# GENDER RELATED PERCEPTIONS OF CAREER/ OCCUPATIONAL ROLES: ANALYSIS OF 

SYMBOLIC INTERACTION AND
SOCIAL LEARNING
THEORIES

## By

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Bachelor of Fine Arts
Emporia State University
Emporia, Kansas
1991

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of
Oklahoma State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE

May, 1996

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Thesis Approved:


## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the Department of Speech Communication for providing me with this research opportunity and support. I also wish to express my sincere appreciation to my major advisor, Dr. David Schrader, for his intelligent supervision, statistical guidance, motivation, and, most of all, treasured friendship. My appreciation extends to my other committee members, Dr. Mike Stano and Dr. Jeanine Rhea.

More over, I wish to express my gratitude to those who provided both public and private school settings for this study: St. John's School - Houston, Texas, Stillwater Middie School - Stillwater, Oklahoma and Village Elementary School Emporia, Kansas. The instructors and administrators at these educational institutions provided me with precious research suggestions and insight into the world of elementary and secondary education.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, friends, and colleagues for their love, understanding, patience, and encouragement during times of difficulty. Their prayers were heard and deeply appreciated.

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## CHAPTERI

## INTRODUCTION


#### Abstract

Background "I realize Miss Bodkin that I only drew the teacher and nurse as females, but we live in a sexist society and there's nothing I can do about it." - Male 15 yr. old high school freshman


Considerable research has been conducted on gender, including gender portrayals in television, the use of gendered language, and contemporary definitions of masculine and feminine behaviors. Research has shown that media contributes to children's sex-role socialization. Researchers have examined the magnitude of media influence on gender identity by asking such questions as: "What are the role models to which children are being exposed on television, and what behaviors are being reinforced as culturally acceptable?" (Peirce, 1989, p. 19). The extent of this particular type of gender research is far reaching and lends to the understanding of media influence.

The use of gendered language provides yet another avenue for gender researchers. Sexist language can also influence gender identity. Lakoff (1975) isolated a multitude of inequities in the English language, reasoning that "linguistic imbalances are worthy of study because they bring into sharper focus real-world imbalances and inequities" (p. 43). Other researchers, such as Martyna (1978), have studied pronoun use among males and females and discovered that pronoun choice was affected "not only by the presumed sex of sentence subject, but often by whether one is speaking or writing, and even by whether one is female or male" (p. 134).

A 1996 study by Ivy, Bullis-Moore, Norvell, Backlund, and Monoocher explored college students' use of inclusive language, with specific regard to pronoun choice and attitudes toward sex roles. Subjects were given a questionnaire with a series of sentence fragments and questions regarding imagery, which is when an individual mentally pictures a specifc experience, person, or gender. Ivy et. al (1996) found that, $65 \%$ of subjects reported male imagery with regard to pronoun use, $2 \%$ reported female imagery, and $10 \%$ reported seeing images of both males and females. Ivy et. al (1996) noted: "In general, descriptions of male imagery were positive, reflecting such qualities as high status, wealth, and importance" (p. 19). Sixty-three percent of subjects revealed female imagery corresponding to sentence fragments which included occupation roles of teacher, librarian, and babysitter. Overall, two-thirds of the 145 subjects completed male-related fragments with the male pronouns, but less than one-third completed female-related fragments with female pronouns.

Gender norms are communicated to children in a variety of ways. Research since the late sixties has demonstrated consistent social beliefs about behavioral differences between males and females. West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender entails the situated management of behavior along lines deemed normative for one's sex. It is a "product of social doings" (p. 129) and is continuously created. Feminine behavior is expected to reflect nurturant, expressive, and emotional qualities, whereas masculine behavior is expected to reflect instrumental, aggressive, and rational ones (Cicone \& Ruble, 1978; Unger \& Crawford, 1992). These studies give some link between the perceptions today's youth have regarding normative gender behavior and occupational roles. This study will examine this social construction of gender by exploring Symbolic Interaction (Mead) and Social Learning Theories (Bandura).

## The Problem

The topic of gender and its social construction is important to individuals, society, and the field of communication education. The influence of gender stereotypical roles on the occupational/ career perceptions of our youth should be a concern to all. This study is an area of interest to sociologists, educators, and communication scholars.

The impact of society on gender roles and perceptions is apparent. Roles, according to sociological definition, are "the expectations attached to social positions, and sex-role expectations are the behaviors, attitudes, emotions, and personality traits appropriate for each sex" (Boudreau, Sennott \& Wilson, 1986 p. 8). These expectations depend on what Berger and Luckman (1966) term socially constructed reality, a concept of reality that members of a society learn. Pierce (1989) writes that "a social definition of what is male and what is female is transmitted to the young. Society defines what is male and what is female" (p.19). For years, sociologists have understood the impact society has on gender identity. However, this study will fill an existing gap in knowledge by relating socialization and its impact on one's perception of occupational roles.

Educators, like sociologists, may also benefit from this research. Prior studies have provided various levels of education insight into gendered language, gender imagery among students, and malel female learning styles (Blaubergs, 1975; Briere \& Lanktree, 1983; Ivy, Bullis-Moore, Norvell, Backlund, \& Manoocher, 1996). This study may inform classroom instructors of the differences or similarities of student perceptions regarding occupational/ career roles. The findings in this study may aid educators in three distinct ways. First, educators may simply become more aware of their own students gender-related perceptions of occupational/ career roles. Second, this study may influence
educators to examine their personal teaching style in the classroom and determine whether that style activates stereotypical perceptions among students. Third, findings from this study may encourage educators to discuss gender perceptions with students so that students realize the occupations/ careers should be chosen on the basis of interests, intelligence; and ability rather than gender.

