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Behind the Wheels: Gender Perceptions about Drivers in Lebanon

By

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*To my mom, my angel who earned her wings, and my
husband, my rock and support.*

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Behind the Wheels: Gender Perceptions about Drivers in Lebanon

Rana el-Fata

ABSTRACT

Studies on gender differences have put down the basis for many debates and arguments. This study explores the differences and similarities in linguistic patterns and behavioral acts between female and male drivers in Lebanon. The research follows the mixed method approach of investigation. Three instruments are used to collect data: Structured questionnaires, discourse completion tests and semi-structured interviews. The results show significant differences in behavior between male and female drivers in Lebanon regarding physical aggressive behavior and insignificant differences in empathy and verbal aggressive behavior. The findings stress the need to conduct more research on gender differences in driving behavior. Because gender showed an important impact on aggressive driving, the consequences of drivers' hazardous behavior in general should be further explored.

Keywords: Gender Differences, Driving, Empathy, Personal Distress, Discourse Analysis, Aggressive Driving

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List of Abbreviations and Symbols

AAA: American Automobile Association

AAFST: American Automobile Foundation

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

DCT: Discourse Completion Tests

EC: Empathetic Concern

NHTSA: National Highway Traffic Safety Administration

PD: Personal Distress

UNECE: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

WHO: World Health Organization

List of Symbols for the Arabic Transcriptions

Symbol	Arabic Letter	English Pronunciation
7	ح	h
5	خ	kh
3	ع	‘a
2	ء	a

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

Gender roles are beliefs about the way in which communal and societal roles are defined by gender (Slavkin&Stright, 2000). In traditional families, traditional gender roles are common. The male is the breadwinner; while the female is the caregiver and the housekeeper. This pattern defines masculinity as assertive, aggressive, and independent (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Steffen, 1992); while femininity is defined as emotional, sensitive and nurturing (Bem, 1981; Slavkin&Stright 2000). Gender differences have been discussed thoroughly by many researchers in the fields of language, education and others(see for instance, Locke, 2011; Holmes, 2000; Mills, 2008; Cameron, 2010). In fact there are many historical incidents that have set the stage to study gender differences between men and women in society. Whether these gender differences subsist in the way in which they lead, influence, or communicate, men and women have always been looked upon as different and unique sets of people. These differences have, to a certain extent, put women at a disadvantage because of their perceived inferiority to men; this is mainly due to historical gender inequalities (Carli, 1999).

Maccoby (1990) portrays boys as focused on dominance and competition and girls on socialconnectedness. A study by Leaper and Smith (2004) concluded that girls use more subordinate speech and boys more assertive speech, in their social interactions. In other words, girlsare more likely than boys to use language to form and sustain relationships,often showing support, conveying agreement, and acknowledging others' involvement. On the other hand, boys are more likely to use language to affirm themselvesand compete by making directive statements, emphasizing themselves,and

criticizing others. To demonstrate, Serbin, Sprafkin, Elman, and Doyle (1982) examined verbal social influence endeavors in a group of 74 preschoolchildren in Canada. As in other research, boys conversed more with boys, and girls conversed more with girls. On the whole, boys attempted to influence their mates more than girls did, and their requests were usually straightforward ('give me the toy'). Girls more frequently influenced their mates' behavior in a roundabout way, using suggestions ('that's a nice toy) or polite choice of words ('May I please have the toy?').

A dispute in this literature sets in opposition a biological perspective that views gender differences as innate. This perspective tracks down the differences to early brain differentiation and hormones and anticipates them to be trait-like qualities expressed across social framework. On the other hand, there is a social constructivist perspective that tracks gender differences down to societal and contextual influences; it proposes that gender is shown differently in different situations (Leaper & Smith, 2004; Eagly, 1987; Kimmel, 2011). Defending the social-constructivist perspective, Leaper and Smith (2004) discussed several related factors that appear to diminish gender differences in childhood, including the age of child, the nature of the activity, and the gender composition of the group.

According to Lakoff (1975), as children, women are encouraged to be 'little ladies.' Thus, they can't scream as loudly as little boys, and they are reprimanded more strictly for out bursting or throwing tantrums. To what extent does this affect a woman's and a man's future behavior and choice of language? This study will shed light on one of the facets of both men and women's daily life: driving a car.

A good deal of research has been conducted in order to assess the different factors underlying gender differences in driving behavior(Gonzalez-Iglesias, Gomez-Fraguela, &Luengo-Martin,2012).According to previous studies and according to self- reported data,

men believe themselves to be better and faster drivers than women (Jiménez-Mejías, Prieto, Martínez-Ruiz, Castillo, Lardelli-Claret, & Jiménez-Moleón, 2014). Studies showed that older women were more likely to evade highway or night driving than males are (Choi, Adams, & Kahana, 2013). Harre and Field's (1996) study conducted in New Zealand on adolescent males and females showed higher levels of self-reported risky behavior by male teenagers. Moreover, other studies (such as Sarkin, Tally, Woolridge, Choi, Shieh & Kaplan, 2013) show men to be more aggressive behind the wheels. In a study which assessed male and female drivers' likelihood of engaging in mild forms of driver aggression, results showed that men were more disposed towards aggressive behavior than women (Hennessy & Wiesenthal, 2001).

It is believed that in many conversational settings, men fill higher levels of power and standing than women do (Carli 2001). This, according to Holmes (1995), is due to the fact that women are more polite than men. Cultural studies of gender and language show that language plays diverse part in the social structure of gender (Corson 1992). Besides, studies of language socialization reveal that the effects of socialization through language emerge early in a child's life.

1.2 Rationale of the Study

The research undertaken involves studying the behavioral and linguistic similarities and differences of male and female drivers in Lebanon. The purpose is to identify and describe the similar and different verbal and non-verbal patterns of male and female drivers in Lebanon. The study follows the mixed approach of investigation where male and female drivers are interviewed and questionnaires and discourse completion tests are distributed evenly among both genders.

Current gender-related contributions in Lebanon are affected by the specific socioeconomic and political context and the structure of public establishments and civil society constituting the Lebanese state. During that time, the government's role was restrained because of the French mandate and not much social reform was possible (Thompson, 2000).

Law is the instrument through which society identifies not only its regulations, but also its definite values and behavioral patterns, as well as what is considered to be natural or unnatural (Finema&Thomadsen, 1991). Laws described as such become a representation of what Lebanese society considers natural or not and thus assume far more insinuations than their strictly legal context would really show (Shehadeh, 1998). The law or the idea about it is at the source "of some of the most commonplace aspects of social reality that ordinary people carry around with them and use in ordering their lives (Eisenstein& Badman 1988, p.44). Therefore, the law, as the symbol of power, employs its power through its claim to pragmatic common sense. This is confirmed by the difficulties faced by Lebanese women and human rights organizations in their quest to revoke or adjust discriminating laws or present new laws that would ensure the wellbeing of women and guard their rights.

Owing to the efforts of women, human rights, and UN organizations, a number of secular or civil Lebanese discriminating laws were adjusted or canceled, and some family laws were changed during the last three decades or so. Moreover, in 1996, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was signed and later ratified by the Lebanese government. Besides, the Lebanese civil society witnessed a rise in the number of women's groups calling for women's empowerment since the early 20th century. They were affected by several western, nationalist and

socialist discourses targeted at improving women's role in the family and society. Women groups and other organizations researched women's education, economic participation, health and political rights (Al-Khatib, 1984). The whole socioeconomic and political scenery influenced women status in Lebanon and made it hard for women within the war and the post-war period to find their real place in the Lebanese society. All the previously mentioned factors and other restrictions would actually have direct effect on the language and behavior of women; thus, resulting in gender differences in various daily life aspects – one of which is the topic of the study which is driving a car.

1.3 Research Context

The research is taking place in Lebanon and among Lebanese drivers- males and females. Driving a car is a daily routine that many go through on a daily basis. Driving may sometimes lead some to feel a sense of power behind the wheel where someone normally courteous and polite becomes aggressive when driving (Novaco, 1991). Driver aggression has been defined as any conduct planned to physically, emotionally, or psychologically harm another person within the driving setting (Hennessy & Wiesenthal, 1999). Because of its association with traffic violations (Novaco, 1991) and traffic crashes, driver aggression signifies a possible danger, either directly or indirectly, to all roadway users. The American Automobile Association (2000) has approximated that events of roadway aggression in the United States intensified by more than 50% between 1990 and 1996. Similarly, rising levels of driver aggression have also been recognized throughout the world (Taylor, 1997). As an example, a fifty-two-year old man in Canada pulled another man from his car -window, spat on him and dragged him on the ground for 250 meters just because they argued over a parking spot (Levy, 1990). Moreover, he conveyed how a male driver tormented and

assaulted a female driver for 20 minutes for almost hitting his car after swerving from an illegally parked car.

Examples of aggressive driving include behaviors such as horn honking, tailgating traffic weaving, excessive speeding, obscene gestures, blocking the passing lane, headlight flashing, and red-light running. Regarding individual differences, it was found in various studies that female participants were less aggressive than males, and that older people were less prone to drive aggressively than were younger people (Blanchard, Barton, & Malta, 2000; Krahe&Fenske, 2002; Wiesenthal, Hennessy, & Gibson, 2000).

Archer (2004) distinguished two principal theories to explain gender differences in aggression through the social role theory. Social role theory concentrates on the course of socialization and gender roles in developing sex differences in aggressive behavior (Eagly, Wood, & Diekman, 2000). Social role theory (Eagly, 1987) argues that the societal division of work generates stereotypical gender roles that confine women into domestic roles that stress nurturing and compassion and men to be “breadwinners” (Archer, 2009, p. 252).

1.4 Research Questions

This study attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the differences and similarities that exist between the driving behavior of women and men?
 - a. Do male drivers behave more aggressively than female drivers?
 - verbal aggression
 - non-verbal aggression
 - b. Are women more empathetic than men while driving?
 - empathetic concerns

- personal distress

2. How significant are the differences that exist between the driving behavior of women and men?

Though research on gender issues is diverse, few have tackled gender differences in Lebanon especially in a daily routine such as driving a car. The aim of the study is to explore the differences and similarities in linguistic patterns and behavioral acts between female and male drivers in Lebanon and to identify and describe the different verbal and non-verbal patterns of male and female drivers in Lebanon.

1.5 Definitions of Terms

First, it is crucial to note that the word 'gender' and the word 'sex' have different meanings and implications (Deaux, & Major, 1987). Gender signifies "kind" in its more broad meaning; the term has the more specific connotation of classification according to sex in Indo-European languages (Kramer, 1975). Later on, the term has come to signify behavior and cognitive perspective that is acquired through the socialization process of males and females. This distinction between sex and gender as terms aids the separation of cultural and biological causes of female and male behavioral differences. Besides, the distinction between terms makes it easier to understand cross-gender identification, as in those conditions where biological males take on the gender identity of females or females take on male identity (Kramer, 1975).

Another term to be defined is aggression. Generally speaking, definitions of aggression imply the intention to cause harm to others (Archer, 2009). Harre and Field (1996) compiled 200 distinct definitions of aggressive behavior; however, most of these definitions have two common aspects: (1) the behavior is meant to harm, and (2) the behavior is sensed to be hurtful by the victim. Aggressive or aggression driving is another

form of aggression. It is becoming a more frequent type of behavior on the road (American Automobile Association, 2000). Aggressive driving can be defined as any type of driver behavior carried out with an intention to hurt (psychologically or physically) or cause harm to other road users (Lajunen, Parker, &Stradling, 1998; Ellison-Potter, Bell, &Deffenbacher, 2001). Behaviors such as tailgating, honking, traffic weaving, profanity, obscene gestures, headlight flashing, and excessive speeding are all examples of aggressive driving.

Empathy is another term to be examined in this study in relation to gender and driving behavior. Two definitions of empathy have been used historically; one developed from Dymond's (1949) cognitive role- taking approach where empathy was identified as the ability to assume the role of another, understand and predict that person's thoughts, actions and feelings. A second definition of empathy, proposed by Stotland (1969), is an individual emotional response to emotional experiences of others. One more recent and complete definition is given by Baron-Cohen and Wheelwright (2011, p.21). Empathy is defined as "the ability to understand and share in another's emotional state or context." The recognition that empathy is both a cognitive process and an affective ability is what makes this definition especially encompassing. LeSure-Lester (2000) believes that emotional empathy comes with social perspective taking with experiencing of another's emotion or distress. Researchers have implied that empathy has a mass of useful effects on attitudes and behavior where as lack of empathy has a mass of negative effects on attitudes and behavior.

1.6 Mapping of the Study

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one introduces the topic, gender differences and similarities between male and female drivers in Lebanon, the significance of the study and the research questions. Chapter two reviews the literature available on the topic; thus, gender issues, driving and aggressive behavior, and pragmatics will be discussed in length. Chapter three presents the methodology and the instruments used to collect data, as well as the validity and reliability pertaining to this study. Chapter four reports the findings. Chapter five discusses the findings and chapter six concludes the thesis as well as points out the limitations and adds proposed suggestions for conducting further research.

