based on a role analysis would be fruitful.

We also note that only families with delinquent sons were included in this study, and wonder if the findings are assumed to be equally valid for families identified in terms of delinquent daughters. As is typically the case, the author generalizes findings to both sexes without questioning the validity of doing so.

"The Returning Black Vietnam-Era Veteran"

James M. Fendrich

Social Service Review, 46:1 (March, 1972) pp. 60-75

A study of black veterans' readjustment to civilian life, this study

focuses on issues defined by racial oppression, and in no instance considers the effects of "maleness." We are not critical of the article for its non-recognition of possible gender role factors, but would offer two observations the article provokes. The first is to note that the alienation (from white institutions) these men were found to experience in some ways parallels that experienced by anti-sexist persons confronting patriarchal structures, causing us to wonder about underlying common factors in these individual-societal conflicts. The second observation is that very few authors published in the periodical literature have studied the interactions of gender and racial caste. This is an area of inquiry we would see as potentially very fruitful.

"Group Therapy With Exhibitionists and Voyeurs"

Amorette Lee Freese

Social Work, 17:2 (March, 1972) pp. 44-52

This article describes an outpatient group therapy program for exhibitionists and voyeurs. The author, who also acted as a therapist in the program, discusses treatment problems and goals, relating them to "masculine identity" problems of the client population.

The author relates to the client population through an essentially psychodynamic model, and profiling them as inadequate men who failed to achieve appropriate gender identity with their parents, during childhood. In doing so, the author uncritically accepts the notion of fundamental drive differences between women and men, speaking as if their role emergence in society were "natural." Passivity then becomes equated as a deficit in masculinity, while the brunt of treatment

attempts to make the men more traditionally masculine. The article does identify a population infrequently remembered by the profession and reminds social workers of their ethical responsibilities to relate to this ammenable group. The article also identifies the lack of social work theory about this population and their problems. However, we consider the article to have a gap in that there was no attempt to relate gender identity to wider societal processes. For example, we would consider an analysis of changing role expectations in society, to be a useful and relevant perspective. Additionally, the perspective of compensatory power over women, through such behavior, might have provided more social insight into this phenomenon.

"The Sexually Oppressed"

Harvey Gochros

Social Work, 17:2 (March, 1972) pp. 16-23

This article identifies sexually oppressed groups in society, and specifically discusses the aged, the homosexually oriented, the hospitalized mentally ill, and the imprisoned. Social workers are criticized for their attendance to the sexual problems of the "sexual elite" middle class, and reminded of their obligations to serve those groups disenfranchized by society.

The statement critically describes the "sexually oppressed" and "sexual elite" in terms of capitalistic society. Sex status and gender role issues are brought into the critique mostly in regards to the homosexually oriented. Male social workers are depicted as easily threatened by homosexuals because they have gender role conflicts about being in a

"woman's profession;" if they do see homosexuals, workers will more likely attempt to convert them to heterosexuality, rather than relate to the needs the client experiences. The article also deplores social workers in the prison system, who are accomplice to the "figurative castration" of the imprisoned, brought about by the denial of sexual rights. If sex-role issues do not influence a person's entry to prison, the system assures that it will be an influence upon exit. The aged male is depicted as victimized by societal and sex-role stereotyping.

Though the article focuses more on issues of sexuality, than sex-role, it does develop a critical analysis of gender role processes in its discussion of homosexually oriented. Additionally, the article utilizes sociopsychological models in understanding the experiences of these oppressed groups, though this is more frequently done with regards to institutional processes and less so with sex-role dynamics.

"Myths That Intrude on the Adaptation of the Stepfamily"

Gerda L. Schulman

Social Casework, 53:3 (March, 1972) pp. 131-139

The author examines "cultural myths" that may threaten stepfamily relationships, such as those of the "wicked stepmother" and the idealized absent father, and suggests education and family therapy to ameliorate or minimize problems. Since she totally ignores gender role mythology, her article perpetuates more myth than it debunks. She accepts that "love and nurturing" is less expected from men than women, that passivity, or dependence in males is potentially dangerous, that boys especially

need a "strong" father, that men who marry women with children are motivated to do so by psychological immaturity. The article is of little value from an anti-sexist perspective, except perhaps as illustration of the dangers of blindness to sexist norms.

"Aquarius's Last Stand"

Claudia Dreifus

Social Policy, 2:6 (March, April, 1972) p. 63

A woman critiques The Prisoner of Sex, by Norman Mailer, from a feminist perspective. Mailer is roundly flogged as a reactionary sexist muddling through an unsuccessful male menopause. The article treats Mailer's book as symbolic of patriarchal society, proceeding to debunk the sexist ideological components within it. The article then becomes a highly critical and societal statement, using sex status and gender role analysis in so doing. Masculinity is defined in terms of oppression, and the foundation for societal misogyny. Liabilities of participating in the patriarchal order are discussed: for women, the liabilities are in terms of exploitation from males; for males, it is from the side effects of rigid sex-role imprisonment. The article is most strongly an ideological statement, and demands a response from serious males, "unlike" Mailer. Although the article does not specify a direct educational need for the social work profession, it is apparent that it values the remediation of sexist society at many levels.

"Mutual Help For the Widowed"

Ruby Banks Abrahams

Social Work, 17:5 (September, 1972) pp. 54-61

The article primarily addresses the lack of support and guidance this society offers the widowed, to aid them in handling their isolation, loneliness, and need to form new relationships. A mutual help program, utilizing telephone services, is described and shown as an effective way to meet those needs.

The article is critical of societal lack of support systems and understands this to create additional problems for the widowed. At one point, the article does discuss female and male differences in the adjustments to widowhood, though these differences are not related to sex-role norms or dynamics when they would have been relevant. For example, male widowers were found to be more likely to request help through telephone services, more likely to be living alone, more likely to be seeking remarriage, and more likely to prefer to talk with female widows on the telephone. Explanation or cultivation of this is unoffered, while we think that sex-role dynamics play a significant part in how women and men might differently deal with these adjustments. The article does cultivate the common issue of widowhood, for both women and men, and identifies theory, practice, and resource gaps within the profession.

"Women in Social Work"

Janet Saltzman Chafetz

Social Work, 17:5 (September, 1972) pp. 12-18

This article examines the position of women in the social work profession, with special consideration for the comparative status of female and male social workers, the possible role conflicts experienced by married female workers, and the affects of the numerical predominance of females on the profession.

The article assumes a societally critical analysis of patriarchal society when it asserts that traditional sex roles have outlived whatever utility they may have had and are seriously "dysfunctional" today. It contains a specific critique of the sexual division of labor within the profession, and brings clarity to the "woman's dilemma." Social work is historically a woman's profession, while today it is quickly being "defeminized" in orientation and leadership, and consequently "masculinized" by males who have become predominant in defining professional ideology. At this juncture when males are increasingly competing for powerful positions, female socialization has not sufficiently changed to prepare women for this competition, and societal expectations regarding domestic responsibilities have remained constant and focused on females. If women decide to confront this increased male domination, in what is historically "their" profession, they do so at much personal cost and role conflict.

The article clearly proceeds from a sociopsychological perspective, understanding the "woman's dilemma" as a societal issue and not an individual problem. It most strongly discusses the value and role binds

that are attendant to this. The article values educational preparation of women to more effectively deal with the "woman's dilemma" in the social work profession.

"The Role of the Agency in Supporting Black Manhood"

Thomas Hopkins

Social Work, 18:1 (January, 1973) pp. 53-58

Social agencies are depicted as actively applying uncriticized racist stereotypes to ghetto Black male fathers, negating helpful relations between this population and agencies. The author suggests that by relinquishing these stereotypes, and that by instead supporting the masculine identity of this population, a more positive relationship can result. As a result, these men will then be more able to exert their rightful power in their families and communities.

The article critically and societally identifies the victimization of this population. The statement interrelates class, race, and sex variables in its analysis. For example, Black males are depicted as being emasculated by social agencies, when they are related to through racist stereotypes. Instead, these men should be "masculated" and only then will they be able to effectively advocate for their social rights, and thereby overcome the depersonalization they suffer at the hands of racist society.

Evaluatively, we agree with the fundamental analysis and values of the article, while we remain concerned about several gaps. The article seems to rely on the traditional masculine gender role components, and does not consider that these role expectations might be a source of

societal victimization as well. Additionally, the author writes as if Black males have a right to take control of their families and communities. In so doing, the article does not address the then affected status of the Black woman. We identify this as a sensitive dilemma between the remediation of racism and sexism, though we value the change of both.

"Family Therapy for Divorced Fathers and Others Out of Home"

Arthur L. Leader

Social Casework, 54:1 (January, 1973) pp. 13-19

Leader's thesis is that persons not living in the family unit, such as divorced fathers or other relatives, may impact significantly on a troubled family, and may be fruitfully involved in family therapy. He offers case examples to illustrate the possibilities of this strategy. His is a relatively early article in the sample and, like many early examples, is characterized by an uncritical acceptance of stereotypical gender related assumptions. Thus, it satisfies none of the criteria we have established.

His characterization of family members is typical of the blindness of many authors. He frequently refers to the divorced woman as the "wife," thus continuing to rely on her (non) marital status to identify her. By contrast, he more often refers to the divorced male as "him" or the "father," both appropriate terms. Needless to say, "others out of home" does not include the possibility of an out-of-home mother.

"Group Counseling For Offenders"

Miriam Pew, David Speer, and James Williams

Social Work, 18:1 (January, 1973) pp. 74-79

This article describes the beneficial results of a community-based group counseling program for male criminal offenders. The results include a decrease in criminal recidivism, an increase in rehabilitative success with this population, and enthusiastic support by professionals in the local criminal justice network.

This article includes some secondary analysis of the masculine gender role, when it profiles some of the psychodynamic problems of the clients, though it does not do so critically. For example, the men were viewed as problematic when they would avoid group during an emotional crisis, or when they attempted to express their anger in a physical rather than verbal manner. While we consider that this form of behavior is characteristic of traditional role expectations, and especially so with the criminal culture, the authors viewed it as manifestations of individual problems in need of therapeutic change. We do not doubt that these behaviors are unsuccessful in most situations, but we do understand them as "normal" and traditional norms of masculinity in society, in varying degrees.

When the article discusses therapists, sex-role considerations are more overtly discussed. The authors describe the positive effects of female-male cotherapy, who model egalitarian roles. This was considered especially important because the women in relations with the clients were included in the group process, and much of the focus was aimed at changing the ways in which they related to each other. It would seem that the

workers were more aware of their own sex-role concerns, than those of their clients; in other words, they described themselves in more social terms than they did the clients.

"The Legal Rights of Unmarried Fathers: The Impact of Recent Court Decisions"

Rita Dukette and Nicholas Stevenson

Social Service Review, 47:1 (March, 1973) pp. 1-15

The central focus of this article is a discussion of recent Supreme Court decisions that have established that unwed fathers have rights equal to those of unwed mothers with regard to the placement of their children, both with reference to custody and adoption proceedings. The authors explore the legal and social service implications of the rulings.

