ABSTRACT

| Title of Thesis: | THE SOCIAL ROLE DOUBLE BIND AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR CONTEMPORARY COLLEGE STUDENTS |

Alisa J. Ades, Master of Arts, 2004

| Thesis directed by: | Professor Ruth E. Fassinger
Department of Counseling and Personnel Services |

Past research indicates that mothers face a double bind: stay-at-home women are undervalued, and employed women are viewed as interpersonally deficient. This study examined the double bind by comparing perceptions of women and men in the same social role. College students read a brief description of a stay-at-home or employed (full-time/part-time) mother or father, rated the target on measures of instrumentality and communality, and estimated how often he/she performed nurturing behaviors. The college students also completed measures assessing their own career and family expectations. Results showed different trait perceptions of mothers and fathers in the same social role, indicating persistence of sex stereotyping and resistance to parents in nontraditional social roles. Notable effects included: employed mothers were considered significantly less nurturing than male counterparts; fathers employed part-time were rated less instrumental and more expressive than other targets; and, overall, mothers were expected to perform more nurturing behaviors, regardless of role.

THE SOCIAL ROLE DOUBLE BIND AND THE IMPLICATIONS

FOR CONTEMPORARY COLLEGE STUDENTS

by

Alisa J. Ades

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
2004

Advisory Committee:

      Dr. Ruth Fassinger, Chair and Advisor
      Dr. Mary Ann Hoffman
      Dr. Linda Tipton

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction

Historically, men and women have been perceived to possess different, if not opposite, attributes. Stereotypic male traits compose a competency or instrumentality cluster: independent, competitive, logical, worldly, adventurous, confident and ambitious. Female traits reflect an expressive or nurturance cluster: dependent, passive, gentle, sensitive to the feelings of others, neat, quiet, and able to express tender feelings. (Bem, 1974; Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Spence, 1993; Spence & Buckner, 2000; Spence & Helmrich, 1978). In addition, men and women traditionally have fulfilled different social roles in society. Men have assumed responsibilities associated with the provider role, and women have assumed the bulk of childcare and household responsibilities (Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000).

Eagly and her colleagues (e.g., Eagly et al., 2000) believe that it is these social roles that are responsible for the development of specific and distinct attributes expected of men and women. In other words, individuals are perceived to possess characteristics that suit the needs of their specific role. For example, a stay-at-home parent is expected to need, and therefore possess, nurturing characteristics; on the other hand, an employed parent is expected to need, and therefore possess, agentic characteristics. Since, traditionally, more women fulfill the domestic role and more men the provider role, women are associated with the characteristics expected in carrying out domestic responsibilities, and men the provider responsibilities (Eagly et al., 2000).

Numerous research findings support the idea that trait perceptions are related to an individual's social role. Several have examined the perception of parents in particular. These studies revealed that individuals view mothers (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Study, 1989) and fathers (Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Riggs, 1997, 1998) who stay at home to be more communal than their counterparts who are employed. In addition, those mothers and fathers who are not employed are perceived to be less instrumental, competent, or agentic than their employed counterparts (Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Riggs, 1997, 1998). These results seem to suggest that the target person's sex does not affect how she/he is perceived.

However, other perception studies have produced results that are not consistent with the social role perspective. A number of studies have found counterstereotypical trait attributions about men and women in the same social role. Although women are stereotypically the more nurturing sex, studies have found employed mothers to be considered significantly less nurturing and interpersonally skilled than their male counterparts (Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997; Riggs, 1997). Also, interestingly, women who work were perceived as *more* agentic than male counterparts (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Riggs, 1997, 1998). Given these different perceptions of individuals in the same social role, the suggestion is that it is not social role alone that influences perceptions.

Furthermore, research conducted in the workplace has found traditional stereotypic trait attributions about men and women in the same role. Research

indicates that individuals continue to view male employees as more competent (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Heilman, 1995, 2001; Heilman, Block & Martell, 1995), committed, and emotionally stable then female employees, even when both are designated as managers (Heilman et al., 1995). In addition, there have been counterstereotypic results found in research by these authors as well. Male employees are perceived to be far more interpersonally gifted than their female counterparts (Heilman et al., 1995; Rudman & Glick, 1999, 2001). In fact, successful male managers are seen as having more concern for others than successful female managers. Male managers are considered less hostile than men in general; yet, female managers are viewed as significantly more hostile than women in general (Heilman et al., 1995). Eagly's social role theory (e.g., Eagly et al., 2000) seems undermined by these results – perceptions of men and women are different even when occupying the same social role.

Results of this kind have inspired theories that look beyond the social role perspective in explaining sex stereotyping. If sex stereotypes are tied to social role alone, the obvious question is, why have many sex stereotypes persisted despite broadening of traditional social roles? Women in the United States currently make up 46% of all workers (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2002), indicating that there no longer exists a clear difference in employment roles of men and women. Both men and women are working outside the home. Despite the fact that there are an almost equal number of men and women in the workforce, research indicates that men and women in the same social role continue to be perceived differently (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Etaugh &

Folger, 1998; Heilman et al., 1995; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997; Riggs, 1997,

1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999, 2001).

Biernat and her colleagues (e.g., Biernat, 1995; Biernat & Kobrynowicz,

1997; Biernat & Manis, 1994; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997) have offered a

shifting standards model to explain perceptual sex similarities and differences.

This theory suggests that individuals differentially adjust the meaning of

subjective response scales to fit the expected range for the target group being

judged. In other words, subjective judgments are made by comparing the target

only to the target's own group (i.e., she is tall for a woman). For example, in a

study by Riggs (1998), results of a subjective evaluation indicated that women

were perceived as more agentic than male counterparts. Biernat and colleagues

would argue that employed women are seen as very agentic *for a woman*, but men

who work are considered average in agency *for a man.*

In Biernat & Kobrynowicz's (1997) study, participants evaluated male and

female job applicants. Participants were asked to set minimum standards for

competence and to set criteria for ability inferences for the applicants. Half the

participants used a subjective evaluation scale, a rating format that allows the

judge to impose his or her own meaning on the scale points (Likert-type formats

most readily fit this description). The other half of the participants answered an

objective rating scale, where the measurement units have a constant meaning and,

therefore, do not allow for category-based shifts in the meaning of response

options.

Findings from the *objective* evaluations showed that perceivers set the minimum standards of competence lower for women applicants than men applicants, indicating that they expected less of women than men. *Subjective* evaluations masked this effect; the perceptions of the applicants appeared similar. When making ability inferences in the *objective* evaluation, participants set higher requirements for a female than a male applicant, indicating that a female applicant must do more to prove her ability than does a male applicant. Again, *subjective* evaluations masked this effect. When using a subjective rating scale, respondents compared the target person to his or her own sex and then chose the appropriate subjective label. In other words, each subjective label meant something different depending on whether the target was a man or a woman, making it impossible to accurately compare the ratings of men to women. If these subjective ratings alone were examined, sex stereotyping would be hidden. Biernat & Kobrynowicz (1997) argued that objective ratings are more likely than subjective ratings to reflect the perceivers' real representation of the target person. Theses researchers believe that objective scales will illuminate the most about sex stereotyping because they prevent category-based meaning shifts. These objective rating scales seem to imply that sex stereotyping continues to exist and may be detrimental to women.

Bridges, Etaugh & Barnes-Farrell (2002) compared role-based and shifting standards models to explain sex stereotyping. In Bridges et al., trait ratings (subjective evaluations) of stay-at-home versus employed parents were compared with patterns of behavioral estimates (objective evaluations). Using

both trait ratings and behavioral judgments allowed the researchers to examine whether perceivers did overlook a target's sex and base their judgments of trait attributions solely on the target's social role or if the perceivers made within-sex judgments that masked the influence of sex on these trait evaluations.

In support of prior social role research, results showed that participants viewed stay-at-home parents as more communal. In addition, participants estimated that stay-at-home parents provided more physical care, emotional care and stimulation. These findings were consistent across sex. Findings also provided support for the shifting standards model. Trait evaluations (subjective) and the behavioral estimates (objective) were not consistent; judgments about stay-at-home parents showed stereotypical effects of sex on the behavioral estimates but no effects on the trait ratings. Specifically, participants estimated greater physical and emotional caregiving from the female stay-at-home target person than the male target person but perceived no differences between them in terms of their communal or nurturing trait characteristics. For the employed parents, perceptions indicated stereotypical effects of sex on the behavioral judgments; however, the trait ratings showed *counterstereotypical* effects. Participants estimated that the female target person provided more physical care than the male target person, but they viewed the male target person as more communal and as a better parent than the female target person.

Bridges et al. (2002) suggest that because parenting responsibilities are construed as traditionally female, mothers in both roles are judged according to a higher standard than are fathers, and any deviation from the homemaker role has a

significant impact on how they are viewed. The results also suggest that a stay-at-home mother's role is minimized and undervalued. Regardless of the degree of physical and emotional care that she provides, she will be considered average in communal characteristics. However, a stay-at-home father receives inflated ratings. Although he is expected to provide less actual caregiving than the stay-at-home mother, he receives equal ratings. These results also indicate that employed mothers are considered deficient in the characteristics expected of women. Employed mothers not only are considered less communal than their stay-at-home counterparts, they are considered lacking in these traits. Despite the fact that employed mothers are expected to provide more emotional and physical caregiving than their male counterparts, they are rated extremely low in communal characteristics. Employed fathers, on the other hand, are viewed as typical men; therefore, perceivers have low expectations of communal characteristics and do not rate them negatively. These results seem to suggest that working mothers might have to contend with others' judgments that their employment negatively affects the amount of love and comfort they are able to provide children. The target mothers in this study could not win; the stay-at-home mother was undervalued and the employed mother was considered deficient.

The implication of the past research is that employed mothers continue to be expected to carry out more traditional domestic responsibilities than their male counterparts (Bridges et al., 2002; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997). The irony is that even if they do provide the majority of the physical and emotional caregiving in the family, they are still considered lacking in communal characteristics

(Bridges et al., 2002; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997). Stay-at-home mothers suffer negative perceptions as well. These mothers are considered lacking in the agentic qualities of competence, independence and intelligence (Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Riggs, 1998), and although they are considered to be nurturing and communal (Etaugh & Folger; 1998; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Riggs, 1997,1998), they are not praised for these traits; in fact, these mothers' roles are minimized and undervalued (Bridges et al., 2002; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997).

Sex stereotypes and role expectations of parents are manifested in a number of ways. Most of the research cited has focused on the assignment of trait attributions. However, messages that parents are sent from peers and family also seem to reflect socialization of sex stereotypes and sex role behaviors. In Deutsch and Saxon (1998), the researchers examined the positive and negative messages that parents receive from other people in response to deviations from and/or adherence to gendered behavior. General findings indicated that women were more often criticized for the relative importance they placed on paid work versus family; they were criticized for not investing enough at home. Fathers were significantly more likely than mothers to report praise received for the energy they put into the family. Women were more likely than men to report praise for "doing it all." Interestingly, praise for behavior that has been traditionally associated with women (investment in parenting) was found much more likely to be reported by men than women. However, when looking at a behavior that has traditionally been associated with men (paid work), results show that women were

never praised for their financial contributions, even when the contributions equaled half or more of the family income.

Deutsch and Saxon (1998) propose that both the criticisms and the praise of those who defy traditional gender roles set up an obstacle for equality. When mothers are praised for "doing it all," the "superwoman" ideal is endorsed, threatening equality. In other words, it sets up the idea that it is "good" for women to be solely responsible for the home and family and to be employed. It does not necessarily imply that men should share the domestic responsibilities. Furthermore, the authors assert that although the praise for involved fathers seems to support equality, it may have the opposite effect. The disproportionate amount of praise that men receive for involvement in parenting reflects inequity between husband and wives in the credit they get outside the home for rejecting traditional roles. Husbands are praised and women are criticized when rejecting traditional roles. Equality is compromised when fathers receive more appreciation than mothers for being equally involved in parenting (or even less involved in parenting). In addition, when mothers receive the message that they are "so lucky" to have the husbands that they do, the message conveyed is that women are not really entitled to equality. These research findings show a clear double standard in praise and criticism of parents. The criticisms as well as the praise reported here seem to signify a real obstacle for gender equality.

In the workforce, women must demonstrate higher ability to be considered equal to men (Heilman, 1995, 2001). Ironically, if a woman does exhibit the agentic qualities that are necessary to get her recognized, she is viewed as socially

deficient (Rudman & Glick 1999, 2001). Rudman and Glick (2001) assert that "women who strive for leadership positions are in a double bind: they can enact communal behaviors and be liked but not respected or enact agentic behaviors and be respected but not liked" (p.744). Stereotypic incompetence, based on perceived sex differences, seems to disqualify women from leadership positions; however, if women act more like men, they violate the aspect of the stereotype that dicatates how women ought to be and behave (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Therefore, agentic women may be viewed as competent, but not nice and not feminine (Rudman & Glick, 1999).

Women face numerous "double bind" situations in contemporary United States society. Mothers seem to face a unique dilemma. Mothers who choose to stay at home are associated with traditional feminine traits, which are typically less socially desirable (Broverman et al., 1972). Although these women are seen as nurturing, their role as caregiver is not praised because it is simply expected (Bridges et al., 2002; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997). Although the instrumental qualities associated with the worker role are highly valued in American society, mothers who work are punished for abandoning their traditional role as homemaker (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Heilman, 1995, 2001; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997; Riggs, 1997). They may be considered more competent, independent and motivated if they work; however, at the same time, they are considered deficient in the expressive, social and interpersonal qualities expected of women (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Etaugh & Study,

1989; Heilman, 1995, 2001; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997; Riggs, 1997; Rudman & Glick, 1999, 2001). Clearly, women are put into a double bind.

Throughout recent history, a number of double-bind theories have been posited for women. In a classic experiment, Broverman and her colleagues (Broverman et al., 1972) found that people describe healthy adults and healthy men with the same characteristics. However, healthy women were described with different and distinct characteristics. Therefore, to be a healthy adult, a woman had to possess "male" attributes; however, if she did possess these male attributes, then she wasn't a healthy woman (Broverman et al., 1972). Similar to the more recent findings of Rudman & Glick (1999, 2001), she is criticized if she does possess male characteristics and if she does not possess these male characteristics.

In 2000, Spence and Buckner also found some evidence that this type of double bind continues to exist in contemporary society. Although women viewed themselves as more instrumental than individuals sampled in the 1970s, they continue to view the typical woman as significantly less instrumental than the typical man. Women want to be more instrumental; yet, these same women believe that women in general are typically less instrumental than men. Perhaps this is an example of women working towards a particular societal ideal, and then being considered unhealthy once they achieve this standard.

In addition, women still consider themselves to be more expressive than men, and both men and women consider the typical woman to be significantly more expressive than the typical man (Spence & Buckner, 2000). Therefore, perceptions of men have not changed much since the 1970s (Spence & Buckner,

2000). As long as men continue to be viewed significantly less expressive then women, women will be expected to assume the majority of childcare and family responsibilities. Many research findings indicate that individuals believe that women possess significantly more of the expressive qualities assumed to be required in childrearing; therefore, it is no wonder that women who work full time are considered neglectful of their communal duties (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges et al., 2002; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997; Riggs, 1997, 1998).

In most of the perception studies cited, college students made up the participant pool, suggesting that contemporary college students hold sex-stereotyped perceptions. Ironically, when asked about their own future career and family aspirations, the majority of students, both men and women, claim that they want and expect to be involved in both family and career roles (Burke, 1994; Covin & Brush, 1991; Fiorentine, 1988; Hammersla & Frease-McMahan, 1990; Spade & Reese, 1991). In fact, research indicates that male and female students place similar degrees of importance on work, marital, parental and home-care roles (Burke, 1994). Although college men and women alike seem to be prioritizing work and family for their futures, there are differences in male and female college students' attitudes and expectations related to work and family roles. Research indicates that fewer college men than college women expect to engage in basic household responsibilities in their futures (Burke 1994, Spade & Reese 1991). In addition, many college men expect their future wives to stay home and care for children where few college women expect to leave careers to

stay at home full time (Schroeder, Blook & Maluso, 1992, Novack & Novack, 1996). However, overall, findings suggest that the majority of college students, both men and women, expect egalitarian relationships in their futures and expect to devote time and energy to both career and family roles.

The results of the perception studies outlined above suggest that young people's personal career and family expectations are contrary to their perceptions of others. For example, although most college women expect to be employed full-time themselves, they view the employed mother less positively than the mother who stays at home (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993). It appears as though the future generation of mothers and fathers may have a difficult time reconciling personal expectations with the views of society at large and their own internalized gender roles.

The present study, like Bridges et al. (2002), examined and compared the perceptions of women in multiple roles with the perceptions of men in corresponding roles. This research focused on the comparison of the perceptions of men versus women rather than the perceptions of different social roles. The researcher was interested in how differently men and women are perceived in the same social role. Given the results of the research of Biernat and her colleagues (e.g., Biernat, 1995; Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Biernat & Manis, 1994; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997), the present study attempted to utilize both subjective and objective measures in order to adequately identify where sex stereotypes persist. Unlike the research to date that has utilized the comparison of subjective and objective measures, the current study examined both instrumental

and communal characteristics in the same sample. In other words, the researcher examined stereotypically male traits as well as stereotypically female traits. Further, this research sought to illuminate whether a double bind also exists for men in American society and, if so, to what degree.

This study examined the perceptions of men and women not only in the employed and stay-at-home roles, but also added a new dimension, the part-time role. No recent research was found that examines the perceptions of individuals who are occupying the part-time role option. There are a significant number of part-time workers in the United States with 17 % of the employed population currently working part-time (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2002). Of those 17%, a large majority (67.5%) are women (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2002). The part-time work option seems to be one that more individuals are considering; therefore, perceptions regarding these individuals will provide important information.

By studying college-aged men and women, this researcher sought to uncover attitudes of a generation that has grown up under the influence of expanding gender roles. With young adults as the target population, the research has a future orientation rather than a strictly present orientation. The study also re-examined the expectations of college-aged men and women to determine whether contemporary young adults truly are aspiring toward more egalitarian roles. The present study examined college students' career and family aspirations and their perceptions of adults who actually are assuming these desired roles. This study is unique in that one sample was recruited, and college students' career and family

expectations were studied simultaneously with their perceptions of adults

fulfilling these various role options. Therefore, the results clarify whether college

students' perceptions of adults in various roles are consistent with or at odds with

their attitudes about their own career and family futures.

This research has implications for the field of counseling psychology in

the realms of individual therapy, career/vocational counseling, and public policy.

Although there is an increased awareness of expanding gender roles in U.S.

society, there is little knowledge of the psychological effects of these changes for

men and women. For example, if perceptions are not evolving at the same pace as

roles and expectations, how do men and women reconcile their chosen paths with

potentially pervasive negative perceptions? Counselors need to be aware of the

cognitive dissonance that may result from this type of internal conflict and work

to empower their clients. Counselors need to be prepared to help clients

understand the gendered context of U.S. society. The results of this research also

have implications for career counseling, particularly for the college-aged

population. Counselors can informatively guide clients regarding life roles and

can share consequences of their career and family decisions. Finally, this research

has public/organizational policy implications. For example, these findings may

have relevance to the creation of more diverse family leave options, including

paternity leave and paternal leave of absence. There are a multitude of ways that

these research findings can be used to educate the public and raise awareness

regarding how our society views and treats men and women who are not

conforming to traditional gender roles.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

The present study explored the persistence of sex stereotypes by examining how individuals perceive men and women in various social roles. In addition, the career and family aspirations of college students were assessed to determine whether students' goals are compatible with or contradict their perceptions of individuals in the roles they aspire to hold. This chapter presents a review of the literature pertaining to sex stereotypes, perceptions of mothers and fathers, and college students' career and family expectations. The review is composed of seven sections: (a) general sex stereotype literature, (b) social role theory and perceptions of mother and fathers, (c) shifting standards model, (d) comparison of social role theory and shifting standards model, (e) sex stereotyping in the workplace, (f) praise and criticism of mothers and fathers, and (g) college students career and family expectations.

Sex Stereotypes

Interest in the content and manifestation of sex stereotypes has a long history in psychological research. For over four decades, investigations concerning the beliefs held about the characteristics of men and women consistently have revealed the typical man and the typical woman to be viewed very differently (Bem, 1974; Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Spence, 1993; Spence & Buckner, 2000; Spence & Helmrich, 1978).

In the early 1970s, Broverman and her colleagues conducted what are now classic experiments assessing individual perceptions of typical masculine and

feminine attributes and behavior (Broverman et al., 1972). Based on responses

from a wide-range of respondents to the sex-role questionnaire (Rosenkrantz,

Vogel, Bee, Broverman & Broverman, 1968), Broverman and colleagues

concluded that men and women are viewed as opposites in regard to many

attributes.

A factor analysis of the data indicated that individual perceptions fell into

two distinct clusters: male-valued items and female-valued items. The male-

valued items reflected a "competency" cluster and included items such as

independence, objectivity, competitive, logical, worldly, adventurous, able to

make decisions easily, confident and ambitious. A relative absence of these traits

was found to characterize the stereotypic perception of women; women were

perceived to be dependent, subjective, passive, illogical, etc. The female-valued

stereotypic items consisted of characteristics such as gentle, sensitive to the

feelings of others, tactful, neat, quiet, and able to express tender feelings. The

authors refer to these items as the warmth and expressiveness cluster. Men were

perceived as lacking in these characteristics.

Furthermore, the findings indicated that masculine characteristics were

more often considered to be socially desirable than feminine characteristics.

Although the social desirability of an item typically increases the likelihood that

an individual will report the item as self-descriptive and vice-versa, Broverman et

al. (1972) found that women incorporated the negative aspects of femininity into

their concepts along with the positive feminine aspects. Since more feminine traits

were negatively valued than masculine traits, women tended to have a more negative self-concept than men.

Broverman and colleagues (1972) surveyed mental health professionals in their research to assess which attributes described a healthy individual. These professionals viewed the mature, healthy woman as more submissive and less independent than either mature healthy men or adults in general. The mental health professionals rated the healthy adult and the healthy man equally. However, a significant difference did exist between the ratings of the healthy adult and the healthy woman. Therefore, the general standard of health (adult, sex-unspecified) was actually applied to men only, while healthy women were perceived as significantly less healthy by adult standards.

> Broverman et al. (1972) summarized their findings with the following:
> To the extent that these results reflected societal standards of sex-role behavior, women are clearly put in a double bind by the fact that different standards exist for women than for adults. If women adopt the behaviors specified as desirable for adults, they risk censure for their failure to be appropriately feminine; but if they adopt the behaviors that are designated as feminine, they are necessarily deficient with respect to the general standards for adult behavior" (p.75).