This chapter introduced the topic related to gender differences in driving in Lebanon. The next chapter will tackle the literature review related to the topic.

Chapter Two

2.1 Literature Review

Studies of gender and behavior are diverse and sometimes may rely on the researcher's prior assumptions about gender differences and similarities. Because of these prior assumptions, it is essential to develop a critical approach to this vast literature and claims about men and women talk and behavior should be compared through literature. The study is going to focus on several areas of the literature: gender and language, gendered language through history, pragmatics, men and women as two different subcultures, driving and aggressive behavior, and empathy, personal distress and gender.

2.2 Gender and Language

The relationship between language and gender has been widely addressed in the literature (see Huston, 1985; Tannen, 1990, Leaper, 1991; and Wood, 2000; 2001; 2002). Many researchers state simply that girls more probably use language to shape and sustain connections with others (through the associative functions of demonstrating support, communicating agreement, and recognizing the contribution of others); whereas boys are more likely to use language to affirm their independence, ascertain dominance, and realize goals (through the assertive functions of giving information, criticism, and making directive statements) (see for instance, Eagly, 1987; Carli, 2001; Corbett, 1991; Corson, 1992; Beebe & Cumming, 1996). Tannen's (1990; 1994; 1995) research implies that men and women have various ways of communication. This is why communication between them should be viewed as 'intercultural' communication. Tannen (1990, p. 18) believes that 'because boys and girls grow up in what are essentially different cultures. The talk between women and men is cross-cultural communication.' Tannen (1990, p.85) additionally argues that girls are socialized as children to believe that 'talk is the glue that holds relationships together' which later has its echo on their perceptions of conversations

as ‘negotiations for closeness in which people try to seek and give confirmation and support, and to reach consensus.’ On the other hand, boys are taught to sustain relationships through their activities, which would later shape their future perceptions of conversations as contests ‘in which they are either ‘one-up or one-down’. Concurrently, Wood (2000, p.207) believes that ‘much of the misunderstanding that plagues communication between women and men results from the fact that they are typically socialized indiscrete speech communities.’

The literature on gender differences implies that males and females are socially trained differently in their childhood which, in turn, affects their language behaviors as they are older and influences them to act in different ways (Tannen, 1990; Holmes 1995). Tannen (1990), for instance, believes that gender differences are apparent in politeness and that women tend to use a more subtle and polite language when dealing with their everyday issues. In the Basow and Rubenfield (2003) study of 107 women and 58 men, women responded with stronger emotions than men when responding to sympathy or advice.

2.3 Gendered Language through History

Throughout history, many researchers on gender and social influence have portrayed gender differences in influenceability, the degree to which women and men are influenced by each other (Eagly&Carli, 1981). In most situations, women display lower levels of power and status than men do. This is mostly shown in settings requiring legitimate authority or expertise (Carli, 1999). Since men and women classically fill different roles from each other, with women mostly engaging in tasks such as domestic, caretaking and lower status occupational roles, and men mostly taking part in higher status occupational roles, the society expects men to act more “agentically” than women and

women to act more “communally” than men (Eagly, et al., 2003). Thus, people take for granted that men are more capable and knowledgeable than women are, and that women are warmer and more communal than men are. This gives more right for men to behave in a more authoritative way than women do (Carli, 2001).

It is believed that there are approximately 7000 languages in the world nowadays (Boroditsky, 2011). These languages differ in many ways- one of which is in their gender systems. A language has a gender system if it possesses classes of nouns, which need specific agreement with other elements in the sentence. In several languages, gender is obvious in almost every phrase, while in other languages it is entirely absent (Corbett, 1991). For example, Finnish is a language without a gender system. In English, pronouns in the third person are the only proof for gender. In Hebrew, this is also shown in other forms of agreement (e.g. nouns). As a result, there is changing reference to gender in the use of these languages, something which has made many feminist researchers concerned. There is an ancient view among feminist researchers that sexism lives in languages and that in a way it promotes gender inequalities (MacKinnon, 1989; Spender, 1985). In Arabic, on the other hand, the interaction between the language and gender may be demonstrated in two areas: formal (grammatical and semantic) and (relational) sociolinguistic (El-Ani, 1978). In the formal section, Arabic shows semantic and grammatical use that exhibit gender differences. Ibn Al-Anbari, a medieval Arab grammarian, displays two types of gender markers, masculine and feminine, which appear on nouns, verbs, adjectives, quantifiers and determiners. He believes that,

The evidence that masculine precede the feminine is that when you say “jalis” (sitting for singular male) and “jalissa” (sitting for singular female) or “qa2im” (standing for singular male) and “qa2ima” (standing for singular female), you find that the feminine contains additional material and what is added to the root of the word is “secondary.” And when you see something

from a distance and you do not know what it is, you say: a woman, an animal or something like that. (cited in Sadiqi, 2006, p.3-4)

In Ibn Al-Anbar demotion of women to a secondary place, and relating them to animals suggests a language ideology that leads to stereotypical views affecting the society at large(Sadiqi, 2006).

As for the sociolinguistic part, Arabic cannot be understood unless we examine the whole socio-cultural framework where it is created and maintained (Badran et al., 2002). Arab societies like all societies and cultures nowadays are patriarchal. Nevertheless, patriarchy differs from one culture to another. According to Saadawi and Hetata (1980), males are related to the public space and females are related to the private space. This space is spatial and linguistic and symbolic at the same time. However, the outcomes of the gendered space dichotomy are far reaching because they imply that the outside or the public space is the place of power where rules and norms are set and the inside or the private space is the place where these rules are implemented (Suleiman, 1994).

Even though feminist criticism of gendered languages has been large and significant, it is not certain whether gender systems in languages are actually related with discrimination between men and women. That point, despite numerous amendments to make languages more gender-neutral, have been started or suggested, with the expectation that these improvements will lead to more gender-equal results. For example, in Sweden, the endorsement of new gender-neutral terms and ways of communication has recently been vigorously followed not only by feminist groups, but also by the Swedish Language Council (Milles, 2011). Some have even suggested introducing a new language as a path towards gender equality.

Ever since the mid-1970s, studies of gender and language have been mainly interested in social justice issues. One aim of these studies has been to define the role that

language plays in the location of women in an unfavorable position in the social context. Frazer and Cameron (1989) argue that language is a key determinant of people's concept in viewing the world. Spender (1980) points out that men, as the more influential gender, have taken control over language to the point where women have had to internalize a male worldview contrary to their interests. This set of arguments cannot succeed if power is in the hands of people and not in language itself (Corson, 1991). It is the manner that language is conventionally utilized as a tool of power that eliminates women from a grip on power, not language itself (Corson, 1992).

When it comes to sexual discrimination by language the debate reaches the distinction between “sexist language” and “sexist use.” To answer this question, one must consider the boundaries drawn by Ferdinand de Saussure between “speech” and “language” (Saussure, 1959). Language, as he defines it, is conceptual while speech represents its real and actual use. People select how they want to use language. So, in the case of discrimination, the employment of language is sexist, not the language as such. According to the Penguin English Dictionary (2007, p. 363) the definition of discrimination is that it is ‘a prejudicial treatment, e.g. on the grounds of race or sex’. Claims about language and gender differences have important insinuations for the socialization of language that goes back to one’s childhood development and how children may first encounter and then understand gendered roles inside the family and in the world and probably relate in gendered ways socially. Both language and gender are complex and vague theoretical constructs (Talbot, 2010). According to Deaux and Major (1987), gender is a contextualized performance variable. In other words, though there is proof that aspects of sex are biologically innate (Owen-Blakemore, Berenbaum, & Liben, 2009), much of the way in which these biological distinctions are directed and articulated are culturally inconsistent (Talbot, 2010). Besides, gender understood as a performance variable

supposes that gender is shown in various ways in various contexts across development (Bigler&Liben, 2007; Diamond, 2012). Furthermore, language is a cultural tool that permits or holds back the expression of certain forms of thinking (Carruthers, 2011; Vygotsky, 1978). McAdams (2001) believes that we use language to express and create self. Using definite forms of language conveys particular ways of existence in the world, and when children sense that these are associated to one gender or the other, they begin to relate these behaviors with certain gender roles.

2.4 Pragmatics

According to Verschueren (1999, p.1), pragmatics is “the study of linguistic phenomena from the point of view of their usage properties and processes.” Ellis (2008), on the other hand, believes that pragmatics does not have a clear-cut definition. Obviously, pragmatics is simply the study of language that is used in daily communication. Therefore, the pragmatic aspect of utterances is of supreme importance. According to Verschueren (1999, p. 18), one of the subsets that lies in pragmatic is speech act. The theory of speech act explains how one can employ language to do things (Fromkin, Rodman &Hymes, 2003). Naturally, a speech act is usually defined as a functional unit which plays an important role in communication. Besides, it was reported that linguistic factors could be understood on the basis of speech acts (Verschueren, 1999). When examining speech acts, one thing that deserves consideration is that there are various ways for individuals to convey their requests, intentions and apologies. To make it more comprehensible, one should think about which kind of speech act is suitable for which situation. The speech act theory is usually examined under the wide rubric of pragmatics which can be defined as “the study of the ability of language users to pair sentences with the contexts in which they

would be appropriate” (Levinson, 1983, 24), or as identified by Farghal (1995, 253) as “the study of language in use or operation”.

According to Lyons (1977, p.730) a speech act is “an act performed in saying something”. Therefore, the speech acts theory obtains its importance in the area of linguistics for the following reasons: Speech acts show a lot of information about language users and societies. Besides, Byon (2006, 137) believes that “speech acts reflect the fundamental values and social norms of target language and demonstrate the rules of language use in a speech community.” Speech acts show a wide range of functions that are effectively carried out linguistically.

Sociolinguistics studies the way people speak differently in different social contexts. It also gives explanations for why and how people speak differently (Holmes, 2006). Studying the way men and women talk has been the fascination of sociolinguistics research since the mid 70's. Coates (1998, p.2) states that it is common in all societies that "the way men speak is held in high esteem, while women's ways of talking are compared unfavorably with men's."

Cameron (1998) believes that "gender is socially constructed rather than 'natural'." Discourse explains "the pattern of gender differentiation in people's behavior"; discourse makes this differentiation visible Cameron (1998). Besides, Butler (1990) explains that femininity and masculinity can be defined by performing certain acts in accordance with the cultural norms. In addition, "men and women may use their awareness of the gendered meanings that attached to particular ways of speaking and acting to produce a variety of effects" Cameron (1998, p.23). This is true in Lebanese society as the social norms establish how men and women should speak. For example, in the Lebanese society, a

woman should not use men's speech style since it is socially unacceptable. A woman should speak in a way reflecting her femininity.

Past research that considers the unevenness of power as a major aspect for gender speech differences can be accredited to Robin Lakoff, and her leading work *Language and Woman's Place* (1975). Although criticized for relying greatly on personal observation and for its feminist bias and lack of empirical research, Lakoff's classification of 'woman's language' created a preliminary theoretical framework, which would be analyzed by future researchers. Lakoff provides a list of ten linguistic features, which characterize women's speech, as follows:

Presumptions	Explanations
Lexical hedges or fillers	well, you see, you know
Tag questions	“He is very handsome, isn't he?”
Avoidance of strong swear words	My Gosh, My goodness
Emphatic stress	“The performance was brilliant!”
Have specific lexicons	Magenta, aquamarine
Use of intensifiers	So, too, very
Empty adjectives	Cute, divine
Use of hypercorrect grammar	Use of standard verb forms
'Super-polite' forms	indirect requests, euphemism
Rising intonation on declaratives	it's really good

Table 1: Lakoff Linguistic Features

As Lakoff (1975) claims the difference in the use of language can be made clear on the basis of the literary work where authors stereotypically portray the female and male image and not just on the linguistic structure deliberately placed into the speeches of conversational partners. Besides, she believed that the use of evasive devices by women indicate uncertainty, and the use of boosters or enhancers express their expectancy that the addressee may be unconvinced of what they're saying, so they need to supply further proof for it.

On another level, Grice (1975) argued that conversational implication plays a major role in our personal interactions. In conversation, we usually understand what others are saying even when people do not express their intentions directly. Grice provides a theory that interprets the way we correctly understand what others are entailing by using universal conventions in human interaction which are called cooperative principles. These principles explain how hearers are able to infer the speakers' intentions. Grice names these principles: conversational maxims. They are reworded by Levinson (1983, p. 103) as follows:

The Co-operative Principle make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged
The Maxim of Quality try to make your contribution one that is true, specifically: (i) do not say what you believe to be false (ii) do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence
The Maxim of Quantity (i) make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange (ii) do not make your contribution more informative than is required
The Maxim of Relevance make your contributions relevant
The Maxim of Manner be perspicuous, specifically: (i) avoid obscurity (ii) avoid ambiguity (iii) be brief (iv) be orderly. In short, these maxims specify what participants have to do in order to converse in a maximally efficient, rational, co-operative way: they should speak sincerely, relevantly and clearly, while providing sufficient information.

