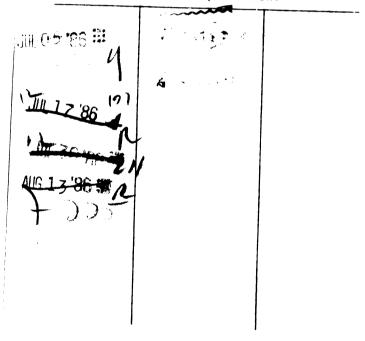




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PERCEPTIONS OF A WOMAN'S USE OF AUTHORITY

Ву

Carolyn Rochelle Paulter

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

PERCEPTIONS OF A WOMAN'S USE OF AUTHORITY

By

Carolyn Rochelle Paulter

This study was an investigation of the perceptions that male and female college students have of a woman who uses authority and of whether or not students' gender and own level of dominance affected their perceptions of the female authority figures.

Forty undergraduate men and eighty undergraduate women received a projective lead briefly describing a scene between an authority figure, the division head of a company, and a subordinate. The gender of the division head and of the subordinate was varied in each of the four experimental conditions. The students wrote a TAT-type story in response to the projective lead, and subsequently rated the division head on four Likert-type scales, Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image, which comprised the Story Character Evaluation Scale (SCES) designed for this study. The students also completed a demographic questionnaire and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory Dominance Scale.

Four two-way Analyses of Variance, one for each of the dependent variable scales, were performed. A series of Pearson Product Moment correlations were also used. There were significant differences in ratings
between the authority figures on the Legitimate Authority
scale. The female authority figure with a male
subordinate was rated significantly higher than the
female authority figure with a female subordinate or a
male authority figure with a female subordinate. There
were no significant differences in ratings between the
authority figures on the Positive Authority, Admired
Image and Destructive Image scales.

Male and female students did not rate the authority figures differently on each of the four dependent variable scales. There were no significant interaction effects between gender of students and the experimental condition on the Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image scales. Men's and women's Dominance Scale scores were not significantly related to their perceptions of the two female authority figures on each of the scales. However, nine of the sixteen correlates were in the predicted direction.

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Chapter I

Introduction

<u>Purpose</u>

The purpose of this study was to investigate the perceptions that men and women have of a woman who uses her authority. Some individuals have been willing to support a woman's use of her authority both with women and men, while others have been opposed to its use with a man. The influence of men's and women's own dominance level on each gender group's perceptions of the woman in authority was systematically explored in an effort to determine if that personality characteristic would differentiate those who support a woman's use of her authority from those who do not. This study was also designed to use a nonclinical normal population to provide evidence regarding an aspect of psychodynamic theory which suggests that a woman who uses her authority can arouse certain fears and reactions different from those aroused by a man in a similar position.

Problem in Context

Support by both men and women of women's attainment and use of authority is an important step in achieving economic, political, and social power and in continuing the process of altering inequities faced by women. At present, barometers which suggest society's ambivalent sanction of women's achievement and use of authority are the number of women in positions of authority in government and economic organizations and the amount of monetary renumeration accorded women relative to men. Women are frequently paid less than men (Levitin, Quinn, & Staines, 1971; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975; U.S. Department of Commerce, 1972). Another important factor in earning inequality is derived from gender differences in power in the workplace according to Robinson and Kelley, and Roos (cited in Wolf & Fligstein, 1979a).

Women's participation in the labor market has increased substantially from 18 million in 1950 to 42.1 million in 1978. However, female workers are concentrated in clerical, sales, and service positions, lower status job categories (National Commission on Working Women, 1978). In 1960 5% of managers were women as compared to 6% in 1981 (National Organization of Women, 1982). Women have substantially less authority in the workplace when the criteria used are the authority to hire and fire, deterime the pay of others, and supervise (determine what is produced and how much) the work of others (Wolf &

Fligstein, 1979b). At the higher levels of authority (hire and fire; pay determination) for each year of post high school education women receive from one third to one quarter of the rate of return of men.

Women's qualifications account for only the smallest percentage of gender differences in on-the-job authority. Men also obtain greater authority for similar levels of occupational status than women. For men, being in a high status position is associated with being in a position of authority, whereas for women this association is less likely (Wolf & Fligstein, 1979a).

Two related beliefs which are necessary in a group's support of the attainment of a particular goal are a belief in the legitimacy of the goal and the capacity of its members to either implement or exercise the goal. Societal sanctions are also necessary to confirm more widespread legitimacy and enable institutionalization.

Women have been restricted in developing beliefs regarding the legitimacy of authority achievement and usage by their membership in a subordinate group. Women have traditionally been defined as inferior and unequal to men (Millet, 1969; Miller, 1976).

Membership in a subordinate group has conspired against

women's use of authority by defining acceptable roles, devaluing the roles permitted women, and designating women as incapable of performing valued roles (Miller). In an analysis of the relationship between dominant and subordinate groups, Miller described this phenomenon:

Subordinates are usually said to be unable to perform the preferred roles. Their incapacities are ascribed to innate defects or deficiencies of mind or body, therefore immutable and impossible of change or development....more importantly subordinates themselves can come to find it difficult to believe in their own ability....

It follows that subordinates are described in terms of, and encouraged to develop personal, psychological characteristics that are pleasing to the dominant group. These characteristics form a certain familiar cluster, submissiveness, passivity, docility, dependency, lack of initiative, inability to act, to decide, to think, and the like. In general this cluster includes qualities more characteristic of children than adults--immaturity, weakness, and helplessness.

If subordinates adopt these characteristics they are considered well-adjusted (p. 7).

Another factor which has made authority achievement and its usage by women problematic for both men and women has been the nature of women's roles. Acceptable roles for women have typically been organized around the primacy of service to her men and children and have been extended to being of service to others (Miller, 1976). Women have been prohibited from the expression of aggression, particularly those forms which might be considered self-serving (Bernardez, 1978). Women have been raised for affiliation with others (Chodorow, 1978; Dinnerstein, 1976; Donelson & Gullahorn, 1977; Miller, 1976). A woman's self esteem has been derived primarily from the congruence between her behavior and the idealized image of service to others and affiliation (Miller).

Various sanctions have been used to keep women in their place. An ever-present psychological sanction threatening a woman who speaks or acts with authority apart from the socially sanctioned role of mother, is the designation of "being just like a man" or the accusation of "attacking" or "diminishing men" (Miller, 1976, p. 17). The first designation calls into question

the woman's gender identity while the accusations serve not only to define her as an outcast from her gender, but also to define her as destructive to a man, the very person to whom she should be connected in a loving, non-conflictual bond (Bernardez, 1978). Sanctions previously used in the work place to keep women in their place and out of positions of authority have included the denial of access to professional schools and apprenticeships in the trades as well as restricted promotions particularly in positions involving authority over men.

Until recently, women have had few role models of either positively powerful or authoritative women available for admiration, identification or inspiration. Pinches (1978) in her review of Chesler (1972) notes "women are socialized to idealize and support male heroes, while female heroes are starved for protections and nurturance" (p. 5). The images of women portrayed on television are stereotypic ones, which reflect women's lack of power in American society (Tuchman, 1979). Women are "symbolically annihilated" by the media's trivialization, condemnation and underrepresentation (Gerber, 1972).

Women have been divided in their support of women's

struggle for increased power. Until recently women have not formed enduring political groups based on self interest, except for the Suffrage movement (Pinches, 1978). Power and public action have been associated with men and, thus, have been alien to women (Chesler, 1972). Women have fought against passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and continue to stand in opposition to a woman's right to choose abortion.

Both men and women have been ambivalent regarding greater authority for women. The changes necessary to bring about a situation in which women would share equally with men in economic, political, and social authority arouse resistance. Mayes (1978) commenting on the fears motivating such resistance noted:

resistance to changing sex role behavior on the part of men and women involves the deeply embedded fear that change means chaos and collapse in the norms and behaviors that govern the most sacred areas of everyday life, the family and sexuality (p. 566).

Participation in bringing about such changes, in addition, requires great courage on the part of women to create conflict and to tolerate the "troublemaker" label which goes against the grain

of women's socialization (Miller, 1976).

Background

Contributions of Anthropology -

Theme of Feminine Evil

Women have been, throughout different cultures and historical periods, imbued with evil powers. The images of women in myth, folklore and religion have provided data for the existence of a theme of feminine evil. Slavin (1972) in his review of the literature noted the basic assumption of this theme is that "women have an extraordinary magical power over men and will more often than not use this power destructively" (p.1).

Women have been ascribed the powers to defile or destroy. Primitive cultures attributed to persons and things mana, a "supernatural power, either good or bad, infusing everything, but more intensely the alien and the unusual" (Hays, 1972, p. 27). Women's biological functions connected with blood and thus frightening and strange, were linked to bad mana. A variety of taboos were enforced serving to limit the spread of her defilement and neutralize her bad magic (Hays; Rosaldo, 1974). Many of these taboos, for example those regarding women during menstruation, survive today.

Women have also been perceived as possessing dangerous sexual powers and this theme is found in the stories about Pandora, Lilith and Eve. Reik (1957) believed that the female body was changed into a dangerous object and as a consequence the sexual attraction of women was turned into "malicious temptation" by the prevalent misogynist trends of the late periods of Greek civilization. Millet (1969) described the connection between women and sex and her condemnation enforced by patriarchal religion in these comments:

Patriarchal religion and ethics tend to lump the female and sex together as if the whole burden of the onus and stigma it attaches to sex were the fault of the female alone (p. 51)....

Seduced by the phallic snake, Eve is convicted for Adam's participation in sex (p. 53)....

Sex which is known to be unclean, sinful, and debilitating, pertains to the female, and the male identity is preserved as a human rather than a sinful one (p. 51-52).

Contributions of Psychodynamic Theory -

Fear of the Powerful Female

A woman who uses her authority may be the recipient of such labels as castrating, destructive, or attacking. These terms are as Bernardez (1976) noted, expressions of revulsion and disapproval motivated by "strong fears of being subjugated and injured by a powerful female" (p. 64). Such fears have been derived from the nature of the earliest mother-child relationship, one marked by the child's helpless dependence on a mother, typically a woman who "possesses inexhaustible supplies as well as the power both to inflict and ward off all pain and evil" (Lerner, 1974, p. 542).

Lerner (1974) and Bernardez (1976) believe that the child's envy of the mother's omnipotence has contributed to adult fears regarding the potential destructiveness of women. Chasseguet-Smirgel (1970) noted the inevitability of both good and bad images of the mother and thus of women when she stated:

I believe that a child, whether male or female even with the best and kindest of mothers, will maintain a terrifying maternal image in his unconscious, the result of projected hostility deriving from his own impotence. . . the child's primary powerlessness . . . and the inevitable frustrations of training are such that the image of the good, omnipotent mother never covers over that of the terrifying, omnipotent bad mother (pp. 112-113).

Horney (1967) linked man's dread of women to the frustration of the small boy's genital impulses towards the mother which resulted in the boy's feelings of inadequacy and rejection. Male derision of women and the concomitant need to be superior are therefore ways to prevent the reccurrence of the earlier narcissistic injury of the son by the mother.

Images of a woman in authority as domineering, angry, or seeking revenge can also originate in beliefs regarding women's resentment of their subordinate position and their wish to impose similar treatment on their oppressors. According to Bernardez (1976) such beliefs are denied consciously and include the following ideas:

...women have been "kept down", relegated to devalued positions and restricted in their choices and that they live under this tyranny with resentment, that if "liberated" they would feel fully justified in imposing similar treatment upon men and in so doing they would be acting in identification with the aggressor (p. 64).

Fears regarding women and her potential destructiveness can be managed defensively by the devaluation of women (Horney, 1967; Lerner, 1974)

and support for a system of male domination (Dinnerstein, 1976). Devaluation of an envied object has been a widely recognized defensive strategy beginning with Klein's (1957) work regarding the infant's envy of the maternal breast. Klein defined envy as "...the angry feeling that another person possesses and enjoys something desirable, the envious impulse being to take it away or spoil it" (p. 6). Lerner (1974) postulated that the devaluation of the early mother's power finds expression in gender definitions and sex role stereotypes.

Our gender definitions and sex role stereotypes also reflect an attempt to reinstate and retain in adult relations all the nurturant qualities of the "good mother." Thus according to most cultural stereotypes the desirable "feminine woman is one who embodies all aspects of the good mother (e.g. cleaning, feeding, providing emotional understanding, comfort, softness, warmth), but who possesses no elements of power, dominance, and control that are factors within the imago of the omnipotent envied mother...in conventional adult relationships males stereotypically experience a defensive reversal of an early matriarchy.

yet retain the nurturant functions of the good mother. A psychic and social situation is created in which the adult male retains the good aspects of mother but is now dominant and in control of a female object on whom, as in the case of his mother, he was initially helpless, and dependent; that is his wife (or a female peer) becomes his own child. As long as this defensive reversal of an early dependency situation continues, envy and devaluation is subdued or seemingly eliminated, the devaluation of women achieves expression in the reversal itself (p. 543).

Horney (1967) described three primary measures by which man can cope with his dread of woman. Man can deny his dread and attribute characteristics to women which transform her into a dangerous figure, worthy of dread. "It is not" he says, "that I dread her; it is that she herself is malignant, capable of any crime, a beast of prey, a vampire, a witch, insatiable in her desires. She is the very personification of what is sinister" (p. 135).

The second method is the selection of certain aspects of a woman's personality, for example, her "emotionality" which is then used as justification

for regarding the woman as incapable of responsibility and independence without any consideration of whether this type of woman has been cultivated by a systematic selection on the part of men"(p. 146). Adoration and idealization can also serve defensive aims as Horney noted, "There is no need for me to dread a being so wonderful, so beautiful, nay so saintly" (p. 136).

Psychoanalytic explanations regarding perceptions of women in authority have led this researcher to select particular types of responses to a woman's use of authority for investigation.

<u>Definition of Terms</u>

For the purpose of this study, special terms were defined as follows.

Authority

Authority was defined as "the right to make a particular decision and command obedience" (Smith, 1960, 18-19). Authority is both different from and related to the concept of power. Power is typically defined as the capacity to influence others (French & Raven, 1959; May, 1972; Tavris & Offrir, 1977). An individual can have authority and no power, that is be unable to influence others. Authority can also

be used interchangeably with legitimate power. For example, French & Raven (1959) described legitimate power as one type of power based on a relationship between the influenced and the influencer in which the influenced perceives the influencer as having a legitimate right to prescribe behavior for the influenced and, the influencer perceives the influenced as having the obligation to comply.

Legitimate Authority

Perception of the authority figure's legitimate authority was measured by respondents' ratings of the authority figure on a four-point Likert scale, Legitimate Authority, developed for this study.

Positive Authority

Perception of the authority figure's positive authority was measured by respondents' ratings of the authority figure on a four-point Likert scale, Positive Authority, developed for this study.

Admired Image

Perception of the authority figure's admired image was measured by respondents' ratings of the authority figure on a four-point Likert scale, Admired Image, developed for this study.

Destructive Image

Perception of the authority figure's destructive image was measured by respondents' ratings of the authority figure on a four-point scale, Destructive Image, developed for this study.

Dominance

Respondent's own level of dominance was defined as the individual's score on the Dominance Scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory.

Research Questions

The three independent variables in this study were gender of respondents, dominance scale scores of respondents and the experimental condition (either a female or male authority figure who was described in a scene with either a female or male subordinate). The four dependent variables were the respondents' ratings of the authority figure on each of the Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image scales.

The following research questions were investigated in this study:

1. Are there differences between ratings of a female authority figure with a male subordinate,

- a female authority figure with a female subordinate, a male authority figure with a male subordinate, and a male authority with a female subordinate on each of the Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image, and Destructive Image scales?
- 2. Are women more likely than men to react favorably to a female authority figure?
- 3. Is there a relationship between men's and women's own level of dominance and ratings of the female authority figures on each of the Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image scales?

Hypotheses

The hypotheses tested in this study are presented below.

Hypothesis 1

H_{A1}: There are significant differences in the ratings of the authority figures on each of the four dependent variables legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image.

Hypothesis 2

 H_{A_2} : There are no significant differences between

men's and women's ratings of the authority figures on each of the four dependent variables, legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image.

<u>Hvpothesis 3</u>

H_{A3}: There is a significant interaction between experimental condition and gender of the respondents on each of the four dependent variables, legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image.

Hypothesis 4

 H_{A_4} : There is a significant relationship between respondents' Dominance Scale scores and ratings of the female authority figures on each of the four dependent variables, legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image.

Significance of Study

As women continue to achieve positions of authority they will be faced with reactions on the part of both men and women to their use of authority. One of the intents of this study was to provide data to further an understanding of men's and women's reactions to a woman's use of her authority. It is possible that women who are better able to understand what can be

aroused when they exercise authority can also find ways to mitigate against the unuseful tendency to blame themselves or only examine their behavior in an interactive or group situation.

Psychologists and other mental health professionals consulted by women, either individually or in couples, need to understand the significant contributins made by individual, social and cultural determinants in shaping responses to a woman's use of authority. An understanding of men's and women's reactions to a woman's use of authority can enable psychologists to be more effective in their work with both men and women.

Limitations

The intent of this study was to determine whether female authority figures were perceived differently than male figures and what influence men's and women's own level of dominance had on each gender group's perceptions of the female authority figures. There were three limitations in this study.

The focus of this study was on the respondents' perceptions of a fictitious authority figure who was described as using authority with a subordinate.

Respondents' perceptions of a fictitious authority

figure may be different from perceptions of an actual woman using her authority.

This study used a sample of undergraduate student volunteers from the total population of students living in University residence halls or enrolled in social science courses during summer quarter. Results can only be generalized to a volunteer sample of undergraduate students with similar demographic characteristics.

The instruments used were new scales developed by the researcher and consequently presented questions about their reliability and validity. Data obtained in a pilot study of these scales provided some measure of the scales' reliability and at least face validity. Conclusions however can only be tentative until further research involving these scales provides additional evidence for their usefulness.

In summary, then, the researcher conducted a study to investigate perceptions of a woman who was described as using her authority with a subordinate held by a sample of men and women undergraduate students. This study also suggested ways in which men's and women's own level of dominance affected each gender group's perceptions of the female authority figures. The study attempted to develop several Likert type

scales designed to assess perceptions of an authority figure.

Overview

Literature related to sex linked stereotypes, leadership, attitudes, social power, and success and achievement is reviewed in Chapter II. The design of this study, including the nature of the sample, the instruments, the hypotheses and analyses are described in Chapter III. The data are presented and analyzed in Chapter IV. Chapter V includes a summary and interpretation of the results of the study. Implications for further research are also noted.

Chapter II

Review of the Literature

Introduction

To date there have been three studies directly concerned with the evaluation of a woman's use of authority (Beauvais, 1978; Jacobson, Antonelli, Winnings, & Opeil, 1977; Mayes, 1978). However, a body of research exists in five areas, sex-role stereotypes, leadership, attitudes, social power, and success and achievement which should be useful in understanding men's and women's reactions to a woman's use of authority. Researchers in the area of sex-role stereotypes have specified what are the expected characteristics of men and women and in what ways perceptions of women have changed. These studies are suggestive of whether perceptions of women embody characteristics either necessary for or compatible with the use of authority and whether certain groups hold perceptions of women more consistent with the use of authority. In studies of leadership reactions to women in various positions of authority have been delineated and the influence of attitudes towards women on judgements about the woman in authority have ben suggested. Evidence regarding beliefs in a woman's right to hold a position of authority and her ability to function effectively

in such positions has been provided by studies in the area of attitudes. Factors which are associated with favorable attitudes towards women in authority will also be noted.

Researchers in the area of social power have suggested the types of social power or methods of influence which are expected and acceptable for use by a woman and the consequences of violating these expectations. Judgements regarding a woman who uses legitimate authority, one type of social power, are directly relevant to this study. Researchers in the area of success and achievement have suggested whether reactions to a woman's use of her authority may be partly a manifestation of higher valuation given to men (their actions and products) than to women. They have also suggested how much credibility may be given to a woman for her position of authority and the ways in which her authority can be devalued.

Sex Linked Stereotypes Traditional Femininity and Masculinity

Judgements about a woman's use of authority are related in several ways to sex linked stereotypes.

First as Pinches (1978, p. 25) noted "men and masculinity are valued more than women and femininity, regardless

of the contest in which the comparisons are made
(Fernberger, 1948; Kittay, 1940; Denitz, Dynes & Clark,
1954; Lynn, 1959; McKee & Sherriffs, 1957, 1959; White,
1950; Sherriffs & Jarrett, 1955)." Dominance and authority
use are in accord with sanctioned masculine roles
and not compatible with acceptable feminine roles.

A woman who exerts her authority particularly with
a male subordinate may be viewed as deviant (not of
her gender) and abnormal and may as a consequence
engender hostile or otherwise negative evaluations.

Evidence for the agreement of both genders regarding characteristics differentiating men from women is provided by the 1972 study of Brovermen, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz. Broverman and her associates asked college students to rate the degree to which a variety of bipolar attributes were characteristic of an adult man, adult woman, and themselves. Forty-one items were selected that had substantial (75%) agreement among men and women participants as to which pole was more descriptive of the average man than the average woman or vice versa. Two subsequent groups of college students then chose either the feminine or masculine pole of each attribute based on its social desirability. The masculine pole was selected as more

socially desirable on 29 items or 70% of the stereotypic traits. The feminine pole was selected as more socially desirable for only 12 items or 30% of the attributes. The list of feminine characteristics consisted of 70% which were perceived as undesirable as compared to the 30% of masculine characteristics deemed undesirable (Pinches, 1978).

