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7	Corresponding Author	Organization	Department of Behavioral Sciences, College of Management
8		Division	
9		Address	7, Yitzhak Rabin Avenue, Rishon LeZion 75190, Israel
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## 4 Self Perceptions and Social Misconceptions: 5 The Implications of Gender Traits for Locus of Control 6 and Life Satisfaction

7 Dahlia Moore

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12 **Abstract** Are individuals who self-attribute both gender  
13 typical and gender atypical traits more satisfied with their  
14 lives than those who self-attribute only gender typical  
15 traits? It was assumed that men and women who self-  
16 attribute instrumental ('masculine') as well as expressive  
17 ('feminine') traits benefit both because they attain more  
18 control over their lives and also because a sense of control  
19 increases life satisfaction. Analyses of data from a repre-  
20 sentative Israeli (Jewish) sample of over 500 respondents  
21 show that men do indeed benefit from self-attribution of  
22 both instrumental and expressive traits, which increase their  
23 sense of control as well as their life satisfaction. Women, on  
24 the other hand, benefit only from the self-attribution of  
25 atypical ('masculine') traits, as their sense of control and  
26 their life satisfaction depend on instrumental traits, not on  
27 expressive ones. Thus, although the levels of control and  
28 life satisfaction that men and women report are similar, the  
29 process by which they reach these levels is different and  
30 gender-specific.

31 **Keywords** Life satisfaction · Sense of control ·  
32 Instrumental and expressive gender traits

33 Many of the studies that focus on what makes people  
34 content with their lives distinguish between two related  
35 aspects: the cognitive and affective dimensions of subjec-  
36 tive well-being (SWB). The cognitive dimension is usually

referred to as life satisfaction, whereas the affective 37  
dimension represents positive and negative emotions such 38  
as happiness and loneliness (Klonowicz 2001). 39

Most researchers agree that, although life satisfaction 40  
fluctuates over time (Diener et al. 2003), in the long run, 41  
even exhilarating or traumatic events do not change it 42  
drastically. One explanation for that is that personality 43  
explains most of the variability in life satisfaction, and, as 44  
personality traits and dispositions tend to be stable over 45  
time, they create stability in levels of life satisfaction 46  
(Diener et al. 1999). Researchers refer to diverse aspects of 47  
personality when discussing life satisfaction. Some focus 48  
on locus of control (Spector et al. 2001, Wardle et al. 2004), 49  
others on self esteem (Diener and Fujita 1995), depression 50  
(Hong and Giannakopoulos 1994), introversion and extro- 51  
version (Harrington and Loffredo 2001), or trust (Lucas and 52  
Fujita 2000). Fewer researchers refer to instrumental and 53  
expressive traits as related to life satisfaction. The present 54  
study was focused on instrumental and expressive traits, as 55  
well as on internal and external locus of control. 56

For many years, personality traits were gendered, such 57  
that instrumental traits (e.g., assertive, dominant, competi- 58  
tive) were considered more appropriate for men, whereas 59  
expressive traits (e.g., gentle, affable, considerate) were 60  
considered more appropriate for women. Repeated applica- 61  
tions of Bem's (1981, 1987) Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) 62  
have shown that, in most studies, there are 5–8 trait factors, 63  
the strongest of which are the instrumental factor (including 64  
such traits as analytical, decisive, leader, and assertive) and 65  
the expressive factor (including such traits as understand- 66  
ing, sympathetic, and loyal) (e.g., Moore and Aweiss 2003). 67  
In recent decades, researchers in many Western societies 68  
have found greater variability in the personality traits that 69  
women attribute to themselves than men attribute to 70  
themselves (e.g., Bem 1987; Moore 2003). But do changes 71

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D. Moore (✉)  
Department of Behavioral Sciences, College of Management,  
7, Yitzhak Rabin Avenue,  
Rishon LeZion 75190, Israel  
e-mail: dmoore@colman.ac.il

72 in self-attributed traits affect life satisfaction? In other  
73 words—are individuals who self-attribute both instrumental  
74 and expressive traits more satisfied with their lives than  
75 those who self-attribute only gender typical traits?

76 Self-attribution of ‘masculine’ (instrumental) traits has  
77 been associated with more effective coping behaviors than  
78 self-attribution of ‘feminine’ (expressive) traits (Leung and  
79 Moore 2003; Thompson et al. 1993). Therefore, it is not  
80 surprising that women tend to self-attribute instrumental  
81 traits more than men self-attribute expressive traits (Moore  
82 1999; Twenge 1999).

83 This seems to indicate that the social construction of  
84 masculinity and femininity is weakening. Instead of the  
85 clear-cut distinction between feminine and masculine traits,  
86 there is today a more flexible perception of these concepts  
87 (i.e., androgyny) that allows people to include in their  
88 gender schema components that were not hitherto consid-  
89 ered consistent with other gendered traits. Women today  
90 may see themselves as highly feminine but also as  
91 ambitious, decisive, and independent, whereas men may  
92 see themselves as highly masculine but also as loyal,  
93 sensitive, and considerate (Lengua and Stormshak 2000).

94 The combination of instrumental and expressive traits is  
95 advantageous for two reasons. First, it denotes individuals  
96 who are more flexible and adaptable than those who are  
97 either masculine or feminine (Smith et al. 2001; Woodhill  
98 and Samuels 2003). Second, it incorporates two routes for  
99 attaining internal locus of control: the instrumental and the  
100 expressive.

101 Rotter’s (1966) definition of locus of control refers to the  
102 expectation that one’s behavior is generally controlled by  
103 internal or external forces. According to this approach,  
104 individuals with internal locus of control believe that their  
105 behaviors and actions control their lives, whereas individ-  
106 uals with external control believe that arbitrary events over  
107 which they have no control (such as fate, luck, or society)  
108 rule their lives (Hong and Giannakopoulos 1994). The  
109 approach according to which sense of control reflects  
110 personal mastery is shared by many (e.g., Lefcourt 1981;  
111 Prenda and Lachman 2001), despite problems of definition  
112 and measurement (Antonucci 2001; Skinner 1996).

113 However, the existing measures of locus of control do  
114 not take into account the possibility of alternative ways to  
115 attain mastery or control that individuals may apply. They  
116 refer only to assumed internal states that explain why  
117 certain people actively and willingly try to deal with  
118 difficult circumstances (internal control), whereas others  
119 do not (external control) (Lewis et al. 1999). This approach  
120 to locus of control assumes that internal control is based on  
121 stable personality traits, such as information seeking  
122 (Lefcourt and Davidson-Katz 1991), alertness (Lefcourt  
123 1981), and decision making (Hawk 1990), all of which are  
124 *instrumental* characteristics (Mirowsky et al. 1996).

The approach presented in the present study suggests  
that other stable-expressive-traits such as empathy or the  
ability to rely on friends to attain one’s goals, are an  
alternative means of attaining control. Thus, expressive  
individuals may increase their control over life events (i.e.,  
internal locus of control) through their control of social  
relations. This is an innovative viewpoint according to  
which the locus of control approach that distinguishes  
between internal and external control should be modified. It  
indicates that individuals who lack the instrumental type of  
locus of control may still have internal control, if they turn  
to alternative means.

The ability to ‘tap’ both instrumental and expressive  
sources of control enables individuals to shift from one  
source to the other according to context rather than being  
compelled to use the same type of control even when it is  
less appropriate or productive (Sharpe et al. 1995). If  
rational, instrumental actions do not lead to desired  
consequences, androgyny enables a turn to expressive  
means to attain the same end rather than to the development  
of a sense of lack of control (Moore 1998). Hence, we can  
expect instrumental traits and internal control to be  
correlated, but can we expect *expressive* traits to be  
correlated with internal control, i.e., can they be considered  
an alternative means of attaining internal control? We also  
need to examine whether instrumental and expressive traits  
are related to external control.