Finally, this study is important to communication scholars because it provides the possibility for research in an area which has virtually been untapped. Most previous research on gender has been limited to simply providing insight regarding differences in communicative styles, such as verbal/ nonverbal behavior, persuasive techniques, language use, and conflict resolution. This research has the potential to bridge the gap between communication theory and practice, to the socialized perceptions of our youth.

## Purpose Of The Study

The purpose of this study is to identify gender-related perceptions of career/ occupational roles and possible variables associated with such perceptions. The findings of the study will give insight into the extent that socialization has on stereotypical perceptions among today's youth. The purpose of the paper is to present evidence for a relationship between gender-appropriate behavior, selfperceptions of gender, and the association of gender perceptions of career/ occupational roles. Ideally, this study will spark future research in the area of gender communication.

## Objectives Of The Study

The primary objective of this study is to combine Mead's Symbolic Interaction (1964) and Bandura's Social Leaming Theory (1977) to explain dominant sexrole socialization among children grades second through ninth. Mead's Symbolic Interaction Theory holds that individuals learn to participate competently in their society and to share its values through communication (symbolic interaction) with others. Social Learning Theory by Bandura states that children learn sex roles through observation as well as through rewards and punishments. Both theories heavily stress interaction with society. Secondary objectives include discovering whether teacher gender, subject gender, or parent(s) occupation(s) influence gender perceptions of career roles.

## Scope And Limitations

This study was limited by three factors: (1) time, (2) discussion outside of class, and (3) human coding. Regarding the first factor, although subjects were given as much time as needed to draw the pictorials, some subjects finished earlier than others. For the subjects who finished first, there might have been a temptation to influence other subjects who were still drawing pictorials. The second factor was possible discussion outside of the classroom. Even though all students participating in the study were asked to not talk about the study with students in other grade levels, the researcher had no means by which to guarantee subjects did not tell others. Last, since human coders were used, human error might have occurred.

## Summary

This chapter has provided background concerning gender and the importance of gender to many areas of research and study. The purpose, objectives, and significance of the study form the groundwork and establish the intent of this study. Symbolic Interaction (Mead) and Social Learning Theory (Bandura) serve as the conceptual framework for this study. Also addressed in the chapter are the scope and limitations concerning behavior of subjects (students) participating in the study, and the use of human coders.

## CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

## Introduction to Symbolic Interaction \& Social Learning Theories

According to Wood (1994), "At the present many women are reclaiming ambition and intelligence as qualities consistent with femininity, and are exercising these qualities in careers, civic and social involvement" (p. 25). At the opposite end of the spectrum, men are now learning skills in areas not explored before, such as child care and homemaking. It is evident that gender roles in American culture have transformed from two independent and separate roles, to two closely, almost interchangeable roles (Wood, 1994). If these gender roles are interchangeable, then children should be growing up with interchangeable gender identities. That is, children today should foresee that regardless of gender, they may become businesspersons, homemakers, etc. Symbolic Interaction (Mead) and Social Learning Theory (Bandura) are two theories that provide plausible explanations for the development of gender roles.

Mead (1964) developed a theory which holds that individuals learn to participate competently in their society and to share its values through communication (symbolic interaction) with others. Mead's theory covers socialization and its application to learning gender roles through interaction with others. According to Mead, awareness of personal identity arises out of communication with others who pass on the values and expectations of society (Bandura, 1989). Wood (1994) notes: "From the moment of birth one engages in interaction with others who tell them who they are, what is appropriate and what is acceptable" (Wood, 1994, p. 48). Mead maintains that a person's
behavior cannot be studied apart from the setting in which the behavior occurs, or apart from the individual's perception of the environment (Mead, 1964). The three cardinal concepts in Symbolic Interaction are society, self, and mind, which fall under the "social act umbrella" (Littlejohn, 1992).

Littlejohn (1992) states that, "Society is a cluster of cooperative behaviors on the part of society's members" (p. 172). Within Western society, gender is extremely important and is tied to the social order as a whole (Fox-Genovese, 1991; Janeway, 1971; Miller, 1986; Riessman, 1990; Wood \& Lenze, 1991). Research has shown that views of gender are communicated by parents through their responses to children (Chodorow, 1978, 1989; Safilios-Rothschild, 1979; Shapiro, 1990), through play activities with peers (Maltz \& Borker, 1982), and through teachers' interactions with students (Sandler \& Hall, 1986; Wood \& Lenze, 1991). Wood (1994) contributes to this societal influence by stating that, "before children know their nationality, religion, or social status, most children develop gender constancy and see themselves as gendered beings through their interactions in society" (p. 48).

Gender norms are communicated to children in a variety of ways. "Now remember to say thank-you," is often said to young girls, reinforcing the qualities associated with femininity. This quality, and many others, encourage young girls to define themselves through proper manners and attentive behavior towards others. Many times after sporting events people will say, "He hit two homeruns," or "He was voted MVP." These statements define the child as a man and links strength with manhood and praise (Wood, 1994). In today's society, there is little allowance for the above gender statements to be switched. Children learn what is expected of them in terms of being masculine or feminine (Chodorow, 1978).

As children grow up, there are a variety of influences which can be attributed to gender stereotypes. One of the strongest influences on children is television. Durkin (1985) states that children grow up in an environment of televised material. Television functions as a source of entertainment and information. There are two common sexual stereotypes associated with the two sexes: All men are aggressive, and all women are nurturers. Television portrays men and women in sex role situations which serve to reinforce or create sexual stereotypes and which aid in stereotypical gender identity.