Factor analysis revealed that the pool of 41 stereotypic items were comprised of two orthogonal domains. The male-valued items appeared to comprise a competency cluster and contained such attributes as independence, aggressiveness, dominance, and skilled. Women were viewed as relatively lacking in these traits and were characterized (relative to men) as more dependent, subjective, passive, noncompetitive and illogical. The second domain, the female-valued items, contained such items as gentle, sensitive to feelings of others and tactful and was denoted the "warmth expressiveness" cluster. Men were typically portrayed as relatively lacking in these traits.

In a related study Freeman (1979) had female and male undergraduate students rank order fifteen paragraphs descriptive of the manifest needs measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS).

The students rank ordered the manifest needs either for an average person of own sex and opposite sex, for an ideal person of own sex and opposite sex or for themselves. Those respondents who completed the rankings for self also completed the EPPS. Male and female students were in agreement, with the exception of the orderliness and exhibitionism ratings, regarding their rankings of needs descriptive of the average female. The image of the average female included such high ranked needs as heterosexuality, affiliation, change, achievement, and nurturance. Autonomy, dominance, and aggressiveness were among the needs rated as least descriptive of the average female. The average male was characterized as having high heterosexual, achievement, dominance, and autonomy needs and low intraception, succorance, orderliness, deference, and abasement needs. Of particular interest were men's and women's significantly different mean rankings of aggressiveness. The female students ranked aggressiveness as a high need, whereas the male students ranked it as a much lower need for the average male. The ideal woman was described as having low aggressiveness, abasement, exhibitionism, and dominance needs and high needs for nurturance, achievement, affiliation,

and succorance by both men and women. They agreed that the ideal man has high needs for achievement, endurance, affiliation, and nurturance and low needs for aggressiveness, abasement, exhibitionism and succorance. In comparing the female with male students' mean needs rankings for the average women with the average man an essentially similar perception of the needs emerged. Of special interest for this study was men's and women's agreement regarding the significant difference in mean dominance rankings given to the ideal man as compared to the ideal woman. is provided for a shared belief that women ought to be substantially less dominant than men. However, men and women reported no difference in their self rankings of dominance needs. Both genders reported relatively low dominance rankings, which were also reflected in their EPPS scores.

Changes in Sex-Role Stereotypes

Some evidence for changing sex role stereotypes is provided by Petro and Putnam (1979). School counselors were asked to complete the Sex Role Stereotype Questionnaire for perceptions of men and women. The counselors indicated substantially different perceptions from those of the samples used to construct and revise

this instrument by Broverman and her colleagues.

The counselors were in agreement with the earlier groups that women are more easily influenced, affectively expressive, excitable, passive, and vulnerable than However, the counselors endorsed eleven items, nine male valued and two female valued, as differentiating between men and women in contrast to the original 38 stereotypic items. Counselors rejected beliefs that women are less aggressive, independent, objective, ambitious and leadership oriented than men and that men are less conceited about their appearance or less emotional than women. counselors believed women to be less interested in math and science, less skilled in business, and less adventurous and self confident than man. Women were perceived as more illogical, sneaky, uncomfortable with their own aggression and dependent than men by the women counselors. Men were portrayed as more knowing about the ways of the world and more able to separate feelings from ideas relative to women by the female counselors.

The researchers concluded that the women tended to hold more negative, traditional, and possibly more damaging views of women than did the men. Yourby and

Arafat (cited in Pinches, 1978) found that women had more liberalized views regarding women's roles. The female counselors did, however, attribute twice as many female valued traits to women than did the male counselors. An additional finding of interest was that men were perceived by both sexes to have as much of the "warmth expressive" characteristics as women. Apparently the image of men has changed.

The data reported by Peterson (1975) are consistent with this change. Women students were asked to rate themselves, their mothers, their fathers, their closest male peers, career women, and the perceptions of women attributed to their mothers, fathers and closest male peer on twelve bipolar trait scales. Half of the scales were female positive and the other half were male positive. Men were perceived almost as positively as women on the "warmth expressiveness" trait cluster with the exception of the high ratings given to perception of mother. An additional finding of interest was that career women were perceived to be significantly more rational, independent, dominant, calm, aggressive, and unemotional than any other person. The career woman was also viewed as more poised and tactful but less sensitive, modest, and warm than the others.

Additional support for the findings of Petro and Putnam regarding changes in the images of men and women is provided by Kravetz (1976). University affiliated women, members of a wide assortment of social and political groups, half of whom described themselves as active members of the women's movement and the other half as nonmembers completed the Sex Role Stereotype Questionnaire. An equal number of women described a healthy adult man, a healthy adult woman and themselves. The respondents did not hold different views of a healthy man and a healthy woman. For 35% of the stereotypic items no differences in mean scores were obtained. Men and women were viewed as similar on eight male valued traits, aggressive, objective, unemotional, active, almost never cries, acts as a leader, and able to separate feelings from ideas and, on five female valued items, talkative, gentle, quiet, aware of feelings of others, and expresses tender feelings. Members and nonmembers of the women's movement did differ in their ratings of these 13 traits. Healthy men, healthy women, and themselves were portrayed by movement members relative to nonmembers as less likely to hide emotions, less competitive, ambitious, and skilled in business but more likely to be independent, dominant, direct, and adventurous. The data support an image of women encompassing characteristics that have traditionally been associated with masculinity, for example, independence and dominance. Movement membership was apparently associated with an image of men characterized by a reduction in several traditional masculine traits (competitive, ambitious, skill in business). Members attributed greater emotional expressiveness to both men and women than did nonmembers.

Sex-Role Stereotypes of

Feminists vs. Nonfeminists Women

Researches who examine differences in the perceptions of women by feminists compared to nonfeminists should help delineate the development of new images of women characterized by positive feminine traits, the incorporation of positive masculine traits, and the rejection of a devalued feminine image.

Nielson and Doyle (1975) had feminist and nonfeminist college women describe their perceptions of self, men in general, women in general, the ideal woman, and women in the women's liberation movement using a seven-point bipolar adjective list. Both groups of students viewed the ideal woman as very high on such positive female traits as warmth, poise, and

sensitivity. Feminists in contrast to the nonfeminists attributed significantly greater dominance and boastfulness to their perception of the ideal woman. The nonfeminists' perceptions of men and women were more consistent with traditional sex role stereotypes.

Feminists, however, depicted a phenomenon different from that described in previous research, that is a view of women ranked high on positive female traits and one of men rated higher on masculine but negative The nonfeminists' evaluations of women traits. were negative relative to that of the feminists particularly their ratings for self and women in general. Both groups manifested essentially the same self description with two important differences. Feminists perceived themselves relative to women in general to be more dominant and rational, although not different from women in general on the remaining six traits. However, the nonfeminists rated women in general relative to themselves significantly more negatively on all traits except for degree of poise. The researchers concluded that the data are suggestive of "a closer psychological identity with women as a group on the part of feminists" (p. 93).

Feminists and nonfeminists also differed in their

respective views of women involved in the movement.

The nonfeminists perceived "movement" women as more dominant than did the feminists, but also rated "movement" women less positively on all other characteristics except for poise. "Movement" women were thus perceived as significantly more boastful, cool, insensitive, humorless, irrational, sexless, unintelligent, emotionally disturbed, unjust, and unattractive by the nonfeminists than by the feminists. The feminists perceived "movement" women as high on positive "masculine" qualities (dominance and wittiness) as well as on positive feminine ones (modesty, sensitivity, and warmth).

Sex-Role Inconsistent Behavior

Behavior which violates sex role stereotypes often arouses more severe sanctions than that which is sex-role consistent. (Costrich, Feinstein, Kedder, Maracak, & Pascale, 1975; Deaux & Taynor, 1973; Feather & Simon, 1975) In three related studies Costrich et al. found that "aggressive" women were disliked more and seen as more in need of therapy than "aggressive" men. "Passive" men were also disliked more and seen as more in need of therapy than "passive" women. Out of role behavior on the part of women receives more critical reactions than that by a man. A "dominant"

woman's behavior was rated more extremely than was that of a submissive man (Cowan & Koziej, 1979). The dominant women were rated as more masculine and less feminine than the dominant men. In contrast the submissive men were not rated as more feminine and less masculine than the submissive women. The dominant woman's behavior was perceived to be caused more by internal factors, her mood and personality, than that of her male counterpart. When compared with the dominant man's behavior, her behavior was also rated as more typical of the person and with less attention given to environmental determinants (mood of the other or event) of her behavior.

Problems Associated with Sex-Role

Stereotype Studies

Researchers in the area of sex-role stereotypes typically require respondents to rate a unitary category, adult woman or adult man, on a variety of bipolar attributes. One assumption of this type of research is that unitary valid stereotypes exist for each gender. Clifton, McGrath, and Wick (1976) provide evidence for the existence of distinctive stereotypes for housewife, bunny, and a nontraditional role which includes strong commonality betwen the attributes ascribed to stereotypes

for clubwoman, career woman, and woman athlete. The nontraditional stereotype is characterized as ambitious, competitive, persistent, and independent and is differentiated from the stereotypes of housewife and bunny. Women perceived greater commonality between the nontraditional role and that of housewife than men, ascribing active, hardworking, alert, and confident to perceptions of housewife, clubwoman, career woman, and female athlete. Women also perceived the career woman as direct and rational although a majority of men did not include these traits in their stereotype.

An additional problem with the studies in this area is derived from the use of preselected adjective checklists, which as Clifton et al. (1976) noted (citing Ehrilich & Rinehart, 1963) for example, can limit respondents choices particularly if the checklists have not been updated.

Relevant Predictions

Several predictions relevant to this study are suggested by sex-role stereotype studies. In this study a woman who is described as using her authority with a male subordinate can be viewed as manifesting aspects of such traits as activity, independence, objectivity, or dominance. Evidence is provided suggesting

that men and women are perceived similarly on some of these traits and that perceptions of career woman include these traits (with the substitution of dominance for aggressive). Therefore, descriptions of a woman who uses her authority with a male subordinate should be rated equally with those of a man using his authority. However, researchers in other areas, for example attitudes and leadership, suggest that the gender of the person in authority and of the person with whom authority is used are salient factors. Evidence is also provided indicating that out of role behavior by a woman is more severely rated than that by a man. While it seems logical to predict that a woman who uses her authority with a man will be the recipient of unfavorable ratings and may be perceived as more destructive than her male counterpart, the research was not clear enough to make directional hypotheses.

Evidence is also provided suggesting that some women, for example those who identify themselves as either women's movement members or feminists are more likely to include dominance and directness as acceptable aspects of their perception of self, woman, and the ideal woman than are nonmembers. It was expected that a woman's own level of dominance would affect

her perceptions of the female authority figures in this study. Women respondents' scores on the measure of dominance were expected to be positively related to their ratings of each of the female authority figures on the dependent variables of legitimate authority, positive authority and admired image and, negatively related on the destructive image variable.

Leadership

Research concerned with the evaluation of women in various ledership roles, i.e. group consultant, manager, or supervisor, is relevant as it is in such roles that women apart from their domestic sphere of influence, achieve and use authority. Patterns of tolerance for or rejection of women's use of authority have been suggested by findings in this area. Differences in men's and women's responses to authority use by a woman have also been indicated by this research.

Men and women may have different fears and wishes aroused by a woman who uses authority which are especially problematic for each gender.

Support for the inclusion in this study of a personality measure, the Dominance scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, is provided by research regarding the relationship between attitudes

towards women and attributions for the female leaders' performance. The power of attitudinal sets in shaping perceptions of external reality is highlighted by several studies. Data that are more often obtained from participants in ongoing interaction are provided by research in the area of leadership. For example, simulated organizations or self study groups, rather than one time only experimental situations are frequently used along with a single paper and pencil measure.

Managerial and Supervisory Styles

Researchers interested in the evaluation of women's leadership behavior have generally reported two kinds of findings, either 1) comparative ratings of various leadership or managerial styles for men and women leaders or 2) the relationship between managerial style, leader subordinate gender pair combination and job satisfaction. The differences reported may be attributable to which particular factors were examined in any given study and to the type of setting, laboratory or field. Bartol, Doll, and Martin (cited in Bartol & Butterfield, 1976) have indicated that women in leadership positions do not function differently than their male counterparts. Female leaders are not usually rated as less effective or less favorably than their

male counterparts (Bartol, 1974; 1975; Bartol & Wortman, 1975; Day & Stogdill, 1972; Jacobson et al., 1977; Maier, 1970; Osborn & Vicars, 1976; and Rosen & Jerdee, 1973). Some contrary evidence is provided by Haccoun, Haccoun and Sallay (1978) in the one reported study using a non student and non white collar sample. Male garment production workers generally rated the male supervisor as more effective than the female and indicated greater satisfaction with him. Jacobson and Effretz (1974) found that men were judged more critically than women as leaders but judged more leniently than women as followers.

The gender of the leader appears to exert an effect on the evaluation of particular leadership styles, though conflicting results are provided. Certain styles are deemed more appropriate for a woman than for a man. Female leaders portrayed using an incongruent style are rated not surprisingly less favorably than their male counterparts.

Rosen and Jerdee (1973) had undergraduate students and banking supervisors rate the effectiveness of four management styles: threatening, reward, friendly dependent, and helping when used with various manager-worker gender pairs. Male and female supervisors were not

rated differently when using either the threatening or helping approach. However, female supervisors using the reward style were rated less favorably than male supervisors using the same style. Supervisors using the friendly dependent approach with the opposite sex workers received more positive ratings than those using it with same sex subordinates. Haccoun et al. (1978) found that female supervisors using an authoritarian approach were rated more unfavorably than males.

Bartol and Butterfield (1976) had management students rate the effectiveness of four styles somewhat different than those used by Rosen and Jerdee (1973). The student raters were given a written description of a female or male manager, using one of four styles in a specific situation with a subordinate of an unspecified gender. Female managers using the consideration style were rated more favorably than male managers. Female managers using the initiating structure style were rated less favorably than their male counterparts. Female and male managers were not rated differently when using the production emphasis and tolerance for freedom styles.

Inconsistent findings have been produced by studies regarding the relationship between gender of the leader,

subordinate gender, perception of leader behavior, and job satisfaction. Bartol and Wortman (1975) and Osborn and Vicars (1976) using different sample groups of employees of large government psychiatric institutions found that subordinates of female supervisors were not significantly more or less satisfied with their female supervisors than were those of male supervisors. The gender of the leader did not produce a consistent effect on perceptions of leader behavior ratings with one exception. Bartol and Wortman reported that the female supervisors were rated significantly higher on the initiating structure behavior dimension than were male supervisors. The researchers indicated that this finding may have been an artifact because the female supervisor sample was overrepresented by nursing and dietetics supervisors, occupational areas which according to Georgopoulos (cited in Bartol & Wortman, 1975) encompass a large number of strict procedures. Field and Caldwell (1979) found significantly higher satisfaction with supervisors among female subordinates with a female supervisor as compared to those with a male supervisor. However, the effect of gender of the leader interacting with gender of the subordinate on job satisfaction was not substantial.

A female supervisor's leadership style may differentially effect the job satisfaction of her female and male workers. Petty and Lee (1975) had nonacademic university library employees rate their perception of two dimensions of supervisors' behavior, consideration and initiating structure, and then complete a measure of employee job satisfaction. The female supervisor's staff's satisfaction was significantly more related to perception of her consideration behavior than was that of the male supervisor's staffs. Male workers supervised by a woman indicated a decrease in job satisfaction with an increase in perception of the female supervisor's initiating structure behavior. In contrast, women supervised by a woman reported increased job satisfaction with the perception of the female supervisor's initiating structure behavior. Petty and Miles (1976) using a different sample group, subordinates of directors of social service organizations. found results consistent with those of Petty and In addition, the satisfaction of the staff of a male supervisor with that supervisor was significantly more related to the perception of supervisor's initiating structure behavior than

was that of the female supervised staff. Men supervised by men reported a high positive correlation between supervisor's initiating structure behavior as opposed to the very low correlation reported by men with female supervisors.

In one additional study by Petty and his colleagues (Petty, Odewahn, Brunning & Thomason) reported by Terborg (1977) results inconsistent with those of the two previously cited studies were reported.

The previous design was improved with the modification of the supervisor satisfaction measure and an increase in the minimum cell size to 68 as compared to five in the other two studies. All leader behaviors were positively correlated with satisfaction with supervisor with just one exception, production emphasis. The gender of the supervisor and of the subordinate did not affect the relationship between perception of various leader behaviors and both satisfaction with work and with supervisor.

Responses to Authority Usage in Groups

Authority exerted by a woman particularly that viewed as traditionally masculine, and characterized by "formal, objective, nonnurturant, asexual adherence to rules and boundaries" (Mayes, 1978, p. 567) engenders

strong responses on the part of both men and women, and is frequently marked by criticism, hostility, and/or fearfulness. Reactions to female authority are markedly different from those towards male authority.

A field study by Mayes (1978) is noteworthy for its use of participant observer data (detailed small group histories, pre and post group questionnaires, videotapes, and audiotapes) obtained from six female and twelve male-led Tavistock groups over the course of four group conferences. The Mayes research is also of special importance in that group participants were members of a university community "in the midst of strong polarization between men in positions of power and authority and women seeking access to these position" (p. 557). The female group consultants held nursing, psychiatry and faculty positions. The male consultants were primarily professors without tenure and did not always hold higher occupational status positions than their female counterparts. The consultants were all trained in the Tavistock group model, which prescribes specific authoritarian behavior of the leader in the role of group consultant to facilitate the small group's study of itself. Group members were psychiatric

residents, nurses, social science students and mental health workers. They participated in mixed gender groups. Male group members reacted to female authority with either hostility or dependence. Mayes provides a rich description of the men's response.

The majority of the males would not cooperate as subordinates with the goal of the leader. They were not task oriented. Although males outnumbered females in every group, in female-led groups they spoke less often, initiated conversation less frequently and reacted less to female initiated conversation than women...Most [men] proceeded to reject all her remarks . . . She was described by the men as "manipulative", "devious", "inhuman", and "cruel".

Males in the female-led groups regularly expressed a fear of having lost control. Women were described as "plotting against" them....

They expressed doubt about the "real" sex of the leader....As long as men were in control, sex-role behavior was what is considered "normal", hence, male feelings of discomfort, frustration, and impotency were related to their loss of control . . . [Men] experienced loss of control

when every level of their ability to function as males came into question. This was particularly important in the area of sexuality. Loss of control was revealed to mean loss of sexual control (p. 561).

Males adopted several strategies to gain control over the situation. Some openly advocated rebellion . . . Others suggested leaving the leader and moving the group to another location without informing her. Some men insisted that one or the other of them had to "seduce" the leader assuming that male control would result. When these strategies failed with the leaders, the men turned to the female participants and claimed deprivation. They tried to persuade the women to "give up this nonsense" and "act natural". They pleaded that the female leader was trying to immobilize them (p. 562).

Women participants who refuse to give up their assertive roles received the brunt of male and female anger....The few women who blamed the men for the problems in the groups were harshly rebuked. It was hinted that these women were lesbians and were trying to "destroy the male

world".... There were strong efforts on the part of the men and some of the women to prevent any woman-to-woman pairs in the small groups. Women who did not conform were ostracized from informal activity (p. 563). On the other side a few men coped with the femaleness of the leaders by identifying her as mother ignoring her "coldness" and trying to gain her approval by being "good boys." They said they couldn't help feeling dependent on the female leaders and they decided not to fight it. About one-third of the males in female-led groups were passive throughout the meetings. These men, when questioned, acknowledged their respect and liking for the assertive women participants and female leaders. Resentful of what they considered a lack of female closeness, these men expressed fears about their masculinity and became more comfortable with their dependent postures (p. 561).

Male leaders evoked substantially less hostility and more admiration from their male group members than did their female counterparts. Men's competition with the leader was not marked by strong hostility. The men admired and identified with the leader who

was viewed as competent and deserving of his leadership position. These men did not express any need for female reassurance or seem to notice the lack of female authority.

The responses of women in the female-led groups stood initially in sharp contrast to those in the male-led groups. In the beginning of the group these women were "outspoken", "dominant", "assertive", and more "task oriented" than the men. The female leader seemed to have had an empowering affect on the women. In contrast the behavior of the women in the male-led groups was characterized by competition for the attention of the male leader, noncompetitiveness for leadership, and hostility, jealous y and suspiciousness towards other female group members.

These women were described as less assertive, but more sullen and angry than their counterparts in female-led groups. Anger among male-led women was directed inward rather than towards male members or leaders (p. 564-565).

Female authority can arouse for women significant and profound conflicts regarding their loyalty to men and women and can result in the renunciation of the individual woman's personal power. Previously

empowered women in the female-led groups became less outspoken and reported dreams regarding their conflicting loyalties. Male members in several female-led groups were requested by the women to "take over and save the group." In the final small group session women increasingly looked to the men for direction. In this way the women renounced both their leadership and identificatory bond with the powerful female leader. Those few women who did not follow this pattern of reverting back to the more stereotypic pattern of male-female relationships, marked by the women's submission to the superiority of male authority were the target of hostility both from members of their own gender group and men.

Data consistent with that of Mayes are provided by Beauvais (1976) and Cytrynbaum and Brandt (1979). Beauvais had participants in female consulted all female groups, female consulted all male groups, male consulted all female groups, and male consulted all male groups rate the group consultant using semantic differential scales. Male group members responded differently to their male consultant. Both female and male consultants were evaluated by

participants as equally nonexpressive of feelings.

