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OCCUPATIONAL STEREOTYPING AND CHILDREN'S
" EVALUATIONS OF ADULTS
IN NONTRADITIONAL ROLES

A Thesis
by
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OCCUPATIONAL STEREOTYPING AND CHILDREN'S
EVALUATIONS OF ADULTS
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September 1981

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ABSTRACT

OCCUPATIONAL STEREOTYPING AND CHILDREN'S
EVALUATIONS OF ADULTS IN NONTRADITIONAL
ROLES. (September 1981)

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There has been an abundance of sex role research devoted to assessing sex role stereotyping among adults and children, indicating strongly sex-typed attitudes among both. Yet there has been comparatively little attention directed toward attitudes toward cross-sex behavior, particularly with children. It was the purpose of the present study to further evaluate children's attitudes toward sex role stereotyping of occupational roles. Socioeconomic status of occupation was seen as a potentially influential factor, and was matched across occupations. Two experiments were conducted with children in grades two, four, and six. Experiment one required subjects to choose a male or female for each of twelve stereotyped occupations. Results showed strong sex-typing among males and females, across all grades. In experiment two subjects evaluated persons in traditional and

nontraditional occupational roles, which were presented using written descriptions and pictures. Four dimensions served as the measure: job competence, likability, job preference, and popularity. The job competence measure showed no significant differences. The likability rating revealed an interaction between sex of subject and grade, with males and females differing in their ratings in grades two and six. On the job preference rating, males indicated a preference for traditional cultural stereotypes, while females responded to female roles and role models. Those presented in female stereotyped occupations as well as female stimuli were rated as more popular. The findings of the two experiments were interpreted as indicative of sex-typed attitudes among both males and females, with differences in their manner of responding to various dimensions. Discussion related other relevant research and cited potential factors influencing such attitude development.

knowledge, and technical assistance have been invaluable not only through this project, but throughout my graduate study.

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Attitudes toward cross sex behavior

The historically rigid barriers which have long defined male and female social roles are beginning to be challenged, as more men and women are now choosing to pursue nontraditional roles. For example, many women are now employed full-time outside the home and are contributing a substantial portion of the family income. As a result, attitudes toward and perceptions of individuals engaging in nontraditional sex stereotyped, or cross-sex behaviors have received increasing attention in the sex role research. Evidence thus far suggests that people may attribute negative qualities to the person seen engaging in behavior not traditionally associated with that persons sex role. For example, in a series of studies, college undergraduates were presented with a role played, a taped, or a written script of persons assuming a passive or aggressive role (Costrich, Feinstein, and Kidder, 1975). The results revealed aggressive women and passive men were considered less popular, were liked less, and were seen as more in need of therapy than passive women and aggressive men. Questionnaire ratings also showed passive women and aggressive men to be judged as less seriously disturbed than passive men and aggressive women.

In a different type of investigation, Bem and Lenney (1976) found sex typed individuals, those whose self

perceptions are most in line with traditional stereotypes, felt more nervous and less liked when engaging in cross-sex behavior, and they actively avoided cross-sex behavior significantly more than androgynous or sex reversed individuals (as determined by the Bem Sex Role Inventory). Bem and Lenney thus suggest the existence of three attitude types differing in the degree of sex role stereotyping and associated with differing levels of discomfort with cross-sex behavior.

Apparent social penalties for cross-sex behavior have also been found with respect to attitudes toward occupational stereotyping, i.e., associating a particular sex with a given occupation. Hesselbart (1977) presented high school students with descriptions of college students who were engaged in either traditional or nontraditional career preparation. Males pursuing a traditionally female career were evaluated as less attractive, less realistic, less likely to attain the job, and less likely to be good at that job than females pursuing a traditionally male career. This suggests a more stringent penalty for the nontraditional male. In a similar investigation, Thomas and Stuart (1971) asked high school counselors to evaluate females pursuing various careers. Those females pursuing nontraditional careers were evaluated as having inappropriate goals and in need of career counseling significantly more than those choosing traditional goals.

The evidence which points to negative social judgments imposed on adult sex role violators extends to children. In a study in which college students evaluated descriptions of children engaging in cross-sex behavior (i.e., boy playing with doll, girl playing with baseball) Feinman (1974) found that boys received higher disapproval ratings than girls, with stronger penalties being imposed by male evaluators.

Thus studies which focus on evaluation of cross-sex behavior suggest that there are indeed negative social judgments directed at those choosing to engage in cross-sex behavior. The existence of negative sanctions for cross-sex behavior suggests that individuals develop strong sex stereotyped expectations. A majority of the research has focused on this premise, attempting to determine the amount of existing sex role expectancy.

Measurement of sex role stereotyping

The task of measuring sex role stereotyping has been approached through several methods, some of which are similar. One frequently used procedure has been to assess vocational aspirations by asking children what they want to be when they grow up. A typical set of stereotyped responses result with girls choosing a restricted range of occupations including nurse and teacher, and boys selecting a wider variety dominated by doctor, police officer, and fire fighter (Looft 1971; Kriedburg, Butcher, & White, 1978; Marini, & Greenberger, 1978; Papilia, & Tennen, 1975; Schlossberg,

1972; Siegel, 1973; Tibbets, 1975; Vondracek, & Kirchner, 1974; and Weeks, Thornburg, & Little, 1977). These studies demonstrate the prevalence of sex role stereotyping among children's occupational choices, suggesting clear and inflexible expectations for future possibilities.

