

MEN'S STEREOTYPES OF WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT:  
ARE WOMEN AWARE OF HOW THEY ARE STEREOTYPED?

by

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of

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                              | Page |
|------------------------------|------|
| LIST OF TABLES .....         | v    |
| LIST OF FIGURES .....        | vi   |
| ABSTRACT .....               | vii  |
| 1. INTRODUCTION .....        | 1    |
| 2. METHOD .....              | 6    |
| Participants.....            | 6    |
| Measurement Instrument ..... | 6    |
| Procedure .....              | 7    |
| 3. RESULTS .....             | 9    |
| 4. DISCUSSION .....          | 17   |
| 5. CONCLUSION.....           | 19   |
| REFERENCES CITED.....        | 21   |

## LIST OF TABLES

| Table  | Page |
|--|------|
| 1. Comparisons of DRs for Previous Male and Present Female Raters on Each Category ..... | 10   |
| 2. Comparisons of DRs for Previous Male and Present Male Raters on Each Category .....   | 14   |
| 3. Comparisons of DRs for Present Male and Present Female Raters on Each Category .....  | 16   |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure  | Page |
|---|------|
| 1. Scatterplot of present female DRs versus previous male DRs ..... | 12   |
| 2. Scatterplot of present male DRs versus previous male DRs.....    | 15   |
| 3. Scatterplot of present male DRs versus present female DRs.....   | 17   |

## ABSTRACT

It is commonly thought that men and women differ in the extent or frequency to which each exhibits various traits—especially traits that are frequently perceived to be more agentic and stereotypical of males (e.g., aggressive and forceful) or more communal and stereotypical of females (e.g., interpersonally sensitive and sympathetic). Further, stereotypes frequently influence behaviors, with many real-world consequences, not the least of which are those often manifested in the disparate treatment of men and women in the workplace. In a recent study (Martell & DeSmet, 2001), male MBA students rated male and female managers on 14 items considered important to achieving success as a manager. Because having a realistic job preview is an important component of success at one's work, the present study explored the accuracy of Business and Management students' perceptions of male stereotypes of female versus male managers' leadership abilities. Results revealed a remarkable ability of respondents to closely predict the previous men's responses. In comparing current respondents' ratings to Martell and DeSmet's males' ratings, few significant differences were observed between men's estimates of female managers' abilities and the current respondents' expectations of those men's beliefs.

## INTRODUCTION

Stereotypes are organized sets of beliefs about the traits, attributes, and behavioral tendencies thought to distinguish one group from another. One aspect on which many people exhibit strong stereotypes is that of gender-based trait differences. Many people expect men to be more agentic than women. That is, men are viewed as being more aggressive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, independent, self-sufficient, and self-confident. In contrast, many people expect women to be more communal than men. That is, women are viewed as being more affectionate, compassionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic, interpersonally sensitive, and gentle (Bakan, 1966; Eagly, 1987; Schein, Mueller, & Jacobsen, 1989).

One important reason to study gender stereotypes is that beliefs regarding how men and women differ are often translated into action. Indeed, considerable evidence reveals that men and women are perceived and treated differently in a variety of contexts, such as in the workplace (e.g., Heilman, Block, & Martell, 1995; Jackson, Sullivan, & Hodge, 1993; Schein, 1973).

As women began to enter previously male-dominated occupations, researchers developed an interest in how female managers would be perceived and treated in the workplace compared to male managers. The results of several decades of research reveal that women are perceived in a stereotypic fashion, often characterized as lacking what it takes to succeed in management (e.g., Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992; Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989; Martell, Parker, Emrich, & Crawford, 1997). Schein et

al. (1989), for example, stated that male managers “still adhere to the male managerial stereotype and perceive that successful middle managers possess characteristics . . . more commonly ascribed to men in general than to women in general” (p. 103).

Research provides abundant evidence that, compared to their male counterparts, female managers are judged less favorably on a range of personnel assessments, including hiring, placement, performance assessment, and promotion (Bartol, 1999; Bowen, Swim, & Jacobs, 2000; Cohen, Broschak, & Haveman, 1998; Davison & Burke, 2000; Dipboye, Fromkin, & Wiback, 1975; Eagly & Karau, 2000; Eagly et al., 1992; Heneman, 1997; Olian, Schwab, & Haberfeld, 1988; Perry, Davis-Blake, & Kulik, 1994). If unchecked, differential treatment based on gender stereotypes will continue to pose significant obstacles to women in management.