Numerous content analyses of media content provide a basis for the claim that the content of televised material reinforces traditional sex roles (Courtney \& Whipple, 1974; Dohrmann, 1975; Dominick \& Rauch, 1972; Levinson, 1975; Lovdal, 1989; Seggar \& Wheeler, 1973; Sternglanz \& Serbin, 1974; Stout \& Mouritsen, 1988; Welch, Huston-Stein, Wright, \& Plehal, 1977). This research demonstrates a link between television viewing and sex-stereotyped attitudes (Herrett-Skjellum \& Allen, 1995). Television programming generally portrays men and women in traditional gender stereotypical roles. This research provides a link to the influence of television on gender self-perceptions and its correlation to occupational roles among children.

The second component of Mead's Symbolic Interaction triad is the self. The primary way that "a person comes to see the self as others see it (possess a self-concept) is through role taking or behaving as others behave" (Littlejohn, 1992, p. 173). Through role taking, children learn how to behave in explicit ways based on how others behave. One learns who one is and what that means in the culture through communication with others. Central to Mead's idea of self is the generalized other. The generalized other is the unified role from which the individual sees the self. According to Littlejohn (1992), one's generalized other is one's concept of how others, in general, perceive one to be. Children come to
take on the persona that has been reflected to them in their many interactions with other people. If children grow up learning traditional roles, then these same children are interacting with others in a manner that reinforces the stereotypical gender roles and the persona is exemplified.

According to this component of Mead's Symbolic Interaction, social role enactments influence perceptions of femininity and masculinity and can therefore illuminate understandings of gender. Research since the late sixties has demonstrated consistent social beliefs about behavioral differences between males and females. Feminine behavior is expected to reflect nurturant, expressive, and emotional qualities, whereas, masculine behavior is expected to reflect instrumental, aggressive, and rational qualities (Cicone \& Ruble, 1978; Unger \& Crawford, 1992).

The sex role literature suggests that gender-appropriate behavior should leave gender-consistent impressions. Since masculine behavior is supposed to be forceful and direct, impressions of masculinity should result from forceful and direct behavior. Since feminine behavior is supposed to be expressive and polite, impressions of femininity should result from this kind of behavior. More generally, West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender entails the situated management of behavior along lines deemed normative for one's sex. Successful displays of gender require the fitting of gender-appropriate character. Consistency in gender-appropriate behavior, according to Eagly (1987), is maintained in a division of labor that constrains opportunities for learning. The female role comes to be associated with caretaking and related behaviors, while the male role comes to be associated with decision-making and leadership behaviors. Such associations enable people to draw inferences about each other's gender identities minimal knowledge of their social role behavior.

This information clearly defines gender in the individual on the basis of his/her behavior and the behavior of others. Instances of our own behavior may at times carry less inferential weight than do instances of other's behavior. There is little known about gender-related self-perceptions and occupational roles, other than from research conceming the negative effects of non-inclusive language on perceptions of occupations (Bem \& Bem, 1973; Briere \& Lanktree, 1983; Brooks, 1983; Stericker, 1981; Yanico, 1978). According to Ivy (1996), "in each study, researchers found that non-inclusive nouns and pronouns significantly affected subjects' attraction to and attitudes about occupations, perceptions regarding the attainability of careers, and views of appropriate sex roles" (p. 14). Studies with subjects ages eight years to junior high, revealed that generic, male forms of language reflected and reinforced sex-role stereotypes (Blaubergs, 1975; Harrison, 1975; Harrison \& Passero, 1975).

The final component of the Symbolic Interaction triad is the mind. "Minding" is a process of thinking out what actions one will undertake in the future. Part of this process is assessing what that person will do next (Littlejohn, 1992). Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that they have for them. The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with others. The minding portion of the triad is similar to Bandura's Social Learning Theory. Bandura (1977) claims that individuals learn to be masculine and feminine through communication, observation, and interaction with others. Wood (1994) notes: "Children notice how others behave/act and imitate the communication they see on television and in parents, peers, and others" (p. 43).

In 1977, Bandura conducted an experiment using children and a live model. While some children watched the model hitting and kicking a doll and being positively reinforced, another group watched the model do the same, but receive
punishment. Still another group watched without either positive or negative reinforcement taking place. When the children were asked to copy the behavior of the model, those children who saw the model punished were the least aggressive; those seeing the model rewarded were the most aggressive, and those who saw the model receive neither fell in between. The responses of the children used in this portion of the experiment show a strong correlation to "minding." The subjects went through the process of thinking out what actions to undertake in the future based on the observed interaction between the live model and the doll.

In the second stage of the experiment all the children were offered an incentive to copy the model and all the children did. The positive reinforcement improved (altered) their performance. Because children prefer rewards to punishments or neutral responses, they are likely to conform to what others approve of (Condry \& Condry, 1976). Reinforcement is something that strengthens a response and makes it more apt to happen in the future (Kimble, 1961). Reinforcement provides an explanation of how gender roles develop. While growing up, males and females are directed down different pathways to positive reinforcement. Male activities center around a large group, for instance, a football or baseball team. Male games are highly competitive, and are organized by rules and roles that specify who does what and how to play (Wood, 1994). In boys' games, an individual's status depends on standing out, being better, and often dominating other players (Maltz \& Borker, 1982). Boys learn they must do things to be valued members of the team. When a male scores a touchdown or hits a homerun, he is given pats on the back, highfives, cheers from the crowd, or even economic rewards from parents. The behavior is given positive reinforcement. If a male falls and injures himself, positive reinforcement may be given if the male does not cry or show pain. The more this
reinforcement is given, the more the male will continue to behave in the manner which has proven to give the most reward. Therefore, according to Bandura (1986), the reinforcement will aid in molding his gender role.

When analyzing the patterns associated with female behavior there are distinct differences. At an early age, females are positively reinforced when they act like "little girls." Crossing legs, displaying proper manners, and sharing toys are all behaviors that have a tendency to be positively reinforced by society. Maltz and Borker (1982) note that female games teach three basic rules for communication: (1) Use collaboration and cooperative talk to create and maintain relationships; (2) avoid criticizing, outdoing, or putting others down; if criticism is necessary, make it gentle; never exclude others; and (3) pay attention to others and to relationships; interpret and respond to others' feelings sensitively. As one can see, these rules for females are quite opposite rules for males.