Respondents indisputably perceived the typical man and the typical women very differently. The typical male traits were not only more positively valued, but were also seen to distinguish healthy individuals from unhealthy individuals. As the authors suggest, women clearly were seen to be in a no-win situation.

The conceptions of the characteristics of men and women found in Broverman's classic research have persisted over the decades. Researchers consistently have identified two distinct trait clusters that distinguish men from women; these clusters include the masculine cluster, often referred to as the agentic or instrumental cluster, and the feminine cluster, often referred to as the expressive or communal cluster (Bem, 1974, 1981; Spence, 1993; Spence & Buckner, 2000; Spence & Helmrich, 1978).

In 2000, Spence and Buckner sought to obtain contemporary findings regarding instrumental and expressive traits, gender stereotypes, and the concepts of masculinity and femininity. Over the past 25 years, much of the research relevant to theories of gender trait differences has centered around two similar self-report measures: the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) (Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1974) and the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem, 1974). Each of these questionnaires is composed of two sets of items that previously have been demonstrated to be gender-stereotyped. One set of items, the "masculine" scale, includes primarily or exclusively socially desirable instrumental traits (i.e.; active, self-confident, independent, competitive, decisive) and the other, the "feminine" scale, describes primarily or exclusively socially desirable expressive traits (i.e., kind, emotional, warm, gentle, understanding, devoted to others).

Spence and Buckner (2000) suggested that, in the years since these instruments were published, there have been striking changes in gender-role attitudes and behaviors: women are entering fields and positions of leadership that

were once reserved for men; the majority of women are now working outside the home; and attitudes about the rights of women are moving in the egalitarian direction. Spence and Buckner state the belief that gender differences in instrumentality and expressiveness are largely due to life experiences rather than biology; therefore, they expected to find that contemporary college students would hold different perceptions than the students who were tested in the 1970s. Specifically, Spence and Buckner expected to find that college women would perceive themselves as higher in instrumentality than their peers tested over 25 years before.

On the other hand, the authors expected fewer changes in the male college students' perception of their "feminine" side. Spence and Buckner (2000) suggest that there have been few societal changes that have encouraged the development of expressive traits among men. In addition, although women have been encouraged to become more agentic, they have been at least equally encouraged to retain their expressive characteristics. Therefore, Spence and Buckner predicted that male/female differences would continue to be strong in the area of expressive personality traits.

Two large samples of male and female college students were recruited for this study, drawn from the same university as the students involved in the initial studies of the PAQ (Spence et al., 1974). The students were administered a questionnaire in which they were first asked to rate themselves on the desirable instrumental and expressive items that together composed the 16-item PAQ (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) and on those items from the BRSI (Bem, 1974) that

described desirable instrumental and expressive traits. They were also asked to compare the typical male and female student on the same list of traits.

Results of the self-ratings supported Spence and Buckner's (2000) prediction that societal changes have led to women's self-perceptions of instrumental traits to approach those of men. In both samples, men scored significantly higher than women on only 9 of the 22 instrumental items, indicating that the disparity in instrumental traits is minimal. However, also as predicted, women continued to score significantly higher than men on all expressive items. Unlike in the instrumental domain where men and women perceived themselves similarly, men and women continue to perceive themselves significantly differently in the expressive trait domain.

The researchers offer "post hoc conjectures" about the properties that distinguish the Instrumental items now included in females' self-concept and those still separated from it. Spence and Buckner (2000) suggest that women and girls have been encouraged to become more assertive, to be independent and to aim high in vocational aspirations; however, they have been discouraged from advancing their own interests at the expense of others or from engaging in activities that threaten their safety or the well-being of others. A number of the items that continue to differentiate men and women seem to tap these latter qualities, (e.g., "willing to take risks," "aggressive," "forceful," and "competitive").

Where self-perceptions indicated little difference in the instrumental domain, when asked about the typical male and typical female, the typical male

student was perceived as possessing significantly more of the instrumental attributes than the typical female student. Therefore, although men's and women's self-concepts on the majority of instrumental items no longer differed significantly, gender stereotypes remained. Of no surprise was the finding that the typical female student was perceived as being higher on expressive characteristics than the typical male student. Also, of interest was that male participants tended to perceive a greater gender discrepancy than did female participants.

These contemporary research findings indicate that, despite changes in the social milieu, significant stereotypes still exist in both men and women. Although this research differs from that of Broverman and her colleagues (1972), a similar double bind to the one found by Broverman is evident in this research. In Spence and Buckner (2000) it is clear that the perceptions individual women have of themselves are inconsistent with their perceptions of the "typical woman." Specifically, women currently view themselves as equally instrumental as their male counterparts; however, this level of instrumentality is not consistent with the attributes they associate with a typical woman. In other words, contemporary women view themselves to be at odds with what is typically "feminine" – they want to be increasingly instrumental themselves but this does not fit with their picture of the typical woman.

Social Role Theory – Perceptions of Mothers and Fathers

Several researchers have theorized about the persistence of sex differences and sex stereotyping. Eagly and her colleagues (Eagly & Steffen, 1984, Eagly et al., 2000) introduced social role theory as an effort to understand the causes of sex

differences and similarities in social behavior. The theory emerged in the 1980s as persisting sex differences were identified in psychological research (Broverman et al, 1972; Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmrich, 1978). According to social role theory, "the differences in the behavior of women and men that are observed in psychological studies of social behavior and personality originate in the contrasting distributions of men and women into social roles" (Eagly et al., 2000, p.125).

In the United States, as well as many other nations, women perform more domestic work than men and spend fewer hours in paid employment (Eagly et al., 2000). In addition, working women in the U.S. are concentrated in lower-status positions than men, receive lower wages and are rarely at the highest level of organizational hierarchies (Eagly et al., 2000). According to Eagly et al. (2000), because women more than men occupy roles that require predominantly communal behaviors, domestic or subordinate behaviors, these tendencies become stereotypic of women. Similarly, to the extent that more men than women occupy roles that require predominantly agentic or dominant behaviors for successful role performance, such tendencies become stereotypic of men.

Further, Eagly explains, "perceivers make correspondent inferences from role behavior to the dispositions of role occupants" (Eagly et al., 2000, p.139). Sex-typical roles are therefore thought to require gender-stereotypic attributes. In other words, when an individual occupies a role where one sex typically predominates, he or she is perceived as having the corresponding gender stereotypic characteristics. Therefore, not only are behaviors associated with a

particular social role but personality attributes also are associated with that role. And, the personality attributes assigned to that role are determined by the predominant sex occupation of that role.

A number of studies conducted in the 1980s and 1990s seemed to support Eagly's social role theory as an explanation for sex stereotyping. Eagly and Steffen (1984) examined perceptions of women and men in two roles: the homemaker and the full-time employee role. College students were recruited as participants for this experiment. Each student was given a brief description of a stimulus person. The stimulus varied by sex (female versus male), and employment status (homemaker versus full-time employee versus no occupational description). After reading the stimulus paragraph, participants were asked to rate her or him on a set of gender-stereotypic attributes, using items from the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Instead of using instrumental and expressive as the trait labels resulting from the factors of the PAQ as Spence & Helmreich (1978) suggested, Eagly and Steffen used agency and communion respectively.

Results of the no occupational description category indicated that communion and agency ratings of the average man were similar to the ratings of the male full-time employee. In other words, the average man was considered the "same" as the male full-time employee, which fits stereotypically. The communion and agency ratings of the average woman fell in between those of the female full-time employee and the female homemaker. Specifically, the average woman's agency was significantly lower than that of the female full-time

employee and marginally higher than that of the female homemaker; the average woman's communion was significantly higher than that of the female full-time employee and lower than that of the female homemaker. According to Eagly and Steffen (1984), the average woman ratings resulted from the increase of women in the workforce, which means that the average woman is becoming associated with both the homemaker role and the worker role, where men are still only associated with the worker role.

When homemaker or full-time employee roles were given, women and men were not perceived to differ in communion or agency, except that the female full-time employee was perceived as marginally more agentic than the male full-time employee. Eagly and Steffen (1984) interpreted these results to support social role theory in that traditional gender stereotyping was intact when people were described as average men or women but were overridden by beliefs about occupational roles. In other words, women and men who are known to have the same occupational role, either as homemaker or full-time employee, are perceived to have similar personal attributes.

Eagly and Steffen (1984) conclude that when occupational roles are not given, individuals defer to gender stereotypes in perceptions. However, when a person's occupational role is known, this role is a strong determinant of the traits ascribed to that person. When social role is known, beliefs about these roles seemed to prevail over beliefs about sex or gender.

The participants in Eagly & Steffen (1984) were asked only to rate a target man or woman. Nowhere did the researchers specify the target person's parental

role. In other words, the target person was not necessarily assumed to be a parent. It would be interesting to know whether perceptions would be different if the target persons were parents.

Different manifestations of this type of analogue research became common in the 1980s and 1990s. Researchers were interested in examining how perceptions of women were affected by shifts in social role identity. Of particular interest to a number of researchers was the compatibility of motherhood and the worker role. In 1979, Russo argued that perceptions of a good mother were that she be present and available to meet her child's every need. Russo (1979) asserted that incompatibility with other roles, such as that of paid worker, is inherent in society's definition of good motherhood. According to this view, a woman who violates the "motherhood mandate" by working when she has young children will be viewed negatively. In the 1980s and 90s, researchers sought to test the theory of the "motherhood mandate" given that the majority of women with young children were employed (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1987).

Etaugh and Study (1989) examined perceptions of mothers as a function of their employment status, marital status, and age of their children. More specifically, the study investigated college students' perceptions of the personality traits and professional performance characteristics of a stimulus person described as the mother of either a 1-year old or an 11-year old, as either married or divorced and as either employed or non-employed. Researchers wanted to examine the perceptions of mothers in different employment conditions and whether marital status or age of the child influenced these perceptions.

The participants were 96 female and 96 male students enrolled in freshman and sophmore psychology courses at a private Midwestern university. Each participant was given the description of a stimulus mother. The descriptions varied with respect to marital status (married or divorced), employment status (employed full-time or chosen not to work) and age of child (one-year old or eleven year old). Participants rated the stimulus person on 24 7-point bipolar scales that described personality traits (e.g., sociable, sensitive to the needs of others, happy, secure) and professional performance characteristics (e.g., dedicated to career, professionally competent, successful in job).

Results of Etaugh and Study (1989) indicated that employed mothers were perceived as less family oriented, more selfish and less sensitive to the needs of others than non-employed mothers, regardless of the age of the child or the mother's marital status. The researchers suggested that even when children are in school, societal norms prescribe that a mother's primary responsibility is to be available to her children. In addition, the hypothesis that employed mothers would generally be perceived as more professionally competent than non-employed mothers was supported. Employed mothers were evaluated as more successful, dedicated to their careers and competitive. In addition, employed mothers were seen as more instrumental than non-employed mothers and were more often described as independent, reliable, influential and intelligent than non-employed mothers.

Employed mothers of infants were seen as more professionally competent than non-employed mothers of infants as well as employed and non-employed

mothers of older children. The researchers believe that this finding suggests that women who work when their children are very young are perceived as particularly committed to their careers. Interestingly, employed mothers of older children were perceived as *generally* more instrumental than employed mothers of infants. Etaugh and Study (1989) attribute this finding to the experience level of employed mothers of older children – these mothers have developed the appropriate instrumental skills necessary in parenting.

One limitation of this study seems to be the confound that exists in the wording of descriptors included in the professionally competent cluster. In evaluating the stimulus woman, the participants are asked to rate her on *dedication to family, dedication to career, professional competence, success in job.* It seems likely that participants would attribute these descriptors as applicable to only employed or non-employed mothers, not both. In other words, a participant may believe that "*professionally* competent" is irrelevant when considering the non-employed mother because she either doesn't currently have a profession and/or the participant doesn't know about her previous or future professional options. It is difficult to distinguish whether the ratings were biased by a participant's interpretation of the relevance of a descriptor to an individual stimulus mother.

Another limitation of this research is generalizability. The participant sample consisted of college-aged men and women. Etaugh and Nekolny (1990) addressed this weakness by recruiting a community sample at a shopping center. Their goal was to examine the perceptions of individuals who are more

representative of the general public than college students. With the community

sample, Etaugh and Nekolny replicated the Etaugh and Study (1989) research.

With the exception of findings regarding marital status, which is beyond the scope

of the discussion presented here, Etaugh and Nekolny supported the findings of

Etaugh and Study. This suggests that the findings may be extended to a broader

adult population.

Research conducted in the late 1980s and early 1990s indicated that young

women often planned to interrupt their employment to accommodate the

childrearing of preschool-aged children (Baber & Monaghan, 1988). However,

labor statistics at the time indicated that very few women actually did interrupt

employment when their children were young – over half of married mothers of

preschoolers were employed (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Bridges and Orza

(1993) built upon previous mother perception research (Etaugh & Nekolny, 1990;

Etaugh & Study, 1989) adding the dimension of mothers' employment pattern.

Specifically, Bridges and Orza examined college students' perceptions of three

employment patterns of mothers: interrupted employment, continuous

employment and non- employment.

Based on previous research (Etaugh & Study, 1989), Bridges and Orza

(1993) expected to find the mother who discontinued employment after the birth

of her child to be perceived as more communal and family oriented than

employed mothers. The participants in Etaugh and Study (1989) rated the

employed mother of a one-year old and the employed mother of the 11-year old

equally negatively, indicating that child's age did not impact the participant's

view of the employed mother. However, Bridges and Orza suggested that this

finding may have been a result of participants' assumptions that the mother of the

older child was employed when her child was an infant. Therefore, Bridges and

Orza examined whether perceptions would be different if the participants knew

the timing of the mother's employment.

One hundred female and 109 male juniors and seniors from a small New

England university, with a majority Caucasian lower-middle class student body,

participated in this study. All students were under the age of 24 and were

recruited from a cross-section of majors within the university. Each respondent

was given a description of one of the three stimulus persons (mother who

interrupted employment, mother continuously employed and mother who

discontinued employment) and were asked to evaluate the stimulus person on a

series of 7-point rating scales. The scales measured: the respondent's perception

of the stimulus person's expressiveness or family focus, the respondent's overall

evaluation of stimulus person, and the respondent's beliefs about outcome for the

stimulus person's child.

Consistent with the results of Etaugh and Study (1989), results showed

that the non-employed mother was perceived as more communal than either of the

employed mothers. Additionally, the mother who interrupted her employment

until her children were in school was viewed as more communal than the

continuously employed mother. The authors suggest that perceivers may view the

continuously employed mother as engaging in fewer maternal behaviors and/or

less dedicated to the maternal role of caregiving; therefore, respondents assume that the continuously employed mother is less communal.

On overall evaluation, results indicated that the non-employed mother was evaluated more favorably than the mother who worked continuously and was rated equally favorably as the mother who interrupted her employment. The researchers suggested that the negative evaluation of the continuously employed mother may stem from the perception that these mothers have violated the accepted social norm. Female respondents reported a more favorable evaluation of the three stimulus persons compared to male respondents.

Building the findings of Bridges & Orza (1993) where perceivers viewed mothers who work continuously as less communal and less favorable overall than their counterparts who interrupt or discontinue their employment, Bridges and Etaugh (1995) sought to explain the more negative impression of continuously employed mothers by examining variables that might moderate or mediate the effects of a mother's employment-childrearing pattern on college students' perceptions of her. Bridges and Etaugh tested whether motive for employment and perceived maternal role commitment would moderate or mediate the relationship between maternal employment-childrearing pattern and perceived communality of stimulus mother and overall evaluation of the stimulus mother. In addition, the researchers assessed college students' attributions about motives for maternal employment when these motives were not provided.

The participants included 204 students at a New England public university and 327 students at a Midwestern private university. The student bodies of both

universities were primarily middle class and Caucasian. All students were under the age of 24. Participants read one of nine stimulus paragraphs that briefly described a mother. The paragraphs differed on two dimensions: the mother's employment-childrearing pattern (continuous employment, interrupted employment, discontinued employment) and motive for employment (personal fulfillment, financial need, no stated motive). Participants were asked to rate their perceptions of the stimulus person on five scales measuring: communal traits, overall evaluation, fulfillment motivation, financial motivation and commitment to the maternal role. All of the dependent variables were assessed with seven-point rating scales (Bridges & Orza, 1993).

Consistent with previous studies (Bridges and Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Nekolny, 1990; Etaugh & Study, 1989), results indicated that continuously employed mothers were viewed as lower in communality than mothers who interrupted their employment, who, in turn, were perceived as lower than mothers who discontinued their employment. Employment motive influenced the communality attributed to mothers who were continuously employed only. The continuously employed mother with a fulfillment motive was viewed less communal than her counterpart with financial motive. Female participants gave higher communality ratings to the stimulus persons overall.

Results also indicated that perceived maternal role commitment explains the greater perceived communality of non-employed mothers compared to mothers who interrupt their employment, and of interrupters compared to continuously employed mothers. Further, it partially explains the lower

communality attributed to continuously employed mothers in comparison to their non-employed counterparts. In other words, those mothers who discontinue employment are considered to be most committed to their maternal role and those who are employed full time are considered least committed to their maternal role. The more committed to the maternal role, the higher the perceived communality.

Again consistent with previous research (Bridges & Orza, 1993), results indicated that the continuously employed mothers were evaluated overall more negatively than the mothers who interrupted or discontinued their employment and the latter two were not evaluated differently from one another. Females, compared to males, more positively evaluated the continuously employed mothers and the mothers who interrupted employment but not the non-employed mothers. Employment motive was not found to be influential in the overall evaluation of the mothers.

When controlling for perceived maternal commitment and communality, college students no longer more negatively evaluate mothers who work continuously than those who interrupt or discontinue their employment. The control of these variables actually leads to a more favorable evaluation of both types of employed mothers versus their non-employed counterparts. These results seem to indicate that students perceive employed women as having less maternal commitment and fewer traditionally female characteristics and are in turn viewed less favorably. It seems as though it is not the employment per se that depresses the evaluation but the perception that these mothers are low in maternal role commitment.

The final analyses indicated that mothers who were continuously employed, compared to those who interrupted employment, were seen as more likely to be employed because of financial need. However, regardless of employment-childrearing pattern, fulfillment was seen as a more likely motive than financial need.

The consistency of this study's findings across samples from two universities points to its increased generalizabilty over previous research in this area. However, generalization to non-Caucasian students cannot be done based on this research. Despite these generalizability limitations, this study broadened understanding of college students' perspectives of employed mothers and spurred future research.

One shared weakness of many of the perception studies mentioned (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Study, 1989) is that they only examined perceptions of mothers. Women's changing roles outside the home alter both partners' roles. However, mothers are studied far more than fathers (Gilbert, 1994). Not only is this focus dismissive of the impact of societal change on perceptions of fathers, but it also fosters the idea that mothers are the "primary" parent. Studying only perceptions of mothers in various social roles implies that only perceptions of mothers are changing, allowing for perceptions of fathers to stay the same (Gilbert, 1994). Therefore, a major piece of information is omitted when perception studies only look at mothers.

More recent research has been conducted that has focused on perceptions of both parents. The results from this body of research indicate that societal

changes have produced some broadening in perceptions of parents and may suggest that perceptions are less a result of sex stereotypes and more a function of an individual's social role, supporting Eagly's social role theory (1984, 2000). Riggs (1997) extended the work of Bridges and colleagues (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridge & Orza, 1993) by including ratings of agency (in addition to communality) and by including fathers as well as mothers as target persons. In addition, the research built upon Eagly & Steffen's (1984) work by including the parental status of the target person as well as the age of the target person's child.

One hundred and seventeen college students from a majority White private college participated in this experiment for course credit. The 73 females and 44 males were randomly assigned to experimental conditions. Students each read information about a mother or father who continued working after the birth of a baby or who decided to stay home until the child was school age. Also manipulated in the design were the reasons for employment: the target person was described as currently or previously working primarily either for financial reasons or for personal fulfillment. Participants rated their approval of the target person and rated the target person on communality and agency. The researchers planned to investigate the difference in ratings between the targets who conformed to societal gender role expectations and those who did not.

As found in previous research, participants perceived employed target persons to be significantly less communal than unemployed target persons (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Etaugh & Study, 1989). When significant interactions were analyzed the following results

were found. Participants perceived employed mothers to be significantly less communal than unemployed mothers, and although not statistically significant, the effect of employment status on perceived communality was greatest when employment was for personal fulfillment. For men, employment status affected perceived communality only when employment was for personal fulfillment. Participants perceived employed fathers to be less communal than unemployed fathers only when they worked for personal fulfillment. Employment for financial reasons did not produce a decrease in perceptions of the father's communality. The unemployed father was seen as more communal when he had previously worked for personal fulfillment rather than financial reasons. When perceptions were analyzed by comparing the ratings of the male and female target persons, findings revealed that fathers who worked for financial reasons were rated as being more communal than mothers who worked for financial reasons.

The analysis of perceptions of agency revealed that participants rated employed target persons as significantly higher in agency than unemployed target persons. In addition, the female target person was perceived to be significantly higher in agency than the male target person. Specifically, participants rated the mother who worked for financial reasons as significantly higher in agency than the father who worked for financial reasons. The employed female target person was rated as being more agentic than the unemployed female target person, but only when the employment motive was personal fulfillment; the mother who worked for personal fulfillment received the highest agency ratings. Employed

fathers were also perceived to be more agentic than unemployed fathers; this effect held regardless of employment motive.

There was a tendency to give employed mothers lower approval ratings than unemployed mothers; however, this effect was not found to be statistically significant in this experiment. As predicted, the mother employed for reasons of personal fulfillment had the lowest approval rating. Fathers who gave up jobs for personal fulfillment and fathers who continued working for financial reasons received more approval than fathers who continued working for personal fulfillment or gave up jobs that provided financial security. Of the employed target persons, the father who worked for financial reasons received the highest approval ratings. The unemployed mother who had previously worked for financial reasons received the highest approval ratings relative to the female target persons; conversely, the unemployed father who had worked for financial reasons received the lowest approval ratings relative to the male target persons.

The authors interpret these findings as a double standard in perceptions of employed parents. When a father does not fulfill the stereotypic male obligation of financial providing for the family, he receives low approval ratings. However, a mother who sacrifices financial rewards so that she can stay at home with children receives high approval. The authors suggest that those who violate societal mandates will suffer lower approval and those who adhere to societal mandates will enjoy higher approval.

Despite these results, the researchers also suggest that the fact that the trend of higher approval for unemployed mothers was not statistically significant

possibly means a loosening of previously held gender role expectations and stereotypes for women. The results also indicate that men who gave up a job that had provided personal fulfillment so that they could stay at home with their children were given high approval ratings. The authors state that this also suggests a loosening of the strict role of father as primary breadwinner.