H<sub>1</sub>: Both instrumental and expressive traits are means  
to attain internal locus of control. Therefore, both  
would be significantly correlated with internal control.  
H<sub>1a</sub>: For women, expressive traits influence both  
internal and external locus of control more than  
instrumental traits do.

H<sub>1b</sub>: For men, the impact of instrumental traits on  
internal and external locus of control is stronger than  
the impact of expressive traits.

The above questions are important to any analysis of life  
satisfaction because the belief that behavior and its  
consequences are consistent has been associated with  
greater life satisfaction (Klonowicz 2001; Lachman and  
Prenda 2004). Furthermore, some researchers have demon-  
strated that internal locus of control is a powerful predictor  
of life satisfaction; its predictive power ranges from 4.6 to  
23% (see Hong and Giannakopoulos 1994). Evidence  
concerning the effects of external control on life satisfaction  
has not been reported.

Examination of the influences of both internal and  
external control on life satisfaction may tell us whether  
the later counterbalances or offsets the former and how  
strongly each is influenced by instrumental and expressive  
traits. In addition, because the influence of factors such as  
income, age, and religion was found to be weak (Suh et al.

177 1998, but see also Mirowsky 1995) and the findings  
 178 concerning their impact are contradictory (McLeod and  
 179 Owens 2004), they were included in the present analysis. A  
 180 nonrecursive model enabled the examination of these  
 181 relationships (see Fig. 1).

182 H<sub>2</sub>: Life satisfaction would be *directly* influenced by  
 183 internal and external locus of control and by instru-  
 184 mental and external traits.

185 H<sub>2a</sub>: Internal locus of control increases life satisfaction,  
 186 and external control decreases it.

187 H<sub>2b</sub>: Instrumental and external traits positively affect  
 188 life satisfaction.

190 Currently there is insufficient information from previous  
 191 research to determine whether the same factors influence  
 192 the life satisfaction of men and women and the extent of  
 193 their influence on each gender. We do know that men and  
 194 women report similar levels of life satisfaction in diverse  
 195 societies (Prenda and Lachman 2001), but we do not know  
 196 how they develop these levels. Although the gendering of  
 197 personality traits has diminished, the applicability of the  
 198 suggested model to men and women may vary such that the  
 199 role of internal and external control may differ. There may  
 200 also be differences among societies in this respect. Hofstede  
 201 (2000) showed that the masculinity–femininity distinction  
 202 applies to nations as well as to individuals, and he claimed  
 203 that these cultural differences determine “what is ‘normal’  
 204 and ‘abnormal’ behavior in a particular society” (p. 116)  
 205 and thus define the socialization framework at the individ-  
 206 ual level. Masculine societies differentiate the emotional  
 207 roles of men and women as well as their ways of coping. In  
 208 masculine societies, men are ego-enhancers who focus on  
 209 mastery, and women are ego-effacers who focus on social  
 210 relations; in feminine societies, emotional roles are more  
 211 evenly distributed. Hofstede (2000) ranked 40 countries  
 212 from the most masculine to the most feminine; Israel is in  
 213 the middle of that range. Thus, Israel is located advanta-

214 geously for the study of self-attribution of traits and its  
 215 impact.

216 The hypothesis concerning gender differences, therefore,  
 217 lacks specificity.

218 H<sub>3</sub>: There would be significant differences in the  
 219 applicability of the model to men and women.  
 220 Therefore, instrumental and expressive traits and  
 221 internal and external control would have different  
 222 coefficients in the models for men and women.

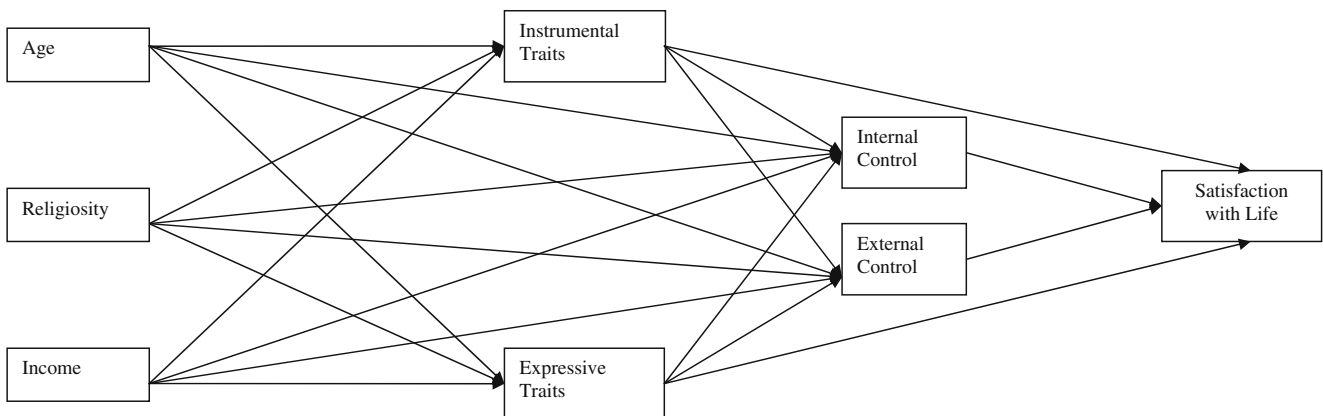
223 As previous research (e.g., Diener and Fujita 1995; Suh  
 224 et al. 1998) has shown that social variables exert weak, but  
 225 significant, effects on life satisfaction, three additional  
 226 factors were examined in the model: age, religiosity, and  
 227 income.

**Method** 228

Participants and Procedure 229

230 The representative sample (N=507) was drawn from the  
 231 Israeli population in 2005. The respondents’ ages ranged  
 232 from 20 to 70 years. The sample includes 319 women and  
 233 188 men, 37% of them religious or tradition-oriented and  
 234 the rest 63% secular. About 40% of the sample defined  
 235 themselves as having above-average income, another 40%  
 236 as having about average income, the rest 20% as below-  
 237 average income. The average education is 13.5 years of  
 238 schooling. No significant differences in age, religiosity,  
 239 income, or education were found between men and women  
 240 in the sample (see Table 1).

241 Data were collected by telephone interviews (conducted  
 242 at the respondents’ homes) within 1 month in order to limit  
 243 possible biases caused by national and political changes  
 244 that might have sensitized respondents to the analyzed  
 245 issues. Incomplete questionnaires (3%) and refusals to  
 246 respond (6%) were excluded from further analysis and



**Fig. 1** Theoretical nonrecursive model.

Q1 t1.1 **Table 1** Mean differences between men ( $N=86$ ) and women ( $N=317$ ).

t1.2		SEX1	Mean	Std. deviation	<i>t</i>
t1.3	Religiosity	Women	.39	.487	.992
t1.4		Men	.34	.475	
t1.5	Income	Women	.40	.490	.940
t1.6		Men	.36	.480	
t1.7	Age	Women	43.48	15.554	-.851
t1.8		Men	44.73	16.452	
t1.9	Education	Women	13.82	2.443	.786
t1.10		Men	13.24	2.776	
t1.11	Expressive traits	Women	33.08	3.814	2.390 <sup>a</sup>
t1.12		Men	32.21	3.895	
t1.13	Instrumental traits	Women	31.77	5.489	-2.341 <sup>a</sup>
t1.14		Men	32.94	4.784	
t1.15	Relative deprivation	Women	.38	.485	1.826
t1.16		Men	.30	.457	
t1.17	External control	Women	10.36	2.924	3.153 <sup>b</sup>
t1.18		Men	9.47	3.316	
t1.19	Internal control	Women	12.49	2.536	-1.587
t1.20		Men	12.85	2.159	
t1.21	Life satisfaction	Women	6.88	1.775	-.483
t1.22		Men	6.96	1.543	

t1.23 <sup>a</sup>  $p \leq .01$ , <sup>b</sup>  $p \leq .05$ .