The three components of the Symbolic Interaction triad are interrelated and provide a theoretical approach to gender perceptions. Society, Self, and the act of Minding interact with one another to influence gender related perceptions. While numerous factors have an impact on gender-related perceptions, sex and age appear to be fundamentally related to such perceptions. Based on the preceeding information, the following research question is proposed:

## RQ: To what extent do subject sex and grade level affect gender-related perceptions of career/ occupational roles?

## CHAPTER III

## METHODOLOGY

## Subjects

Students in grades 2 through 9 at two rural public schools, one in Kansas and one in Oklahoma ( $\mathrm{N}=302$ ), and one private school in a metropolitan area of Texas ( $\mathrm{N}=352$ ) participated in the study. The total subject pool was 654 . Fortynine percent of the subjects were female; $51 \%$ were male. Ages ranged from 6 to 16 years of age. The racial/ethnic makeup of the subject pool was predominantly Caucasian, with small percentages of African American, Hispanic, and Asian American students. Various religious denominations were represented: Baptist; Buddhist; Christian; Catholic; Episcopalian; Hindu; Lutheran; Methodist; and Jewish.

Subjects' parent occupations ranged from truck driver to Congresswoman. Single parent households, dual career households, mothers working in the home, and fathers working in the home were all represented in the study.

## Procedure

Written Procedure: Students were given two blank sheets of paper, asked to turn the papers horizontally, and divide each sheet of paper into three equal rectangles by drawing two straight vertical lines. Each rectangle was then labeled as Doctor, Lawyer, Teacher, Nurse, Police Officer, and Newscaster. Students were then asked to draw a person representing each of the occupations listed. The subjects were given no time limit within which to
complete the drawings. When all students finished their drawings, they were instructed to turn the paper over and write their name, age, grade level, sex (M/F), teacher's name, and parent(s) occupations on the back of both sheets of paper. Assistance was given to any student who was unable to follow these instructions.

Oral Procedure: After they finished the drawings, students were asked to privately visit with the coder, who was the classroom teacher. During this one-on-one conversation, the coder/teacher clarified all written information, including spelling of name, age, and parent(s) occupation. The coder then asked the subject about his/her ethnic origin and religious practice, and coded this information on the back of each sheet. The coder/teacher then coded the pictorials $M=$ Male and $F=$ Female, and asked the subject if gender could not be derived from the drawing. Finally, subjects were asked not to discuss the study with fellow schoolmates until the researcher had left the school.

## Statistical Analysis

Since the data in the study were categorical, the chi-square statistic was employed to determine differences between expected and observed subject responses. The independent variables were career/ occupational roles (Doctor, Lawyer, Teacher, Nurse, Police Officer, and Newscaster) and subject sex. The dependent variable was the sex of the person each student drew to depict a Doctor, Teacher, Lawyer, Nurse, Police Officer, and Newscaster. Six $2 \times 8$ chisquare analyses, one for each career/ occupational role, were conducted to determine whether grade level and subject sex affected gender-related perceptions of career/ occupational roles. Expected frequencies were figured for
each representing grade and occupation (row $\times$ column; then divided by total subjects).

## CHAPTER IV

## FINDINGS

Results

All career/occupational roles in both public and private schools had significant chi-square values. See Tables 1 through 8 for individual grade levels responses to each career/occuaptional role.

Doctor Role. These results indicate that males, especially after grade three, perceive doctors as males. Females, on the other hand, were as likely to draw a female as a male in the doctor role through grade five. From that point, the likelihood of a female drawing a female in the doctor role became increasingly smaller.

For the role of doctor across all grade levels of public school, the chi-square was significant, 289.81, (df=7), $p<.001$. Specifically, male second graders drew more female doctors than expected. Fourth grade females drew significantly more female doctors than expected. Fifth grade males drew fewer female doctors than expected, and fifth grade females drew more female doctors than expected. Male sixth and seventh graders drew significantly fewer male doctors than expected, while eighth grade males drew more male doctors and fewer female doctors than expected. Finally, females in the ninth grade drew more female doctors than expected.

The results for grades 2 through 9 in the private school drastically differed from the results in the public school. The overall chi-square for all grade levels was 353.98 , (df=7), p.<.001. Male and female subjects both predominately drew
the role of doctor as male. In fact, only $17 \%$ of all private school subjects drew the doctor role as female.

Teacher Role. In general, subjects perceive teachers as predominantly female until grade seven, where perceptions become a bit less stereotyped. The chi-square test for the career/occupational role of teacher across all grade levels of public school was also significant, 293.55 (df=7), p<.001.

Specifically, female second graders drew more male teachers than expected, while male and female fourth and fifth graders drew significantly fewer male teachers than expected. In fact, fourth and fifth graders drew only one male teacher. This pattern continued for sixth grade males and females, who drew significantly more female teachers than expected. Seventh grade females drew fewer male teachers and more female teachers than expected. Finally, ninth grade males drew significantly more female teachers than expected.

The chi-square value for the role of teacher in private school was 346.61, (df=7); p.<.001. The significant factor is that all grade levels perceived the occupation of teacher in a very gender-specific category: Twenty-four percent of all private school subjects perceived the role of teacher as male. The interesting factor is that $73.6 \%$ of fifth grade subjects drew the occupational role of teacher as male.

Lawyer Role. Public school males significantly drew the occupational role of lawyer as male, while female subjects at the lower grade levels drew the role as female. The chi-square test for the role of lawyer across all grade levels of public school was significant, 293.42, (df=7). p< . 001 .