One extension of this procedure involves asking the child what he/she actually expects to be. Looft (1971) reported his sample of second grade girls chose occupations considered more realistic in terms of likelihood of attainment in response to actual expectations (i.e., from ballerina to nurse). Similar findings were reported by Papilia (1975) in a preschool sample. In contrast, Marini and Greenberger (1978) reported no significant difference in the responses to the two questions from an eleventh grade sample of males and females. Using this methodology to compare populations of second and sixth grade students, Kriedburg, et al, (1978) found that second graders predominantly nominated traditional roles which did not change appreciably between the desired and expected questions. Among the sixth graders half of the females initially chose a nontraditional role, but the majority actually expected a traditional role when questioned further. These data indicate that while young females initially respond with a desired occupation, they can distinguish between desired and expected roles. Although this effect was not found in males, both sexes chose traditional expected roles. The finding that this effect was

not apparent in a high school sample suggests that children may begin to see occupational choices in terms of realistic expectations as they get older.

The expectation of pursuing a traditional role appears to be rigidly internalized at a young age. In asking five year old children to make a forced-choice comparison between pairs of occupations both with and without exposure to a nontraditional career curriculum, Weeks, et al, (1977) found significantly more traditional responses than nontraditional ones, demonstrating a resistance to acceptance of nontraditional roles.

Rigid sex role attitudes among children have also become evident through observation of their behaviors. Pre-school children will choose a sex appropriate toy when offered a selection and will resist the advocacy of a sex inappropriate toy (Ross, & Ross, 1972). Resistance was found to be stronger among boys, who more often argued and sought peer support to maintain their resistance than did girls. This would suggest a stronger resistance to sex inappropriate behavior among boys than girls, a finding consistent with the results described above in which male violators of sex appropriate behavior were treated with more severe sanctions.

Informal play behavior may also reflect cultural stereotypes, as demonstrated by the observation of preschoolers' interactions in a "housekeeping" area set up in the classroom

(Barry, & Barry, 1976). While more boys were found to only "visit" the area (no interaction), significantly more girls "played" (assumed a role) and "acted" (deeper involvement of role). This effect became stronger with age (subjects aged 3 to 5) suggesting a growing acceptance of the traditional role.

From the evidence thus far it is suggested that children choose traditional sex role stereotyped behavior for themselves both in play and in vocational preferences. Further evidence suggests that this rigid division between male and female roles extends to their perceptions of how the world should be. Gettys and Cann (1981) found that children aged $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 7, asked to indicate whether a male or female occupied each of several occupations, demonstrated considerable awareness of adult sex role stereotypes; the effect became stronger with increasing subject age. Similarly, older children (ages 6 to 10) given pictures of work settings and asked to indicate whether a man, woman, or both would perform the job, gave highly stereotyped responses, with six year olds giving the most stereotyped responses (Scheresky, 1977). While these studies indicate that children typically associate many occupations almost exclusively with either a male or a female, they leave unanswered the question of whether children see these categories as open only to men or women. To answer this question children ages 7 to 11 were asked who "should" perform in various occupations. As

expected, responses were largely stereotypic; men should be lawyers and pilots, while women should be nurses and secretaries (Tibbetts, 1971). When asked who "could" do various jobs, Frost and Diamond (1979) found stereotyped responses among fourth through sixth grade children on a rating scale, with males again indicating a stronger stereotype of male roles than females. When that same question was asked of a sample kindergarten and sixth graders, Schlossburg (1972), found that stereotyping increased with age, and that subjects were more likely to exclude women from male jobs than men from female jobs. In contrast, when Garrett, Ein, and Tremaine (1977) asked first, third, and fifth graders to indicate on a rating scale who could do various occupations, gender stereotyping was found to become less rigid with increasing subject age. Clearly the data in this area are contradictory and leave room for further exploration.

Implications of the data

In recent years both men and women have begun entering fields considered to be nontraditional for their sex. While not yet a high frequency occurrence, it is no longer a rarity to encounter a female doctor or a male nurse. It is apparent from viewing those employed today in various occupational roles, that the rigid barriers previously defining male and female roles have begun to weaken. Yet despite the recent advances which have been made by both men and women in entering into nontraditional roles, the mounting

evidence suggests that not only do children accept and express sex typed roles for themselves but they also rigidly categorize adult roles as being appropriate to males or females. It appears that children perceive a consistent and rigid division of male and female roles.

As previously described, studies have indicated negative evaluations by adults of those who violate sex role norms (Costrich, Feinstein, & Kidder, 1975; Thomas & Stuart, 1971; Feinman, 1974). A relevant question at this point would be to what extent, if any, children may attribute some of these same (or different) negative qualities to adults they see in nontraditional roles. This question could be of importance when considering the child's view of his/her parent, teacher, or other possible role models. There would seem to be some possible negative implications. It might be difficult for learning to take place in the class of a male elementary school teacher if the children believed him less competent because of his nontraditional occupation, than a female. More important is the question of the parent-child relationship. The child whose parent is employed in a nontraditional role may potentially attribute negative qualities to the parent and become less accepting of him/her as a role model or otherwise weakening the parent-child bond. Despite the importance of these implications, children's perceptions of adults in nontraditional roles have received little attention.

One hypothesis receiving some support is that children may see those in nontraditional roles as less competent than persons in a traditional role. Cann and Haight (Note 1) presented children aged 5½ to 9 with a male and female as occupants of each of several occupations, asking subjects to decide who would be the best at each job. Results showed that males were perceived as better in typical male roles and females were perceived as better in typical female roles, with the effect becoming stronger with increasing subject age. Based on these data, it appears that perceived competence of the person in a nontraditional role may be one area receiving negative judgments because of violation of sex roles. As demonstrated with adults, liking, popularity, and the suggestion of a "serious disturbance" (Costrich et al, 1975) may be among other perceptions affected by sex role violation. It is the purpose of the present study to investigate children's perceptions of persons they see in traditional and nontraditional roles. Specifically, it is expected that children will rate traditional occupants of male and female roles as more competent, more liked, and more popular among friends than occupants of nontraditional roles.