Surprisingly, despite an enormous body of research on how female managers are perceived and treated, little attention has been devoted to an issue of critical importance: How aware are women of the stereotypically negative light in which they are viewed in organizational settings? That is, are women aware of the extent to which they are viewed as less well suited for management positions by their male counterparts? Consider, for example, a woman who assumes a management position expecting an absence of negative, gender-based stereotyping and, consequently, expects to be perceived and treated no differently than a man. Research on the effects of job expectations that are inaccurate or unrealistic suggests that an overly optimistic outlook may be setting hires up for disappointment later, with the possibility of lowered job satisfaction,

organizational commitment, and job performance (Wanous, Poland, Premack, & Davis, 1992). One example of unrealistic expectations would be if women underestimated men's beliefs in male-manager superiority in the workplace.

The present study examined women's beliefs regarding male managers' stereotype of women in management. In so doing, I was particularly interested in addressing the area of leadership ability, because leadership is central to success in management and women are often seen as lacking in what it takes to excel as leaders. Accordingly, the main question that this study will address is: To what extent are women accurate in their perception of male managers' beliefs regarding the leadership abilities of female managers?

To answer this question, it is critical to know how female managers are perceived with respect to their leadership abilities. Leadership abilities include an extensive set of behaviors most accurately measured using multi-item surveys. For this reason, I used a 14-category instrument in the present study, based on the Managerial Practices Survey (MPS; Yukl, 1994; Yukl, Wall, & Lepsinger, 1989), as modified by Martell and DeSmet (2001) in their study of male managers' stereotypes of men and women in management.

In that study, Martell and DeSmet investigated men's stereotypes of female managers, asking "what percentage of male managers and what percentage of female managers" exhibit each type of leadership quality, thus allowing for a direct comparison of percentages between the two groups. This approach, first proposed by McCauley and

Stitt (1978), allows stereotypes of males and females to be compared using a so-called *diagnostic ratio* (DR), in which:

$$DR = \frac{p(\text{behavior exhibited by male managers})}{p(\text{behavior exhibited by female managers})} \quad (1)$$

where  $p$  is the probability of a behavior being exhibited. Additionally, DRs are centered at 1. Therefore, a DR differing significantly from 1 (in either a positive or negative direction) is evidence of a significant difference in male and female perception of the males' stereotype content.

Martell and DeSmet (2001) also predicted that different subtypes of their survey's hypothetical female manager might influence respondents' perceptions of her (Deaux, Winton, Crowley, & Lewis, 1985). Thus, providing evidence that a woman is a successful manager might moderate the typically negative stereotype and lead participants to evaluate her more favorably. They therefore administered two versions of the questionnaire, alternately using *middle-manager* and *successful middle-manager* descriptives.

By using the survey instrument and analysis techniques used by Martell and DeSmet, the present study explored the extent of women's awareness of male managers' stereotype of female managers, and in such a way as to allow direct comparisons of the men's stereotype with women's awareness of it. The hypothesis was that women do not have an accurate view of male managers' stereotype of them and, specifically, that they would predict a more positive appraisal than was actually reported by male managers.

Specifically, then, I hypothesized that:

1. Women are largely unaware of the actual content of male managers' stereotype of female managers' abilities, and will therefore significantly underestimate actual male-biased responses, predicting a more positive overall male response than was observed by Martell and DeSmet (2001).
2. Specifying that the woman is a "successful" manager will moderate the extent to which any pro-male bias is reported on the items surveyed.

## METHOD

### Participants

Questionnaires were distributed to 107 women and 103 men. The women were 10 students in an entry-level business course at Montana State University (hereafter the *Naïve* group), 77 students in upper-level Business and Management courses at Montana State University (hereafter, the *Advanced* group), and 20 students either currently in, or graduates of, the MBA program at the University of Montana–Billings (hereafter, *MBAs*). Of the women who participated, 103 were Caucasian, 1 was Asian, 1 was Hispanic, 1 reported *Other*, and 1 did not report ethnicity. Ages ranged from 18 to 53 ( $M = 24.2$ ).

The men were 23 students in the *Naïve* group, 55 students in the *Advanced* group, and 25 students in the *MBAs* group. Of the men who participated, 96 were Caucasian, 2 were Asian, 2 were Native American, 2 were Hispanic, 1 reported *Other*, and 1 did not report ethnicity. Ages ranged from 18 to 51 ( $M = 24.2$ ).