2.5 Men and Women: Two Different Subcultures

Some sociolinguistic researchers have focused on the differences between men and women's speech based on phonetic features and others have focused on conversational strategies (Holmes, 2006; Trudgill, 1972; Labov, 1966). Trudgill (1972) believes that

women may be more 'status-conscious' because they are more vulnerable and do not have such well-developed social networks as men. Another important factor in this discrepancy is that working-class speech has nuance of 'maleness' and women often do not want to associate themselves to it. Because of this, they prefer the kind of speech that is seen to be more refined. Tannen (1990), on the other hand, believes that gender differences are equivalent to cross-cultural differences. She claims that when interpreting the cultural information embedded in language, women and men depend on different sub cultural standards. This aspect will be discussed in this study in relation to non- verbal aggression and the language both genders use while driving.

Female subculture utilizes language to construct equal relationships, while male subculture utilizes language to construct hierarchical relationships. So, Tannen (1990) argues that differences in language between females and males are due to a misunderstanding of the intention of the other sex, and not from the governing position of men in society. Kunsmann (2001) believes that the partakers in a conversation employ many strategies to reach their conversational goals. Dominating other partakers in a speech situation can be one of these goals. Kunsmann (2001) thinks that a personality difference is something that has to be considered as well because individuals will react differently in particular situations. Tannen (1995, p. 138) claims that "Communication is not as simple as saying what you mean. How you say what you mean is crucial, and differs from one person to the next, because using language is a learned behavior: How we talk and listen is deeply influenced by cultural experience". Women and men are like individuals who have grown up in two different subcultures - they have two different styles of speaking to show their social status. It is generally accepted that men and women do not use and interpret language in the same way.

2.6 Driving and Aggressive Behavior

Aggressive behavior can be in various forms: physical, verbal, emotional, and nonverbal. A lot of the earlier research on aggression was centered on the physical aspect (Underwood, Galen, & Paquette, 2001). In fact, there has been a great interest in the various forms of aggression that stress nonphysical strategies: social aggression (Galen & Underwood, 1997), relational aggression (Crick & Dodge, 1994), and indirect aggression (Bjorkqvist, Lagerspetz, & Kaukiainen, 1992). Much has been produced in popular psychology books and in the media (see for instance, Dellasega & Nixon, 2003; Prinstein & Heilbron, 2008) concerning the negative outcomes of social aggression. It has been proposed that socially aggressive performances are hurtful and related to negative results in both the aggressor and the victim (Crick & Dodge, 1994).

Aggressive driving is one of the most major reasons for the road traffic accidents (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 2004). After observing the data of road traffic trauma, major gender and age distinctiveness can be seen. Bearing in mind the sex peculiarities of this issue, it may be declared that three fourths of deaths as a result of the road transport traumatism have been among men. It must be noted that acuteness of the road traffic accidents is immediately connected with the style of driving speed (Finch, Kompfner, Lockwood, & Maycock, 1994). Violations that are related to speed are also noted among younger male drivers. Besides, every third road traffic accident is the outcome of such violation (World Health Organization, 2012).

As reported by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA, 2006), 40% of the drivers examined conveyed higher levels of aggressive driving within the prior year, and a greater part of participants felt threatened by the behavior of other drivers within that year. Up to 38% of participants admit to having engaged in some form

of verbal aggression toward others while driving (Clifford, 1989). Moreover, Novaco (1991) discovered that nearly 12% of drivers surveyed admitted certain actions of physical aggression, and 31% admitted giving chase to the perceived performer. The American Automobile Foundation for Traffic Safety (AAFTS, 2008) showed that about 78% of drivers participating in the survey regarded aggressive drivers as a serious traffic safety problem.

In a study by Macmillan (1975), women were considerably less likely than men to reveal a competitive approach to driving. Whilst 28.6% of the male participants were categorized as competitive, the female participants scored 16.5%. An analogous pattern surfaced with respect to aggressive driving, defined as readiness to take risks and show little respect for the rules of the road. Of the male participants, 30.5% were categorized as aggressive, while 17.2% of the female participants were categorized as such. Succeeding studies established this gender difference with respect to aggressive driving (Blockley & Hartley, 1995; Lawton, Parker, Manstead, & Stradling, 1997; Parker, Manstead, Stradling, Reason, & Baxter, 1992).

2.7 Empathy, Personal Distress and Gender

Other constructs that the study will discuss regarding gender and driving is empathy and personal distress. Social preference and social impact stand for two kinds of interactions and adaptations in society, as the first one guarantees one's survival through determining balanced relationships with others, and the second implies social relationships based on the extent to which one can control others. Empathy is a multidimensional concept that involves both cognitive and emotional processes (de Waal, 2008). While emotional empathy involves undergoing through feelings of compassion and concern regarding other people, cognitive empathy needs the ability to understand the feelings and

thoughts of others. According to the model of cognition and emotional process in social information processing (Lerner & Arsenio, 2000), both facets of empathy are considered to be indispensable basics for social success, though they do different jobs.

Empathy is considered to be a major cognitive difference between males and females because females score higher on measures of empathy in self-reported data (Baron-Cohen & Wheelwright, 2004). On the other hand, the use of physiological measures such as functional magnetic resonance imaging as indicators of empathy shows that men and women obtain parallel scores (LeSueur-Lester, 2000). Therefore, in studies that apply neuro-scientific and physiological approaches, gender differences in empathy are trivial. Yet, the most convincing proof for gender differences in empathy is offered by studies using self-report data to evaluate empathy (Rueckert, 2011). Females score significantly more than males on the Emotional Quotient (EQ) (Baron-Cohen & Wheelwright, 2004) and the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) (Davis, 1980). Socialization and culture play an important role in the development of empathy according to Baron-Cohen and Wheelwright, (2004) Eisenberg and Lennon (1983) proposed that biases in self-report scales could influence the observed gender differences. These differences may be because men may be unwilling to report empathic encounters due to social anticipations. When a tool is thought to measure empathy, it may induce responses affected by an individual's classification to gender stereotypes (Michalska, Kinzler & Decety, 2013). One of the most common stereotypes in society is that females are more considerate and empathetic than males (Rueckert, 2011). Thus, it is probable that when a tool is thought to evaluate empathy, women believe that they must reply more empathetically, while men feel they must reply less empathetically in order to match with gender roles.

De Waal (2008) discusses both cognitive and emotional processes pertaining to empathy. Cognitive empathy involves the ability to understand the thoughts and feelings of others while emotional empathy relates to feelings of compassion, warmth and concern and personal distress in response to other people. This study will be focusing on the last two aspects of empathy regarding driving and gender difference.

This chapter discussed the literature review related to language, behavior and gender. The following chapter will deal with the methodology used in this research.

Chapter Three

3.1 An Overview: Mixed Methods Research

This research aims to find the verbal and non-verbal behavioral differences of male and female drivers in Lebanon. The study, therefore, attempts to understand and reflect upon the behavior of both genders when driving. It explores the relationship between gender, driving behavior, and aggression driving from the participants' point of view. According to Livesey and Lawson (2008), this endeavor to specify the quality of relationship between things is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research is “research that produces findings not arrived by means of statistical procedures other means of quantification. It can refer to research about persons' lives, stories, and behavior. It can also involve “organizational functioning, social movements, or interactional relationships” (Corbin & Straus, 1990, p. 17). Creswell (1998, p. 15) defines qualitative research as follows:

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct and methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or a human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting.

The type of methodology embraced by any study depends on the objective and questions of the research (Denzin& Lincoln, 2000). Quantitative research methodology usually answers where, what, who and when questions (Silverman, 2000).It has been noticed though that quantitative research methodologies do not sufficiently answer why (the reason)a phenomenon happens or how (the way) it happens (Denzin& Lincoln, 2000). To understand the how and why of a given phenomenon, qualitative research offers the essential in depth and investigative tools to attain a clear description of the process (Symon & Cassel, 1998).

In qualitative research, data is collected and analyzed by the researcher by using one of the qualitative data analysis methods. Qualitative data are in depth report of circumstances, events, people, interactions, observed behaviors, attitudes, thoughts and beliefs (Patton, 2002). It may also contain extracts or whole passages from personal or organizational papers such as records/diaries, case histories, and correspondence (Patton, 2002). Moreover, it is crucial to point out that qualitative data is generally in the form of text (i.e. discourse completion tasks, interview transcriptions or organizational documents); yet, it may also take account of non-textual data such as pictures, tables, audio and video recordings (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Since qualitative data allows the participants to use their own words, it is considered to be holistic and rich. It also helps the researcher to improve some comprehensive topics raised by the participants (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). According to Wiersman (1995), sampling, data collection, data analysis and triangulation are all essential points to be discussed when conducting qualitative research. All these issues will be discussed in full in this chapter about methodology.

On the other hand, this study attempts also to maximize objectivity and generalizability of findings. The research attempts to set aside prior experiences, perceptions, and biases to ensure objectivity in the conduct of the study and the conclusions that are drawn. Quantitative methods are frequently described as deductive in nature, in the sense that inferences from tests of statistical hypotheses lead to general inferences about characteristics of a population. Quantitative methods are also frequently characterized as assuming that there is a single “truth” that exists, independent of human perception (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Trochim and Land (1982) defined quantitative research design as:

the glue that holds the research project together. A design is used to structure the research, to show how all of the major parts of the research project—the samples or groups, measures, treatments or programs, and methods of assignment—work together to try to address the central research questions. (p. 1)

Since this study is using certain aspects of qualitative and quantitative methods, the researcher found it best to use mixed methods research that combines both qualitative and quantitative techniques. While mixed methods research combines qualitative and quantitative methods in ways that draw on the strengths of both traditions of inquiry, it is a clear step away from the boundaries and practices of those traditions, especially those linked to quantitative methods. According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004),

Mixed methods research is formally defined here as the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study. Mixed methods research also is an attempt to legitimate the use of multiple approaches in answering research questions, rather than restricting or constraining researchers' choices (i.e., it rejects dogmatism). It is an expansive and creative form of research, not a limiting form of research. It is inclusive, pluralistic, and complementary, and it suggests that researchers take an eclectic approach to method selection and the thinking about and conduct of research. (pp. 17–18)

Caracelli and Greene (1997) identified three typical uses of a mixed methods study:

(1) testing the agreement of findings obtained from different measuring instruments, (2) clarifying and building on the results of one method with another method, and (3) demonstrating how the results from one method can impact subsequent methods or inferences drawn from the results.

3.2 Sampling

The research involves three instruments for data collection where convenience sampling was used. Convenience sampling is a kind of non-probability or nonrandom sampling in which members of the target population, as Dornyei (2007) mentions, are selected for the purpose of the study if they meet certain practical criteria, such as

geographical proximity, availability at a certain time, easy accessibility, or the willingness to volunteer. The selection was done according to availability of the participants keeping in mind that the concern of the study was not how much data were collected but whether the data that were gathered are adequately rich to clarify and refine the understanding of an experience.

3.3 Participants

The researcher selected participants according to subgroups whereby each group belongs to a single stratum. This research focuses in stratifying based on gender, age and social status. The intention of this selection process is to explore the gender variation within drivers as well as the common core of being a male or female driver in Lebanon. Participants were selected according to four criteria: gender, age, and social status. The researcher paid attention to one thing when selecting the drivers of the vehicles: only passenger cars were selected and not drivers of large vehicles. This was done as such because in several studies (see for instance, Hakamies-Blomqvist, 1996, Krahe & Fenske 2002), there was a significant difference in aggressive behavior in driving between drivers of large vehicles and drivers of passenger cars.

Another difference that can affect driving behavior of drivers according to several studies is the social class (see for instance, Steinel & De Dreu, 2004; Gino & Pierce, 2009). Social class indicates an individual's rank in comparison with others in society in terms of wealth, occupational stature, and education (Adler, Epel & Ickovics, 2000; Kraus, Piff & Keltner, 2011). According to Kraus et al., (2011), greater resources, and freedom among the upper class raise self-absorbed social tendencies which will smooth the way for unethical behavior. Abundant resources allow upper-class individuals increased freedom and

independence (Adler et al., 2000) elevating self-focused designs of social cognition and behavior (Steinel & De Dreu, 2004).

Others argue that lower-class individuals live on fewer resources, more uncertainty and greater threat (Kraus et al., 2011). Therefore, lower-class individuals may be more induced to behave unethically to enhance their resources or rise above their disadvantage.

Seeing these studies regarding the existence of a correlation between driving behavior and aggression and social status impelled the researcher to eliminate the social status as an extraneous factor that might affect the results of the study. Thus, all the participants in the study belong to the middle class so as to keep the study confined to one class; keeping in mind that our variable of study is gender and not other factors. The middle class by definition is the people in a society who are not of high social rank or extremely rich but are not poor (Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary, 2005).