The article does not deal extensively with gender role issues, and scarcely identifies them as such where it does. The issues explored, and the structural changes outlined, are based on legal mandate, rather than on ethical or theoretical imperatives. That the authors do not take a critical stance toward gender typing is somewhat regrettable, though perhaps understandable. One effect of this is that, while they point out that service agencies which deal with unmarried mothers are now required to extend similar services to the fathers, they tend to emphasize the burdens this requirement will place on agencies and communities.

The authors do cite research suggesting that unmarried fathers may not be as aloof toward involvement with their offspring as they are stereotypically assumed to be, and that society's permissive attitude toward these men is likewise changing. They also suggest that new service

requirements be viewed as primary preventive interventions. Thus, the new rulings may have some positive effects despite the authors' general attitude of warning.

"Human...Not Class!"

Betty Friedan

Social Policy, 3:6 (March, April, 1973) pp. 32-38

A major spokesperson of the Women's Movement proclaims that many of the goals of the movement are now being embraced by both women and men; it is time to reappraise, lest excesses and backlashes undo progress gained. The article assumes a critical and societal perspective on sex status and gender role issues. Friedan focuses on problems of women and men, as they relate to sex-role conditioning. Most specifically, she focuses on the problems being experienced, as a result of participation in the sex-role movement: women are losing their roots, attempting exaggerated independence, practicing an excessive hardness, excessively sacrificing their needs, and engaging in black and white thinking. The statement argues for a reappraisal: a redefinition of "men as enemy" to "men as comrades in common struggle" in human liberation. Most forcefully, this article critiques some of the unintended human consequences and ethical dilemmas attendant to recent social change. It finally discusses remedial efforts toward dealing with the described dilemmas: re-consolidation of the movement, increased incorporation of men into the movement, and a backing off from extremist positions. Although the article does not specify educational needs for the social work profession,

it does provoke some mindful considerations for those concerned about the sex-role movement.

"Anne Sexton's 'For My Lover....': Feminism in the Classroom"

Ira Shor

Social Policy, 3:6 (March, April, 1973) pp. 39-45

A college teacher (male) describes his attempts to bring sex-role consciousness into a coeducational group of working class students. The statement includes the processes whereby the teacher tried to provoke critical thinking about the problems men and women had, as a result of their sex status and gender role. The theoretical model is very socio-psychological, in that social institutions are identified and discussed as primary determinants of behavioral shaping. The statement considers education to be learning for personal and social change, at its best; while otherwise a support system for the status quo. Notably, the statement spends some time cultivating the influences of social class on the conservatism that this group displayed for the sex-role issues. This, however, was more true for the males than the females, the latter more "radicalized" by the "consciousness raising" efforts.

Thus, the article begins from a critical perspective of society, with sociopsychological attention on sex status and gender role. The identified issues are defined as status oppression and role constraints for women, while for men, the issues are framed in terms of the hazards of rigid role expectations. The article values egalitarian social relations and argues that this is only possible by a movement away from capitalistic society, toward socialistic society. Although the article

does not specify a training need for the social work profession, its conception of authentic education has relevance for social work theory and practice.

"Group Therapy With Sex Offenders"

Glenn Mickow and Maureen Benson

Social Work, 18:4 (July, 1973) pp. 98-100

The article describes the development and delivery of a treatment program designed for a small population of paroled and retarded adult males, convicted of pedophilia. In doing so, the article recognizes sex and gender dynamics as contributing factors within an essentially psychodynamic model. At one point the article does display recognition of societal-level sex-role dynamics: the equalitarian co-therapy team is described as being distinct from the traditional male-female relationship. It is of interest that the males responded negatively to this assertive woman therapist, until they became used to her, and accepted her as "human." The authors did not cultivate this area more fully. Treatment for these men included a bolstering of their masculinity, in the traditional senses of activity, independence, and increased facility with women. The authors point out that social workers forget this amenable population, while they have an ethical responsibility to provide services. This article is weak in not relating the populations' individual problems to a wider level of understanding, i.e., sex, gender and society. Thus, it leaves unexplored a critical linking of societal sex-role expectations with the psychosocial functioning of this popula-

tion. We view this as one of the primary liabilities of psychodynamic models of human behavior, when contrasted with a more socio-psychological understanding.

Regrettably, while the article does express some sex-role concerns regarding female and male cotherapy teams, it does not extend this level of understanding to the client population. As such, the article educates the profession about sex-role alternatives for practitioners, but does not develop similar information about these males.

"Sexism in the Social Work Curriculum"

Mary C. Schwartz

Journal of Education for Social Work, 9:3 (Fall, 1973) pp. 65-70

This is a highly worthwhile article, one which meets the spirit of our criteria, if not all its aspects. By revealing sexist stereotypes in the writings of Erikson, Lidz, Ackerman, and other theorists presented in professional education, she shows that social work offers traditional gender role models as the norm. Schwartz is one of the few writers to explore the conflict between the values of self-actualization and self-determination, which social work traditionally espouses, and the repressive, restrictive role models it offers as the norm. She goes on to critique the "double standard" for mental health which has resulted in social workers effectively reinforcing traditional roles on their clients.

Schwartz's article primarily addresses education for the casework function; she suggests no structural changes to deal with institutionalized sexism. Hers is an early article in this sample, and may be viewed as

the starting point of a series of articles on various aspects of sexism within the profession appearing in this journal.

"Together and Equal: The Egalitarian Promise of Children's Games"

Stanley Aronowitz

Social Policy 4:3 (November, December, 1973) pp. 78-84

This article is a societal critique of one of the central mediums of socialization into capitalistic society; child's play. Child's play is profiled as essentially egalitarian in process, until adults begin inculcating the games with the rules, hierarchies, roles, and statuses of capitalistic society. As a result, winners and losers are created in childhood and power hierarchies begin segregating girls and boys with respect to roles, statuses, and authority. The children are here taught the roots of sexism, classism, racism, elitism, and agism. The statement then broadens into a societal critique of adult games; the vicariously watched professional sport game; once again seen to reinforce the divisions created in childhood. The author sees in child's play, and in spontaneous adult play, the potential for revived egalitarian social relations.

Thus, the article develops critical perspectives, utilizing socio-psychological models. Sex-role issues are identified as both women's and men's issues. For a qualitative change in present role relations, the article considers it necessary to move away from capitalistic society, and toward socialism. The issues raised easily suggest ways in which the perspectives could be utilized in social work education, although they are not specifically identified as such.

"For and Against Us: Antichauvinist Males and Women's Liberation"

Mary Daly

Social Policy, 4:3 (November, December, 1973) pp. 32-34

Daly's article implies a critical, societal analysis of sex status and gender role issues, while she does not develop them here. What is focused on is the ways in which men can exploit women through their awareness of "women's issues," a more subtle form of oppression. The article critiques men's cerebral comprehension of such issues, when such comprehension is segregated from any real relinquishment of power. Liabilities for males in society exist, while Daly depicts them as unhearable, unless and until some power starts changing hands. Authentic male response to women's issues should include restitution by males, and an end to the victimization of women by men. Thus, the article receives our evaluative support and concurrence. This article raises especially useful perspectives regarding how men in agencies can coopt women, exploiting them via their comprehension of women's concerns.

"Sex-Role Differences in Heroin Addiction"

Arthur Maglin

Social Casework, 55:3 (March, 1974) pp. 160-167

Maglin's interrelating of heroin addition and gender role is fascinating at points, but equally frustrating. His thesis is that each form of oppression to which a person is subjected makes the person more inclined to reject societal norms. Sexism adds a burden of oppression which is especially injurious to female addicts.

The frustrating aspect of the article is that, while Maglin calls sexism by name, and shows its effects on female addicts, he never quite critiques gender role itself. He seems to regard gender roles as problematic, but essentially real and inevitable. This is not an insignificant point: since he does not make the final distinction of gender role as mythology, his comments on addicted persons, and on society's response to them, is colored by stereotypical thinking. He says, for example, "the threat of addiction appears greater to women than to men...an addicted woman will lose her looks and her reputation...scars and needle marks do not look as bad on a man's body as on a woman's." The article is replete with such characterizations.

Despite his vocabulary, Maglin's criticism of gender role falls short of the mark. He does, however, show that female addicts are discriminated against, both within and without the drug culture; sexism is a norm that even addicts respect. He suggests several steps that would make treatment more amenable to the needs of female addicts, such as the provision of day care by rehabilitation programs, and he calls for research into female addiction.

"Importance of the Sex of Worker and Client"

Mary Schwartz

Social Work, 19:2 (March, 1974) pp. 177-185

This article describes the social work profession as systematically blind to sex-role issues, whether relating to themselves as workers, or to their client groups. The journal, Social Work, is examined, testing and verifying this charge.

The article begins by relating the importance of sex and gender in society, then proceeds to identify this area as a serious gap in the profession's knowledge base. What journal references to sex are found, rely on traditional and uncriticized sex-role conceptions. The article then identifies some good questions that need exploration, about the sociopsychological experiences of women and men in society. The article clearly values the integration of sex-role theory into the knowledge base, and how sex-role issues intermingle with other important social variables: race, class, and ethnicity. Thus, the article has clear ramifications for social work education, practice, theory, and research.

"A Concentration in Social Work Practice With Sex-Related Problems"

Harvey L. Gochros

Journal of Education for Social Work, 10:3 (Spring, 1974) pp. 40-46

Gochros describes a human sexuality sequence offered by the University of Hawaii School of Social Work without once mentioning gender role or role change. He does, in one sentence, note that "culture, environment, and value systems" influence sexual behavior, but his emphasis otherwise remains with individuals' behavior and experience. We do not necessarily expect this article to assume a critical posture toward gender role and related issues, or to emphasize sociopsychological processes, which it does not. We do, however, expect that a human sexuality course such as he describes will explore the impacts of gender role conditioning on sexuality and sexual problems. Gochros' description

of the sequence is totally devoid of such an approach. Needless to say, he offers no awareness of male or female issues, and no hint that social change is a necessary response to the institution of sexism (nor even that sexism exists at all). We can only hope that his students are more aware of these issues than he appears to be, and that similar sequences in other schools are more sensitive to the linkages among sexuality, gender role conditioning, and sexism.

"Implications of Vasectomy for Social Work Practice"

Sarah F. Hafemann and Catherine S. Chilmann

Social Casework, 55:6 (June, 1974) pp. 343-351

The authors view vasectomy as a surgical procedure of relatively high physical and psychological safety, and review research evidence to substantiate both claims. While they do explore cultural attitudes toward vasectomy, their approach is quite short sighted in that they appear unaware of the implications of their own findings. We offer the following as examples: (1) the authors point out that the most dramatic increase in vasectomy occurred after public warnings of potential risks to females from birth control pills; (2) they note a male doctor's warning that vasectomy may become a "fad" of unproven safety; and (3), they state that "overzealous commitment to population control or women's liberation ideology" is a contraindication to vasectomy. Such statements imply that responsibility for sexuality and reproduction are primarily female concerns, that the safety of males is of greater import than that of females, that males' commitment to gender role change is implicitly suspect.

The fact that the authors overlook these implications leads us to conclude that they have not critically approached the gender role issues or value considerations related to vasectomy.