### Measurement Instrument

The measurement instrument used in this study was identical to the instrument used in Martell and DeSmet's (2001) study, with the addition of further instructions stating that the issue involved was to try to predict what the male managers in a previous study reported, and not the participant's own opinions. The instrument included 14 categories of leadership behavior, 11 from the MPS (Yukl, 1994; Yukl et al., 1989), 1

from the Managerial Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ; Bass, 1985), and 2 other behaviors considered in the literature as critical to success as a leader. In all, the 14 categories used were: Consulting, Delegating, Inspiring, Intellectual Stimulation, Mentoring, Modeling, Monitoring, Networking, Planning, Problem Solving, Rewarding, Supporting, Team Building, and Upward Influence.

A total of 60 participants received one form of the instrument (Form A, hereafter called the *manager* condition). On it, participants were instructed to “estimate *what male managers believe* to be the percentage of male middle managers, and of female middle managers, who are likely to demonstrate each leadership behavior effectively.” Each category of leadership behavior (for example, Consulting) was then described by three concrete examples of actions which constitute that behavior. A total of 47 participants received another form of the instrument (Form B, hereafter called the *successful manager* condition), instructions differed only in the addition of the word *successful*—that is, “the percentage of *successful* male middle managers” and “the percentage of *successful* female middle managers.”

### Procedure

A cover letter describing the purpose of the study as a university-based investigation of current leadership practices prefaced the survey. Participants were asked to complete the survey after being instructed that participation was voluntary. The survey was randomly distributed between Form A and Form B and, to insure the anonymity of

respondents (and to reduce social desirability concerns), it was made clear that participants' names would not be recorded.

The survey asked participants to make percentage estimates of the expected ratings made by male managers of male and female managers' leadership abilities. Ratings on each of the 14 items were made on the percentage of male managers and the percentage of female managers who were expected to exhibit each leadership behavior.

Results of both female and male respondents for this study's questionnaire were compared to the male respondents of the Martell and DeSmet (2001) study, using a  $2 \times 14 \times 2$  MANOVA (Respondent Sex  $\times$  Behavior Category  $\times$  Form).

## RESULTS

Each percentage estimate was converted to a probability by dividing it by 100. For each participant, a DR was then computed for each of the 14 paired responses (see Equation 1). Suppose that male baseline DR data from Martell and DeSmet (2001) showed a  $DR = +1.5$  for an item titled, “Percentage of successful male and female managers exhibiting leadership behavior  $x$ ” (indicating that male respondents perceive that more male than female managers exhibit this behavior). If  $DR = +1.0$  for present female respondents (indicating the belief that males and females exhibit an equal amount of behavior  $x$ ), the discrepancy between the two DRs is then  $+0.5$  (indicating the difference between the previous male and present female perceptions of the male managers’ stereotype of female managers).

An equivalency transformation was used to insure parity between scores ranging from 0 to 1, and scores ranging from 1 to  $\infty$  (McCauley & Stitt, 1978): Scores greater than or equal to 1 were transformed by subtracting 1 from the original DR, whereas scores less than 1 were transformed by subtracting the inverse of the DR from 1. Finally, as in Martell and DeSmet (2001), extreme outlying DRs were truncated at  $+4.5$  and  $-4.5$ , and all further computations were made using these final DRs.

For each of the 14 behavior categories and 210 respondents, the previous mean male DR was subtracted from the present DR, yielding a difference score. Difference scores were analyzed using a  $14$  (Behavior Category)  $\times 2$  (Participant Gender)  $\times 2$  (Form) MANOVA. The main effect of behavior category was significant,  $F(13, 2314) = 5.92, p$

< .001. The interaction of behavior category and form was not significant,  $F(13, 2314) = 1.58, p = .08$ . No other main effect or interaction effect was significant, all  $F$ s < 1.80,  $p$ s > .18.

*Previous male data versus present female data.* For each category of leader behavior, I calculated the mean DR of the previous (Martell & DeSmet, 2001) male respondents, the mean DR of the present female respondents, the difference between the two DRs, and the size of the effect ( $d$ ). Table 1 shows the resulting means, along with relevant standard deviations. Across the 14 behavior categories, the overall mean of the previous male DRs (0.09) and the overall mean of the present female DRs (0.10) did not differ significantly,  $t(13) = 0.19, p = .85$ . In other words, there was no overall difference in gender bias between the two kinds of respondents: The present female respondents were very close to the previous male respondents in their overall ratings of the 14 leader behavior categories.

