WHEN FATHER KNEW BEST: THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER IMAGES IN PRE-1970 BLACK-AND-WHITE TELEVISION PROGRAMS ON GENDER SCHEMA ACTIVATION

by

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ABSTRACT

Within social cognition theory, it has been suggested that individuals use cognitive structures called schemata to organize, process, and retrieve social information. It is assumed that an activated or "primed" schema affects subsequent cognitive processing. Recently, many scholars have concentrated on the effects of gender schematic processing, where social stimuli are processed based on gender associations.

This study examined the effects of the mass media on gender schema activation and subsequent cognitive processing. More specifically, the impact of gender stereotyped images in older, black-and-white television programs on subsequent evaluations of women was measured.

A 2 X 4 (gender orientation X condition) experimental design was used to test short-term effects of black-and-white television programs on attitudes toward women. One hundred ninety undergraduate students were placed in one of four conditions (stereotyped stimulus, nontraditional stimulus, neutral stimulus, or no-exposure), then tested in order to
assess group differences. Despite past research that suggests stimuli must be relevant in order to prime schemata, findings indicate that older, black-and-white programs can prime gender schemata.

The results of this study showed that exposure to certain older television content was related to significantly more sexist responses. Surprisingly, those subjects who viewed the seemingly innocuous neutral video clips responded in a significantly more sexist manner than those in the other three groups. Possible explanations for these findings, along with implications and directions for future research are discussed.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In the past most media effects studies have concentrated on long-term effects. More recently, however, scholars have used social cognition theories to explain short-term mass media effects. These researchers have suggested that the mass media can stimulate certain thoughts that will affect subsequent cognitive processing and organization.

A critical concept in social cognition research and this study is the schema. Schemata are cognitive structures organized into a framework that help people understand their social environment (Roloff & Berger, 1982). It is assumed that individuals have cognitive schemata that "provide the basis for interpreting information about particular objects," events, and people that one encounters (Wyer & Srull, 1981, p. 163).

Some social stimuli have been shown to activate or "prime" relevant schemata. A priming effect is a short-term effect that occurs when a relevant cognitive
schema is activated and therefore becomes more accessible. Priming effects are relevant to the study of mass media effects because of the evidence that media content can prime gender stereotypes (Ashton, 1983; Hansen & Hansen, 1988; Malamuth & Check, 1985). In this study it is hypothesized that an individual primed with a television program that contains gender stereotypes will use gender stereotype schemata to appraise subsequent stimuli.

Most media effects research concentrates on the effects of contemporary stimuli such as music videos (Hansen & Hansen, 1988), television commercials (Geis, Brown, Jennings, & Porter, 1984), and pornography (Malamuth & Check, 1985). Few, if any studies, however, have focused on the effects of older media stimuli. Because of the abundance of cable television channels available as well as the current popularity of television programs from the 50s and 60s, effects of such older stimuli should not be overlooked.

This study will examine the effects of televised portrayals of gender stereotypes on individuals. More specifically, the effects of these stereotypes in older, black-and-white television
programs will be examined: whether or not they can prime gender stereotype schemata and the effects that these primed stereotypes may have on subsequent evaluations of social stimuli.

**Social Cognition Theory**

Due to the considerable amount of environmental stimuli people encounter, cognitive theorists believe that it is important for people to be able to simplify and categorize their perceptions. The research area of social cognition and social information processing is of interest to scholars in the fields of communication and psychology because of their desire to understand cognitive structures and the ways that people process, organize, and retrieve social information.

While social information as environmental stimuli can be defined in many different ways, most scholars agree that it refers to information about persons: physical and psychological traits, general behaviors, and actions in specific situations. Social information can be gained through the observation of an actual person or group of people (Ostrom, Pryor, & Simpson, 1981), a verbal description of a person or group (Landman & Manis, 1983), or a picture, recording,
or film of a person or group (Hastie, Park, & Weber, 1984; Wyer & Srull, 1980). The organization and processing of social information is the basis of social cognition research.

Social cognition is not a concept that can be easily defined in one sentence. It is a social psychological approach that is concerned with cognitive structure, memory, information processing, and the effects of these processes on subsequent interactions (Sypher & Higgins, 1989). In his discussion and definition of a social cognition approach to person perception, Hamilton (1981) described three areas of interest:

First, how the nature of the perceiver's cognitive structure influences the acquisition and processing of information about the target person(s); second, how the perceiver develops, on the basis of the information available and the existing cognitive framework, a cognitive representation of the target person (or group), which is then stored in memory; and third, how information contained in that cognitive representation is retrieved from memory and used as a basis for making interpersonal judgments. (p. 137)

Thus, some type of social cognition is happening virtually every moment of our lives (Landman & Manis, 1983). Because it is an ongoing process,
social cognition theorists are interested in understanding how people process social stimuli, make judgments, and decide which behaviors to enact (Wyer & Srull, 1989).

Because the organization of social information is a concern of many researchers, several alternative models of social organization have been proposed (Ostrom, Pryor, & Simpson, 1981). Some of the dominant theories of social cognition include network and spreading activation models, implicit theories models, and schema models.

Network models consider thoughts, feelings, or prior memories as nodes or concepts in a cognitive network that are interconnected by pathways (Berkowitz & Rogers, 1986). The strength of the connection or association between different concepts is dependent on how similar a person believes their meanings or how often a person encounters the concepts concurrently. These theories maintain that social stimuli activate certain nodes and that this excitation can spread to associated nodes which will then become activated and used in the processing of social information (Collins & Loftus, 1975).
The implicit theory approach to social cognition holds that humans use concepts and relationships obtained from past observations to create theories about social reality (Wegner & Vellacher, 1977). Although there are different perspectives of the implicit theory approach, all assume that the created theories are used as a framework to aid the individual in evaluating and organizing social stimuli and allows him or her to make predictions.

Like implicit theories, schema theories "assume that social cognitions are organized into some framework so that the individual can make sense of the environment" (Roloff & Berger, 1982, p. 18). The framework in schema theories is a cognitive structure of associated concepts and information. This study is based on schema theory because it best explains the processes and effects concerned.