However, men and women viewed their female consultants as "distant" and "contemptuous," whereas only women viewed the male consultants in this manner. Male members did not perceive the male consultants as "distant" and "contemptuous." The nonresponsive analytic role was perceived as more incongruous for a woman than for a man.

Borman, Pratt, and Putnam (1978) also reported on men's response to the rise of female leadership. College students in conjunction with a course in small groups and organizational communication participated in the development of an organization, Group Dynamics Inc. (GDI) over a ten week period. At the midpoint observer data were collected. Each of the five divisions comprising GDI wrote case studies describing role emergence, leadership, cohesion, task norms, social tension and shared fantasies using videotape and audiotape material. Each member also wrote a fantasy diary regarding his or her division. Nonparticipant observers studied the data and completed divisional case studies. Within this organization women, and not men, rose to positions of leadership. The primary male response to female leadership was "withdrawal

from active participation." This group of men maintained a noncooperative stance without directly challenging the female leadership. A second group of men who had been unsuccessful in a bid for leadership indicated that "to lose in the conflict with a female was symbolically a loss of a different quality than if they had lost out in a leadership battle with another man" (Borman et al., p. 151). A third group maintained participation which was characterized by the verbal expression of male conspiracies and joking along with the disclaimer of any meaningful intention in their teasing and sarcastic comments. Borman et al. described a particular male fantasy in response to female leadership:

The emergence of female task leadership was accompanied by the reoccurence of fantasy themes linking leadership with male potency. The most common scenario depicted a male member who in his struggle for leadership lost to a female competitor and in doing so lost his sexual potency. Males feared that they as drones who fertilized the group process might be killed or ostracized from the group by the black widow (p. 154). The researchers indicated that for a majority of

the men acknowledgement of competent female leadership engendered a double bind. The denial of competent female leadership aroused the representation of "male chauvinist pig" and invited social disapproval.

Acknowledgement for these men was equivalent to the status of "castrated eunuch." The fantasied dramatization of woman as mother was called upon as another less frightening and more familiar image and one which substantially reduced her feared power.

Influence of Gender of Person

in Authority on Subordinate

A woman's use of her authority with a man frequently invites more severe negative sanctions than would be aroused in the situation of female authority use with a woman or male authority use with either gender.

Jacobson, Antonelli, Winning, and Opeil (1977) had college students rate an authority figure portrayed in written descriptions with various gender pairs, in the following four situations: parent-child, employer-employee, professor-student, and police officer-driver. In each of the situations the subordinate attempted to provide an excuse or explanation for his or her behavior violating some rule. The authority figure does not yield and maintains a firm stand with

the subordinate. Male and female raters did not evaluate the authority figures differently. However, the female authority figure exerting her authority with a male subordinate, except in the parent child situation, was rated more harshly (using a semantic differential dimension "right/wrong") than in any other gender pair combination. The evaluation of the female authority figure was significantly affected by the gender of her subordinate. In contrast, judgements regarding the male authority figure were not affected by the gender of his subordinate.

Several additional findings of interest occurred in the second part of the Jacobson et al. study in which perceptions of the authority figure who failed to exert his or her authority were examined. Female authority figures were not rated more positively than male authorities. However, a woman who was lenient with another woman was judged significantly more negatively (using the semantic differential dimensions "wrong" and "incompetent") than a lenient authority in any other gender pair combination. A woman who is lenient with a woman is judged more favorably, except in the Officer situation, than one who exerts

her authority. Male authority figures are not judged more critically for leniency toward a man nor for exerting authority with a woman.

Female leaders can have a positive effect on women (Bartol, 1974, 1975; Bromley, 1982; Field & Caldwell, 1979; Mayes, 1978; Munson, 1979). In a subsequent analysis of the 1974 data Bartol (1975) examined the longitudinal effects of member satisfaction in female-led teams with all male members and those with mixed membership. Female members' satisfaction with task structure decreased significantly in the male-led mixed membership teams but increased somewhat in the female-led mixed teams over the course of the simulation exercise.

A woman in a position of high authority may have a differential effect on men and women. The female authority may represent for her female subordinate an identificatory model inspiring admiration and the desire to put forth hard work. For a male subordinate a female authority may engender a loss of self esteem as working under a woman can represent domination by a woman and the attendent loss of masculinity. Bromley (1982) had college students rate male and female supervisors with high and low power in a role play

situation. Both male and female students indicated they would work significantly harder for a male supervisor. However, the women would work hardest and be most satisfied working for a high power female supervisor. In contrast, male respondents indicated that they would work least hard and be least satisfied working for a high power female supervisor.

Field and Caldwell (1979) in a replication study of Osborn and Vicars (1976) used a larger sample of university library employees with ongoing work experience with male and female supervisors. Male and female employees were found to be alike in all but two respects. The women were somewhat older and had fewer children than their male counterparts. Participants rated various aspects of job satisfaction. Women supervised by a woman were significantly more satisfied with their supervisors than those supervised by a man. The female supervised women were also more satisfied with their work than were the male supervised men.

Mayes (1978) in the previously decribed study found that women in the female-led Tavistock groups behaved at least in the early stages of the group in a more instrumental and assertive manner than their counterparts in the male-led groups. In some contexts

women in authority positions, for example supervisors, engendered more favorable reactions than men on the part of both men and women. Munson (1979) selected 65 social work practitioners from among 19 social welfare agencies in three adjoining states. The social workers rated their supervisors on 15 variables having to do with administrative, general, helping, and teaching satisfaction. Female supervisors were rated significantly more positively on two thirds of the variables examined regardless of the gender of the social worker. Male social workers with female supervisors rated their supervisors significantly more positively than those with male supervisors. Men and women supervisors were not perceived as differing in relationship or task orientation.

Influence of Attitudes toward Women in Leadership Positions

Responses to female leadership can be substantially affected by attitudes regarding the role of women in leadership positions and the gender composition of the group. Yerby (1975) divided college students into small groups according to scores on the Attitude to Female Leadership scale. The measure is comprised of two primary factors, "equality of leadership potential

between males and females" and the "unessentiality of the subordination of women to men", both derived from a factor analysis of 80 variables. Students participated in the task group, a role play in which a "boss", the female leader, attempted to convince her three workers (either three women, three men, or one man and two women) to alter their work method. In the structured version, the leader was provided with an alternative work schedule, whereas, in the unstructured situation the leader provided her own solution from the available information. Group members rated their perception of the female leader and their satisfaction with the group. Mixed sex groups with positive attitudes towards female leadership were the most satisfied with the female leaders' commitment to the group. The least satisfied groups were those with mixed sex membership with negative attitudes towards female leadership and those all male groups with positive female leadership attitudes. Leaders of the all female and mixed positive attitude groups and the all female negative attitude groups were rated significantly better than those of the all male positive attitude and the mixed negative attitude groups. All male negative attitude groups rated their

leaders significantly better than the all male positive groups. Mixed membership groups were the most satisfied with the distribution of talk in the group and with members' originality. Group members with more flexible sex-role attitudes reacted more favorably to female leaders in groups comprised of women and men.

Rice, Bender, Richter and Vitters (1980) found that men's attitudes towards women can affect their attributions regarding female leaders' and groups' performance, and the female leaders' perceptions of their power. Male first year cadets at the U.S. Military Academy were divided into four person groups according to their scores (traditional or liberal) on the Spence & Helmreich Attitudes towards Women scale (AWS). The small groups were conducted by either a female or male cadet leader and completed two tasks, a scale drawing of a building (structured task) and the development of a proposal regarding increased enlistment (unstructured task). Objective measures of group performance for each of the tasks were provided. Members also completed post task questionnaires regarding perceptions of leaders' behavior (initiating structure and consideration),

group atmosphere, group performance, and attributions regarding leader and group performance. Traditional men made negative attributions regarding the female leaders' performance whereas liberal men evidenced a profemale basis. Traditionals in female-led groups credited luck as a more important factor in performance whereas the traditional men in male-led groups attributed hard work and member cooperation as more salient factors in performance. The female leader's perception of her power in the group was affected by the attitudes of her group members. Female leaders of the traditional groups in comparison with those of the liberal groups indicated their perception of a less significant role. Male leaders of the traditional groups indicated the opposite perception of their role, that is of greater importance than those of the liberal group. Liberal groups reported similar perceptions of group atmosphere in the female and male led groups. traditional group members indicated a more positive group atmosphere in the male-led groups.

<u>Problems Associated with Laboratory Studies</u> of Management Styles

Studies investigating the evaluation of managerial styles used by men and women have in common a

shortcoming derived from the short term laboratory study. Participants in these studies were typically presented with a short description of a situation in which a manager used one or another style of management with either a male or female subordinate or with a subordinate of unspecified gender. Participants were asked to rate the "manager" on some measure of effectiveness or worker satisfaction. Significant results may be a methodological artifact as Riger and Galligan (1980) noted:

The artificial short-term nature of the laboratory experiment may heighten the salience of ascribed or visible permanent roles, such as those related to gender, and may thus elicit responses based on role stereotyping (p. 904).

In contrast field studies typically involved participants who have had an ongoing work history with the supervisor or manager, and therefore had more information available than was provided in the laboratory experiments. The salience of gender may consequently be diminished in field studies (Field & Caldwell, 1979).

Field Studies vs Small Group Studies

The field studies reviewed in the area of leadership are of two kinds. 1) Studies regarding the relationship

between gender of supervisor and employee, supervisor style, and employee satisfaction and 2) those concerned with the reactions of group members to male and female leaders in small groups. Different results are provided by each type of study. In field studies of supervisor style and employee satisfaction male and female supervisors who were perceived as using either an initiating structure or consideration style were not the recipients of less favorable employee satisfaction ratings when certain factors which covary with gender of the supervisor were controlled. factors include age, education and experience of supervisors and their employees (Osborn & Vicars; 1976), type of occupation, level within the organization and extent of professional training (Bartol; Brief & Oliver; Renwick & Tossi cited in Riger & Galligan, 1980).

In contrast differences in reactions to female and male leaders have been found in small group studies which examine men's and women's reactions to a leader's use of a particular kind of authority, for example, that used in the Tavistock self study group. Female leaders were the recipients of negative reactions. The gender of the leader has been a salient factor in combination with members' attitudes towards women in

small groups in which members complete a task. One such example is the devaluation of the role of the female leader in influencing group performance by male group members with traditional attitudes towards women.

Relevant Predictions

Several predictions regarding reactions to a woman who uses her authority are suggested by this body of It was expected that a woman's use of research. authority would engender different reactions than a man's use of authority. Women were expected to be more tolerant than men of a woman's use of authority with a man. Men respondents' own level of dominance as measured in this study were expected to affect their perceptions of the female authority figures. Men's dominance scores were expected to be negatively related to their perceptions of each of the female authority figures on the three dependent variables of legitimate authority, positive authority and admired image and positively related on the fourth variable of destructive image.

Attitudes

Beliefs regarding women's capability to assume positions of authority and function effectively in

such positions have been delineated by research in the area of attitudes. Researchers in this area have indicated whether women respond more favorably than men to women in authority. Evidence regarding factors which affect reactions to women in authority has also been provided.

Attitudes Regarding Women's Capability for Positions of Authority

Cultural sex-role stereotypes have embodied an image of women which has been incongruent with the use of power and legitimate authority and the attainment of high level positions (Bromley, 1982). Research evidence exists for the belief shared by both sexes that women possess fewer desirable characteristics than men for managerial positions (Massengill & Di Marco, 1979; Powell & Butterfield, 1979; Rosen & Jerdee, 1974; Schien, 1973, 1975). Schien (1973, 1975) had male and female middle managers from a variety of insurance companies throughout the U.S. rate a multi-item descriptive index for either women in general, men in general, or successful managers. Both groups agreed that successful managers are more similar to men than to women on such representative characteristics as aggressiveness, ambitiousness,

competitiveness, desire for responsibility, and objectivity. Male managers only viewed managers as more similar to men than women with regard to the following items: emotionally stable, steady, analytic ability, logical, consistent, and well informed. Female managers held a different view of women than their male counterparts and one which embodied the characteristics of emotional stability (items: emotionally stable and steady) and rational thinking (items: logical, consistent, analytic ability) aspects of psychological maturity. Female managers apparently did not believe that these characteristics were the sole province of men. Men and women managers agreed that successful managers are more similar to women than men with regard to helpfulness, humanitarian values and the awareness of other's feelings. significant resemblance was found between the ratings for men and successful managers. Both groups of managers held similar perceptions of managers. However, only female managers reported a significant similarity between ratings of managers and women, although a significantly lower similarity than the one for managers and men.

Massengill and Di Marco (1979) in a replication

using a more diverse sample of managers essentially corroborated the findings reported by Schien. While some changes in characteristics differentiating among men, women and managers were found, men and managers continued to be perceived as more similar than men and women or managers and women. Female managers perceived greater similarity between managers and men than that reported on by Schien (1975). The female managers' perception of greater similarity between managers was attributed to differences in their perception of women rather than that of managers. The female managers' self perceptions were most likely reflected in their ratings of women.

Two additional findings concerning differences between the perceptions of male and female managers are noteworthy. Both genders shared an image of women as relatively lacking in dominant and aggressive characteristics. However, women were perceived as significantly lower than both men and managers on two and one half as many items in the dominant aggressive category by male managers than by female managers. Apparently male managers held an image of women which was considerably more devoid of such

characteristics than that held by the female managers. One explanation is that men typically differentiate themselves and are differentiated from women along the dominance aggressive dimension. Women are consequently viewed as having little if any of the characteristics which are cornerstones of male identity. Women managers on the other hand may have more of a syntonic awareness of and experience with the dominant and aggressive aspects of themselves and are more able to view women in ways which are consistent with such an image. Finally in the item category "ego strength" (representative items high self regard, emotionally stable) male managers rated women as different from men and managers on six items, whereas the female managers reported no such differences.

Beliefs about Women in Positions of Authority over Men

Research evidence exists as well for the belief that women should not be in positions of power and authority in which they are clearly and legitimately dominant to men. The belief that women should not supervise male or mixed worker groups is shared by persons at various levels (Bass, Krussell & Alexander,

1971; Bowman, Worthy & Greyser, 1965; Kanter, 1977a; Caplow; National Manpower Council; Oppenheimer; Whyte cited in Wolf & Fligstein, 1979a). Kamorovsky (1973) in a replication of her original study regarding cultural contradictions and sex-roles indicated that the findings continue to suggest "an adherence to deeply internalized norms of male occupational superiority pitted against the principle of equal opportunity irrespective of sex" (p. 111).

Several studies reported workers' preference for a male supervisor (Bass et al., 1971; Bowman et al., 1965; Kanter, 1976), although contradictory evidence is provided by others (Field & Caldwell, 1979; Munson, 1979). Greene (1976) in a survey of Gallup poll data regarding attitudes toward women bosses over a twenty-year period noted little attitude change. Respondents to the 1975 Gallup Opinion Poll indicated (by a nine to one margin) a preference for a male boss in a new job situation.

Women's Attitudes towards Female Managers

Women have a more positive attitude than men regarding women in positions of authority as managers. Bowman et al. (1965) in a survey of two thousand successful executives equally divided between men

and women found that one and three-quarters as many
women as men believed that a woman would be comfortable
in a position of authority. One and one-half as many
women as men believed that a woman would be comfortable
working for another woman. More women than men believed
that a man would be comfortable working for a woman.
However, very few respondents of either gender
subscribed to a belief in male comfort with a female
superior. One-quarter of the male and three-quarters
of the female executives indicated a perception of self
as comfortable working for a woman.

Additional support for women's more positive attitudes toward women as managers is available (Collins, Waters, & Waters, 1979; Matteson, 1976; Terborg, Peters, Ilgen, & Smith, 1977). Highly educated women seem to have the most favorable attitudes toward women as managers, a finding which held up on cross validation (Terborg, et al., 1977). Collins et al. (1977) had college students complete the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and the Women as Managers Scale (WAMS). Sexrole orientation was significantly related to attitudes toward women as managers, though in significantly different directions for male as compared to female students. Students who were more own sex-role

and men with masculine sex-role orientations, had more negative attitudes toward women as managers. Attitudes toward female managers can affect the attributions persons make regarding a female manager's success. For example, male managers with negative attitudes attributed the female manager's success to external factors, chance and task ease, whereas male managers with a positive attitude attributed her success to internal factors, ability and hard work (Garland & Price, 1977).

Influence of Job Experience with Women

Inconsistent data are provided regarding the relationship between on-the-job experience with women and the perception of her managerial potential. Bass et al. (1971) found that male managers with female subordinates held the most unfavorable attitudes. Male managers with no on-the-job experience with women held positive attitudes. Managers with female colleagues perceived women as lacking in career orientation and dependability but on the other five factors measured held attitudes in between those of men who supervised women and those with no female subordinates or colleagues.

Ezell, Odewahn, and Sherman (1981) suggested that the perception of one aspect of a woman's management competence is affected by having been supervised by a woman. The public welfare agency managers who had a female supervisor held significantly more favorable attitudes regarding a female manager's competence motivation than those with no experience with a female supervisor. However, ratings of the female manager's competence ability and environment were not affected by having been supervised by a woman. Terborg et al. (1977) reported that level of interaction with women on the job (as subordinates, peers, or superiors) did not adequately predict attitudes towards female managers.

Influence of Age on Attitudes toward Female Managers

Inconsistent data are also available regarding the effect of age on attitudes toward women as managers. Some support exists for the finding that age favorably affects men's attitudes. Men's acceptance of women in management increased with age, such that male executives over the age of forty had more favorable attitudes (Bowman et al., 1965). More favorable attitudes regarding a female manager's competence ability were held by male managers over the

age of fifty (Ezell et al., 1981). Other studies have indicated that age had no appreciable effect on attitudes regarding women as managers (Bass et al., 1971; Terborg et al., 1977). Matteson (1976) reported that the number of years of work experience, with the effect of age partialed out, adversely affect men's and women's attitudes. Men and women with more years of work experience held more negative attitudes.

Schien (1975), however, found that women managers with less than five years of experience held more negative attitudes.

Relevant Predictions

Several predictions regarding reactions to a woman who uses authority are suggested by research findings in this area. Women were expected to hold more favorable attitudes than men toward a female authority figure. For example, women respondents were more likely than men to perceive the female authority figure as having certain characteristics (clear thinking, fair-minded) which could make the use of authority potentially less frightening and more legitimate. Respondents' own level of dominance were also expected to affect, albeit in different ways for each gender group, their perceptions of the

female authority figures.

Social Power

An understanding of the ways in which women are allowed to use power is provided by research in the area of social power. Cultural sex-role stereotypes would suggest that women should not be powerful in a direct authoritative manner. Women are expected to be less direct than men and more sneaky (Broverman et al., 1972). Women are typically expected to use indirect or manipulative forms of power (Johnson, 1978). In this culture, strong prohibitions have existed against women's achievement and usage of legitimate authority, particularly with men. Traditionally, a woman's use of her authority has been restricted to interactions with her children and possibly domestic servants (Johnson, 1976). A substantial portion of mythology consists of images of women as destructively powerful or evil (Hays, 1964; Lederer, 1968; Slavin, 1972).

Types of Power

French and Raven have delineated a typology of power. These researchers conceive of a power base as referring to the "particular nature of the relationship between the influencer and the

influenced which is the source of power" (cited in Johnson, 1978, p. 303). The following are the six power bases described by Johnson based on Raven's typology.

- coercion; one person can threaten the other
 with some form of punishment.
- 2. reward; one person promises some form of reward to the other.
- 3. referent; one appeals to the similarity and liking between herself or himself and the other.
- 4. legitimate; one acts in terms of one's right to influence and the other's obligation to comply.
 - 5. expert; one uses superior skills or knowledge.
- 6. information; one persuades the other with information about the outcome of the other's compliance.

Types of Power & Sex-Role Stereotypes

Johnson (1974) examined the effects of sex-role stereotypes on reactions to the use of various forms of social power. Students rated the extent to which each of fifteen power bases was feminine or masculine using a hypothetical situation questionnaire. The ratings indicated that helplessness, referent, and indirect power were regarded as feminine. In contrast,

expert, legitimate, and informational were rated as highly masculine power bases. In the second part of the study participants indicated gender and power base differential reactions to the influencer when informed of the gender of the influencer. of "female" power were rated as less powerful, aggressive, cold and competent than were users of "male" power. Of particular relevance to this study is Johnson's finding that the female influencer using a male power base was rated as being significantly more powerful, aggressive, and cold, but not more competent than a male influencer. One interpretation of this finding is that the woman is punished for her violation of her role. When presented with the opportunity to select a method of influencing another, the female students typically selected a feminine type of power noticably rejecting the use of expert The male students usually selected masculine types of power with a predominant rejection of helplessness. An additional finding of interest was that participants' feelings of competence increased over the course of the experiment except for those women selecting helplessness.

In a related study Johnson (1976) investigated

the differential expectations as the gender of the influencing agent. Undergraduate psychology students were presented with hypothetical ways in which X could attempt to induce Y to change his or her opinion regarding a legal case. The students rated how likely it was that X was a female and how likely it was that X was a male. Another group of students using a second hypothetical situation questionnaire rated the femininity and masculinity of the influence method. Coercion, legitimate, expert, and informational power, three of the four predicted male power bases and indirect information, were significantly more expected of men than of women. Two, personal reward and sexuality, of the nine hypothesized female power types were found to be significantly more likely of a female influencer whereas four of the five predicted and one not predicted, indirect information, bases were associated with a male influencer. Johnson concluded that these findings may be suggestive of a phenomenon similar to that reported in Broverman et al. (1972).

namely males are allowed to show "feminine" characteristics but females are not allowed to have "masculine" traits. That is, it's

acceptable (or expected) that only males will use the strong aggressive types of power; yet males are also allowed to use the other bases. Females, however, are limited in our society's expectation to the less powerful bases (pp. 107-108).