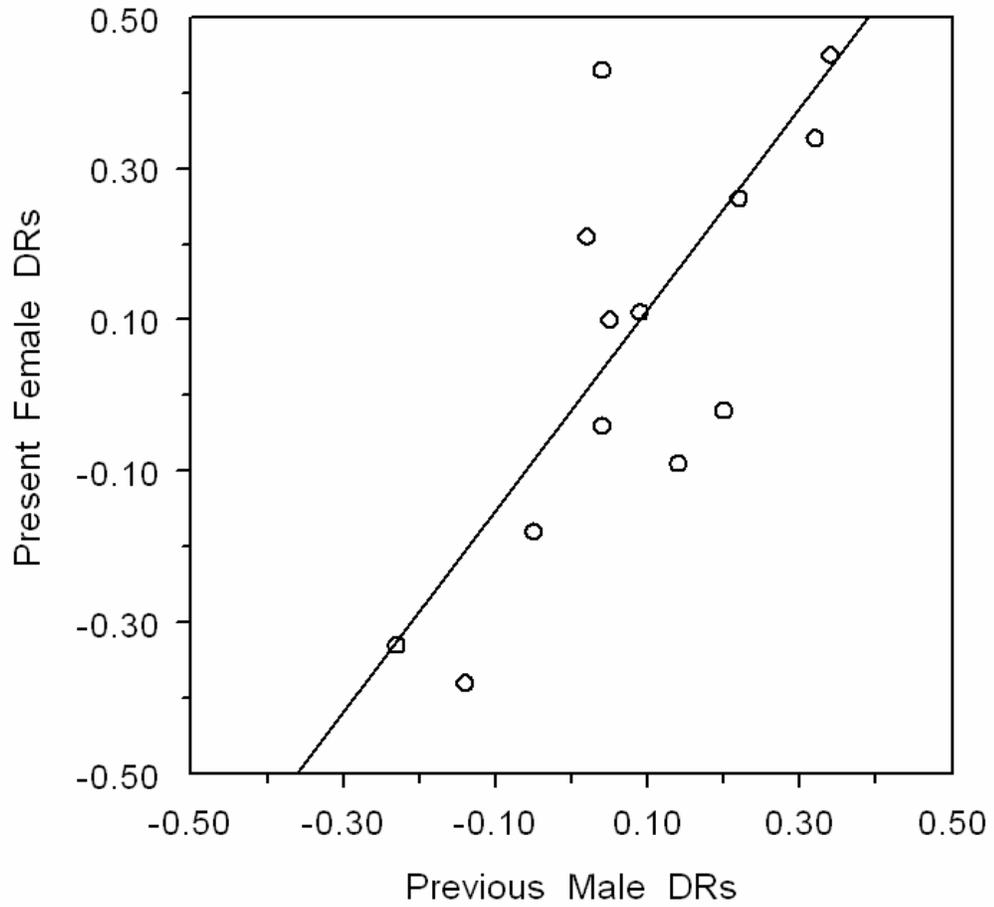
The difference between the 14 pairs of DRs was tested by conducting 14 planned comparisons (independent-groups  $t$  tests), using a Bonferroni adjustment to control for the overall Type I error rate. (Hence,  $p < .0036$  per comparison is a significant difference.) A significant difference between previous male DRs and present female DRs was found for only one category of leader behavior (Modeling,  $p = .0009$ ), although the effect size  $d$  is what Cohen (1988) called a *medium* effect. All the other effect sizes are referred to as *small*.

Table 1  
*Comparisons of DRs for Previous Male and Present Female Raters on Each Category*