"The Need for Women's Studies in Social Work Education"

Susan Schilling Meisel and Alice Perkins Friedman

Journal of Education for Social Work, 10:3 (Fall, 1974) pp. 67-74

This article argues the need for women's studies, briefly traces the history of women's studies in various fields, and describes such a course for graduate social work students. The article is a virtual compendium of the issues, discriminations, statistics, and mythologies that anti-sexist persons have become well aware of. It embodies the various perspectives which we have established as useful, touching on theory, practice, professional education, and institutional structures. The rationales the authors offer are as timely today as they were three years ago, testimony to the lack of change in the interim period.

"Sexism in Everyday Speech"

Lynda Kahn

Social Work, 20:1 (January, 1975) pp. 65-67

This article asserts that our expressive language, both presents ideas and concepts, and also acts to shape them. This assertion becomes exemplified through the dictionary's definitions of female and male referents; men and maleness are taken as the definitional center of humanity, while women become defined only and secondarily in relation to that male-centeredness. The author then translates the assertion into the everyday realities of a social work agency, identifying words

and terms than have common professional usage even though they manifest similar assumptions and patriarchal values. The profession is reminded that workers engage in oppression when they participate in language usage that bolsters the ideas and concepts of inequality.

Thus, the article takes a critical and societal perspective, specifically focusing on the issues of linguistic sexism. The statement goes beyond that however, in addressing more general issues of patriarchal sexism. The article proposes that the profession re-educate itself into an awareness of the consequences of language.

"Crisis Intervention and the Climacteric Male"

Martin Strickler

Social Casework, 56:2 (February, 1975) pp. 85-90

Strickler discusses the male climacteric and notes common themes in the concerns of these males- fear of not "making it," diminishing ability to "perform" - but his approach to understanding the climacteric remains essentially individualistic. To us, such recurrent themes demand analysis on a cultural level in terms of male role expectations. The liabilities of these expectations are possibly nowhere as apparent as in the climacteric period. Stricker's approach is virtually the opposite. He states that climacteric difficulties are exacerbated "where the person has not established a clear sense of his masculine and general adult identity."

Strickler accepts without question the validity of the "masculine" identity, and does not consider that the very commonness of the themes he notes points to a cultural "set up" for middle-aged men. While he is

aware that climacteric crises "happen" to men, he does not consider the climacteric a male "issue" in the sense that it may be, at least partially, socially predetermined.

Strickler advocates a supportive crisis intervention approach. We do not reject this approach per se, but we note that an individualistic approach does not facilitate preventive intervention such as sensitizing males to the liabilities of the "masculine" role could possibly afford.

"Some Knowledge Bases About Human Sexuality for Social Work Education"

Catherine S. Chilman

Journal of Education for Social Work, 11:2 (Spring, 1975) pp. 11-17

Chilman's article is of questionable value from an anti-sexist perspective. Though her goal is to consider new knowledge regarding human sexuality that may be of use to social workers and educators, the bulk of her resources date from the early Seventies and earlier. She totally ignores the process of gender role change, though she notes that culture and class values influence sexuality. She discusses trends in sexual behavior subsumed under the "sexual revolution," but again ignores relevant gender role issues. She does note value changes related to homosexuality and pornography, but her inclusion of the former under the subtitle "variant forms" leaves us wondering where she actually stands. Needless to say, she offers nothing in the way of relevant intervention.

Chilman appears to be seeking a safe middle ground; she neither ignores nor fully addresses issues of change. Her article will thus

likely disappoint all but the most disinterested of readers.

Book Review by Donald Finlay

Problem Drinking Among American Men

Authored by Don Cahalan and Robin Room

Social Work, 20:2 (March, 1975) p. 167

Although the title is keyed toward men, there is only one reference to this population in the review; males between the ages of 21 and 59 are identified as the high risk group of alcoholics. While the reviewer credits the book for its view of alcoholism as an "interactive occurrence" rather than a "condition," no hints at the interactional dynamics are offered. The review thus fails to develop anything of significance about the male sex status and masculine gender role, as it might relate to alcoholism.

"The Women's Movement and Psychotherapy"

Carol Wesley

Social Work, 20:2 (March, 1975) pp. 120-124

This article critically explores the popular theoretical treatment models of the social work profession, with special attention to their components of female psychology. The models are identified as patriarchal, and discriminating against women. The author proposes ways in which such stereotypes can be eliminated.

The article identifies male supremacist ideology in society and in some of the counseling approaches used by social workers. Specific concern is expressed for the double standard of mental health, for women and

men. Freudian and Neo-Freudian theories are profiled for their feminine psychology components, and all are depicted as embracing male supremacist ideology. Learning theory is described as a model that brings clarity to the understanding of women in society. Authors then present three foci for change within the profession, so that the male supremacist ideology can be effectively challenged. (1) Workers should have course offerings in which sex-role dynamics are theoretically explored, and in which they can become personally sensitized to their own sex-role experiences and biases. (2) Workers should be encouraged to value the pursuit of alternative life styles and sex-roles. (3) Workers should be more fully sensitized to their potential to act as "agents of social change," as well as individual helpers.

"Crisis Theory and the Process of Divorce"

Reva S. Wiseman

Social Casework, 56:4 (April, 1975) pp. 205-212

Wiseman describes divorce as a normal life experience with predictable stages paralleling those of the mourning process, and sees a crisis oriented approach as helpful to persons undergoing the "reworking of identity" that divorce demands. Wiseman's total unawareness of gender role stereotyping and concomitant cultural dynamics makes her article unacceptable in terms of our standards.

She relies exclusively on stereotypical assumptions regarding the sexes. The problems that divorcing partners experience are largely described in terms of their ineptness at performing the mate's rightful tasks; males will feel out of place in the grocery store, females will

inevitably win custody of the children and feel guilty if they aspire to a career or to extraparental interests. The sexual problems imputed to the sexes are especially telling of Wiseman's position. She alerts the reader that men may worry about premature ejaculation or impotence. For females, performance is less an issue; they will want to take steps to avoid venereal disease or unwanted pregnancy, if they indeed ever chose to become sexually involved again. Wiseman's use of the word "divorcee" (for which we know of no masculine cognate) perpetuates the notion that females are dependent on marriage for their personal identity, even when divorced.

We expect that divorce indeed could invoke an identity crisis, as Wiseman suggests. Unfortunately, she only offers the traditional gender identities in no-longer-married form.

"Toward Gender Justice"

John Stoltenberg

Social Policy, 6:1 (May, June, 1975) pp. 35-39

In perhaps the most societal and critical article by a male, this statement identifies the patriarchal society, and specifically focuses on the dominant and subordinate sex-caste dynamics. Masculinity is defined as essentially "gender injustice." Gay rights organizations are criticized for being anti-female, while male liberationists are chastized for expecting preferential treatment for their liabilities in society, before addressing women's issues. A real response is defined to include: a thorough exploration of feminist statements; a repudiation of traditional masculinity and forms of reinforcing male bonding rituals; and

activism on behalf of the feminist movement. This article is one of the most explicit ideological statements of our sample, while it effectively relates the societal processes that we view as critical to the structuring of sex-role relations. Thus, on a societal level, it addresses the evaluative criteria we consider imperative.

"Social Class and Vocational Outcomes of Adult Mentally Retarded Males"

Dorothy M. Pearson

Social Service Review, 49:2 (June, 1975) pp. 230-240

In this study social class, rather than gender, is the significant variable studied. Gender role considerations are ignored. This is detrimental to the study in two important ways. First, females are excluded from the subject population. The authors do not account for this; we wonder if the implication is that "vocational outcome" is more important for males than for females. Second, the findings are considered valid for "EMR youth" (our emphasis), despite the exclusion of females.

Even though gender role was not considered, gender role assumptions seem to have had considerable impact on the study's design. Because this impact was not recognized, the study findings must be considered questionable.

"Women in Social Work: Friendly Visitors in Philadelphia, 1880"

Julia B. Rauch

Social Service Review, 49:2 (June, 1975) pp. 241-259

Rauch studies the interweaving of gender role typifications,

feminist consciousness, and class interests in the evolution of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicancy. This historical study looks beyond names and dates, in noting the effects of role stereotyping, of patriarchal patterns of male dominance, and of role changes on the division of labor within the then fledgling profession. Rauch notes the inter-gender conflicts which ensued as females became more demanding for involvement in the planning and administration functions monopolized by males.

This is a fascinating and valuable article, detailing as it does the processes by which traditional values and inequities become recreated in the helping profession. The author warns against overgeneralizing from her article to other areas of the profession, and calls for more research to corroborate or augment her impressions and findings. But the parallels between the situation she describes and that of the present day profession are too obvious to deny.

"Therapists' Attitudes Toward Women"

Caree Rozen Brown and Marilyn Levitt Hellinger

Social Work, 20:4 (July, 1975) pp. 266-270

This article reports on findings from a study testing whether male and female therapists both practice a double standard of mental health, which acts to discriminate against female clients.

The article focuses on the inconsistency between findings of two studies that explored the double standard hypothesis, i.e., are males and females judged healthy according to different standards? The Broverman, Broverman study findings supported this, while Brogan found

it unsupportable. The authors present their review of the literature and historical models of human behavior, critically depicting them as embracing monolithic myths about the status and psychology of women. In describing their questionnaire, three hypotheses are presented: (1) therapists' attitudes toward women are more traditional than contemporary, (2) female therapists view women more contemporary than male therapists, (3) social work therapists are more contemporary than other discipline therapists. Findings did not support the first hypothesis, while the latter two were supported, with slight variations. Notably, the authors found standards of masculinity to be relatively unchanging. The authors make overt their values: a single standard of behavior is ethically imperative, and socially valued; alternative life styles and sex-roles should be supported by social workers, and this should be brought about, in part, by professional education.

"Sex Role Stereotyping and Social Work Education"

Pat Diangson, Diane F. Kravetz, and Judy Lipton

Journal of Education for Social Work, 11:3 (Fall, 1975) pp. 44-49

These authors focus on the institutionalization of traditional gender roles in the "direct service" versus "community organization" (read "expressive" versus "instrumental") division of social work methods sequences in professional schools. They cite research showing how this organizational pattern contributes to the sexual division of labor within the profession, and suggest that the rationale for this organization of methods is based on traditional gender role assumptions. The authors also note that parental responsibilities have an impact on

the careers of many female professionals.

Both of these situations, the separation of methods approaches and the time conflicts of females with young children, give males a decided advantage over females in terms of professional advancement. The authors suggest changes to deal with each of these areas. They cite research showing that integrating methods approaches in professional education may reduce the disparity between male and female professional roles. They also advocate the provision of day care, part time positions, and flexible working hours to reduce the attrition rate among female professionals.

Our only reservation regarding this article is that the authors seem to assume that child rearing is primarily the female's job, that all the sacrifices and rearrangements must be hers. As more and more males become committed to being equal parents with their mates, they too will benefit from the proposed supports for parenthood.

"The Abused Wife Problem"

Beverly B. Nichols

Social Casework, 57:1 (January, 1976) pp. 27-32

Nichols views wife abuse from various theoretical perspectives. The physically abused female, from one perspective, is the victim of her innate biological passivity, or, similarly, the typical Freudian masochistic character. She may also be viewed as the victim of an unequal power relationship, the loser in a control struggle decided on the basis of physical strength. The abusing male is motivated by his biologically determined aggressive and violent nature. Or conversely, his

abusiveness is rooted in patriarchal society's sanctioning of violence in the service of male supremacy.