One additional factor which may enter into occupational stereotyping which has been virtually ignored previously is that of occupational prestige. The criteria utilized by children in awarding status to occupations appears to be a

developmental phenomenon such that first and second graders equate status with danger, third graders rate jobs on a dimension of importance to the community, and fourth graders use a service criteria, i.e., the public need for the service provided by the job (Gunn, 1964). Despite the differences in criteria, young children have clearly shown an awareness similar to that of adults of which occupations are more highly valued than others (Simmons, & Rosenberg, 1971). It is useful to point out this factor when considering that those male and female roles such as doctor, pilot, dentist, teacher, secretary, and housekeeper which are typically employed in sex role research are not comparable on a status dimension. There is virtually no female dominated occupation equivalent to the male occupations of doctor or pilot using a socioeconomic status criterion. Consequently it seems feasible that children may be reacting in their judgments to some qualitative differences among occupations rather than sex type alone. For this reason occupational status will be matched for occupations used in this study.

Statement of the Problem

The amount of cumulative sex role research at this point is quite extensive, yet there are specific inadequacies and conflicting findings. For example, while several studies have been undertaken to assess the various aspects of sex role stereotyping among children, the existing procedures have been limited. Many researchers have not used

concrete, tangible stimuli such as dolls to ensure that the young child understands the task. It is important to consider the cognitive abilities and limitations of children when employing them as research participants.

A great deal of time and energy has thus far been invested in determining the existence of sex role stereotyping, yet there has been little attention directed toward possible consequences of this stereotyping by children.

A further limitation of the existing sex role research has been the consistent use of a restricted range of male and female occupations which are not comparable in terms of socioeconomic status. This opens the possibility that children could be responding to some qualitative differences rather than sex type alone.

It is the purpose of experiment one to first substantiate the existence of sex-typed occupational attitudes among children in the second, fourth, and sixth grades, since the findings from previous research have been inconsistent. It is expected that reliable stereotyping exists in young children and that this effect will increase with age.

Experiment two is designed to assess three dimensions of affective perceptions of children toward persons they see in occupational roles. It is hypothesized that subjects will rate persons in nontraditional occupations as less competent, less popular, and less likable than those persons in traditional roles. In terms of job preference it is

expected that subjects will prefer (or choose) sex appropriate occupations.

EXPERIMENT 1

Method

Design. Experiment 1 was a 2 x 3 x 2 mixed factorial design. The between subject factors were sex of the child (male or female) and grade (2, 4, and 6). The within subject factor was the sex traditionally associated with the occupation (male or female). The dependent variable was the sex of person chosen by the child, for each occupation.

Subjects. Subjects were obtained from three elementary schools located in an urban area of a southern state. The subjects were selected from those children in grades 2, 4, and 6 who returned a signed parental form, and who agreed to participate (see Appendix A for a copy of the form used). The subject pool contained Black and White children from lower and middle class families. In grade 2 there were 16 males and 21 females; grade 4, 17 males and 19 females; grade 6, 17 males and 20 females.

Materials. The twelve occupations were previously found to be stereotypically male or female and matched on socio-economic status according to the ratings established by the U. S. Bureau of the Census (1963). Male occupations included: police officer, construction worker, mayor (Gettys, & Cann, 1981), electrician (Shinar, 1976), truck driver (Panek, 1977)

and plumber (Shepard, & Hess, 1975). The female occupations were: nurse, secretary, librarian (Gettys, & Cann, 1981), housekeeper, cook (Tibbetts, 1975), and receptionist (Shinar, 1976).

Two adult dolls, one male and one female were employed as visual stimuli. Dolls were placed on a table in front of the child, with the relative position of the two dolls randomly determined across trials.

Procedure. Each subject was interviewed individually. Subjects were told that the experimenter was interested in some of their ideas about jobs that people do. They were presented with dolls who were described as performing each occupation. Subjects were then asked to imagine themselves choosing a person for each occupation. Occupations were presented in the form of one sentence descriptions of the job. For example, "If you were choosing a nurse, a person who helps when you are sick, which person would you choose?" A complete list of the questions used can be found in Appendix B. Questions were presented in a randomized order, and responses recorded on prepared data sheets along with the age and sex of child.

RESULTS

A sex role score was calculated for responses by each child. A response of male was assigned a score of 1 while a response of female was assigned a 2. Scores for each child were summed across male occupations and across female occupations such that a score of 6 would indicate maximum sex-typing for male occupations; the male doll selected for each male occupation, while a score of 12 would indicate maximum sex-typing for female occupations; the female doll selected for each female occupation.

A 2 (sex of subject) x 3 (grade of subject) x 2 (sex of occupation) mixed design analysis of variance was performed. An alpha level of .05 was adopted for interpretation of all results. As can be seen in Table 1, results yielded only one significant effect, a main effect for the sex of occupation. The mean male role score of 6.51 and the mean female role score of 11 indicate a strong pattern of choosing the traditional sex across occupations.

There were no significant effects of grade of subject. There was, however, a trend toward significance for sex of subject with males indicating stronger sex-typing of the female role, and females indicating stronger sex-typing of the male role (means). (Male role: Males $M = 6.53$,

TABLE I
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR SEX ROLE SCORE

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Sex (S)	0.94	1	0.94	2.91	.09
Grade (G)	1.21	2	0.60	1.87	.15
S x G	0.85	2	0.42	1.31	.27
Error	33.36	103	0.32	-	-
Role (R)	1084	1	1084	1021	.00000
R x S	0.28	1	0.28	0.27	.60
R x G	2.07	2	1.03	0.98	.37
R x S x G	3.56	2	1.78	1.68	.19
Error	109.29	103	1.06	-	-

Females M = 6.48; female role: Males M = 11.10, Females M = 10.91.) These results clearly indicate a preference for matching traditional sex stereotypes when choosing a person for a job.