Specifically, fourth and fifth grade males, sixth grade males and females, and eighth and ninth grade males, drew more male and fewer female lawyers than expected. Fourth and fifth grade females drew more female and fewer male lawyers. Overall, males were much more likely to draw a male lawyer. Females
were more likely to draw a female lawyer through grade five; from that point, they were more likely to draw a male lawyer.

For the role of lawyer across all grade levels of private school, the chi-square was significant, 353.63, (df $=7$ ), $p<.001$. Both male and female subjects grades second through ninth predominately perceived the career/occupational role of doctor as male. However, female subjects grades second, sixth, eighth, and ninth equally drew male and female lawyer occupations. Over all private school grade levels, $64 \%$ of all subjects placed the occupational role of lawyer as male.

Nurse Role. Both male and female subjects in the public school setting perceived the career/occupational role of nurse as female. The chi-square value for teacher was 289.90 , (df=7), $\mathbf{p}<.001$. Although the chi-square was significant, the separation between the number of male and female nurses drawn was greatest at the third, fifth, and ninth grade level.

Male subjects, with the exception of grades fourth and sixth, drew more female and fewer male nurses than expected. Seventh and eighth grade femaies drew fewer male nurses than expected.

In the private school setting, both male and female subjects specifically drew the occupational role of nurse as female. The chi-square value for this career/ occupational role was highly significant, 338.96, (df=7), $\mathrm{p}<.001$. Specifically, male subjects in all grades, excluding fifth and sixth, drew more female nurses than expected. Within all grade levels, male subjects drew the role of nurse as a female $81 \%$ of the time. Second, third, fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grade females drew significantly fewer male nurses than expected. In fact, in these specific grade levels, only six male nurses were drawn, totaling 3\%. The discrepencies in this career/occupational role were the largest for both the public and private school setting.

Police Officer Role. Both male and female public school subjects across all grade levels predominately perceived the occupation of police officer in a gender specific category: male. The overall chi-square value was 295.90, (df=7), $\mathrm{p}<.001$. In all grades, second through ninth, male and female subjects drew more male police officers than expected. However, the margin between expected and observed frequencies was less significant among female subjects.

The results for private school subjects was similar to the results in public school. All grade levels perceived the career/occupational role of police officer as male. The chi-square value was 339.86 , (df=7), $\mathrm{p}<.001$. Male subjects across all grades drew the role of police officer as female only $15 \%$ of the time. With the exception of eighth grade, female subjects drew more male police officers and fewer female officers than expected.

Newscaster Role. In the public school setting, the chi-square value for this career/occupational role was 295.92, (df=7), p<.001. In general, both male and female public school subjects perceived the role of newscaster as male. However, there were several interesting findings for male versus female subjects.

Third, fifth, sixth, and seventh grade males drew more male newscasters than expected. Female subjects in grades second, eighth, and ninth drew more female and fewer male newscasters than expected. Overall, males were more likely to draw a male newscaster, and females were more likely to draw a male newscaster, but only by a fairly small margin.

Private school males were more likely to draw a male for the role of newscaster, whereas, female subjects were more apt to perceive both males and females in the role of newscaster. The chi-square value 341.88, (df=7), $\mathrm{p}<.001$. Second, third, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grade males drew significantly more males and fewer females in this role than expected. In fact, $75 \%$ of all
newscaster pictorials drawn by males were of males. Female subjects across all grade levels drew a male in the newscaster occupational role $56 \%$ of the time.

A review of the findings shows that the individual chi-square values for each of the six career/occupational roles was much more significant among private school subjects. Although males and females in both school settings demonstrated "stereotypical" gender biases, private school subjects were more prone to exhibit this socialization in their drawings.

## CHAPTER V

## DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

## Discussion

In both public and private school settings, sex of subject was found to be significantly associated with gender perceptions of career/occupational roles. Chi-square analyses were significant for each role (Doctor, Teacher, Lawyer, Nurse, Police Officer, and Newscaster) at all grade levels. These results indicate that both public and private school subjects perceived the roles of doctor, lawyer, police officer, and newscaster as male, and the roles of teacher and nurse as female. Male subjects in both school settings had significant chisquare results, exhibiting significant gender-bias across all career/occupational roles. Female subjects had similar perceptions; however, the perceptions were less significant. There were also differences in perceptions among public and private school subjects.

The findings stated that although both school settings had students with gender-biased perceptions, the private school setting in this study had more significant and predominant gender-perceptions of career/occupational roles than did the public school subjects. There are a variety of reasons for the existence and creation of the subjects' perceptions.

This study has shown that gender identity, gender perceptions, and culture interact with one another. Wood (1994) states, "One implication of this is that as your generation transforms social meaning of women, men, and differences, you will simultaneously influence our collective vision of who we are as a culture" (p. 308). Social Learning Theory and Symbolic Interaction aid in
explaining the influence that society as a whole, and interaction with others, has on gender-related career/ occupational roles.

In a society where woman make up $51.2 \%$ of the population, $24.6 \%$ of the country's lawyers, $22.2 \%$ of doctors, (Rodgers, 1995, p. 41), 34\% journalists, and $24 \%$ of law enforcement (Smith \& Collins, 1992), it may not be of wonder that subjects tend to put a specific gender in a particular occupational role. Wood (1994) reinforces this when she states that $86 \%$ of elementary school teachers are female, followed by $61 \%$ at the junior high level, $47 \%$ at the senior high level, and $7 \%$ at the college level. Granted, most students' models in these roles currently conform to sex lines. As previously stated, statistically speaking, there are various occupations which seem to be quite "gender specific." These occupational roles will continue to be highly skewed in one direction as long as the generations of tomorrow continue to see these careers as predominately gender specific. It is highly probable that a traditional and limited view of women and men in certain jobs and roles is related in part to a sex-biased culture.