The caseworker's dilemma is which theoretical approach to accept. The "old and trusted" theories put the burden of responsibility squarely on the female. Nichols clearly prefers the explanations based on patriarchal society and traditional role models, but she is aware that female caseworkers who accept this approach run the "risk" of being labeled as "feminists" if they work in a traditional family agency.

Unfortunately, though she criticizes interpretations based on "biology," Nichols does not reject them altogether; maybe she fears being labeled a feminist. She offers a range of interventions in keeping with the various perspectives. For the biological holdouts she suggests a "frank discussion" about "female masochism" between worker and abused client. She prefers another set of alternatives, including individual and group counseling for both partners, assertiveness training for females, and above all, advocacy for the abused woman, to the point of encouraging legal action. She also recommends a referral to a feminist consciousness raising group, stating that the most fruitful interventions are outside the purview of the professional worker. We wonder why this should be so, and wish she did too.

"The Behavioral Exchange Model of Marital Treatment"

William W. Saxon, Jr.

Social Casework, 57:1 (January, 1976) pp. 33-45

The thesis of this article is that married couples can learn to negotiate for desired behaviors, rather than continue to rely on stereo-

typical and often restricting gender role prescriptions. The author does not accept traditional roles as given, instead sees them as hold-overs from a time when the sexual division of labor had some survival value, and adds that the "romantic concept of love" does its share to maintain traditional patterns. The article does not explore gender role issues or value questions, nor does it offer structural changes. The bulk of explication is devoted to basic behavioral principles and their application to marital counseling via the "behavioral exchange" approach. We learn much more about behaviorism than about gender role.

Our impression is that, while the behavioral approach may indeed be a useful method of renegotiating marital contracts, it is not thereby inevitably bound to counter gender role stereotyping. What is also required is the professional's sensitivity to, and advocacy for role change. The author's indiscriminate use of masculine pronouns, and his shallow analysis of gender role typing, leads us to doubt his sensitivity to the essential issues involved in role change.

"The Implications for Family Structure of Changing Sex Roles"

Jean Lipman-Blumen

Social Casework, 57:2 (February, 1976) pp. 67-79

Lipman-Blumen analyzes census data, speculates about socio-economic trends, and intermingles analysis and speculation to predict future changes in gender roles. She starts out by stating that gender roles are socially produced, can, and should change. The demographic data she presents, however, indicates that, in the areas of employment, educational attainment, and family roles, gender roles have changed very

little. Lipman-Blumen does not appear too concerned about this, for she offers no explanation for this lack of change. Instead, she speculates that socio-economic trends, including the availability of energy, changes in housing patterns, and increased sexual equality in the work arena will usher in an era of personal freedom, interpersonal authenticity, and yet undreamed personal worries.

It would be comforting to be able to accept her predictions about the inevitability of favorable change. But unfortunately, she does not evaluate the data she cites; despite her initial statements about gender roles, she does not really assume a critical stance. She seems to be saying that roles will have to change because they will no longer work. This does not strike us as a truly sociopsychological approach, rather more a merely hopeful one.

She does suggest a number of possible interventions designed to support the inevitable changes. These include the evolution of new therapies to deal specifically with role change created problems, and the redefinition of motherhood as a patriotic act comparable to military service, with comparable G.I. benefits. But she suggests nothing to deal with the status quo of continuing inequality in the present.

"Changing Sex Roles-Concepts, Values, and Tasks"

Frederick J. Duhl

Social Casework, 57:2 (February, 1976) pp. 89-92

Duhl states that the most urgent questions that gender role change raises for him are those related to values. He reviews his own value system, emphasizing an appreciation of each person's uniqueness, sensi-

tivity to those aspects of humans that transcend sex or role, and a sense of humor. He sees the therapist's role as that of educator, the primary course one in communication, and closes with a discussion of "basic requirements for communication."

Duhl utilizes a systems theory approach; his clients are "casualties of change," not the least of which are role related changes. Duhl is aware of problems of sexism, and of the impact of cultural values on individuals' lives. But he suggests that to approach problems in terms of "casual systems" is a job for philosophers and politicians, not for therapists. Thus, instead of confronting institutionalized sexism as a source of problems, he "transcends" concrete social issues, bearing them in mind, but attempting to address himself to universal human qualities.

We are a bit uneasy about this approach. Duhl seems to rule out concerted human action to foster desirable social changes, to disallow the constructive aspects of conflict. And we cannot help but notice that, his ostensible aloofness from concrete issues notwithstanding, Duhl does seem to struggle like the rest of us. When he states of his own marriage:

Sexual role differentiations have not been in absolute terms with us...Bunny has always been able to throw a baseball with our son; I have always helped clean the house.

we get a whiff of tokenism and wonder who the principal housecleaner is. We also note that Duhl switches from universal masculine pronouns to "he and/or she" midway through the article, and wonder what prompted his sudden change of usage.

"Editorial Notes: Changing Sex Roles and Family Therapy"

Burt Shachter

Social Casework, 57:2 (February, 1976) pp. 111-112

Shachter overviews several articles in an issue devoted to changing gender roles. He writes but briefly, just long enough to endorse the systems approach and to warn against "politicized" models of marriage and family. He succinctly expresses one of our criticisms of the systems view when he writes, "conflict-reducing systems of communication will probably remain more important than the specific way dominance-submission patterns or power allocations get played out." We suggest that, short of an equitable distribution of power, conflict reduction is an unlikely possibility.

"The Therapist and Changing Sex Roles"

Sanford N. Sherman

Social Casework, 57:2 (February, 1976) pp. 93-96

Sherman's central point is that no one, the author included, can remain unaffected by gender role change. Sherman candidly reveals his own ambivalence and conflict; his intellect says that role change is positive, but his gut reaction anticipates loss and threat. This awareness of his own ambivalence leads him to caution the therapist (always referred to as "he") to avoid too hasty position taking, what he terms slipping into a "more comfortable but reductionist state of mind." He sees the lack of new role models as a period of creative uncertainty, and encourages the therapist to "leaven his (sic) doubts...by identifying with the stirring promise of social change."

What is to be the source of this social change, or its shape?

Sherman is mute here, only assuring us that "novel emergents are bound to result and appear." We do not agree with Sherman that position taking is necessarily "reductionist." We feel therapists ought to advocate for role change, that concerned persons should work for rather than wait for social change.

Sherman writes from a systems theory perspective. A discomforting effect of this position is that, while he is quite sensitive to cultural influence upon the individual, he retreats from considering the reverse process by which persons create society and change. Such a retreat may serve to tacitly reinforce a societal status quo, a possibility he neglects to address.

"Salary Inequalities Between Men and Women in Schools of Social Work: Myth or Reality?"

Ketayun H. Gould and Bok-Lim C. Kim

Journal of Education for Social Work, 12:1 (Winter, 1976) pp. 50-55

As the title indicates, these authors aim at a specific form of sexual discrimination. They cite preliminary findings from their own extensive empirical research, and find significant indication that criteria for determining salary and advancement are selectively applied to males and females in the schools studied.

The authors do not attempt a critical analysis of gender role per se, nor of related cultural processes, but we may assume their sympathy with such perspectives. Studies such as this provide unavoidable evidence of sexism within the profession. The authors call for

more thorough commitment to affirmative action within the profession as a corrective to salary discrimination.

"Integrating Content on Feminism and Racism into the Social Work Curriculum"

Sophie F. Loewenstein

Journal of Education for Social Work, 12:1 (Winter, 1976) pp. 91-96

We regard Loewenstein's article as the culmination of a line of argument developed by Schwartz, by Meisel and Friedman, and by Diangson, Kravetz, and Lipton in their respective articles in previous volumes of the Journal of Education for Social Work. Loewenstein offers that "power relations among people" has become a unifying concept in modern society, replacing the Freudian libido, and serving to inform interpersonal, interracial, inter-class, and even professional-client relationships. She explores the implications of a theory of power relations, among them the following:

(1) "power relations" by definition offers a socio-psychological model in relating internal processes, interpersonal, and sociological dynamics;

(2) sexism is related to other social problems via the common processes of unequal power;

(3) women's and men's role issues may be approached as effects of power disparity; and

(4) as power differentials are identified, and their effects understood, professionals will be forced to consider whether they have a responsibility to advocate for the "right" causes.

The whole article may be seen as an attempt to intervene in social

work's increasingly outdated overreliance in psychodynamic theories; a theory of power relations interrelates personal and social change where the traditional "psychosocial" model does not.

"Outpatient Treatment for Sexual Offenders"

Steven Silver

Social Work, 21:2 (March, 1976) pp. 134-140

This article primarily focuses on the negative consequences of institutionalizing sex offenders, in that it is thought to foster recidivism. An outpatient program is described as a better alternative, and relevant treatment methods are described.

The analysis is critical of the sociopsychological influences of institutionalization, though the article does not develop a sex-role component in its analysis of who these people are and how they might be related to. What profile is offered focuses on personality characteristics, with emphasis on gender identification with parents. Although we do not criticize this per se, we do find it lacking in that it does not relate to some social analysis of gender expectations and conflicts. The article does mention the use of female-male cotherapists though does not cultivate why this is important and useful. At one point, the article considers that those clients who express doubts about their masculinity might be considered more dangerous, and thus less eligible to the outpatient format. Regrettably, this issue was not more fully cultivated, while we think that it likely plays a contributing role in this and other forms of masculine aggression. For example, other writers suggest that such behavior might be understood through an analysis of how

these men cope with changing sex roles in society, through destructive compensation of their masculinity.

The article does identify beneficial alternatives to institutional treatment for this frequently neglected group, and educates the profession in some approaches.

"Human Sexuality and Aging"

Irene Long

Social Casework, 57:4 (April, 1976) pp. 237-244

"Aspects of Sexual Counseling With the Aged"

Faye Sander

Social Casework, 57:8 (October, 1976) pp. 504-510

These two articles are grouped because they are essentially similar in approach and content. Both review current knowledge regarding sexuality in advancing years, contrast this with society's generally repressive attitude toward sexual expression on the part of elderly persons, and encourage social workers to be sensitive to the sexual needs of elderly clients. Though they refer to sex specific problems, including males' anxiety about waning ability and females' fear of social censure or lack of sexual partner, they focus primarily on the variable of age rather than gender. The aged are seen as having several universal needs: information, privacy, and societal sanction for sexual expression. Neither author discusses value questions or presents interventions related to gender role issues in aging.

"The Impact of Changing Values on the Family"

Charles Frankel

Social Casework, 57:6 (June, 1976) pp. 355-365

Frankel addresses himself to value changes and their influence on the family. He sees the family as an embattled institution, though does not identify its antagonists beyond suggesting they are young, white, middle class, and living together without official sanction. What he then does is to extend certain values, including individuality, autonomy, spontaneity, equality, and a "critical stance toward authority," to their "logical" extremes, thereby invoking a vision of anarchy and social revolution, "a kind of psychosis of principle." In the process he ignores or trivializes the basic issues of patriarchy, the sexual division of labor, and role change.