**Schema Theory**

The basis of the social cognitive schema theory is the schema. Schemata are "cognitive structures that contain a person’s knowledge and beliefs" about specific ideas or situations and assist in the "encoding, organization, and retrieval of information"
It is a framework of social knowledge that helps people understand their social environment (Roloff & Berger, 1982). People process, organize, and remember social information based on which schemata are activated (Rumelhart, 1984).

Researchers have proposed that individuals have different schemata for themselves, other people, events, objects, situations, and actions and that these schemata vary in abstractness, complexity, and function (Rumelhart & Ortony, 1977; Wyer & Gordon, 1984). "Scripts" are one type of schemata that represent sequences of events and provide frameworks for appropriate actions in different situations (Schank & Abelson, 1977).

The concept of the schema provides a good framework in understanding how individuals interpret, process, and organize social information. In their discussion of schema theory Taylor and Crocker (1981) wrote:

The processing of information involves scanning the environment, selecting items to attend to, taking information about those items, and either storing it in some form, so that it can be retrieved later for consideration, or using it as a basis for action...To select the information that is useful and to process it quickly and
efficiently, the perceiver needs selection criteria and guidelines. (p. 90)
Because individuals cannot attend to every bit of stimuli they encounter, schemata serve as the guidelines that are essential in the selection and organization of certain pieces of information.

A schema contains information about a stimuli that can be very general and abstract or very exact. Similarly, schemata vary in complexity; some are very simple frameworks while others are very complex. In their discussion of the structure of a schema, Taylor and Crocker (1981) described it as a "pyramidal structure, hierarchically organized with more general information at the top and categories of more specific information nested within the general categories" (p. 92). In addition, schemata may be linked to one another through different associations.

In its most basic form, a person schema is a framework that contains information or attributes about a particular person or type of person. For example, a librarian schema might have general information at the top such as "quiet" and "intelligent" and more specific information such as "my friend Julia" at the bottom. Furthermore, this schema may be connected to a schema
specifically created for Julia that would contain attributes and information about Julia.

**Activation and Accessibility of Schemata**

Schemata are activated when an individual is exposed to social stimuli and needs to process that information. According to Hamilton (1981) "an incoming piece of information that 'fits' or pertains to an element of a particular schema is said to 'instantiate' that particular schema" but the process of this activation or instantiation is not well understood (p. 151). Once a particular schema is invoked, all of the information and attributes contained in that schema are activated simultaneously and it may then be used to interpret further incoming information about objects to which the schema is relevant (Hamilton, 1981).

Studies have shown that some schemata are more accessible than others and that these readily accessible schemata tend to be used to process information before others are invoked (Rose, 1981). Factors that have been shown to affect accessibility of different schemata are frequency (Bargh, 1984) and recency of activation (Higgins, Rholes, & Jones, 1977).
The more frequently a schema is activated and used in processing social information the more accessible it becomes and the "more likely it is to be called to mind for the encoding and understanding of future persons and events" (Hansen & Hansen, 1988, p. 288; Wyer & Srull, 1981). Bargh, Bond, Lombardi, and Tota (1986) described frequently activated schemata as "chronically accessible" and claim that these are more likely to be used to process subsequent stimuli.

**Self-Schemata and Accessibility.** One of the most frequently accessed categories of schemata are self-schemata. Self-schemata develop with repeated associations of the self with certain ideas or concepts (Markus & Smith, 1981; McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990). These concepts then become schemata that are highly relevant to that individual and readily accessible. The self can be viewed as a system of schemata that are relevant to that person. When something becomes important to an individual (an idea, trait, or activity), he or she associates it with his or her self. That individual will soon become schematic with respect to the concept.
According to Markus and Smith (1981), self-schemata influence our perceptions of others in that information will be processed in terms of schemata that are relevant to ourselves. Because self-schemata are highly relevant, they are highly accessible and frequently activated. For example, an individual who is aschematic to hair color (because such a schema was not developed in the self) probably will not attend to this trait in others because it is not relevant to him or her. Hence, the schema is not readily accessible. In contrast, an individual who is schematic to gender will attend to this trait in others because it has become relevant, highly accessible, and has been organized in his or her self-schema. "In situations when an individual is perceiving others without well-specified goals or orientations, these others will be evaluated automatically using one's schematic dimensions" (Markus & Smith, 1981, p. 246).

**Priming**

A schema becomes temporarily more accessible when it or a related schema has recently been activated (Bargh et al., 1986; Higgins et al., 1977; Wyer & Srull, 1980). This temporarily accessible schema is
said to have been "primed." A primed schema "increases the likelihood that subsequently encountered persons or events will be appraised in the context of the primed schema" (Hansen & Hansen, 1988, p. 289).

Priming is a subconscious, short-term effect that occurs when a schema is activated and therefore becomes more accessible (Berkowitz & Rogers, 1986; Wyer & Carlston, 1979; Wyer & Srull, 1981). Once this schema is activated and brought to the top of our minds it will temporarily be used to evaluate stimuli relevant to it in subsequent encounters and affect judgment (Josephson, 1987). Herr, Sherman, and Fazio (1983) asserted that the primed schema is "relatively salient and the new stimulus is interpreted to be an instance of the category" (p. 325).

As stated above, the priming effect is only temporary. Although a schema becomes deactivated once a person stops thinking about a specific stimuli, it takes time for the schema to be totally deactivated. During this period of time the deactivated schema may still be used to evaluate subsequent relevant stimuli. Studies indicate that a priming effect may last up to 24 hours after the schema was initially primed, but as
time progresses the effects lessen (Wyer & Srull, 1981). Nevertheless, there are long-term implications of priming.

When considering long-term implications of priming, it is important to keep in mind that a recently activated schema is more likely to be invoked than others. If a certain schema is primed repeatedly, in time it will become more readily or chronically accessible (Bargh et al., 1986). After a while, a schema may become so accessible that it will consistently be used to evaluate other stimuli, even in instances that may not require such a schema.

**What Can Prime.** Although social cognition studies have shown that stimuli can prime schemata in individuals, not all stimuli will prime. Research has shown that only stimuli that are salient to the individual will prime, while the less conspicuous will go unnoticed. There are several different conditions that make a stimulus salient.