The use of legitimate authority can be less effective than helplessness for a woman. Gruder and Cook (1971) had college students arrive for a psychological experiment to discover a note from the experimenter with a request for the student to perform a task. The experimenter's room contained articles suggestive of the gender of the experimenter. The note either indicated a straight legitimate request relying on position or one based on helplessness. The female experimenter was more successful with a request based on helplessness than one based on her legitimate authority. The male experimenter was more successful with either a request based on helplessness or legitimate authority than was the female experimenter using a request based on legitimate authority.

Additional support for the negative consequences of a woman's use of traditional masculine power is provided by Falbo, Hazen and Linemon (1982).

Undergraduate students evaluated the likeability, competence, attractiveness, and credibility of male or female speakers delivering a speech regarding child care centers (female content) or the banning of Saturday night specials (gun control-male type content). The speaker ended the speech with either an influence type based on helplessness, stereotypically feminine, or one based on expertise, stereotypically masculine. Speakers using opposite sex influence types were rated as less likeable than those using the gender appropriate type. The female speakers using expertise were rated as less likeable than the expert male speakers. Male speakers relying on helplessness to influence others were rated as less likeable than their female counterparts. The expert female speakers were rated as less competent than the males using the helplessness influence strategy. However, the expert female speakers did not obtain lower attractiveness or trustworthiness ratings than their male counterparts. Speakers using a cross sex type influence method did not achieve lower effectiveness ratings than those using a more gender typical influence strategy. The researchers also noted one additional speaker gender effect. Female speakers

were rated as significantly more competent, trustworthy and qualified than were the male speakers.

Relevant Predictions

Several predictions relevant to this study are suggested by research in the area of social power. The authority figures in this study were described as using legitimate authority, a type of power which is typically viewed as "masculine." While it seems logical to predict that the female authority figures with the male subordinate would incur more negative reactions than the male authority figures, the research was not clear enough to make directional predictions. In some studies a female influencer using a male power base was perceived as more aggressive, powerful and cold and less likeable than a male influencer. However, in other studies the female influencer is not perceived as less trustworthy or effective than the male influencer. The effect of the gender of the individual being influenced was not specified in these studies. Therefore it seems logical to predict that there were differences in the ratings of the authority figures on each of the dependent variable scales. It was also expected that men would rate the male

authority figures more favorably than women.

Success and Achievement

Responses toward men and women who achieve have been suggested by studies in the area of success and achievement. Evidence as to whether a woman is rated on par with a man for the same accomplishment has been provided by research in this area. Researchers have also suggested how much credibility is given to a woman for her achievements by clarifying to which factors her accomplishments are attributed.

Evaluation of Women's Performance

Inconsistent results have been produced by studies concerning the evaluation of women's performance. A prototypical and often widely cited study has been that of Goldberg (1968) who claimed that "women consider their own sex inferior" (p. 28). Female college students rated professional articles in male-identified fields (law and city planning), female-identified fields (elementary education and dietetics) and neutral (linguistics and art history) fields, written either by a female or male author. Goldberg indicated that the male authors were rated more favorably in all fields, though in fact significant differences in ratings were obtained only in city planning, linguistics, and law,

that is, three of the six fields (Mischel, 1974).

Other researchers (Levenson, Burford, Bonno & Davis, 1975; Mischel, 1974; Pheterson, Kiesler & Goldberg, 1971; Soto & Cole, 1975; Trilling, 1976) have not supported Goldberg's findings. Evidence for a profemale bias on the part of women in certain situations has been provided.

Levenson et al. (1975) had college students grade student essays. The female college students rated the essays written by women more favorably than those written by men. Mischel (1974) found that the gender of the author enhanced the evaluation of work in some fields, while adversely affecting it in others, and having no effect on evaluations in still other fields. College students rated the articles in one of the two male fields, city planning, significantly more favorably when attributed to a male author. Female-authored articles in dietetics were also rated significantly more favorably than those credited to a male author. Articles in the remaining fields showed no effect for gender of the author though two of these fields, law and education, were gender-linked fields. Trilling (1975) found that the more a woman identified with women, that is, perceived herself as similar to her

view of the average woman, the less likely she was to evaluate a woman's product less favorably than that of a man.

Influence of Gender & Competence on

Performance Evaluation

The differential evaluation of performance may be affected by level of competence. Deaux and Taynor (1973) had college students rate either a male or female applicant of "high" competence or "low" competence for a study abroad scholarship program. The "high competent" male applicant was rated more positively than the "high competent" female. However, "low competent" males were rated significantly less favorably than their female counterparts. The researchers concluded that a "male stimulus person appears to be evaluated along a broader range, appearing more competent at the positive end of the scale but suffering greater devaluation under conditions of low competence" (p. 262). Pheterson et al. (1971) provided findings which were somewhat contradictory to the aforementioned. College students rated paintings either by a male or female artist presented as an entry level or award winning piece. Successful female artists (award winners) were rated as favorably as the comparable male

artists. However, the not-as-yet successful female artists (entry level works) were judged significantly less favorably than those by their male counterparts. Additional support for the effect of status level as well as gender of the subject is provided by Peck (1978). Undergraduate education students evaluated articles written by a fictitious male or female author of either high or low professional status. The female participants evaluated the work of the high status female author more favorably than did the men.

A competent woman has frequently engendered more unfavorable responses than a competent man. Ferber and Huber (1975) had over twelve hundred college students evaluate their former college teachers. Men rated their female teachers in comparison with their male teachers significantly less favorably in four of the seven subject areas. Female teachers evaluated by male students received significantly less favorable ratings than those rated by female students or the male teachers rated by either gender. An additional relevant finding was that for both men and women favorable evaluations of former female teachers were associated with a significant decrease in preference for male teachers. Contact with competent women acts

to decrease prejudice among male and female college students.

The adverse effect of female gender on the perception of competency has also been suggested by Fidell (1970). Fidell sent fictitious vitae belonging to either a male or female psychologist to the chair of each psychology department with a graduate program. The chairperson was asked to indicate impressions of the applicants' chances of receiving an offer for a full time position and at what level. The female psychologists received a greater number of offers at the assistant professor level than the male psychologists. The male psychologists received a broader distribution level of appointments. They also received more "on line" (academic positions with tenure) responses than did the female psychologists.

Perceptions of a competent women's likeability can be affected by the extent of involvement in interacting with her. Hagen and Kahn (1975) had undergraduates either compete with, cooperate with or observe two men or two women who were making predictions regarding a student's future. One of each pair was designated as either "low competent" or "high competent." The competent woman was liked by the male students

only when her performance was observed and the male students were not involved in interactions with her. The competent woman was more likely than the competent man to be excluded from the group. Students were more likely to include an incompetent woman than an incompetent man in the group. Attitudes toward women can also affect the likelihood of exclusion from the group. Men with liberal attitudes toward women were less likely to exclude the competent woman than those with more traditional attitudes. However, the researchers noted that "even men with liberal attitudes toward women do not particularly like a competent woman" (p. 373). A woman's competency can represent for a man a threat to or even an assault on his self esteem and thus can arouse counteragression toward the woman as a response to the "threat" (Coser; Kahn & Ryan; Sherriffs, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherriffs; cited in Hagen & Kahn, 1975). Spence and Helmreich (1972) have provided data regarding the relationship between attitudes toward women and liking which is consistent with that of Hagen and Kahn.

Inconsistent data have been provided indicating that competent women were preferred over incompetent ones by observers of either gender (Deaux, 1972;

Spence & Helmreich, 1972). Hagen and Kahn (1975) examined the differences between the nature of the interactions in their study and that of Deaux (1972) and Spence and Helmreich (1972) in an effort to explain the differences in the obtained results. researchers noted that in the latter studies videotapes of the competent women were presented in a situation in which the observer had no further interaction with the stimulus person, the competent woman. Hagen and Kahn speculated that this type of design may not call forth prejudice against a competent woman to the same extent as one in which the subject is involved in an interaction with the competent woman. Evidence is provided indicating that behavior in actual contrast to hypothetical situations is not comparable (Campbell, 1963; Miller, 1972; Wicker, 1969).

Alternate Theoretical Paradigms

An understanding of negative reactions to a woman's use of authority or competency is aided by an aspect of dissonance theory, the effect of expectancy disconfirmation (Festinger, 1957; Watts, 1968). A woman who uses her authority with a male subordinate may be perceived as holding an unexpected position, "boss," and acting in an unexpected manner by using

her authority. A person confronted with a disconfirmation of his or her expectations can either change his or her beliefs, punish the other, or attribute the unexpected behavior to chance. disconfirmation of expectations which diminish self esteem leads to the greatest dissonance (Aronson, 1969). Competency is a valued attribute in our society and a critical component of male sex-role adequacy which, as Wolowitz (1979) notes is "one of the major cornerstones of ego identity in many cultures and is especially the basis of self respect in complexly competitive cultures such as our own" (p. 11). For men raised in this culture, sex-role adequacy has been closely connected with a belief in male superiority in various performance realms and the central value of power and domination (Bernardez, 1981; Farrell, 1974; Filene, 1974; Goldberg, 1977). Consequently a paradigm in which a man is under the authority of a woman can arouse for the man a greater loss of self esteem in comparison with any other gender pair combination.

Differential Attributions for Performance

by Men and Women

Research concerning attributions of causation of positive and negative outcomes is an area of

achievement research which is relevant to the present study. Researchers in this area have suggested that a women's successful performance is credited to a different set of factors than is a man's. Men are believed "to be more responsible than are women for success and positive outcomes, whereas women are viewed as more responsible for failure and negative outcomes" (Pinches, 1978, p. 38).

Researchers (Feather, 1969; Weiner, Frieze, Kukla, Reed, Rest & Rosenbaum, 1972) have suggested that expected success or failure should be attributed to internal factors such as ability or effort, while unexpected success or failure should be attributed to external factors such as chance or task ease. On this basis Deaux and Emswiller (1974) hypothesized that gender inconsistent achievement or successful performance on a cross sex-typed task would be attributed to chance. Undergraduate students rated male and female confederates on either a masculine or feminine typed task. Identical performance by men and women was not attributed to identical factors. Successful performance on the masculine typed task by men was attributed to skill, whereas the woman's successful performance on the same task was credited

to chance. The man's successful performance on the feminine-typed task was not attributed to chance as expected but rather to skill as was the woman's. Performance on the masculine-typed task was rated more favorably although the tasks were pretested for equal difficulty. Male and female students manifested similar patterns of judgments suggestive of biases that were equally held.

Feather and Simon (1973, 1975) found, consistent with the work of Feather and Raphelson (1974) that among a group of Australian private school girls, a male stimulus person's success in a variety of occupations was attributed to ability more than was a female stimulus person's success. A woman's success in comparison with the man's was attributed more to lack of task difficulty, that is, ease of course of study rather than to her ability. The woman's failure was attributed more to personal deficiencies than was a man's failure, which was accounted for by external The men were also evaluated more positively and were seen as more powerful and less feminine if successful. The women in contrast were rated more positively and powerfully and as more feminine if they failed. The results reported by Feather and his

colleagues (Feather & Simon, 1973, 1975; Feather & Raphelson, 1974) may be of limited applicability. The samples used can be considered selective and biased and as a result may preclude generalization to the population of American undergraduate students.

Differential attributions regarding successful performance by men and women seem to be well established in both boys and girls by the fifth grade. Etaugh and Brown (1975) found that subjects in the fifth, eighth, eleventh grades, and in college held similar attributions regarding successful and unsuccessful performance on a masculine-typed task by men as opposed to women. A woman's success in mechanics, an unexpected outcome, was more often credited to her effort (an unstable factor) than was a man's. The identical performance by a man, an expected outcome, was more often attributed to his ability (a stable factor) than was the woman's. findings are consistent with those of Weiner et al. (1971) regarding the relationships between expected outcome and stable factor attributions (ability, task difficulty) versus unexpected outcome and unstable factor attributions (chance and effort).

Another type of judgment regarding a person's

behavior or performance relevant to this study is that of blame or culpability for either the behavior or the Some data exist which suggest that women may be blamed more than men for destructive outcomes. Fernberger (cited in Pinches, 1978) had men and women subjects indicate which traits were more characteristic of men or women. Women and men subjects were in agreement regarding women's culpability for trouble. Lansky, Crandall, Kagan and Baker (1961) indicated that adolescent girls in comparison with their male peers assumed more responsibility for destructive Hoffman (1974) reported the essentially outcomes. consistent finding that girls and women were more apt to experience guilt and worry about the effects of their behavior than were boys and men.

Researchers have found that a woman is in some contexts likely to be perceived more favorably than a man by women. Pinches (1978) had college women write a projective story involving an argument between a man and a woman in which the argument had either a nonspecified, negative, or positive outcome on the couple's relationship. The female students then rated the male and female story characters using the Story Character Evaluation Scale (SCES), a multi-item

Likert-type scale measuring perception of destructive dominance, hostility, love, appeal, ego strength and immaturity. The students also assigned credit or blame for the argument to each of the story characters and completed the Spence and Helmreich Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS). Irrespective of the female college students' sex-role ideology (liberal, traditional or moderate) and of the information provided regarding the impact of the argument outcome on the couple's relationship, the female story character received significantly more favorable ratings regarding attributions for credit and blame for the argument than the male character. However, the researcher noted some modest support for the belief that women are blamed more for the argument than are men. The belief that the argument should have been prevented was positively correlated with attribution of blame and negatively associated with attribution of credit to the woman.

No relationship was found between opinions regarding the argument and the SCES ratings for the male story character. Both male and female characters received favorable personality trait ratings although the female story character was rated more favorably

than the male character. The female character was not rated as substantially different on the destructive dominance or immaturity item cluster from the male character. Traditional women were not more critical of the female story character for excessive aggression. domineering behavior or egoism than were liberal women. However, the traditional women attributed more destructive dominance than any other group to the female story character when the outcome of the argument was specified. The liberal women attributed less destructive dominance than the traditional or moderate women to the female story character when the argument outcome was specified. In the negative outcome condition, the liberal women indicated a noticeable increase in attribution of blame to the woman. female character was the recipient not only of more blame but was also characterized as more hostile by liberal women than by either the traditional or moderate ones. Pinches presented a variety of interesting explanations for this unexpected finding. The liberal women were also more unfavorable in their ratings of both the male and female story character for undesirable weakness and aggression.

Profemale bias on the part of women has also been

reported by other researchers. Pinches (1978), in her review of studies by Cookie; Jaffee et al.; Priest and Wilhelm; and Taylor and Epstein, noted the increased likelihood of same sex favoritism in situations involving conflict between an individual woman and a man.

Relevant Predictions

Several predictions regarding judgments about a woman who uses authority are suggested by research in the area of success and achievement. It was expected that women would rate the female authority figures more favorably than men. Differences in the ratings between the authority figures on each of the dependent variable scales were expected. The research was not clear enough to make directional predictions.

It was possible that the position and/or behavior of the female authority figure who uses authority with a male subordinate would be perceived as sex-role inconsistent and thus unexpected. Consequently she would engender the judge's anger and adverse responses for being in a position to exert authority, a position she achieved by luck rather than ability. In this respect her authority usage would be perceived as more unpredictable and potentially more dangerous than that

of her male counterpart whose perceived ability would serve as a reassurance against his wanton use of authority. It was also possible that the female authority would be credited with achieving her position, possibly an unexpected one, on the basis of her effort and thus would be the recipient of very favorable reactions.

The extent to which respondents in this study perceived the subordinate as vulnerable to criticism or rejection by the authority figure could affect judgments about the authority figure. It was possible that the male subordinate would be perceived as vulnerable to the rejection of his ideas and the demand for compliance by the female authority. Therefore, the female authority figure would be blamed more than the other authority figures and would be the recipient of negative ratings. However, it was also possible that the female subordinate would be perceived as more vulnerable to the rejection of her ideas than the male Therefore, either of the authority subordinates. figures with a female subordinate could be blamed more than the authority figures with a male subordinate.

Finally, it was also expected that respondents' dominance scale scores would be related to perceptions

of the female authority figures. Men's dominance scale scores were expected to be positively related to perceptions of the female authority figures' destructive image and negatively related to perceptions of admired image, legitimate authority and positive authority. Women's dominance scores were expected to be positively associated with perceptions of the female authority figures' admired image, positive authority, and legitimate authority and negatively associated with perceptions of destructive image.

Summary

Research findings in five areas, sex-linked stereotypes, leadership, attitudes, social power and success and achievement, have been reviewed. Several major findings emerged which are relevant to this study. Women were not perceived as more lacking than men in characteristics which are compatible with the achievement of high level positions and the use of authority, for example, independence, leadership orientation and aggressiveness. However, when ratings of personality needs for each gender group, rather than a sex-role stereotype questionnaire, were used to assess perceptions, dominance is perceived by both men and women to be a much less important need for a woman

than for a man. Sex-role perceptions of a career woman were sometimes distinguished from those of a woman by the inclusion of such items as dominant, rational and unemotional.

Women in positions of authority, for example as managers, were more easily able than men to hold a perception of a woman which embodies the qualities of rational thinking, emotional stability and some dominance related characteristics. Differences in the perceptions held by feminist as compared to nonfeminist women were also found. Women typically in university settings who are affiliated with the women's movement valued more than non-affiliated women such attributes as directness and dominance.

Inconsistent findings are available regarding the evaluation of different leadership styles. A woman who used a sex-role inconsistent style, for example initiating structure or reward, was rated less favorably than a man in laboratory studies comparing men's and women's use of various management styles. However, perceptions of a female manager's use of sex-role inconsistent styles did not appear to influence workers' satisfaction when factors which covary with the gender of the workers and the manager

were controlled. In other contexts, a woman's use of authority, for example in Tavistock-type self study groups, engendered criticism, hostility, and fearfulness on the part of male and female group members. Evidence has been provided suggesting that a woman in a position of authority can have an empowering effect on women but not on men. Men's attitudes toward the role of women has been shown to affect their attributions regarding the female leader. Men with traditional attitudes toward the role of women devalued the role of the female leader more than men with liberal attitudes.

An association between gender and certain types of power has been indicated by research findings in the area of social power. For example, legitimate authority and expert power have been associated with men and helplessness, referrent, and personal reward have been associated with women. The use of a maleidentified power type by a woman has engendered unfavorable evaluations. For example, a woman using a male-identified power type has been perceived as more aggressive, cold, wrong, and less likeable than a man. A woman's use of legitimate authority has been less effective than her use of helplessness.

Evidence for the equal evaluation of achievement by men and women has been provided by studies in the area of success and achievement. However, evaluations of the woman's achievement has been affected by her level of competence or status. A competent woman in some contexts has engendered more unfavorable responses than a competent man. An aspect of dissonance theory, the effect of expectancy disconfirmation, has been useful in providing an explanation of negative reactions to a woman's competency or use of authority.

Researchers concerned with the attribution of causation for positive and negative outcomes have indicated that a woman's successful performance is attributed to a different set of factors than is a man's. Successful performance by a woman on a sex-role inconsistent task was perceived as an unexpected outcome and consequently was attributed to chance rather than to ability. In addition, some evidence has been provided suggesting that women were blamed more for destructive outcomes than men. However, in some contexts women were likely to be perceived more favorably than men.

Chapter III

Methods

Introduction

A sample of college men and women were presented with a written description of a fictitious authority figure, either Susan Brooks or David Crane, who uses his or her authority with a subordinate, either Brian Dean or Helen Green. The respondents were asked to write a TAT-type story about the interchange between the authority figure and the subordinate and to respond to a list of statements asking for evaluations of the authority figure. Respondents also completed a measure of dominance.

There were three independent variables in the study, gender of respondents, dominance scale scores of respondents, and the authority figure described in one of four experimental conditions.

The four dependent variables were the respondents evaluations of the authority figure on the four scales which were Legitimate Authority (LA), Positive Authority (PA), Admired Image (AI), and Destructive Image (DI).

Sample

The sample consisted of 40 male and 80 female undergraduate students at a large midwestern university

who volunteered to participate in this research and who completed the one-session testing. Approximately one-half of the sample (18 men and 39 women) was selected from students living in a university residence hall complex during the Spring quarter of 1984. The complex was selected on the recommendation of the Director of University Housing. It is a large complex with six halls housing 1,309 men and 1,044 women students. The researcher hoped that the easily accessible testing area would be an incentive for student participation. One hundred and twenty-two residents were randomly selected and contacted either by letter (see Appendix A) or phone with a reminder note (see Appendix B). Twenty students or 16 2/3% of those contacted completed the testing. Additional residents were recruited with a letter (see Appendix C) sent to 800 men and 800 women residents. Thirty-seven students (9 men and 28 women) or 2.19% of those contacted volunteered. The names, campus addresses, and phone numbers of the residents were obtained from a computer listing of the complex residents compiled by University data processing with the prior approval of the Office of the Registrar. The researcher paid the data

processing fee for the listing of men and women residents.

The extremely low rate of participation in this research during Spring quarter of 1984 along with substantially decreased residence hall enrollment during summer quarters made an alternate method of respondent recruitment necessary. Twenty-two men (55% of the total sample of men) and forty-one (51% of the total sample of women) were recruited from undergraduate students enrolled in social science courses during Summer quarter of 1984. The researcher anticipated that students in social science courses would be more interested in this research and, therefore, would be more likely to volunteer for this study than students enrolled in courses in other divisions.