Any doubts as to Frankel's position are dispelled by noting his use of language and resource; every pronoun is masculine, every specific authority cited by name is male, every resource used is by a male author. And when he defends himself as a victim of cultural oppression we recognize his as a standard defensive "masculine" response to the feminist critique.

"Commentary"

Sidney Z. Vincent

Social Casework, 57:6 (June, 1976) pp. 373-376

Vincent is concerned with the preservation of Jewish family life in the face of modern changing society. He reviews "traditionalist" and

"modernist" critiques of contemporary Jewish family life and suggests that a recommitment to Jewish values will allow families and professionals alike to weather "the battering of noisy slogans and easy suggestions about child rearing and family living." He is aware of gender role change, but avoids directly confronting these issues in the context of the Jewish tradition. Thus, his analysis of gender role and related issues is weak at best. He is dealing primarily in the realm of values, but even here he is vague. At one point, however, he seems to advocate "preserving the essential and prescribed relations of husband and wife, parent and child." We suspect that the traditional values are not altogether compatible with the movement for sexual equality.

"Single Fatherhood"

Helen Mendes

Social Work, 21:4 (July, 1976) pp. 308-312

This article notes the recent and rapid increase of single fathers, parenting their children alone. It reports on a study undertaken to help identify the crucial issues and needs of this emerging population.

While this article does not develop a societal critique, it does discuss the impact of the sex-role revolution as it relates to the relatively new phenomenon of single fatherhood. The author notes the dearth of research and study regarding this, and defines it as a challenge to the social work profession. Theoretically, the article seems to alternate between sociopsychological analysis and psychodynamic approach: social change is fostering new role possibilities and/or necessities; different men cope differently with this change, depending mostly upon

their initial motivation to accept the role. Notably, the lack of role preparedness is seen as a critical issue in the adjustment process, causing some anxiety around child care, discipline, and especially the teaching of sexuality to daughters. The article develops some ideas for the worker when relating to this population. For example, male therapists and all-male groups were seen to enhance the transitional process. It becomes apparent that traditional masculine role preparation does not easily coincide with the skills and motivational necessities of becoming a contented single father. The assistance and resources considered considered useful to this group was largely geared at expanding their gender role skills and orientations, to include domestic and nurturant facility with their children.

"The All Male Caseload"

Allan Appel

Social Work, 21:5 (September, 1976) p. 397

One of the few poems to find inclusion into the journals, this one poignantly outlines the dimensions of a man's world, after having retired from a job of 50 years. The man is portrayed as domestically incompetent in the face of necessity. He is hurting from the status deprivation he now knows, but holding to masculine honor, does not express. His "life" is threaded with repetition, desperation, boredom, and the "killing of time." Old friends and grown children have taken their distance, while he attempts to recontact the world he once knew: a man without a job, in a society where the job defines the man. This statement poetically paints the rigidity and constraints of the masculine role, especially in

process of aging.

Without identifying theoretical models, or detailing issues and needs, or explicitly stating values, the poet forcefully creates for us, a sociopsychological critique of traditional masculinity in U.S. society. For us, this implies educational needs, a movement away from traditional sex roles, and remedial strategies to aid aging men.

Book Review by George Sharwell

The Violent Home: A Study of Physical Aggression Between Husbands and Wives authored by Richard Gelles

Social Work, 21:5 (September, 1976) p. 411

This review primarily focuses on the purposes, methodologies, and subpopulation samples presented in the study. There is no mention of sex-roles, sex based conflict, or masculine aggression. The reviewer recommends the book to students of the family, which we assume to inherently relate to sex-role issues, though the review offers us nothing more explicit to know that. Thus, it is unfortunate that this issue of domestic violence is not more fully discussed in the review, with regards to status and role issues.

"Marital Communication and Sexism"

Larry Alsbrook

Social Casework, 57:8 (October, 1976) pp. 517-522

Alsbrook bases his article on his own empirical research which shows that communication patterns in conflicted marriages parallels communication patterns between dominant and subordinate social classes. This

finding supports his contention that marriage is essentially an unequal power relationship, a relationship whose internal dynamic is shaped by sexism and caste politics in society at large. He states that traditional role models are obsolete and suggests that marital therapists would do well to focus on issues of equality in their work with couples. This approach may involve a direct discussion of power differentials and the renegotiating of marital contracts.

Alsbrook does not cultivate specific sex-related issues per se, beyond noting that traditional marriage contracts generally discriminate against females. He does state, however, that the therapist can sometimes give the male partner permission "to abdicate his control and expect his wife to join him in a relationship of equality."

In most every detail, Alsbrook's article is an excellent contribution. We especially note that he subjects his speculations about the political aspects of marriage to empirical scrutiny, and out of this process generates a new treatment intervention. In so doing, his work is a model for the type of effort perhaps most useful for the evolution of effective change strategies.

"Family Therapy and Social Change".

Seymour L. Halleck

Social Casework, 57:8 (October, 1976) pp. 483-493

Halleck is another author who writes from a systems theory perspective. He regards the process of gender role transition as but one of a number of social changes impinging on the family system. He discusses the effects of several such changes, but ultimately he aims to

address value questions.

In discussing women's liberation, Halleck presents himself as a cautious supporter; he describes the women's movement as "rational." We understand the meaning of his caution as we note that he seems pre-occupied with the liabilities and conflicts produced by role change, the marital battles and the gaps between consciousness and conditioning. He so emphasizes the conflict-producing aspects that he begins to misunderstand the meaning of the gender equality movement. He states:

The women's movement presents our society with something of a zero sum game. There is only so much power to go around, and if half the society wants more power, it must be at the expense of the other half's relinquishing power.

Here he appears to confuse "power" with control and domination over others, a typically "masculine" interpretation, and an interpretation contrary to the actual ends of the feminist movement.

Halleck closes expressing his preference for values of fairness, cooperation, mutuality, and harmony over those of self actualization, individual success and unlimited freedom. His choice of the former values again reflects his mistrust of the value of conflict. And we again observe that to initiate change is to engage in constructive conflict with a repressive status quo, which conflict Halleck repeatedly shuns.

"Status Differentials: Men and Women in Social Work"

David Fanshel

Social Work, 21:6 (November, 1976) pp. 448-454

This article creates an analysis from NASW membership data, of the relative status of women and men in the social work profession. Differ-

ences are noted in types of employment and salary ranges, while marital and/or parental roles are discussed as contributing factors to the relatively less equal status of women. Sex bias is also identified as a potentially contributing factor needing more explication and data.

The article objectively presents data that substantiate the charges that women are under-represented in the leadership positions of social work, and earn less than men. Interpretation of the data delves into traditional roles and responsibilities of women, which act to draw them away from a full time career in social work, thereby contributing to the presence of the differentials. The article is critical, however, of attempts to "explain away" the differential on such interpretations alone. Sexism is critically identified as a pervasive fact in society, and social work is considered not immune from it. The article outlines further study needed to get a better understanding of how the various factors work, and longitudinal study of graduating students is suggested. A weakness of the article is that it does not relate the domestic role and responsibility factors, to a critical analysis of the sexual division of labor per se. Nor does the article discuss the impact of changing conceptions of role, domestic responsibility, and the sexual division of labor, in society.

"Are Social Workers Sexist?"

Joel Fischer, Diane Dulaney, Rosemary Fazio, Mary Hudak, Ethel Zivorofsky
Social Work, 21:6 (November, 1976) pp. 428-433

This article claims to be one of the few controlled studies of the influence of sex bias on social workers' clinical judgements, and pre-

sents findings that contradict the contentions of other uncontrolled studies.

The article critically acknowledges the prevalence of sexism in society and then reviews recent statements that have profiled the social work profession as likewise ridden with sex bias, in its theory, practice, and education. These statements are criticized for not utilizing controlled methodologies for verification of such contentions. This controlled study finds sexism, but sexism that discriminates against males and not females. Among therapists studied, there was a pro-female attitude identified, which included the attitude that women were more mature and responsive to psychotherapy, and thus, were preferred as clients. Conversely, men were viewed as immature, troublesome in psychotherapy, and relatively less preferred. The study did not find a double standard of mental health, whereby women and men were judged according to different norms. Interpretation of these findings included an especially interesting one: that social workers have become sensitized to the social status of women, and are possibly compensating for their past behavior by an increased valuation of female clients.

The article did not cultivate a discussion of societal processes that might influence male "immaturity" in psychotherapy, by relating to male gender role expectations and injunctions about emotionality. The article does add some dimension to the growing exploration of sexist clinical judgements, and identifies challenges to the profession.

"Sex-Role Stereotyping"

Linda Hall Harris, Margaret Exner Lucas

Social Work, 21:6 (September, 1976) pp. 390-395

This article describes findings from a recent survey of social work students at the University of Minnesota. The survey attempted to assess whether younger and/or more recently educated social workers were adopting more androgynous standards of mental health; a movement away from reliance on traditional sex-role norms for women and men, and repudiation of a double standard of mental health between men and women.

From a critical and societal perspective, this article identifies how sexism and sex-role stereotypes have influenced the theoretical models used by both female and male mental health practitioners. Historical findings are reviewed in this regard, while the findings from this study verify that change has occurred. Findings indicate change from polar and stereotypic sex-roles, toward androgynous sex-roles, while this was found to be more true for female students than male students. The explanation for this change is defined in terms of an increased awareness of the sociopsychological processes affecting how sex-roles emerge in society. The authors directly express their valued support of this tendency toward androgynous standards, and define various educational challenges to consolidate this trend.

"Sexism in a Woman's Profession"

Diane Kravetz

Social Work, 21:6 (November, 1976) pp. 421-426

This article criticizes the assumption that because social work is both numerically and orientationally considered as a "woman's profession," it is therefore immune to sexism against women. The author identifies discriminatory stereotypes and practices within the profession, the consequences these create, and ways in which sexism can be eliminated.

The article develops critical and historical perspectives in describing how the patriarchal order and sexism operate in the social work profession. Patterns of male dominance are identified and reviewed, as are sexist theoretical models, and other rationalizations that have had the effect of devaluating and discriminating with regard to women. The author's approach is sociopsychological in that she contends that the gender role strain that females in the profession may experience, is not a "personal problem of the individual," but that the rigidity of societal sex-roles are themselves "dysfunctional." Article values androgynous gender roles, and suggestions for deprogramming students in social work education are offered.

Alfred Kadushin

Social Work, 21:6 (November, 1976) pp. 440-447

The article suggests that better to understand the role of women in the social work profession, an understanding of the problems faced by the male minority are helpful. The author reports on survey findings that suggest that male social workers experience conflicts between their occupational status and their gender identity, and that this influences their relations with colleagues, clients, and the community.

The article uncritically explains how certain sociopsychological processes can be problematic for male social workers. The article recognizes the powerful positions and high salaries males command, and interprets this, from survey responses, as a compensatory need for males in female professions. The article supports the acceptance of exclusive male enclaves in the profession, so that men can better deal with their role conflicts. Males "need" to achieve power and higher salaries so that they feel commensurate with males in other fields. It is notable that the article is one of the few of our sample that attempts to utilize the concepts of role strain, role inconsistencies, and status contradictions. However, in the author's attempt to identify why these males behave as they do, we criticize his article for not cultivating the serious value dilemmas and ramifications of that behavior. For example, the article suggests that these males should be more understood than challenged. The article does not critique traditional male "needs" either, and it remains unclear if it values the changing status of women in the profession.