| Leader behavior category | Male <sup>a</sup> |           | Female <sup>b</sup> |           | Difference <sup>c</sup><br><i>M</i> | Effect size ( <i>d</i> ) |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
|                          | <i>M</i>          | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i>            | <i>SD</i> |                                     |                          |
| Consulting               | -0.23             | 0.96      | -0.33               | 1.02      | -0.10                               | 0.10                     |
| Delegating               | 0.32              | 0.94      | 0.34                | 0.74      | 0.02                                | 0.02                     |
| Inspiring                | 0.20              | 0.91      | -0.02               | 1.02      | -0.22                               | 0.23                     |
| Intellectual Stimulation | 0.22              | 0.83      | 0.26                | 1.04      | 0.04                                | 0.04                     |
| Mentoring                | 0.04              | 0.87      | -0.04               | 0.97      | -0.08                               | 0.09                     |
| Modeling                 | 0.04              | 0.67      | 0.43                | 0.94      | 0.39*                               | 0.47                     |
| Monitoring               | 0.02              | 0.71      | 0.21                | 0.94      | 0.19                                | 0.23                     |
| Networking               | 0.09              | 0.91      | 0.11                | 0.85      | 0.02                                | 0.02                     |
| Planning                 | 0.05              | 0.93      | 0.10                | 0.81      | 0.05                                | 0.06                     |
| Problem Solving          | 0.34              | 1.00      | 0.45                | 0.81      | 0.11                                | 0.12                     |
| Rewarding                | -0.05             | 0.95      | -0.18               | 0.66      | -0.13                               | 0.16                     |
| Supporting               | -0.14             | 0.84      | -0.38               | 1.02      | -0.24                               | 0.26                     |
| Team Building            | 0.14              | 0.55      | -0.09               | 0.89      | -0.23                               | 0.31                     |
| Upward Influence         | 0.21              | 1.18      | 0.53                | 1.08      | 0.32                                | 0.28                     |
| Overall <i>M</i>         | 0.09              | 0.88      | 0.10                | 0.91      | 0.01                                | 0.17                     |

<sup>a</sup>Previous data of male raters in the Martell and DeSmet's (2001) study. <sup>b</sup>Present data of female raters. <sup>c</sup>Difference is present female mean DR minus previous male mean DR. \* $p < .001$ .

The scatterplot of the relationship between previous male DRs and present female DRs is shown in Figure 1. As can be seen in Figure 1, the 14 pairs of DRs were highly correlated,  $r(13) = .76, p = .002$ .



*Figure 1.* Scatterplot of present female DRs versus previous male DRs. The best-fitting linear regression line is also shown.

*Previous male data versus present male data.* As before, I calculated the mean DR of the previous (Martell & DeSmet, 2001) male respondents, the overall mean DR of the present male respondents, the difference between the two DRs, and the size of the effect ( $d$ ). Table 2 shows the resulting means, along with relevant standard deviations. Across the 14 behavior categories, the overall mean of the previous male DRs (0.09) and the overall mean of the present male DRs (0.06) did not differ significantly,  $t(13) = 0.25$ ,  $p = .81$ . In other words, there was no overall difference in gender bias between the two kinds of respondents: The present male respondents were very close to the previous male respondents in their overall ratings of the 14 leader behavior categories.

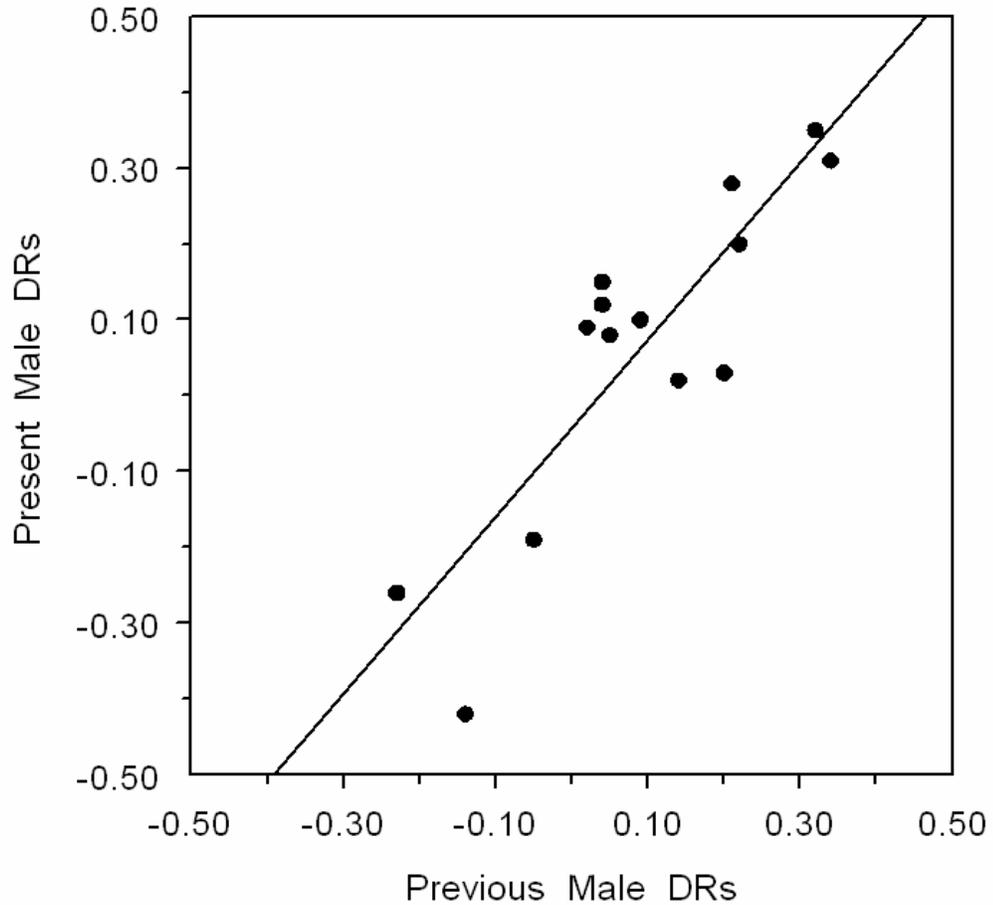
Table 2  
*Comparisons of DRs for Previous Male and Present Male Raters on Each Category*