As children grow up, there are a variety of influences which can be attributed to these biases. One of the strongest influences on children is television. There are two common sexual stereotypes mentioned earlier: All men are aggressive and all women are nurturers. Televised images which portray men and women in these types of sex role situations serve to reinforce or create sexual stereo-types (Herrett-Skjellum \& Allen, 1995). Although the role that television plays in the lives of growing children cannot be ignored as a societal influence, the role of other forms of media, such as print, need to be examined as well.

The presence (or absence) of females as reporters and sources of news stories is of particular concern among researchers. However, when they do appear, women generally fall into the category of "ordinary people" who seldom
appear in news and represent a social aggregate of opinion (Rakow \& Kranich, 1991). Potter (1985) examined women and their representation in newspaper stories. Results indicated females appeared mostly in features, entertainment, sports, disaster, accident, and crime stories (as victims). Males appeared in government and business, as well as disaster, accident, and crime stories (as heroes or survivors).

Not only are there discrepancies among story contents (quality), there is valuable information found in the area of quantity. Women's lack of presence in the public arena and "lack of status as authority figures or experts give the news media a ready-made justification" for leaving women out of news programs (Rakow \& Kranich, 1991, p. 13). Fraser (1992) found that in one issue of the New York Times from 1990, there were no women on the front page mentioned in an article, pictured in a photograph, or credited in a byline. In contrast, there were eight male bylines, 21 references to men, and four men in photographs. Men's names appeared 192 times compared to 30 times for women. The first women's byline didn't appear until page nine. Most of the 192 names of men consisted of heads and secretaries of state, chairmen, or chiefs of certain parties, organizations, or companies. The women listed were wives or relatives of famous men. This influence, or lack of influence, in the media aids in shaping gender perceptions, and therefore can aid in making a link between social normatives found in media and gender perceptions found in our youth.

One of the critical aspects of this study was to provide insight into gender related perceptions of our youth, which in turn would reinforce what has been known for years: Societal influences and interactions with others directly aids in forming stereotypical gender perceptions. Because this research centered on educational settings, this is one place where enhancing sensitivity to gender biases should take place. Student instructional material and teaching
instruction should incorporate women and their experiences. Developing programs that inform educators and students of subtle biases found within themselves and in our culture will substantially lessen sex-stereotypical views concerning a wide range of topics, including occupational/career roles. The educational arena should be an equally empowering environment for males and females. Students should be encouraged to take active roles in to challenging and changing sexism concerning occupational roles. Afterall, an occupation/ career choice should not be made based on what society "norms" as appropriate, but should be based on what an individual finds of interest, regardless of gender.

The data from the present study expands our knowledge of the genderrelated perceptions among our youth by specifying what male and female subjects perceive to be occupational/career gender roles. Although this study limits the occupations to Doctor, Teacher, Lawyer, Nurse, Police Officer, and Newscaster, it clearly opens the door to other investigations of its type. The results of this study should increase the commitment that parents, educators, and members of society must have to reduce sexist perceptions of occupation roles among our youth.

## Future Research

The results of this research have reinforced the gender perceptions concerning occupational roles which today's youth view as appropriate societal sex roles. The variable of subject sex is a critical component. However, future research examining other variables may prove to give even more insight into influences on occupational perceptions and their magnitude. The variables which need to be studied include subject religion preference/ practice, parent(s)
occupations, and past interactions with instructors and other students. By examining these variables, we, as educators and members of society, may discover perception influences. This discovery may grant us the knowledge and insight so that we can better educate and communicate to students regarding gender and sex-biased perceptions.

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## TABLE 2

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 2nd Graders

|  | Occupation | Doctor |  | her | Lawyer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Teacher Sex | M F | M | F | M F |
|  | Dependent Variable | M F M F | M F | M F | MFME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  | 2-4 |  | 2-4 | 5-2 |
| Female |  | 4-4 |  | 4-4 | 4-3 |
| Totals |  | 6-8 |  | 6-8 | 9-5 |

## TABLE 2 (Continued)

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 2nd Graders

| Occupation | Nurse | Police Officer | Newscaster |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Teacher Sex | M F | M F | M E |
| Dependent Variable | MFMF | MF MF | MFME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |
| Male | 2-7 | 7-2 | 5-4 |
| Female | 3-6 | 5-4 | 2-7 |
| Totals | 6-13 | 12-6 | 7-11 |

TABLE 2 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex
Private School 2nd Graders


## TABLE 2 (Continued)

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 2nd Graders

|  | Occupation | Nurse |  | Police Officer |  | Newscaster |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Teacher Sex | M | F | M | F | M F |
|  | Dependent Variable | M F | M F | M F | M F | MFME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  |  | 3-22 |  | 25-0 | 19-6 |
| Female |  |  | 0-29 |  | 26-2 | 15-14 |
| Totals |  |  | 3-51 |  | 51-2 | 34-20 |

TABLE 3
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex
Public School 3rd Graders

| Occupation Teacher Sex Dependent Variable |  | Doctor |  | Teacher |  | Lawyer |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | M | F | M | F | M |  |
|  |  | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  |  | 6-4 |  | 3-7 |  | 7-3 |
| Female |  |  | 6-6 |  | 2-10 |  | 8-4 |
| Totals |  |  | 12-10 |  | 5-17 |  | 16-7 |

## TABLE 3 (Continued)

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex
Public School 3rd Graders

| Occupation | Nurse | Police Officer | Newscaster |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Teacher Sex | $M \mathrm{~F}$ | M F | M F |
| Dependent Variable | MFMF | MF MF | MFME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |
| Male | 0-12 | 10-2 | 9-3 |
| Female | 4-8 | 8-4 | 6-6 |
| Totals | 4-20 | 18-6 | 15-9 |