This last finding, regarding fathers who gave up a job that provided personal fulfillment to stay home with their children, is given short shrift in Riggs (1997). The authors failed to comment on the fact that the unemployed father who previously worked for personal fulfillment received the highest approval rating of allthe male target persons. In fact, this rating was almo st the highest approval rating of all target persons – rivaled only by the unemployed mother who previously worked for financial reasons. Clearly, as the authors mention, this research indicates that there is an expectation that the father provide for the family financially and that the mother primarily provide for the family, regardless of financial sacrifice. However, the father who received the highest approval was a father who stayed at home with his family. This is a significant finding that deserves attention and analysis.

Another significant finding that was not fully discussed by the authors was that participants perceived the female target persons to be significantly higher in agency than the male target persons. In almost every case, the female target person was viewed as more agentic than her male counterpart. The one exception was among unemployed mothers and fathers who had been previously employed for personal fulfillment; in this case, the mean agency for the male target person

was minimally higher than his female counterpart. Perhaps these atypical findings were a result of the fact that the relatively small participant pool was made up of mostly women. Past research has indicated that women are more likely to have liberal attitudes toward deviation from traditional gender roles (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Etaugh & Study, 1989). In addition, women typically give higher approval ratings in general, which may account for the absence of significant findings (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993). The authors also fail to report whether each cell contained an equal number of male and female participants. If the cells were not gender balanced then comparing them may be a problem.

Like Riggs (1997), Etaugh and Folger (1998) built upon previous research that focused only on perceptions of mothers by including perceptions of both mothers and fathers. Specifically, Etaugh and Folger looked at how others perceive employed parents of infants as a function of the parents' gender and employment status as well as their spouses' employment status following the child's birth. The researchers examined perceptions of nurturance behaviors and job-performance characteristics.

Participants were 112 female and 88 male college students enrolled in introductory psychology courses at a medium-sized Midwestern university. The majority of the students were White and nearly all were between the 18-24 years old. Each participant was randomly assigned to assess 1 of 8 different vignettes. The description of the stimulus person in the vignette varied with respect to sex, employment status (full-time or reduced hours) since the child's birth and spouse's employment status since the child's birth. Participants rated the stimulus

person on 31 7-point bipolar scales that included measures of nurturance and job competence.

Overall, parents who were employed full-time were perceived as more competent and less nurturant than parents who had chosen to reduce their work hours. Fathers employed full-time were rated as more competent than fathers with reduced work hours. The researchers believe that this finding supports the notion that deviations from gender-role expectations are perceived negatively. Therefore, a man who deviates from the traditional stereotype, in this case reducing work hours rather than working full-time, will be devalued. Perceptions of mothers' job competence was not significantly different if they were employed full-time or if they had reduced work hours. Because the worker role is less salient for mothers, perceptions of her based on whether she works full-time or a reduced schedule may be unaffected.

With respect to the nurturance factor, even though full-time employed parents as a group were viewed as less nurturant than those with reduced hours, full-time employed mothers were rated as even less nurturant than full -time employed fathers. Again, the authors suggest that this finding is a result of deviation from traditional gender roles. When a woman works full-time she is seen as deviating from her gender role expectations and is viewed more negatively.

Although the researchers discussed the difference in nurturance ratings between mothers and fathers, they failed to discuss the relative difference in competence ratings between mothers and fathers. Perhaps this is because there

were no significant differences. However, it would be interesting to see if there was an overall difference in ratings of competence between mothers and fathers. For example, the authors showed that full-time employed fathers were seen as more competent than fathers who reduced work hours; however, they neglected to show where employed mothers fell in that continuum. Were employed mothers perceived equally as competent as full-time employed fathers? This question was not addressed by the researchers. The tables provided were hard to decipher; they did seem to indicate that mothers' competence overall was rated less than that of her male counterpart. However, the authors did not report on this finding at all.

In addition, the researchers failed to include a homemaker vignette. Because the authors were basing their interpretation of the findings on deviations from gender role expectations, it seems as though not including the traditional role for women is a glaring omission. Without this piece of information, complete comparisons cannot be made.

Findings introduced by Eagly and Steffen (1984) and supported in subsequent studies (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Riggs, 1997) demonstrated that perceptions of women and men may indeed be related to the roles they play. According to Eagly and Steffen, gender stereotypes are so tied to traditional roles that men and women play that individuals automatically perceive people occupying these various roles as having the gender stereotypic attributes associated with that role (regardless of gender). Riggs (1998) tested the limits of this social role theory by examining the

impressions formed of persons who were expected to take on a social role in the future, but who did not yet occupy it.

Riggs (1998) asserts that stronger attributions of communality to an unemployed parent than to an employed parent in previous studies (Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Riggs, 1997) may have been based on the assumption that a person staying at home with a child more frequently engages in communal behavior; similarly, stronger attributions of agency to an employed parent than an unemployed parent may be based on the assumption that an employed person is called on more frequently to carry out agentic behaviors. Therefore, Riggs (1998) believed that impressions found in previous research may be based on assumptions about the kind of behavior the person was expected to carry out regularly. Riggs (1998) limited this confound by assessing the impressions of a person *before* the person stepped into a given social role; in addition, she examined the impressions formed as a function of whether the person chose or did not choose the anticipated social role.

Participants were 120 students attending a private college who student body is approximately 95% White. All participated for pay. Participants were assigned randomly to the eight experimental conditions. Each participant read a paragraph that briefly described a female or male target person who was expecting the birth of a child. The paragraph varied based on whether the target person would continue to be employed or would not continue to be employed after the child's birth and on reasons for future employment status. In the employed conditions, the person either would continue work because the family

would not be able to get along on a single salary (no choice) or despite the fact that the family would be able to get along on a single salary (choice). In the unemployed conditions, the person was unemployed because the company for whom she or he had been working was going out of business (no choice) or because the family could get along on a single salary (choice). In all cases, the target person's spouse was described as being employed after the child's birth.

After reading the paragraph, the participants rated their impressions of the target person on a series of 7-point scales. The participants rated the target person on communality and agency. In addition, the participants indicated their approval of the target person on three other 7-point scales. Participants indicated their admiration for the target person, their liking of the target person and their overall impression of the target person.

In regard to communality, female participants gave higher communality ratings overall than male participants. Results indicated that participants in general perceived unemployed target persons to be more communal than employed target persons even when their employment status was not freely chosen. In regard to agency, female participants again gave higher ratings overall than male participants. Employed persons received higher agency ratings than unemployed persons. Specifically, employed persons who had a choice regarding employment were seen as more agentic than unemployed persons who had a choice. These findings demonstrate a willingness to attribute traits to persons consistent with their social roles even when those roles are projected for the future and even when the person has not chosen those roles freely.

The female target person received higher agency ratings than the male target person. When Eagly & Steffen (1984) received similar findings, they concluded that this finding was due to the perception that females are more likely to have chosen to be employed than are males, leading to a stronger set of attributions. An examination of perceived choice in Riggs (1998) reveals findings consistent with this explanation. There was a tendency for participants to believe that females have more choice about their employment status than did males.

Male participants gave higher approval ratings to a female target person when she was unemployed, while employment status had no effect on females' ratings of the female target person. Females gave higher approval ratings to the male target person when he was unemployed, while employment status had no effect on males' ratings of the male target person. The author believes that this suggests a preference among males for females who adhere to the "motherhood mandate" (Russo, 1979) and a greater willingness among females than males to accept deviation from the fatherhood mandate of breadwinning.

Further, the female target person received higher approval if she had no choice with regard to employment, and she received higher approval than her male counterpart who had no choice. This finding suggests a preference for the mother who either works because she has to or stays at home because she has to. This phenomenon was particularly strong among male participants. Male participants gave the lowest approval ratings to the male target person in the unemployed no choice condition, possibly indicating that male participants

viewed the unemployed no choice male target person as not having tried hard enough to find a job.

Overall, unemployed target persons received higher approval ratings than employed target persons, and those target persons who chose to be unemployed received more approval than those who chose to be employed. Riggs (1998) believes this finding may reflect an evolving societal mandate that she refers to as the "parenthood mandate," where a parent is always available to young children.

Riggs (1997, 1998) seem to support social role theory; however, very little comparison was done between sexes; most was done within sexes. The researchers focused on comparing social roles rather than men in a particular social role to women in the same social role. Clearly, there is evidence that people make perceptive judgments based on social role (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Steffen, 1984; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Riggs, 1997, 1998). What remains unclear is the difference within a particular role of men versus women.

The Shifting Standards Model

Recently, researchers have been challenging the idea that social role theory fully explains the persistence of sex stereotypes. Biernat and Kobrynowicz (1997) examined the seemingly contradictory affects of sex stereotypes on perceptions. The authors describe an "assimilative" mode where stereotypes lead individuals to judge group members consistently with group expectations. In this case, because expectations of a devalued group are low, in order to garner a positive evaluation, the devalued group must out-perform the dominant (or

valued) group. On the other hand, a stereotype may also produce what the authors refer to as "contrastive" effects. Biernat and Kobrynowicz provide an example from the work of Biernat, Manis & Nelson (1991): "because men are expected to earn more money than women, a man is less likely to be called financially successful than a woman who objectively earns the same income" (p. 544).

The researchers consider the shifting standards models of social judgment in studying the assimilative and the contrastive effects of sex stereotyping on perceptions of competence. The shifting standards model suggests that when judging group members on stereotype-relevant dimensions, perceivers use within-category reference points to make these estimates. For example, assuming that perceivers hold the stereotype that "women are less competent than men," they will judge the competence of women against (low) standards for women, and the competence of men against (high) standards for men. The result is that it may not be appropriate to directly compare the subjective evaluations given to a target because each is judged relative to his or her sex (e.g., "she's good for a woman").

The researchers also examined status characteristics theory which predicts that standards of ability are higher (i.e., require more evidence of ability) for low-status than high-status group members and, conversely, that standards for lack of ability are higher (require more evidence of lack of ability) for high status than low-status individuals. "That is, a (high-status) man has to do less than a (low-status) woman to prove his ability, and he is allowed more latitude (more demonstrations of low ability) than a woman before lack of ability is inferred."

The important distinction between the two theories is: in the shifting standards framework, standards refer to the minimal level of an attribute that is expected from a group. In the case of competence, minimal criteria to qualify as competent are lower for women than for men. Status characteristics theory, on the other hand, is concerned with standards for making broad-based inferences of ability. It is important to note that gender-based competence stereotypes affect assessments of both minimum standards and ability standards.

In past research on stereotyping, Biernat and colleagues have made the distinction between subjective and objective rating scales (e.g., Biernat, 1995; Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat, Manis & Nelson, 1991; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997). Subjective scales refer to rating formats that allow the judge to impose his or her own meaning on the scale points. Scales that use Likert-type formats most readily fit this description. In objective scales, measurement units have a constant meaning and, therefore, do not allow for category-based shifts in the meaning of response options. In previous work, Biernat and her colleagues have included, under the rubric of objective scales, units of feet and inches (for judging height), letter grades & SAT scores (for assessing competence) and explicit behaviors (Biernat, 1995).

These distinctions are made because the shifting standards model suggests that individuals differentially adjust the meaning of subjective response scales to fit the expected range in the target group being judged. Biernat and her colleagues have found a discrepancy between subjective and objective ratings of the same target (e.g., Biernat, 1995; Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Biernat & Manis, 1994;

Kobrynowicz & Biernat &, 1997). Biernat and colleagues believe that subjective judgments are made by comparing the target only to the target's own group (i.e., she is tall for a woman). Therefore, they argue that objective ratings are more likely than subjective ratings to reflect "perceivers 'true' mental representations of targets. The researchers believe that objective scales will illuminate the most about the models explained above because they prevent category-based meaning shifts.

To study the effects of sex stereotyping on the perception of competence, the researchers asked participants to evaluate a low-status (female) or high-status (male) person's suitability for a job. Specifically, participants were asked to set minimum standards for competence for the applicant and to set criteria for making broad-based ability inferences for the applicants. In addition, participants were asked questions that assessed the perceivers' overall evaluations of the job applicant.

Participants were 313 undergraduates at a large mid-western university (196 women, 115 men, 2 unknown). Each participant received a folder that contained a job description, an applicant's resume and an evaluation form. All participants received the identical job description; however, the job title varied, so that the applicant applied to be either an executive secretary (feminine position) or an executive chief of staff (masculine position). All participants reviewed the identical resume, with applicant gender varied. Half received a resume with a man's name and the other half with a woman's name. The applicants were all college-educated and had qualifications that were designed to be of moderate

caliber. In addition, half the participants responded to the items with an objective response scale (e.g. number of examples of skills). The other half responded with Likert-type rating scales (e.g. *few* to *many* examples of skills). Finally, the instructions accompanying the applicant evaluation items varied. Half of the participants were instructed to respond to the evaluation form by determining how they would decide if the applicant had the ability required to be successful in the position. The other half was instructed to determine if the applicant met the minimum standard to be successful at the position.

Based on the shifting standards and status characteristics theories, the researchers made predictions about how minimum standards and ability inferences would be set for male and female applicants. The following are those predictions and results from the study. The researchers expected to find that minimum standards for passing an applicant on to a second interview would be lower for female applicants than for male – showing that perceivers expected less from a woman than a man. This prediction was supported in the participants' objective judgments of the applicants; data indicated that participants had lower expectations for female than male applicants. Also as predicted, subjective judgments masked this effect.

Another prediction was that when making ability inferences, participants would set higher requirements for a female than a male applicant. In other words, a female applicant must do more to prove her ability than does a male applicant. This is precisely the pattern of the research participants who made their judgments

objectively. More examples of skills were required for a woman than a man to document ability. Again, subjective judgments produced a reduction in this effect.

Finally, regarding applicant overall evaluations, objective judgments once again revealed stereotype consistent judgment patterns. When applicants were objectively evaluated for the feminine position (executive secretary), the female applicant was viewed more favorably and when applicants were evaluated for the masculine position (chief of staff), the male applicant was rated more favorably. For those making subjective judgments, however, these patterns were, as predicted, reversed. The authors offer this explanation, "The shifting standards model suggests that stereotype-inconsistent targets are contrasted from the expectations for their genders, and subjective response language readily captures the 'wow' effect that such stereotype inconsistency inspires (he would be very good for a male secretary)" (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997, p.553)

In conclusion, the findings suggest that although some points in the judgment process may appear to be favorable to women (being held to a lower standard), the low-standards themselves are discriminatory in nature. In addition, women must work harder to document ability and receive evaluations that are objectively less positive than those awarded to similarly credentialed men.

This study was highly inventive and was thoroughly conducted. However, it would be valuable to continue to examine the effects of job type and other contextual cues to applicant appropriateness. In addition, further manipulation of applicant quality may also shed more light on the effects of sex stereotyping.

Kobrynowicz & Biernat (1997) again examined how subjective evaluations of men and women compare to objective judgments of men and women. The shifting standards model of stereotypes predicts that objective scales are more likely than subjective scales to reveal perceivers' true stereotypes of targets; whereas subjective scales, because they allow for within-category adjustment of meaning, tend to mask stereotype effects. In this study, the researchers examined the possibility that the same subjective trait evaluations are connected with different behavioral expectations for men and women following a stereotype consistent patterns. Therefore, participants were asked to translate a subjective evaluation of a trait into objective estimates of behavior.

Participants were 80 undergraduates (37 women and 42 men) at the University of Kansas. Participants listened to an audio-taped narrative in which an individual described her or his parenting skills as either "very good" or "alright." The interview narratives provided a general impression of the target's parenting. For example, the parent mentioned a willingness to take care of the children's emotional, physical and educational needs. Several statements were constant across the "very good" and "alright" evaluation conditions. The narrative began with the parent stating either, "I believe I am a very good parent" or "I believe I am doing alright as a parent." Next each parent expressed the belief that everyone has concerns about being a parent. The very good parent went on to describe a specific positive evaluation of his/her job as a parent and the alright parent went on to describe a specific moderate to negative evaluation of his/her job as a parent. In both evaluative conditions, the parent finished with, "I don't have as

much time for myself as before the kids were born, although I do make some 'alone time' for myself. And I haven't been able to keep up as many outside interests that I had, though I still have a few left. The time I have away from the kids helps keep me able to be a better parent."

After listening to the interview, participants completed objective behavioral ratings of the target. The objective behavioral ratings were gathered from six categories of specific parenting behaviors. The categories corresponded to the language in the narrative: general activities; emotional, physical and educational needs; centrality of the children to the parent's life; and time apart from the children. The particular items asked for the participant's impression of the duration or frequency with which the target parent engaged in a particular parenting behavior alluded to in the narrative. Then they provided their own global evaluation of the target's parenting on a subjective rating scale.

Results show that the exact same language used to describe either male or female targets was interpreted through a gender stereotypic filter. Estimates of behaviors implied that participants compared female targets to the higher expectations for mothers and male targets with lower expectations for fathers. "Very good" mothers were judged to carry out significantly more parenting duties than the "very good" father. Similarly, the "alright" mother was judged consistently to perform more parenting behaviors than the "alright" father.

Although a father who described himself as a "very good parent" was generally believed to do more parenting behaviors than a mother who describes herself as an "alright" parent, there were some very important exceptions: an

"alright" mother was still estimated as cooking, cleaning, bathing and so on as frequently as a "very good" father; an "alright" mother spends as much time away from her children as a "very good" father; and children are about as central to an "alright mother's" life as they are to a "very good" father's.

Despite the fact that "very good" mothers were consistently judged as performing more parenting behaviors than the "very good" father, the two nonetheless received the same *subjective* evaluation. The researchers suggest that if mothers are generally expected to perform many parenting behaviors, a particular woman must surpass this strictstandard to be subjectively evaluated as very good. If fathers are held to more lenient standards, less behavioral evidence is required to earn the same subjective evaluation from a man.

Comparison of Social Role Theory and Shifting Standards Model

Bridges, Etaugh & Barnes-Farrell (2002) compared the shifting standards and social role perspectives. According to social role theory, perceptions of men and women are made based on the person's social role occupancy. Generally, this research has found that if men and women occupy the same social role, trait perceptions of them will be similar. For instance, employed mothers and fathers have been rated similarly on scales of communality and agency. These findings have been explained as null effects. There have been exceptions however. For example, research has shown that individuals evaluate employed mothers as more agentic than employed fathers (Eagly et al., 2000; Riggs, 1997) and, under some conditions, view employed fathers as more communal than employed mothers (Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Riggs, 1997). These findings are considered

counterstereotypical. To explicate these somewhat opposing findings, Bridges et al. (2002) sought to investigate whether attributions about people are shaped by their gender as well as role or are based solely on their role as previous research would suggest.

The central focus of this investigation was to compare role-based and shifting standards models as explanations for the commonly found null effects and occasional counterstereotypical effects of gender. Social role theory (Eagly, 1984; Eagly et al., 2000) contends that null effects of gender that occur when perceivers make trait attributions about targets in the same social role stem from the overriding influence of social role, regardless of gender. In addition, Eagly and her colleagues suggest that counterstereotypical effects are due to the perceiver's assumption that target persons in a role atypical for their gender are perceived to have more choice in selecting that role and, consequently, have stronger attributes associated with it. The shifting standards model (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997), on the other hand, posits that both null and counterstereotypical effects are due to perceptual processes involved in using rating scales for trait judgments. Perceivers use different anchors when rating the traits of female and male targets, and these can mask the influence of gender of gender stereotypes on trait judgments.

To evaluate these two perspectives, trait ratings of stay-at-home versus employed parents were compared with patterns of behavioral estimates. Using both trait ratings and behavioral judgments allowed the researchers to examine whether perceivers overlook a target's gender and base trait attributions solely on

the target's social role or rely on within-gender standards that mask the influence of gender on these trait evaluations.

Two hundred and forty-three students at a New England public university (142 females; 101 males) and 241 students at a Midwestern private university (159 females; 82 males) comprised the participant pool for this study. Ninety-six percent of the participants were under the age of 23 and most identified as White (87.6%). Participants represented a large variety of majors. Students read a description of one of the eight target persons who was described as a 30-year-old parent of a two-year-old child. The descriptions varied as a function of target person's gender, target person's role (stay-at-home or employed parent) and motive for employment (personal fulfillment or financial need). After reading the description, the participants answered questions that assessed their perceptions of the target person's parenting: the behavioral measures assessed physical caregiving, emotional caregiving and stimulation; the trait ratings assessed communion level (Bridges & Orza, 1993) and parenting quality.

In support of prior social role research (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Riggs, 1997, 1998), results showed that participants viewed stay-at-home parents as more communal. In addition, participants estimated that stay-at-home parents provided more physical care, emotional care and stimulation. These findings were consistent across gender. Further findings provided support for the shifting standards model. The effects of target person gender were different for the behavioral and trait evaluations. Judgments about stay-at-home parents showed stereotypical effects

of gender on the behavioral estimates but null effects on the trait ratings.

Specifically, participants estimated greater physical and emotional caregiving for

the female target person than the male target person but perceived no differences

between them in terms of their communion or parenting quality. For the employed

parents, perceptions indicated stereotypical effects of gender on the behavioral

judgments. However, the trait ratings showed counterstereotypical effects.

Participants estimated that the female target person provided more physical care

than the male target person, but they viewed the male target person as more

communal and as a better parent than the female target person. These

relationships were consistent across the target person's reason for employment.

Overall, female participants rated the target person's as more communal, but

women and men did not differ in their behavioral estimates.

In conclusion, the researchers found null effects for the stay-at-home role

and contrastive effects for the provider role. The authors suggest that because

parenting responsibilities are construed as traditionally female, mothers in both

roles are not only judged according to a higher standard than are fathers, but their

deviation from the homemaker role has a greater impact on how they are viewed.

For example, mothers who stay at home are judged as typical for mothers whereas

fathers who stay at home are judged much higher than typical fathers on parental

traits, leading to comparable ratings for the two. In addition, employed fathers are

viewed as typical men, but employed mothers are viewed as less communal than

typical women. The negative impact of employment on perceptions of mothers

leads to lower attributions of communion to employed mothers compared to

employed fathers. These results suggest that other people might minimize the value of the parenting behaviors of the stay-at-home mother while at the same time also downplaying employed women's parenting effectiveness, at least relative to that of men working comparable hours. These results seem to suggest that working mothers more than fathers might have to contend with others' judgments that their employment negatively affects the amount of love and comfort they provide children.

It would have been interesting had Bridges et al. (2002) also included stereotypical male traits and their behavioral correlates in this research. Past research indicates that there is a counterstereotypic effect of agency, where employed mothers are perceived as more agentic than their male counterparts (Riggs, 1997). The shifting standards model may explain this finding. Examining how behavioral estimates compare to these trait judgments might shed light on the true nature of the difference.