Wyer and Srull (1981) have suggested that the likelihood of a schema being primed may increase as the number of behavioral instances increases. In other words, repeated stimuli are more apt to prime because
they appear more prominent. Other researchers agree that repetition or frequency of certain structural media features will increase viewers' level of attention (Lang, 1990).

Another condition that may affect the salience of a stimuli is how real it seems to the perceiver. In their discussion of priming effects of aggression in the media, Berkowitz and Rogers (1986) suggested that the reality of the stimuli can determine how involved an individual will be in the observation. The more involved the individual, the more likely he or she will be influenced by the stimuli.

Berkowitz and Rogers (1986) also found that the priming of certain schemata is affected by the degree to which the perceiver identifies with the media characters. They explained that "viewers who identify with the actors they see are vividly imagining themselves as these characters and are thinking of themselves as carrying out the depicted actions" (p. 70). The more an individual identifies with a character, the more involved he or she becomes.

Another condition that affects whether or not a stimulus will prime is the congruity of the stimulus
with the perceiver's beliefs. A priming study conducted by Malamuth and Check (1985) supported the assumption that communication is more likely to influence an individual's attitudes when the information in that communication is consistent with the beliefs of the perceiver.

There is evidence that other conditions affect the salience of a stimulus to a perceiver. Research showed that stimuli that are moving, unique, bright, warm-colored, as well as those that portray intense, novel, or negative behaviors are more likely to stand out and draw more attention (McArthur, 1981).

**Priming Studies.** Early studies of priming tested the effects of exposure to personality trait terms on subsequent appraisals and recollection of a person (Higgins et al., 1977). These studies found that subjects that were primed with certain traits evaluated the stimulus person in terms of the primed trait if the adjectives were relevant to the description of that person. According to Wyer and Srull (1981), these findings imply that when certain trait concepts were activated, a particular relevant
schema was activated, which increased the likelihood that closely related concepts would also be activated.

Srull and Wyer (1979) also found evidence of a priming effect. Their studies have shown that when subjects are unknowingly primed with either hostility-related or kindness-related items, they are more likely to evaluate a subsequent stimulus person in terms of relevant primed schemata. Although these studies found priming effects decreased over time, they were still discernible after 24 hours.

Further evidence of a priming effect has been found in terms of social judgments (Manis, Paskewitz, & Cotler, 1986), impressions evoked by emotional stimuli (Bargh, 1984), and grammatical priming by the gender of possessive adjectives (Gurjanov, Lukatela, Lukatela, Savic, & Turvey, 1985).

In their study of the consequences of priming, Herr et al., (1983) primed subjects with different levels of ferocity (or size) in a supposed color perception experiment. Subjects then evaluated the ferocity or size of real and unreal animals. These researchers found both contrast and assimilation effects depending on the ambiguity of the evaluated
stimuli (real versus unreal animals). Subjects primed with moderate levels of ferocity evaluated ambiguous or unreal animals in the context of the prime whereas the judgments of ambiguous and unambiguous stimuli (real and unreal animals) were inversely related to a prime of extreme levels of ferocity (very ferocious or not at all ferocious).

This study is one of many that suggest that priming is not a rudimentary process with unique effects:

The activation of a category through priming exemplars of that category can make such a category available for the identification of incoming stimuli. Alternatively, priming a construct through the presentation of exemplars can lead to rating scale contrast effects on the judgments of new stimuli as the primed contextual stimuli serve as end anchors. Which effect of priming is observed depends on both the extremity of the primed stimuli along the rating scale dimension and the ambiguity of the target stimuli. (Herr et al., 1983)

Thus, it is critical to understand that there are many variables involved in the priming procedure and priming effects must be interpreted accordingly. Examples of variables involved in priming include the number of stimuli primed, the number of times a particular stimuli is primed, differences in the amount
of priming needed for different traits and schemata, the time interval between the prime and the subsequent evaluation, and the ambiguity of the target stimuli (Wyer & Srull, 1981).

It is evident from past research that a priming effect can be found when certain schemata in a subject's cognitive structure are activated. Since the frequency and recency of activation affects the accessibility of schemata, some will be invoked more often than others. The following chapter will focus on gender schemata: the accessibility of gender schemata, the relationship between gender schemata and stereotypes, and the effects of activated gender schemata and stereotypes.
Chapter 2
GENDER, STEREOTYPES, AND SCHEMATA

In the previous section, schemata were defined as cognitive structures organized into a framework that help people understand their social environment (Roloff & Berger, 1982). Information must be organized and categorized in the cognitive structure for individuals to be able to make sense of the stimuli they encounter. This ability to categorize and process information using schemata is the basis of social cognition research. One of the most fundamental types of categories is gender. Bem (1981) explains that "the distinction between male and female serves as a basic organizing principle for every human culture" (p. 354).

Sex and Gender

While clearly there are biological sex differences, there are also psychological differences that have been imposed on males and females by society. In her article on sex and gender, Deaux (1985) described the difference: "'Sex' refers to the biologically based categories of male and female, and
'gender' refers to the psychological features frequently associated with these biological states" (p. 51). Although researchers habitually use the words "sex" and "gender" synonymously (Six & Eckes, 1991), the difference is important. Because social cognition research is based on the activation of schemata and the psychological traits organized in the cognitive structure, it is apparent that gender should be the focus of study, not sex.

**Gender Schemata and Sex-Typing**

A gender schema is a cognitive structure used to process information based on sex-linked associations (Bem, 1981, 1984). Gender schemata are used to evaluate social stimuli (persons, events, or objects) based on gender associations (Edwards & Spence, 1987).

If gender is an important concept to an individual, it will become one of the self-schemata that he or she uses to evaluate stimuli. Because self-schemata are relevant and highly accessible, gender schemata affect how individuals perceive and evaluate others. According to Bem (1981, 1984), individuals can be classified as either sex-typed (gender schematic) or non-sex-typed (gender aschematic). Sex-typed
individuals are the highly masculine males and highly feminine females, while non-sex-typed individuals are androgynous or undifferentiated (Bem, 1974; Larsen & Seidman, 1986). Sex-typed or gender schematic individuals have highly developed and accessible gender schemata (self-schemata) and process information in terms of those schemata.