The mean age of the men and women was comparable (see Table 1; Men=20.55 years, Women=20.25 years). While the mean age for each gender group of students recruited during Spring quarter was different from the mean age of the Summer quarter students, these differences were not significant.

Table 1
Mean Age of Each Sample Group

	MEN			WOMEN		
	Spring	Summer	Total	Total	Spring	Summer
	N=18	N=22	N=40	N-80	N=39	N=41
\overline{X}	19	21.82	20.55	20.25	18.94	21.62
S.D.	. 908	3.445	2.96	2.292	. 916	2.509
3.0.	. 700	3.443	2.70	2.272	. 710	2.5

The total sample of men and the total sample of women were comparable on the demographic variables of race and education level (see Table 2). There were two striking differences between each gender group on the religion variable. The sample of women students consisted of a larger percentage of Catholics (Women=46.6%; Men=27.5%) and a small percentage of students with no religious affiliation (Women=3.7%; Men=15%) than the sample of men students.

All students were offered a token payment. The residence hall students were offered the opportunity to place their names in a prize drawing for one of seven prizes including \$100. Summer students were also able to enter a prize drawing although the

Table 2

Race, Education Level and Religion of Men and

Women Respondents

Variable	Men	Women
Race		
Black	12.5%	8.8%
Caucasian	85	86.2
Hispanic	0	3.7
American Indian	0	0
	-	•
Other	2.5	1.2
Education		
Freshman	37.5	31.3
Sophomore	25	22.5
Junior	15	16.2
Senior	22.5	30
Other	0	0
Religion		
Catholic	27.5	46.2
Jewish	5	1.2
Protestant	35	31.3
Other	17.5	17.5
None	15	3.7

prizes were considerably smaller (\$20, \$15, & \$10). In addition, each summer student who participated in this research received a coupon for a free ice cream. Students recruited from psychology courses were also given credit by the course instructors.

Instruments

A TAT-type written cue, the projective instrument, was designed to present respondents with a situation in which an authority figure uses his or her authority with a subordinate. Two sets of measurements were used. The first, the Story Character Evaluation Scale, assessed respondents' evaluations of the authority figure on each of the four scales of Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image. The second measure used was the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory Dominance Scale which assessed respondents' own level of dominance.

Projective Instrument

A projective instrument was designed to present respondents with a situation in which an authority figure exerts his or her authority with a subordinate (see Appendix D). The format is based on the TAT. The projective instrument is an adaptation of the

one developed and used by Pinches (1978) in her dissertation research. In lieu of the standard TAT pictures, a brief written description of an authority figure was presented to the respondents. Respondents were asked to write projective stories according to the TAT manual instructions. Stories were used as a way to involve students and elicit individual content. The researcher did not analyze the content of the stories.

One experimental stimulus with four variations was used. The basic stimulus is that of an authority figure, the division head of a large company with a subordinate on his or her staff and working under his or her direction, who is in the midst of a meeting in which the superior rejects the project plan of the subordinate. The superior indicates that the subordinate's compliance with an alternate project plan, one which the authority figure developed, is expected. The four variations of this stimulus are:

A. Female - Male

The division head is a women (Susan Brooks) and her subordinate is a man (Brian Dean).

B. Female - Female

The division head is a woman (Susan Brooks) and her subordinate is a woman (Helen Green).

C. Male - Male

The division head is a man (David Crane) and his subordinate is also a man (Brian Dean).

D. Male - Female

The division head is a man (David Crane) and his subordinate is a woman (Helen Green).

The projective test forms consist of a page titled Story Form which includes background information, a scene description and story instructions for one of the four stimulus variations followed by two blank pages. The story instructions are an adaptation of TAT plot instruction. After writing a story respondents then completed the Story Character Evaluation Scale.

Story Character Evaluation Scale (SCES)

A series of statements were designed to investigate the respondents' evaluations of the authority figure (see Appendix E). The SCES permits a rating of the authority figure from one to four on 42 Likert-type items. These 42 items constitute four scales. The number and type of items in each scale along with the scale's reliability are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3

The Story Character Evaluation Scales

	Type of	Number	
Scale	Item	of Items	Reliability
Legitimate			
Authority (LA)	Statement	4	.73
Positive			
Authority (PA)	Statement	2	. 70
Admired	Personality		
Image (AI)	Traits	15	.91
Destructive	Personality		
Image (DI)	Traits	21	.94

These internal consistency coefficients were calculated using Cronbach's alpha.

Legitimate authority (Items 11, 14, 18 & 19).

Four statements comprise a measure of the respondent's perception of the authority figure's legitimate authority. The statements were derived from Smith's conceptualization of authority as "the right to make a particular decision and command obedience" (M.G. Smith, 1960, 18-19). Respondents rated the authority figure on each of the statements using a Likert-four-point scale with (1) indicating strong agreement and (4) indicating strong disagreement

with the statement. For purposes of data analyses two changes were made in the scoring. First, the Likert-four-point scale of 1, 2, 3, and 4 was changed to 0, 1, 2, and 3. This change was made to accommodate the preference of the individual performing the computer analyses of the data. Second, the item scoring was changed such that a high score on any item was consistent with high Legitimate Authority and a low score on any item was consistent with low Legitimate Authority. Therefore, the scores given to items #11 and #19 were reversed.

The following statements are written in the most general format. The appropriate authority figure and subordinate were substituted for each of the stimulus variations on the SCES completed by respondents.

- 11. The authority figure has the right to reject the subordinate's plan.
- l4. The authority figure does not have the right to have the subordinate comply with an alternate plan.
- 18. The authority figure is a bitch (bastard) to work for.
 - 19. The authority figure should make major

decisions affecting Regional Health Care Associates.

Positive Authority (Items 16 and 20). items comprise the Positive Authority (PA) scale and are a measure of the respondent's perception of the person in authority as exercising his or her authority in a fair and constructive manner. The two items were written and used by Pinches (1978). Responses on these items may be studied separately from responses on the Legitimate Authority scale. Respondents were asked to rate the authority figure on a four-point Likert scale with (1) indicating strong agreement with the statement, (2) indicating moderate agreement with the statement, (3) indicating moderate disagreement with the statement, and (4) indicating strong disagreement with the statement. For purposes of data analyses the Likert-four-point scale of 1, 2, 3, and 4 was changed to 0, 1, 2, and 3 to accommodate the preference of the individual performing the computer analyses of the data. low score on each of the Positive Authority items was consistent with low Positive Authority.

The following statements are written in the most general format. The appropriate authority figure and subordinate were substituted for each

of the stimulus variations on the SCES completed by respondents.

- 16. The authority figure is not helpful and constructive with the subordinate.
- 20. The authority figure created trouble between herself (himself) and the subordinate.

Personality traits list. The Personality Traits
List contains 36 items grouped into two clusters,
Admired Image and Destructive Image. Three judges
independently assigned the items of the Personality
Trait List to the clusters described below. Items
on which the three judges were in agreement were
included in the Pesonality Traits List given to
respondents.

On the Personality Traits List the respondent was asked to rate the authority figure on a four-point scale according to whether the trait was viewed as (1) very true of the person rated, (2) somewhat true of the person rated, (3) rather unlike the person rated or (4) very unlike the person rated. For purposes of data analyses the Likert-four-point scale of 1, 2, 3, and 4 was changed to 0, 1, 2, and 3 to accommodate the preference of the individual performing the computer analyses of the data. The

scores given to each item were also reversed with (0) indicating the trait is viewed as very unlike the person rated and (3) the trait is very true of the person rated. This change was made so that interpretation of high scores on the Admired Image and Destructive Image scales would be consistent with high Admired Image and high Destructive Image.

The person who is rated highly on the Admired Image cluster of items is seen as capable and admired. She or he has a good sense of her or his rights and abilities without infringing on the rights of others. The source and number of each of the Admired Image items is presented in the following list.

- PG 23. assertive
- PG 30. clear thinking
 - 31. competent
- G 32. confident
 - 34. constructive
- PG 38. fair-minded
 - 40. full of life
 - G 42. imaginative
- G 43. intelligent
 - 44. knowledgeable
- P. 45. likeable

- P 46. loving
- G 49. resourceful
 - 52. self-disciplined
 - 56. understanding

The high scorer on the Destructive Image cluster of items is seen as having a strong personality coupled with a lack of appreciation for the rights of others. This person is pushy, coercive, and acts in ways which are injurious to the self esteem of others. The source and number for each of the Destructive Image items is presented in the following list.

- P 21. too aggressive
- G 22. arrogant
- P 24. attacking
 - 25. authoritative
- G 26. autocratic
 - 27. belittling
 - 28. blaming
- PG 29. bossy
- PG 33. conceited
 - P 35. controlling
 - P 36. critical
- PG 37. demanding

- PG 39. fault finding
- PG 41. hostile
 - P 47. overpowering
 - P 48. rejecting
- PG 50. rigid
 - 51. ruthless
 - 53. self-seeking
 - P 54. spoiled
 - 57. unfair

Sixteen of the total 36 items contained in the Personality Traits List were taken from the Gough Adjective Checklist (ACL, Gough & Heilbrun, 1971) which is described below. Nine items were taken from the SCES developed by Pinches (1978). Eleven items were included which in the judgement of the researcher seemed to add to the available nuances of the clusters.

The Gough ACL is a 300 item checklist devised

PG = Items used by Pinches and taken from the Gough
ACL

G = Items taken from the Gough ACL

P = Items used by Pinches

in 1952 from earlier versions of the scale (Gough & Heilbrun, 1971). Scores can be obtained for 24 scales. Fifteen of these scales represent the basic human needs described by Murray (1938) and further elaborated by Edwards (1954). The ACL was devised to note professional observers' perceptions of individuals for whom psychological assessment was required. Gough & Heilbrun (1980) reported alpha coefficients for the scales ranging from .56 to .95 (median range).76) for men and from .53 to .94 for women (median range).75). The range of test-retest coefficients was from .34 to .77 (median range) for women.

Pinches (1978) as part of her doctoral research developed a 54-item personality trait list to measure female subjects' ratings of a female and a male story character involved in an argument. The items were arranged into six clusters, three of which represented the positive pole of self ascendence, love and dependence dimensions. The three other clusters represented the negative pole of the dimensions. Each cluster contained nine traits in the first version used and was based on interjudge agreement for item placement. Revisions in the SCES were

made resulting in a final version of the SCES after the data were scored. Such revisions were necessary due to the low reliability of some of the original clusters.

Dominance Scale

Respondents' degree of dominance was measured using the 60 items which comprise the Dominance Scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) developed by Gough, McClosky and Meehl. A Kuder Richardson 21 coefficient of .70 has been reported. Evidence for the validity of the scale was based on a distribution of raw scores for each of the two subsamples (most and least dominant) in the two criterion groups. Gough et al. (1951, p. 364) noted that although the number of cases in the two subsamples was small, "that for the cases scored on the total scale, the discrimination between the most and least dominant subsample was very good." A \overline{X} = 37.06 and a S.D. = 8.47 were reported for the college sample.

The scale was developed using a peer group nomination technique. The sample of subjects used in the scale development consisted of 100 college and 124 high school students who were asked to nominate members

of their groups they considered to be the most and least dominant. The following directions for the nomination of most and least dominant persons were given to the students:

The dominant person tends to be the "stronger" in face-to-face personal situations, for instance, with friends, salespeople, etc. is able to influence others, to gain their automatic respect, and if necessary to control He is not readily intimidated or defeated, them. and his own feelings in most face-to-face situations seem to be feelings of safety, security, personal rightness, and self-confidence. Such people are often described by others as "forceful," "masterful," "strong", "confident," "authoritative," and "sure of himself." People with low dominance are submissive. They appear and feel weaker in face-to-face contacts. They find it hard to assert themselves, to stand up for their rights and opinions, and are more easily influenced and intimidated by others. When a dominant and submissive person come into conflict, the dominant one gets his way.

There are three things to be especially careful about in rating dominance:

- 1. Do not assume that "dominance" means domineering or "autocratic." While most domineering people are dominant, not all dominant people are domineering. Dominant people do not necessarily become leaders, or go out of their way to control and influence others. But whether they do or not, they create this effect of masterful, self-assurance and others are often influenced by them. They may be very fair and reasonable: they may not want to lead people; yet still this basic dominance shows through.
- 2. Please rate on the basis of the person's actual behavior, not on the basis of how you think he would like to act, or how he fancies himself in his daydreams, etc. We want to know how dominant he is in actual behavior.
- 3. Remember that some people get into positions of prestige and power and thus control others, even though they may not be particularly dominant, for instance, because they are very bright, or have much money, etc. Do not confuse

this with the personal trait of dominance, which we are asking you to judge.

(Gough et al., 1951, p. 361).

A criterion group for item analyses was selected from the nominations. Thirty items from a series of 150 items developed by Gough et al. and 28 items from the MMPI were selected for the Dominance Scale, all of which differentiated between the least and most dominant groups in both the high school and college sample.

Procedures

The students were tested usually in small groups. Each student was given a research booklet containing an Informed Consent form (see Appendix F), Personal Information form (see Appendix G), General Instructions (see Appendix H), one of four Story Forms (see Appendix D), the Story Character Evaluation Scale (see Appendix E) and a computer answer form. After completing the Story Character Evaluation Scale the student turned in the research booklet and then completed the MMPI Dominance Scale.

During the Spring quarter testing the researcher read aloud each section of the Experimenter's Manual

(see Appendix I). However, during the summer quarter testing sessions the researcher did not read aloud each section of the manual. Each student instead was provided with a brief written description of the study (see Appendix J) and instructions for completing the research booklet material (see Appendix K). This change was made to provide students with greater scheduling flexibility. The researcher was available during the testing sessions to answer any questions.

The student's participation in this research was completed after he or she turned in the Opinions about Self Questionnaire. Each student completed a prize drawing ticket. Each of the students selected in the prize drawing was notified with a letter containing the prize (see Appendix L).

Hypotheses and Analyses

The aim of this study was to provide data to answer the following questions:

- 1. Are there differences in ratings between each of the authority figures on each of the dependent variables?
- 2. Are women more likely than men to react favorably to the female authority figures?

- 3. What is the effect of men's own level of dominance on perceptions of the female authority figures on each of the four dependent variables?
- 4. What is the effect of women's own level of dominance on perceptions of the female authority figures on each of the four dependent variables?

The hypotheses tested in this study are presented below.

Hypothesis 1

There are significant differences in ratings between each of the authority figures on each of the four dependent variables (legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image).

Hypothesis 2

There are no significant differences between men's and women's ratings of the authority figures on each of the four dependent variables (legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image).

Hypothesis 3

There is a significant interaction between experimental condition and gender of respondents on each of the four dependent variables (legitimate

authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image).

Analyses

Four separate 2 X 4 two-way Analyses of Variance for unequal cell size were planned to test hypotheses 1, 2, and 3. Thus there was one ANOVA for each of the four dependent variables on the Story Character Evaluation Scales (Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image, and Destructive Image). The analyses for hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4

Analyses for Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES					
	Gender	Condition			
	(M,F)	(A,B,C,D)			
DEPENDENT VARIABLES					
Legitimate Authority	2 X 4	ANOVA			
Positive Authority	2 X 4	ANOVA			
Admired Image	2 X 4	ANOVA			
Destructive Image	2 X 4	ANOVA			

Hypothesis 4

There is a significant relationship between respondents' Dominance Scale scores and ratings of the female authority figures on each of the four dependent variables on the Story Character Evaluation Scale (Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image, and Destructive Image) as described in Table 5.

Table 5

Predicted Relationship between Respondents' Dominance

Scale Scores and Ratings of Female Authority Figures

Post of the second				_		
Experimental	Legitimate	Positive	Admired	Destructive		
Condition	Authority	Authority	Image	Image		
Men Respondents						
A	-	-	-	+		
В	-	-	-	+		
Women Respondents						
٨	+	+	+	-		
В	+	+	+	-		

Note: A = Female authority figure with male subordinate

- B = Female authority figure with female subordinate
- = Predicted negative relationship between dominance scores and dependent variable
- + = Predicted positive relationship between dominance scores and dependent variable

<u>Analyses</u>

A series of Pearson Product Moment correlations were planned to test hypothesis 4.

Chapter IV

Data Analyses, Results and Conclusions
Several statistical procedures were used to
analyze the differences between the four experimental
conditions. First, a series of 2 X 4 two-way
Analyses of Variance followed by post hoc group
comparisons were used to analyze between group
differences on each of the four Story Character
Evaluation Scales. Second, a series of correlation
coefficients were calculated between each gender
group's dominance score and each of the scores
on the dependent variables of legitimate authority,
positive authority, admired image and destructive
image for condition A and B.

2 Way Analyses (ANOVA) Results: Testing Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3

Four separate two-way Analyses of Variance were used to test hypotheses 1, 2, and 3. The four dependent variables were legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image. The independent variables were experimental condition (A,B,C,& D) and gender (male or female) of the respondents.

Hypothesis 1

Alternative Hypothesis H_A
la,b,c,d
is a significant difference in ratings between
the authority figures on each of the
legitimate authority, positive authority,
admired image and destructive image variables.

Hypothesis 2

Null Hypothesis H_O2a,b,c,d is no significant difference between men's and women's ratings of the authority figures on each of the legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image variables.

Hypothesis 3

Alternative Hypothesis H_A There is 3a,b,cd a significant interaction between experimental condition and gender of respondents on each of the legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image variables.

<u>Hypothesis l</u>

The two-way statistical tests for experimental condition are reported in Table 6.

Table 6

F Statistics for Experimental Condition x

Each Dependent Variable

F	Р
4.169	.008*
1.045	.376
2.225	.089
1.405	.245
	4.169 1.045 2.225

p < .05

A series of two-way Analyses of Variance indicated a significant result for experimental condition on the legitimate authority variable. Specifically \underline{F} =4.169 p <.008. Since p < .008 is less than \Rightarrow =.05, the pre-established significance level, there was a significant difference and the decision to reject Ho_{la} was made. No significant results were obtained for experimental condition on the 3 other dependent variable scales, Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image. Therefore, H_{A} was supported while H_{A} were not.

Post Hoc Group Comparisons: Results

Tukey's post hoc group comparisons were used to investigate the between experimental condition contrasts that accounted for the significant effect on the dependent variable of legitimate authority. Mean scores and standard deviations for the experimental conditions on the legitimate authority variable are presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for Experimental

Condition for Legitimate Authority

Condition				
	Α	В	С	D
\overline{X}	2.22	1.65	1.92	1.71
S.D.	.61	.79	.658	.716

<u>Contrast One: Experimental Condition A versus</u> <u>Condition B</u>

There was a statistically significant difference between experimental condition A (Female authority figure with male subordinate) and condition B (Female authority figure with female subordinate) on the

dependent variable of legitimate authority, p < .05. Post hoc comparisons for legitimate authority are presented in Table 8.

Table 8

Post Hoc Comparisons for Legitimate Authority

	Value	<u>P</u> .05
Contrast 1	.5722	*
(A with B)		
Contrast 2	.3083	ns
(A with C)		
Contrast 3	.5167	*
(A with D)		
Contrast 4	2639	ns
(B with C)		
Contrast 5	.0555	ns
(B with D)		
Contrast 6	.2083	ns
(C with D)		

<u>Contrast Two: Experimental Condition A versus</u> <u>Condition C</u>

There was no statistically significant difference between condition A (female authority figure with

male subordinate) and condition C (male authority figure with male subordinate) on the legitimate authority variable.

<u>Contrast Three: Experimental Condition A</u> versus Condition D

There was a statistically significant difference between condition A (female authority figure with male subordinate) and condition D (male authority figure with female subordinate) on the legitimate authority variable, p $\langle .05.$

Contrast Four: Experimental Condition B versus Condition C

There was no statistically significant difference between condition B (female authority figure with female subordinate) and condition C (male authority figure with male subordinate) on the legitimate authority variable.

Contrast Five: Experimental Condition B versus Condition D

There was no statistically significant difference between condition B (female authority figure with female subordinate) and condition D (male authority figure with female subordinate) on the legitimate authority variable.

<u>Contrast Six: Experimental Condition C versus</u> Condition D

There was no statistically significant difference between condition C (male authority figure with male subordinate) and condition D (male authority figure with female subordinate) on the legitimate authority variable.

Hypothesis 2

The ANOVA statistical tests for gender of respondents for the legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image variables are reported in Table 9.

Table 9

F Statistics for Gender of Respondents x Each

Dependent Variable

Dependent Variable Scale	<u>F</u>	<u>Р</u>	
Legitimate Authority	2.324	.130	
Positive Authority	.850	.359	
Admired Image	.069	.793	
Destructive Image	.114	.736	

No significant results were obtained for gender of

respondents on the legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image, and destructive image variables. The decision was made therefore not to reject Ho_{2a,b,c,d}.

Hypothesis 3

The \underline{F} statistics for the interaction effects between gender of respondents and experimental condition for the legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image variables are reported in Table 10

Table 10

F Statistics for Interaction Effect: Gender of Respondents x Experimental Condition

Dependent Variable	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	
Legitimate Authority	.750	.524	
Positive Authority	1.144	.335	
Admired Image	.781	.507	
Destructive Image	1.391	.249	

No significant results were obtained for interaction effects between gender of respondents and the experimental condition for the legitimate

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authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image variables. The decision was made therefore not to reject Ho_{3a,b,c,d} and hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Pearson Product Moment Correlation Results: Testing Hypothesis 4

Sixteen Pearson Product Moment correlation coefficients were calculated, eight for each gender group. Within each gender group a separate correlation coefficient was calculated between respondents' dominance scores and each of the scores on the dependent variables (legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image) for the female authority figure with a male subordinate (Condition A) and then for the female authority figure with a female subordinate (Condition B).