247 replaced by data from others. The proportions of gender,  
 248 ethnic origin, and geographic location categories in the  
 249 sample correspond to those of the entire population in  
 250 2004, as reported by the Israeli Bureau of Statistics (2005).  
 251 In addition to measures of life satisfaction, relative  
 252 deprivation, and perceptions of gender roles, the question-  
 253 naires contained questions regarding locus of control,  
 254 instrumental and expressive traits, and demographic char-  
 255 acteristics. As the present study is part of a larger project,  
 256 the questionnaire had many other questions that pertain to  
 257 political attitudes and opinions that were not analyzed for  
 258 the present study and are therefore not discussed here.

259 **Variables and Measure**

260 *Life Satisfaction*

262 Life satisfaction was examined by two questions. The first  
 263 asked how satisfied the respondents were with their lives  
 264 (measured on a 9-point Likert scale from 1 = totally  
 265 dissatisfied, to 9 = very satisfied). The second (measured on  
 266 a 5-point Likert scale) asked whether, in comparison with  
 267 others, what the respondents get in life is—much less than  
 268 they expect (=1) or much more than they expect (=5). A  
 269 varimax rotated factor analysis (using Kaiser’s Normalization)  
 270 revealed a single factor in which the higher the value, the  
 271 higher the life satisfaction (Cronbach  $\alpha = .70$ ).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Results of the confirmatory factor analysis may be obtained from the author.

*Locus of Control*

272

274 Seven items were drawn from Paulhus’ (1983) Spheres of  
 275 Control Scale. The items were selected from each subscale  
 276 on the basis of the part–whole correlation between the item  
 277 and its subscale, and their values were combined. Respond-  
 278 ents were asked to indicate how appropriate they consider  
 279 each item to be for them on a 6-point Likert scale from 1 =  
 280 totally inappropriate to 6 = totally appropriate. A varimax  
 281 rotated factor analysis using Kaiser’s Normalization  
 282 revealed two distinct factors<sup>2</sup>: (1) *External control* includes  
 283 three items: “I don’t know what is right and what is wrong  
 284 in our society,” “Things have become so complicated today,  
 285 that I don’t understand what is happening,” “Things change  
 286 so quickly today, that I don’t know what will remain the  
 287 same tomorrow” (Cronbach  $\alpha = .79$ ). (2) *Internal control*  
 288 includes four items: “Even in difficult situations I always  
 289 find diverse ways to act; I can learn almost anything, if I  
 290 only decide to do it,” “I can determine most of the things in  
 291 my life,” “Usually, I succeed in attaining what I want”  
 292 (Cronbach  $\alpha = .67$ ).

*Instrumental and Expressive Traits*

293

295 Sixteen items were drawn from the list of traits provided in  
 296 Bem’s Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem 1981). Eight items  
 297 represent instrumental traits, and eight items represent  
 298 expressive traits. The items were selected from each  
 299 subscale on the basis of the part–whole correlation between  
 300 the item and its scale, and their values were combined.  
 301 Respondents were asked “In your opinion how well does  
 302 each characteristic fit you?” Items were rated on a 7-point  
 303 Likert scale that ranged from 1 = does not fit at all to 7 =  
 304 fits very well. The instrumental traits were: ambitious,  
 305 analytical, competitive, decisive, leadership ability, inde-  
 306 pendent, assertive, and forceful (Cronbach  $\alpha = .82$ ). The  
 307 expressive traits were: considerate, understanding, warm,  
 308 polite, sensitive to others, sympathetic, loyal, and optimistic  
 309 (Cronbach  $\alpha = .79$ ) (Bem 1987). The items were mixed when  
 310 presented to respondents in order to avoid biases, and were  
 311 later separated into different scales. In accord with Spence  
 312 and Helmreich (1978), the responses to items were added  
 313 for each scale separately, but each item was weighted first  
 314 according to its loading in a varimax rotated factor analysis  
 315 (using Kaiser’s Normalization) to force a two factor  
 316 solution. In each factor, the higher the value, the more  
 317 appropriate the traits. All items were transformed so that  
 318 they represented the trait and not the adjective (i.e.,

<sup>2</sup> Results of the confirmatory factor analysis may be obtained from the Author.

319 decisiveness rather than decisive), as adjectives in Hebrew  
320 are gendered.<sup>3</sup>

321 Four demographic characteristics were included in the analyses  
322 in order to control for the social context. *Religiosity* was  
323 measured on a 4-point scale: 1 = orthodox, 2 = religious, 3 =  
324 tradition oriented, and 0 = secular. It was recoded to create a  
325 dichotomy in which 1 = all respondents who are not secular  
326 and 0 = secular. For *Age*, a continuous measure was used.  
327 *Income* was measured on a 5-point scale: 5 = much more than  
328 average, 4 = more than average, 3 = about average, 2 = below  
329 average, and 1 = much below average. It was recoded to  
330 create a dichotomy in which 1 = above average and 0 =  
331 average or below. *Gender* was coded as men = 1; women = 0.

332 Analyses

333 First, I examined the differences between the two gender  
334 groups regarding all the measures: life satisfaction, locus of  
335 control, instrumental and expressive traits, age, income, and  
336 religiosity. The correlations between the variables were also  
337 examined. Second, to examine the theoretical model and its  
338 hypotheses (see Fig. 1), I used a recursive structural equation  
339 model (SEM) for each gender group (Fox 1980). According  
340 to Byrne (1998), structural equation models lead to two  
341 implications. First, the causal processes under study are  
342 represented by a series of structural (i.e., regression) equa-  
343 tions. Second, the structural relations can be presented  
344 graphically. The hypothesized model can be tested statistically  
345 in a simultaneous analysis of the entire system of variables to  
346 determine the extent to which it is consistent with the data:

$$B\eta = \Gamma\xi + \zeta$$

348 Where  $\mu$  (eta) represents the set of endogenous variables,  $\xi$   
349 (xi) represents the set of exogenous (latent) variables,  $B$  (Beta)  
350 represents the set of regression coefficients that relate the  
351 endogenous variables to each other,  $\Gamma$  (gamma) represents the  
352 set of regression coefficients that relate endogenous variables  
353 to exogenous ones, and  $\zeta$  (zeta) represents the set of  
354 disturbance terms (residuals) for each equation. The analysis  
355 was performed separately for men and women to determine  
356 whether the factors that influence life satisfaction for the two  
357 groups are the same.<sup>4</sup>

**Results**

358

359 To examine the basic differences between men and women,  
360 their mean scores on all the measures used in the model  
361 were compared. As expected (see Table 1), there were  
362 significant differences in the self-attribution of the instru-  
363 mental and expressive measures that combine the specific  
364 traits: Men tended to self-attribute instrumental traits more  
365 than women did, and women tended to self-attribute  
366 expressive traits more than men did,<sup>5</sup> although there were  
367 no differences in the self attribution of many of the *specific*  
368 traits. (See Table 2). Still, both genders self-attributed *both*  
369 instrumental and expressive traits, which indicates, perhaps,  
370 that in Israel expressive traits as well as instrumental traits are  
371 means of gaining control over life situations. The only other  
372 measure in which significant gender differences were found is  
373 external control; women had higher external locus of control  
374 than men did. There were no significant differences between  
375 the two groups in life satisfaction and no differences in the  
376 three demographic variables: religiosity, age, and income.<sup>6</sup>

377 Although there were almost no significant differences in  
378 the means of some of the measures, I expected these variables  
379 to have a different impact on the life satisfaction of men and  
380 women. To test this assumption, the theoretical model (Fig. 1)  
381 was examined empirically. The examination was carried out  
382 separately for each gender group (see Figs. 2 and 3 and  
383 Table 3). Only the significant effects are presented in the  
384 figures (All effects are presented in Table 3).