The following chart shows how participants were selected according to gender and age in the questionnaires.

Gender	(18-30) years old	(31-50) years old	(51-70) years old
Male	2	10	3
Female	2	10	3

Table 2: Questionnaires

The following chart shows how participants were selected according to gender and age in the discourse completion tests.

Gender	(18-30) years old	(31-50) years old	(51-70) years old
Male	2	10	3

Female	2	10	3
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Table 3: DCT

The following chart shows how participants were selected according to gender and age in the interviews.

Gender	(18-30) years old	(31-50) years old	(51-70) years old
Male	1	1	1
Female	1	1	1

Table 4: Interviews

3.4 Instruments

The instruments used for data collection are interviews, questionnaires and discourse completion tests.

3.4.1 Interviews

There are three different kinds of interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. Structured interviews are centered on questions that are asked for each and every participant. There is no disparity in the questions among participants. Unstructured interviews have no prearranged set of questions (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). Semi-structured interviews maintain equilibrium between a structured interview and unstructured interview. In the semi-structured interviews the questions are open-ended; therefore, not limiting the respondents' choice of answers (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). The purpose is to provide a setting where the interviewer and interviewee can discuss the topic in detail. Thus, the interviewer uses cues and prompts to help and direct the interviewee into the research topic area consequently being able to collect more in depth or detailed data (Patton, 2002). In this research, semi-structured interviews are used to get information from a small and representative sample. Three female Lebanese drivers and three Lebanese male drivers were interviewed. Their ages ranged from 18 till 70. Three female interviewees were

selected: An 18 year old novice driver, a 45 female driver who has been driving for twenty years and a 66 year old female driver who has been driving since she was 18 years old. Three male participants were chosen to participate in the interview: An 18 year old novice male driver, a 50 year old experienced male driver and a 70 year old male driver. To build a smooth and relaxed atmosphere between the researcher and the participants, the researcher asked the questions in both Lebanese Arabic colloquial language and English and the answers came in both languages too. The questions were asked in Arabic and English, according to the participants' preferences. A tape recorder was used after getting the interviewees' approval.

The three questions (refer to Appendix C) were intended to be open-ended questions rather than close-ended or yes / no questions. This type of questions allows the interviewee to elaborate and gives the researcher more freedom to ask questions related to the topic in discussion. Each question was planned to focus on one area that the researcher is interested in for the completion of the study. The first question was intended to know how each participant and eventually gender perceived their driving skills. The second question was related to road safety and the Lebanese traffic law and the extent to which every gender abide by these rules. The third question aimed to explore the following: (1) If there is a difference in the extent of driving aggression between genders, (2) to what extent they would go to retaliate to another's driver aggressive behavior, and (3) whether gender matters to them when retaliating. The second instrument used in this study is discourse completion tests.

3.4.2 Discourse Completion Tests

Discourse Completion Test (DCT) was first used by BlumKulka (1982) to examine speech acts. Manes and Wolfson (1981), and Cohen (1996) imply that DCT is the most reliable

data collection instrument. Kasper and Dahl (1991) believe that DCT will conduct the research to the proximity of actual linguistic performance. However, Beebe and Cummings (1996) believe that DCT produces 'artificial' linguistic action. Beebe and Cummings (1996) compared DCT and data collected from spontaneous speech and believed that the latter gave a more 'natural' picture of the situation. Although Beebe and Cummings confessed to the weaknesses of DCT; they defend the use of DCT in pragmatic research because naturalness is only one of many standards for good data. There are several types of DCT.

This study uses the open item verbal response DCT developed by Billmyer and Varghese (2000) where the situational background is provided in details. The DCT was distributed among 15 male participants from the middle class with ages ranging from 18 till 70 and 15 female participants from the middle class with ages ranging from 18 till 70. The DCT consists of five questions (see Appendix A) that gave detailed situations for the participants to respond to. The participants were told of the importance of trying to visualize the situation and closest possible answer in the response section regarding their behavior while driving. The first question aimed to find what drivers would do if someone jaywalked in front of them. The second question tackled the situation of having to comply with another driver in clearing the way. The third question was about being cut off by another driver and how would the participants behave. The fourth question was about being deliberately passed by another driver and almost being hit, and the fifth question was about being yelled at by a driver that almost hit the car. All these questions were intended to examine the way drivers behave, the language they use and the aggression level that they manifest when in these situations.

The questions were administered in both Lebanese colloquial language and English. The answers were in both languages too. This was done as such so as to let the participants feel at ease while completing the tests and to be as close as possible to the authentic situation.

The third instrument used in this study is questionnaires.

3.4.3 Questionnaires

According to Patton (2002), questionnaires are not among the most commonly used instruments in qualitative research, because they usually require participants to respond to a stimulus, and therefore they are not behaving naturally. On the other hand, questionnaires have their uses (Crabtree & Miller, 1999), particularly as a way of collecting data from a bigger sample than can be done by interview. Though the information the study collected from questionnaires was more limited, it was useful. For example, where certain plainly defined facts or opinions have been recognized by the other two methods, discourse completion tests and interviews, the questionnaires were able to explore how commonly these apply.

The questionnaire construction went through several phases. When designing the questions, the main concern of the researcher was to obtain information relevant to the study while also keeping the questions simple and direct so that the participants can answer the questions with ease. The total number of the questions was 15 so as not to let the participants get bored when answering the questions. Structured questionnaires (see Appendix B) were distributed to 15 Lebanese males and 15 Lebanese females from the middle class ages ranging from 18 to 70. They were distributed in both Arabic and English languages according to the subjects' preferences. The main focus of the questionnaires was to depict gender differences in behavior and aggression driving of drivers in Lebanon. The

Likert scale was used to demonstrate the participants' degree of agreement or disagreement. The answers were placed on five fixed alternatives that vary from never to always. The questionnaires did not require the name of the participants, but the gender and age were required.

The questionnaire was piloted on 3 male and 3 female participants. This was done according to availability of the participants. The participants consisted of the researcher's friends and relatives. The focus group represented about 10% of the total number of projected participants.

3.5 Triangulation

Triangulation, according to Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (Mish, 2007), is a trigonometric operation for finding a position or location by means of bearing from two fixed points a known distance apart. Therefore, in order to get a complete picture of the topic of study, three instruments must be combined. The concept of triangulation is related to measurement practices in social and behavioral research. An early indication to triangulation was in relation to the idea of unobtrusive method suggested by Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest (1966), who proposed that when a proposition has been established by two or more independent measurement methods, the ambiguity of its analysis is greatly diminished.

Denzin (1970) elaborated on the idea of triangulation beyond its conservative association with research designs and methods. He differentiated between four forms of triangulation: Data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theoretical triangulation and methodical triangulation that involve use of more than one method for gathering data. Discourse Completion Tests, interviews and questionnaires were used in this study to obtain triangulation. The three instruments helped the researcher collect information that is

usually hard to find. As the researcher was in direct contact with the participants, she was able to have a more complete image of the topic of gender and driving behavior. What was more important was to gather accurate and reliable data that helped draw valid conclusions.

The study, as discussed earlier in chapter one, attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What are the differences and similarities that exist between the driving behavior of women and men?

a. Do male drivers behave more aggressively than female drivers?

- Are males more verbally aggressive than females?
- Are males more non-verbal aggressive than females?

b. Are women more empathetic than men while driving?

- Do women have more empathetic concerns while driving?
- Do women feel more distressed while driving?

2. How significant are the differences that exist between the driving behavior of women and men?

The above questions were answered each using an instrument according to the following table.

Question	Discourse Completion Tests	Interviews	Questionnaires
Verbal Aggression	Yes	Yes	Yes
Non-verbal	Yes	Yes	Yes

Aggression			
Empathetic	Yes	No	Yes
Concerns (EC)			
Personal Distress	No	Yes	No
(PD)			
Significant	Yes	Yes	Yes
Differences			

Table 5: Questions and Instruments

3.6 Ethical Considerations

The anonymity of the participants who have contributed in this research has been kept into consideration. The discourse completion tests and the questionnaires only contained a section including gender and age and no name was required. Since the study mostly relied on self-reported data, it was important that the participants felt at ease when writing their answers. The study followed the Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines and an IRB exempt form was signed. Besides, identified data and paper records were protected in a locked file cabinet and in a protected and a limited access pc belonging to the researcher.

In the next chapter, the collected data will be dissected and analyzed from a sociolinguistic point of view.

Chapter Four

This chapter reports the results of the three instruments of the study: questionnaires, interviews and discourse completion tests.

4.1 Questionnaires

The questionnaires had 15 items designed to fit into two categories:

1. Evaluating aggression of both genders during the act of driving
2. Measuring to what extent both genders deal with personal distress during driving emergencies.

Question 1: Are you a good driver?

This question intends to understand how each participant perceives himself/herself as a driver. Twelve out of 15 of the females interviewed considered themselves to be good drivers all the time while 8 out of 15 male drivers considered themselves to be good drivers all the time. One out of 15 male drivers and 1 out of 15 female drivers considered themselves to be good drivers sometimes and 4 out of 15 male drivers and 1 out of 15 female drivers considered themselves frequently to be good drivers.

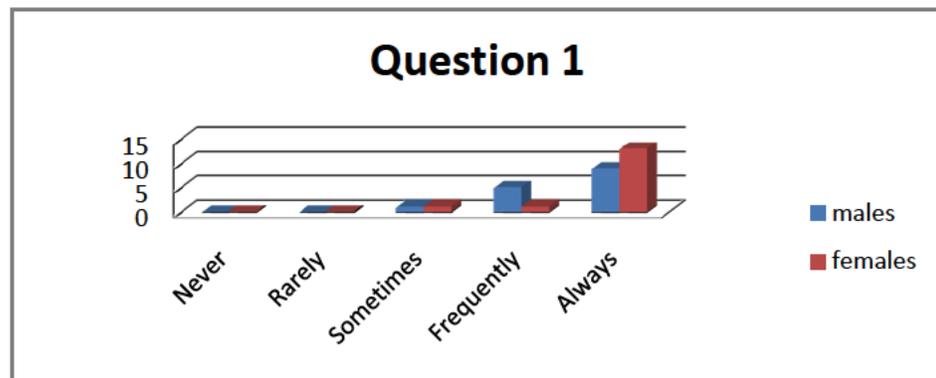


Chart 1: Question One

Question 2: Do you follow driving rules?

This question intends to identify how disciplined each gender is while driving a car. Six out of 15 females and 1 out 15males considered themselves to always drive safely; while 6 out of 15 males and 2 out of 15 females considered themselves to sometimes drive safely. Eight out of 15 males and 6 out of 15 females considered themselves to frequently drive safely.

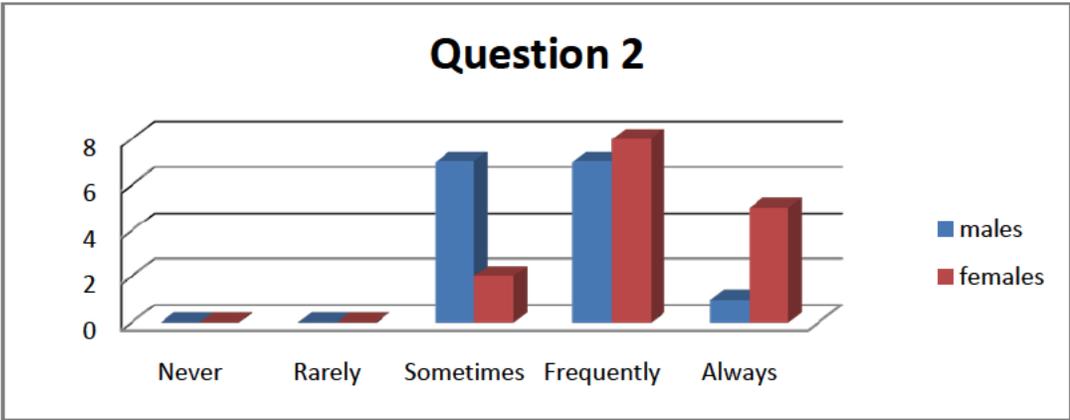


Chart 2: Question Two

Question 3: Are you a safe driver?

Eight out of 15 females considered themselves to be safe drivers all the time and 5 out of 15 males considered themselves to always be safe drivers; while 5 out of 15 male drivers considered themselves to be safe drivers sometimes and 1 out of 15 females considered herself to be a safe driver sometimes. Besides 4 out of 15 females considered themselves frequently to be safe drivers and 5 out of 15 males considered themselves frequently to be safe drivers.