Hypothesis 4

Alternative Hypothesis H_A There is A_{4a,b,c,d} a significant relationship between respondents' dominance scores and ratings of the female authority figures for the legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image variables as described in Table 11.

Table 11

Hypothesized Relationship between Respondents'

Dominance Scale Scores and Ratings of Female

Authority Figures

	Experimental	Legitimate	Positive	Admired	Destructive
<u>Gender</u>	Condition	Authority	Authority	Image	Image
Men	A	-	-	-	+
	В	-	-	-	+
Women	A	+	+	+	-
	В	+	+	+	-

Note: A = Female authority figure with male subordinate

- B = Female authority figure with female subordinate
- = Predicted negative relationship between dominance and dependent variable
- + = Predicted positive relationship between dominance and dependent variable

The obtained correlations are reported in Table 12.

Table 12

Pearson Correlations between Respondents' Dominance Scale Scores and of Female Authority Figures X Experimental Condition Ratings

Gender	Experimental ^a Legitimate	Legitim	late	Positive		Admired	-	Destructive	ive
Group	Condition	Authority	ty	Authority	A	Image		Image	
Men ^a		ы	ପ	ы	더	ы	൮	ы	а
	¥	.1593	.33	0094	067	. 1513	.338	0112	. 488
		(10)		(10)		(10)		(10)	
	В	.2738	. 222	.1594	.330	.3461	.164	3068	.194
		(10)		(10)		(10)		(10)	
Women	V	.31	.092	870.	.372	.2587	.135	1420	. 275
		(20)		(20)		(20)		(20)	
	В	.0552	604.	.0637	.395	.2153	.181	1414	.275
		(20)		(20)		(20)		(20)	

 $a_{\underline{n}}=10$ male respondents in each experimental condition. $b_{\underline{n}}=20$ female respondents in each experimental condition.

No significant correlations were obtained. For men respondents the correlation between Dominance Scale scores and ratings of the female authority figure in Condition A on the positive authority variable was the only one of the eight correlations obtained in the predicted direction. For women respondents all of the obtained correlations were in the predicted directions. The decision was made therefore not to reject Ho_{4a,b,c,d} and hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Summary

Four main hypotheses were tested to investigate the effect of respondents' gender, dominance scale scores and gender of the authority figure subordinate pair on men and women college students' perceptions of a female authority figure on the four variables of legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image. The Alpha level was set at .05 for each test. A series of 2 X 4 two-way Analyses of Variance were performed to examine the relationship between gender of respondents and the experimental condition. The results, with one exception, did not establish significant differences between the students' perceptions of the authority figures. The only significant result obtained

provided partial support for H_{A} . This result suggested that a female authority figure with a male subordinate was perceived as having significantly more legitimate authority than two (Condition B & D) of the three authority figures. No significant differences were obtained between men and women respondents' ratings of the authority figures on the four dependent variables. No significant interaction effects were obtained between gender of respondents and the experimental condition on each of the dependent variables. A series of Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the relationship between men and women students' dominance scale scores and perceptions of the two female authority figures on each of the dependent These results basically did not establish variables. any significant relationships between men and women students' dominance scale scores and perceptions of the female authority figures. For men respondents one of the eight obtained correlations was in the predicted direction. For women respondents all of the obtained correlations were in the predicted direction.

In Table 13 the hypotheses for each of the

variables along with the type of statistical test, alpha level, actual level of significance and the decision are summarized.

Table 13 Summary of Hypotheses and Results

				Actual Level	Level
Hypothesis	Dependent Variable	Test	4	of Significance	Decision
	Legitimate Authority	Two-Way ANOVA			
Hola			. 05	800	Rejected
Ho _{2a}			.05	.130	Failed to reject
Ноза			.05	.524	Failed to reject
	Positive Authority	Two-Way ANOVA			
Ho _{1b}			.05	.376	Failed to reject
Ho ₂ b			. 05	.359	Failed to reject
Ho _{3b}			.05	.335	Failed to reject
Но _{1с}	Admired Image	Two-Way ANOVA	. 05	680.	Failed to reject
Ho _{2c}			.05	.793	Failed to reject
Ho 3c			.05	. 507	Failed to reject
	Destructive Image	Two-Way ANOVA			
Ho td			.05	.245	Failed to reject
Ho, d			. 05	.736	Failed to reject
Ho 3d			.05	.249	Failed to reject
Но 4а	Dominance x	Pearson r			
	Legitimate Authority	(Men Cond A)	. 05	. 33	Failed to reject
		Pearson r			
		(Men Cond. B)	. 05	.222	Failed to reject
		Pearson r			
		(Women Cond. A)	. 05	.092	Failed to reject

A WAY ANOVA = Each two-way ANOVA is for unequal cell size.

Hypothesis 1 for legitimate authority was supported.

Hypothesis 2 was tested in the null form and there were no significant differences between men's and women's ratings of the authority figures. Hypothesis 3 was not supported. Hypothesis 4 for significance was not supported but nine of the obtained correlations were in the predicted direction.

Chapter V

Summary, Conclusions, Discussion and Implications for Future Research

This chapter is divided into three sections.

The first section is a summary of this research project.

The second section is a discussion of the findings with respect to the theoretical concepts upon which the study was based and the final section suggests implications for future research.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate men and women college students' perceptions of a woman who uses authority and to determine whether or not students' gender and dominance affected their perceptions of the female authority figures. Perceptions of the person in authority were assessed in the following four areas: legitimate authority, positive authority, admired and destructive image. Each was measured by a scale developed for use in this particular study.

The need for this study was based on the belief that support for women's attainment and use of authority is an important step in the achievement of economic, political, and social power by women. As women continue to seek access to positions of authority they will

be in situations requiring them to exercise authority with others, both men and women. No recent studies have addressed questions such as whether or not authority used by a woman is endorsed by being as legitimate as authority used by a man or whether a woman's use of authority with a man is perceived as particularly destructive. Women as well as men need to understand the ways in which responses to a woman's use of authority can elicit different and possibly more hostile reactions than authority used by a man. Without such an understanding people will continue to react in familiar albeit frequently restrictive ways without considering in what ways their own fears may color their perceptions of a woman's use of authority.

There have been only three studies directly concerned with the evaluation of a woman's use of authority. None of these studies specifically examined multiple aspects of authority evaluation or sought to determine in what ways personality characteristics such as dominance might affect perceptions of the female authority figures. Inconsistent findings have been provided by the literature related to evaluations of different leadership styles. In

laboratory studies when men's and women's use of various management styles were compared a woman who used a sex-role inconsistent style, for example, initiating structure or reward, was rated less favorably than a man. However, perceptions of female managers' use of such styles did not appear to influence worker satisfaction when covarying factors were controlled. In other contexts a woman's use of authority, for example in Tavistock self study groups, engendered criticism, hostility, and fearfulness on the part of both men and women. Evidence is also available suggesting that a woman in a position of authority can have an empowering effect on women but not on men and that women have more favorable responses to her.

Researchers in the area of social power have indicated that certain types power are associated with each gender. The use of a male-identified-power-type, for example legitimate authority or expert power, by a woman has engendered unfavorable reactions.

The woman may be perceived as more aggressive, cold or wrong and less likable than a man.

Researchers in the area of sex-role stereotypes have indicated that certain characteristics, for

example dominance and directness are valued differently in a woman by various groups (feminists vs. nonfeminists; women managers vs. men managers).

The sample for this study consisted of forty undergraduate men and eighty undergraduate women students enrolled at Michigan State University during Spring or Summer quarter of 1984. The mean age of the men was 20.55 years. The mean age of the women was 20.25 years. The sample was predominantly Caucasian (85%). The sample of women students consisted of a larger percentage of Catholics (Women=46.6%; Men=27.5%) and a smaller percentage of students with no religious affiliation (Women=3.7%; Men=15%). All participants in this study were volunteers.

A written projective lead was designed which stated that an authority figure, the division head of Regional Health Care Associates, was having a meeting in which he or she rejected the subordinate's plan and expected compliance with a plan the division head had developed. The gender of the division head and of the subordinate was varied in each of the four experimental conditions. The respondents wrote a TAT-type story about the interchange and evaluated the division head on four scales, Legitimate Authority,

Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image. Each scale required the respondent to rate the division head on four-point-Likert-type-items assessing the subjects' perceptions of the division head's legitimate authority, positive authority, and attributions of admirable and destructive personality traits.

After completing the items on the four scales which together were labeled Story Character Evaluation Scale in the respondents' research booklets, respondents received the MMPI Dominance Scale.

Demographic data were also obtained. The forty men and eighty women were tested typically in small mixed group sessions which lasted about one hour.

Four two-way Analyses of Variance, one for each of the dependent variable scales (Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image) were performed with appropriate post hoc measures to analyze differences between treatment groups given the respondents' perceptions of the authority figures. A series of Pearson Product Moment correlations were also calculated to determine the relationship between respondents' dominance and perceptions of each of the female division heads

on the Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image scales.

There were no significant differences in perceptions of the authority figures on three of the four dependent variable scales (Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image). There was a significant difference in perceptions of the authority figures on the legitimate authority variable. The female authority figure with a male subordinate was perceived as having significantly more legitimate authority than the female authority with a female subordinate or a male authority with a female subordinate. Men and women respondents did not have significantly different perceptions of the authority figures on any of the four dependent variable scales. Respondents' dominance scores and perceptions of each of the female division heads on the Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image, and Destructive Image scales were not significantly related. For women respondents all of the obtained correlations were in the predicted direction. For men respondents only one of the eight obtained correlations was in the predicted direction.

Discussion

According to aspects of psychodynamic theory and research in the areas of sex linked stereotypes, leadership, attitudes, social power, and success and achievement men's and women's perceptions of an authority figure were expected to be influenced by the gender of the authority and subordinate. An interaction between the gender of the authority figure-subordinate duo and the respondents' gender was also anticipated. It was further expected that perceptions of the female authority figures would be related to respondents' dominance scores albeit in different directions for each gender. This section is a discussion of the results of this study with reference to the theoretical constructs. The limitations of the study are also discussed.

Psychodynamic theory suggests for reasons more fully discussed in Chapter I that use of authority by a woman can arouse reactions marked by greater disapproval and or fear than authority use by a man.

It was possible that a female authority figure who was described as using authority would be perceived more unfavorably than a male authority figure on each of the perceptions of the authority figure scales

(Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image). It was also expected that women would perceive the female authority figures more favorably than men. Men were expected to perceive the male authority figures more favorably than women.

Psychodynamic theory also postulates that an individual can react more favorably to behaviors and aspects of another individual's personality which are a valued part of the self or part of an idealized self image and for which manifestations in another do not diminish important aspects of self esteem. A paradigm in which a man is under the authority of a woman can arouse for the man a greater loss of self esteem in comparison to the other authoritysubordinate pairs because it violates an important aspect of male sex-role adequacy. In this culture male sex-role adequacy is closely connected with a belief in male superiority in various performance realms and the central value of power and domination (Bernardez, 1982; Farrell, 1974; Filene, 1974; Goldberg, 1977). Therefore, it was expected that dominance in men respondents would be negatively associated with perceptions of the female authority figures on the positive scales

of Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority and Admired Image and positively associated with perceptions of the female authority figures on the Destructive Image scale. For women, dominance was expected to be positively related to perceptions of the female authority figures on the positive scales of Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority and Admired Image while negatively associated with the Destructive Image scale. Underlying this expectation is the assumption that dominance (as measured for this study) in women indicates an acceptance of related behaviors and characteristics within the self and thus the capacity to positively affirm these in another woman without injury to self esteem.

Legitimate Authority

One major finding of this study was that the female authority figure with a male subordinate was perceived as having significantly greater legitimate authority than two (Condition B & D) of the three other authority figures. She was not, however, perceived as significantly different than the male authority figure with the male subordinate on the Legitimate Authority scale. Several nonsignificant results on each of the other three dependent variables are

consistent with the results on the Legitimate

Authority scale. In each case, the female authority

with the male subordinate was perceived more

favorably than the other authority figures.

One interpretation of the significant finding is that men as well as women now support a woman's use of authority with a man. Women's favorable responses towards a woman in a position of authority has been suggested by findings from previous research (Bartol, 1974; 1975; Bromley, 1982; Field & Caldwell, 1979; Munson, 1979). Cookie, Jaffee et al., Priest and Wilhelm, and Taylor and Epstein (cited in Pinches, 1978) as well as Pinches found evidence for profemale bias on the part of women in situations involving conflict between an individual woman and a man. Some researchers (Garland & Price, 1977; Rice et al., 1980; Yerby, 1975) have also noted the effect of attitudes towards the role of women on responses to a woman in a leadership position. Men as well as women respondents in this study may have held positive attitudes towards the role of women vis a vis men. They may have also recognized that extra ability, talent and/or effort are required for a woman to achieve a position of authority with a man.

Therefore, the female authority figure with a male subordinate could have been perceived as more deserving of her position and was granted greater legitimate authority than either the female authority with the female subordinate or the male authority with the female subordinate.

One interpretation of the significantly less favorable rating given to the female authority figure with the female subordinate than to her counterpart (Condition A) is that it may reflect a devaluation of a position of authority over another woman as well as negative sanctions for violation of the value that women should be good to their own and work cooperatively together. The woman in a position of authority with another woman may arouse fantasies of the idealized mother (Chodorow, 1982). She may be expected to be all nurturing, accepting, and selfless. The female authority figure's rejection of the subordinate's plan and the demand for her compliance may have been perceived as a rejection and criticism and thus a violation of the expectations for the idealized mother. The female authority figure's violation was possibly reacted to with disapproval expressed by diminished legitimate authority.

It is also possible that women may have reacted more negatively than men to a woman's use of authority with a woman. Women may have identified with the female subordinate and as a consequence fears of being dominated by a powerful woman (i.e., mother) were aroused. Devaluation of the authority of the woman with a female subordinate was therefore a way to handle such reactions. Women may have also identified with the female authority figure and were motivated to deny her legitimate authority as a way of repudiating their own competitive or dominance impulses vis a vis mother and other women. Women's unfavorable ratings of the female authority figure with a female subordinate may have contributed more than men's ratings to the significant difference in ratings between the female authority figures in conditions A and B. Men's mean ratings of the two female authority figures on the Legitimate Authority scale were similar (Men Condition A=2.2; B=2). Women's mean rating of the female authority figure in condition A was similar to men's ratings (Women A=2; Men A=2.0). Women's mean ratings of the female authority figure in condition B were more unfavorable than their ratings of the female

authority in condition A (Women A=2.24; Women B=1.48) and more unfavorable than men's ratings Women B=1.48; Men B=2.2).

One additional explanation for the significant differences in ratings between the female authority figure with the male subordinate and the two other authority figures (female authority figure with female subordinate and male authority figure with female subordinate) on the Legitimate Authority Scale is that men and women may believe that a woman should not be subordinate to either a man or woman. Men and women may have been expressing resentment for the domination of a woman with the attribution of significantly less legitimate authority to each of the two authority figures who were described in positions of authority with a female subordinate than to the female authority with a male subordinate. In their support of a woman's use of authority with a man, men and women may also be expressing a wish to reverse the typical male dominant female subordinate relationship. For women this wish may be fueled by an identification with the aggressor and thus the desire to put men in the same position women have found themselves in. For men the wish

to reverse the traditional paradigm may also express wishes to make reparation to women for the injustices suffered under male domination.

There was no significant difference in ratings of the authority figures on the Legitimate Authority Scale between men and women, a finding which was in accordance with the researcher's prediction.

There was also no significant interaction effect between gender of respondents and the authority figures, a finding which was contrary to the researcher's prediction. Men apparently rated the authority figures in a pattern similar to that of the women in this study. Men as well as women rated the female authority figure with the male subordinate more favorably than the male authority figure with the female subordinate.

<u>Positive Authority, Admired Image and</u> Destructive Image

In the present study no significant differences were found in the ratings between the authority figures on each of the Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image scales. One interpretation of this finding is that the respondents have an image of the female authority figures which is similar

to that of the male authority figures and is consistent with the use of authority. Apparently the female authority figures were perceived as having as much of the characteristics necessary for their position and use of authority as the male authority figures. A belief that women possess fewer desirable characteristics than men for managerial positions has been suggested by previous research (Massengill & DiMarco, 1979: Powell & Butterfield, 1979: Rosen & Jerdee, 1974; Schien, 1973; 1975) and was not supported by the findings of this study. The results of this study are, however, consistent with that of other researchers (Kravetz, 1976; Nielson & Doyle, 1975; Peterson, 1975; Petro & Putnam, 1979) who found that the sex-role stereotypes for men and women were similar.

Another interpretation of the nonsignificant differences in ratings between the female and male authority figures on the Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image scales is that men and women now consider a woman's use of authority to be as acceptable as a man's. The female authority figures were not blamed significantly more than the male authority figures nor were the male authority

figures perceived as significantly more admirable than the female authority figures. Support for a woman in a position of authority who acts in a direct and authoritative manner is also suggested. It is interesting to note that in previous studies of a woman using authority (typically in the case of female-led self study groups) differences were found indicating more hostile reactions to the female leader, a finding which was not supported by the results of this study. One explanation for the difference in findings may be that fearful and/or disapproving responses to a woman in authority are aroused only under certain conditions. conditions may include "group or institutional characteristics that encourage regression (i.e., unclear role definitions, unclear delineation of tasks, structureless groups, contradictory expectations)" (Bernardez, 1983, p. 45).

Additional Item Analyses

However, several findings suggest a more ambivalent response to the female authority figures although no significant differences were obtained in the ratings between the female and male authority figures on the Admired Image and Destructive Image scales.

High Admired Image scale items for each condition are reported in Table 14. High Destructive Image items for each condition are reported in Table 15. An item was designated "high" for a particular condition if the authority figure received a higher rating on that item than the other authority figures.

Table 14

High Admired Image Scale Items for Each Condition

A clear thinking	B assertive	C competent	D confident
imaginative	fair-minded		constructive
intelligent	full of life		
knowledgeable	loving		
likable			
self disciplined			
understanding			

Table 15

<u>High Destructive Image Scale Items for Each Condition</u>

A	В	С	D
arrogant	autocratic	attacking	too aggressive
bossy	belittling	authoritative	unfair
conceited	blaming	self seeking	
demanding	controlling		
fault finding	critical		
hostile	overpowering		
rejecting	ruthless		
	spoiled		

The female authority in Condition A was perceived more favorably than the other authority figures on half of the admired image items. This authority figure was also perceived less favorably than the others on seven, or one-third of the destructive

image items. In comparison the male authority figures (Conditions C & D) were perceived more favorably on one and two items respectively of the Admired Image scale. The male authority figures were perceived less favorably on three and two items respectively of the Destructive Image scale.

The female authority in Condition B was apparently the recipient of more negative evaluations than the other authority figures. She was perceived more favorably on four of the admired image items but less favorably on eight of the destructive image items or more destructive items than any other authority figure. One noteworthy finding was that the female authority with the female subordinate was perceived as significantly less knowledgeable, likable and understanding and significantly more autocratic, blaming, and spoiled than the other female authority figure (see Table 16). One possible explanation for these results is that this sample of college students may believe that women ought to work cooperatively together. A woman in a position of authority over another woman is punished for her violation of this norm with the attribution of more negative (destructive image) characteristic to her than to any other

Table 16

<u>Differences between Selected Admired Image and Destructive Image Scale Item Means for Condition A & B</u>

Difference						
Item	between Conditions	DF	Value			
competent	A-B	51	1.42			
knowledgeable	A-B	56	2.48*			
likable	A-B	57	2.58*			
understanding	A-B	58	2.82*			
autocratic	A-B	53	-2.5*			
blaming	A-B	56	-1.87*			
rejecting	A-B	53	2.41*			
spoiled	A – B	57	-2.32*			

<u>Note</u>. t-tests for independent samples with unequal population variance were calculated.

authority figure. This authority figure is also the recipient of more low scores (6) than any other authority figure on the Admired Image scale. The significant differences in ratings between the

^{*}p .05 one tailed test

female authority figures in condition A and B on selected Admired and Destructive Image individual scale items is consistent with the results on the Legitimate Authority scale. The female authority figure with the female subordinate (condition B) was perceived as having significantly less legitimate authority than the female authority figure in condition B.

Relationship between Respondents' Dominance Scores and Perceptions of the Female Authority Figures

In the present study no significant relationships were found between respondents' dominance scores for each gender and perceptions of the female authority figures on any of the four scales. Previous research has highlighted a relationship between the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and the Woman as Manager Scale (WAMS), a measure of attitudes toward women as managers and between the BRSI and perceptions of a female group leader. One possible explanation for the results in this study is that the measure of dominance used is not at all comparable to the BSRI. Dominance may not be directly related to perceptions of female authority figures as originally predicted but may be substantially affected by other

more critical variables such as self esteem, level of anxiety, or rigidity of congitive style. It is also possible that the hypothesized relationships between dominance and perceptions of the female authority figures would exist only in the case of individuals with extremely high or low dominance The sample size used in this study did not permit any adequate test of this speculation.