385 Examination of the models for both gender groups  
386 indicates that the life satisfaction of men and women may  
387 be formed by different processes. The life satisfaction of  
388 women was *directly* influenced only by internal control and  
389 instrumental traits, such that both strengthen life satisfac-  
390 tion. Men's life satisfaction, too, was positively and directly  
391 influenced by internal control and instrumental traits, but it  
392 also was affected *positively* by expressive traits and *nega-*  
393 *tively* by external control (i.e., expressive traits strengthen  
394 life satisfaction, and external control reduces it). The more  
395 detailed results of these analyses are presented in two  
396 segments. The first expounds the findings concerning  
397 internal and external control of men and women; the second  
398 conveys the findings regarding life satisfaction.

Q2 <sup>3</sup> Results of the confirmatory factor analysis may be obtained from the Author.

<sup>4</sup> Analyses are based on minimization of discrepancy functions (Browne 1982):  $C(\alpha, a) = [N - r] \frac{\sum_{g=1}^G \sum_{i=1}^p \sum_{j=1}^p (\mu_i^{(g)} - \alpha_i)(\mu_j^{(g)} - \alpha_j)}{N} = [N - r]F(\alpha, a)$ , where  $N^{(g)}$  = the number of observations in group  $g$ ;  $\mu^{(g)}$  = mean vector for group  $g$ ;  $\Sigma^{(g)}$  = population covariance matrix for group  $g$ ;  $S^{(g)}$  = sample covariance matrix for group  $g$ ;  $\mathbf{a}$  = vector of order  $p$  containing the sample moments for all groups;  $\alpha$  = vector of order  $p$  containing the population moments for all groups;  $F(\alpha, \mathbf{a})$  = function that is minimized in fitting model to sample.

<sup>5</sup> These findings may be inflated by the tendency of some respondents to agree with positive statements, as discussed by Mirowsky and Ross (1991).

<sup>6</sup> Although there were no significant differences between men and women in age, religiosity, or income, these demographic factors were significantly correlated for women, but not for men (see Appendix). Thus, older women had lower incomes than younger women, and religious women had lower incomes than younger women. No such relationships were found for men.

t2.1 **Table 2** Mean differences in gender traits of men ( $N=186$ ) and women ( $N=317$ ).

t2.2		SEX1	Mean	Std. deviation	$t$
t2.3	Instrumental (masculine) traits				
t2.4	Optimistic	.00	5.58	1.546	-1.631
t2.5		1.00	5.81	1.339	
t2.6	Independent	.00	6.15	1.276	.042
t2.7		1.00	6.15	1.069	
t2.8	Assertive	.00	5.79	1.425	-1.158
t2.9		1.00	5.93	1.162	
t2.10	Tough	.00	5.97	1.254	-.184
t2.11		1.00	5.99	1.055	
t2.12	Analytical	.00	6.00	1.146	.698
t2.13		1.00	5.93	.936	
t2.14	Decisive	.00	5.51	1.460	-.733
t2.15		1.00	5.61	1.222	
t2.16	Ambitious	.00	5.12	1.794	-3.611 <sup>a</sup>
t2.17		1.00	5.67	1.278	
t2.18	Leadership	.00	5.11	1.653	-2.328 <sup>b</sup>
t2.19		1.00	5.45	1.348	
t2.20	Competitive	.00	4.12	1.858	-5.611 <sup>a</sup>
t2.21		1.00	5.05	1.588	
t2.22	Expressive (feminine) traits				
t2.23	Indulging	.00	4.70	1.705	.223
t2.24		1.00	4.67	1.762	
t2.25	Loyal	.00	6.71	.703	2.727 <sup>a</sup>
t2.26		1.00	6.52	.872	
t2.27	Considerate	.00	6.43	.844	2.732 <sup>a</sup>
t2.28		1.00	6.20	.910	
t2.29	Easygoing	.00	6.15	1.047	1.846
t2.30		1.00	5.97	1.005	
t2.31	Responsive	.00	6.30	1.104	3.407 <sup>a</sup>
t2.32		1.00	5.96	1.062	
t2.33	Restrained	.00	5.46	1.381	-.871
t2.34		1.00	5.57	1.260	
t2.35	Friendly	.00	6.20	1.083	1.560
t2.36		1.00	6.04	1.002	
t2.37	Understanding	.00	6.40	.819	3.086 <sup>a</sup>
t2.38		1.00	6.15	.897	
t2.39	Gentle	.00	5.72	1.289	1.180
t2.40		1.00	5.58	1.214	

t2.41 <sup>a</sup> $p \leq .01$ , <sup>b</sup> $p \leq .05$ .

399 Locus of Control of Men and Women

400 To test  $H_1$ , I examined whether both instrumental and  
 401 expressive traits are related to internal locus of control of  
 402 men and women, and may be considered means to attain it,  
 403 and the traits' impact on external control.

404 Although Table 1 shows that there were no significant  
 405 differences in the mean level of internal control of wom-  
 406 en (mean=12.49) and men (mean=12.85),  $t=-1.59$ ,  $df=$   
 407 486, Figs. 2 and 3 and Table 3 show that the factors that

affect women's and men's locus of control are different. 408  
 Women's internal control was influenced directly and 409  
 positively by instrumental traits (i.e., the more instrumental 410  
 women tended to report stronger internal control) and 411  
 negatively by age (i.e., older women reported weaker 412  
 internal control). The impact of instrumentality on women 413  
 was much stronger than that of age,  $\beta=.58$  and  $\beta=-.16$ , 414  
 respectively. 415

This finding is in contrast with Hypothesis 1<sub>a</sub>, according 416  
 to which expressive traits would influence both the internal 417  
 and external locus of control of women more than 418  
 instrumental traits would. In fact, the impact of instrumental 419  
 traits on women's internal control is the strongest in both 420  
 models. Expressive traits, on the other hand, had *no* 421  
 significant influence on women's internal control. 422

Examination of the *indirect* effects in the women's model 423  
 shows that women's locus of control was indirectly influenced 424  
 by level of income, such that those who are well to do (above 425  
 average incomes) tended to have more internal control 426  
 because they self-attributed instrumental traits more than did 427  
 women from average or lower incomes (See Tables 4 and 5). 428

Men's internal locus of control also was influenced by 429  
 instrumental traits,  $\beta=.22$ , and by age,  $\beta=-.18$ , but, in 430  
 addition, it was positively influenced by expressive traits 431  
 (i.e., expressive men tended to report stronger internal 432  
 control,  $\beta=.30$ ) and negatively by religiosity (i.e., religious 433  
 men tended to report weaker internal control,  $\beta=-.21$ ). The 434  
 indirect effects for men were weaker than they were for 435  
 women. These findings are also in contrast with expectations. 436  
 According to Hypothesis 1<sub>b</sub>, the impact of instrumental traits 437  
 on men's internal and external control would be stronger 438  
 than the impact of expressive traits. However, the analysis 439  
 shows that the impact of expressive traits was *stronger* than 440  
 that of instrumental traits,  $\beta=.296$  and  $\beta=.223$ , respectively. 441