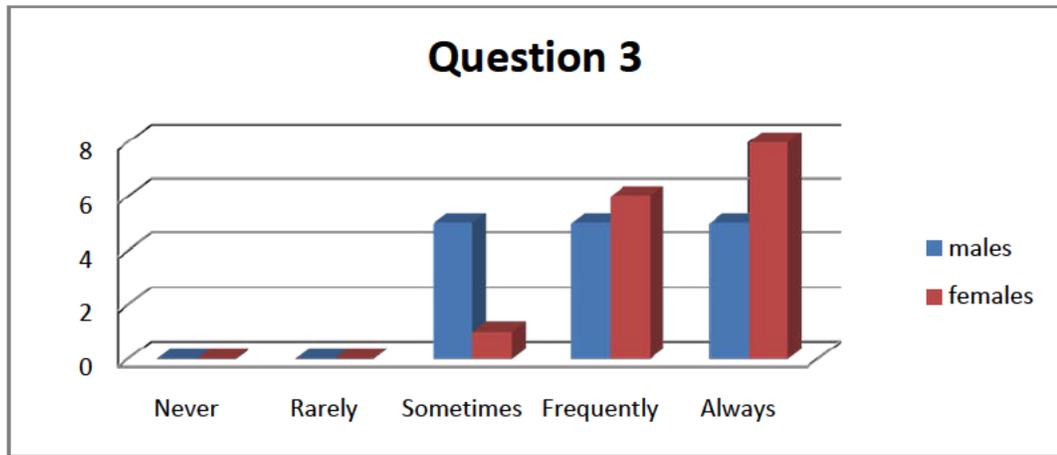


Chart 3: Question Three

Question 4: Do you pass by other cars?

One out of 15 females considered themselves always to pass by other cars and 7 out of 15 males scored that they always pass by other cars while 5 out of 15 male drivers believed that they sometimes passed by other cars and 7 out of 15 females believed that they sometimes pass by other cars. Besides, 4 out of 15 females believed that they frequently passed by other cars and 3 out of 15 males admitted that they frequently passed by other cars and 3 out of 15 females rarely pass by other car and only 2 out of 15 females admitted to rarely pass by other cars.

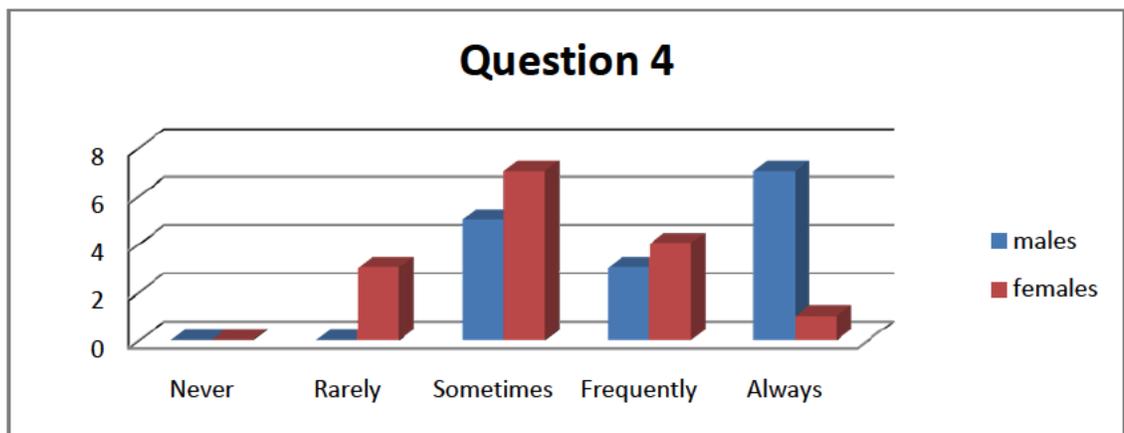


Chart 4: Question Four

Question 5: Is it alright for other cars to pass by you?

Ten out of 15 males considered that it is sometimes alright for other cars to pass by them and 4 females considered that it is sometimes alright for other cars to pass by them; while 4 out of 15 males said that it is frequently alright for other cars to pass by them and 6 out of 15 females said that it is frequently alright of other cars to pass by them. On the other hand, only 2 out of 15 males said that it is always alright for other cars to pass them by and 6 out of 15 females said that it is always alright for other cars to pass them by.

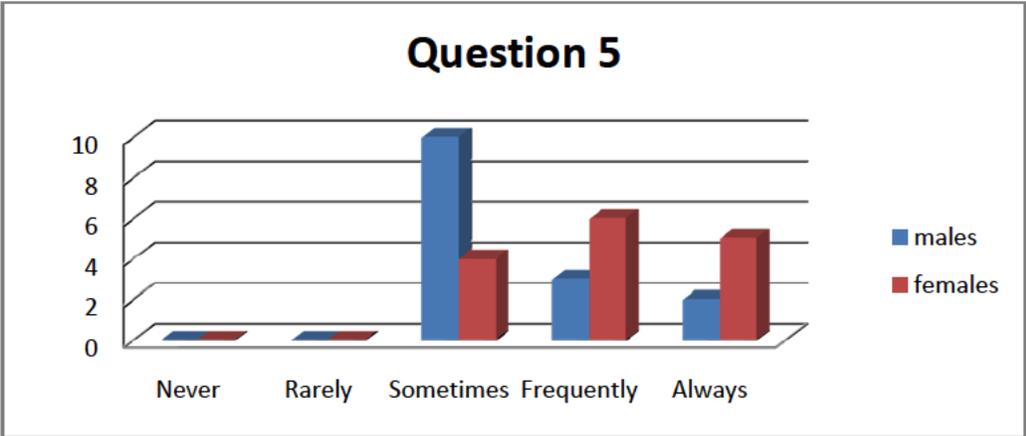


Chart 5: Question 5

Question 6: Would you go above speed limits?

Four females responded that they would never go above speed limits; while no male picked this answer. 2 males responded that they would rarely go above speed limit while 4 females responded they would rarely go above speed limit. 6 males and 6 females responded that they would sometimes go above speed limit. 5 males and 1 female responded that they would frequently go above speed limit and 2 males and 0 females responded that they would always go above speed limits.

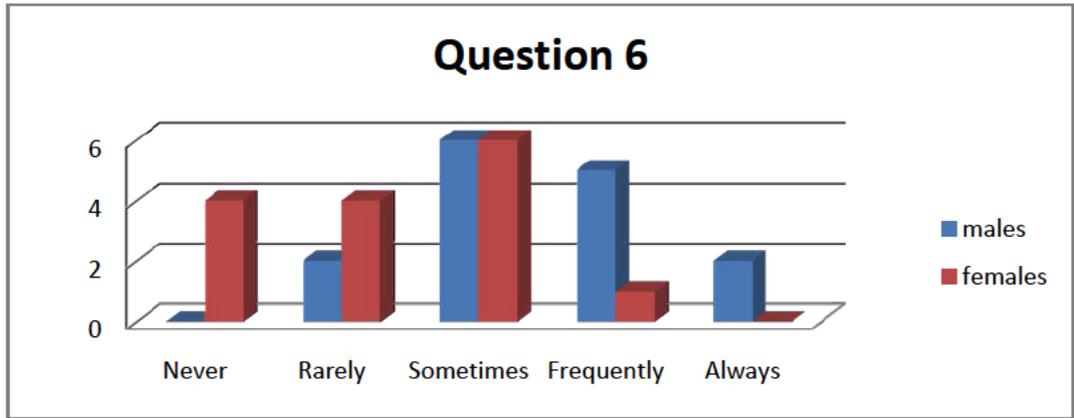


Chart 6: Question Six

Question 7: Do you drive through a street that has a do not enter sign?

Zero males and 4 females responded that they would never go above speed limits. Two out of 15 males and 4 out of 15 females responded that they would rarely go above speed limit. Six out of 15 males and 6 out of 15 females responded that they would go above speed limits. Five out of 15 males and 1 out of 15 females responded that they would frequently go above speed limits. Two out of 15 males and 0 females responded that they would always go above speed limits.

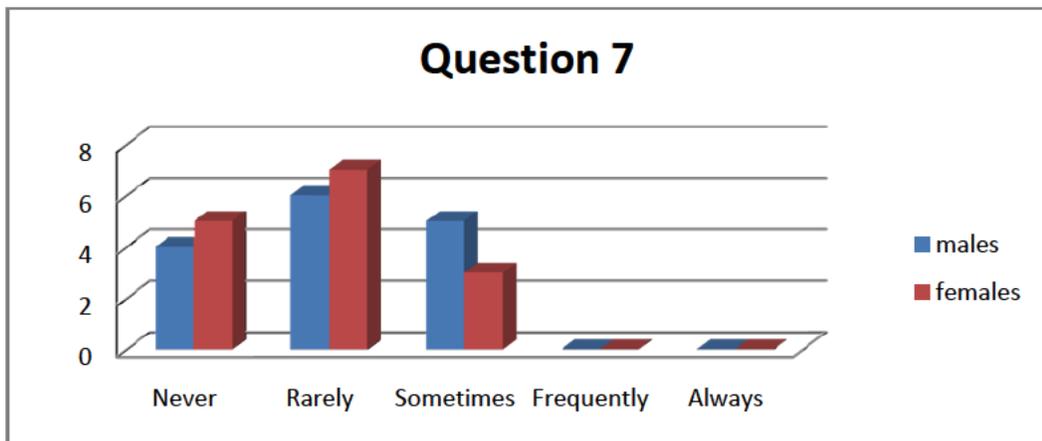


Chart 7: Question Seven

Question 8: Would you park in a no parking zone?

Five males out of 15 and 6 females out of 15 responded that they would never park in a no parking zone. Six males out of 15 and 6 females out of 15 responded that they would rarely park their car in a no parking zone. Four males out of 15 and 3 females out of 15 responded that they would sometimes park their car in a no parking zone.

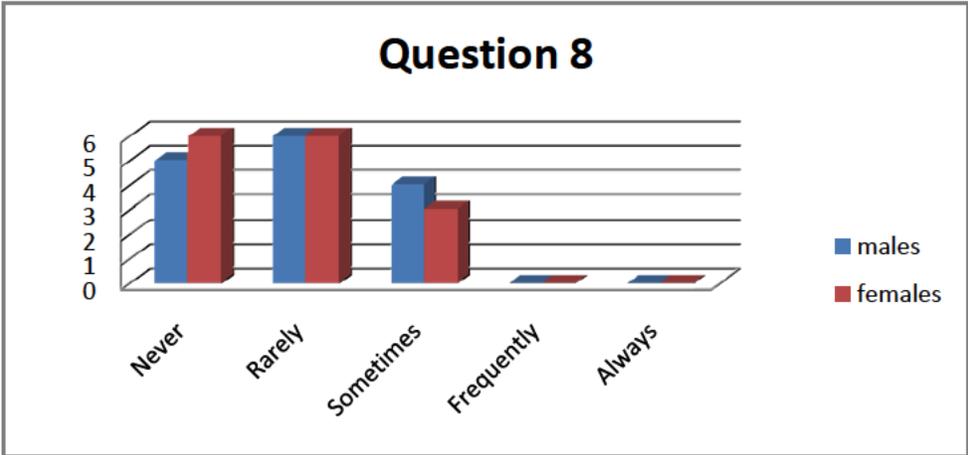


Chart 8: Question Eight

Question 9: If another driver cut you off, would you cut him off in response?

Two males and 8 females responded that they would never cut off another driver in return. Four males and 3 females responded that they would rarely cut off another driver in return. Four males and 2 males responded that they would sometimes cut off another driver in return. Three males and 0 females responded that they would frequently cut off another driver in return and 2 males and 0 females responded that they would always cut off another driver in return.

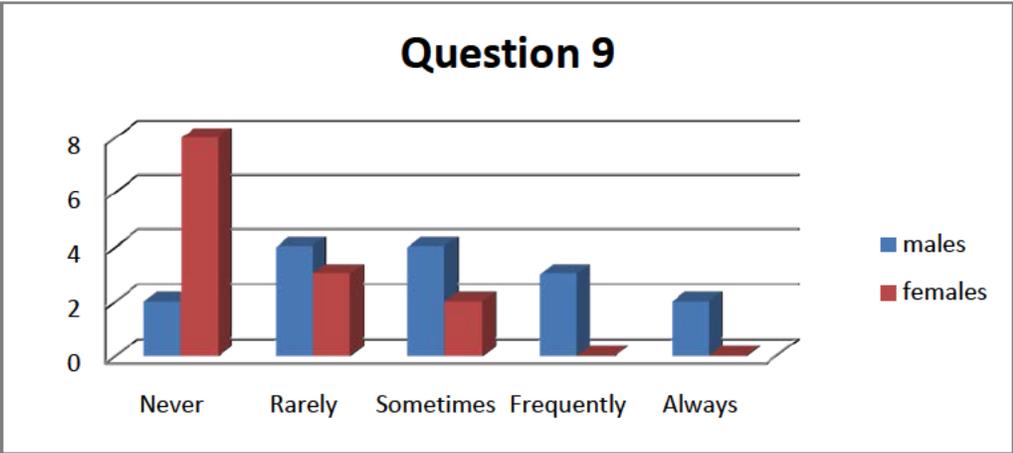


Chart 9: Question Nine

Question 10: Would you pull out of lanes without signaling?