Bem (1984) holds that gender schematic processing begins at an early age when children learn not only content specific information concerning gender (what women do and what men do) but also learn "to invoke this heterogeneous network of sex-related associations in order to evaluate and assimilate new information" (p. 186).

Bem's gender schema theory (1981, 1984) maintains that individuals learn from early childhood the attributes that are linked with the sexes. As individuals mature, gender schemata continue to develop and are used in processing information about themselves and others. Those individuals who learn to organize and evaluate stimuli based on gender are considered sex-typed or gender schematic, while non-sex-typed, aschematic individuals are far less likely to process
information based on gender (Edwards & Spence, 1987). Studies have found that sex-typed or gender schematic individuals are more likely than gender aschematics to organize information into masculine and feminine categories.

**Effects of Sex-Typing**

In a recent study of sex-typing and pornography, McKenzie-Mohr and Zanna (1990), found that for gender schematic males, exposure to nonviolent pornography influenced their perceptions and actions toward a woman in a professional situation. It was revealed that these subjects were significantly more sexually motivated than aschematic males and schematic males in control groups. These results indicate that gender schematic individuals are more likely to process information in terms of their relevant gender schemata.

Bem (1981) also found effects of sex-typing on information processing. She discovered that sex-typed or gender schematic individuals were faster than aschematics in making judgments about themselves when they involved sex stereotyped attributes. In a second study, it was revealed that non-sex-typed individuals showed no preferential processing or recall of sex-
stereotyped information (Bem, 1981). Bem concluded that sex-typed individuals are prompted to organize information in terms of gender because of cultural stereotypes of maleness and femaleness.

**Types of Gender Schemata**

Because a schema is a framework that helps determine what information will be ignored and what will be attended (Ruble & Stangor, 1986), individuals have different gender schemata for different people or groups of people. There are schemata for general categories such as boys, girls, women, and men, as well as schemata for more specific persons such as girl soccer players, male police officers, and the President of the United States. Gender schemata differ from one other in that some contain dimensions that others do not.

For example, many times girls are not evaluated on the strong-weak dimension because typically this concept is not included in a schema for girls. It is not that girls are viewed as weak, they are simply not evaluated on that dimension at all (Bem, 1981). The same applies for boys and the dimension of nurturance.
Bem pointed out that rarely, if ever, do adults notice or comment on how nurturing a boy seems.

**Accessibility of Gender Schemata**

Although Bem defines individuals as either gender schematic or aschematic, meaning that they either use gender schemata or they do not, it is important to realize that there are many degrees of sex typing. The degree of gender schema accessibility is dependent on "the extent to which one's particular socialization history has stressed the functional importance of the gender dichotomy" (Bem, 1981, p. 362). The more an individual is sex-typed or gender schematic, the more likely he or she is to employ gender schemata as a primary reaction to the world.

It is almost inevitable that gender categories will become an important cognitive schema (Bem, 1981; Spence, 1984). Rose (1981) has suggested that individuals will utilize schemata that are most accessible before they will use alternative schemata.

Because children in our society are socialized to believe that a person's sex plays a major role in who they are and what they can or cannot accomplish, it is understandable that gender schemata become readily
accessible. Moreover, since individuals are constantly exposed to males and females throughout their lives, it is unavoidable that at some point gender schemata will be activated to organize and interpret this information.

**Gender Schemata and Stereotypes**

Gender schemata are closely associated with stereotypes because they both use categorical information to evaluate social information. Hamilton (1981) has suggested that stereotypes are schema-like in that "(1) they represent the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectations regarding members of some social group, and (2) they perform many of the same functions in processing information that are attributed to schema structures" (p. 139).

Rose (1981) claimed that schemata (in this case gender schemata) play a role in the development of stereotypes. He proposed that by using a gender schema we organize information in such a way that causes significant biases in memory. Eventually stereotypes are formed and people assume that attributes or actions of one person are indicative of the group to which that person belongs. Scholars are concerned with the
possible negative effects of gender-schematic processing and gender stereotypes (Ruble & Stangor, 1986).

Stereotypes are schemata and, as such, are activated and used as frameworks to categorize and process social information. Rose (1981), for example, asserted that stereotypes act as schemata and are used as "a basis for making inferences and organizing incoming information" (p. 272). Past research suggests that stereotypes are employed as schemata and may bias recall of persons and events (Rothbart, Evans, & Fulero, 1979). In this study it is proposed that gender stereotypes act as schemata and, when activated, facilitate the cognitive categorization of social information by gender.

**Gender Stereotypes**

Stereotyping has long been a concern of social scientists. Defined as "the generation of expectations or assumptions concerning a particular individual based on the individual's group or category membership," stereotypes play a major role in social perception (Zarate & Smith, 1990, p. 161). Although surely stereotypes have existed throughout time, academic
attention is credited historically to Lippmann (Miller, 1982).

In his analysis of stereotypes, Lippmann (1922) asserted that a person's behavior is linked directly to the way that person conceives the world. Viewing stereotypes as "pictures in our heads" or mental imagery, he was one of the first scholars to discuss stereotyping as a normal process necessary to simplify perceptions:

For the real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations. And although we have to act in that environment, we have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can manage with it. (p. 16)

Scholars have long disputed whether stereotypes are "bad," incorrectly learned information, or "rigid." From a cognitive orientation, stereotypes are not seen as special, bad, bizarre, or vitally different from other cognitive structures and processes (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981). On the contrary, cognitive scholars assume that because the human capacity for processing information is limited, we need simplifying mechanisms such as stereotypes to make sense of the world.
However, because stereotypes are simplifications, they lead to biases and generalizations about people and events (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981).

Consequently, researchers have concentrated on studying stereotypes as a part of the cognitive process instead of conceptualizing them as negative beliefs that stray from the truth (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Hamilton, 1979). These scholars feel that while content of stereotypes is certainly meaningful, their cognitive view emphasizes the importance of how social information is encoded, processed, retrieved, and the subsequent behavioral effects of information processing.

This perspective holds that gender stereotypes are a part of the process where information about males or females is evaluated based on existing schemata (Deaux & Lewis, 1984). Both content of gender stereotypes (the stereotypes that exist) and the structure of gender schemata in the process of social cognition are important facets in the study of gender stereotypes (Deaux, 1985).