TABLE 3 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 3rd Graders

|  | Occupation | Doctor |  | Teacher |  | Lawyer |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Teacher Sex | M | F | M | F |  | F |
|  | Dependent Variable | M F | M F | M F | M F | MF | M E |
|  |  |
| Male |  |  |  | 29-0 |  | 2-27 |  | 27-2 |
| Female |  |  | 27-3 |  | 1-28 |  | 20-9 |
| Totals |  |  | 56-3 |  | 3-55 |  | 47-11 |

TABLE 3 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 3rd Graders

|  | Occupation <br> Teacher Sex | Nurse |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | M F F |  |

TABLE 4
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 4th Graders


TABLE 4 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 4th Graders

|  | Occupation | Nurse |  | Police Officer |  | Newscaster |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Teacher Sex | M | F | M | F | M F |
|  | Dependent Variable | M F | M F | M F | M F | MFMF |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  |  | 8-1 |  | 9-0 | 6-3 |
| Female |  |  | 4-9 |  | 8-5 | 6-7 |
| Totals |  |  | 12-10 |  | 17-5 | 12-10 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 4th Graders

| OccupationTeacher SexDependent Variable |  | Doctor |  | Teacher |  | Lawyer |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | M | F | M | F | M | F |
|  |  | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  |  | 28-1 |  | 2-27 |  | 28-1 |
| Female |  |  | 19-10 |  | 1-28 |  | 20-9 |
| Totals |  |  | 47-11 |  | 3-65 |  | 48-10 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex
Private School 4th Graders

| Occupation | Nurse | Police Officer | Newscaster |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Teacher Sex | M F | M F | M F |
| Dependent Variable | MFMF | MF MF | M F M F |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |
| Male | 1-27 | 27-1 | 24-5 |
| Female | 0-29 | 21-8 | 11-18 |
| Totals | 1-56 | 48-9 | 35-23 |

## TABLE 5

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 5th Graders

|  | Occupation | Doctor |  |  | Lawyer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Teacher Sex | M F | M | F | M F |
|  | Dependent Variable | MFMF | M F | M F | MF MF |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  | 8-0 |  | 0-9 | 10-0 |
| Eemale |  | 5-7 |  | 0-12 | 3-9 |
| Totals |  | 13-7 |  | 0-21 | 13-9 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 5th Graders

| Occupation | Nurse | Police Officer | Newscaster |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Teacher Sex | M F | M F | M F |
| Dependent Variable | M F M F | M F MF | MF ME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |
| Male | 0-11 | 9-2 | 8-1 |
| Female | 5-7 | 9-3 | 5-7 |
| Totals | 5-18 | 18-5 | 13-8 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex
Private School 5th Graders

|  | Occupation |  |  |  |  | Law |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Teacher Sex | M | F | M | F |  | F |
|  | Dependent Variable | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F | M E |
| Subject | Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  |  | 24-1 |  | 17-9 |  | 22-4 |
| Female |  |  | 19-12 |  | 25-6 |  | 21-10 |
| Totals |  |  | 43-13 |  | 42-15 |  | 43-14 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 5th Graders

|  | Occupation | Nurse | Police | Officer | Newscaster |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Teacher Sex | M F | M | F | M F |
|  | Dependent Variable | MF MF | M F | M F | MFME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  | 12-14 |  | 22-4 | 20-6 |
| Female |  | 17-14 |  | 21-10 | 14-16 |
| Totals |  | 29-28 |  | 23-14 | 34-22 |

TABLE 6
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 6th Graders

| Occupation Teacher Sex Dependent Variable | Doctor | Teacher | Lawyer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | M F | M F | M F |
|  | M F MF | MF MF | MFME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |
| Male | 6-2/9-0 | 1-7/0-9 | 8-0/8-1 |
| Eemale | 4-3/5-4 | 1-6/2-7 | 6-1/7-2 |
| Totals | 10-5/14-4 | 2-13/2-16 | 14-1/15-3 |

TABLE 6 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 6th Graders

|  | Qccupation <br> Teacher Sex | Nurse |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | M F F |  |

## TABLE 6 (Continued)

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 6th Graders

|  | Occupation <br> Teacher Sex | Doctor |  | Teacher |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | M F F |  |  |  |  |

TABLE 6 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 6th Graders

|  | Occupation <br> Teacher Sex | Nurse |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | M F F |  |

## TABLE 7

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 7th Graders

| Occupation Teacher Sex Dependent Variable |  | Doctor |  | Teacher |  | Lawyer |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | M | F | M | F |  |  |
|  |  | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F M | M F |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  | 17-1 | 15-2 | 2-16 | 18-9 | 13-5 / | 16-1 |
| Female |  | 7-8 | 7-7 | 5-10 | / 2-14 | 8-7/ | 9-7 |
| Totals |  | 24-9 | 22-9 | 7-26 | /10-23 | 21-12 | /25-8 |

TABLE 7 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 7th Graders

|  | Occupation | Nurse | Police Officer | Newscaster |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Teacher Sex | M F | M F | M F |
|  | Dependent Variable | MFMF | MF MF | MFME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  | 2-16/4-13 | 16-2/17-0 | 12-6/11-6 |
| Female |  | 4-11/3-11 | 9-6/10-5 | 11-4/10-5 |
| Totals |  | 6-27/7-24 | 25-8/27-5 | 23-10/21-11 |

## TABLE 7 (Continued)

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 7th Graders

| $\frac{\text { Occupation }}{\text { Teacher Sex }}$Dependent Variable | Doctor |  | Teacher |  | Lawyer |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | M | F | M | F |  |  |
|  | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 4-1 | 11-3 | 1-5 | 4-10 | 6.01 | 13-2 |
| Female | 1-2 | 10-4 | 1-2 | 4-10 | 0.31 | 3-11 |
| Totals | 5-3 | 21-7 | 2-7 | 8-20 | 6-31 | 16-13 |