Three out of 15 males and 8 out of 15 females responded that they would never pull out of lanes without signaling. Four out of 15 males and 3 out of 15 females responded that they would rarely pull out of lanes without signaling. Five out of 15 males and 4 out of 15 females responded that they would sometimes pull out of lanes without signaling. Three out of 15 males and 0 females responded that they would frequently pull out of lanes without signaling. No males and no females responded that they would always pull out of lanes without signaling.

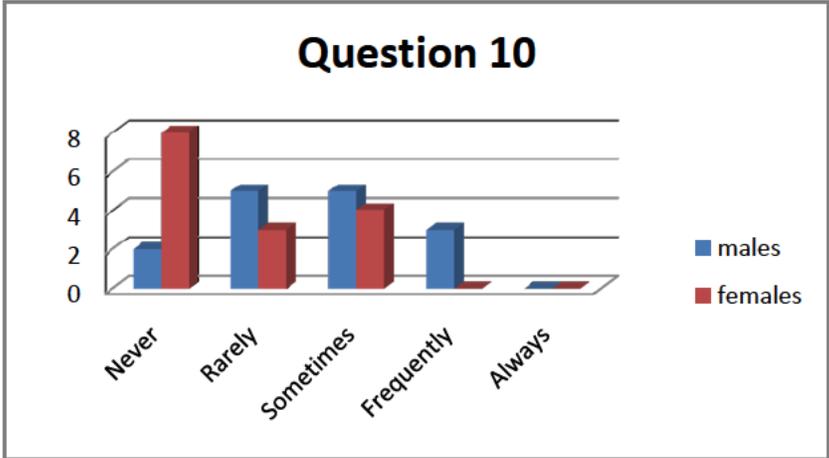


Chart 10: Question Ten

Question 11: Would you nudge pedestrians who are trying to cross a crosswalk by honking or crowding them?

Two out of 15 males and 9 out of 15 females responded that they would never nudge pedestrians who are trying to cross a crosswalk by honking or crowding them. Four out of 15 males and 3 out of 15 females responded that they would rarely nudge pedestrians who are trying to cross a crosswalk by honking or crowding them. Seven out of 15 males and 2 out of 15 females responded that they would sometimes nudge pedestrians who are trying to cross a crosswalk by honking or crowding them. Two out of 15 males and 1 out of 15 females responded that they would frequently nudge pedestrians who are trying to cross a crosswalk by honking or crowding them. No males and no females responded by always to this question.

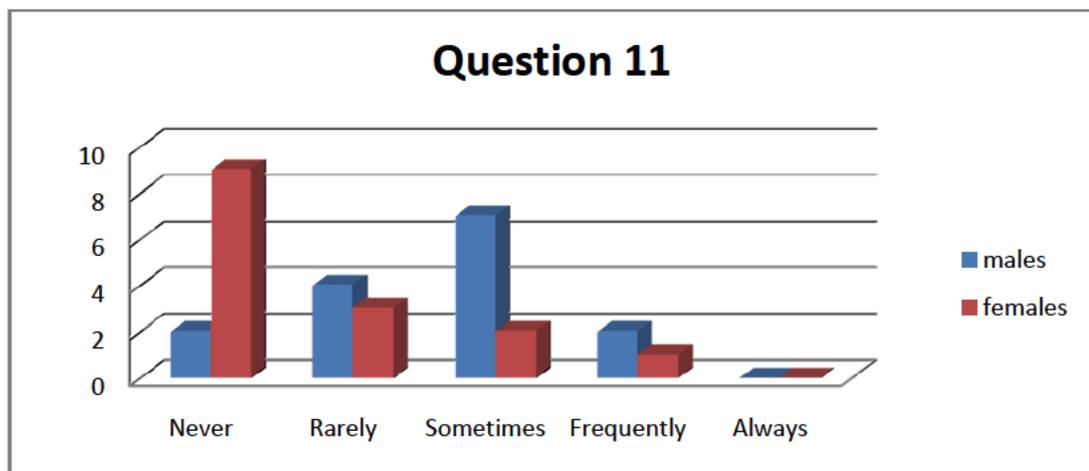


Chart 11: Question Eleven

Question 12: Would you refuse to yield right-of-way to other vehicles?

Two males and 6 females responded that they would never refuse to yield right-of-way to other vehicles. 5 males and 7 females responded that they would rarely refuse to yield right-of-way to other vehicles. 8 males and 2 females responded that they would

never refuse to yield right –of-way to other vehicles; while no one responded by frequently or always.

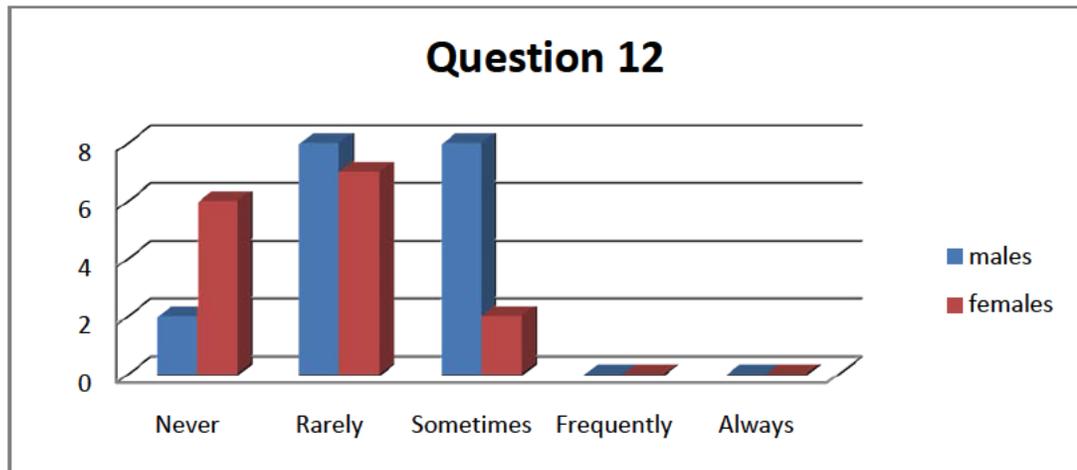


Chart 12: Question Twelve

Question 13: Would you tailgate other drivers i.e. drive dangerously close to the vehicle ahead (often in an attempt to encourage them to increase their speed)?

One male and 7 females responded that they would never tailgate other drivers. 3 males and 6 females responded that they would rarely tailgate other drivers. Six males and 2 females responded that they would sometimes tailgate other drivers. Five males and no females responded that they would frequently tailgate other drivers. One male and no females responded that they would always tailgate other drivers.

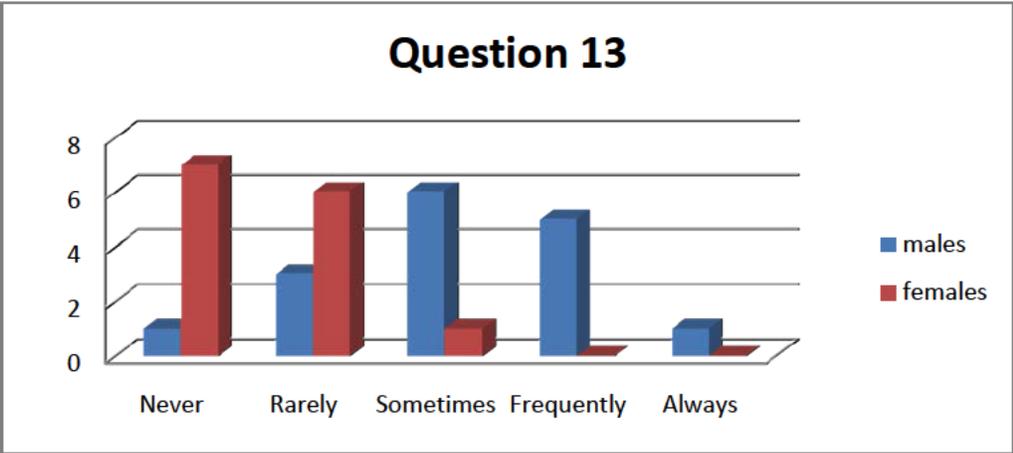


Chart 13: Question Thirteen

Question 14: Would you make an angry or obscene gesture so that the other driver would see you?

Two males and 6 females responded that they would make an angry or obscene gesture so that the other driver would see them. 3 males and 6 females responded that they would never make an angry or obscene gesture so that the other driver would see them. Three males and 8 responded that they would rarely make an angry or obscene gesture so that the other driver would see them. Six males and 1 female responded that they responded that they would sometimes make an angry or obscene gesture so that the other driver would see them. Three males and no females responded that they would frequently make an angry or obscene gesture so that the other driver would see them. One male and no females responded that they would always make an angry or obscene gesture so that the other driver would see them.

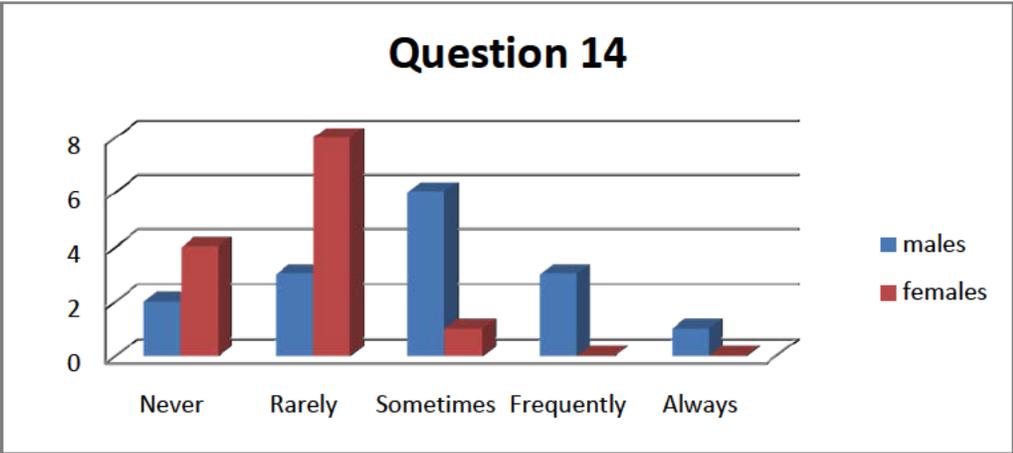


Chart 14: Question Fourteen

Question 15: Would you utter an insulting comment so that the other driver would hear you?

Four males and 8 females responded that they would never utter an insulting comment so that the other driver would hear them. Six males and 4 females responded that they would rarely utter an insulting comment so that the other driver would hear them. Three males and 2 females responded that they would sometimes utter an insulting comment so that the other driver would hear them. Two males and 1 female responded that they would frequently utter an insulting comment so that the other driver would hear them. No male and no females responded that they would always utter an insulting comment so that the other driver would hear them.

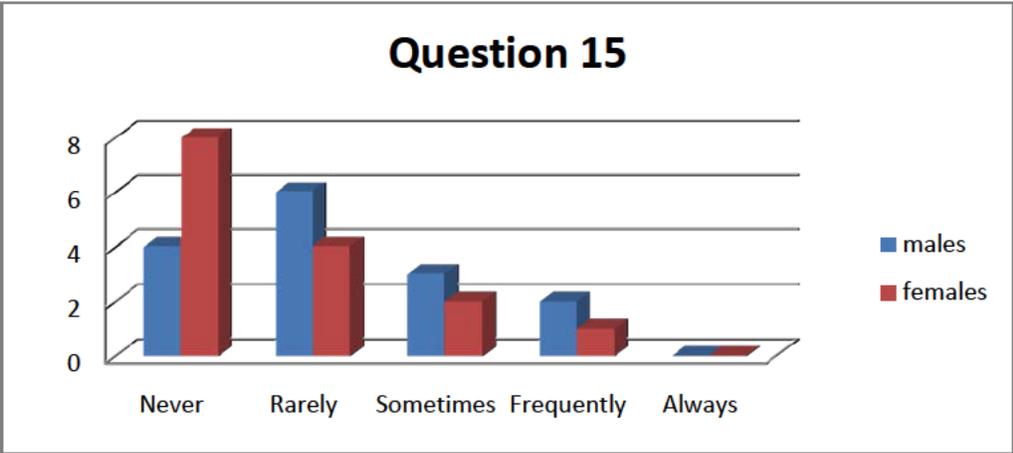


Chart 15: Question Fifteen

4.2 Discourse Completion Tests

The DCT consisted of 5 questions designed to evaluate empathy and anger (aggressive driving) manifested by the drivers.

Question 1: You were driving your car and someone jaywalked in front of you. What would you do?