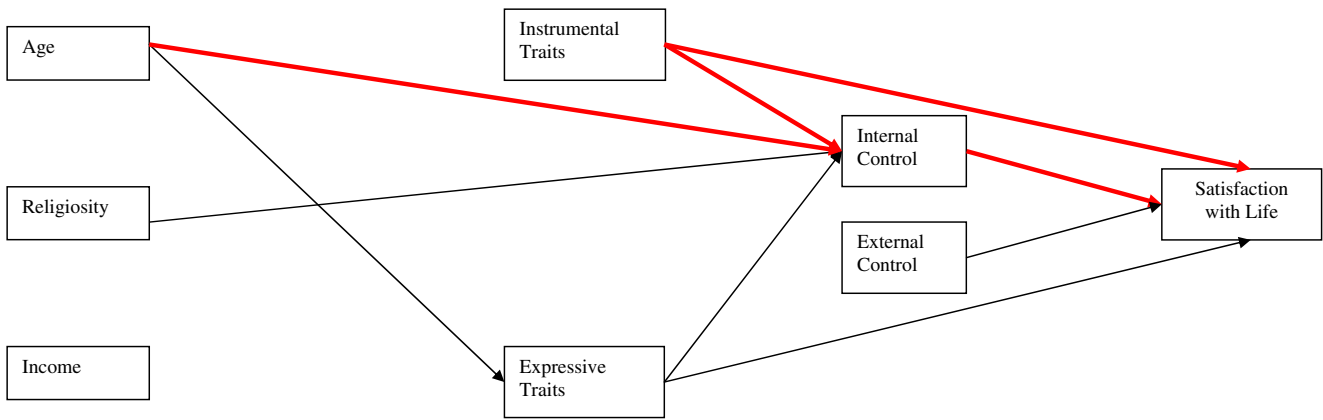
The findings concerning external control are also surpris- 442  
 ing. Men's external control was not influenced directly and 443  
 significantly by any of the models' variables. There were 444  
 some indirect effects, but all are rather weak. Women's 445  
 external control, on the other hand, was not only significantly 446  
 stronger than men's (see Table 1), but it also was influenced 447  
 by three factors. It was negatively influenced by instrumental 448  
 traits,  $\beta=-.13$ , and by income,  $\beta=-.21$ , and positively 449  
 influenced by expressive traits,  $\beta=.112$ . Thus, it may be 450  
 said that for women, having instrumental ('masculine') traits 451  
 and higher income *reduces* external locus of control, and 452  
 having expressive ('feminine') traits *strengthens* external 453  
 locus of control. 454

Life Satisfaction of Men and Women 455

The second segment of the models' analysis focused on the 456  
 factors that contribute to the shaping of life satisfaction. 457  
 The theoretical model and  $H_2$  assume that life satisfaction is 458

Sex Roles

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**Fig. 2** Men's empirical model.

459 *directly* influenced by internal and external locus of control  
 460 and by instrumental and external traits. This was found to  
 461 be true only for men.

462 Men's life satisfaction was positively influenced by  
 463 internal control,  $\beta=.235$ , instrumental traits,  $\beta=.157$ , and  
 464 expressive traits,  $\beta=.175$ , and it was negatively influenced  
 465 by external control,  $\beta=-.216$ . Thus, as expected ( $H_{2a}$ ),  
 466 internal locus of control increases life satisfaction, and  
 467 external control decreases it, and their impact is of similar  
 468 magnitude.  $H_{2b}$ , according to which instrumental and  
 469 external traits positively affect life satisfaction, was also  
 470 confirmed for men, and it is interesting to note that the  
 471 influence of expressive ('feminine') traits is *stronger* than  
 472 that of instrumental ('masculine') traits. There were also  
 473 weak indirect influences of instrumental and expressive  
 474 traits on men's life satisfaction, which strengthened the  
 475 aforementioned effects (See Table 4).

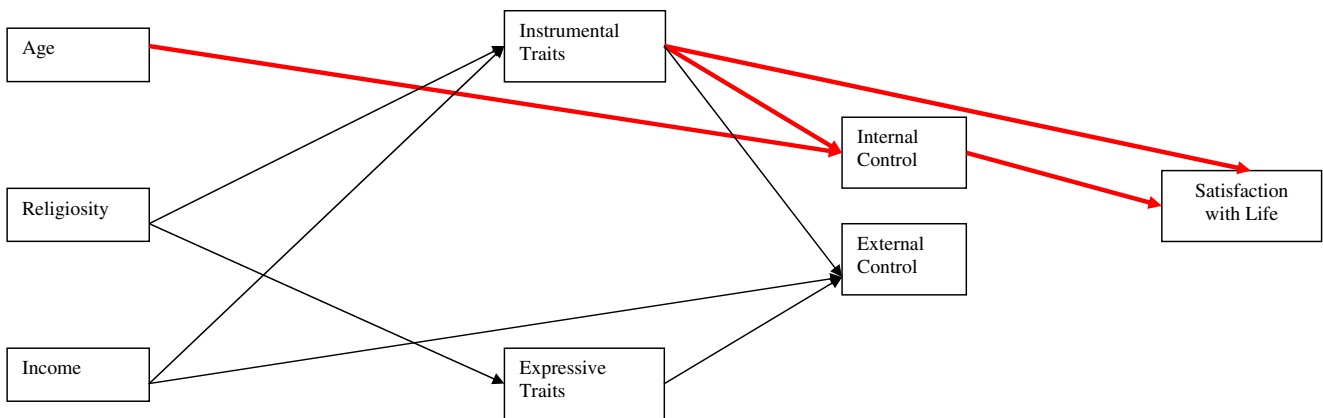
476 In contrast, women's life satisfaction was affected only  
 477 by two factors: internal control,  $\beta=.222$ , and instrumental  
 478 traits,  $\beta=.194$ . Examination of the indirect effects shows  
 479 that the *indirect* influences are also significant: The indirect

effect of instrumental traits (.142) almost doubled the  
 standardized direct effect to yield a total effect that is much  
 higher than the direct effect (.336). The weak positive effect  
 of expressive traits on life satisfaction was obliterated by a  
 negative indirect effect of the same magnitude (direct effect  
 = .027, indirect effect = -.029). There was also a significant  
 indirect effect of income that influenced women's life  
 satisfaction through its impact on instrumental traits (see  
 Table 5), which indicates that well-to-do women reported  
 greater life satisfaction. No such effect was found for men.

Gender Differences in the Process

As the analyses so far indicate, and in accord with  $H_3$ , there  
 are significant differences in the applicability of the model to  
 men and women. Although the compared means show but a  
 few significant differences between men and women (see  
 Table 1), the models that depict the process by which life  
 satisfaction is formed vary (see Figs. 2 and 3). In fact, the  
 analysis shows that there are significant differences in *all* of  
 the coefficients in the models for men and women (see

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**Fig. 3** Women's empirical model.