Sex Stereotyping in the Workplace

Much of the perception research above focused on nurturance or communal behaviors and attributes. Agentic characteristics of men and women were significantly less often compared in the perception studies outlined above. Literature that focuses on sex stereotyping in the workplace seems to address the disparity in perceptions of agency of men and women. Many researchers have studied the hiring and promotion processes of organizations to highlight significant differences in expectations of male and female employees. Heilman

(1995) reviews and integrates prior research relevant to the effects of sex

stereotyping in work settings.

Heilman (1995) explains that people form stereotypes about groups of

people in much the same way they generalize about any aspect of their

environment. She believes that individuals possess cognitive categories for social

groups the way they possess categories for anything else. Heilman believes once

categorized, individuals perceive and interpret the behavior of individual group

members on the basis of generalized knowledge and expectations of that group,

not based on individuality. Heilman explains that this categorization maximizes

difference between groups and minimizes differences within groups. This

overgeneralization leads to biased judgments and faulty reasoning. Sex, because it

is an easily perceived physical feature is a common basis for categorization.

According to Heilman (1995), because sex as an attribute is so accessible,

sex stereotypes seem to be an element in organizational decision-making in the

workforce. The attributes ascribed to women as a group are not those that are

believed essential for work success. Achievement-oriented traits are lacking in the

stereotypic attributes of women. Therefore, work success is often associated with

males, not females.

Expectations about how successful or unsuccessful an individual will be

when working at a particular job are determined by the fit between the perception

of the individual's attributes and the perception of the job's requirements.

Although this idea may keep women from acquiring a wide-range jobs because of

perceived lack of fit, jobs where men predominate will be especially hard for

women to obtain. Traditionally male jobs seem to require skills and abilities that do not fit with the stereotypic female attributes. Therefore, women are expected to fail in these positions.

According to Heilman (1995), even when a woman produces the identical product as a man, a woman's work is often regarded as inferior. Heilman cites evidence that "attests to the fact that women's achievements are viewed in a way that is consistent with stereotype-based negative performance expectations, and their work is devalued simply because they are women" (p.8). When successful performance outcome is acknowledged, it is often attributed to luck or effort rather than ability or skill.

Heilman (1995) also discusses the impact of sex stereotypic norms. Individuals who display non-sex typical characteristics are viewed less favorably than their normative sex-typed counterparts. In the work setting, women with non-traditional careers have to cope with negative reactions to their out-of-role behavior. Heilman cites research that provides evidence that male and female leaders are evaluated most favorably when their leadership styles are consistent with those prescribed by sex stereotypic norms. She also cites evidence that shows that women who perform competently at traditional male tasks are disliked and ostracized. These findings suggest that women in non-traditional roles may be penalized if they do their jobs well, or because they do their jobs well.

In Heilman, Block & Martell (1995), the researchers address the impact of traditional sex stereotypes in the workplace by examining whether traditionally stereotypic discrepancies in the characterizations of women and men occur when

they are portrayed as managers. The authors cite previous research, which has shown that men are described very similarly to the way successful managers are described; however, women are described very differently. Basically, traditional sex stereotypes depict women as lacking in the attributes necessary to succeed as manager (Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989). Therefore, quite obviously, women are at a disadvantage in the managerial selection process and in retention of a managerial position.

However, in Heilman et al. (1995), the researchers wanted to know if when designated as managers, the work-relevant attributes ascribed to women and men coincide (or not) with the stereotypic characterizations of women and men in general. The authors asserted that if stereotypic characterizations did abate, and women managers were described similarly to men managers, then stereotyping would not account for discriminatory treatment of women managers. In addition, the researchers looked at two managerial labels: manager and successful manager. The successful manager label was included to provide performance information. The authors believed that performance should have the most profound effect on the use of traditional sex stereotypes.

Participants were two hundred and twenty four male managers from a variety of departments in a range of industries from all geographical locations in the United States. They ranged in age from 24-63 and their managerial experience ranged from less than a year to 42 years. A 92-item attribute inventory developed by Schein (1973, 1975) was adapted for this research. It was administered during a series of off-site managerial training sessions. The 92 attributes were made

using a 5-point rating scales ranging from 1 (not characteristic) to 5 (characteristic). Scales were constructed to operationalize six work-relevant characteristics corresponding to stereotypic qualities of men and women. The scales were: Work Competence, Activity/Potency, Emotional Stability, Independence, Rationality and Concern for Others. A scale called Hostility toward Others was included based on the commonly held conception of women who achieve powerful positions as abrasive and manipulative – it was included on an exploratory basis. Three judges sorted the original items into one of the seven categories. 46 items were used to create the final seven scales.

Results indicated that perceptions of greater work competence, potency and emotional stability of men persist even when women are designated as managers, although these differential perceptions disappear when managerial *success* is made explicit. Men were viewed as more rational than women in all three label conditions. Thus, in the case of perceptions of rationality, the managerial designation had no effect on the distinctions made. Women were viewed as more concerned for others than men only in the general conditions. In the successful manager condition, in regard to concern for others, men actually received higher ratings than the women.

Additional analyses found that both men and women were characterized more favorably when depicted as successful managers. Women managers were described in a more favorable fashion than women in general; however, men managers were described no differently than men in general. Evidently, the label of manager does act to alleviate some of the negativity engendered by traditional

sex stereotypes about women. Another interesting result was that women mangers and successful women managers differed significantly from women in general in how they were characterized – they were described as less concerned with others than women in general. Finally, men managers and successful men managers both were characterized as showing less hostility toward others than men in general. However, neither women managers nor successful women managers were viewed as less hostile than women in general. In fact, successful women managers were viewed as more hostile than women in general. Among successful managers, women were described as being more hostile toward others than men.

When women were depicted as managers, they were viewed more favorably on all dimensions than women in general. However, even when depicted as managers, women were found to be less competent, less active and potent, less emotionally stable, and less rational then men managers. The difference in characterizations of male and female managers only seemed to abate when the target was designated as a successful manager. Even then, differences in characterizations of rationality were found to persist. The authors believe that these findings suggest that it is only in very specific circumstances that stereotypes fade.

Not only are women managers viewed less favorably on some typically male characteristics, the data indicate that women managers are also perceived to be deficient in characteristically feminine characteristics. Both women managers and successful women managers were viewed less favorably on the interpersonal dimensions than their male counterparts. In regard to the degree of hostility

toward others, characterizations for women became more negative with an indication of success in the managerial role. For men, characterizations became more positive with the added information of success. Heilman et al. (1995) showed that when women are depicted as managers, the "traditionally favorably interpersonal image of women is greatly tarnished" (p.248). Thus, the successful male manager was viewed as strong in both traditionally masculine and traditionally feminine attributes.

Perhaps the greatest limitation of this study is that the sample included only men, male mangers to be exact. Women may have very different views; however, the vast majority of executive level personnel are men, and they have the power to make decisions about the careers of aspiring women managers. Another limitation is that participants were asked to react to labels, not actual people. Personal experience and more personal information may disconfirm preconceived notions. Unfortunately, many personnel decisions are often made about individuals with whom no direct, personal interaction has occurred; therefore, the implications of these findings are obviously important and relevant.

Rudman & Glick (2001) built upon previous research findings, which suggested that if women exhibit agentic behaviors, they are rewarded with ratings equal to agentic men; however they are viewed as socially deficient (Rudman & Glick, 1999). If women do exhibit traditionally male characteristics, they are not considered feminine. Rudman and Glick (1999) found that agentic women were seen as competent but were not seen as interpersonally gifted.

The authors believe that although women are now coming to be seen as having more agentic and communal traits, Spence and Buckner's (2000) research show that the changes have occurred only in specific traits that can be characterized as competence. However, women are still not expected to exhibit social dominance. Therefore, Rudman and Glick (1999, 2001) believe the change has been in the acceptance of women's competence, not dominance. Women are still expected to be subordinate and are punished if they violate this proscription.

The author's objectives in this research were three-fold. First, they sought to replicate earlier findings (Rudman & Glick, 1999). The authors also sought to find out what women could do to overcome the backlash. Specifically, they examined the agentic traits of competence and dominance to examine whether "softening" female agency might moderate the hiring discrimination against agentic women for leadership positions requiring interpersonal skills (Rudman & Glick, 2001, p.747). Finally, the researchers examined whether individual differences in implicit, rather than explicit, gender-related attitudes would account for the discrimination against agentic women. The authors assert that the proscription that women ought to be nice may be an implicit belief and people who do not consciously endorse conventional gender stereotypes may nonetheless show backlash effects.

One hundred seventy-two Rutgers University undergraduates volunteered to participate in the study to fulfill a course requirement. Participants were recruited for two supposedly unrelated studies. The two phases will be

characterized as the applicant evaluation phase and the gender beliefs assessment phase.

Participants evaluated a videotaped agentic or communal, male or female applicant for a computer lab manager position (Rudman & Glick, 1999). In each video, a male or female applicant responded to six questions relevant to the position and two neutral questions. Before viewing the videotapes, participants were given supplementary materials that included a "life philosophy" essay ostensibly written by the applicant.

Applicants' scripts and supplementary materials were identical for male and female applicants but differed within applicant condition. In the videos, agentic applicants were presented as self-promoting and competent. Androgynous applicants were presented similarly but also as interdependent and cooperative (agentic *and* communal). To ensure that agentic applicants were seen as embracing dominative (as well as competence-related) agentic traits, their supplementary materials revealed a stereotypically masculine orientation. In contrast, androgynous applicants endorsed a stereotypically feminine orientation, stressing a desire to help others (again emphasizing agentic and communal characteristics).

The computer lab manager position was described in one of two ways: the masculine job description emphasized agentic requisites of the job, whereas, the feminized description added social skills as criteria for success. Applicants were rated on dimensions of competence, social skills, and hireability.

Following the viewing of the videotape, participants then rated the applicants on dimensions of competence, social skills, and hireability. For the gender beliefs assessment phase, participants went to separate cubicles where they completed the IAT administered in previous research by Rudman & Kilianski (2000) (as cited in Rudman & Glick, 2001), which measures implicit stereotypes. In addition, participants completed the gender stereotype index and the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996 as cited in Rudman & Glick, 2001) to assess explicit gender beliefs. The ASI measures both hostile and benevolent sexism.

Results indicated that applicants with stereotypical masculine, agentic, attributes were rated as more competent than their androgynous counterparts. Results also replicated previous findings (Rudman & Glick, 1999) that an agentic man is viewed more socially skilled than an identically presented woman. Also, the male applicant was more likely to be hired than the female applicant for a feminized management position. The agentic female was rated less hirable when the job required that someone be both able and nice (feminized). These findings indicated that the agentic female applicant was discriminated against because she was viewed as not nice, whereas the male applicant's social skills were unaffected by his agentic characteristics. Because of the strong prescriptions for women to be helpful, nice, and interpersonally sensitive, a backlash occurred when women were described as agentic. Ratings indicate that when a woman was described as agentic, she could not also possess the positive interpersonal attributes that are associated with being feminine.

Rudman and Glick (2001) suggest that women have to maintain both a nice and able impressions of themselves in order not to be perceived as overbearing and dominant. This makes a woman's situation more difficult and tenuous than her male counterparts. The fact that women have to be so highly attuned to impression management may be costly both personally and professionally.

Another finding indicated that implicit stereotypes rather than explicit stereotypes account for this discrimination. That is, individuals who possessed an automatic expectancy that women are nicer than men were more likely to view the agentic female applicant as interpersonally unskilled and unlikable. The implicit prescription that women ought to be nicer than men may be an important element in maintaining inequality between the sexes. Because communal traits are generally evaluated favorably, even those who are subordinated (women) seem to embrace the stereotype. As shown in this research, the niceness prescription may increasingly operate to penalize women who enact an agentic style. Although this agentic style seems like an essential component for leadership, it is also a hindrance to women if the leadership position requires communal characteristics, as most do.

Heilman (2001) reviewed the current literature on barriers to women's upward mobility in organizations. Heilman posited in this review article that the scarcity of women at the upper levels of organizations is a consequence of gender bias in evaluations. Heilman proposed that gender stereotypes and the

expectations they produce about both what women are like and how they should behave can result in devaluation and penalization.

Top management positions are thought to require an achievement-oriented aggressiveness and emotional toughness that is distinctly male in character and antithetical to both the stereotyped view of what women are like and the stereotype-based norms specifying how they should behave (Heilman, 2001). Stereotyped views of what women are like and this male sex-typing of upper management combine to elicit gender bias from evaluators. Together they produce the perceived lack of fit responsible for many types of biased judgments about women in work settings (Heilman, 1995). In other words, the skills and attributes presumed to be required to handle male sex typed roles effectively do not correspond to the attributes believed to characterize women as a group. Women are thus expected to fail in these higher level positions in organizations.

When women are successful at male sex-typed jobs, they often are seen as possessing the masculine attributes necessary to execute the tasks required. However, their success is seen as contrary to the norms expected of women based on gender stereotypes. Therefore, there is a lack of congruency between what the woman is perceived to be like and ideas of what she should be like. When a woman is perceived to violate stereotypic proscription, others may view her disapprovingly. This social disapproval makes it difficult for women to advance in an organization because advancement in an organization requires competence as well as social acceptance.

Horner (1972) demonstrated that the same competence applauded in men is regarded unattractive in women (as cited in Heilman, 2001). Porter and Geis (1981) showed that the competent woman is regarded as cold (as cited in Heilman, 2001) and Hagan and Kahn (1975) found competent women to be undesirable as group members (as cited in Heilman, 2001). Heilman (2001) cites everyday terms for a successful woman, such as "bitch" and "ice queen." These characterizations are clearly derogatory in terms of personal attributes. Competent women who display agentic qualities needed to succeed in corporations are often considered to be interpersonally deficient. Heilman reports that descriptors such as "bitter," "quarrelsome," and "selfish" were rated as highly characteristic of the women, but not the men, who were depicted as successful managers.

Unlike competent men, who tend to be seen merely as noncommunal, competent women are seen as countercommunal. So rather than being seen as warm, they are seen as cold; rather than being seen as selfless, they are seen as selfish; rather than being seen as sweet and conciliatory, they are seen as bitter and quarrelsome. The enforcing of gender-stereotypic prescriptions appears to relegate these women to a subtype characterized by attributes that not only are unfeminine but also are interpersonally abhorrent.

Heilman (2001) explains that in order for a woman to succeed in organizations, she needs to display male sex-typed behaviors. However, if she is successful in the organization, she suffers negative reactions from co-workers because she has violated what is expected of her based on gender stereotypes. Women who do not conform to gender stereotypic prescriptions are perceived to

possess attributes counter to the expected attributes, which means that they are seen as interpersonally deficient. Basically, women are criticized and believed to be incompetent if they do not possess male sex-typed attributes and are considered interpersonally deficient if they do possess these attributes.

Praise and Criticism of Mothers and Fathers

Sex stereotypes and role expectations of parents manifest in a number of ways. Most of the research cited has focused on the assignment of trait attributions. However, messages that parents are sent from peers and family also seem to reflect socialization of sex stereotypes and sex role behaviors. In Deutsch & Saxon (1998), the researchers examined the positive and negative messages that parents receive from other people in response to deviations from and/or adherence to gendered behavior. The authors sought to test whether gender violators would be evaluated more intensely, both with praise and criticism, thus creating a double standard of parenting for men and women.

Transcripts of interviews with 88 predominantly White couples comprised the data for this study. The couples represented three distinct paternal participation categories: 1) Low (couples in which both spouses reported that the husband performed 25%-30% of the overall parenting and childcare, n=21); 2) Mid (couples in which both partners agreed the husband did 35%-40%, n=18); and 3) Equal (couples in which each spouse reportedly did 50%, n=26). Also, included was a fourth category of couples, Alternating-Shift couples (n=23), in which the parents alternated work shifts in order to accommodate child-care. This last group is separated because these couples' reports of the percentage division of

child-care varied widely. However, because these parents do virtually all the child-care themselves, these fathers may be doing a greater total amount of parenting than even the equally sharing fathers. Although the majority of couples were upper-middle class, diversity in occupation prestige and income level was represented (predominantly through the Alternating Shift parents).

Transcripts were coded for the types of praise and criticism reported. By identifying recurrent themes in the transcripts, researchers developed coding categories. Five variables were created: 1) reported criticism of the balance between work and parenting (job/family interface), 2) reported praise for investing time and energy in parenting (investment in parenting), 3) reported praise for combining employment and family life (doing it all), 4) reported praise for providing financially for the family (breadwinning), and 5) reported praise and criticism about the participant's spouse (feedback).

When women were criticized for the relative importance they placed on paid work versus family, they were most likely to be criticized for not investing enough at home. When men were criticized, it was more likely to be because of either too much investment at home or too little at their jobs. This pattern existed across paternal participation groups. Clearly, a double standard for mothers and fathers was found. Criticism seemed to be evoked when men and women deviated from traditional gender roles.

In all of the paternal-participation groups, fathers were significantly more likely than mothers to report praise received for the energy they put into the family. Over half the fathers in the equal sharing group reported being

commended for their parenting (only 4% of their wives reported similar accolades). Across the paternal-participation groups, women were more likely than men to report praise for "doing it all." Interestingly, praise for behavior that has been traditionally associated with women (investment in parenting) was found much more likely to be reported by men than women. However, when looking at a behavior that has traditionally been associated with men (paid work), results show that women were never praised for their financial contributions, even when the contributions equaled half or more of the family income. Deutsch & Saxon (1998) suggest that because paid work is valued more than "women's work," it may be that when women earn money, it is seen as its own reward, with no praise necessary. Another explanation offered by Deutsch & Saxon is that praise for women's breadwinning may be a threat to the male ego.

Women reported receiving more praise and more criticism about their husbands than their husbands reported receiving about them. When women reported receiving feedback about their husbands, it was twice as likely to be praise than to be criticism. In the few cases in which men received feedback about their wives, it was more likely to be criticism than praise. Almost all of the reported praise and criticism of spouses came from other women. Although praise was received more often from women, the criticism that both men and women received came predominantly from members of their own gender.

In conclusion, Deutsch & Saxon (1998) proposed that both the criticisms and the praise of gender violators set up an obstacle for equality. Although the praise for involved fathers appears to support equality, it may have the opposite

effect. The disproportionate amount of praise that men receive for involvement in parenting indicates an inequity in the credit mothers and fathers receive outside the home for challenging traditional roles. Equality is not achieved if fathers garner more praise for being equally (or sometimes less) involved in parenting. The message that women who have husbands involved in parenting are "lucky" implies that men are not expected to help with childcare and household responsibilities. These are the responsibilities of a woman, and she is "lucky" if she has a husband who helps in this domain. These research findings show a clear double standard in praise and criticism of parents. The criticisms as well as the praise reported here seem to signify a real barrier for equality.

College Students Career/Family Expectations

Despite the broadening of social roles, perceptions of individuals still seem affected by sex stereotypes and the expectations of traditional gender role behavior (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges et al., 2002; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Heilman, 1995, 2001; Heilman et al., 1995; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997; Riggs, 1997, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999, 2001). How is the persistence of sex stereotypes and gender role expectations affecting generations being raised in contemporary society? An intriguing finding was that of Spence & Buckner (2000), where college women considered themselves significantly more instrumental than their counterparts in 1978; yet these same women found the *typical* woman to still be significantly less instrumental than the typical man.

What these findings suggest is that there is some disconnect between how women are viewing themselves and how they are viewing women in general.

Again, the perception studies outlined here suggest that mothers are still expected to carry out a primarily nurturing role in the family, and fathers continue to be expected to carry out a provider role in the family. Men and women are viewed less positively when they deviate from these gender role expectations. Further, many studies confirm the persistence of sex stereotypes in assigning trait characteristics, with women still expected to be more expressive and men to be more instrumental. The participants in much of this research were college students, implying that these are the views held by college students in contemporary society. The question is, what do these college students expect for themselves?

There is a substantial body of literature suggesting that both college-aged women and men desire, and expect to be involved in, both family and career roles (Burke, 1994; Covin & Brush, 1991; Fiorentine, 1988; Hammersla & Frease-McMahan, 1990; Spade & Reese, 1991). Spade and Reese (1991) investigated the attitudes, orientations, and expectations for work and family of 320 female and male undergraduate students. Ninety-nine percent of the students, both men and women, responded that having a good marriage and family was important to them. Furthermore, 93% of the female students and 94% of the male students had expectations that work would be a central component of their lives. Covin and Brush (1991) sampled 240 undergraduate and graduate students (119 males and 121 females) in upper-level business courses and found that both men and women

reported that family was important and likely to have a positive influence on one's work. Both also expressed an equal desire to work. Burke (1994) surveyed 83 female and 133 male undergraduate and graduate business students about their career and life values and expectations, finding that both female and male students valued very similar career characteristics and placed similar importance on work, marital, parental, and home-care roles.

Although college men and women alike seem to be prioritizing work and family for their futures, there are documented differences in male and female college students' attitudes and expectations related to multiple roles. Burke (1994) found that both women and men hoped for egalitarian relationships; yet both also believed that women would assume more of the household responsibilities, indicating a fairly traditional division of labor. Spade and Reese (1991) found that men did not believe that it was important for them to engage in household responsibilities, and the majority of these men reported that they wanted their future wives to stay at home. Schroeder, Blook, and Maluso (1992) found that, compared to men, women were significantly less traditional in their attitudes toward parenting and reported more egalitarian attitudes toward marital roles. Only 6% of women preferred to leave the workforce and never return full-time, whereas 50% of the men preferred this lifestyle for their future wives. Similarly, Novack and Novack (1996) surveyed 981 college students (270 females and 711 males) and found that men were more likely to want their wives to stay home with their children, to place their wives' careers in a position secondary to their own,

and to be somewhat less comfortable with receiving a lower salary as compared with the women in the sample.

Summary

Although there have been important and extensive contributions to the research literature pertaining to perceptions of men and women, further research is needed to examine the persistence of sex stereotyping. Specifically, perceptions of men and women in the same social role need to be examined to see how, or if, they differ. The literature indicates that women, and not men, in U.S. society face a double bind. Women appear to be punished for working outside the home as well as punished for staying at home. There is a need for this double bind to be further explored and explicated. In addition, although college students have been studied extensively in this body of literature, little attention has been paid to how college students' perceptions match their own goals and aspirations. Therefore, the present study examined the compatibility (or incompatibility) of college students' perceptions of individuals in multiple roles and the students' own career and family expectations.

Statement of the Problem

Past research indicates that American women, mothers in particular, face a social role double bind. Traditionally, women have assumed domestic responsibilities as homemaker and primary caregiver. Research suggests that this is the role that individuals continue to expect of women whether they stay at home full time or are employed full-time (Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997). Because of this expectation, when women do stay at home, they are taken for granted

(Bridges et al., 2002; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997). Their efforts are minimized

and undervalued. In addition, the perception is that women who stay at home are

not independent, competent, intelligent or confident; instead they are considered

passive, dependent and not ambitious (Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Etaugh & Study,

1989; Riggs, 1997, 1998). Employed women, on the other hand, are viewed as

more competent, intelligent and instrumental than their stay-at-home counterparts;

however, the employed woman is viewed interpersonally deficient and not

adequately nurturing (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh &

Folger, 1998; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997; Riggs,

1997). In the workplace, women need to display agentic characteristics in order to

"get ahead;" yet by displaying these characteristics, the perception is that they

lack basic social skills (Rudman & Glick, 2001).