Two males out of 15 and 4 out of 15 females responded that they would wait patiently for the pedestrians to pass. Nine out of 15 males and 9 out of 15 females responded that they would honk the horn at them. Two out of 15 males and 1 out of 15 males responded that they would crowd them. Two out of 15 males and 1 out of 15 females responded that they would use obscene gestures or use aggressive language at them.

Behavior	Wait patiently for them to pass	Honk the horn at them	Crowd them	Use obscene gestures or use aggressive language
Males (N=15)	2	9	2	2
Females (N=15)	4	9	1	1

Table 6: Discourse Completion One

Question 2: You were driving on the left side of the road and you want the car in front of you to clear the way for you what would you do?

Three males out of 15 and 4 females out of 15 responded that they would use their headlights. Six out of 15 males and 8 out of 15 females responded that they would honk the horn at the other driver. Four out of 15 males and 2 out of 15 females responded that they cut the other driver off through the right side. Two out of 15 males and 1 out of 15 females responded that they would crowd the other driver and drive aggressively from behind.

Behavior	Use the headlights	Honk the horn	Cut the other driver off through the right side	Crowd the other driver and drive aggressively from behind
Males (N=15)	3	6	4	2
Females(N=15)	4	8	2	1

Table 7: Discourse Completion Two

Question 3: You were driving on the highway and another driver cut you off. How would you behave if? Do you tend to make an angry or insulting gesture or comment to another driver so he/she would hear or see it? If yes, give examples.

Three out of 15 males and 5 out of 15 females responded that they would let the other driver pass without making any reaction. Five males out of 15 and 2 females out of 15 responded that they would make a sarcastic gesture signaling the driver to pass hoping he/ she would see them in the rear mirror. Three out of 15 males and 7 out of 15 females responded that they curse at the driver without letting him/ her hear the curse. Four out of 15 males and 1 out of 15 females would cut the driver off in return.

Behavior	Let the driver pass/ No reaction	Make a sarcastic gesture	Curse at the other driver – no need for him/her to hear	Cut the driver off in return
Males (N=15)	3	5	3	4
Females (N=15)	5	2	7	1

Table 8: Discourse Completion Three

Question 4: You were driving your car and another driver deliberately passed by you and almost hit you. Do you tend to retaliate? If yes, give examples.

Eight out of 15 males and 10 out of 15 females would let the driver pass without making any reaction. 6 out 15 males and 5 out of 15 females would honk furiously at them. One out of 15 males and no females would drive dangerously after the driver and try to cut him/her off.

Behavior	Let the driver pass	Honk at the driver	Drive dangerously after the driver and cut him off
Males (N=15)	8	6	1
Females (N=15)	10	5	0

Table 9: Discourse Completion Four

Question 5: You accidentally almost hit another car and the other driver started yelling at you, how would you behave?

Six out of 15 males and 6 out of 15 females would apologize to the other driver.

Four out of 15 males and 6 out of 15 females would close the car window and call insurance. Four male drivers and 3 female drivers would yell back at the driver. One male out of 15 and no females would engage in a physical fight if necessary.

Behavior	Apologize to the driver	Close the car window and call insurance	Yell back at the driver	Engage in a physical fight if necessary
Males (N=15)	6	4	4	1
Females (N=15)	6	6	3	0

Table 10: Discourse Completion Five

4.3 Interviews

Interviews were conducted in both English and Arabic, and it was up to the participants to answer in whatever language they felt comfortable in. M1, M2, M3 refer to the first, second and third male participants respectively. F1, F2, F3 refer to the first, second and third female participants respectively.

Question 1: Do you enjoy driving? What makes a good driver? Do you consider yourself to be a good driver?

This question was designed as a warm up question in order to make the participants feel at ease in presence of the interviewer and the other interviewees. It also shows the participants' perception towards the act of driving. The participants' answers varied from really enjoying driving to disliking. One female expressed her wish that someone would drive her around instead of her driving on the streets of Lebanon, as she said. This excerpt shows the different opinions regarding driving.

M2: I consider it as a great means ...umm ...and that's it... *ya3ni ana*(in otherwords, I) I don't get bothered by driving *bas inno* (but) it is not like my hobby *aw shee* (or anything)

F1: Ana I don't enjoy it at all. *Sara7atan* (Honesly), I wish someone would drive me around. *Aslan la shoo lswe2a blebnen...wallabahdaleh ...inno... yalli bise77ello yjeebdriver ma y2assir*. (Why bother and drive in Lebanon.. it is humiliating..I mean...if someone can afford to get a driver, one should do it)

F2: *eh walla ma3ik 7a2* (oh yes absolutely right)

M1: *Wallahana b7iss* (By God I feel) it is the best way to release some adrenaline.

F3: *Mzbout..5ay* (True... what a relief) *fee a7la min swe2a* morning and you listen to Fayrouz(is there anything more beautiful than driving in the morning and listening to Fayrouz).

When they were asked the criteria of a good driver, each had an opinion about the definition of a good driver and when asked, if they considered themselves to be good drivers, the three males and three females replied by yes. Here is an excerpt of their responses for the question:

M1: *el chauffeur elshaterhuwweyalli ma bya3mol 7adis bi 7ayteto...anasarli 20 sene bsu2 b7ayeti ma 5abatet 7ada..* (A good driver is the one who has never made an accident in his life. I've been driving for 20 years and I have never made an accident so far)

F1: *anabitsawwar*(I believe that) *inno* a good driver is the one who... uhh..abides by the rules *w byemshi 7assab el2anoun*

F3: (laughs sarcastically) *hahaha7abibti intiwein 3ayshe? leish fee 2anoun blebnen?*

M2: *Walla hal2anoun ljdeed law tabba2u kina kilnamsheena 3leih* (Really if this law was really implemented, we all would have abided by it).

M3: *ana t3awwadet heik ma feenighayyir ba2a* (I'm used to driving like this I cannot change anymore).

Question2: Do you sometimes feel that you're holding up traffic? What would you do? Do you start driving faster than you feel at ease? Would you drive recklessly or aggressively under pressure? Would you keep on driving just as you were without feeling pressured at all?

This question was designed in order to evaluate the level of aggression of each gender when driving and to see if under pressure, they would start to drive aggressively. 2 out of 3 males responded that they never feel pressured while driving because they don't slow down traffic at all. 1 male responded that he would drive faster if he felt that he was holding up the traffic but he wouldn't feel pressured at all. 1 female out of 3 responded that she would never drive faster and jeopardize her life and the life of the passengers with her just because the traffic behind her was accumulating. 2 females out of 3 believed that they would drive faster and maybe aggressively because they don't want to hold up the traffic.

F2: I think *inno...eh...bzeed sere3te* (I would go faster) because..umm..I don't want the drivers behind me to say (for sure it is a woman driving)... *innoakid hay mara 3ambitsu2 so eh* (yes) I think would go above the speed limit that I am usually comfortable in.

Question 3: To what extent would you retaliate if another driver provoked you? Does the gender of the other driver matter in the way that you retaliate? Would you use obscene gestures, use harsh language or try to physically harm the other driver. What kind of language would you use? Give examples.

Answers varied between doing nothing and not retaliate to actual physical harm and the use of certain obscene gestures and cursing. 2 females out of 3 and 1 male out of 3 responded that they would never go into this because of fear of retaliation. 2 out of 3 males and 1 out of 3 females would retaliate in obscene language if the other driver started it and 3 out of 3 males and no female would engage physically if the other driver started it. This excerpt was taken from the responses to this question. As for the issue of gender, 1 females out of 3 and 2 males out of 3 responded that gender of the other driver would not make a difference in the way they retaliate if the other driver started it while 1 out of 3 males and 2 out of 3 females responded that the gender would make a difference. The male responded that he would never respond to a female while the females responded that she would never respond to a male because she fears the way he would retaliate.

F1: I would never retaliate to a provocation while driving. *Ma bta3erfi shoo beseer...ya3ni... yimkinyettawwarelshee w yseermashkalkbeer*(You never know what would happen, I mean it could develop into a big fight.)

Interviewer: Do you think that gender matter when you respond?

F1: ummm... I think yes honestly. I wouldn't want to go into a fight with a man ...*barky wassa5 bil7aki.* (Maybe he used demeaning language)

M1: *leh shoo lneswen ma biwaskho bil7aki?* (So you think that women don't use such language?!

M3: *mbalaakid bas bidallon bi5afo yetwarrato bi shee ma fiyonykaffu* (Oh yes they do, but not as much as men because they do not want to get involved in something that they cannot complete.)

F3: *Ana iza 7ada stafazni ma btefro2 ma3i iza ken rejjel aw marabfutbilmashkal 3al ekir*(As for me, if someone provokes me, I will go to the end, it will not matter whether it is a male or female)

M2: *ana ma b7ibb futbheikossas ma shefto shoo 3ambeseer biltor2at? hayseed helium wa7ad 2atal wa7ad baskernelmenbid do yemro2 bil2awwal*(I do not like to get involved in such things. Haven't you seen what has been happening lately? A man lost his life because of who wants to pass first.)

Question 4: If you faced an emergency with your car, such as that you were driving and the breaks stopped working, what would you do?

1 female and 1 male responded that that they wish they would never experience such a situation and that they never really know how they would behave at that moment. 2 females responded that they would panic: one of them said that she might even leave the steering wheel, but the other said that even though she would panic, she will try to handle the situation because there is no other choice. On the other hand, 2 males out of 3 responded that it is pointless to panic during such situations and the best thing to do is to stay calm and try to handle the problem.

4.4 Results of the Three Instruments Combined

The three instruments were set to complement each other and their data was combined together to evaluate three different facets in driving.

4.4.1 Anger

a. Verbal: The answers of DCTs and interviews were used in collecting data for verbal aggression according to Flexner's scale for aggressive behavior. Here, the answers of the male (N=18) and female(N=18) participants from both instruments were combined and analyzed.

Behavior	Males	Females
Anger using reference to subnormal thoughts (idiot, stupid, retard)	1	8
Anger using reference to body products (shit)	2	1
Anger using reference to animals (animal, dog)	2	6
Anger using reference to sexual organs and sexual violation	6	
Blasphemy	4	0

Table 11: Verbal Aggression Results

b. Non-Verbal: The answers of DCTs, questionnaires and interviews were used in collecting data for verbal aggression according to Flexner's scale for aggressive behavior. Here, the answers of the male (N=33) and female (N=33) participants from the three instruments were combined and analyzed.

Behavior	Males	Females
Tailgating	30	15
Crowding	30	10
Honking	33	33
Obscene Gestures	22	6
Physical Fight	3	0

Table 12: Non-verbal Aggression Results

4.4.2 Empathy and Personal Distress

The answers of the DCTs, questionnaires and interviews were used to collect data for empathetic behavior according to Davis's (1986) Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) which tested personal distress and empathetic concern of individuals. The answers of the male (N=33) and female (N=33) participants from the three instruments were combined and analyzed. The responses of the participants were categorized into these groups

- Empathetic Concern (EC) which measures feelings of sympathy and concern for unfortunate others
- Personal Distress (PD) which measures feelings of anxiety and unease in certain stressful settings.

The PD responses were taken from the three instruments combined and the total number of participants was 66 divided equally into males and females.

Behavior	Males(N=33)	Females (N=33)
Losing control in emergencies	13	18
Feel pressured while driving	13	14

Table 13: Personal Distress Results

39.4% of male participants and 54.4% female participants responded that they would lose control in emergencies and 39.4% of male participants and 42.4% of female participants responded that they would feel pressured while driving.

The EC responses were taken from both questionnaires and DCTs.

Taken from questionnaires:

Behavior	Males (N=15)	Females (N=15)
Nudging pedestrians	11	7

Table 14: Empathetic Concern Results from Questionnaires

73% of males and 40% of females responded that they would nudge pedestrians while driving.

Taken from DCTs:

Behavior	Males (N=15)	Females (N=15)
Harass jaywalkers	13	11

Table 15: Empathetic Concern Results from DCT

87% of males and 73% of females responded that they would harass jaywalkers while driving.

In order to measure the Empathetic Concern (EC) of each gender for reasons of comparison (derived from both instruments), the mean value of both results were calculated for each gender. So, regarding (EC), the mean of average of males showing emphatic concerns towards others is 20% and the mean average of females showing emphatic concerns towards others while driving was 43.5%.

This chapter presented the results of the study. The results of the three instruments complemented each other without any discrepancy. These results will be discussed thoroughly in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

In this chapter, the results of the questionnaires and interviews are discussed under two main themes obtained from the gathered data: aggression and empathy.

5.1 First Question

The study attempted to answer the following questions regarding the relationship of gender and aggression regarding Lebanese drivers and the relationship of empathy and gender regarding Lebanese drivers:

1. What are the differences and similarities that exist between the driving behavior of women and men?

a. Do male drivers behave more aggressively than female drivers?

- Are males more verbally aggressive than females?
- Are males more non-verbal aggressive than females?