Gender stereotypes have been found to exist in both general realms of society (Deaux & Lewis, 1984).
and specific areas such as the mass media (Brabant & Mooney, 1986) and organizational settings (Dubnos, 1985). In an analysis of gender stereotypes, Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1972) found clearly defined sex-role stereotypes for men and women. These authors found:

Women are perceived as relatively less competent, less independent, less objective, and less logical than men; men are perceived as lacking interpersonal sensitivity, warmth, and expressiveness in comparison to women. Moreover, stereotypically masculine traits are more often perceived to be more desirable than are stereotypically feminine characteristics. (p. 75)

Furthermore, Broverman et al., found that these gender stereotypes are shared and accepted by the majority of the people in our society.

In his study of sex stereotypes and implicit personality theory, Ashmore (1981) identified the content of sex stereotypes. Results indicated that males are more likely to be perceived as important, shrewd, daring, intelligent, and skillful; while females are more likely to be perceived as weak, naive, honest, cautious, reserved, unintelligent, foolish, and wasteful. Although males have more positively valued traits, Ashmore observed that there was not a tendency
for subjects to value males over females. He attributed the greater number of positive male traits to the fact that there are "a wider range of alternative patterns of action (coded as traits) open to males" (p. 77).

Despite different measuring instruments and theoretical orientations, scholars have, to some extent, come to a consensus about the stereotypes that are attributed to gender (Ruble & Ruble, 1982). Most scholars agree that there are consistently perceived differences between males and females, that males are ascribed a higher number of positively valued traits than females, and that gender stereotypes can affect both males and females.

Effects of Gender Stereotypes

Some scholars assert that stereotypes are not necessarily bad, but play an essential role in information processing and organization (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981). However, other scholars argue that although stereotypes aid information processing they are not value free and result in negative effects (Geis, Brown, Jennings, & Corrado-Taylor, 1984). They maintain that outcomes of stereotypes go beyond
information processing into other realms such as impressions and evaluations (Gutek & Stevens, 1979).

Studies show that gender stereotypes can result in negative effects, primarily on women. Gutek and Stevens (1979) discussed the ways that gender stereotypes lead to less favorable evaluations of females than males in hiring situations, work evaluations, and college settings. These scholars theorize that females are evaluated less favorably in a situation that evokes a male sex role stereotype and vice versa.

Another example of effects of gender stereotyping has been shown by Check and Malamuth (1983). These researchers were interested in the ways that sex-role stereotyping affected reactions to stories about stranger and acquaintance rape. They found that subjects who scored high on a sex-role stereotype test were more likely to believe in the rape myth that the rape victim enjoyed or wanted to be raped than those without stereotyped beliefs, especially in the acquaintance rape situation. Moreover, men who held sex-role stereotyped beliefs were more likely to
indicate that they might rape if there was no chance of being caught.

Gender Stereotyped Content in the Mass Media

Throughout the years, a special concern of scholars has been the pervasiveness of gender stereotypes in the mass media. Whether in print advertisements (Rossi & Rossi, 1985; Umiker-Sebok, 1981), television commercials (Ferrante, Haynes, & Kingsley, 1988), prime time television (Durkin, 1985a), children's television programs (Mayes & Valentine, 1979), books (Ashton, 1983), or comics (Brabant & Mooney, 1986), females are shown less frequently than males and are portrayed more stereotypically.

In his first paper of a series concerning television and sex-role acquisition, Durkin (1985a) assessed the content of gender roles on television throughout the years. In reviewing content analyses, he identified several consistent findings regarding females and males on television: Women are constantly underrepresented in both status and frequency of appearance; males are more often employed; males are shown in higher status positions; female occupational roles are very narrow and stereotyped; female
characters are usually younger than males; married women who work are typically shown as having a bad marriage; females are usually the victims of violence; and females were more likely to nurture others and show sympathy.

These results provide evidence for the claim that television reflects and portrays standard gender stereotypes (Reep & Dambrot, 1988). Other studies reinforce this view. In a content analysis of children's television, O'Kelly (1974) found a strong masculine bias and traditional sex roles. Her results show that the few women who were employed held jobs such as secretary or stewardess. In a somewhat similar analysis, Kalisch and Kalisch (1984) studied sex-role stereotypes of medical occupations on television. Again a strong male bias appeared with a finding that 99% of nurses were female while 95% of doctors were male.

Television commercials do not fare much better than programs. Despite the fact that women now appear nearly as frequently as men and the range of women's occupations on television commercials seems to be enlarging (Ferrante et al., 1988), gender stereotypes
are still present. In a recent content analysis Bretl and Cantor (1988) found that males are more likely than females to be portrayed as employed; females primarily advertise products used in the home while males advertise products used outside of the home; and male narrators are used over 90% of the time. These researchers have suggested that male narrators are used because they are perceived as more authoritative, convincing, and credible, despite evidence that shows individuals perceive male and female voices as equally effective.

Effects of Gender Stereotypes in the Mass Media

While some of the literature focuses on the adult population, many gender stereotype media effects studies focus on children. Because cognitive schemata, gender identity, and perceptions of the world develop in these early years, it is critical to understand the effects the media might have on this development. Studies have shown that the portrayal of traditional gender stereotypes in the media can influence children's gender role perceptions (McGhee & Frueh, 1980), sex-role acquisition (Durkin, 1985b), sex-role identification (Eisenstock, 1984), sex-role behavior
(Ashton, 1983; Mayes & Valentine, 1979), tendency to associate a person's sex with a particular occupation (Knell & Winer, 1979), and their tendency to change preferences for certain occupations (O'Bryant & Corder-Bolz, 1978).

Most scholars studying the effects of mass media on children base their research on the social learning theory or modeling. According to this theory, children will model their behavior after significant adults in their lives, including those seen in the media (Bandura, 1978; Eisenstock, 1984). While many of the early studies focused on the effects of televised portrayals of aggression on children, researchers have also applied social learning theory to the acquisition of sex-role behavior and gender stereotypes (Barkley, Ullmann, Otto, & Brecht, 1977; Eisenstock, 1984).