EXPERIMENT 2

Method

Design. Experiment 2 is a 2 x 3 x 2 x 2 mixed factorial design. The between subject factors were sex of subject (male or female) and grade level (2, 4, and 6). The within subject factors were sex of the person in the occupation (male or female) and sex appropriateness of the person in the occupation. The dependent variables were four questions assessing affective perceptions.

Subjects. A second subject population was obtained; in the same fashion as described in Experiment 1. There were 17 males and 15 females in grade 2; 20 males and 20 females in grade 4; and 21 males and 19 females in grade 6.

Materials. The occupations used for this study were the same as described in Experiment 1. Each occupation was presented through an approximately 35 word description of a person pursuing typical duties associated with the role as described in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (1977). The reading level of the descriptions was estimated to be second grade as determined by the Fry Readability graph (Lamberg, & Lamb, 1980). Descriptions for each occupation were identical except for the manipulation of the sex of

occupant through a change in pronouns (see Appendix C for the descriptions used).

In order to make the task more concrete and ensure that the manipulation of the sex of stimulus person associated with the occupation was perceived by the child, photographs appeared with each occupation. Two males and two females were photographed in each occupational setting to eliminate extraneous factors related to the photographs. This procedure provided four different photographs to be matched with a given occupation.

Each occupational description was followed by four questions. Below each question was a four point illustrated scale on which to respond (see Appendix D for questions and scale used). Booklets were prepared utilizing partial counterbalancing, allowing each picture to appear an equal number of times with each occupation. Eight different combinations of pictures and occupations were used, each containing a randomized order of the occupations. This allowed each subject within a group to receive a different booklet. Each booklet contained all twelve occupations; half presented with a performer of the sex traditionally associated with the job and half with a nontraditional performer.

Procedure. Subjects were told that the experimenter was interested in their ideas about the jobs that men and women do. They were asked to carefully read each description

in their booklet, then to answer the questions using the scale provided. Subjects were given a demonstration scale and some sample items to assure their ability to discriminate according to the scale. Subjects were then encouraged to let the experimenter know if they had difficulty reading or understanding the materials.

RESULTS

A 2 (sex of subject) x 3 (grade of subject) x 2 (sex of occupation x 2 (sex of stimulus) mixed design analysis of variance was performed with occupation and stimulus as within factors. The four dependent measures which were job competence, likability, job preference, and popularity, were analyzed separately. Responses on the scale were assigned a number from 1 to 4 with a higher score indicating a more positive rating.

Responses measuring perceived job competence yielded no significant differences (see Table 2 in Appendix E for summary of analysis of variance), although there was a trend toward significance for grade x sex of subject. While male and female ratings were similar at grades 2 and 4, sixth grade females awarded substantially higher competency ratings than sixth grade males.

Analysis of the liking measure yielded a significant main effect for sex of child, with females awarding higher ratings ($M = 3.37$) than males ($M = 3.17$), as well as an interaction between sex of child and grade (see Table 3). The interaction indicates that males and females differ at grades 2 and 6, with females awarding higher ratings ($M = 3.50, 3.35$, respectively) than males ($M = 3.20, 3.01$,

TABLE III
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
FOR LIKABILITY RATING

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Sex (S)	4.68	1	4.68	6.59	.01
Grade (G)	2.64	2	1.32	1.86	.16
S x G	5.98	2	2.99	4.21	.01
Error	75.30	106	.71	-	-
Occupation	1.16	1	1.16	3.49	.06
O x S	.88	1	.88	2.63	.10
O x G	1.63	2	.81	2.43	.09
O x S x G	.08	2	.04	.13	.87
Error	35.53	106	.33	-	-
Stimulus (ST)	.03	1	.03	.17	.68
ST x S	.66	1	.66	2.87	.09
ST x G	.94	2	.47	2.03	.13
ST x S x G	.24	2	.12	.53	.58
Error	24.69	106	.23	-	-
O x ST	.51	1	.51	2.27	.13
O x ST x S	.46	1	.46	2.05	.15
O x ST x G	.44	2	.22	.98	.37
O x ST x S x G	.03	2	.01	.07	.92
Error	23.90	106	.22	-	-

respectively); yet little difference is seen at grade 4 where male and female ratings are similar (male $M = 3.41$, female $M = 3.30$) (see Figure 1).

The job preference measure revealed a main effect of sex of occupation (see Table 4), with female occupations being rated as more desirable than male stereotyped occupations (female occupations $M = 2.77$, male occupations $M = 2.39$). A significant interaction found between sex of occupation and sex of subject (see Figure 2), showed that females discriminate between occupations in their ratings to a larger degree (female occupations $M = 2.88$, male occupations $M = 2.15$), than do males.

Results further showed a three way interaction between sex of occupation, sex of stimulus and sex of subject (see Figure 3). Males showed a preference for cultural stereotypes rating traditionally presented sex appropriate stimuli and occupation combinations higher than those presented in cross-sex combinations. Female subjects, however, responded positively to female occupational stereotypes and female stimuli. They preferred occupations presented with female stimuli regardless of sex of occupation (female occupations: female stimuli $M = 2.68$; male stimuli $M = 2.35$).