| Leader behavior category | Male <sup>a</sup> |           | Male <sup>b</sup> |           | Difference <sup>c</sup><br><i>M</i> | Effect size ( <i>d</i> ) |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
|                          | <i>M</i>          | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i>          | <i>SD</i> |                                     |                          |
| Consulting               | -0.23             | 0.96      | -0.26             | 0.81      | -0.03                               | 0.03                     |
| Delegating               | 0.32              | 0.94      | 0.35              | 1.08      | 0.03                                | 0.03                     |
| Inspiring                | 0.20              | 0.91      | 0.03              | 1.03      | -0.17                               | 0.17                     |
| Intellectual Stimulation | 0.22              | 0.83      | 0.20              | 0.86      | -0.02                               | 0.02                     |
| Mentoring                | 0.04              | 0.87      | 0.12              | 0.99      | 0.08                                | 0.09                     |
| Modeling                 | 0.04              | 0.67      | 0.15              | 0.84      | 0.11                                | 0.14                     |
| Monitoring               | 0.02              | 0.71      | 0.09              | 0.76      | 0.07                                | 0.10                     |
| Networking               | 0.09              | 0.91      | 0.10              | 0.82      | 0.01                                | 0.01                     |
| Planning                 | 0.05              | 0.93      | 0.08              | 0.43      | 0.03                                | 0.04                     |
| Problem Solving          | 0.34              | 1.00      | 0.31              | 0.82      | -0.03                               | 0.03                     |
| Rewarding                | -0.05             | 0.95      | -0.19             | 0.69      | -0.14                               | 0.17                     |
| Supporting               | -0.14             | 0.84      | -0.42             | 0.82      | -0.28*                              | 0.34                     |
| Team Building            | 0.14              | 0.55      | 0.02              | 0.60      | -0.12                               | 0.21                     |
| Upward Influence         | 0.21              | 1.18      | 0.28              | 1.02      | 0.07                                | 0.06                     |
| Overall M                | 0.09              | 0.88      | 0.06              | 0.83      | -0.03                               | 0.10                     |

<sup>a</sup>Previous data of male raters in the Martell and DeSmet's (2001) study. <sup>b</sup>Present data of male raters. <sup>c</sup>Difference is present male mean DR minus previous male mean DR.  
 \* $p < .05$ .

The difference between the 14 pairs of DRs was tested by conducting 14 planned comparisons (independent-groups *t* tests), using a Bonferroni adjustment as before. No significant difference between previous male DRs and present male DRs was found.

The scatterplot of the relationship between previous male DRs and present male DRs is shown in Figure 2. Again, the correlation between the 14 pairs of DRs was large,  $r(13) = .87, p < .001$ .



*Figure 2.* Scatterplot of present male DRs versus previous male DRs. The best-fitting linear regression line is also shown.