Alternate Explanations

Some of the researcher's predictions were not confirmed by the results of this study. No significant differences were found in the ratings of the authority figures on the Positive Authority, Admired Image, and Destructive Image scales. were no significant interaction effects between respondents' gender and the experimental condition on the Legitimate Authority, Positive Authority, Admired Image and Destructive Image scales. Finally, there were no significant relationships between respondents' dominance scale scores and perceptions of each of the female authority figures on each of the four dependent variables (legitimate authority, positive authority, admired image and destructive image). Consequently, alternate explanations of

the findings will be discussed. Alternate explanations for the significant results on the Legitimate

Authority scale are also noted.

One possible explanation of the findings is that the written description of a scene between an authority figure and subordinate used in this study is not an effective cue for the arousal of some of the measured responses. Strong disapproving reactions to authority use by a women may be elicited only in certain situations, unlike that of this study, in which a person is involved with and affected by the person in authority.

It is also possible that some differences may be of the sort not detectable on a paper and pencil measure. Possibly the scales developed for this study to measure respondents' perceptions are too crude to get at less consciously available reactions which can more adequately be tapped by a completely projective instrument. It is also possible that the small number of scale items, for example, on the Legitimate Authority and Positive Authority scales, decreasd reliability. While the Admired Image and Destructive Image scales consisted of a larger number of items than the other two scales,

these scales contained a small number of items in comparison with typically used scales.

The variables measured in this study may not be the variables which affect perceptions of authority use by a woman. Other factors such as respondents' self esteem and level of anxiety or the consequence of the authority figure's behavior for the subordinate may affect perceptions of the female authority figure more than the respondents' own level of dominance.

Social desirability may be an alternative explanation for the significant results on the Legitimate Authority scale possibly heightened by the nature of this study, the presence of a woman researcher and a political climate filled with the anticipation of the nomination of the first woman candidate for Vice President. Significant differences in ratings between the authority figures were found only on the Legitimate Authority scale, one consisting of item statements, unlike the Admired and Destructive Image scales, which focused on the rights of the authority figure. Such statements may be more susceptible to socially desirable responses.

It is also possible that the sample of students who participated in this study were more profemale

than the general college population. These students may have been more committed to a conscious idealogy of support for the legitimacy of female authority with a male subordinate in a workplace situation as a way to compensate for previous inequities.

Another factor accounting for the lack of significant results on the Admired Image, Destructive Image and Dominance scales could be the small sample size. Twenty-five men and twenty-five women were proposed for each of the four experimental conditions. However, each experimental group consisted of twenty women and ten men. Only two experimental conditions, those involving the female authority figures, or twenty men and forty women were used to study the relationship between respondents' dominance for each gender and perceptions of the female authority figures. It is possible that a larger sample might increase the likelihood of detecting differences.

In summary then possible methodological problems could have accounted for the results, the most likely being the small sample size and social desirability factors. The following generalizations are made:

 Men and women college students may not perceive a female authority as less admirable or more destructive than a male authority.

- 2. Men and women college students perceive the female authority with a male subordinate as having greater legitimate authority than the female authority with a female subordinate or the male authority with a female subordinate.
- 3. Men and women college students do not have different perceptions of the authority figures.
- 4. Men and women college students' dominance scale scores are not associated with each gender's perceptions of the female authority figures. Dominance may not be the relevant factor influencing perceptions of the female authority figures.

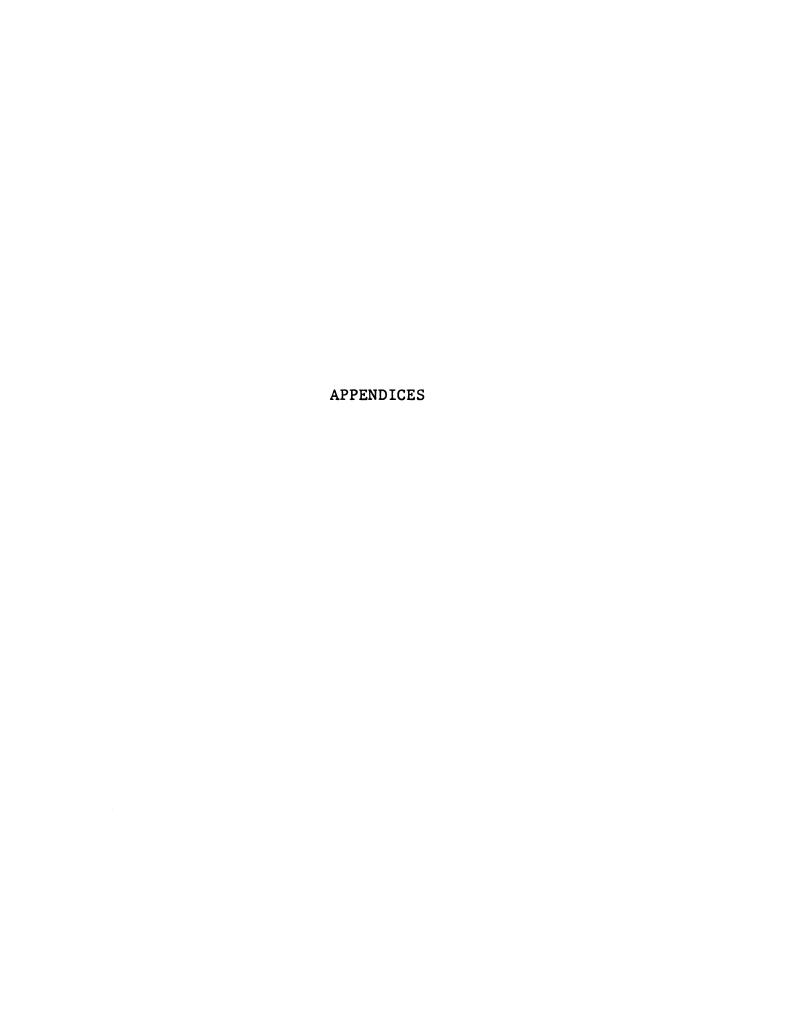
Generalizability of this study is limited to the population described.

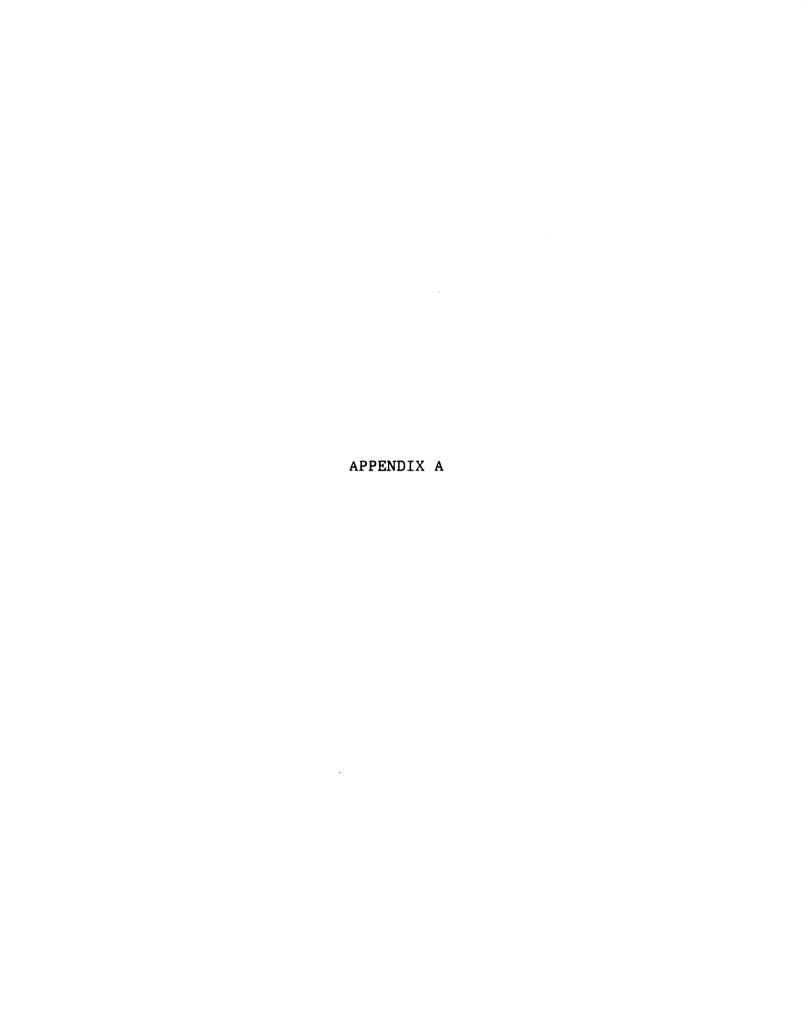
Implications for Future Research

Future research could be useful in clarifying the factors contributing to the greater legitimacy granted a woman who uses authority with a male subordinate. Given the nature of this finding and the selectivity of the sample further studies are needed to determine whether this finding represents changes in attitudes across populations other than that of college students. The inclusion of

instruments in addition to a measure of dominance could also be fruitful. Dominance may not be directly related to perceptions of a woman's use of authority. Other variables, for example self esteem, level of anxiety or rigidity of cognitive style, may mediate the effect of dominance on perceptions.

Several changes in the design of this study could enhance the meaning of the obtained findings. A larger sample might enable the detection of differences and provide support for the findings of this study. Samples drawn from diverse populations would permit comparisons between groups with varied SES, education, and religious affiliation. Changes in the selection and assignment of respondents could provide data regarding the differential effect of level of dominance on perceptions of authority use. Respondents could be selected and assigned to groups on the basis of dominance score, for example high, low and moderate. Finally it would be interesting to change the form of the cue from a written description of a scene between an authority and subordinate to either an audiotape or film vignette depicting an exchange between the two people.





WIN

GREAT

PRIZE

1st \$100

2nd \$ 50 Where House Records Gift Certificate (or \$50)

3rd Gift Certificate for dinner for 2 at Beggars Banquet (\$25)

4th, 5th, 6th, & 7th -Bells Pizza Gift Certificate
Good for one 10" 2-item
pizza

Dear Student,

You have been randomly selected from undergraduate students living in a MSU residence hall complex to participate in this study. You will be offered the chance to win one of 7 prizes as a token payment for your participation in this study.

All you need to do is come to Multipurpose Room D in the Brody Building on Sunday April 15th at 7:30 PM. The study will take $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours and involves completing several brief questionnaires concerned with your perceptions of a workplace situation.

I know that as a student you have many demands on your time and oftentimes have too little time to do all that is required of you. However, I hope that you can help me in completing the research which is required for my Ph.D.

Sincerely,

Carolyn R. Paulter Ph.D. Candidate, MSU



/ 1

PRIZE

CREAN

RESEARCH STUDY REMINDER

1st \$100

2nd \$50 Where House Records Gift Certificate (or \$50)

3rd Gift Certificate for dinner for 2 at Beggars Banquet (\$25)

4th, 5th, 6th, & 7th
Bells Pizza Gift Certificate
Good for one 10" 2-item
pizza

Dear

I want to thank you for indicating your interest in taking part in this research study when I called you earlier this week. Please note the following information:

<u>DATE</u>: Sunday, May 6, 1984

TIME: 7:00 P.M.

PLACE: Brody Building--Multipurpose Room B

PRIZE-DRAWING TICKETS: To be completed on Sunday.

Winners will be selected on May 25.

Sincerely, Charles

Carolyn R. Paulter, Ph.D. Candidate, MSU





1st \$100

2nd \$50 Where House Records
Gift Certificate (or \$50)

3rd Gift Certificate for dinner for 2 at Beggars Banquet (\$25)

4th, 5th, 6th, & 7th
Bells Pizza Gift Certificate-Good for one 10" 2-item pizza

Dear

I am writing to offer you the opportunity to take part in a simple research project which is part of my Ph.D. program. In return for giving one hour of your time you can enter your name in a prize drawing and have a chance to win one of the above noted prizes.

Each participant in the study will be given a brief written description of a scene between two people and asked to write a brief story about the scene and to rate the story characters on a set of adjectives. All answers will be con fidential. The entire study takes between 45 minutes and one hour to complete.

If you are interested in participating, please select $\underline{\text{one}}$ of the following dates:

TUESDAY, May 15, 1984

TIME: 6:30 P.M.

PLACE: Brody Building--Multipurpose Room A

WEDNESDAY, May 16, 1984

TIME: 6:30 P.M.

PLACE: Brody Building--Multipurpose Room B

0:-----

SUNDAY, May 20, 1984

TIME: 7:00 P.M.

PLACE: Brody Building--Multipurpose Room A

*Prize Drawing Tickets: To be completed at time of study. Winners

Prize Drawing Tickets: To be completed at time of study. Winners will be selected on May 25 and notified by mail.

Sincerely,

(ic., c, k f c ((
Carolyn R. Paulter
Ph.D. Candidate, MSU

*Research Project Approved By: J. Wall, Director, University Housing MSU Committee on Human Research Dept. of Counseling & Educational Psychology



Story Form -- Form A*

Please read the following background information

Susan Brooks is the division head of large company. Brian Dean is on her staff reporting directly to Brooks. Brian Dean has been working hard on an important project. Scene

Susan Brooks and Brian Dean are having a meeting in which Brooks turns down Dean's project plan and indicates that she expects his compliance with an alternate plan, one she has developed.

STORY INSTRUCTIONS

Write a brief story using the following sheets of paper. Include the following information in your story:

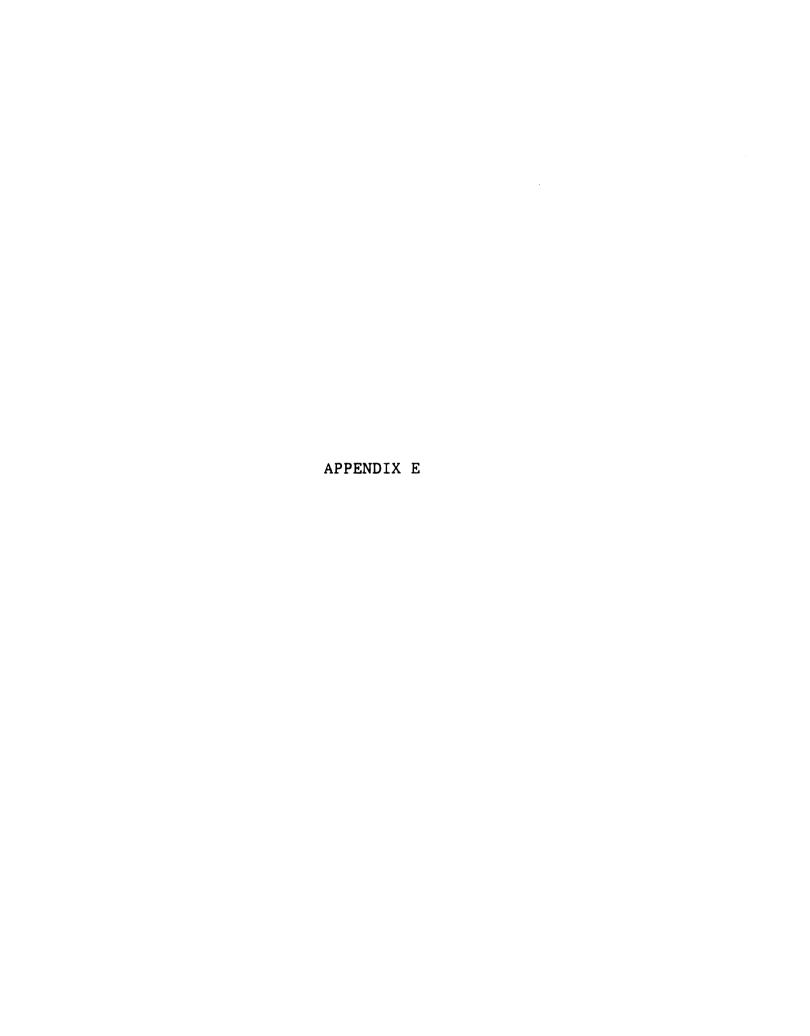
- l. What led up to Susan Brooks' rejection of Brian Dean's plan?
 - 2. Describe how each felt before the meeting.
 - 3. What happens during the meeting?
 - 4. Describe how each felt afterward.

<u>REMEMBER</u> There are no right or wrong kinds of stories. Just try to make the story as imaginative as you can.

Try to spend no more than 15 or 20 minutes on this section in order to allow time for completion of the remainder of the booklet.

^{*} The three variations of the Story Form are:

Form	Division Head	Subordinate
В	Susan Brooks	Helen Green
C	David Crane	Brian Dean
D	David Crane	Helen Green



STORY CHARACTER EVALUATION SCALE

Below is a list of statements about Susan Brooks.

Please evaluate her by filling in the appropriate

number for each statement on your computer answer

form. The numbers correspond to the following options:

- 1 means you agree strongly with the statement.
- 2 means you agree somewhat with the statement.
- 3 means you disagree somewhat with the statement.
- 4 means you disagree strongly with the statement.

*Please do not skip any items.

- 11. Susan Brooks has the right to reject Brian Dean's plan.
- 12. Susan Brooks obtained her position as division head based on her outstanding performance record.
- 13. Susan Brooks relies heavily on others in making decisions.
- 14. Susan Brooks does not have the right to have Brian Dean comply with an alternate plan.
- 15. Susan Brooks is in an envied position as division head.
- 16. Susan Brooks is not helpful and constructive with Brian Dean.
- 17. Susan Brooks has a powerful position.
- 18. Susan Brooks is a bitch to work for.
- 19. Susan Brooks should make major decisions affecting Regional Health Care Associates.
- 20. Susan Brooks created trouble between herself and Brian Dean.

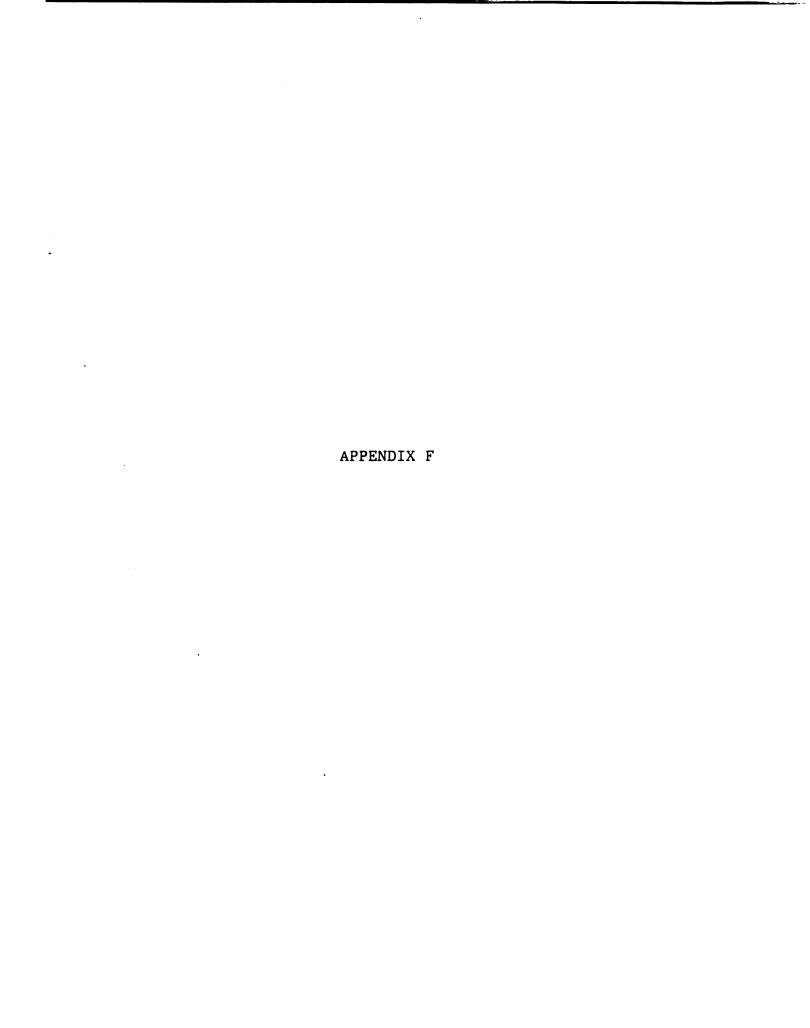
Below is a list of personality traits. Describe your perceptions of Susan Brooks by rating her on each of these traits.

- 1 means the trait is very true of Susan Brooks.
- 2 means the trait is somewhat true of Susan Brooks.
- 3 means the trait is rather unlike Susan Brooks.
- 4 means the trait is very unlike Susan Brooks.

*Please record your answers on your computer answer form.

- 21. too aggressive
- 22. arrogant
- 23. assertive
- 24. attacking
- 25. authoritative
- 26. autocratic
- 27. belittling
- 28. blaming
- 29. bossy
- 30. clear thinking
- 31. competent
- 32. confident
- 33. conceited
- 34. constructive
- 35. controlling
- 36. critical
- 37. demanding
- 38. fair minded
- 39. fault finding
- 40. full of life
- 41. hostile
- 42. imaginative
- 43. intelligent

- 1 means the trait is very true of Susan Brooks.
- 2 means the trait is somewhat true of Susan Brooks.
- 3 means the trait is rather unlike Susan Brooks.
- 4 means the trait is very unlike Susan Brooks.
- 44. knowledgeable
- 45. likeable
- 46. loving
- 47. overpowering
- 48. rejecting
- 49. resourceful
- 50. rigid
- 51. ruthless
- 52. self-disciplined
- 53. self seeking
- 54. spoiled
- 55. strong
- 56. understanding
- 57. unfair



INFORMED CONSENT (SPRING)

I have understood the study to be conducted regarding perceptions of workplace situations. I have been given the opportunity to ask further questions about the details and procedures of the study and have had my questions answered to my satisfaction. I also understand that, within restrictions of confidentiality, the general results of the study will be made available to me.