Analysis of the popularity rating yielded two main effects; sex of occupation, and sex of stimulus (see Table 5). Inspection of the means indicates that persons in female occupations ($M = 3.65$) were perceived as more popular than

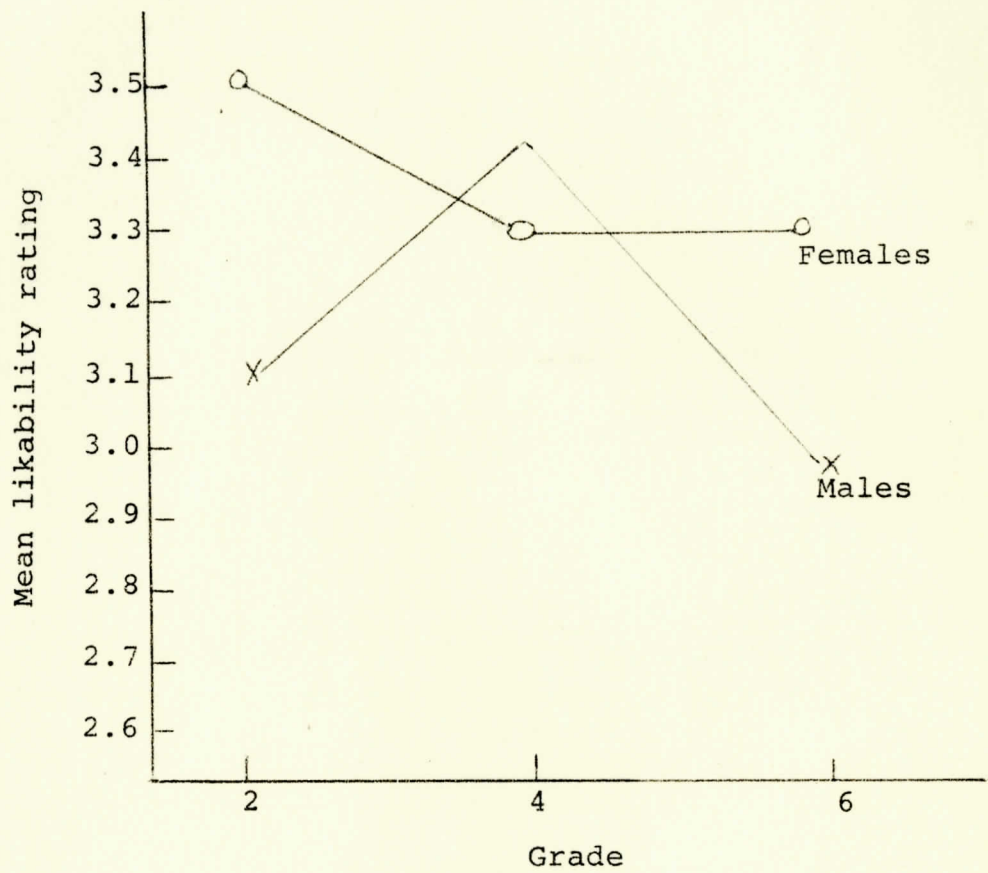


Figure 1. Mean likability rating as a function of grade and sex of subject.

TABLE IV
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR
JOB PREFERENCE RATING

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Sex (S)	1.87	1	1.87	1.09	.29
Grade (G)	4.57	2	2.28	1.33	.26
S x G	7.98	2	3.99	2.33	.10
Error	181.78	106	1.71	-	-
Occupation	16.24	1	16.24	16.89	.0001
O x S	12.88	1	12.88	13.40	.0004
O x G	2.81	2	1.40	1.47	.23
O x S x G	0.74	2	0.37	0.39	.68
Error	101.94	106	0.96	-	-
Stimulus (ST)	5.25	1	5.25	5.29	.02
ST x S	1.70	1	1.70	1.72	.19
ST x G	2.07	2	1.03	1.04	.35
ST x S x G	5.32	2	2.66	2.68	.07
Error	105.36	106	0.99	-	-
O x ST	2.12	1	2.12	2.36	.12
O x ST x S	4.37	1	4.37	4.84	.03
O x ST x G	3.08	2	1.54	1.71	.18
O x ST x S x G	2.12	2	1.06	1.18	.31
Error	95.70	106	.90	-	-