It appears possible though that, in framing the article as he did, the author attempts not to alienate the males, while at the same time exposing their secrets to females in the profession. No educational needs are identified, though the article provokes that consideration.

"Sexism and Social Work"

Maryann MaHaffey

Social Work, 21:6 (November, 1976) p. 419

The president of NASW critically describes historical and contemporary sexism in society and in the social work profession. Sexism is depicted in co-relationship with poverty and racism, in capitalistic society. In her analysis of the sexual division of labor in the profession, remedial efforts of NASW are identified and discussed. Social work is reminded of its ethical responsibilities to the truly oppressed, and the author criticizes some of the recent sex-role concerns of the profession as elitist and related to middle class society. The Black woman is brought to attention as concerned about bread and butter issues and less about sexist nuances in psychotherapy. The article most strongly identifies and expresses ideological values and addresses both educational and practice alternatives in so doing.

"Battered Wives: An Emerging Social Problem"

Marcella Schuyler

Social Work, 21:6 (November, 1976) pp. 488-491

The article identifies "battered wives" as a problem largely and previously ignored. In so doing, it describes the dearth of support and

assistance society offers in aiding these women from this form of male aggression.

The article critically locates the determinants of "battered wives" in the context of the historic subjugation of women in male dominated society. The women's movement is credited with bringing the problem of domestic violence through the blinders of patriarchal rationalizations. Psychodynamic models, to the extent that they locate the determinants of abuse within the personalities of the "battered" are critiqued as sexist and inhumane. Notably, the article suggests that abuse should be understood in relation to the changing status of women in society, and the inability of males to cope with these changes. This article, besides identifying and cultivating this sex-role issue lists research needs and educational strategies to facilitate a more effective advocacy for these women, by the social work profession. Importantly, it proposes that more needs to be known about "battering husbands."

"Sexism in Social Agencies: Practitioners' Perspectives"

Dorothy Zietz and John Erlich

Social Work, 21:6 (November, 1976) pp. 434-439

The authors, with an acknowledgement of the charges of sexism against the social work profession, describe findings from a sexism survey conducted among NASW chapter members in a region of California, and working in social agencies.

The article critically identifies sexism as a tradition within the social work profession, a tradition only recently being challenged by feminists. The dearth of information about practitioners' own work

experiences, as they relate to sexism and/or sex-based privilege, are noted. The study findings identify and cultivate sex-role problems in agencies between workers. Males typically perceive less sexism than do women, while they experience more job security than do women. The authors describe remedial strategies and call for more study. The strength of this article is that it provides a format through which sex-role issues can be identified at a specific agency, with approaches to their elimination.

CHAPTER V

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON ANNOTATED ARTICLES

Males and Masculinity

One of our initial hypotheses was that the professional periodical literature would reveal little discussion of males' needs or masculine gender role problems. While several articles did discuss male-specific topics such as vasectomy, single fatherhood, and the male climacteric, few of the authors included any significant consideration of relevant gender role or societal processes. Rather, authors tended to focus on problems as experienced by individual males in their immediate social networks, seldom extending their analyses beyond marriage, family, or job settings. The relatively narrow scope of these articles is apparent when contrasted with articles such as "The Need for Women's Studies in Social Work Education" (Meisel et. al., 1974), which make wise use of societal level factors. The failure of authors to explore male-specific topics more fully in terms of sociocultural and political perspectives is indeed unfortunate. As we have attempted to indicate in the preceding annotations, these topics can be especially revealing of liabilities and consequences of "masculinity" for males.

All too frequently articles explicitly or implicitly characterized males in accordance with traditional assumptions regarding "masculinity." In more than a few cases authors even stated that male clients experienced difficulties because they were not "masculine" enough, as if to

say that "real men" would not be so troubled. Our overall impression is that those articles that focused most centrally on males or male concerns were among the articles that made the least, or least effective use of gender role analyses. For authors of both sexes it was as if "masculinity" was such a "natural" phenomenon that its relativity to societal role standards was largely invisible. Once again, this pattern contrasts quite noticeably with those discussions related to "femininity" which appeared, many of which extensively implicated gender role conditioning in accounting for problems or behaviors.

We account for these impressions in two ways. First, the fact that we are males, and that we are supportive of the anti-sexist position, undoubtedly predisposed us to be especially alert for the presence or absence of non-sexist interpretations of maleness. Beyond that, however, we conjecture that the seeming "invisibility" of the masculine gender role is a function of the "invisibility" of patriarchy in a society virtually permeated by "masculine" values. To expose the conventionality of these values potentially undermines the patriarchal system, and few writers appear willing to do this as they approach the issue of maleness.

Of course, there were exceptions to the above general impressions. Stoltenberg (1975) and Nichols (1976), among a few others, did define masculinity in terms of patriarchal societal expectations. In fact, the sample articles as a body show an increasing sensitivity to societal gender role factors. Authors are becoming more likely to include a consideration of gender role in their writings, are taking sharper aim at problems and inequities stemming from gender stereotyping, and are

increasingly elaborating anti-sexist theory and practice alternatives. These observations are apparently discrepant from those previously noted, but it must be remembered that articles centered exclusively on males or masculine concerns comprised a minority of the sample. The divergence of these latter observations is also related to the differences in approach between male and female authors, and the fact that female authors were predominant contributors to the article sample reviewed.

Characteristic Approaches of Female and Male Authors

The differences in approach between female and male authors is one of the most provocative characteristics of the literature sampled. Female authors were generally much more inclined to aim their attention outward to specific, concrete professional and societal issues, to relate these issues to institutionalized sexism, and to elaborate specific change strategies. By and large, they advocated role change both as a positive end in itself, and as a necessary response to variously defined problems and needs.

Male authors, by contrast, tended to focus inwardly, to engage in, and call for reflection and self-evaluation. Where females responded to issues and problems, males frequently seemed to react to the process of role transition itself. Very few males suggested that social workers should advocate for role change; rather, a considerable number stressed the negative impacts of change, the pains, and the danger of quick commitments to politicized positions. While several male authors did discuss value questions, most who did so addressed themselves at a level

of abstraction removed from specific positions on concrete issues.

Thus, the specificity of female authors' approach, plus their numerical predominance, lent the overall sample an increasing sensitivity to and willingness to confront gender role related issues.

Other Themes

We wish to recapitulate several observations which reemerged periodically in our reviews of the sample literature. Each of them suggests an area of need or important consideration raised by role change processes.

Articles which were based on empirical research included both the most implicitly biased, and the most explicitly useful of works. At worst, several such articles totally ignored the unique needs, or even the existence of females. Conclusions were regarded as universally valid, even though females were excluded from subject populations. Not only are such research findings of questionable relevance to females; they may not even be valid for males since the possible effects of contact or competition with females was also excluded.

On the other hand, several well conceived research efforts clearly demonstrated the effects of sexist values and practices. If role change rhetoric is to become reflected in changed policies and practices, such changes will be facilitated by empirically defined needs and interventions, and validated by measurable effects. We hope that professionals will increasingly approach gender role issues in this fashion.

Another recurrent theme was the weakness of gender role analyses in relation to populations defined in terms of race, social class, age,

and other sociocultural variables. In some cases, effects of gender conditioning were wholly ignored, while in others gender role factors were glossed over or authors uncritically relied on traditional assumptions. Several authors called for research into the interactions of gender role with these other factors, a need our review certainly underscores. Another possible implication of this theme, however, is that gender role change is essentially a middle class concern. That this may be so suggests that anti-sexist persons have yet to recognize their shared investment with other oppressed people in social change.

Finally, we note that, while a number of authors indicated their support for gender role change, the majority who dealt in specifics limited themselves to a discussion of expanded options for females. What of expanded options for males? Only one author discusses fatherhood to any extent, whereas the majority still tacitly define parenthood as a female task. And no author suggests that men's studies may be a useful addition to the social work curriculum. It would appear that social work authors have yet to recognize gender role change as beneficial for males.

CHAPTER VI

A SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL WORK JOURNALS:

SEX DEMOGRAPHY OF CONTRIBUTORS AND AN ANALYSIS OF THE SEX-ROLE ISSUE AREA

Rationale

To more closely understand the knowledge base and theory building, as well as the sexual division of labor in the social work profession, it is useful to study the sociology of the social work journals. Patterns in authorship and issue emphasis can offer dimensions to the sociology of knowledge within the profession. To critically perceive relationships between who says what, when, where, how, and how often, can aid in understanding the dynamic between product and producer. In this study, we primarily seek to discover whether there is a sex status and gender role difference between women and men, in the extent to which they respectively contribute to various journals and to several specific issue areas through time.

An Earlier Study

Rosenblatt et. al. studied and reported on the differentials between females and male contributors among five social work journals: Smith College Studies in Social Work, Child Welfare, Social Casework, Social Service Review, Social Work, and American Journal of Orthopsychiatry (1970). These journals and the sex of contributor were

studied in several categories of authorship: article authorship, authorship of book reviews, and authorship of books reviewed. The time frame was between 1964 and 1968. With variations noted per journal, year, and categories, a dominant pattern was documented. Men were found to predominate in authorship, among the journals.

In their sociology of these social work journals, the researchers developed a theory to account for this pattern. In this theory, women were viewed as a minority group, subject to institutionalized inequality of rights and opportunities. Women did not become consistently prepared for intellectual competition with men, influenced and constrained by gender role socialization, a societal emphasis on domestic responsibility taking, among other barriers to attaining extra-domestic positions and contributions. The social work profession was seen to mirror wider society, even though women uncharacteristically had a numerical superiority among the professional ranks. Women in the profession were seen to abandon their career commitments to engage in domestic roles and tasks.

The theory also remarked that an essential barrier to female competition in intellectual pursuits was related to male discomfort in welcoming full competition with women. The researchers concluded that the prognosis for this barrier was poor: men would not easily learn to welcome such competition.

The study concluded by advocating certain changes: incentives for female endeavors in the intellectual affairs of the profession, and preparatory retraining for women toward increased competition. The study called for increased exploration to ascertain the intellectual pursuits of those women unencumbered by domestic roles and tasks, and who did

compete in these intellectual affairs.

The Present Study

This component of our research offers some additional dimensions to this earlier work. We explored and presently report on the differentials between females and males, among five social work journals, albeit a different mix: Social Work, Social Casework, Social Service Review, Social Policy, and the Journal of Education for Social Work. Our time span is 1972 through 1976, and we counted the female and male authorships in several categories: article authorship, book review authorship, and authorship of book reviews. The sex composition of editorial boards was also excavated.

After this universal sample count, we pursued another and different dimension of the journals. We operationalized "women's issues" by developing a set of key words, and then indexing titles for those key words, whereupon we applied a count with attention to the sex of the various contributors per category. We then operationalized "men's issues" by a similar methodology, with the difference being in the extent of our indexing. We indexed category titles, but also abstracts, and subheadings within the articles. (This additional indexing was applied, with the intent of developing as complete a sample of "men's issues" as possible, for purposed of critically annotating them in another section of this research effort.) Here again, we applied a count with attention to the sex of the various contributors per category.