Another example of gender stereotype effects is provided by a recent Canadian media study. In a study of Canadian towns that were about to receive cable television and originally received either no television (Notel), one channel (Unitel), or four channels (Multitel), media effects were studied across many areas. In her discussion of sex-role portrayal
effects, Kimball (1986) explained that the perceptions of the children of Notel were "initially less strongly sex typed than the perceptions of students who had grown up with television in Unitel and Multitel" and became "more stereotyped following the introduction of television to their community" (p. 289).

Gender stereotyped portrayals in the media have been shown to affect adults as well. In their study of television commercials and women, Geis, Brown, Jennings, and Porter (1984) found that gender stereotypes in commercials contribute to social pressures "which subtly guide women into homemaking and away from other kinds of serious careers" (p. 522). Moreover, their findings suggest that this effect could be minimized by exposing women to "reversed role" commercials.

Researchers have also attempted to understand the effects of frequent and continuous television viewing on gender stereotypes (Frueh & McGhee, 1975; Reep & Dambrot, 1988). While the earlier study finds a clear association between frequent viewing and stronger traditional sex role stereotypes, the latter does not. Reep and Dambrot (1988) suggested that it is "high
impact" or the influence of highly intense and stereotyped characters rather than consistent viewing that affects individual's gender stereotyped perceptions.

Gender stereotypes are abundant in the mass media. Media effects studies show that the presentation of gender stereotyped images influences gender role perceptions, behavior, and strengthen existing gender stereotypes. From a social cognitive perspective, the media are priming gender stereotypic information that are used as schemata to evaluate, organize, and recall social information. The more often gender stereotypic images are presented, the stronger and more accessible the stereotype (or schema) becomes.

Researchers have directly tested the idea that the media may prime certain schemata or stereotypes both directly as well as by reinterpreting past research in terms of social cognition theory. The following chapter will discuss relevant research conducted in both of these realms.
Chapter 3
PRIMING AND MEDIA EFFECTS

In the past there have been two general theories used to explain media stereotyping effects, social learning theory and the cultivation hypothesis. Social learning theory is based on the principles of observational learning, modeling, and conditioning (Bandura, 1977) and explains "how matching performances can result from modeling an observed behavior" (Tan, 1986). While many of these studies concentrate on the effects of violence on viewers' subsequent aggression and acquisition of social behaviors, social learning theory has been used to explain many different types of media effects. For example, Johnston and Ettema (1986) use social learning theory to explain certain prosocial effects in children.

Another dominant theoretical explanation of media effects is the cultivation hypothesis (Gerbner, Gross, & Signorielli, 1980). Cultivation research argues that heavy television viewing causes viewers to believe that the world in which they live is the same
as the world presented on television. With a focus on violence and aggression, sex roles, and the elderly, the cultivation thesis asserts that television content may not only affect viewers temporarily, but may cultivate an enduring conception of the real world as an exact reflection of the televised world. Though somewhat controversial, this approach has found empirical support, particularly in the realm of televised violence.

Recently, some scholars have re-interpreted the results of social learning and cultivation effects studies as priming effects (Berkowitz & Rogers, 1986). Based on the idea that some effects of media are fairly short-term and identified shortly after exposure, these authors suggest that media can prime concepts that will, for a short time, be used as a framework to organize and evaluate subsequent stimuli. Aspects of the studies that lead to a priming effect interpretation include immediate effects and lack of evidence of long-term effects.

Berkowitz and Rogers (1986) have proposed that the portrayal of violence in the mass media can temporarily prime thoughts related to aggression.
These authors explained that "aggressive ideas have a greater probability of being activated with repeated exposure to violence, and as a result the observers are more apt to think (at least for a short time) that aggression is proper or worthwhile" (p. 76). The bulk of the analyzed studies showed that violent or aggressive behavior in the media can prime aggression-related thoughts or schemata. Some effects of this prime include subsequent harsher evaluations of people and more aggressive behavior.

**Priming Violence**

In a recent study of the influence of television violence on children's aggression, Josephson (1987) specifically tested the priming effect. Subjects were deliberately frustrated by exposure to static while trying to watch a cartoon and then exposed to either violent or nonviolent television excerpts. Subsequent aggression levels were measured by the intensity with which the subjects played a floor hockey game. Josephson found that subjects who were first primed with frustration, then cued with the violent excerpt, showed higher aggression (by pushing and tackling) than those exposed to the violent excerpt.
alone, which in turn produced more aggression than did the nonviolent television condition.

Josephson (1987) attributed these findings to priming. She asserted that exposure to the frustrating material activated a frustration schema that was associated with, or was a subcategory of, an aggression schema. After a short period of time, the violent excerpt re-activated the schema, resulting in higher physical aggression in the hockey game.

**Priming Gender Stereotypes**

Similar to the priming influences of violence in the mass media, many of the effects of gender stereotypes in the media may also be explained by priming. Due to the evidence that gender stereotypic schemata are readily accessible (Ashmore, 1981; Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Noseworthy & Lott, 1984) and that gender stereotypes are pervasive in the media (Durkin, 1985a; Mayes & Valentine, 1979; Rossi & Rossi, 1985) the probability that a priming effect will occur is high.
Re-Interpretations of Gender Stereotype Media Effects Studies

Many studies that explain media effects by social learning theory or the cultivation hypothesis can be interpreted as priming studies because the effects are short term. By using media stimuli such as television program excerpts, commercials, or books and then testing for effects shortly after, these results can be interpreted as priming effects. While Berkowitz and Rogers (1986) limited their priming effect analysis studies to aggressive and violent media effects, their re-interpretations serve as a good basis for examining gender stereotype effects research.

The findings of Ashton (1983), for example, can be explained by priming. In an attempt to understand the influence of sex-role stereotypes in children's books, subjects were read either a stereotypic or a nonstereotypic picture book. Shortly after this exposure, subjects were given the opportunity to select and play with toys. Subjects who were exposed to the stereotypic picture book were significantly more likely to select a gender-stereotypic toy while those exposed to the nonstereotypic book were more likely to choose a
nonstereotypic toy. The picture book most likely primed a schema or stereotype that corresponded to the content of the book. Later, when the children were given the choice of toys, the activated schema or stereotype was used in the selection process and the child choose a toy accordingly.