The present study re-examined the double bind women face by comparing

perceptions of women and men in the same social role. This effort also included

examining whether a similar or different double bind exists for American men,

which has not been posited to date. The majority of previous research that

examined both mothers and fathers in various social roles utilized subjective

evaluations alone to measure perceptions. The work of Biernat and her colleagues

(e.g., Biernat, 1995; Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Biernat & Manis, 1994) has

indicated that in order to adequately assess the true nature of sex stereotyping,

both objective (behavioral) and subjective (trait) measures need to be utilized.

Therefore, this research aimed to include both objective and subjective measures

in gathering the perceptual information. This study is the first known to use both

subjective and objective measures to examine simultaneously both traditionally female as well as traditionally male characteristics and behaviors. In other words, both communality (expressive characteristics) and agency (instrumental characteristics) were evaluated for all the target persons in the present study.

Study participants evaluated men and women in traditional and non-traditional roles, represented by the provider role and the homemaker role; however, they also evaluated individuals in a category that has been rarely studied in this type of psychological research, namely the part-time employee role. With more women and some men opting for this role option in order to balance family and career, it seems like an important addition to this type of perception research.

One other unique component of this research is the focus on the compatibility of college students' perceptions of adults in various roles with their own goals and expectations for themselves. This research examined college students' current work/family expectations and compared those expectations to how they perceive adults fulfilling the roles they claim to desire themselves. Although college students often have been the primary participants for much of the perception research to date, no one has yet examined how these perceptions relate to the lives of the students themselves.

Hypotheses and exploratory research questions

To explicate the proposed double bind faced by women in American society, the first four hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1: On subjective evaluations, the employed mother will receive higher scores of agency (instrumentality) than the employed father and the stay-

at-home parents. However, on objective evaluations, significantly less agentic behaviors will be expected of the employed mother than the employed father. In perception studies, where college students were asked to rate mothers and fathers in various social roles on a subjective Likert scale, results consistently showed employed mothers to be considered higher in agency than their male counterparts (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Riggs, 1997, 1998). Biernat and her colleagues (e.g., Biernat, 1995; Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Biernat & Manis, 1994) suggested that these subjective ratings of targets are made relative to assumptions about other members of the target's group. In this case, the employed man possesses average agentic qualities for a man. The average man is expected to be agentic and be employed and occupy the provider role. However, the employed woman is considered very agentic for a woman. The average woman is not expected to possess the agentic qualities required of an employed parent. Therefore, when she does work, she is considered very agentic compared with the average woman. Subjective evaluations mask any stereotypic effect; however, they also seem to mask the true nature of the perceptions. Biernat and her colleagues have found that objective measures, typically measuring the frequency of particular behaviors, indicate that traditional stereotypes persist. In research examining perceptions of job applicants, subjective evaluations showed little to no difference between the male and female applicant. However, objective evaluations suggested that perceivers expected less (in terms of competence) from the female applicant and more was needed from the female applicant to prove her ability (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997). Therefore, the traditional stereotype that

women are less agentic or competent than male counterparts seems to persist, and this was why it is predicted that objective evaluations in this study would reveal that employed mothers are perceived as less agentic than employed fathers.

Hypothesis 2: On subjective evaluations, employed mothers will received significantly lower scores of communality (or expressiveness) than her male counterpart and stay-at-home parents. In fact, the employed mother will receive a significantly lower communality trait rating than all of the other target persons. However, on objective evaluations, the employed mother is expected to perform significantly more communal behaviors than the employed father.

Numerous perception studies have indicated that employed women are perceived as significantly less nurturing than stay-at-home women (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Study, 1989) or employed male counterparts (Bridges et al., 2002; Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997; Riggs, 1997). Again, Biernat and her colleagues would argue that shifting standards are to explain for these subjective ratings. Because a mothers' role is expected to be staying at home with children and carrying out domestic responsibilities, when she deviates from this role, she is considered to possess less than average amounts of the qualities expected in this role. Some research indicates that when a mother deviates from the homemaker role she is not only considered to be less nurturing, she is considered deficient in these qualities (Bridges et al., 2002; Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997; Riggs, 1997). Ironically, although this is the subjective rating of the mother,

objective ratings indicate that expectations are that she continues to perform more nurturing and communal behaviors than her male counterpart (Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997).

Hypothesis 3: On subjective evaluations, stay-at-home mothers and stay-at-home fathers will receive similar scores of communality. However, on objective measures, the stay-at-home mother is expected to perform more communal behaviors than the stay-at-home father.

Bridges et al. (2002) found no differences between stay-at-home mothers and fathers in terms of trait ratings of their communal qualities. Using the shifting standards model, these findings can be explained as the stay-at-home mother is considered average in nurturing characteristics for a woman and the stay-at-home father is considered high in these characteristics for a man; thus making the scores appear equal.

However, unlike when the mother breaks from traditional role, research findings indicate that the stay-at-home father's communion score is not so inflated that it exceeds that of the stay-at-home mother (Bridges et al., 2002). In addition, in a study of praise and criticism of mothers and fathers (Deutsh & Saxon, 1998), results showed that men receive a disproportionate amount of praise when involved in parenting opposed to that of women. Fathers involved in parenting enjoy significant praise; therefore, this researcher expected the subjective evaluations to be at least equal for stay-at-home mothers and fathers. In objective evaluations, Bridges et al. (2002) found that the stay-at-home mother continues to

be expected to perform more parenting and nurturing behaviors than her male

counterpart.

Hypothesis 4: On subjective evaluations, the stay-at-home mother and stay at-

home father will receive comparable scores of agency. However, on the objective

evaluation of agency, stay-at-home fathers will be expected to perform more

agentic behaviors than the stay-at-home mother. The stay-at-home mother will be

expected to perform the fewest agentic behaviors of all target persons.

Based on the shifting standards model, the prediction was that the stay-at-home

mother and the stay-at-home father would receive similar subjective scores of

agency: she is considered average in agentic characteristics for a woman and he is

considered below average in these characteristics for a man. Although men who

deviate from the traditional provider role are viewed as possessing fewer

traditionally male characteristics, there is no indication that they are considered to

lack these qualities altogether. It seems as though women who deviate from the

traditional female role are viewed more negatively, evidenced by the extremely

low communion ratings that employed mothers have received in prior research.

Therefore, unlike the subjective ratings that show the employed mother to be less

nurturing than her male counterpart, the stay-at-home father is not predicted to be

lower in agency than his female counterpart. Despite the equal trait ratings, it was

predicted that the stay-at-home father will be expected to perform more agentic

behaviors than the stay-at-home mother. Recent research findings have indicated

that people continue to consider men more competent and instrumental than women (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Heilman, 1995, Heilman et al., 1995).

Hypothesis 5: A double bind does not exist for men. The employed father is considered highly agentic, both in subjective and objective evaluations. Although the employed father is not highly rated in communion, neither the subjective or objective ratings suggest that he is considered interpersonally deficient. In subjective evaluations, the stay-at-home father is considered highly communal and is objectively expected to carry out communal behaviors (although fewer than his female counterpart). Although the subjective agency evaluations suggest that stay-at-home fathers are considered less agentic than employed fathers, the ratings do not suggest that he is considered deficient in agentic behaviors.

Hypothesis 6: Female participants will hold less traditionally stereotypic views of mothers and fathers. Overall female participants will give higher ratings than male participants.
In much of the research to date, female participants have given higher ratings overall than male counterparts (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Riggs, 1998). In addition, female participants tend to give significantly higher scores to the targets in non-traditional roles than did male participants (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Riggs, 1998).

Research question 1: Is the double bind for women differentially affected if

parental employment is part-time rather than full-time? Although part-time

employment is an option parents choose to maintain work-family balance, there is

little research that examines this employment option. Of the part-time workers in

this country, 67.5% of them are women, which indicates that more women are

choosing this option than men. It was interesting to examine whether this attempt

at family/career balance lessens the negative perceptions that individuals have of

an employed mother's ability to nurture her children.

Research question 2: What are the current expectations and attitudes of college

students regarding their own career/family futures? Do college men and women

aspire to a similar career/family balance?

Given that college students are the population most often surveyed in this

perception research, it was interesting to determine what these college students

expected for their own career/family lives. Since individuals and their potential

future spouses were examined, it was interesting to explore whether young men

and women differed in their career/family expectations. Were young men and

women's aspirations compatible or contradictory?

Research question 3: Are college students' expectations for their own futures

congruent with their perceptions of adults fulfilling the desired roles?

Research examining college students expectations (Burke, 1994; Covin & Brush,

1991; Fiorentine, 1988; Hammersla & Frease-McMahan, 1990; Katz, 1986;

Machung, 1989; Phillips &Imhoff, 1997; Spade & Reese, 1991) and research examining college students' perceptions of adults in various roles (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges et al., 2002; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Riggs, 1997) indicates a conflict between what students expect for themselves and how they perceive others in the very roles they claim to want. Although students claim to desire egalitarian relationships where both partners are employed outside the home and involved in homecare and childcare, they also have negative perceptions of those individuals, particularly women, who break from traditional roles.

Chapter 3: Method

Design

The independent variables in the 3 x 2 x 2 between-subjects factorial design were

employment status (fulltime, part-time & stay-at-home), stimulus parent gender

(i.e. mother or father) and the sex of the study participant. The dependent

variables included subjective ratings of the target parent's communality

(expressiveness) and agency (instrumentality) and objective ratings of the target

parent's communality and agency.

Participants

      To test whether social evolution has influenced perceptions and career

expectations, the participants in this study were individuals who have come of age

in a time of consistently expanding gender roles. In addition, in order to reduce

bias in the participant's perceptions of the target parents in this study, a sample of

individuals not currently engaged in career/family management was recruited.

Additionally, a goal of this research was to study the career and family

expectations of young adults. For these reasons, college-students were the

participants in this study. Therefore, it was assumed that the participants are in the

formative stages of career (and family) planning and have likely considered

possible career paths but have not yet begun to manage the career/family balance.

      Two hundred and fifty-three participants were recruited from university

courses where the instructors either simply encouraged students to participate in

the research project or offered course credit in exchange for participation in a

research project. Psychology 100, a core course known to represent

predominantly first-year university students with a broad range of interests, was a primary source of recruitment. Students from this course historically proceed to major in a variety of academic areas.

In addition to Psychology 100, participants also were recruited from upper-level university courses within and outside the psychology department. Upper level Education courses provided a number of research participants. In addition, a university course that is required for students who are serving as teaching assistants was a significant source for upper level participants in this study. Students in this course represent majors from throughout the university: Biology, Computer Science, Business, Math, Engineering, Music and English –to name just a few. Therefore, given the wide range of majors from this course as well as Psychology 100, the final sample was quite diverse in terms of participants' major fields of study.

The final participant sample was also representative of all four years of college. First-year students exceeded the others, but by a relatively narrow margin. There were 110 upper-class students and 143 first-year and sophmore students.

Married and engaged students and students who are parents were excluded from the study. These students were excluded because their marital or parental status may bias their perceptions. In addition, the goal was to have a participant pool that had not yet made marital or career decisions in order to compare expectations to perceptions.

In order to achieve sufficient power in this study, the researcher recruited 253 participants – 115 men and 139 women. Within this sample of 253 participants, there were 42 or 43 participants (approximately 20 men/women) in each of the separate stimulus conditions (stay-at-home father, part-time employed father, full-time employed father, stay-at-home mother, part time employed mother and full-time employed mother). One stimulus condition had 41 participants.

Measures

Demographic Questionnaire.

A demographic questionnaire developed for this study was used (see Appendix A). Participants were asked to provide information regarding sex, age, ethnicity, year in college and academic major.

Orientation to Occupational-Family Integration (OOFI) scales.

To assess future work and family life expectations of college students, the following instrument was included in this research:

Gilbert Dancer, Rossman, & Thorn (1991) developed the OOFI in order to measure the extent to which one's orientation toward combining roles in career and family with a partner is either traditional or non-traditional (egalitarian). The OOFI traditionally consists of three scales that measure three types of orientations toward combining occupational and family roles: (a) female traditional (OOFI-FTR), (b) male traditional (OOFI-MTR), and (c) male and female non-traditional or role sharing (OOFI-RS). Items on the male and female traditional (OOFI-MTR and OOFI-FTR) scales measure the extent to which participants believe that

women are responsible for taking care of the children and home, even if both spouses are employed, and that men are responsible primarily for providing economically. Items on the OOFI-RS assess participants' level of commitment to the integration of occupational and family roles within their own lives and their marital partners' lives. Participants' endorsement of the items on the OOFI-RS reflects a commitment to engage equally in both occupational and family roles.

The OOFI consists of a total of 31 items. The OOFI-FTR scale consists of 6 items, the OOFI-MTR scale consists of 6 items, and the OOFI-RS scale consists of 5 items. Using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "not at all" to "very much," respondents are asked to indicate how much they have thought about the options described in each item (Thought scale) and how committed they are at the present time to the option described in each item (Commitment scale). Some sample items include: "I see myself working part time and taking primary responsibility for maintaining the household " (OOFI-FTR), and "I see myself and my spouse both employed full time and to a great extent sharing the day to day responsibilities for maintaining the household, like food shopping, cooking, laundry, and routine money management" (OOFI-RS).

This study focused on goal commitment and future intentions alone; therefore, only the Commitment scale was used. Participants completed items only in regard to how much they feel committed at the present time to each item. In addition, the information regarding role-sharing was the focus of this study; therefore, the OOFI-RS scale was the scale of interest for this research. The five-items making up the OOFI-RS used in this research can be found in Appendix B.

Scores were calculated by adding the responses to the OOFI-RS items. Higher scores on the scales reflect greater commitment to a traditional or egalitarian occupational-family orientation.

During the development of the OOFI, Gilbert et al. (1991) tested the reliability and validity of the OOFI using one sample of 81 eleventh-grade girls and another sample of 112 undergraduate students (66 women and 56 men). For the sample of high school girls, the reliability coefficient alphas ranged from .87 to .94 for each of the scales. For the college sample, the reliability coefficient alphas ranged from .77 to .86. In both samples, the intercorrelation between the Thought and Commitment scales ranged from .43 to .65. In addition, correlations between the traditional and role sharing Commitment scales of the OOFI were low to moderate and negative (-.11 to -.30), indicating that respondents do not generally see themselves as committing to both lifestyle choices.

The five-items making up the OOFI-RS used in this research can be found in Appendix B.

The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ).

To assess subjective evaluations of communality (expressivity) and agency (instrumentality), the following instrument was used Spence and Helmreich's (1978) PAQ consists of two main scales that have previously been demonstrated to be gender-stereotyped. One scale (PAQ-I) is composed solely of items representing self-assertive, instrumental traits that traditionally have been judged to be more typical of men than women but to some degree socially desirable for both. The other scale (PAQ-E) is composed of desirable, socially

oriented, expressive traits that traditionally have been judged more typical of women than men. Although the PAQ was originally designed as a self-report measure where participants respond to their own self-perceived possession of a particular trait, in the proposed study, respondents will be asked to rate the target person on the items of the PAQ.

The PAQ-E and the PAQ-I each contain eight bipolar items with a 5-point rating scale. The PAQ also contains eight filler items that are not used in the final scoring. The PAQ utilizes the letters A-E as its rating scale where the letter A represents one extreme of the characteristic and the letter E represents the opposite extreme of the characteristic. For example, some sample items include "Not at all emotional to very emotional" (PAQ-E) and "Not at all independent to very independent" (PAQ-I). The items are scored in the following manner: $A = 0$, $B = 1$, $C = 2$, $D = 3$, $E = 4$. Responses to items within the Instrumental subscale are added together to formulate the score for the Instrumental scale and the same is done within the Expressive scale.

According to Robinson, Shaver & Wrightsman (1991), Cronbach α ranging from .73 to .85 have been reported for both scales of the PAQ using college-age men and women as subjects. Test-retest reliabilities have ranged from .65 to .91. Robinson, Shaver & Wrightsman (1991) have also demonstrated solid construct, concurrent and predictive validity for the PAQ.

A copy of the PAQ can be found in Appendix C.

Communality – behavioral measure (OBJEXP).

The following instruments were created or adapted to measure objective ratings of the target persons. The OBJEXP measure is a modification of the behavioral measure assessing parental behaviors first employed by Kobrynowicz and Biernat (1997). Kobrynowicz and Biernat (1997) used this behavioral measure in their investigation of how individuals perceived and evaluated mothers and fathers. According to Kobrynowicz and Biernat (1997), "estimates of behavior appear to be the most objective way to assess socially relevant stereotypes" (p.583). Kobrynowicz and Biernat asked participants to estimate frequency or duration with which a parent engaged in a variety of behaviors. These researchers were particularly interested in examining behaviors related specifically to parenting. The measure included six categories: general activities (i.e., "How many hours per week does he/she play interactively with her/his kids?"), emotional (i.e., "How often does he/she say I love you to each child?"), physical (i.e., "How often does he/she cook dinner?") and educational needs (i.e., "How many school functions does he/she attend?"); centrality of the children to the parent's life (i.e., "How often does he/she talk about the kids to her/his co-workers?"); and time apart from the children (i.e., "How much "alone time" does he/she have each week?"). Cronbach α ranging from .61-.92 were reported for this behavioral measure: activity behaviors, $\alpha=.84$; emotional needs, $\alpha=.65$; physical needs, $\alpha=.92$; educational needs, $\alpha=.83$; centrality of children to parent's life, $\alpha=.67$; parent's time apart from children, $\alpha=.61$.

Bridges, Etaugh and Barnes-Farrell (2002) adapted the measure used by Kobrynowicz and Biernat (1997) in their examination of perceptions of parents. Bridges, Etaugh & Barnes-Farrell (2002) used three categories and 11 items that they believed were most directly relevant to parenting a young child and to the assessment of communal behaviors and good parenting. Some of the items were included in Kobrynowicz and Biernat's measure others were created for their study. In each question, participants estimated either how many hours per week or how many times per week the parent engaged in a particular behavior. The three categories used were: physical caregiving with four items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$); emotional caregiving with three items ($\alpha=.87$); and stimulation with three items ($\alpha=.72$).

In this study, a combination of the two measures was employed. The majority of items included in the Kobrynowicz & Biernat (1997) measure were included as well as the additions from Bridges, Etaugh and Farrell's measure (2002). Finally, new items were included that were expected to measure general communal and expressive behaviors, outside strictly *parenting* behaviors.

The final OBJEXP measure included sixteen items. Respondents were presented with a particular expressive behavior and were asked how many times they would expect that behavior from the target person. Each item was on a scale of 1-14. This scale was chosen because many items could easily be considered in the time frame of a week (or two weeks). Responses to the items were averaged to formulate the mean OBJEXP score for each participant. Higher scores indicate a

respondent's expectation of a high number of expressive behaviors from the target person.

Agency – behavioral measure (OBJINS).

A behavioral measure of agency was created for this study. Categories were created based on the primary traits included in the instrumentality cluster of the PAQ. These categories include aggression, independence, confidence, decision-making, action, and competence. At least three items were generated within each category. The researcher, guided by existing instruments, created the items. A number of items and concepts from the Behavioral Sex Role Inventory (Robinson & Follingstad, 1985) and the Masculine Role Inventory (Snell, 1986) were adapted to fit the needs of the current project.

The final OBJINS measure included seventeen items. Respondents were presented with a particular instrumental behavior and were asked how many times they would expect that behavior from the target person. Each item was on a scale of 1-14. This scale was chosen because many items could easily be considered in the time frame of a week (or two weeks). Responses to the items were averaged to formulate the mean OBJINS score for each participant. Higher scores indicate a respondent's expectation of a high number of instrumental behaviors from the target person.

A pilot study was conducted to strengthen the objective measures. Forty undergraduate students from two separate sections of an upper-level Education course read the research stimulus, and then responded to the items comprising the

objective measures. Participants were asked to share their impressions of each item. This qualitative information helped reduce the number of questions and strengthen the understanding of others.

After the data were gathered, item analyses were conducted on the final objective measures. Poorly correlated items were discarded. Final instruments are presented in Appendices D & E.

Procedure

Groups of participants were asked to meet an experimenter at a specific time in a designated room on campus. The minimum number of participants in a particular group was 20 and the maximum was 25. Multiple meeting times were arranged to accommodate the schedules of participants and experimenters. In addition, a few instructors allowed the experimenter to administer the study questionnaires during class time. Participants were told that the study dealt with impressions people form of an individual when provided with written information about that individual.

When participants arrived at the testing location, they were immediately given the research materials. The packet of materials included the informed consent, a demographic questionnaire, the stimulus for their assigned condition and the post-stimulus measures.

Six stimulus paragraphs were created for this study. Each participant received the identical packet of materials with the exception of the stimulus. The stimulus consisted of a short paragraph describing a mother or a father and her or his employment status. Although there was a total of six stimulus paragraphs in

the overall experiment, each participant was presented with only one of the six stimulus paragraphs. The six stimuli were: (1) mother who stays home with children, (2) mother who is employed part-time, (3) mother who is employed full-time, (4) father who stays home with children, (5) father who is employed part-time, and (6) father who is employed full-time.

In order to hold details constant, the six stimuli were created in three pairs. Within each pair, the two paragraphs contained identical information except one paragraph had a mother as the subject and the other paragraph in the pair had a father as the subject. The three pairs differed from each other in employment status (stay-at-home, part-time, full-time), but the nature of the parent's career itself (or past career for the stay-at-home parents) and all other superfluous information was the same.

The past or current career of all the stimulus parents was determined through a pre-test done to evaluate gender neutrality of certain professions. According to recent data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2002), the following eight well-known professions have a balanced sex composition (48-53.2% women): financial manager (52.1% women); economist (52.3% women); property manager (48.8% women); real estate sales (52.2%), computer operator (53.2%); Pharmacist (48.1%); Editor (51.6%); reporter (51.6%). A pre-test test was conducted to identify two professions that people perceive to be gender-neutral. Participants rated the eight professions mentioned above on a scale measuring the perceived proportion of women and men in the profession, from mainly females (1) to mainly males (5). Two occupations were chosen to control

for an occupation effect. Based on the results of the pre-test, the occupations of Editor and Pharmacist were chosen for the study.