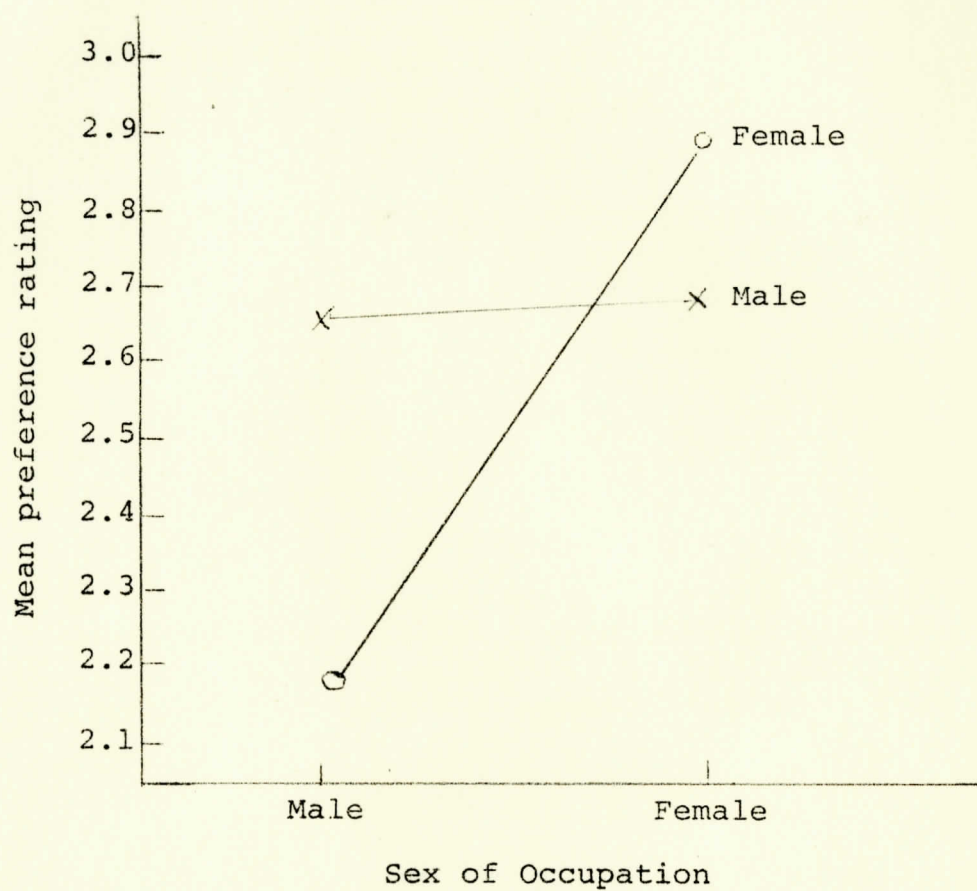


Figure 2. Mean preference rating of occupation x sex of subject

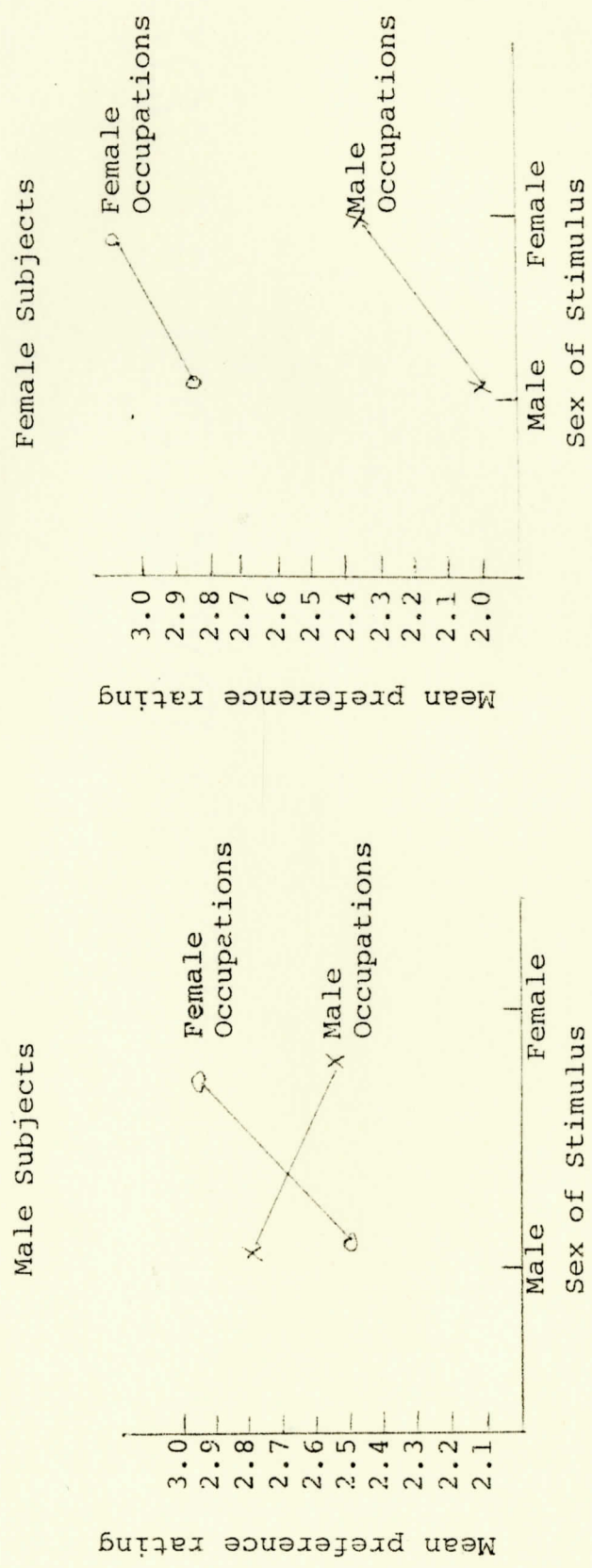


Figure 3. Mean preference ratings as a function of sex of stimulus and sex of occupation by male and female subjects.

TABLE V
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR
POPULARITY RATING

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Sex (S)	0.01	1	0.01	0.02	.90
Grade (G)	0.43	2	0.21	0.38	.68
S x G	1.95	2	0.97	1.72	.18
Error	60.04	106	0.56	-	-
Occupation (O)	1.37	1	1.37	9.30	.002
O x S	0.30	1	0.30	2.08	.15
O x G	0.46	2	0.23	1.58	.21
O x S x G	0.09	2	0.04	0.32	.72
Error	15.68	106	0.14	-	-
Stimulus (ST)	0.63	1	0.63	3.70	.05
ST x S	0.20	1	0.20	1.19	.27
ST x G	0.18	2	0.09	0.54	.58
ST x S x G	0.20	2	0.10	0.61	.54
Error	18.21	106	0.17	-	-
O x ST	0.07	1	0.07	0.28	.59
O x ST x S	0.02	1	0.02	0.10	.75
O x ST x G	0.18	2	0.09	0.34	.71
O x ST x S x G	1.11	2	0.55	2.05	.13
Error	28.87	106	0.27	-	-

persons in male occupations ($M = 3.53$). Furthermore, those occupations presented with female stimuli, regardless of occupational stereotype, were rated as more popular ($M = 3.63$) than those presented with a male ($M = 3.55$).

DISCUSSION

The present data clearly indicate that children in grades 2, 4, and 6 express strong stereotypic views in choosing an appropriate person for a job. This is certainly consistent with previous findings that children express traditionally sex role stereotyped views in respect to who "could", "should", and "would" perform a variety of occupations (Frost, & Diamond, 1979; Scheresky, 1977; Tibbetts, 1975; Gettys, & Cann, 1981).