**Table 3** Structural equation model for life satisfaction of men and women: maximum likelihood estimates and coefficient comparisons.

t3.1	Men (N=188)					
	Coefficient comparison	Standard. estimate	Unstand. estimate	S.E.	C.R.	Standard. estimate
t3.2						
t3.3						
t3.4	-9.711*	.061	.020	.021	1.091	.008
t3.5	-17.501*	.227	.248	.995	4.019*	.132
t3.6	-3.580*	.127	.628	1.435	2.286*	.119
t3.7	14.316*	.065	.014	.016	1.166	.156
t3.8	7.872*	-.000	.173	-.001	-.003	.049
t3.9	-13.137*	.237	.438	1.852	4.229*	.145
t3.10	5.034*	-.161	.008	-.027	-3.510*	-.178
t3.11	11.250*	.034	.098	.069	.702	.104
t3.12	-32.191*	-.019	.250	-.101	-.403	-.213
t3.13	-66.416*	.581	.022	.270	12.164*	.223
t3.14	61.210*	-.060	.032	-.040	-1.247	.296
t3.15	6.510*	.050	.010	.009	.923	.085
t3.16	8.106*	-.209	.131	-.489	-3.732*	-.126
t3.17	6.540*	.059	.335	.357	1.065	.091
t3.18	34.058*	-.126	.030	-.067	-2.228*	.104
t3.19	-4.760*	.157	.043	.120	2.777*	.112
t3.20	-6.535*	.194	.021	.063	2.941*	.157
t3.21	22.215*	.027	.025	.013	.498	.175
t3.22	3.075*	.222	.045	.154	3.400*	.235
t3.23	-11.758*	-.100	.033	-.061	-1.839	-.210
t3.24				22.087		
t3.25				8		
t3.26				.005		
t3.27				2.761		
t3.28				.050		
t3.29						

1 = Unstandardized regression weights of parameters.

2 = Standard error (estimates).

3 = Critical Ratio. This is the parameter estimate divided by the estimated standard error. This statistic has a standard normal distribution under the null hypothesis according to which the parameter has a population value of zero. Its interpretation: For any unconstrained parameter, the square of its critical ratio is, approximately, the amount by which the chi-square statistic would increase if the analysis were repeated with that parameter fixed at zero.

4 = Standardized regression weights of parameters.

\* $p \leq .05$ .

Regression weights:  
 instrumental <- Age  
 instrumental <- Income  
 instrumental <- Religiosity  
 expressive <- Age  
 expressive <- Income  
 expressive <- Religiosity  
 Internal control <- Age  
 Internal control <- Income  
 Internal control <- Religiosity  
 Internal control <- Instrumental  
 Internal control <- Expressive  
 external control <- Age  
 external control <- Income  
 external control <- Religiosity  
 external control <- Instrumental  
 external control <- Expressive  
 Life satisfaction <- Instrumental  
 Life satisfaction <- Expressive  
 Life satisfaction <- Internal control  
 Life satisfaction <- External control  
 Chi-square  
 Degrees of freedom  
 Probability level  
 CMIN/DF  
 RMSEA

Sex Roles

Q3 t4.1 **Table 4** Total, direct, and indirect effects: men only.

t4.2		Religiosity	Income	Age	Expressive traits	Instrumental traits	Internal control	External control
t4.3	Standardized total effects							
t4.4	Expressive	1.188	.160	.037	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.5	Instrumental	1.202	.535	.002	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.6	Internal ctrl	-.642	.266	-.017	.162	.099	.000	.000
t4.7	External ctrl	.829	-.300	.021	.095	.072	.000	.000
t4.8	Satisfaction	-.047	.111	-.002	.086	.059	.168	-.096
t4.9	Standardized total effects							
t4.10	Expressive	.145	.049	.156	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.11	Instrumental	.119	.132	.008	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.12	Internal ctrl	-.144	.148	-.130	.296	.223	.000	.000
t4.13	External ctrl	.119	-.107	.103	.112	.104	.000	.000
t4.14	Satisfaction	-.015	.086	-.024	.220	.187	.235	-.210
t4.15	Direct effects							
t4.16	Expressive	1.188	.160	.037	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.17	Instrumental	1.202	.535	.002	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.18	Internal ctrl	-.953	.188	-.023	.162	.099	.000	.000
t4.19	External ctrl	.629	-.354	.017	.095	.072	.000	.000
t4.20	Satisfaction	.000	.000	.000	.068	.050	.168	-.096
t4.21	Standardized direct effects							
t4.22	Expressive	.145	.049	.156	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.23	Instrumental	.119	.132	.008	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.24	Internal ctrl	-.213	.104	-.178	.296	.223	.000	.000
t4.25	External ctrl	.091	-.126	.085	.112	.104	.000	.000
t4.26	Satisfaction	.000	.000	.000	.175	.157	.235	-.210
t4.27	Indirect effects							
t4.28	Expressive	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.29	Instrumental	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.30	Internal ctrl	.311	.079	.006	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.31	External ctrl	.200	.054	.004	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.32	Satisfaction	-.047	.111	-.002	.018	.010	.000	.000
t4.33	Standardized indirect effects							
t4.34	Expressive	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.35	Instrumental	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.36	Internal ctrl	.070	.044	.048	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.37	External ctrl	.029	.019	.018	.000	.000	.000	.000
t4.38	Satisfaction	-.015	.086	-.024	.046	.031	.000	.000

499 Table 3, last column). The two models show clearly that only  
 500 four paths (depicted in thicker lines in the two figures) are  
 501 common to the two groups, though the effects magnitude  
 502 varies: Age and instrumental traits influence internal control,  
 503 which in turn influences life satisfaction in both models.

504 The differences between the models for the two gender  
 505 groups are no less illuminating. A look at the model for  
 506 men shows that men benefit from self-attributing expressive  
 507 traits as it increases both their locus of control and their life  
 508 satisfaction. Thus, by combining both instrumental and  
 509 expressive traits, men attain greater life satisfaction. It is  
 510 also interesting to note that self-attribution of expressive  
 511 traits increases with age, such that older men benefit more:  
 512 Their expressive traits not only increase their internal locus

of control, they also negate some of the *negative* direct  
 influence of age on internal control.

The reverse may be said of women. Women's life  
 satisfaction does not benefit from their expressive traits  
 (although these traits were more often self-attributed by  
 women than by men as Table 1 shows, and they are  
 considered by society to be more "appropriate" for women).  
 Instead, women increase their locus of control through self-  
 attribution of instrumental traits. Thus, their life satisfaction  
 derives mostly from instrumental sources. Moreover,  
 women's instrumental traits reduce their external control.  
 We may conclude that women's instrumental traits serve  
 two purposes: On the one hand, they strengthen internal  
 control and life satisfaction, and, on the other hand, they

Q3 t5.1 **Table 5** Total, direct, and indirect effects: women only.

t5.2		Religiosity	Income	Age	Expressive traits	Instrumental traits	Internal control	External control
t5.3	Standardized total effects							
t5.4	Expressive	1.852	-.001	.016	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.5	Instrumental	1.435	.995	.021	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.6	Internal ctrl	.213	.337	-.021	-.040	.270	.000	.000
t5.7	External ctrl	.483	-.556	.010	.120	-.067	.000	.000
t5.8	Satisfaction	.117	.148	-.002	-.001	.108	.154	-.061
t5.9	Standardized total effects							
t5.10	Expressive	.237	.000	.065	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.11	Instrumental	.127	.227	.061	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.12	Internal ctrl	.041	.165	-.130	-.060	.581	.000	.000
t5.13	External ctrl	.080	-.238	.052	.157	-.126	.000	.000
t5.14	Satisfaction	.032	.104	-.021	-.002	.336	.222	-.100
t5.15	Direct effects							
t5.16	Expressive	1.852	-.001	.016	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.17	Instrumental	1.435	.995	.021	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.18	Internal ctrl	-.101	.069	-.027	-.040	.270	.000	.000
t5.19	External ctrl	.357	-.489	.009	.120	-.067	.000	.000
t5.20	Satisfaction	.000	.000	.000	.013	.063	.154	-.061
t5.21	Standardized direct effects							
t5.22	Expressive	.237	.000	.065	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.23	Instrumental	.127	.227	.061	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.24	Internal ctrl	-.019	.034	-.161	-.060	.581	.000	.000
t5.25	External ctrl	.059	-.209	.050	.157	-.126	.000	.000
t5.26	Satisfaction	.000	.000	.000	.027	.194	.222	-.100
t5.27	Indirect effects							
t5.28	Expressive	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.29	Instrumental	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.30	Internal ctrl	.314	.269	.005	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.31	External ctrl	.126	-.067	.001	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.32	Satisfaction	.117	.148	-.002	-.014	.046	.000	.000
t5.33	Standardized indirect effects							
t5.34	Expressive	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.35	Instrumental	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.36	Internal ctrl	.060	.132	.031	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.37	External ctrl	.021	-.029	.003	.000	.000	.000	.000
t5.38	Satisfaction	.032	.105	-.021	-.029	.142	.000	.000