The target person was either called Lisa or Gary because these names are perceived as comparable in attractiveness and competence (Kasof, 1993). The stimulus paragraph used in this research was modeled after the paragraphs from previous perception research (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges et al., 2002; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Riggs, 1997, 1998). Previous research indicates that the reason for the target person's employment can influence trait perceptions of her or him (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Riggs, 1997). Specifically, perceptions may change based on whether the employed parent works for personal fulfillment or financial need. In addition, previous investigations have shown that if no motive is given, perceivers will make assumptions about employment motives (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995). In an attempt to control for motive biases and participant's assumptions, the current study provided the information that the employed parent works for both financial benefit and personal fulfillment.

The following is the stimulus paragraph that was provided describing the employed parents:

Lisa [Gary] is a 33 - year old married woman [man] with a two-year-old child. Lisa [Gary] currently works full-time as an Editor [Pharmacist]. She [He] began working as a Editor [Pharmacist] in her [his] twenties, after she [he] graduated from college. After her [his] child was born, Lisa [Gary] took her [his] allotted parental leave and then resumed working full-time. Lisa [Gary] and her [his] family depend on her [his] income; however, she [he] also finds the work to be personally fulfilling. Lisa's [Gary's] husband [wife] also works outside the home. Lisa [Gary] and her [his] spouse typically work from 9am-5pm, Monday through Friday. Occasionally, one or the other parent has to work late, but one of them is always home by 6 pm. Both parents are happy with their childcare arrangement.

The following is the stimulus paragraph that was provided describing the stay-at-home parents.

Lisa [Gary] is a 33 - year old married woman [man] with a two-year-old child. Lisa [Gary] worked full-time as an Editor [Pharmacist] before her [his] child was born. She [He] began working as an Editor [Pharmacist] in her [his] twenties, after she [he] graduated from college. Although Lisa [Gary] and her [his] family benefited from her [his] income and she [he] found the work to be personally fulfilling, Lisa [Gary] stopped working after her [his] child's birth and plans to stay home until her [his] child enters the first grade. Lisa's [Gary's] husband [wife] works outside the home from 9am-5pm, Monday through Friday.

Finally, the following paragraph was provided describing the parents employed part-time.

Lisa [Gary] is a 33 - year old married woman [man] with a two-year-old child. Lisa [Gary] currently works part-time as an Editor[Pharmacist]. She [He] began working as an Editor [Pharmacist] in her [his] twenties, after she [he] graduated from college. After her [his] child was born, Lisa [Gary] took her [his] allotted parental leave and then resumed working on a part-time basis. Lisa [Gary] and her [his] family benefit from this additional income; however, she [he] also finds the work to be personally fulfilling. Lisa [Gary] typically works 20 hours per week. Lisa's [Gary's] husband [wife] works outside the home full-time from 9am-5pm, Monday through Friday. Both parents are happy with their childcare arrangement.

Prior to each scheduled testing, the experimenter divided the research materials into two piles: one for female participants and one for male participants. Both piles were ordered so that the six different stimulus vignettes were on a patterned rotation. In other words when a male [female] participant arrived, he [she] received the questionnaire that was atop the male [female] participant pile. The next male [female] participant received the next questionnaire on the pile and it contained a different one of the six stimulus paragraphs than the male [female] participant that had arrived before him [her]. This continued so on and so forth until the six stimuli were distributed and then the order started over at the

beginning. Therefore, the participants were randomly assigned to stimulus condition and research materials were equally distributed between male and female participants.

After reading and signing an informed consent form (see Appendix F), respondents were asked to begin completing the research materials. After reading the descriptions of one of the six target persons, participants were asked questions regarding their perceptions of the target person. They were asked for their perceptions regarding the target's communal and instrumental traits as well as communal and instrumental behaviors. In addition, participants completed a measure that assessed their own career and family expectations.

The questions measuring trait perceptions of communality and agency came from the PAQ (Spence & Helmrich, 1978). The PAQ is typically a self-report measure. In the present study, the participants were asked to answer the items with the target person in mind rather than themselves. Therefore, in the directions preceding the PAQ, the participant is typically asked how well does the item describe "you," but in the present study the "you" was replaced with the target's name [Lisa or Gary].

The questions measuring objective ratings of communality and agency came from instruments designed for this project and previous research (Bridges et al., 2002; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997). The directions to the participants that preceded these measures were:

> Please continue to consider the paragraph you read about Lisa [Gary] and answer the following questions based on how you believe Lisa [Gary] would behave.

This task may be challenging given the brief information you have been
provided; however, please respond with an answer that seems *most
appropriate* to you.
All questions are to be answered on a scale of 1-14.

The questions regarding the participant's career and family role

expectations came from the OOFI (Gilbert, Dancer, Rossman & Thorn, 1991).

Directions and measure can be found in Appendix B.

To reduce priming effects, the measures were presented in a specific

order: PAQ, objective measures of communality and agency, the OOFI, and then

the demographics questionnaire. Participants, on average, spent 30-40 minutes

individually completing the experimental materials. After completing the

materials, participants were given a debriefing statement that explained the goals

of the research (see Appendix G).

Chapter 4: Results

The results of the present study are reported here in the following manner: Reliability data on new and adapted measures are presented first. A reporting of data analyses and results arranged by research hypotheses follows the discussion of the new instruments. Finally, the concluding section contains data analyses and results used to examine the study's exploratory research questions.

Reliability Analyses

Reliability data were collected for the measures that were created and/or adapted for this study (i.e., the objective measures for expressivity, OBJEXP, and instrumentality, OBJINS). For OBJEXP, item analysis indicated that one item was negatively correlated with the other items in the measure and another had a correlation under .20. Therefore, those items were dropped from the final measure used for analysis. The reliability measurement for this final version of OBJEXP produced a Cronbach's Alpha of .86. Likewise, item analysis of OBJINS indicated five items with correlations under .20. Therefore, these five items were dropped from the final measure. The Cronbach's Alpha for the final measure was .83. A low correlation was expected between OJBEXP and OBJINS, and indeed a low correlation was found: $R(251) = .19$, $p<.01$.

However, cursory analysis of the OBJINS indicated an extremely limited range of response. The mean ratings on this instrument for all six target persons ranged from 5.96 to 7.43 (possible range of 1-14). This limited range made finding significant results exceedingly unlikely, and, in fact, this measure produced no significant results in the analyses. The limited range suggested that

this measure did not adequately tap into the desired construct, objective

instrumentality (or instrumental behaviors). Therefore, OBJINS proved to be a

less than effective instrument in this study and was left out of subsequent

analyses.

Research Hypotheses

Hypotheses 1-4

To test hypotheses 1-4, the data were analyzed using a 2 x 3 analysis of

variance (ANOVA) procedure. Target (male v. female) and role (full-time, part-

time and stay-at-home) were the variables of interest, and separate analyses were

conducted for each dependent measure: PAQ-I (subjective or trait

instrumentality), PAQ-E (subjective or trait communality), and the objective

measure for expressive behaviors (OBJEXP). Typically in analyses utilizing

ANOVA, hypotheses of interest are examined through main effects and

interactions. However, the present study was theory-driven: the social-role double

bind theory lead to specific comparisons of interest which were outlined in the

research hypotheses. These a priori comparisons made examining a series of

specific planned cell mean comparisons possible. In other words, because the

research was driven by a theory, only particular comparisons were of interest. The

analyses using planned comparisons allowed for the examination of only these

predetermined comparisons which meant eliminating the loss of power typically

associated with post hoc tests.

When the stimulus paragraphs were created, two jobs were alternated as

the target's occupation in order to control for occupation (job) effects. Therefore,

half of the participants received stimulus paragraphs where the target person's job was (or was previously) Editor, and the others received paragraphs where the job was Pharmacist. The researcher believed that there would be no effects relevant to the study's predictions that were job (Editor/Pharmacist) specific because a pilot test revealed that university students perceived these two jobs to be equivalent in terms of men and women in the field. However, after the initial analyses were conducted, additional analyses revealed statistically significant two- and three-way interactions involving the job variable. The presence of significant interaction terms indicated that results *did* vary based on job. Therefore, the researcher decided to examine mean differences on the outcome measures separately for Editor and Pharmacist.

In an attempt to maintain power when separating the data by job, the Target x Role x Job x Participant Sex design was used to estimate the appropriate error term for the model; however the main effects and interactions were not interpreted. Instead, the overall model error term was used in the denominator in the planned comparisons that related directly to the hypotheses and research questions. Separate contrasts then were conducted for the Pharmacist and Editor levels of the job variable. Using the error term from the overall Target x Role x Job x Participant Sex design to conduct the planned comparisons saved considerable power over splitting the data and simply running separate analyses for the two levels of job. The error term from the full design produces a better and more appropriate estimate of error than would be obtained by splitting the data.

Thus, the results of Hypotheses 1-4 follow, with results of the planned comparison aggregated across job (both jobs were included) as well as the results split by job (Editor and Pharmacist). Table 1 summarizes means and standard deviations of each condition.

Table 1 Summary of Means and Standard Deviations

Target (Gary or Lisa)	Social Role	Target's Occupation	PAQI		PAQE		OBJEXP	
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Female	Stay-at-home	Editor	20.43	4.97	22.86	2.73	9.40	1.30
		Pharmacist	19.81	5.53	24.81	4.57	9.64	1.54
	Part-time	Editor	20.40	3.00	21.00	5.10	8.41	1.68
		Pharmacist	21.09	3.12	22.82	3.53	8.68	1.42
	Full-time	Editor	22.86	2.89	18.24	4.10	6.78	1.28
		Pharmacist	22.05	5.00	21.95	4.61	7.51	1.91
Male	Stay-at-home	Editor	18.14	3.26	24.62	3.94	9.44	1.59
		Pharmacist	18.70	4.00	24.50	5.08	8.62	2.00
	Part-time	Editor	17.68	4.11	25.23	3.79	7.97	2.19
		Pharmacist	17.90	4.15	25.90	4.75	7.07	1.96
	Full-time	Editor	20.52	3.83	23.55	3.72	6.26	1.61
		Pharmacist	20.73	4.32	22.05	4.69	5.77	1.91

Hypothesis 1 predicted that on subjective evaluations, the full-time employed mother would receive higher scores on instrumentality than the full-time employed father and the stay-at-home parents. However, on objective evaluations, significantly less instrumentalbehaviors were expected of the employed mother than the employed father.

In support of Hypothesis 1, participants rated the mother employed full-time higher in instrumental traits than the father employed full-time (M=22.44 vs. 20.63), $F(1,229) = 4.25$, $p < .05$. However, for the **Editor** stimulus, the difference between the mother employed full-time and father employed full-time was not statistically significant (although it was close to significance), with the mother

receiving higher ratings of subjective instrumentality; M=22.86 vs. 20.52),

F(1,229)=3.02, p=.09. Although the direction of the mean ratings between the

Pharmacist mother employed full-time and the father employed full-time

followed the same pattern (i.e., the mother employed full-time received a higher

mean score on instrumentality), statistical tests revealed that the difference was

not statistically significant, F(1,229)=1.37, p=.24. These results indicate that

Hypothesis 1 was only partially supported: when the data were analyzed across

job, the mother employed full-time was perceived to be far more instrumental

than her male counterpart. However, when split by job, no significant differences

surfaced between the mother employed full-time and father employed full-time.

In addition, the mother employed full-time rated significantly higher on

subjective instrumental traits than either stay-at-home parent, F(1,229) =4.29, p <

.01, regardless of job (p<.01 for both Editor and Pharmacist), indicating that the

mother employed full-time was perceived as significantly more instrumental than

either stay-at-home parent.

The second part of Hypothesis 1 involved the objective instrumental

measure (OBJINS) that failed to produce significant results in this study.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that, on subjective evaluations, employed mothers

would receive significantly lower scores of communality than her male

counterpart and stay-at-home parents. In fact, the employed mother was expected

to receive a significantly lower communality trait rating than all of the other target

persons. However, on objective evaluations, the employed mother was expected

to perform significantly more communal behaviors than the employed father.

In support of Hypothesis 2, participants rated the mother employed full-time significantly lower on subjective expressive traits than the father employed full-time (M=20.14 vs. 22.76), $F(1,229)=4.6$, $p<.05$. However, results again varied when split by job. The **Editor** mother employed full-time was rated significantly lower on subjective expressive traits than the Editor father employed full-time, $F(1,229)=9.01$, $p<.01$. However, the means were nearly identical for the full-time **Pharmacist** parents, so there were clearly no significant differences between the two target parents in this case. These results suggest that Hypothesis 2 is also partially supported. When analyzed across job and with the Editor stimulus, the mother employed full-time was considered far less expressive or communal than her male counterpart. However, the Pharmacist mother employed full-time was not viewed differently than her male counterpart on expressiveness.

The mother employed full-time was rated significantly lower on expressive traits than either of the stay at home parents regardless of job [across job: $F(1,229)=22.62$, $p<.01$, Editor: $F(1,229)=21.11$, $p<.01$ and Pharmacist: $F(1,229)=4.49$, $p<.05$]. The mother employed full-time was perceived as far less nurturing or expressive than either of the stay-at-home parents. In fact, the mother employed full-time who was an **Editor** was rated lower in expressive traits than all the other targets suggesting that participants viewed her to be significantly less expressive than all the other target parents in this study. These findings are summarized in Table 2. More detailed reporting on the part-time role is found later in this section.

Table 2

Ratings of Expressive Traits for Editor Stimulus

Target Persons' Gender	Target Person's Role		
	Stay-at-home	Part-time	Full-time
Mother	22.86	21.00[*]	**18.24**
Father	24.62	25.23	23.55

On the objective evaluation of expressive (communal) behaviors, Hypothesis 2 was supported by results of data combined across the job variable (i.e., analyses that included both jobs): The mother employed full-time was expected to perform more communal behaviors than her male counterpart, $F(1,229)=8.88$, $p<.01$. However, no difference was found between the full-time parents when only the **Editor** stimulus was analyzed. In fact, the means were nearly identical. On the other hand, significant differences were found between the **Pharmacist** full-time parents. The full-time employed mother Pharmacist was expected to perform more communal behaviors than her male counterpart, $F(1,229)=10.45$, $p<.01$. These results indicate that across job and for the Pharmacist stimulus, mothers employed full-time were expected to carry out far more of the day-to-day nurturing behaviors involved in parenting than male counterparts. Full-time employed mothers and fathers who were Editors, on the other hand, were expected to perform equivalent number of expressive behaviors.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that on subjective evaluations, stay-at-home mothers and stay-at-home fathers would receive similar scores of communality. However, on objective measures, the stay-at-home mother was expected to perform more communal behaviors than the stay-at-home father.

As predicted, no significant differences were found between the stay-at-home parents on subjective evaluations of communality regardless of whether the data were combined across job or split by Editor/Pharmacist. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 was supported in that the stay-at-home parents were viewed alike in terms of expressive, communal traits.

The results of the objective measure of expressivity were slightly more complicated. No significant differences were found when the data were combined across job and no significant differences were found when examining the **Editor** data alone. However, significant differences were found when analyzing the data produced by the **Pharmacist** stimulus: in support of Hypothesis 3, the stay-at-home mother (former Pharmacist) was expected to perform significantly more communal behaviors than the stay-at-home father (former Pharmacist), $F(1,229)=4.10$, $p<.05$. The prediction was that although stay-at-home parents are viewed similarly in subjective trait evaluations, the stay-at-home mother still would be considered responsible for nurturing behaviors. However, this prediction was supported only in regard to the Pharmacist stimulus. The stay-at-home mother, whose former occupation was that of Pharmacist, was expected to carry out more communal duties than her male counterpart.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that on subjective evaluations, the stay-at-home mother and stay-at-home father would receive comparable scores of agency. However, on the objective evaluation of agency, the stay-at-home father was expected to perform more agentic behaviors than the stay-at-home mother. The

stay-at-home mother was expected to perform the fewest agentic behaviors of all target persons.

Hypothesis 4 was not supported when data were analyzed across job (with both jobs included). In other words, significant differences *were* found between the stay-at-home parents with regard to subjective evaluations of agency (or instrumentality). The stay-at-home mother was actually seen to possess more instrumental traits than her male counterpart, $F(1\ 229)=4.29$, $p<.05$. The stay-at-home mother, who was a former **Editor**, was rated higher in instrumental traits than her male counterpart; however, these results were not significant, $F(1, 229)=3.40$, $p<.06$. No difference was found in instrumental traits between the stay-at-home parents who were former **Pharmacists.** Therefore, there is evidence in support of Hypothesis 4: when the data were examined split by job, stay-at-home mothers and fathers seemed to be considered alike in instrumental characteristics. However, when both jobs were included, stay-at-home mothers and fathers were not viewed similarly; stay-at-home mothers were viewed as more instrumental than male counterparts.

Because the objective measure of agency was not an effective measure, no results are reported here. The instrument did not yield any significant results.

Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 predicted that a double bind does not exist for men: The employed father is considered highly instrumental, both in subjective and objective evaluations. Although the employed father is not highly rated in communion, neither the subjective or objective ratings suggest that he is

considered interpersonally deficient. In subjective evaluations, the stay-at-home father is considered highly communal and is objectively expected to carry out communal behaviors (although fewer than his female counterpart). Although the subjective agency evaluations suggest that stay-at-home fathers are considered less agentic than employed fathers, the ratings do not suggest that he is considered deficient in agentic behaviors.

To evaluate this hypothesis, mean ratings were examined. First, the overall mean ratings for subjective and expressive traits (across gender and role) were calculated as was the overall mean ratings for expressive behaviors. Again, the objective measure of instrumental behaviors was omitted. The overall mean for expressive traits was 23.12. For the instrumental traits the mean was 20.04. Finally, the mean for the objective expressive measure was 7.95.

The mean ratings of the fathers in the various roles were examined in comparison to the overall means reported above (see Table 3 for results of ratings of fathers).

Table 3: Mean ratings for fathers in full-time and stay-at-home roles

Father's Role	Instruments		
	Expressive Traits	Instrumental Traits	Expressive Behaviors
Full-time	22.76	20.63	6.01
Stay-at-home	24.56	18.41	9.04

Based on these means, there is no indication that fathers experience a social role double bind, which would be described as being viewed negatively or deficient in some way regardless of role (full-time or stay-at-home). Fathers employed full-time seemed to be viewed most neutrally, falling within the mean

range on both expressive and instrumental trait ratings. However, the number of

expressive behaviors that were expected of the father employed full-time was

below the mean. On the other hand, stay-at-home fathers were rated above the

mean in expressive traits and below the mean on instrumental traits. In addition,

they were expected to carry out far more expressive behaviors than the father

employed full-time; this rating exceeded the mean. Where the father employed

full-time seemed to be perceived neutrally, the stay-at-home father was perceived

to be higher than average in stereotypically feminine characteristics and lower

than average in stereotypically male characteristics.

Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis 6 predicted that female participants would hold less

traditionally stereotypic views of mothers and fathers.

Again, the data were analyzed using 2 x 3 x 2 analysis of variance

(ANOVA). Target (male v. female), role (full-time, part-time and stay-at-home)

and participant gender (male v. female) were the variables of interest. Since the

prediction was made that female participants would hold less traditional views,

the targets occupying the non-traditional roles (i.e., full-time employed mother

and stay-at-home father) were examined as a way of determining whether female

participants did indeed have less traditional views than male participants. Further,

for each of these targets in non-traditional roles, only the instrument measuring

the non-traditional *trait* for that target's gender (i.e., instrumentality for male

targets and expressivity for female targets) was examined. Therefore, the

following analyses were conducted: On the measure of instrumental traits, the

differences between male and female participants' perceptions of the mother employed full-time were examined. On the measure of expressive traits, the participants' perceptions of the stay-at-home father were examined.

Only one finding supported Hypothesis 6. Female participants gave higher ratings of expressive traits to the stay-at-home father than did male participants, $F(1,229)=4.00$, $p<.05$. This finding suggests that the female participants did hold less traditional views of a father in this one case, and therefore, gave this stay at-home father higher scores of communality than did the male participants.

Exploratory Research Questions:

Research question 1 asked the following, "Is the double bind for women differentially affected if parental employment is part-time rather than full-time?" The part-time role option was examined in this study through multiple planned comparisons. The analyses were conducting using a 2 x 3 ANOVA. Separate analyses were conducted for each dependent measure. In order to best understand perceptions of the part-time targets in relation to the other targets, planned comparisons were examined for numerous part-time target v. other [part-time, stay-at-home, full-time] target combinations.

The results indicate that perceptions were indeed affected based on whether employment is part-time rather than full-time. The primary findings indicated that mothers who worked part-time were viewed significantly more instrumental and less expressive than male counterparts. In addition, the mother employed part-time was expected to perform more routine nurturing behaviors than her male counterpart (see Table 4). Therefore, although the mother employed

part-time was considered less expressive than the father employed part-time, she was viewed as responsible for carrying out the majority of domestic, communal behaviors.

Table 4
Comparison between Part-time Employed Mother and Part-time Employed Father on measures of Subjective Instrumentality and Expressiveness and on Objective Measure of Expressive Behaviors

Target Person	Subjective Instrumental Traits		Subjective Expressive Traits		Objective Expressive Behaviors	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Part-time Employed Mother	20.76		21.95		8.55	
		11.14^{**}		15.17^{**}		7.7^{**}
Part-time Employed Father	17.79		25.55		7.54	

** p<.01

Another similar finding indicates that although the stay-at-home mother and part-time employed father were considered equal in expressive traits, the stay-at-home mother was expected to perform significantly more expressive behaviors, $F(1, 229) = 29.73$, p<.01. Although the father employed part-time was subjectively considered highly expressive, participants still expected mothers, both who stay-at-home and those who work part-time, to perform more of the nurturing behaviors.

One final result suggests that fathers who work part-time are viewed as significantly less instrumental than all the other targets with the exception of the stay-at-home father, with whom he is considered equivalent in level of instrumentality (see Table 5). These results indicate that the father employed part-time is viewed similarly to that of the stay-at-home father. The father employed

part-time is perceived to be significantly less agentic than most other parents, with

the exception of a stay-at-home father.

Table 5
Summary of Subjective Instrumental Trait Comparisons between Part-time
Employed Father and All Other Targets

Target Person's Gender and Role	Instrumental Traits	
	M	F
Part-time Employed Father	**17.79**	7.09[**]
Stay-at-home Mother	20.12	
Part-time Employed Father	**17.79**	11.14[**]
Part-time Employed Mother	20.76	
Part-time Employed Father	**17.79**	27.90[**]
Full-time Employed Mother	22.44	
Part-time Employed Father	**17.79**	+++
Stay-at-home Father	18.41	
Part-time Employed Father	**17.79**	10.39[**]
Full-time Employed Father	20.63	

+++ Indicates non significant results
[**] $p < .01$

For many of the comparisons with the part-time targets reported here, the

findings (significant v. non-significant) were the same whether the data were

analyzed with both jobs included or split by job. There were exceptions: For the

comparison of instrumental traits between the stay-at-home mother and the part-

time employed father, significant differences were *not* found for the **Pharmacist**

stimulus (across job and for the Editor stimulus, the stay-at-home mother was

viewed as possessing more instrumental traits than the part-time employed

father). Therefore, this indicates that the Pharmacist stay-at-home mother was not

viewed as more instrumental than the father employed part-time. Across job and

for the Editor stimulus, the stay-at-home mother was perceived to be significantly

more agentic than the part-time employed father.