Based on the data collected in this study, it is evident that children of both sexes internalize sex role stereotypic views at a young age, and that these views are maintained at least through grade 6. Previous reports and hypotheses of developmental changes in degree of sex-typing were not supported by the present study (Cann, & Haight, Note 1; Schlossburg, 1972; Garret et al, 1977). Instead, occupational stereotyping was shown to be strongly evident by grade 2, and to be a relatively stable phenomenon through grade 6. It is still unclear why various studies utilizing similar methods have produced conflicting results. Sex-typed attitudes would seem to be a product of social exposure, influenced greatly by experience. For this reason different subject populations sampled at different points

in time may reflect variation in experience. The nature of such stereotyping as a developmental process could be further assessed by applying a similar task to older individuals, thus determining if and when this rigidity begins to change.

The findings of Experiment 1 indicate that if given the choice, children see a person whose sex is traditionally associated with an occupation as preferable for that occupation. Yet when asked to evaluate people performing jobs which are sex consistent or sex inconsistent on a scale assessing competence there were no significant differences. One possible explanation is that children may not impose negative judgments of competence on those in nontraditional occupations. Because of a child's position of dependence on adults as caretakers and role models, it may be that they can not negatively evaluate an adult seen in any role. In other words, all are seen as good, thus making differences hard to find.

Alternatively it may be that asking children to evaluate a person seen in an occupation on a competence scale is too external for him or her. That is, the task of giving an adult a qualitative rating on perceived competence may be too foreign to a child's realm of experience; where the early lesson is one of unquestioned acceptance of adult judgment in word and deed.

For these reasons children may not adequately utilize a rating dimension of competence, although they reliably

make sex appropriate choices when asked to choose the best person for a job from a forced-choice method (Cann, & Haight, Note 1). This method required only that they choose a male or a female for the job, not that they impose an evaluative judgment of the person.

The job preference rating, which is perhaps the most relevant to a child since it assesses a self perception, reinforces previous findings that males are more stereotyped in their attitudes than females (Payne, 1981; Hesselbart, 1977; Feinman, 1981). For females, responses seemed due to a preference for the appropriate role model. Across all occupations those pictured with female stimuli received higher ratings than those pictured with male stimuli. This suggests that females model their behavior less in line with tradition, but instead place a greater importance on the behavior of role models. Females may perceive a greater freedom to engage in nontraditional behavior since previous data have indicated that females are allowed a wider range of approved behaviors than are males (Feinman, & Rogers, 1974), and that the costs of deviating from the female role are not as harsh as those of deviating from the male role (Feinman, 1981).

On the other hand, male subjects appear to be much more rigidly traditional in their views. They would prefer an occupation as long as it is presented with the traditional sex person, thus expressing a need for maintaining

traditional roles. It was interesting to note that males viewed any job as acceptable unless it was presented with a nontraditional stimulus person. This breaking of the rules, so to speak, had a more powerful impact than the stereotype of the occupations. Thus the premise that males have a stronger need to maintain tradition than do females is further supported.

Results are suggestive that popularity may be positively related to femininity. Because of the nature of the dimension of popularity, i.e., number of friends, results suggest that children may equate sociability with femininity. Ratings were higher for those presented in female stereotyped occupations as well as for female stimuli in general. The later finding substantiates Feinman and Rogers (1974) conclusion that females are more likely than males to gain approval for engaging in cross-sex as well as appropriate sex role behavior.

In keeping with the above assumption that females are viewed as more social; females in this study expressed a generally higher degree of liking than did males, regardless of occupation or sex of stimuli. This would imply that young females are less restrictive in their social perceptions. While this effect was evident in grades 2 and 6 where there was a substantial difference in male and female ratings, it did not hold true for grade 4 where male and female ratings were similar. Liking others is seen as a

positive social value, and it seems that young females internalize this earlier and stronger than boys. An unexpected increase among boys' ratings in grade 4 could possibly be indicative of a fluctuating developmental change in their social perceptions at this time.

The sex of examiner may also be considered as a factor effecting the positive female ratings. For all subjects the examiner was a white female. Although current research has not shown this to be a biasing factor, it could be easily assessed through incorporating a male examiner.

In summary, the present data support previous findings that children develop rigid sex role stereotyped attitudes by grade 2 (if not earlier) (Drabman, Robertson, Patterson, Jarvie, Hammer, & Cordua, 1981) and that these attitudes are maintained at least through grade 6. In spite of the rigidity of the attitudes, however, there is no evidence that adults seen in nontraditional roles are negatively penalized in terms of competence, popularity, or likability, as has been previously demonstrated with adults (Costrich et al, 1975; Hesselbart, 1977). This would imply that these negative sanctions begin to develop at some point during adolescence. If indeed this is true, a question requiring further study would be to what extent this is a learned, developmental, or cognitive process.

An alternative explanation for these findings which is perhaps more important, is that matching socioeconomic

status across occupations had an effect on the way children responded. This variable has been previously ignored, even though it has been demonstrated that children respond to a status dimension (Simmons, & Rosenberg, 1971; Gunn, 1964). If indeed qualitative evaluations of occupations and those seen in them are influenced by status, manipulation of this variable would be expected to produce a substantial change in the research findings. Responses to a status dimension would presumably effect perceptions of competence, likability, popularity and preference of various occupations and those seen in them. Thus it can be hypothesized that such an effect occurred in the present study. Manipulation of status as well as requiring children to evaluate nontraditional adults were both unique features of this study making it difficult to fully assess the impact of the status variable. Further study is necessary with the manipulation of socio-economic status as a variable to determine in what way children respond to status.

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Reference Notes

1. Cann, A., & Haight, J. M. Children's perceptions of relative competence in sex-typed occupations. Manuscript submitted for publication, 1981.

APPENDIX A
Sample Consent Form

Sample Consent Form

Dear Parent,

I am a graduate student at Appalachian State University and am currently conducting research examining children's attitudes toward men and women in occupations. Already I have found that at a young age children begin to have ideas about the appropriate jobs for men and women. To further extend this I would like to understand how children feel about men and women in certain jobs.