TABLE 7 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 7th Graders

| Occupation Teacher Sex | Nurse | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Police Officer } \\ & \mathrm{M} \mathrm{~F} \end{aligned}$ | $\frac{\text { Newscaster }}{\text { M }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dependent Variable | M F M F | M F M F | M F M F |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |
| Male | 1-4/1-13 | 5-1/10-4 | 5-0/11-3 |
| Female | 0-3/2-12 | 1-2/9-4 | 0-3/9.4 |
| Totals | 1-7/3-25 | 6-3/19-8 | 5-3/20-7 |


|  | TABLE 8 <br> Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 8th Graders |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Occupation | Doctor |  | her | Lawyer |
|  | Teacher Sex | M F | M | F | M F |
|  | Dependent Variable | MF MF | M F | M F | MFME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  | 11-2/13-0 | 0-13 | 16-7 | 11-2/11-2 |
| Female |  | 8-3/10-6 | 5-6 | 6-10 | 7-4/5-11 |
| Totals |  | 19-5/23-6 | 5-19 | 12-17 | 18-6/17-13 |


| TABLE 8 (Continued) <br> Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex <br> Public School 8th Graders |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Occupation | Nurse | Police Officer | Newscaster |
| Teacher Sex | M F | M F | M F |
| Dependent Variable | MFMF | MF MF | MF ME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |
| Male | 0-13/2-11 | 10-3/10-3 | 6-7/5-8 |
| Eemale | 2-9/5-11 | 7-4/8-8 | 6-5/6-10 |
| Totals | 2-22/7-22 | 17-7/18-11 | 12-12/11-18 |

## TABLE 8 (Continued)

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 8th Graders

|  | Occupation |  |  |  | cher | Law |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Teacher Sex | M | F | M | $F$ | M |  |
|  | Dependent Variable | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F |
| Subject | Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  | 3-1/ | 12-0 | 2-3 | 5-8 | 4-01 | 12-1 |
| Female |  | 2-21 | 8-10 | 0-3 | 8-9 | 1-2 | 8-9 |
| Totals |  | 5-3/ | 20-10 | 2-6 | 13-17 | 5-2 | 20-10 |

## TABLE 8 (Continued)

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 8th Graders

|  | Occupation | Nurse | Police | Officer | Newscaster |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Teacher Sex | M F | M | F | M F |
|  | Dependent Variable | MFMF | M F | M F | MFME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  | 1-3/1-11 | 5-01 | 11-2 | 2-1/9-4 |
| Female |  | 0-3/3-15 | 2.01 | 7-7 | 0-3/4-14 |
| Totals |  | 1-6/4-26 | 7-0 1 | 18-9 | 2-4/13-18 |

## TABLE 9

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Public School 9th Graders

| Occupation Teacher Sex Dependent Variable |  |  |  | Tea | cher |  | ver |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | M | F | M | F | M |  |
|  |  | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F | M F |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  | 11-4 | 13-2 | 2-13/ | 3-12 | 12-3 | 11-4 |
| Eemale |  | 12-6 | 6-9 | 9-9 I | 8-7 | 10-8 | 6-9 |
| Totals |  | 23-10 | 19-11 | 11-22 | 11-19 | 22-11 | /17-13 |


| TABLE 9 (Continued) <br> Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex <br> Public School 9th Graders |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Occupation | Nurse | Police Officer | Newscaster |
| Teacher Sex | M F | M F | M F |
| Dependent Variable | MFMF | MFMF | M F M.F |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |
| Male | 4-10/1-14 | 13-1/12-3 | 9-6/8-6 |
| Female | 6-8/6-9 | 8-5/8-7 | 8-7/5-10 |
| Totals | 10-18/7-23 | 21-6/20-10 | 17-13/14-16 |

TABLE 9 (Continued)
Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 9th Graders

|  | Occupation | Doctor |  | her | Lawyer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Teacher Sex | M F | M | F | M F |
|  | Dependent Variable | MFMF | M F | M F | MFME |
| Subject Sex |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male |  | 6-0/8-0 | 0-6 | 3-5 | 6-0/8-0 |
| Female |  | 2-2/2-5 | 1-3 | 1-6 | 2-2/3-4 |
| Totals |  | 8-2/10-5 | 1-9 | 4-11 | 8-2/11-4 |

## TABLE 9 (Continued)

Frequencies of Gender-Related Perceptions of Subject Sex Private School 9th Graders

|  | Qccupation <br> Teacher Sex | Nurse |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | M F F |  |

VITA

## Amy Marie Bodkin

Candidate for the Degree of
Master of Arts

## Thesis: GENDER RELATED PERCEPTIONS OF CAREER/ OCCUPATIONAL ROLES: ANALYSIS OF SYMBOLIC INTERACTION AND SOCIAL LEARNING THEORIES

Major Field: Speech Communication
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## OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW

## Proposal Title: GENDER RELATED PERCEPTIONS OF CAREER

 OCCUPATIONAL ROLES: AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL LEARNING THEORYPrincipal Investigator(s): David Schrader, jeanine Rhea, Mike Stano, Amy M. Bodkin

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved
ALL APPROVALS MAY BE SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY FULL INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD AT NEXT MEETING.
APPROVAL STATUS PERIOD VALID FOR ONE CALENDAR YEAR AFIER WHICH A CONTINUATION OR RENEWAL REQUEST IS REQUIRED TO BE SUBMITTED FOR BOARD APPROVAL.
ANY MODIFICATIONS TO APPROVED PROJECT MUST ALSO BE SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL.

Comments, Modifications/Conditions for Approval or Reasons for Deferral or Disapproval are as follows:

Provisions received and approved.


Date: February 12, 1996