While many studies have focused on the effects of gender stereotypic images in the mass media on children, some have focused on adolescent and adult subjects. One such effects study was conducted by Tan (1979) who was concerned with the consequences of beauty advertisements on the expectations of 16 to 18-year-old females.

Tan (1979) exposed subjects to television commercials that either concentrated on beauty themes or did not. Subjects were then asked to evaluate the importance of beauty in different areas. The girls exposed to the beauty commercials rated beauty as more important in terms of "popularity with men" and as "personally desirable" than those who were in the control group. While Tan explained his effects by cultivation, these results can be better interpreted as a priming effect. The commercials that portrayed the
"beauty stereotype" activated or primed a schema that links the concept "beauty" with the concept "success." This schema was then used to evaluate the importance of beauty in aspects of everyday life.

In a somewhat similar study, Geis and her associates (1984) exposed both male and female adults to either gender stereotyped television commercials, identical commercials except with reversed stereotyped roles, or control commercials. Later, subjects wrote an essay concerning what their lives will be like "10 years from now." These researchers found that women who viewed the gender stereotyped commercials "de-emphasized achievement in favor of homemaking, compared to men and compared to women who had seen reversed role commercials" (p. 513).

While these researchers used a social modeling theory to explain these results, they also indicated that exposure to gender stereotyped commercials can prime a related schema or stereotype in women. According to the description of the commercials, such a stereotype (schema) related success and pleasure to concepts such as homemaking, appearing slim and beautiful, and serving a man. This activated schema
was subsequently used by women when thinking and writing about what they would like to be doing in the future.

**Direct Tests of Priming With the Media**

While many gender stereotype effects studies may be re-interpreted in terms of priming, some scholars have tested the priming effect directly. Hansen and Hansen (1988) examined how music videos can prime gender stereotypic schemata. After exposure to music videos that either contained gender stereotype portrayals or did not, subjects viewed and appraised a videotaped male-female interaction. These researchers concluded that the gender stereotype music videos primed gender stereotype schemata. Subjects who viewed the gender stereotyped music videos formed a much different opinion of both the male and the female than those who viewed the neutral videos. In a summary of their findings, Hansen and Hansen (1988) wrote:

> When sex role stereotypic schemas had been primed by stereotypic videos, manipulations of schema-relevant elements in the interaction had a profound impact on impressions formed of the male and female interactants. When she reciprocated his sexual advances, she was judged much more non-threatening, submissive, skilled, competent, sexual, sensitive, and sympathetic
than when she did not reciprocate his advances. When he praised her, he was judged much more non-threatening, sexual, assertive, and dominant. These potent effects were absent when sex role stereotypic schemas had not been primed. (p. 310)

Similar results were found by Hansen (1989) in her study of priming effects of music videos on impression favorability and recall of a subsequent male-female interaction. Again, the findings supported the claim that gender stereotypic rock music videos can produce strong cognitive effects on viewers. Hansen (1989) asserted that "the schema used to encode the event was different after neutral than after stereotypic videos" because subjects impressions and recall of the male and the female differed (p. 387).

Priming effects were also found by Malamuth and Check (1985) in their study of the effects of aggressive pornography on beliefs in rape myths in males. After listening to a version of an aggressive pornographic scene, male subjects then listened to a second excerpt depicting either consenting or non-consenting sex. Results revealed that subjects who were primed with a version of the pornographic scene where the female became aroused and enjoyed the sexual
aggression were more likely to become more aggressive and accept the myth that women deserve or enjoy rape than those who did not. These authors proposed that the initial passage primed cognitions or schemata relevant to the stereotype that women want to be raped.

Studies have shown that the portrayal of gender stereotypes in the mass media can prime stereotypes used as schemata. This evidence is important. Because there are so many portrayals of gender stereotypes in the media, stereotyped schemata will be constantly primed. As such, these schemata will become more accessible and the stereotype (schema) will be used much of the time when evaluating subsequent social stimuli. Such an effect may be harmful considering that female stereotypes in the media are often outdated or negative.
Chapter 4

FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

While different types of media effects research focus on various topics and concerns, there is a commonality. Most media effects and priming studies use contemporary media content as stimuli. For example, Tan (1979) and Geis et al. (1984), exposed subjects to current television commercials; Ashton (1983), used contemporary picture books; and Hansen and Hansen (1988) employed current music videos as a stimulus.

However, few, if any, researchers have considered the effects of older television content on individuals in today’s society. With the myriad cable channels available, re-runs of programs from the 50s and 60s are broadcast more than ever before. Because many of these older programs contain a great deal of gender stereotypes, there may be an cognitive influence that has not been considered. This study focuses on older, black-and-white television programs: whether or not they can prime gender stereotype schemata and the
effects that these primed stereotypes may have on subsequent evaluations of social stimuli.

**Color and Black-and-White Media**

Research has shown that bright and warm-colored stimuli are more salient and may seem more realistic to observers. Due to this evidence, some researchers have proposed that people will pay more attention to, and be more influenced by, colored media than black-and-white.

Studies of the effects of color versus black-and-white media are few and inconsistent. Although some researchers have shown that color media are rated more positively (Donohue, 1973; Thurman, Ball, Hammack, & Walker, 1983) and recall of color advertisements is higher than black-and-white (Schaps & Guest, 1968), there is evidence to the contrary.

In a recent study of the effects of color and black-and-white media stimuli on priming, Perse, Pavitt, and Burggraf (1991) found no support for the hypothesis that color media is seen as more salient, more realistic, and more contemporary than black-and-white. Additionally, Thurman and his associates (1983) found that when given the opportunity to watch a television program, more subjects chose to view a
black-and-white version of "The Rookies" than the color version. These researchers suggested that the novelty of the black-and-white version may have increased viewing behavior.

**Priming Effects of Older, Black-and-White Television Programs on Present Society**

To date there are very few examinations of priming effects of color versus black-and-white media, and no media effects research that concentrates on the effects of older, black-and-white television programs on today's society. Although past selective attention research suggests that color media will be more salient and influential, I propose that older, black-and-white programs can prime schemata and these priming effects are important.