*Present female data versus present male data.* As before, I calculated the mean DR of the previous (Martell & DeSmet, 2001) male respondents, the overall mean DR of the present male respondents, the difference between the two DRs, and the size of the effect ( $d$ ). Table 3 shows the resulting means, along with relevant standard deviations. Across the 14 behavior categories, the overall mean of the present female DRs (0.06) and

the overall mean of the present male DRs (0.10) did not differ significantly,  $t(13) = 0.33$ ,  $p = .74$ . Only one category (Modeling) showed a significant difference.

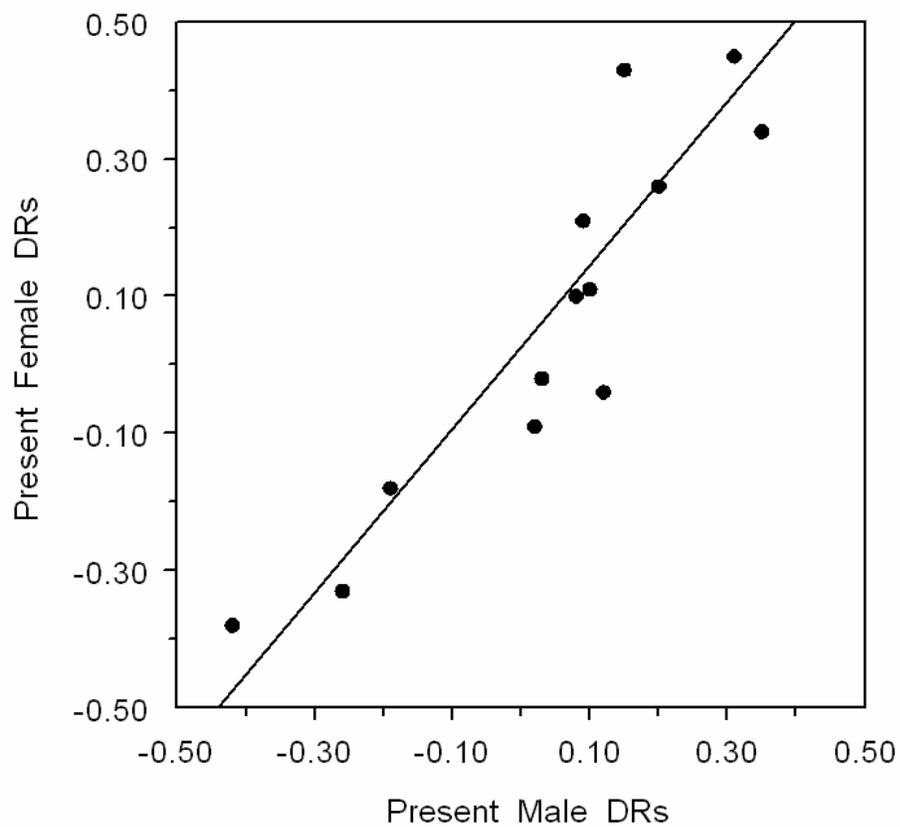
Table 3  
*Comparisons of DRs for Present Male and Present Female Raters on Each Category*

| Leader behavior category | Male <sup>a</sup> |           | Female <sup>b</sup> |           | Difference <sup>c</sup><br><i>M</i> | Effect size ( <i>d</i> ) |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
|                          | <i>M</i>          | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i>            | <i>SD</i> |                                     |                          |
| Consulting               | -0.26             | 0.81      | -0.33               | 1.02      | -0.07                               | -0.08                    |
| Delegating               | 0.35              | 1.08      | 0.34                | 0.74      | -0.01                               | -0.01                    |
| Inspiring                | 0.03              | 1.03      | -0.02               | 1.02      | -0.05                               | -0.05                    |
| Intellectual Stimulation | 0.20              | 0.86      | 0.26                | 1.04      | 0.06                                | 0.06                     |
| Mentoring                | 0.12              | 0.99      | -0.04               | 0.97      | -0.16                               | -0.16                    |
| Modeling                 | 0.15              | 0.84      | 0.43                | 0.94      | 0.28*                               | 0.31                     |
| Monitoring               | 0.09              | 0.76      | 0.21                | 0.94      | 0.12                                | 0.14                     |
| Networking               | 0.10              | 0.82      | 0.11                | 0.85      | 0.01                                | 0.01                     |
| Planning                 | 0.08              | 0.43      | 0.10                | 0.81      | 0.02                                | 0.03                     |
| Problem Solving          | 0.31              | 0.82      | 0.45                | 0.81      | 0.14                                | 0.17                     |
| Rewarding                | -0.19             | 0.69      | -0.18               | 0.66      | 0.01                                | 0.02                     |
| Supporting               | -0.42             | 0.82      | -0.38               | 1.02      | 0.04                                | 0.04                     |
| Team Building            | 0.02              | 0.60      | -0.09               | 0.89      | -0.11                               | -0.14                    |
| Upward Influence         | 0.28              | 1.02      | 0.53                | 1.08      | 0.25                                | 0.24                     |
| Overall M                | 0.06              | 0.83      | 0.10                | 0.91      | 0.04                                | 0.05                     |