In addition, in the comparison of expressive *behaviors* between the mother employed part-time and father employed part-time, no significant differences were found for the **Editor** stimulus (Across job and for the Pharmacist stimulus, the mother employed part-time was expected to perform more expressive behaviors than her male counterpart).

Research question 2 asked, "What are the current expectations and attitudes of college students regarding their own career/family futures? Do college men and women aspire to a similar career/family balance?"

Descriptive statistics of the OOFI-Role Sharing measure (OOFI-RS) were examined to determine the current attitudes of students regarding combining career and family in their futures. The OOFI-RS item by item responses were combined to form a total score for each participant. The minimum possible response total for the OOFI-RS is 5 and the maximum is 25. The results of this study produced a minimum response of 6 and a maximum response of 24. The mean across participants was 17.65 with a standard deviation of 3.69. This relatively high mean indicates a preference for role sharing among the participants in this study.

A significant difference was found between male and female participants on the OOFI-RS, $t(251)=2.44$, $p<.05$. The scores on the OOFI-RS were higher for female participants than male participants. This indicates that female participants have an even stronger preference for role-sharing in their futures than do male participants.

Research question 3 asked, "Are college students' expectations for their own futures congruent with their perceptions of adults fulfilling the desired roles?

To examine this question, the following statement was analyzed, "What is the relationship between female [male] participants' career/role expectations (based on the OOFI-RS) and the ratings (based on the dependent measures PAQ-I, PAQ-E & OBJEXP) of female [male] targets (stay-at-home, part-time & full-time employed mothers [fathers])?"

This statement was analyzed using 2 x 3 x 2 ANOVA. Target (male v. female), role (full-time, part-time and stay-at-home) and participant gender (male v. female) were the variables of interest, and separate analyses were conducted for the dependent measures: PAQ-I, PAQ-E and OBJEXP. In order to respond to the research question, main effects and interactions were examined.

Two significant results emerged. First, when analyzing the PAQ-E data (of the female targets) for the female participants, there was a significant main effect for role sharing (OOFI-RS), $F(1,63)=10.53$, $p<.01$. The direction of the relationship (B=.48) indicates that the higher female participants scored on the OOFI-RS, the higher they rated the female targets on expressive traits, PAQ-E, (regardless of target *role*). As female participants' expectations of role-sharing increased, so did their expressive trait ratings of female targets. The other significant result emerged when analyzing the OBJEXP data of male participants. In this case there was a significant interaction between the target father's role (stay-at-home, part-time, full-time) and the male participants' role-sharing expectations (OOFI-RS), $F(2,50) = 3.94$, $p<.05$. In examining the partial

regression coefficients from the model including the interaction term, the following observation can be made: Male participants who scored low on role sharing held a significantly more traditional view of male targets' expressive behaviors (OBJEXP) than did male participants who scored higher on the OOFI. Male participants who scored low on role sharing expected far fewer nurturing behaviors (measured by OBJEXP) from the full-time employed father and more of the part-time employed and stay-at-home father than did male participants who scored higher role-sharing. Male participants who scored higher on the OOFI-RS rated all the male targets similarly on OBJEXP. In other words, male participants holding traditional beliefs rated the male targets more traditionally on objective expressive behaviors. These traditional men expected less nurturing behaviors from the father employed full-time than the other male targets. Men who endorsed an egalitarian, role-sharing orientation expected a more equivalent number of expressive behaviors from all the male targets.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This study explored the differences in perceptions of mothers and fathers occupying the same social role. The primary goal of this research was to utilize these comparisons to examine whether a social role double bind exists for women or men in American society. Many of the comparisons illuminated clearly that women continue to face challenges regardless of their social roles. Overall, results suggest that sex stereotyping persists, and thatwomen and non -traditional men suffer the consequences.

The stereotypic male and female traits of instrumentality (or agency) and expressiveness (or communality) respectively were examined in this study. Both subjective and objective evaluations of targets were sought to obtain the clearest picture of potential sex stereotyping. The research of Biernat and her colleagues (e.g., Biernat, 1995; Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Biernat & Manis, 1994) suggests that subjective ratings are made comparing the target to other members of the target's group. Biernat and her colleagues have found that the use of objective measures that examine particular *behaviors* eliminates that within group comparison (i.e., women are not rated *for a woman*). Unfortunately, the instrument created for this study to measure objective instrumentality did not effectively capture the construct of interest. Therefore, it was not used in the analyses. The exclusion of this measure in the present study was a disappointment and leaves many unanswered questions regarding sex stereotyping and the social role double bind.

Another complication in the present study was the fact that perceptions of the targets varied not only based on social role but also varied depending on the target's job (Editor or Pharmacist). The two jobs were chosen after pilot testing because they were judged to be gender-neutral. However, what was unexpected was that the two jobs themselves would provoke different perceptions of instrumentality and expressivity, regardless of who occupied them. In this case, one clear finding was that the Pharmacist was considered more expressive than the Editor. Perhaps this difference can be accounted by two factors. First, the job of Pharmacist may be considered linked to a helping and/or health profession, i.e., individuals who fulfill these positions may be perceived as naturally nurturing and may be seen as care-takers. Another potential reason for the Pharmacist/Editor difference is that college students may understand the job of the Pharmacist to be one of counting pills and selling medication over-the-counter at a drug or grocery store. This somewhat truncated understanding of a Pharmacist's job responsibilities may lead an individual to perceive a Pharmacist similarly to a cashier or other similar job.

Another finding regarding the job variable was that, in general, far greater trait differences were found within the Editor stimulus than the Pharmacist stimulus. In other words, female Editors and male Editors (regardless of specific role) were viewed more differently than female Pharmacists and male Pharmacists. Specifically, female Editors received greater instrumentality scores on average than male counterparts; however, less of a difference was found between the Pharmacist targets. Again, for expressive traits, on average, the male

Editor received far higher scores of nurturance than the female Editor. Interestingly, when a woman is an Editor, she is potentially perceived to be overly instrumental and lacking in nurturance. Perhaps individuals view an Editor as a person of authority, one who manages others and who makes final decisions. In addition, journalism evokes the idea of deadlines in many people's minds, which may lead some to believe that it is a rigorous and/or stressful position. Therefore, individuals may believe that in order for a woman to fulfill this role, she must be highly instrumental. As we have learned from past research (Heilman, 1995, 2001; Heilman, Block & Martell, 1995) when women are in managerial positions, they typically are viewed as very agentic but interpersonally deficient. Men in that same position do not suffer the negative criticism. The results of the data from the job stimulus in this study support these findings in that women Editors (potentially seen as managerial) are viewed as high in instrumental trait characteristics and low in expressive or nurturing trait characteristics.

The only instance in which there was not a greater difference among Editor targets than the Pharmacist targets was for objective behaviors. In fact, the male and female Editors were expected to carry out basically equal numbers of nurturing behaviors; however, the female Pharmacist was expected to carry out far *more* nurturing behaviors than her male counterpart. One potential explanation for these results is that, where the woman Editor is seen to possess above average instrumental qualities and below average expressive qualities, the woman Pharmacist is viewed more neutrally or more typically. Therefore, the stereotypic split in roles (or behaviors) is found more in the Pharmacist stimulus because, in

this case, Pharmacists are more like the average woman and man. If this is the case, these results seem to indicate that when women occupy an occupation perceived to be instrumentally or expressively neutral, they continue to be expected to carry out more domestic functions than male counterparts.

The lack of a valid objective instrumental measure and the complicated job differences in this study made analyzing the individual research hypotheses quite challenging. However, a discussion of the hypotheses follows. The findings of this study indicate partial support for the hypothesis that, on subjective evaluations, mothers who work full-time would be perceived as more instrumental than male counterparts. This hypothesis was based on the null and counterstereotypic findings of past research (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Riggs, 1997, 1998) and on the theories presented by Biernat and her colleagues (e.g., Biernat, 1995; Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Biernat & Manis, 1994). Because mothers are not "expected" to work, the employed mother often is considered highly instrumental *for a mother.*The hypothesis was supported only partially because analyses produced significant differences only when the analyses combined both job stimuli together. In other words, no significant differences were found when the comparisons were done separately for the Editor stimulus and for the Pharmacist stimulus. However, not surprising given what was discovered about the Editor stimulus (see above), the difference between the full-time Editor mother and the full-time Editor father was nearly significant, where the mother was viewed more instrumental. The mean ratings of the mother employed full-

time, both theEditor and Pharmacist, were higher than those regarding her male counterpart (and all other targets).

However, given that significant differences were found aggregated across job, it is plausible that the mother employed full-time received these higher ratings because she was considered highly instrumental *for a woman* or overly instrumental and still was **not** expected to perform at the same level as her male counterpart. However, because we do not have the behavioral measure with which to help explicate these findings, the picture is incomplete.

An optimistic outlook on these results may suggest that, overall, women are considered more instrumental than ever before. Because these results do not indicate significant inflation of instrumental traits for the mother working full-time, it may mean that perceivers no longer implicitly utilize the *for a woman* comparison. In other words, women potentially are expected now to be instrumental; therefore, the subjective evaluation more closely mirrors that of a working father. This potential change in societal standards for women may be attributed to the fact that more women are currently in the workforce than ever before. Another account for why views have changed may be that double-income families are more essential than ever before – women *have* to work. For these reasons and others, it is possible that our society has become more accustomed to a woman working, and therefore, the idea of a woman being sufficiently instrumental is not far fetched.

Perceptions of the employed mother's expressive traits were a bit less ambiguous. As was predicted, findings showed that the mother employed full-

time was viewed significantly less nurturing than the father employed full-time and the stay-at-home parents. When a woman deviates from the role expected of her, she is thought to possess less of the traditional female qualities of nurturance and expressivity. In fact, she often is considered deficient in these qualities (Bridges et al., 2002; Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997; Riggs, 1997). In this study, the target mother who was a full-time Editor received significantly lower ratings of expressive traits than all the other targets. This finding supports the notion that the perception of a woman Editor is that she must be very tough and ambitious in order to achieve and succeed in the position, and consequently, must be cold and unfeeling. These results seem to indicate that when a mother's job is perceived to be a demanding, high status job, she is viewed to be significantly less expressive or nurturing than other parents.

The evidence that employed mothers are deficient in nurturing characteristics was found through analyses conducted when both the Editor and Pharmacist jobs were included together and for the Editor vignette when the data were separated. No significant differences were found between the employed full-time parents when the job of reference was Pharmacist. However, even though no difference was found in expressive traits between these employed parents, a significant difference was found in expected expressive *behaviors*. The employed mother Pharmacist was expected to carry out far more nurturing behaviors than her male counterpart, as was predicted. The findings indicate that, at best, employed mothers and fathers are considered equal in expressive traits; yet,

regardless, the employed mother is still expected to carry out significantly more day-to-day domestic and communal behaviors than the employed father.

Based on previous research (Bridges et al., 2002), equal ratings of expressivity were expected for the stay-at-home parents, and, indeed, this was the finding. The stay-at-home mother was fulfilling her expected role and therefore was seen as average for a woman. The stay-at-home father, on the other hand, was seen as expressive *for a man*. However, the level of inflation caused by the *for a man* comparison was not excessive. In other words, the stay-at-home father was rated expressive *for a* man but not to the extent that his rating exceeded that of the stay-at-home mother. The increase that the stay-at-home father was allotted based on the comparison to the traditional father produced ratings *equal to* not *more than* his female counterpart. This finding may suggest that where an employed mother (or mother in non-traditional role) often has been considered *overly* instrumental (see previous discussion), the stay-at-home father is not considered excessively expressive.

For the most part, the stay-at-home parents were expected to perform an equal number of nurturing behaviors. This may be surprising because past research has found that although expressive characteristics were equal among the stay-at-home parents, the stay-at-home mother was still expected to carry out more expressive behaviors (Bridges et al., 2002). However, this was the case only for the Pharmacist stimulus in our study. The stay-at-home mother whose previous profession was that of a Pharmacist was expected to carry out more of the nurturing behaviors than her male counterpart. Therefore, although the stay-at-

home parents (Pharmacist) were perceived equal in expressive traits, the stay-at-home mother was still expected to fulfill the day-to-day nurturing responsibilities in the family. These findings suggest that a certain type of stay-at-home mother, in this case a former Pharmacist, is still expected to take on more nurturing behaviors than the same type of stay-at-home father. One interpretation is that the individuals who were once Pharmacists are like the *typical* man and woman, where the former Editor individuals are considered more instrumental than average, potentially of higher social status than average, and therefore may not be expected to fulfill domestic responsibilities. As mentioned previously, perhaps when jobs perceived to be neutral in instrumental and expressive traits are considered, traditional role expectations persist; the stay at home mother carries out more communal behaviors than her counterpart.

When comparing the stay-at-home parents on instrumental traits, the expected finding was that the parents would again be equal. However, results indicate that the stay-at-home father is potentially viewed as deficient in these traditional male characteristics. Across job (when both jobs were included), significant differences were found between the stay-at-home parents, where the stay-at-home mother was viewed as more instrumental than the stay-at-home father. The deflation of instrumental traits caused by the *for a man* comparison, in this case, does seem excessive. However, results were different when split by job. For the Editor vignette, differences were nearly statistically significant in the same direction. No significant differences were found for the Pharmacist vignette indicating that the parents who were stay-at-home former Pharmacists were

viewed similarly in instrumental trait characteristics. Although these results are somewhat inconclusive, they do suggest that the stay-at-home father may be viewed negatively in reference to traditional male instrumental qualities. This result is somewhat surprising because recent research findings have indicated that people continue to consider men more competent and instrumental than women, regardless of role (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Heilman, 1995, Heilman et al., 1995). In this study, it seems as though job of reference made a difference. Therefore, perhaps when a father leaves a high status job to stay at home, he is viewed less competent or agentic than a father leaving a lower status position. In general, the results are ambiguous and require further study.

The exploratory research question regarding perceptions of part-time targets produced interesting and complicated results. For the sake of clarity and expediency, only results aggregated across job are discussed here. Interestingly, when comparing the parents who are employed part-time, analyses produced results expected when comparing the full-time employed mothers and fathers. In other words, the mother employed part-time was subjectively viewed as possessing far more instrumental traits than her male counterpart; she was viewed as possessing far fewer expressive traits than her male counterpart; however, she was expected to perform far more nurturing behaviors. In this case, one could argue that the part-time women faces the same struggles that have been found in prior research for the full-time employed mother – she is considered overly instrumental, deficient in feminine traits, yet is still expected to carry out more of traditionally female behaviors than her male counterpart.

However, in many ways, fathers employed part-time also face significant challenges. The father employed part-time is considered more feminine (expressive) than the female targets (the difference between the part-time employed father and the stay-at-home mother is nearly statistically significant – the part-time employed father is more expressive). He also is considered less masculine (instrumental) than all of the other targets (fathers and mothers) with the exception of the stay-at-home father. In this case, the father employed part-time is potentially viewed as overly nurturing (despite the fact that he is actually employed) and deficient in instrumental qualities (again, despite the fact that he is employed). Ironically, even though these fathers employed part-time are considered excessively nurturing and are rated lower in instrumental traits than the part-time employed mother and stay-at-home mother, they still are expected to carry out *fewer* nurturing behaviors than the part-time and stay-at-home mother. Therefore, despite what seem to be counterstereotypic trait findings, in objective behaviors traditional role stereotypes persist. The father employed part-time may be punished for his non-traditional role; yet, he is not expected to carry out non-traditional communal functions.

It seems as though mothers who are employed part-time are viewed as mothers who work and fathers employed part-time are viewed as fathers who don't work. These results are disappointing for women because more people are working part-time than ever before, particularly women. Ironically, women are often working part-time in order to find a balance and maintain opportunities to nurture and care for families. However, these results indicate that they may

continue to be viewed as lacking in nurturing characteristics: results indicate that in subjective judgments, a woman who works part-time is considered low in expressive traits *for a woman*. Women working part-time still may be seen as breaking traditional expectations and are thus viewed similarly to that of the mother working full-time. This non-traditional role for fathers seems more complicated. Perhaps these fathers employed part-time are viewed not just as men who don't work but as men who *can't* work full-time because they are deficient in skills, lazy or lacking ambition. If one perceives the father employed part-time this way, then many would consider him the ultimate failure of a man – he cannot live up to his biologically predisposed position of breadwinner, nor can he take care of the family.

Overall, the father employed full-time seems to be the "big winner" based on the results of this study. He was viewed most neutrally and was not expected to perform many nurturing behaviors; therefore, when he does, he is considered a champion. Stay-at-home mothers also were viewed fairly neutrally in this study. They were not viewed as instrumentally deficient or incompetent as was expected. However, stay-at-home mothers do seem somewhat taken for granted in that they were considered less nurturing than male counterparts yet continue to be expected to carry out more nurturing behaviors than other parents.

According to results of this study, those who break traditional role expectations continue to be viewed most negatively. There is very little room to dispute that working women are considered deficient in expected feminine traits. In the workplace, this often means they are considered interpersonally cold or

difficult, and, in relation to home, they are considered neglectful of family nurturing.

This study produced some evidence that employed mothers continue to be stereotyped as too instrumental, particularly for women. This within-group comparison also implies that women still are viewed inferior to men in agency or instrumentality. However, on the other hand, there also was evidence that there may be some broadening of what is expected of a working mother in terms of instrumental traits. Potentially, working mothers are starting to be considered generally instrumental Maybe working women (or some women in some situations) even are starting to earn status as competent and capable colleagues. However, even if these results do reflect some loosening of the stereotype, the implications are not all positive. This acceptance of working women as instrumental beings does not negate the fact that they continue to be punished for neglecting their familial, nurturing responsibilities. They still are viewed as cold and interpersonally deficient. In addition, although women are encouraged to enter the workforce and potentially are seen as capable of doing so, there is no support for them at home. Based on the results presented here, there is the suggestion that society does not find it permissible for the father to take on domestic, nurturing responsibilities – not even in a part-time capacity. Therefore, the working mother has all the home and family responsibilities as well as her work obligations and responsibilities. In many ways, she is expected to do it all, and men just are expected to work. Perhaps the double bind and sex stereotypes are changing somewhat, but not in a manner that loosens the burden on women. In

fact, these changes may be leading to more overwhelming and off-balance lives for women.

Another aspect of this study examined the attitudes of current college students regarding their own career/family futures. Findings suggest that most college students expect egalitarian relationships in their futures, and most expect to share roles and responsibilities with their spouses. However, results indicate that where college men did have high role-sharing expectations, women's expectations of role sharing were even higher. These findings may reflect the changes in number of women in the workforce; however, they also may reflect college students' optimism and naiveté. It is interesting that despite egalitarian desires for themselves, these same young men and women seem to perceive the targets in non-traditional roles more negatively or, at the very least, are wary of deviations from traditional social roles. There was some evidence that college women even may experience some dissonance around their choices for the future. Results of the current study show that college women who expect high role sharing in their futures rated the women targets higher in expressive (or feminine) traits than did women who expected less role-sharing in their futures. As role-sharing attitudes increased among women participants, so did the feminine trait ratings for women targets. The women participants with high role-sharing attitudes seemed to assign feminine characteristics to the female targets more abundantly than those women who have lower role-sharing attitudes. In other words, women participants who want to have fully egalitarian relationships in their own futures seemed determined that all women targets maintain expressive

characteristics or "femininity." This reaction may be an over-compensation for their internal (subconscious) negative beliefs about what it means to be a role-sharing mother, or perhaps this reaction is a way to attenuate the negative perceptions they expect from others. It is plausible that these women feel guilty (consciously or otherwise) about not wanting to fulfill traditional role expectations, and they assuage their guilt and defend their decision by maintaining that women can preserve expressive and nurturing characteristics no matter their social role.

Strengths & Limitations

The present study had a number of strengths. First, the present study expanded the current literature on perceptions of parents in various social roles. In addition, this research added to the understanding of sex stereotyping. By including both subjective and objective measures of stereotypic characteristics, a more complete picture of the stereotyping process was ascertained, particularly for the expressive trait cluster. In addition, the present study seems to be one of the first to investigate the perceptions of part-time parents, and thus makes a unique contribution to the literature in this area. Finally, the present study simultaneously examined college students' perceptions of parents in multiple roles and the students' own expectations for their career/family futures. This simultaneous study allowed the researcher to assess congruency of these two domains.

In addition, despite the fact that participants were given limited stimulus information and that the analogue study design was artificial, significant results

were found. Therefore, the results are quite convincing. The significant differences found between mothers and fathers, despite the limitations of the research design, give credence to the power of gender stereotypes.

In spite of these strengths, there were also a number of limitations. First, the lack of a valid objective instrumental measure was a disappointment. Without this measure, a number of questions regarding the process of sex stereotyping were left unexamined. In addition, the unexpected and significant differences between the job variables lead to inconclusive and complicated results in a number of areas. Another important limitation of the present study is that most of the respondents were White, middle class men and women. Therefore, the results are not generalizable beyond this population.

Implications for Research

Additional research needs to be conducted in order to further explicate the findings of the present study. Considerable research opportunities exist. First, one might conduct the experiment with non-White and lower income students to examine whether the results hold for these other populations. In addition, in the present study, the perceptions were made by college students. These individuals were intentionally selected because they were not yet in the "real world;" however, older adults and those with more career and parenting experience may hold different perceptions. These differences would be interesting to explore.

This analog study allowed for direct experimental manipulation through the use of stimulus materials. However, a study design that included the use of "real" individuals, rather than fictional stimulus paragraphs, might add to the

perception research. Perhaps participants could be asked to consider celebrities or other well-known individuals when making trait judgments. Another idea is to provide the participant with lengthier or more detailed information about an individual that is based on a real-life model. Either of these suggestions have inherent biases associated with them; however, important perceptual information still may be obtained from this type of design.

There certainly is room for considerable future research on the part-time role option. This role is one that women increasingly are choosing as a way to achieve balance; yet, based on the results of this study, negative perceptions persist when women choose this option. More research is needed to understand this finding – what, exactly, is the perception of the mother employed part-time and does it ignore her desire to find balance? Likewise, why are men punished for working part-time? Similarly, more research on men who stay-at-home would help to shed light on this under-studied subject. It would be interesting to study men who do work part-time or who stay-at-home and evaluate their perceptions of self and to examine their motivation behind selecting this role option.