527 reduce external locus of control, which is perhaps a  
 528 possible explanation as to why external control does not  
 529 reduce women's life satisfaction as it does men's.

men and women, and some of these effects were unexpect- 536  
 ed and even contrary to the present study's hypotheses. 537

The Impact of Instrumental and Expressive Traits 538

530 **Discussion**

531 Life satisfaction is indeed related to traits and to internal  
 532 locus of control, as previous research has shown (e.g.,  
 533 Diener et al. 1999). However, the process by which life  
 534 satisfaction is attained, and the ways in which personality  
 535 traits and locus of control affect life satisfaction, differ for

In the present study, whereas instrumental traits affected the 539  
 locus of control and the life satisfaction of both men and 540  
 women, expressive traits positively influenced only *men's* 541  
 locus of control and life satisfaction. This finding is rather 542  
 surprising, as expressive traits are usually considered 543  
 'feminine,' and studies—including the present one—show 544  
 that women self-attribute most expressive traits more than 545  
 do men (e.g., women say they are responsive, considerate, 546  
 and understanding more than men say they are). 547

548 This finding may indicate that the traditional clear-cut  
 549 distinction between men’s and women’s attitudes is  
 550 blurring. Similar findings were reported by Twenge  
 551 (1999), who showed that men display a “male dominance”  
 552 factor that includes traits, behaviors, and preferences,  
 553 whereas women’s gender-related attributes show little  
 554 coherence with sports interest, choice of friends, and  
 555 attitudes. The change may be associated with normative  
 556 changes in gender role attitudes and in the division of labor  
 557 between men and women (Jackson et al. 1994): It is related  
 558 to women’s increased labor market participation that both  
 559 reflects and enhances these shifts and to men’s greater  
 560 tendency to share domestic responsibility. Women’s ten-  
 561 dency to self-attribute instrumental (‘masculine’) traits such  
 562 as rationality, assertiveness, and decisiveness seems a  
 563 realistic adjustment to requirements of the public sphere,  
 564 as instrumental traits are considered preferential or superior  
 565 in Western societies in the sense that they increase locus of  
 566 control, life satisfaction, and other measures that indicate  
 567 effective coping with life experiences. These changes in  
 568 women’s gender schema (Bem 1987) indicate that, although  
 569 it is true that men and women often behave in gender-  
 570 typical ways, their gender schema is more flexible than  
 571 previously assumed, and it allows for variation in both  
 572 sexes (Moore 1999).

573 The results of the present study show the similar changes  
 574 in women’s gender schema, and indicate that women self-  
 575 attribute instrumental traits (though not as strongly as men  
 576 do) as well as expressive ones. But the findings of the  
 577 present study also reveal something new—that women’s  
 578 instrumentality exerts the *most salient* influence on their  
 579 locus of control and life satisfaction and reduces their  
 580 external control. Thus, we may conclude that, although in  
 581 the past women tended to self-attribute mostly expressive  
 582 (‘feminine’) traits and men tended to self-attribute mostly  
 583 instrumental (‘masculine’) traits, today the more flexible  
 584 gender schema legitimizes the self-attribution of gender-  
 585 atypical traits. Women benefit from this change in the sense  
 586 that *instrumental* traits strengthen their internal locus of  
 587 control and life satisfaction (their expressive traits do not  
 588 have the same effect). Men benefit in the sense that, in  
 589 addition to the impact of their instrumental traits, their  
 590 *expressive* traits strengthen their internal locus of control  
 591 and life satisfaction. Thus, for men both instrumental and  
 592 expressive traits positively influence internal control and  
 593 life satisfaction whereas for women, only instrumental traits  
 594 have such positive effects.

595 Moreover, for men, expressive traits are an *additional*  
 596 means of attaining control and life satisfaction. Including  
 597 expressive traits in men’s gender schema strengthens their  
 598 ability to control life’s events and to exhibit a more flexible  
 599 approach to problem solving and effective coping behaviors  
 600 (Leung and Moore 2003). Women, on the other hand, do

not have the advantage of such flexibility, and a new 601  
 asymmetry has formed. 602

Explaining the Differences Between Men’s and Women’s 603  
 Models 604

A possible theoretical explanation may be found in the 605  
 theory of planned behavior Ajzen 1991; Ajzen and Madden 606  
 1986). According to this theory, the link between attitudes 607  
 and behavior is indirect, as behavior is the result of an 608  
 intention to behave in a particular way; the intention is a 609  
 result of attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behav- 610  
 ioral control (Ajzen 1987). Thus, the likelihood that a 611  
 person’s behavior will be consistent with his or her attitudes 612  
 depends on a rational decision-making process that comb- 613  
 ines the four factors. (See Fig. 4). 614

In the present study, expressing life satisfaction (behav- 615  
 ior, in Ajzen’s model) is influenced by creating internal 616  
 control over life situations (intention, in Ajzen’s model), 617  
 which is, in turn, influenced by wanting to be happy 618  
 (attitude toward the behavior), normativity of the means to 619  
 attain control (subjective norm), and the belief that control 620  
 can be attained by instrumental and/or expressive means 621  
 (perceived behavioral control). Because the subjective 622  
 norms of most societies consider instrumental traits to be 623  
 the normative means to attain internal control, women who 624  
 want to be happy will develop such traits. This is true for 625  
 men too, but for men, an additional way is open, and it is 626  
 also considered normative nowadays—that of increasing 627  
 internal control and reducing external control by elaborat- 628  
 ing the gender schema and including in it expressive traits 629  
 as well as instrumental ones. For women, feminine- 630  
 expressive-traits are still considered acting-according-to- 631  
 type and a non-normative means to attain control. Thus, we 632  
 may conclude that a decrease in the rigidity of the gender 633  
 schema can be seen for both men and women who feel free 634  
 to adopt gender atypical traits, but a similar change in the 635  
 societal legitimization of such changes is still partial. 636

Additional Influences on Life Satisfaction 637

The roles of age, religiosity, and income in shaping life 638  
 satisfaction are also gender-specific. According to previous 639  
 research (Geis and Klein 1990; Morganti et al. 1988), age 640

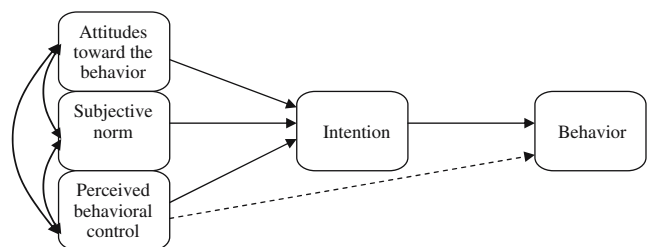


Fig. 4 Ajzen’s (1987) theory of planned behavior.