<sup>a</sup>Present data from male raters. <sup>b</sup>Present data from female raters. <sup>c</sup>Difference is present male female mean DR minus present male mean DR.

\* $p < .05$ .

The scatterplot of the relationship between present female DRs and present male DRs is shown in Figure 3. Again, the correlation between the 14 pairs of DRs was large,  $r(13) = .91, p < .001$ .



*Figure 3.* Scatterplot of present male DRs versus present female DRs. The best-fitting linear regression line is also shown.

## DISCUSSION

This study assessed whether women and men could successfully predict levels of a stereotype held by respondents in a previous study. Given the same 14-item questionnaire used in the previous study and the instructions to try to accurately predict how the previous subjects responded, participants in this study were successful in predicting those previous responses.

The expected, overly positive predictions of the previous men's responses by the current respondents failed to appear, and further categorizing women as "successful" managers did not assist respondents in more correctly predicting male bias.

The results of this study do not confirm the suspicion that women are significantly mistaken regarding men's beliefs about women's leadership abilities. The Martell and DeSmet (2001) study of MBA students at Columbia University show male attitudes to be far from entirely male dominated, and the women (and men) in the present study were quite accurate in their ability to predict when the previous study's men reported gender differences.

As shown in Table 1, a significant difference between previous male DR and present female DR was found for only one category of leader behavior (Modeling) rated in this study. Interestingly, the differences observed were not exclusively in one direction—either pro-male or pro-female—but were instead more equally balanced. Specifically, women predicted that male DRs were positive (pro-male biased) on eight items, and negative (pro-female biased) on the remaining six items.

Does qualifying that a woman is a “successful” manager bring DRs more closely into line with male managers’ actual beliefs? As in Martell and DeSmet (2001), this study’s findings do not support the hypothesis that categorizing a female manager as “successful” will influence the respondents’ accuracy ratings. The instances of women being more accurate when considering female managers *successful* versus *successful-not-specified* were random and appeared in both directions. Consistent with Martell and DeSmet’s (2001) findings, little evidence was found in support of success as a stereotype moderator.

## CONCLUSION

Overall, when trying to predict the stereotypical beliefs that male managers hold of female managers, participants in this study were remarkably accurate in their ability to predict previous responses by men in the Martell and DeSmet (2001) study.

That men rate their own abilities differently, and frequently more strongly than they rate women's abilities, is not surprising. For better or worse, many areas of business management today are dominated by men, and this inequity is not likely to change soon. Although women have made many inroads into male-dominated areas of business, many believe it has been too few and too slowly, and problems such as wage disparities and the glass ceiling will probably remain long-term and difficult-to-solve dilemmas.

To the extent that these problems are likely to be slow to resolve, it is critical that women currently in management positions (or who may be pursuing careers in management) have an accurate understanding of any biases that male managers hold of women as managers or potential managers. Considering that those male beliefs have the ability to influence every aspect of a woman's career in management, it is well that women seem to be able to readily predict men's beliefs regarding women's management abilities.

The information provided by this study may be valuable to current or aspiring businesswomen, in the sense that being forewarned is being forearmed and that having a realistic assessment of biases that may bear on career success is more advantageous than remaining unaware of those biases. Women who familiarize themselves thoroughly with

what men are likely to expect of them may be advantaged in dealing with those expectations and biases.

They may, for example, choose to expend extra effort in areas in which men assume that women are less talented than male managers (e.g., Problem Solving, Intellectual Stimulation, and Delegating), or perhaps women may choose to specialize in an area in which men already believe women to excel, or even exceed male performance (e.g., Rewarding, Supporting, and Consulting).

Either approach might give women who understand male managers' expectations an advantage in achieving parity with men in the workplace, establishing the area of a woman's area of excellence or specialization, or even working to change those men's stereotype itself. Toward those goals, the current study may be helpful.

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