Finally, the results of this research indicate that specific jobs have inherent instrumental and expressive qualities. It would be interesting to examine a variety of specific jobs to see which jobs fit into which category. This research could then be used to see how perceptions of men and women in those jobs differ. Specifically, how are men and women who hold an "expressive" job perceived? How are women and men who hold an "instrumental" job perceived? Are there

trait-neutral jobs? If so, what are they and how do perceptions of men and women change if they have a trait-neutral job?

Implications for Practice

I believe these findings have wide-reaching implications for counseling. First, counselors can help to empower their women clients to fight the negative judgments they feel from others regarding their social role. In addition, counselors may have a role in helping women and men reconcile their life choices with their own negative perceptions of those choices. This internal conflict surely causes cognitive dissonance and distress. It is critical that counselors recognize the gendered context of U.S. society in order to fully understand and help clients. This information may be particularly useful for career counselors who help guide male and female clients through decision-making processes. This research potentially adds rich data to the conceptualization of a client that, if missed, could be detrimental. Understanding the power of negative or misattributed judgments is important in therapy as is the understanding of internal or subconscious beliefs about self. Hopefully, this research can aid in raising awareness of how sex stereotypes manifest themselves and the negative outcomes that result from them. For all these reasons, this research adds value to the counseling endeavor.

In addition, this research could be used to raise consciousness regarding the persistence of sex stereotypes and negative perceptions of those not conforming to traditional expectations. Massive public education is needed to reduce the negative perceptions of those who break traditional role expectations. Specifically, campaigns geared to boys, young men, and employers may help

reduce the negative stigma associated with different role options. Men are currently limited in acceptable role options. This restriction is sure to put undue pressure on men who may want to explore other options and on those men who do occupy a non-traditional role. Further, if men continue to be discouraged from considering non-traditional role options, then women will continue to be constricted and to feel over-burdened.

This research also has public/organizational policy implications. The present study may be useful to companies that strive to promote women to managerial positions. This study highlights some of the barriers women face in achieving these upper-level positions and may serve to help these employers implement policies that create a work environment friendlier to mothers (or parents in general).

In addition, policy-makers who advocate for women may find the present study useful. These results indicate that women need assistance alleviating the burden imposed by the pressure to "do it all." In this regard, policy makers could use this research to support the creation of diverse family leave options; to increase funding for more accessible, quality childcare; and to institute economic incentives for those parents who choose part-time employment or who choose to stay at home. Also, it is critical that these policy makers understand the importance of encouraging men to consider non-traditional role options and in supporting men who do. Until this happens, women will continue to face inequity and undue burden.

Conclusion

Although this research indicates that there may be a trend to view mothers, regardless of role, as increasingly instrumental and competent, challenges for mothers persist. First of all, women who work still are perceived as deficient in nurturing characteristics. Therefore, the employed mother may be sufficiently competent, but she pays a price for this competence: she is viewed cold and unfeminine. Further, although mothers may be encouraged to work, this research indicates that men in no way are encouraged to stay-at-home, work part-time or to engage in communal behaviors. In fact, when comparing men and women occupying the same social role, the evidence shows that more mothers are expected to carry out the majority of day-to-day domestic responsibilities than male counterparts. Therefore, mothers are often left with no support at home. The double bind and sex stereotypes may be changing but the changes do not seem to be lessening the burden on women. In fact, many women today seem to be expected to "do it all" with little to no help. These results show that it is critically important that stereotypes not just expand for one gender or the other. For equality to be a reality, both men and women must be encouraged to consider non-traditional options and must be supported when they do.

Appendix A: Demographic Questionnaire

1. Age_____

2. Sex: Female_____   Male_____

3. Ethnicity: _____African American
                _____Native American
                _____Asian American
                _____Latina
                _____Caucasian
                _____Other (please specify)_____

4. Year in School: Freshman__ Sophomore__ Junior__ Senior__ Graduate__

 Academic Major_____

5. What is the annual income of your family of origin?

          _____ under $25,000/year
          _____ $25,000 - $45,000/year
          _____ $45,000 - $65,000/year
          _____ $65,000 - $85,000/year
          _____ $85,000 - $105,000/year
          _____ $105,000 - $125,000/year
          _____ over $125,000/year

6. What was the employment status of your parents while you were growing up?

Mother: not employed ___   employed part-time ___   employed full-time ___

Father: not employed ___   employed part-time ___   employed full-time ___

7. How satisfied do you believe your parents are with their employment status?

Mother: satisfied ___   moderately satisfied ___   unsatisfied ___

Father: satisfied ___   moderately satisfied ___   unsatisfied ___

8. How would you describe your sexual orientation?

Gay/lesbian ___   Bisexual ___   Heterosexual ___

Appendix B: Orientation to Occupational-Family Integration (OOFI)

There are many different possibilities for handling work and family roles as an adult. We're interested in your ideas about how you would like to manage these roles as an adult.

Listed below are a series of statements about occupational and family roles. We'd like to know how much you see yourself <u>committed to choosing</u> that possibility for yourself as an adult.

Please use the following definitions in responding to the items.

Work: Occupational activities for which remuneration (money) is expected and which usually occur outside the home.

Full Time Work: The equivalent of 30 or more hours per week.

Part Time Work: The equivalent of less than 30 hours per week.

Maintaining the Household: Domestic activities required for the regular or daily upkeep of a household such as cooking, grocery shopping, laundry, cleaning, paying of bills, etc.

Raising Children: Regular or daily aspects of childrearing such as bathing, dressing, and feeding the children, listening to them, spending time with them, helping with homework, talking with teachers, carpooling, doctor appointments, etc.

Marriage: A relationship between two people entered with the assumption that it is an intimate, enduring commitment.

	How Much **You're Committed**
	1 2 3 4 5
	Not **Very**
	at all **much**

After marriage (with children):

1. I see myself and my spouse both employed
   full time and to a great extent sharing the day
   to day responsibilities for raising the children, like
   feeding and dressing them, talking and spending
   time with them, meting with their teachers.   _____

After marriage (before or with children):

2. I see my spouse and I both working full time and
   sharing the financial responsibility continuously
   throughout our marriage.   _____

3. I see myself and my spouse both employed full
   time and to a great extent sharing the day to day
   responsibilities for maintaining the household,
   like food shopping, cooking, laundry, and routine
   money management.   _____

4. I see myself and my spouse both employed full
   time and to a great extent sharing the day to day
   responsibilities for both maintaining the household
   and raising the children.   _____

5. I see myself and my spouse both employed part time
   and to a great extent sharing the day to day responsibilities
   for both maintaining the household and raising
   the children.   _____

Appendix C: The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ)

Instructions:

The items below inquire about what kind of person you think you are. Each item consists of a PAIR of characteristics, with the letters A-E in between. For example,

Not at all artistic A...B...C...D...E   Very artistic

Each pair describes contradictory characteristics - that is, you cannot be both at the same time, such as very artistic and not at all artistic.

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to choose a letter which describes where YOU fall on the scale. For example, if you think that you have no artistic ability, you would choose A. If you think that you are pretty good, you might choose D. If you are only medium, you might choose C, and so forth.

1. Not at all aggressive   A...B...C...D...E   Very aggressive

2. Not at all independent   A...B...C...D...E   Very independent

3. Not at all emotional   A...B...C...D...E   Very emotional

4. Very submissive   A...B...C...D...E   Very dominant

5. Not at all excitable   A...B...C...D...E   Very excitable in a
    in a major crisis   major crisis

6. Very passive   A...B...C...D...E   Very active

7. Not at all able to   A...B...C...D...E   Able to devote
    devote self   self completely
    completely to others   to others

8. Very rough   A...B...C...D...E   Very gentle

9. Not at all helpful   A...B...C...D...E   Very helpful to
    to others   others

10. Not at all competitive   A...B...C...D...E   Very competitive

11. Very home oriented   A...B...C...D...E   Very worldly

12. Not at all kind   A...B...C...D...E Very kind

13. Indifferent to others' A...B...C...D...E Highly needful of
  approval   others' approval

14. Feelings not easily A...B...C...D...E Feelings easily
  hurt   hurt

15. Not at all aware of A...B...C...D...E Very aware of feelings
  feelings of others   feelings of others

16. Can make decisions A...B...C...D...E Has difficulty
  easily   making decisions

17. Gives up very easily A...B...C...D...E Never gives up
                   easily

18. Never cries   A...B...C...D...E Cries very easily

19. Not at all self-   A...B...C...D...E Very self-confident
  confident

20. Feels very inferior   A...B...C...D...E Feels very superior

21. Not at all   A...B...C...D...E Very understanding
  understanding of others   of others

22. Very cold in   A...B...C...D...E Very warm in
  relations with others   relations with others

23. Very little need for A...B...C...D...E Very strong need
  security   for security

24. Goes to pieces   A...B...C...D...E Stands up well
  under pressure   under pressure

Appendix D: Objective Measure/Communality

1.   How many hours per week does he play interactively with his child?
       _____ hours per week. (out of 14 hours per week)

2.   How often does he say "I love you" to his child? _____ (out of 14 times
       per day).

3.   How much "quality time" alone does he spend with his child per day?
       _____ (out of 14 hours per day).

4.   In a two-week period, how often does he cook dinner? _____ (out of 14
       evenings).

5.   How often does he clean the house? _____ number of times per month
       (out of 14 possible times).

6.   How often does he talk about his child to his friends or co-workers? _____
       number of times per week he mentions his child to a peer (out of 14
       possible times).

7.   Of his childs' favorites (favorite: dinner, ice-cream flavor, TV show, toy,
       clothes, friend, restaurant, sport) how many does he know? _____ number
       of "favorites" (out of 14).

8.   In a two-week period, how many times does he put his child to bed?
       _____ (out of 14).

9.   In a two-week period, how many times does he bathe his child? _____
       (out of 14).

10.   In a two-week period, how many times does he dress his child? _____ (out
       of 14).

11.   How many times per day does he hug his child? _____ (out of 14 times).

12.   How many hours per week does he read to child? _____ (out of 14
       possible hours).

13.   How often does he call friends and family who live in a different city?
       _____ number of times per week (out of 14 possible times).

14.   How often does he change plans or activities to accommodate a co-
       workers, friend or family member's schedule? _____ number of times per
       week (out of 14 possible times).

15.   How often does he cry (or tear up) when watching a sad movie? _____ (out of 14 sad movies per year).

16.   How often does he tell spouse, "I love you?" _____ number of times per day (out of 14 times).

Appendix E: Objective Measure/Agency

1.   How many times does he speak up after receiving unsatisfactory service in a restaurant or retail store? _____ (out of 14 times per year).

2.   How often does he ask for compensation when he believes work done in the home (e.g.: painting, remodeling, furniture repair, yard work) is not done satisfactorily? _____ (out of 14 times per year).

3.   How often does he work at something until he has mastered the activity or task? _____ (out of 14 times per year).

4.   How many times has he expressed strong opinions even if they are contrary to the majority of family and friends? _____ (out of 14 times per year).

5.   How often does he express opinions at a community gathering? _____ (out of 14 times per year).

6.   How often does he let people know when he disagrees with them? _____ (out of 14 times per year).

7.   How often does he go away overnight without spouse or children? _____ (out of 14 opportunities per year).

8.   How many times per year does he attend social/community events alone without spouse or children? _____ (out of 14 events per year).

9.   How often does he negotiate the payment for work done inside the house (e.g.: painting, remodeling or some type of construction, floor refinishing, cleaning)? _____ number of times per month (out of 14).

10.   How often does he give advice to family and friends? _____ number of times per month (out of 14).

11.   How often is he pleased with the work he does inside or outside the home? _____ number of times per week (out of 14 times).

12.   How often does he take charge in chaotic or unwieldy situations? _____ number of times per year (out of 14).

13.   How often does he make major decisions for the family? _____ number of times per year (out of 14).

14.   How often does he make significant purchases without consulting spouse? _____ number of times per year (out of 14).

15.   How often does he defer decision-making to spouse? _____ number of times per week (out of 14).

16.   How often does he receive praise from others for decisions or choices he has made? _____ number of times per month (out of 14).

17.   How often does he figure out the tip to leave at a restaurant after a family dinner? _____ number of times per month (out of 14).

Appendix F: Statement of Informed Consent

You must be over 18 years of age to participate in this research project. The project is being conducted by Lisa Ades in the Department of Counseling and Personnel Services at the University of Maryland, College Park.

This project will examine the impressions people form of an individual's personality and behavior when provided with written information about the individual. The procedures involve filling out a brief demographic questionnaire, reading a paragraph describing a target person and completing a 10-12 page survey questionnaire.

All of the information collected in this study will be held in the strictest confidence, and your name will not be identified or connected to your responses at any time. Data from all participants will be grouped together for reporting and presentation purposes.

There are no known risks associated with participating in this project. The research is not designed to help you personally, but to help the investigator learn more about the impressions formed about an individual based on written information about that individual. Completion of the questionnaires included in this study may provide you with an opportunity for reflection into your own life. Resources will be provided at the end of your participation should you want to discuss your reflections with a professional. You are free to ask questions or withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

Should you have any questions or concerns about this study, you may contact Lisa Ades, University of Maryland, College Park; Department of Counseling and Personnel Services; 301-650-2084; lades@wam.umd.edu or Dr. Ruth Fassinger, Ph.D.; University of Maryland, College Park; Department of Counseling and Personnel Services; 301-405-2858; rf36@umail.umd.edu.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT

_____

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

_____

DATE _____

Appendix G: Debriefing Statement

Dear Participant,

Thank you for participating in this research project. Prior research has suggested that perceptions of men and women are closely tied to the social role that they occupy. There are exceptions where perceptions of men and women in the same social role differ. Research has indicated that these differences amount to a social role double bind for women. Women who work fulltime are perceived to be competent but also cold and interpersonally deficient (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Bridges & Orza, 1993; Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997; Riggs, 1997). Women who stay-at-home are considered nurturing but not intelligent, enterprising or independent (Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Etaugh & Study, 1989; Riggs, 1997, 1998). Therefore, women seem to be in a no-win situation.

College students have been the primary participants in this research; therefore, results seem to reflect the perceptions of college students specifically. However, when asked about their own career and family expectations, the majority of college students plan to have egalitarian relationships where both partners are involved in paid work and domestic responsibilities (Burke, 1994; Covin & Brush, 1991; Fiorentine, 1988; Hammersla & Frease-McMahan, 1990; Spade & Reese, 1991). Therefore, college students' perceptions and their own life expectations seem incompatible.

This project will help explicate the social role double bind that women in contemporary U.S. society face. In addition, this project will illuminate whether college students' perceptions of individuals in various roles are compatible with their own career and family planning.

This project may have stimulated interest in exploring your own career and family plans. If you would like to explore your feelings further, please consult the resources that are provided on the following page.

Please contact us if you have any questions or concerns about your participation in this study. We are appreciative of your time and effort in assisting us with this important study.

Sincerely,

Lisa Ades   Dr. Ruth Fassinger, Ph.D.
Doctoral Student   Dept. of Counseling & Personnel Services
University of Md, College Park   University of MD, College Park
(301) 650-2084   (301) 405-2858

References

Baber, K.M., & Monaghan, P. (1988). College women's career and motherhood expectations: New options, old dilemmas. *Sex Roles, 19,* 189-203.

Bem, S.L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42,* 155-162.

Biernat, M. (1995). Social reality and the shifting standards model: Examining the accuracy questions. In L. Jussim, Y.T. Lee, & C. McCauley (Eds.), *Stereotypes:Perspectives on accuracy and inaccuracy* (pp. 87-114). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Biernat, M., & Kobrynowicz, D. (1997). Gender-and race-based standards of competence: Lower minimum standards but higher ability standards for devalued groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72,* 544-557.

Biernat, M. & Manis, M. (1994). Shifting standards and stereotype-based judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 66,* 5-20.

Biernat, M., Manis, M. & Nelson, T. E. (1991). Stereotypes and standards of judgment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60,* 485-499.

Bridges, J.S., & Etaugh, C. (1995). College students' perceptions of mothers: Effects of maternal employment-childrearing pattern and motive for employment. *Sex Roles,32,* 735-751.

Bridges, J.S., Etaugh, C., & Barnes-Farrell, J. (2002). Trait judgments of stay-at-home and employed parents: A function of social role and/or shifting standards. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 26,* 140-150.

Bridges, J. & Orza, A. (1993). Effects of Maternal Employment – Childrearing

    Pattern on College Students' Perceptions of a Mother and Her Child.

    Psychology of Women Quarterly, 17, 103-117.

Broverman, I., Vogel, S., Broverman, D., Clarkson, F. & Rosenkrantz, P. (1972).

    Sex-Role Stereotypes: A Current Appraisal. *Journal of Social Issues,*

    28(2), 59-78.

Burke, R. J. (1994). Career and life values and expectations of university business

    students. *Psychological Reports, 75,* 147-160.

Covin, T. J., & Brush, C. C. (1991). An examination of male and female attitudes

    toward career and family issues. *Sex Roles, 25,* 393-415.

Deutsch, F. & Saxon, S. (1998). The double standard of praise and criticism for

    mothers and fathers. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 22,* 665-683.

Eagly, A. H. & Steffen, V. (1984) Gender stereotypes stem from the distribution

    of women and men into social roles. *Journal of Personality and Social*

    Psychology, 46, 735-754.

Eagly, A.H., Wood, W., & Diekman, A. (2000). Social role theory of sex

    differences and similarities. In T. Eckes & H.M. Trautner (Eds.), *The*

    developmental social psychology of gender (pp. 123-174). Mahway, NJ:

    Erlbaum.

Etaugh, C. & Folger, D. (1998). Perceptions of Parents Whose Work and

    Parenting Behaviors Deviate from Role Expectations. *Sex Roles, 39*, 215-

    223

Etaugh, C. & Nekolny, K. (1990). Effects of Employment Status and Marital

Status on Perceptions of Mothers. *Sex Roles. 23*, 273-280

Etaugh, C. & Study, G. (1989) Perceptions of Mothers: Effects of Employment

Status, Marital Status, and Age of Child. *Sex Roles, 20*, 59- 70.

Fiorentine, R. (1988). Increasing similarity in the values and life plans of male

and female college students? Evidence and implications. *Sex Roles, 18,*

143-158.

Gilbert, L.A. (1994). Reclaiming and returning gender to context. *Psychology of*

Women Quarterly, 18, 539-558.

Gilbert, L.A., Dancer, L.S., Rossman, K.M., & Thorn, B.L. (1991). Assessing

perceptions of occupational-family integration. *Sex Roles, 24,* 107-119.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S.T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory:

Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and*

Social Psychology, 70, 491-512.

Hagan, R.L., & Kahn, A. (1975). Discrimination against competent women.

Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 5, 362-376.

Hammersla, J. F., & Frease-McMahan, L. (1990). University students' priorities:

Life goals vs. relationships. *Sex Roles, 23,* 1-14.

Heilman, M.E. (1995). Sex stereotypes and their effects in the workplace: what

we know an what we don't know. *Journal of Social Behavior and*

Personality, 10(6), 3-26.

Heilman, M.E. (2001). Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes

prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social*

Issues, 57, 657-674.

Heilman, M.E., Block, C. & Martell, R. (1995) Sex Stereotypes: Do they

Influence Perceptions of Managers? Gender in the workplace [special

issue] *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality, 10*, 237-252.

Horner, M.S. (1972). Toward an understanding of achievement related to conflicts

in women. *Journal of Social Issues, 28,* 157-175.

Kasof, J. (1993). Sex bias in the naming of stimulus persons. *Psychological

Bulletin, 113,*140-163

Kobrynowicz, D. & Biernat, M. (1997). Decoding subjective evaluations: how

stereotypes provide shifting standards. *Journal of Experimental Social

Psychology, 33,* 579-601.

Novack, L. L., & Novack, D. R. (1996). Being female in the eighties and nineties:

Conflicts between new opportunities and traditional expectations among

white, middle class, heterosexual college women. *Sex Roles, 35,* 57-77.

Porter, N., & Geis, F.L. (1981). Women and nonverbal leadership cues: When

seeing is not believing. In C. Mayo and N. Henley (Eds.), *Gender and

nonverbal behavior* (pp.39-61). New York: Springer Verlag.

Riggs, J.M. (1997). Mandates for mothers and fathers: perceptions of

breadwinners and care givers. *Sex Roles, 37,* 565-580.

Riggs, J.M. (1998). Social roles we choose and don't choose: impressions of

employed and unemployed parents. *Sex Roles, 39*, 431-443.

Robinson, E.A., & Follingstad, D.R. (1985). Development and Validation of a

Behavioral Sex-Role Inventory. *Sex Roles, 13,* 691-713.

Robinson, J.P., Shaver, P.R., & Wrightsman, L.S. (1991). Measures of Personality

and Social Psychological Attitudes. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Rosenkrantz, P.S., Vogel, S.R., Bee, H., Broverman, I.K., & Broverman, D.M. (1968). Sex-role stereotypes and self-concepts in college students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 37,* 277-296.

Rudman, L.A., & Glick, P. (1999). Feminized management and backlash toward agentic women: The hidden costs to women of a kinder, gentler image of middle-managers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74,* 1004-1010.

Rudman, L.A., & Glick, P. (2001). Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*, 743-762.

Rudman, L.A., & Kilianski, S.E. (2000). Implicit and explicit attitudes toward female authority. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26,* 1315-1328.

Russo, N.F. (1979). Overview: Roles, fertility and the motherhood mandate. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 4,* 7-15.

Schein, V.E. (1973). The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 57,* 95-100.

Schein, V.E. (1975). Relations between sex role stereotypes and requisite Management characteristics among female manager. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 60,* 340-344.

Schroeder K. A., Blook, L. L., & Maluso, D. (1992). Gender differences and

similarities between male and female undergraduate students regarding expectations for career and family roles. *College Student Journal,* 237-249.

Snell, W.E. (1986). The masculine role inventory: components and correlates. *Sex Roles, 15,* 443-455.

Spade, J. Z., & Reese, C. A. (1991). We've come a long way, maybe: College students' plans for work and family. *Sex roles, 24,* 309-321.

Spence, J.T. (1993). Gender-related traits and gender ideology: Evidence for a multifactorial theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64,* 624-635.

Spence, J.T., & Buckner, C. (2000). Instrumental and expressive traits, trait stereotypes, and sexist attitudes. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 24, 44-62.

Spence, J.T., & Helmrich, R.L. (1978). *Masculinity and femininity: Their Psychological dimensions, correlates, and antecendents.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Spence, J.T. & Helmrich, R.L. & Stapp, J. (1974). The Personal Attributes Questionnaire: A measure of sex role stereotypes and masculinity-femininity. *JSAS: Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 4,* 43-44.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1987). *Statistical abstract of the United States: 1988* (108th ed.). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2002, January). *Employment and earnings.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.