641 should have a *negative* impact on life satisfaction. The  
 642 present study shows that, although its effect is indirect, the  
 643 impact of age on internal control, and, through it, on life  
 644 satisfaction, is negative. However, age also has a *positive*  
 645 effect on men's expressive traits such that age *increases*  
 646 self-attribution of expressive traits, and, through that, it  
 647 increases life satisfaction. This seems to indicate that a  
 648 certain degree of maturity or experience is necessary before  
 649 men can utilize an expressive means of attaining control.  
 650 We may conclude that the negative impact of age on locus  
 651 of control is somewhat counterbalanced by its positive  
 652 impact on expressive traits. No such mitigating effects were  
 653 found for women.

654 Religiosity also has different effects on men and women.  
 655 Researchers of subjective well-being have associated  
 656 religion with an increased sense of meaning and purpose  
 657 in life (Poloma and Pendleton 1990; Unger 1992). In  
 658 accord with McLeod and Owens' (2004) claims, the results  
 659 of the present study show that religiosity strengthens both  
 660 the instrumental and the expressive traits of women, and,  
 661 through that, it has an indirect *positive* effect on locus of  
 662 control and life satisfaction. For men, religiosity exerts a  
 663 *negative* effect, such that it reduces men's internal control.

664 Hong and Giannakopoulos (1994) suggested three  
 665 interpretations as to why religiosity influences life satisfac-  
 666 tion. First, religion provides a meaningful framework with  
 667 which to interpret life events and expresses an optimistic  
 668 view of life, thereby increasing life satisfaction. Second,  
 669 religiosity may influence life satisfaction by alleviating the  
 670 negative consequences of stressful life events and condi-  
 671 tions. Third, religiosity may promote social integration,  
 672 which can provide a sense of belonging. Feelings of  
 673 belonging have positive repercussions and are inclined to  
 674 increase life satisfaction. These explanations cannot ac-  
 675 count for the contradictory findings regarding religiosity in  
 676 the present study. It seems that, in the present context, a  
 677 possible explanation is that religiosity has different mean-  
 678 ings for Jewish Israeli men and women. Moreover,  
 679 religiosity may have failed to emerge as a powerful  
 680 predictor in the current investigation because of its  
 681 multidimensional nature, some aspects of which have a  
 682 negative influence on life satisfaction and others have a  
 683 positive one.

684 For Israeli (Jewish) women, being religious involves  
 685 caring for others, both in the family and the community,  
 686 and it requires making sure that the domestic sphere enables  
 687 men to practice the higher functions of religion, which  
 688 women themselves cannot aspire to fulfill directly but attain  
 689 only through the men in their families (husbands, fathers,  
 690 brothers) (Unger 1992). To achieve that, women need to be  
 691 both instrumental and expressive. This interpretation is in

692 accord with Compton's (2001) assertion that, from a theistic  
 693 perspective, definitions of happiness or satisfaction with life  
 694 that are associated with self-gratification and the individu-  
 695 alistic spirit are viewed with suspicion or as inferior to  
 696 spiritual happiness. The goal of psychological well-being is  
 697 directed away from self-enhancement and is often focused  
 698 on serving others, with an accompanying emphasis on  
 699 compassion, charity, and altruism. For men, religiosity is  
 700 more closely related to a stronger belief in controlling  
 701 forces outside the individual, and studies show that it is  
 702 related to authoritarianism (Rubinstein 1995) and traditional  
 703 attitudes (Moore 1996). Thus, for men, religiosity entails  
 704 submission both to God and his rabbinical representatives, and,  
 705 therefore, religiosity reduces autonomy and internal control.

706 It was surprising that income level affects only women's  
 707 life satisfaction. In fact, income level was not related to any  
 708 of the measures in the model. Income strengthens women's  
 709 instrumental traits and reduces external control. As instru-  
 710 mental traits also reduce external control, income has both  
 711 direct and indirect effects. Through its influence on  
 712 instrumental traits, it also increases women's life satisfac-  
 713 tion. One possible explanation is that higher incomes  
 714 generate more freedom for women, empowering them to  
 715 go beyond the traditional gender stereotypes or providing  
 716 legitimacy to enlarge the gender schema. As instrumental  
 717 characteristics are considered typical for all men, they do  
 718 not need special conditions (e.g., high incomes or status) to  
 719 be permitted to self-attribute them.

720 Further research is necessary to examine these explana-  
 721 tions. It is also necessary to ascertain the aforementioned  
 722 changes in self-attribution of traits and their influence on locus  
 723 of control and life satisfaction. Additional societies, some  
 724 more feminine and others more masculine than Israeli society  
 725 (according to Hofstede's definitions), should be examined to  
 726 determine whether the same processes and gender difference  
 727 are typical across 'feminine' and 'masculine' societies. In  
 728 addition, new measures of how individuals attain control  
 729 should be developed, validated, and used in the examina-  
 730 tion of how men and women apply them in the evaluation  
 731 of how satisfied with their lives they are. Such measures  
 732 might enrich both our understanding of how people attain  
 733 locus of control in different societies and whether these  
 734 measures create and/or reflect gender differences.

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 742

Q4

**Table 6** Pearson correlation: all variables.

		Income	Age	Relig.	Instrum. traits	Express. traits	External control	Internal control	Relative depriv.	Life satisf.
Income	Women	1	-.170 <sup>a</sup>	-.179 <sup>a</sup>	.196 <sup>a</sup>	-.048	-.262 <sup>a</sup>	.189 <sup>a</sup>	-.199 <sup>a</sup>	.214 <sup>a</sup>
	Men	1	-.089	-.038	.128	.027	-.119	.163 <sup>c</sup>	-.182 <sup>c</sup>	.081
Age	Women		1	.060	.039	.084	.099	-.151 <sup>b</sup>	.027	-.112 <sup>b</sup>
	Men		1	.022	.006	.162 <sup>c</sup>	.116	-.149 <sup>c</sup>	.126	-.045
Religiosity	Women			1	.099	.239 <sup>a</sup>	.125 <sup>c</sup>	.003	.109	.058
	Men			1	.118	.155 <sup>c</sup>	.130	-.161 <sup>c</sup>	.130	.082
Instrumental Traits	Women				1	.316 <sup>a</sup>	-.115 <sup>c</sup>	.568 <sup>a</sup>	-.007	.340 <sup>a</sup>
	Men				1	.306 <sup>a</sup>	.130	.284 <sup>a</sup>	-.028	.249 <sup>a</sup>
Expressive Traits	Women					1	.143 <sup>b</sup>	.097	.179 <sup>a</sup>	.098
	Men					1	.165 <sup>c</sup>	.306 <sup>a</sup>	.128	.257 <sup>a</sup>
External Control	Women						1	-.072	.226 <sup>a</sup>	-.136 <sup>c</sup>
	Men						1	-.072	.263 <sup>a</sup>	-.173 <sup>b</sup>
Internal Control	Women							1	-.192 <sup>a</sup>	.344 <sup>a</sup>
	Men							1	-.083	.339 <sup>a</sup>
Relative Deprivation	Women								1	-.270 <sup>a</sup>
	Men								1	-.177 <sup>b</sup>
Life satisfaction	Women									1
	Men									1

<sup>a</sup> $p \leq .001$ , <sup>b</sup> $p \leq .01$ , <sup>c</sup> $p \leq .05$ .

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## AUTHOR QUERIES

### **AUTHOR PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUERIES.**

- Q1. Single and double superscripted asterisks were change to superscripted letters a and b. Please check if appropriate.
- Q2. Displayed equation is not allowed in footnote. Therefore the equation was changed to an inline equation please check.
- Q3. Tables IVa and IVb were changed to Tables 4 and 5 and citations were change accordingly. Please check if appropriate.
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