With the understanding and assurance that my name and or my responses on instruments will not be used in any reports based on this study, I agree to participate in the study.

Specifically, I hereby agree to provide the information requested in this study. I also agree to cooperate in providing whatever additional data may be requested if I am one of the individuals selected for a debriefing interview at the conclusion of this study, I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time.

I further understand that the only benefit I will receive for participating in this study is that my name along with the names of the other participants in this study will be entered in a prize drawing. I have been informed of the possible prizes.

Signature			
Name			
Campus Address			
Student Number			
Date			

Project Director: Carolyn R. Paulter, Ph.D. Candidate
Dept. of Counseling and Educational Psychology
Michigan State University



PERSONAL INFORMATION

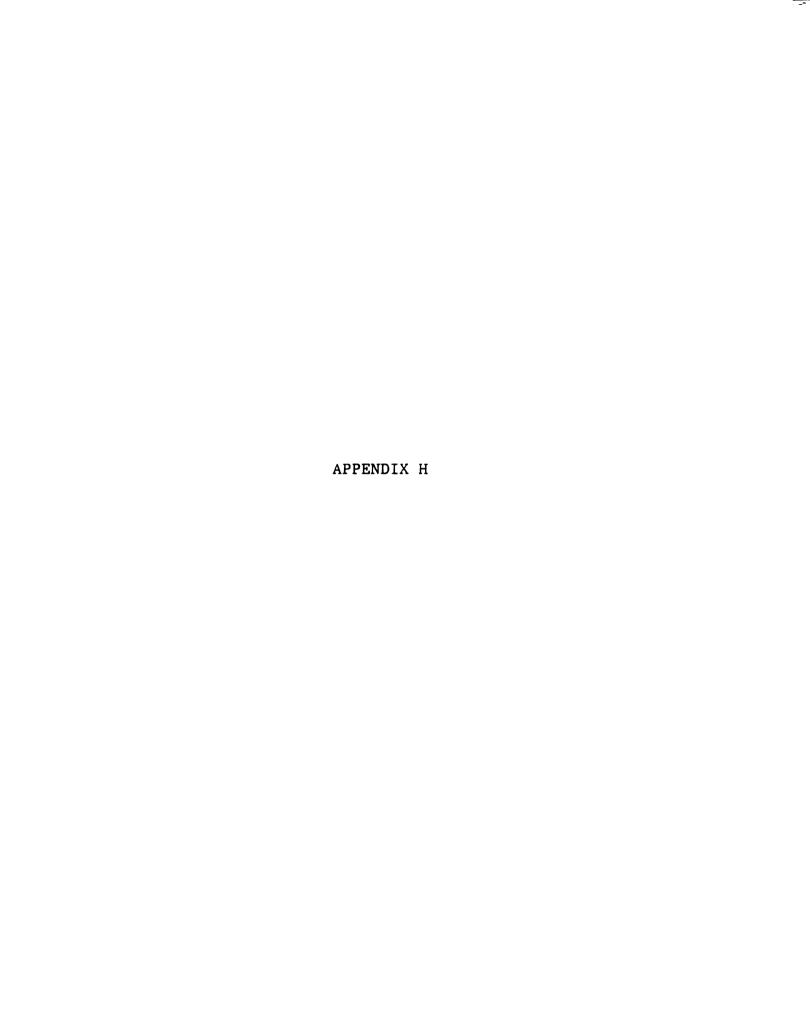
Please mark the appropriate box on your computer answer form:

- 1.* Age a) Under 18
 - b) 18
 - c) 19
 - d) 20
 - e) 21
- 2. Race a) Black
 - b) Caucasian
 - c) Hispanic
 - d) American Indian
 - e) Other
- 3. Education Level a) Freshman
 - b) Sophomore
 - c) Junior
 - d) Senior
 - e) Other
- 4. Religion a) Catholic
 - b) Jewish
 - c) Protestant
 - d) Other
 - e) None
- 5. Father's Education Level
 - a) Some high school
 - b) High school graduate
 - c) Some college
 - d) College graduate
 - e) Graduate education

(Summer quarter participants who were older than 21 years were asked to fill in their age on the computer form)

- 6. Father's Occupation Level: On his job my father
 - a) Supervises the work of others (determines what others do)
 - b) Determines the pay of others
 - c) Hires and fires others
 - d) All of the above. (Skip #7 and go on to item #8)
 - e) None of the above. (If father is employed, skip #7 and go on to #8).
- 7) <u>Father's Occupation Level</u> (cont.): On his job my father
 - a) Supervises the work and determines the pay of others
 - b) Supervises the work of others and hires and fires others
 - c) Determines the pay of others and hires and fires others
 - d) Father is not employed
 - e) Father is deceased or disabled from working
- 8) Mother's Education Level
 - a) Some high school
 - b) High school graduate
 - c) Some college
 - d) College graduate
 - e) Graduate education
- 9. Mother's Occupation Level: On her job my mother
 - a) Supervises the work of others (determines what others do)
 - b) Determines the pay of others
 - c) Hires and fires others
 - d) All of the above (Skip #10)
 - e) None of the above (If mother is employed, skip #10)

- 10. Mother's Occupation Level (cont): On her job
 my mother
 - a) Supervises the work and determines the pay of others
 - b) Supervises the work of others and hires and fires others
 - c) Determines the pay of others and hires and fires others
 - d) Mother is not employed
 - e) Mother is deceased or disabled from working



GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

This booklet contains an exercise and a list of questions. Each of these is preceded by instructions explaining how to respond and record your reactions. For the <u>list of questions</u> you will be asked to mark your responses on the answer sheet which has been inserted in this booklet. Please do not bend or fold the answer sheet.

Please do not put your name on the booklet or answer sheet.

Please begin and continue through the booklet.

If you have questions come quietly to the front of the room and ask the researcher.



EXPERIMENTER'S MANUAL

Introduction

I am Carolyn Paulter and I am a graduate student in Counseling Psychology. The study in which you are participating is part of my doctoral research.

I am interested in how people view some situations which occur in the workplace. In this part of the study I am studying reactions to a situation between a boss and employee.

During the study you will be presented with a written example of a boss-employee interaction. Your task will be to write a brief story about this interaction and to answer a list of questions about your reactions to the event.

Description of Study

The experiment is divided into two parts. You will have about 15 minutes to write your story and up to about 30 minutes to answer the questions about the people in your story. In the second part of the experiment you will be asked to complete a series of questions calling for your opinions about yourself. The entire experiment will require no more than 1 hour to complete.

Informed Consent

I will now answer your questions (Are there any questions?). Those persons interested in participating in this study will please remove the Informed Consent Form from their booklets and place your booklet on the floor. Please read the form and then sign it completing the indicated information. Persons not interested in participating in this study are free to leave.

Personal Information Form

Please remove the blue computer answer form from your booklet. Do not fill in your name. Complete the student number and sex grid in the lower left hand corner, using the scoring pencil you were given. Please make heavy black marks that fill the circles completely. You may now open your booklet and beginning with question 1 answer each of the 10 questions unless directed to leave unanswered a particular question. Please record your answers on the computer answer form. After you have answered question \$10, please stop until I give you further instructions.

<u>Instructions</u>

Please turn to page 3, and look at the top
of the page. You will see the words "Story Form"
followed by some background information and a scene

description. Please read the instructions about what you ought to include in your story. You are to use the blank pages attached to page 3 to write your story.

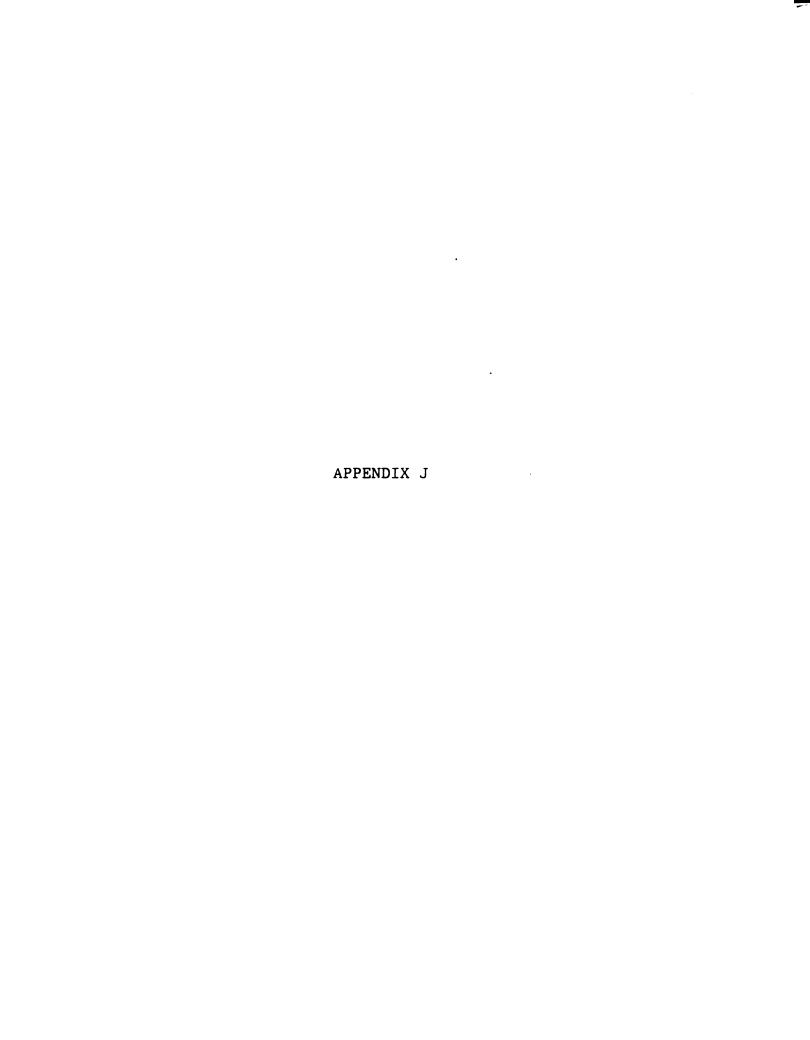
I will tell you when 10 minutes have passed by writing the time on the board. You will have another five minutes to complete your story. After I announce that 15 minutes are passed, you should complete your story and begin the questions which follow in your booklet and are labeled Story Character Evaluation Scale. The Story Character Evaluation Scale should take about 30 minutes to complete. If you complete your story sooner, you may proceed to the questions sooner. When you have completed your story and the questions, you can bring your test booklet to me. Please keep your computer answer form with you. You can then take the Opinions About Self questionnaire which is Part II of this study to complete. When you have completed the Opinions About Self questionnaire you can turn in your computer answer form and the questionnaire.

You can then complete a Prize Drawing ticket by writing your name and student number on the white card and placing the card in the box marked Prize Drawing. The drawing will take place on May 25

and the winners will be notified.

***Please do not discuss the details of this study, for example the scene descriptions or specific questions, with others as I will be asking other residents to participate.

If you have any questions during the study, please come quietly to the front of the room and ask me. You may begin.



DESCRIPTION OF STUDY

**Please read the following before you complete
the Informed Consent Form.

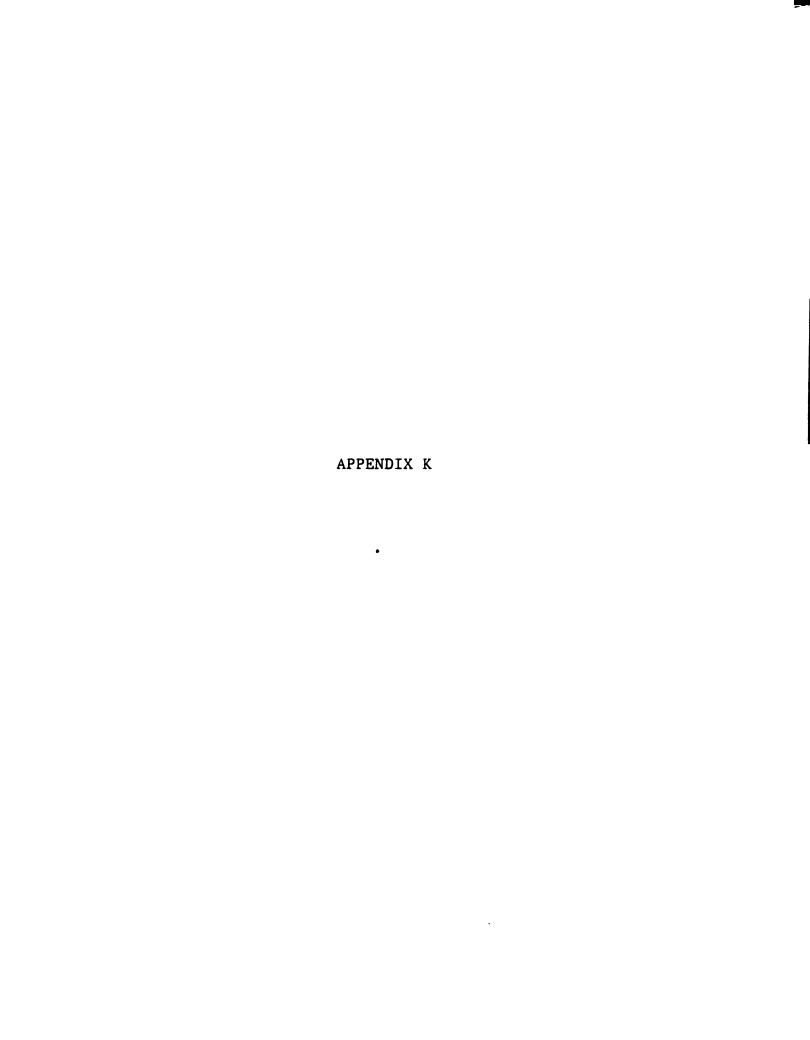
Description of the Study

The experiment is divided into two parts. In the first part you will be presented with a written example of a boss-employee interaction. Your task will be to write a brief story about this interaction and to answer a list of questions about your reactions to the event. In the second part of the experiment you will be asked to complete a series of questions calling for your opinions about yourself.

Informed Consent

Please ask the researcher any questions you may have before you complete the Informed Consent Form. Please remove the Informed Consent Form from your booklet. Read the form and sign it completing the indicated information.

If you are not interested in participating in this study you are free to leave.



GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS (SUMMER)

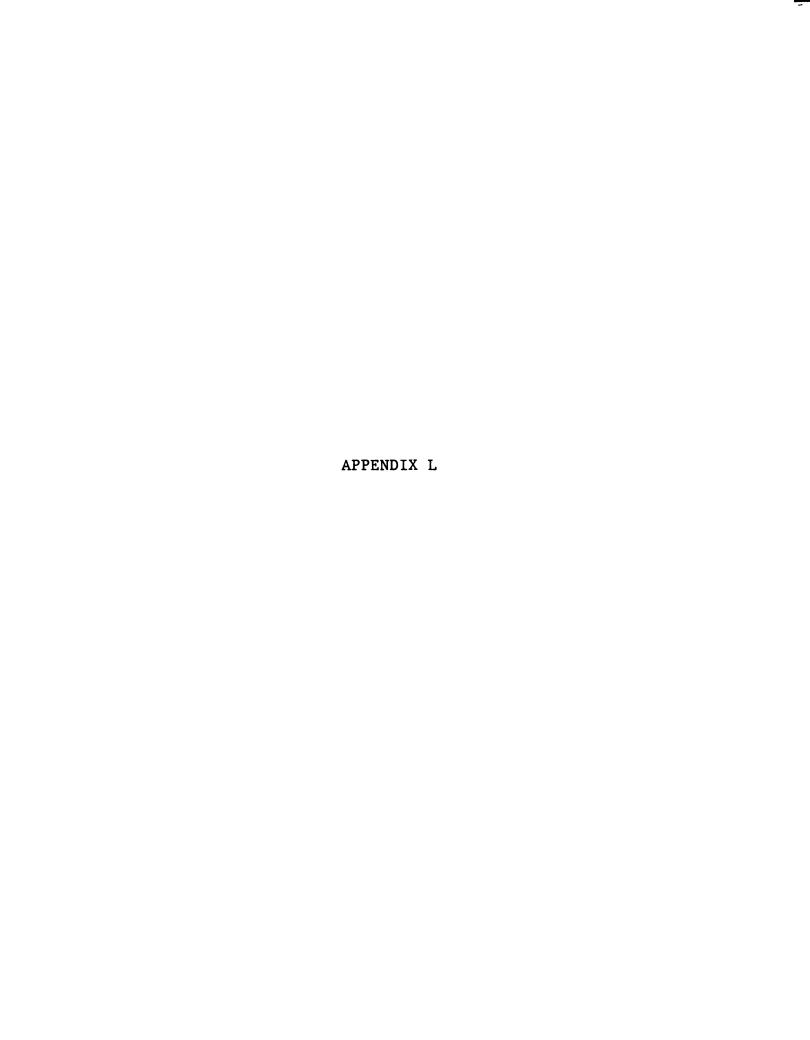
*Please remove the computer answer form from your booklet. Do not fill in your name. Complete the student number and sex grid in the lower left hand corner, using the scoring pencil you were given. Please make heavy black marks that fill the circles completely. Please do not bend or fold the computer form.

Please begin and continue through the booklet. If you have any questions come quietly to the front of the room and ask the researcher.

**When you have <u>completed item 57</u> you can bring your test form to the researcher. <u>Please keep your computer answer form</u>. You can then take the <u>Opinions about Self</u> questionnaire to complete, which is Part II of this study. When you have completed the <u>Opinions about Self</u> questionnaire you can turn in your computer answer form and the questionnaire.

Please do not discuss this study with others.

^{**}Prize Drawing After you turn in your questionnaire and computer answer form you can complete a prize drawing ticket. Please write your name and address on the ticket and place it in the Prize Drawing box. Winners will be selected and notified at the completion of this study.



LETTER TO PRIZE WINNERS

RESEARCH STUDY LOTTERY PRIZE DRAWING ANNOUNCEMENT (Spring)

June 4, 1984

Dear

I am pleased to inform you that your prize ticket was selected as one of the 7 winners in the research study lottery prize drawing. I had been unable to notify you earlier as I was out of town on an unexpected trip.

Enclosed you will find your prize.

Sincerely,

Carolyn R. Paulter

MSU Dept. of Counseling and Educational Psychology

RESEARCH STUDY LOTTERY PRIZE DRAWING ANNOUNCEMENT (Summer)

March 27, 1985

Dear

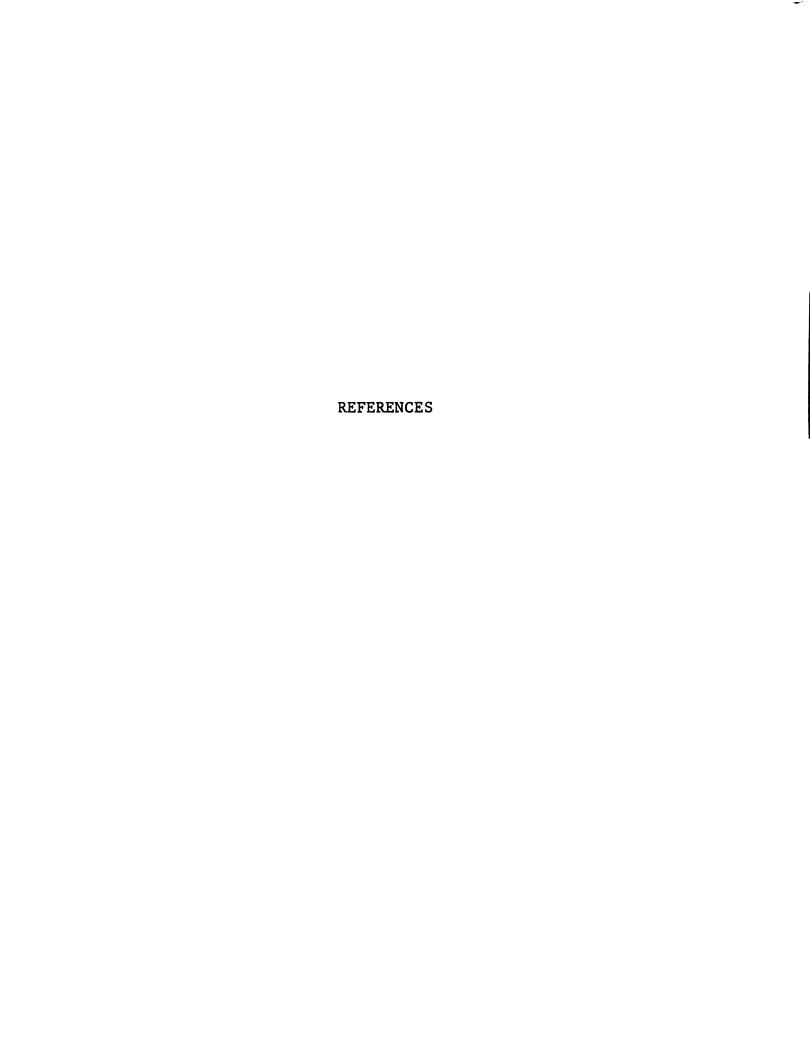
I am pleased to inform you that your prize ticket was selected as one of the 3 winners in the research study lottery prize drawing.

Enclosed you will find your prize.

Sincerely

Carolyn K. Paulter

MSU Dept. of Counseling and Educational Psychology



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