Non-verbal aggression in driving showed a strong relationship with gender of the driver. Results of the study revealed that females tend to be less physically aggressive than males while driving. These results are not unique but are backed up by several other studies (see for instance, Bettencourt & Miller, 1996; Blanchard & Blanchard, 1992; Fraczek, 1992)

In certain circumstances where drivers recognize that they have been at risk or offended by another driver, anger may result (Wiesenthal, Hennessy & Gibson, 2000).). Bearing in mind that females have conventionally been raised to renounce aggressive behavior (Eagley & Steffen, 1986), the obscurity and ambiguity of the driving environment represent a distinctive opportunity for deviation from gender roles, consequently, facilitating the expression of aggressive inclination. In addition, the potential for personal

consequence due to aggressive behaviors are reduced with anonymity, producing a raised sense of control over victims. Thus, the inability to recognize a driver as female may give feelings of control over other drivers, raising the potential for mild driver aggression behaviors among females (Lightdale & Prentice, 1994). The current results have shown the significance of the type of aggressive behavior in assessing gender differences.

Specifically, violent and mostly non-verbal or physical behavior was more obvious among male drivers compared to female drivers. Meerloo (1968) believed that violence is a more extreme demonstration of aggressive behavior. Likewise, Hennessy and Wiesenthal (2001) have grouped driver violence or physical aggression as a different group of driving behaviors that are more rigorous and dangerous than milder aggression which are the non-verbal aggression. A possible justification for this gender difference may be that physical aggression driving involves prevalent physical actions towards other drivers. So, according to this study's results, male drivers are more prone to show physical aggression than female drivers. This is supported by Buss and Perry (1992) who believe that physical aggression driving behavior require extended contact with a victim, which might minimize perceptions of anonymity and raise the possibility for reciprocal acts of aggression. In the present study, males showed a greater inclination toward physical confrontations, tailgating, crowding, and engaging in physical fight, compared to females.

On the other hand, there was no significant difference in verbal behavior between males and females. Both genders were equally verbally aggressive when confronting other drivers or pedestrians. The results were equal if we examine the amount of times both genders used aggressive verbal language, but if we examine it further, males and females differed in the type of language that they used. This coincides with the literature review

earlier discussed in this study and especially with Tannen's views according to male and female language.

The second question is about the relationship among gender, empathy and Lebanese drivers.

b. Are women more empathetic than men while driving?

- Do women have more empathetic concerns while driving?
- Do women feel more distressed while driving?

Results of the study showed that there is significant difference in the way each gender handles personal distress while driving. This is according to Lajunen and Summala (1995), due to the fact that male drivers may believe that to be a skillful driver is a masculine characteristic; while female drivers might not perceive car driving a car as part of their identity. It is possible that to be a skillful driver is considered a male feature, while to be a safe driver is believed to be a feminine characteristic. Early studies show that young male drivers overestimate their driving skills and stress vehicle handling skills rather than safety (Lajunen&Summala, 1995). This was also shown in the interviews with two females responding that they wish they would never drive and it would be 'less stressful' if someone drove them.

Empathy is thought to be a significant cognitive and emotional difference between males and females due to females scoring higher on measures of empathy. The existing research, however, has revealed no such results regarding evidence for gender differences. This is backed up by several studies. In their meta-analysis, Wager et al. (2003) did not find a considerable difference in brain activation between males and females regarding emotional stimuli. The use of physiological measures as signs of empathy results in males

and females getting similar scores (Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983). Therefore, in studies that use physiological and neuro-scientific approaches, gender differences in empathy do not appear. Yet, according to Rueckert (2011), the most persuasive evidence for gender differences in empathy is given by studies using self-report measures to evaluate empathy. Females score significantly more than males on the Interpersonal Reactivity Index IRI (Davis, 1980) and the Emotional Quotient EQ (Baron-Cohen & Wheelright, 2004). Culture and socialization play an important role in the development of empathy (Baron-Cohen, 2005) and thus, may explain the divergence in findings reporting gender differences in empathy. Eisenberg and Lennon (1983) suggested biases in self-report data could affect the observed gender differences. The differences may be so because males may be reluctant to report empathic experiences due to social expectations. When a measure is thought to assess empathy, it may induce responses affected by an individual's recognition of gender stereotypes (Baron-Cohen & Wheelright, 2005). One of the most widespread stereotypes in society is that females are more caring and empathetic than males (Rueckert, 2011). Thus, it is likely that when a measure is thought to evaluate empathy, females feel they must reply more empathically, while men feel they must reply less empathically in order to match with gender roles.

Generally speaking, females have been known to surpass the males in identifying facial expressions of others' facial expressions, particularly the negative ones (Hampson, van Anders & Mullin, 2006). Besides, women have been constantly found to score more in empathy when compared with men (Baron-Cohen & Wheelright, 2010). The gender effect is obvious as early as the age 5–7 and has been established not only in Western but also in Asian populations (Shashikumar, Chaudhary, Ryali, Bhat & Srivastava, 2014). Even though there are several studies supporting the existence of a relationship

between gender and empathy, many other studies do not support this. This study examined the role of empathy and gender on the driving behavior among Lebanese drivers. Gender was not significantly associated or related to driving behavior and empathy among Lebanese drivers. This implies that male and female drivers did not differ in their empathy. In other words, findings of this study show that the Davis's model of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) (Davis, 1980; Davis 1996) is invariant between genders allowing the study to deduce that the instruments measure similar dimensions of empathy in males and females. This is backed up by several other studies in the past (see for instance, Fukushima & Hiraki, 2002; Han, Fan & Mao, 2008). The results did not show discrepancy in the way both genders acted. Male and female drivers would nudge pedestrians and harass jaywalkers in a nearly equal proportion.

5.2 Second Question

How significant are the differences that exist between the driving behavior of women and men?

The main aim in this study was to evaluate the effects gender on driving behavior among Lebanese drivers. Effects of gender on aggressive driving and empathy in driving were explored. With regard to aggression, the results showed discrepancy between verbal and non-verbal aggression. There were no significant differences between responses of male and female Lebanese drivers regarding verbal aggressive behavior. We found that drivers' gender are not as essential in causing driving verbal aggression and, therefore, we inferred that anger is probably an expression of personality traits motivated by certain circumstances in traffic. Of course, this is not a new idea, and earlier researches have shown predictors of aggressive driving in analogous way (Lajunen & Parker, 2001). As for non-verbal aggression, the results of this study matched some earlier results

(Krahé&Fenske, 2002), in that male drivers behave more aggressively on the road than female drivers. . Regarding empathy, gender was not a relevant construct in the way female and male drivers behaved on the road. This is also backed up by several previous studies (see for instance, Wager & Ochsner, 2005; Moe, 2009; Klein& Hodges, 2001).

This chapter discussed the results of the study regarding gender and driving differences especially empathy and aggression. The following chapter will conclude the study, list the limitations and propose suggestions for further research on the topic.

Chapter Six

This paper attempted to answer questions about the behavioral and linguistic similarities and differences of male and female drivers in Lebanon. Its purpose was to identify and describe the similar and different verbal and non-verbal patterns of male and female drivers in Lebanon. The study studied these behaviors through two constructs: aggression and empathy. Although studies on gender issues are varied, few have researched gender differences in Lebanon especially in a topic such as driving a car. The study has several limitations that will be discussed in the section below.

6.1 Limitations

This study has some methodological limitations. First, it does not investigate in depth the gender differences and driving behavior of the Lebanese drivers. There are many facets to the driving behavior other than aggression, empathy and personal distress. Thus, it is limited in the variables tested. Variables such as apology, driving skills, and perception of genders to each other while driving could have been tested. This study is qualitative and lacks the quantitative aspect which could have given it more profoundness. Besides, the study is also limited in its sample, so a bigger sample is advised for more accuracy. The present study is not generalizable. A more detailed survey needs to be conducted with a more diverse sample not only limited to the middle class and with a greater number of participants.

The data was based only on drivers' self-reports of driving behavior and no observations of behavior were done. It is probable that some respondents exaggerated their answers about driving. But, the participants completed the questionnaires and DCTs anonymously and could not achieve anything by writing biased responses. Besides, it is

possible that some respondents described more driving violations and breaches than they truly had. Accordingly, observations along with surveys are needed.

Hyde (2005) believes that gender differences are seldom large in magnitude, which was also the case in this research. As Hyde (2005) reasons, the differences should not be magnified to serve a self-fulfilling prophesy by sustaining gender stereotypes. However, studying the precise nature of the differences can present knowledge of the topics where stereotypical thinking happens.

6.2 Recommendations

Much is still needed for the understanding of gender differences and driving in Lebanon. Thus, replicating the study across setting and in various Lebanese regions and across different social levels would give more solid results of the study. More research is needed for the understanding of the relationship among aggression, gender and driving behavior. Furthermore, future studies may gain from a larger sample size to permit the analysis of the relationship between gender and driving behavior. Besides, the current study did not consider demographic data about participants. It is likely that the tendency to report empathy and aggression may change across cultures due to the discrepancy in gender roles among cultures. Future studies may be beneficial for investigating whether the differences are stronger in cultures that have fervent gender role beliefs. Besides, earlier studies have found gender role orientation is a good predictor of gender differences in empathy and aggression than gender per se (Karniol, Gabay, Ochion&Harari, 1998). An enclosure of a gender role orientation index such as Bem's gender role orientation inventory (Karniol et al., 1998) may benefit further research.

After going through the literature review and the results, one main concern arises: driving aggression and its relation to accidents. This is partly related to the person's

upbringing and lack of awareness with driving safety rules- something that should be embedded in the Lebanese curriculum in order to inform the youth of such a hazardous behavior when driving. Teachers and parents should talk to kids about traffic safety early and often, before they reach driving age. Parents should start modeling good habits any time they drive their kids anywhere, even before they begin to drive. A driver education program should be mandatory in the Lebanese curriculum in order for a student to graduate.

The aim of the program must be to ensure consistency among driver education programs by standardizing the knowledge, skills and ability of each student driver. This will help driver education be a comprehensive learning experience that will lead to a reduction in the number of crashes by junior operators. The modules of the program should discuss topics that will provide students with the necessary skills to obtain a driver's license and to become a conscientious driver. Materials in the modules may be taught through instruction, guest speakers, textbook or video presentation. A parent/guardian driver education class can be included within the driver education program.

Parents/Guardians should be educated in the content of the driver education curriculum and the driving skills and behaviors their children should be learning throughout the driver education experience.

6.3 Reflexivity

A lot of research has been done in order to evaluate the different factors underlying gender differences in driving behavior. This research tried to shed a light on the similarities and differences among genders in driving behavior regarding aggression and empathy. The study would have benefited from a greater sampling range. Further research is recommended for the future to assess further similarities and differences. This study can

lay down the foundation for other research related to gender studies and gender differences. It can also aid other studies regarding aggression and driving behavior in Lebanon.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

1. What makes a good driver? Do you consider yourself to be a good driver?
2. Do you sometimes feel that you're holding up traffic? What would you do? Do you start driving faster than you feel at ease? Would you keep on driving just as you were without feeling pressured at all?
3. To what extent would you retaliate if another driver provoked you? Does the gender of the other driver matter in the way that you retaliate? Would you use obscene gestures, use harsh language or try to physically harm the other driver. What kind of language would you use. Give examples.
4. If you faced an emergency with your car, such as that you were driving and the breaks stopped working, what would you do?

Appendix B: Discourse Completion Tasks

This study aims to research strategies of driving in Lebanon. You are kindly requested to answer the following questions sincerely and carefully. It is really important that you try to visualize the situation and give the closest possible answer to what you would really do. The information that you give will stay confidential and will only be used in academic research.

I- Background Information

Gender: _____

Age: _____

What would you do if someone was jaywalking in front of your car?

You were driving on the left side of the road and you want the car in front of you to clear the way for you what would you do?

You were driving on the highway and another driver cut you off. How would you behave if? Do you tend to make an angry or insulting gesture or comment to another driver so he/she would hear or see it? If yes, give examples.

You were driving your car and another driver deliberately passed by you and almost hit you. Do you tend to retaliate? If yes, give examples.

You accidentally almost hit another car and the other driver started yelling at you, how would you behave?

Appendix C: Questionnaire Sample

I- Background Information Gender: _____

Age: _____

Questions	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Always
Are you a good driver?					
Do you follow driving rules?					
Are you a safe driver?					
Do you pass by other cars?					
Is it alright for other cars pass by you?					
Would you go above speed limits?					
Do you drive through a street that has a do not enter sign?					
Would you park in a no parking zone?					
If another driver cut you off, would you cut him off in response?					
Would you pull out of lanes without signaling?					
Would you nudge pedestrians who are trying to cross a crosswalk by honking or crowding them					
Would you refuse to yield right-of-way to other vehicles?					
Would you tailgate other drivers i.e. drive dangerously close to the vehicle ahead (often in an attempt to encourage them to increase their speed)?					
Would you make an angry or obscene gesture so that the other driver would see you?					
Would you utter an insulting comment so that the other driver would hear you?					