Unlike the earlier study which also developed counts on female and male collaborative authorships, we broke these tandem teams apart,

counting them separately. Although we recognize this as an important dimension, we did not operationalize that concern here.

So our study is different in ways from the earlier one, but it does offer several additional dimensions, to the exclusion of several previously noted. It constitutes a partial update, and one that approaches the near present. It offers an exploration of several journals unexplored by the previous study. Additionally, the present study offers both a universal sample count of journal participation, and also an in-depth analysis of issue samples: "women's issues" and "men's issues:" we consider these to be central components to the wider "sex-role issue" area.

Organization of Findings

We divide our findings into six parts, displaying and discussing relevant trends and patterns. We follow these parts with discussion about how we understand our findings. Our organization, then, follows this outline:

- I. Overall Findings
- II. Female Time Trends
- III. "Women's Issues"
- IV. "Men's Issues"
- V. Sex Demography of the Social Work Profession.
- VI. Sex-Role Issues and a Sociology of Knowledge in the
Social Work Professional Journals

Part I. Overall Findings

From 1972 to 1977, the five social work journals studied, published a total of 1610 articles, authored by 1993 people. These journals reviewed a total of 1319 books, in turn authored by 1653 people, and reviewed by 1281 individuals. Table One represents this overall finding, where we combined the counts from all journals and all years, for purposes of emphasizing the overall female and male differentials, per category of contribution.

Table I

Sex of Author by Category; All Journals, All Years

Category	Total Count	Females		Males	
		#	%	#	%
Article Authorship	1993	719	36%	1274	64%
Book Reviewership	1281	432	34%	849	66%
Book Authorship	1653	437	26%	1216	74%

Table I shows an overall predominance of males in all three categories, and throughout all journals during the time span. This is significant in two ways. First, this finding of male predominance updates the findings from the earlier study. Second, this finding represents again in time, a curious demographic reversal. While men constitute approximately 34% of the professional ranks, they predominate the journals by approximately twice that ratio, or 66%. Conversely, women make up approximately 66% of the professional membership, while they represent 33% of journal contributors.

Part II: Female Time Trends

After noting an overall male predominance, we sought to discover whether female contributions had changed through time, in the various categories. Table II confirms our hunch that this was indeed the case. While women had decreased in the category of book review authorship, we found a fairly consistent increase in female productivity in the other two categories: article authorship and authorship of books reviewed.

Table II

Overall Time-Trend in Journal Contributions:

Percent Female Authors

Categories	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Article Authorship	31%	33%	34%	38%	36%
Book Reviewership	32%	35%	32%	33%	29%
Book Authorship	16%	25%	23%	28%	30%

Now, to know more about this female time-trend change, we explored the data differently. Table III displays the ratios of our counts relative to women, with respect to journal, year, and category of authorship.

Table III

Female Time-Trend by Journal, Category, and Year

Journal and Category	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
SOCIAL WORK					
(1) Article Authorship	27%	31%	31%	43%	48%
(2) Book Reviewership	14%	22%	26%	25%	34%
(3) Book Authorship	18%	18%	29%	27%	37%
SOCIAL POLICY					
(1) Article Authorship	18%	15%	18%	29%	35%
(2) Book Reviewership	12%	18%	18%	31%	0%
(3) Book Authorship	0%	14%	18%	33%	12%
SOCIAL CASEWORK					
(1) Article Authorship	54%	55%	60%	48%	45%
(2) Book Reviewership	47%	51%	34%	41%	35%
(3) Book Authorship	15%	38%	21%	29%	28%
SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW					
(1) Article Authorship	33%	29%	27%	33%	24%
(2) Book Reviewership	47%	41%	36%	29%	34%
(3) Book Authorship	23%	41%	24%	21%	30%
JOURNAL OF EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK					
(1) Article Authorship	22%	34%	36%	38%	30%
(2) Book Reviewership	40%	42%	46%	39%	44%
(3) Book Authorship	22%	15%	21%	29%	45%

In 1976, women had approached a near equity in the category of article authorship, in Social Work, nearly doubling the ratio of 1972. There were marked increases in the other categories of Social Work as well. In Social Policy, women rather consistently increased their contributions to article authorship. In 1976, women were doing so at nearly twice the rate of that in 1972. In the other categories, however, female participation portrayed some diverse and cyclic inclusions and exclusions. In Social Casework, women were once predominating slightly in the category of article authorship, have since decreased, and men predominated slightly in 1976. In Social Service Review, women rather consistently decreased in category of authorship of book reviews and article authorship, while there was some evidence of an increase in authorship of books reviewed. In the Journal of Education for Social Work, women showed a 1976 increase in all categories, relative to the 1972 ratios, and this was relatively consistent in its increase through the years.

When we sought to relate these time trend changes to possible changes in editorial board composition, we found several notable occurrences. Table IV displays the 1972 and 1976 sex composition of the respective journals.

Table IV

Sex Composition of Editorial Boards: 1972 and 1976 Females

Journal	1972	1976
<u>Social Work</u>	29%	50%
<u>Social Policy</u>	20%	21%
<u>Social Casework</u>	80%	67%
<u>Social Service Review</u>	33%	33%
<u>Journal of Education for Social Work</u>	41%	38%

The composition of the editorial board of Social Work had dramatically changed through time, in the direction of including more women into those positions. Social Casework had changed in the direction of including more men into its' editorial board. Significantly, the other journals have editorial boards that are predominately male, and this remains so through time.

We remain cautious from relying on a relationship between the sex composition of editorial boards and sex of author included and/or excluded from journals. Our findings do not permit such a cause and effect explanation: some of the journals that did have female increases through time, did not alter editorial board composition in that same direction. The trends coincide in Social Work and Social Casework. More study could be brought to bear on the editorial board policies and other variables that influence the overall article selection processes.

Part III: "Women's Issues"

This part of our exploration was guided by our interest in the extent of sex-role issues, among the journals through time. Our literature review signaled to us the likelihood that women would be identifying and cultivating issues relevant to women. Thus, we operationalized "women's issues" as described earlier, and developed a count, with attendance to the sex of author in the various categories. Table V displays this excavation of article authorship. (Be reminded that in the case of tandem sex collaborations we broke them apart for purposes of this count.)

Table V

"Women's Issues" Article Authorship County by Sex

JOURNAL	# Articles	# Authors	#Females	#Males
Social Policy	30	34	88%	22%
Social Casework	32	36	61%	39%
Social Service Review	5	6	33%	67%
Journal of Education for Social Work	7	11	100%	0%
Social Work	43	62	92%	8%
TOTALS	117	149	82%	18%

Although we had guessed that women would predominate in "women's issues" article authorship, we were surprised by several findings. Firstly, in Social Service Review, males predominated. Secondly, Social Casework had a fairly large ratio of men participating in this area. Lastly, we were surprised at the overwhelming female predominance in Social Policy, Journal of Education for Social Work, and Social Work. Overall, "women's issues" appeared to be women's issues, and with respect to article authorship, 82% of the time.

Next we sought out the journal variations with regard to the other two categories of authorship: Table VI displays this break down, with the emphasis on authorship of books reviewed, authorship of book reviews, and sex of authorship.

Women are found to be more consistently predominate in both of these categories of authorship, than that of article authorship previously dis-

played. With variation, but without dramatic surprise, women were reviewing "women's issues" books, and those books were more likely to have been authored by women. We note that in Social Service Review and in Social Work, some men were reviewing these books, though the books had a higher likelihood of being authored by males, than did the rest of the sample.

Table VI

"Women's Issues" Book Reviews: Sex of Authorship by Journal

JOURNALS	Number of Books	Number of Authors	Number of Reviewers	FEMALE		MALE	
				Rev.	Auth.	Rev.	Auth.
Social Policy	7	8	8	7	6	1	1
Social Casework	12	15	12	10	9	2	6
Social Service Review	14	18	14	9	10	5	8
Journal of Education for Social Work	1	2	1	1	1	0	1
Social Work	22	31	22	18	25	4	5
TOTALS	56	74	57	45	51	12	21

Next, we sought to relate female contributions to "women's issues" to female contributions to the sample universe: all issues, all journals, all categories, and all years. This exploration was guided by our curiosity to ascertain to what extent the time trend changes in female overall contributions was significantly related to the emergence of "women's issues." Table VII displays the ratios between contributions to the sample universal and the "women's issues" sample, with respect to women only.

Table VII

Female Participation in "Women's Issues"
Related to Female Participation Overall

JOURNAL	Article Authorship	Reviewership	Book Authorship
Social Policy	32%	78%	55%
Social Casework	9%	9%	11%
Social Service Review	3%	6%	7%
Journal of Education for Social Work	13%	3%	4%
Social Work	24%	15%	14%
All Journals	17%	13%	12%

In Social Policy, contributions to "women's issues" constitutes a large component of overall female participation. Social Work shows a similarly large ratio, while the other three journals show markedly smaller, yet substantial, ratios. "Women's issues" as a women's issue is a strong component overall. More study would be required, however, to substantiate the level of significant relationship. There are plural factors in how articles become produced, and how they are included and excluded from the journals.

To add a yet additional dimension to this sub-demography, we sought a time trend analysis, per journal and per the categories of article authorship and book review authorship. Table VIII represents this, for female contributors.

Table VIII

Women and "Women's Issues" Through Time

JOURNAL/CATEGORY	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	TOTAL
SOCIAL POLICY						
(1) Articles	4	6	3	8	9	30
(2) Book Reviews	1	1	2	3	0	7
SOCIAL CASEWORK						
(1) Articles	5	3	3	5	16	32
(2) Book Reviews	2	4	1	3	2	12
SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW						
(1) Articles	1	1	1	2	0	5
(2) Book Reviews	4	3	2	1	4	14
JOURNAL OF EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK						
(1) Articles	0	2	1	2	2	7
(2) Book Reviews	1	0	0	0	0	1
SOCIAL WORK						
(1) Articles	5	2	5	9	22	43
(2) Book Reviews	1	1	4	5	11	22
TOTALS						
(1) Articles	15	14	13	26	49	117
(2) Book Reviews	9	9	9	12	17	56

Social Policy, Social Casework, and Social Work dramatize the "emergence" of women cultivating "women's issues," and successfully

bringing them into the stream of professional thinking and concern. This is most true in the category of article authorship, while Social Work does so in the additional category of authorship of book reviews. This "emergence," in the overall sense, is relatively consistent toward the present. We have not ascertained whether males, in contributing to "women's issues" show a similar emergence, though we do know that it would be numerically weaker in all categories, per se.

Part IV: "Men's Issues"

We operationalized "men's issues" by developing a set of key words, and pursued an indexing and count. Table IX shows the overall count of such articles, and breaks their authors down by sex.

Table IX

"Men's Issues" Article Authorship Count by Sex

JOURNAL	Number of Articles	Number of Authors	Female	Male
Social Policy	7	7	3	4
Social Casework	18	19	8	11
Social Service Review	2	3	2	1
Journal of Education for Social Work	7	11	10	1
Social Work	23	34	22	12
TOTALS and/or RATIOS	57	74	45-61%	29-39%

Most surprisingly, we point out the clear predominance of females authoring the "men's issues" sample articles. While this does not occur in Social Policy or Social Casework, the female and male ratios are relatively close. This female predominance is numerically strongest in Social Work and in the Journal of Education for Social Work. The size of the sample, especially in comparison with the "women's issues" sample, is small. There are about one-half the amount of articles, and authors.