Each child will be asked some questions relating to people in some common occupations. The entire procedure should take no longer than twenty minutes.

I would like your permission to include your child as a participant in this research project. If you are willing, please indicate your decision by signing your name in one of the two spaces below. Please return this letter to the school whether you grant permission or not so that I can be sure that all parents received the request. If you have any questions or would like more information please feel free to call me at 568-1179. Also as a part of my research it would be helpful for me to know the parents' education

and occupation. A space is provided for this information.
Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Linda Gettys

My child _____ has permission to participate in this project.

Signed _____

My child _____ does not have permission to participate in this project.

Signed _____

Please indicate highest grade completed:

Father:

Elementary	Junior	High	College	Other
School	High	School		

Mother:

Elementary	Junior	High	College	Other
School	High	School		

Please indicate present occupation; if unemployed list most recent employment.

Father:

Mother:

APPENDIX B

Questions Presented To Subjects In Experiment 1

Questions Presented To Subjects In Experiment 1

1. If you were choosing a nurse, a person who helps when you are sick, which nurse would you choose?
2. If you were choosing a police officer, a person who enforces the law, which police officer would you choose?
3. If you were choosing a housekeeper, a person who comes to clean the house, which housekeeper would you choose?
4. If you were choosing a construction worker, a person who works on houses, which construction worker would you choose?
5. If you were choosing a cook, a person who prepares meals in a restaurant, which cook would you choose?
6. If you were choosing a truck driver, a person who transports things in a truck, which truck driver would you choose?
7. If you were choosing a librarian, a person who takes care of the books in the library, which librarian would you choose?
8. If you were choosing a plumber, a person who fixes pipes in a house, which plumber would you choose?
9. If you were choosing a secretary, a person who answers the phone and types letters for an office, which secretary would you choose?

10. If you were choosing a mayor, a person who runs the city, which mayor would you choose?
11. If you were choosing a receptionist, a person who greets people in an office, which receptionist would you choose?
12. If you were choosing an electrician, a person who wires houses, which electrician would you choose?

APPENDIX C

Descriptions Of Occupations Used In Experiment 2

Descriptions Of Occupations Used In Experiment 2

Police Officer

_____ is a police officer. He (she) drives a police car around the city. He (she) tries to make the city safe by arresting people who break the law, and giving tickets to people who drive too fast.

Nurse

_____ is a nurse. Her (his) job is to take care of patients in a hospital or doctors office. She (he) helps the doctor during examinations and treatment of the patient. She (he) also gives medicine and treatment that the doctor has ordered.

Secretary

_____ is a secretary. She (he) makes appointments for the boss, gives information to people who call, files, and reads the office mail. She (he) also types letters for the boss.

Receptionist

_____ is a receptionist. Her (his) job is to greet people. She (he) asks their name and sends them to the person they came to see. She (he) also makes an appointment if the person wants to come back again.

Housekeeper

_____ is a housekeeper. She (he) is paid to go to someone's house to clean. While she (he) is there, she (he) cooks meals and washes dishes, cleans the furniture and floors, and washes and irons the clothes.

Cook

_____ is a cook. She (he) works in a restaurant kitchen. She (he) prepares and cooks the food, like meats, vegetables and desserts which other people order to eat.

Librarian

_____ is a librarian. She (he) works in the library. She (he) helps people find the books and magazines they are looking for. She (he) also explains how to use the different kinds of library materials.

Construction Worker

_____ is a construction worker. He (she) works on buildings and houses that are being constructed. Some of his (her) duties include sawing lumber, hammering stakes, and mixing concrete.

Truck Driver

_____ is a truck driver. He (she) drives a truck which takes materials from one place to another. He (she) loads up the truck and unloads it when he (she) gets to the place where he (she) is delivering the materials.

Mayor

_____ is a mayor. The citizens of a community elect him (her) to run the city. He (she) goes to city meetings and makes decisions that he (she) thinks will be good for the city.

Electrician

_____ is an electrician. His (her) job is to put the wires in houses for electricity. When something goes wrong with the electrical system he (she) goes to the house and fixes it.

Plumber

_____ is a plumber. He (she) puts the pipes in houses for water and drainage systems. He (she) puts in the plumbing fixtures like the bath tub and sink and comes to fix them when something is wrong.

APPENDIX D

Questions Used In Experiment 2

Questions Used In Experiment 2

1. How good is this person at their job?

Very
good

Good

Not
good

Terrible

2. How much do you like this person?

Very
much

A
little

Not
much

Not at
all

3. How much would you like to have this job?

Very
much

A
little

Not
much

Not at
all

4. How many friends do you think this person has?

A lot
of friends

A few
friends

Not many
friends

No
friends

APPENDIX E

Table 2. Summary Of Analysis Of Variance For Job
Competence Rating

TABLE II
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
FOR JOB COMPETENCE RATING

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Sex (S)	0.05	1	0.05	0.11	.73
Grade (G)	0.61	2	0.30	0.67	.51
S x G	2.49	2	1.24	2.75	0.06
Error	48.17	106	0.45	-	-
Occupation (O)	0.25	1	0.25	0.97	.32
O x S	0.57	1	0.57	2.18	.14
O x G	0.36	2	0.18	0.68	.50
O x S x G	0.35	2	0.17	0.67	.51
Error	28.04	106	0.26		
Stimulus (ST)	0.16	1	0.16	0.79	0.37
ST x S	0.39	1	0.39	1.90	.17
ST x G	0.14	2	0.07	0.36	.69
ST x S x G	0.06	2	0.03	0.16	.84
Error	21.83	106	0.20		
O x ST	0.07	1	0.07	0.38	.53
O x ST x S	0.07	1	0.07	0.37	.54
O x ST x G	0.67	2	0.33	1.65	.19
O x ST x S x G	0.56	2	0.28	1.37	.25
Error	21.73	106	0.20		

VITA

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