Table X displays counts for authorship of book reviews and authorship of books reviewed.

Table X

"Men's Issues" Book Reviews: Sex of Author by Journal

JOURNAL	Number of Books	Number of Authors	Number of Reviewers	Female		Male	
				Rev. Auth.	Rev. Auth.	Rev. Auth.	Rev. Auth.
Social Policy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social Casework	3	5	3	0	1	3	4
Social Service Review	3	10	3	1	0	2	10
Journal of Education for Social Work	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social Work	3	6	3	0	3	3	3
TOTALS	9	21	9	1	4	8	17

The book review sample is small and notably void in Social Policy and Journal of Education for Social Work. The other journals show a pattern of males reviewing books authored by other males. Conversely, there were few women who reviewed these books, and few women who had

participation in authoring one.

We sought to relate male participation in "men's issues" to their overall contributions, throughout the journals and years.

Table XI

Male Participation in "Men's Issues"

Related to Male Participation Overall

JOURNAL	Article Authorship	Reviewership	Book Authorship
Social Policy	1.3%	0	0
Social Casework	5.0%	2.0%	1.7%
Social Service Review	.7%	.7%	2.5%
Journal of Education for Social Work	.6%	0	0
Social Work	3.0%	.8%	.6%
All Journals	2.0%	.9%	1.4%

Social Policy and Social Casework show highest relationships in the category of article authorship, while Social Service Review is high in regard to authorship of books reviewed. When these male ratios are looked at in comparison with the ratios of women and "women's issues," male contribution ratios are small indeed, at times void. This is surprising when related back to the overall predominance of males. "Men's issues" are not yet really men's issues. "Men's issues" are predominately women's issues, with several variations.

To ascertain whether "men's issues" were in a process of emergence

through time, we developed a time trend analysis. Table XII displays the data per journal, per year, and per two of the categories; authorship of articles, and authorship of book reviews. This is presented in terms of male counts only.

Table XII

Men and "Men's Issues" Through Time

JOURNAL/CATEGORY	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	TOTAL
SOCIAL POLICY						
Articles	2	4	0	1	0	7
Reviews	0	0	0	0	0	0
SOCIAL CASEWORK						
Articles	1	1	2	2	12	18
Reviews	0	1	2	0	0	3
SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW						
Articles	0	1	0	1	0	2
Reviews	1	0	1	1	0	3
JOURNAL OF EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK						
Articles	0	1	2	2	2	7
Reviews	0	0	0	0	0	0
SOCIAL WORK						
Articles	4	3	1	4	11	23
Reviews	0	0	0	1	1	2

An "emergence" might be supportable in terms of the data from Social Work, and in the category of article authorship. Similarly, Social Casework is showing some signs of emergence in this category. Counts from the other journals and categories do not lend themselves to patterns of emergence, although their existence and non-pattern is significant.

Part V: A Sex Demography of the Social Work Profession at Large

The journals are but one dimension of the wider profession. The study has substantiated some changes that have been taking place. Could this be attendant on changes in the sex demography of the wider profession?

Rosenblatt et. al., in their earlier study presented data on the sex demography of the profession (1970). They noted women constituted about two-thirds of the professional membership, three-quarters of whom worked at the core of the profession, casework. Men on the other hand, a distinct minority overall, were twice as likely to hold administrative positions, than were women. As deans of accredited schools of social work, both in the United States and Canada, that dominance was pegged at 89%.

Recent sex demographics of the profession have added some dimensions to this previous picture, while representing the essential positioning as unchanged. Two-thirds of NASW members are women, while two-thirds of the administrative positions are held by men. In the area of social work education, male predominance exists in all but the graduate school level. 88% of the deans remain male, 55% of full-time faculty are male,

63% of full or associate professors are male, and two-thirds of the doctorate students are male.

The reasons for the changes documented by our study do not appear to be a function of any changes in the sex demography of the social work profession at large.

Part VI: Sex-Role Issues and a Sociology of Knowledge
in the Social Work Professional Journals

While males continue to predominate the journals overall, women have been increasing their contributions through time and lessening that male predominance. Women have emerged as the predominant contributors to what we call the "sex-role issue" area. They do so by cultivating a sizeable portion of articles about "women's issues" and they also predominate in the cultivation of the smaller sample of "men's issues." For us, this suggests either that women are increasing their production through time, the sex-role area being a component of that increased production; or that journals are accepting more of their articles for publication, or both. Whatever the mix of variables that impact on this, change is taking place in the sexual division of labor in the social work profession. This is most dramatically taking place within the journals, though certainly these changes reverberate elsewhere.

For us, this is again analogous to wider society. The identification and cultivation of sex-role issues are more of an acted upon issue for women than for men. Men have not yet demonstrated a clear trend of participation in "women's issues" in society, while they have only begun exploring their own issues.

It could be argued that women were becoming "issue experts" and thereby including timely and critical resources into the mainstream of the social work knowledge base and theory construction. It might be conversely argued that women were becoming "narrow experts" or "issue contributors" and that if and when the issue area subsides the sexual division of labor will return to status quo.

It might be argued that men are "issue ignorant" or even "issue avoiders." For example, we identified a number of books in our introductory statement that have emerged in recent years, and focus on the male sex status and masculine gender role. Not one of these books has been reviewed in any of the journals, to date.

It is most notable to us that at the same time when there is an increasing awareness about the disparity in power, status, privilege, and opportunity based on sex, women are actively challenging many of those issues head-on. Very directly, women cultivate sex-role issues, a fundamental area of societal conflict that has created so many barriers for them. Men have yet to actively, consistently, and numerically respond to the sex-role debate. We return to our title: sex, gender, and the social construction of knowledge in the social work profession.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

In this study we have attempted an in-depth look at "masculinity" as portrayed in the recent social work periodical literature. Operationally, this has entailed several specific tasks. The first was to define "masculinity;" the personal statement defined "masculinity" in terms of societal values and processes. In so doing, the statement developed a perspective on gender roles which is in keeping with the philosophy and aims of the anti-sexist movement.

Next, we have selected out and annotated those recent journal articles that relate to "masculinity" or gender role related issues. Using criteria developed via the personal statement, we have assessed each such article for its sensitivity to the gender role and related social change processes which we advocate.

We have also explored the relative participation of male and female authors in the professional journals. To the extent that publication is an indication of professional status and an asset in terms of career advancement (Gould and Kim, 1976), our aim in the gender demography has been to generate direct evidence of male and female status differentials within the profession. In addition, we sought to interpret the knowledge base we have reviewed in terms of these patterns of male and female authorship.

Our strongest overall impression from the journal articles reviewed is that social work authors are relatively unaware of the

relationships between societal prescriptions regarding "masculinity" and the needs and problems of males. Rather, authors seem to favor individualistic and psychodynamic perspectives. By contrast, authors offer sociocultural influences on populations defined in terms of age, race, or socioeconomic class. And, as we have shown, the feminist societal critique informs many of the articles that deal with the needs and problems of females.

These characterizations are not absolute, of course, for we did discover noteworthy exceptions. But by and large, authors of both sexes were often blind to the social conventionality of "masculinity." That this is true for female authors is especially striking since, with respect to the total article sample (of which male-specific topics were a minority), female authors were generally more alert to societal gender role factors.

We have suggested that authors' unwillingness to critique "masculinity" may be a reflection of society-wide patriarchal values. Our findings regarding patterns of male/female authorship substantiate that the social work profession is not immune to patriarchal influences; males remain the predominant contributors to the journals, the predominance of female authors addressing the gender role issue area notwithstanding. Other studies cited likewise reveal male predominance in doctoral programs, on graduate faculties, and in administrative positions, despite the fact that they constitute an absolute minority within the social work profession. We would speculate that, given the obvious advantages that they experience, male professionals would not likely encourage a critical evaluation of the masculine gender role and the mythology of male super-

iority. And since males are disproportionate contributors to the profession's knowledge base, in terms of both authorship and faculty positions, they enjoy disproportionate influence in reaffirming the "reality" that validates their continuing dominance.

We have also shown, however, that female authors have acted to challenge the myths of female inferiority and to expose related sexist discriminations. And a few male authors did openly address patriarchy within and without the profession. We hope this anti-sexist enclave will grow in size and influence, and will offer some directions for continued professional development toward this end.

Implications for the Social Work Profession

In Dilemmas of Masculinity Mirra Komarovsky states:

Change in power relations between two groups generally begins with concentration on the weaker party in its struggle for power. Gradually, as the struggle achieves some public recognition, attention tends to shift from the weaker party to the relationship between the two.
(1976, p. 1)

Her statement succinctly describes the status of gender role change in the professional periodical literature. Female authors and "feminine" role issues have predominated the gender role dialogue. As awareness of gender role issues has spread, authors have begun to consider the relationship between the sexes, and to focus on the effects of differential power. Loewenstein (1976), Alsbrook (1976), and several others have recently demonstrated how a focus on power relationships serves to relate individual, interpersonal, and societal processes.

For the social work profession to be meaningfully involved in the movement for sexual equality, as we believe it ought to be, several devel-

opments are necessary. Above all, the profession should dedicate itself to the goal of sexual equality within its own ranks. One of the inescapable conclusions we have drawn is that the traditional sexual division of labor, with its attendant inequities and discriminations, is alive and solidly entrenched in social work. We have documented this with regard to differential male and female contributions to the periodical literature. Others have found sexist norms reflected in salary inequities (Gould and Kim 1976, Chafetz 1972, and Scotch 1971), status differentials (Rosenblatt, et. al. 1970, and Scotch 1971), levels of educational attainment (Baldi 1971), and professional roles (Diangson, Kravetz, and Lipton 1975).

The social work profession should also make expanded use of sociological and political perspectives in defining problems and designing interventions. Berger's characterization of social work theory as "a somewhat bowdlerized version of psychoanalytic psychology, a sort of poor man's (sic) Freudianism," is all too true; individualistic, "apolitical" theories still hold sway (1963, p. 4). It is a credit to the anti-sexist movement that consideration of power relations has begun to emerge in the periodical literature.

Maryann MaHaffey has warned that the anti-sexist movement may become a "middle class" preoccupation (1976). We must add our concern to hers; we have noted that, to the extent that our sample articles discussed oppression in terms of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or other variously defined populations, they largely ignored sexual caste oppression. Yet, as Loewenstein has indicated (1976), a theory of power relations may interrelate these multiple social problems, and hence,

relate sexism to other forms of social oppression.

Finally, male social workers must become more responsive to gender role related issues. We call on male colleagues to explore the impacts of "masculinity" on their own lives and relationships, to address their oppression of females and their shared vested interest in perpetuating patriarchy within social work. We feel that men have a unique responsibility to become aware of the hazards and oppressiveness of "masculinity," to organize "men's studies" in professional education, and to support one another's liberation from traditional "masculinity." By so doing, men can begin to contribute to the goals of the anti-sexist movement.

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