One reason that older, black-and-white programs may prime is that they are novel in today's culture. In the early days of color television, color was the novelty and the public saw it as better, more attractive, or more modern (Ferguson, 1991). However, "color tv is so prevalent today that it may be almost passe. Black-and-white tv seems to have gained a slight novelty as a result" (Auter, 1991, p. 20). It
is this novelty or uniqueness that may be salient to
the perceiver which will lead to priming.

Not only are these programs different because
they are in black-and-white, they are novel because of
the content and images presented in the shows. The
vocabulary, clothing, hairstyles, topics, and overall
attitudes presented in older shows differ greatly from
contemporary programs. These distinctions contribute
to the novelty of the stimulus that will increase
salience and increase the probability that it will
prime schemata.

Another reason why older, black-and-white
programs may prime is based on desaturation theory as
discussed by Zettl (1990). According to this theory,
black-and-white images provide less sensual information
and, as such, invite greater psychological
participation from the viewer (Kipper, 1991; Zettl,
1990). Zettl claimed that color attracts the viewer to
"look at" something while black-and-white lures the
viewer to "look into" a stimulus. Because of this
greater participation, the viewer will become more
involved in the event than if they were viewing color
images. Since a stimulus is more likely to prime when
there is high involvement or attention, it can be deduced that black-and-white programs are capable of priming schemata.

**Importance of Priming Effects of Older Programs.** Although gender stereotypes undoubtedly still exist in contemporary media content, they were more obvious and had a higher rate of occurrence in the 50s and 60s. Research has shown that since the 1950s the percentage of women portrayed as housewives, household workers, and clerical workers has decreased, (Dominick, 1979), the number of women in proportion to men has increased (Signorielli, 1989), as has the number of women portrayed as working outside the home (Steenland & Schmidt, 1985).

The fact that these older programs present outdated gender stereotyped images is important. Although priming of schemata is an unconscious process, it had been suggested that conscious recognition that a stimuli is not real may cause the perceiver to dismiss it and therefore not activate a related schema (Hasher & Zacks, 1984). However, some scholars have proposed that such "unrealistic" information may still have an effect on cognitive processes by increasing the
accessibility of that schema for a subsequent priming (Bargh, 1984; Hansen & Hansen, 1988). Older programs that present outdated gender stereotypes may not prime gender stereotype schemata, because they do not seem real or relevant, but may affect chronic accessibility of stereotyped schemata, thus making those schema easier to prime at a later time.

Hansen and Hansen (1988) explained that "the effects of mass media depictions of sex role stereotypic persons and behaviors (even fantasy depictions) appear more insidious and potentially more socially damaging if only because people are not mindful of their impact" (p. 312). In terms of older television content, individuals may consciously discount gender stereotypes because they believe the images to be unreal, while unconsciously increasing chronic accessibility of these gender stereotypes for easier activation at a later time.
Hypotheses

This study will test two specific hypotheses concerning the priming effects of gender stereotypic images of women in the media. Research has shown that gender stereotypes in the media can prime gender stereotype schemata in an individual and that these primed schemata temporarily affect cognitive processing and perceptions of subsequent stimuli. Scholars have found that gender stereotyped portrayals in music videos (Hansen & Hansen, 1988), pornography (Malamuth & Check, 1985), books (Ashton, 1983), and television commercials (Geis et al., 1984; Tan, 1979) can prime gender stereotypes. Moreover, these stereotypes affect cognitive processing and organization of ensuing social stimuli.

Based on social cognitive theory and relevant media effects research the following priming effects are hypothesized:

$H_1$ = Subjects who view a black-and-white television program segment that presents a stereotyped image of women will subsequently:
(a) Express more stereotyped or traditional attitudes towards women,
(b) Choose solutions to problems that are more consistent with a traditional role of women in society, and
(c) Report that an ambiguous photograph is more gender stereotypic than groups that do not view the stereotyped media content.

In addition to research that tested for main effects for priming gender stereotypes, scholars have found main effects in terms of self-schemata. Self-schemata are knowledge structures that aid in the understanding of ourselves and others (McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990). These schemata integrate all information known about the self into a framework which is used in cognitive processing (Markus & Smith, 1981). Self-schemata have been shown to influence judgments of others and heighten priming effects (McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990). Such effects occur because information is processed in terms of schemata that are relevant to ourselves.
In terms of gender self-schemata, Bem (1974) has suggested that gender schemata are relevant to some people and not others. According to Bem’s gender schema theory (1981, 1984), individuals who organize and evaluate stimuli based on gender are considered sex-typed or gender schematic, while non-sex-typed individuals are considerably less prone to process information based on gender.

Based on self-schemata and gender schema research the following main effects are hypothesized:

\( H_1 = \text{Sex-typed or gender schematic subjects will:} \)

(a) Express more stereotyped or traditional attitudes towards women,

(b) Choose solutions to problems that are more consistent with a traditional role of women in society, and

(c) Report that an ambiguous photograph is more gender stereotypic than non-sex-typed or gender aschematic subjects.
Similarly, the following interaction effects are hypothesized based on self-schemata, gender schema, and priming research:

\[ H_3 = \text{Sex-typed or gender schematic subjects who view a black-and-white television program segment that presents a stereotyped image of women will subsequently:} \]

\( (a) \) Express more stereotyped or traditional attitudes towards women,
\( (b) \) Choose solutions to problems that are more consistent with a traditional role of women in society, and
\( (c) \) Report that an ambiguous photograph is more gender stereotypic than sex-typed subjects in all other conditions and all non-sex-typed subjects.
Chapter 5

METHODS

Experimental Design

An experimental design was used to test the influence of black-and-white television programs on subsequent evaluations of women. An experiment was especially useful in this study because: (a) the experimenter can control the priming stimuli and (b) effects are relatively short term. Subjects were randomly assigned to cells in a 2 (gender schematic or gender aschematic) X 4 (stereotyped media content, nontraditional media content, neutral media content, and no exposure control group) design.

Instrumentation

Independent Measure

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory. Because I hypothesized that gender schematic subjects would react differently to the experimental stimuli, gender self-schemata was measured by the Bem Sex-Role Inventory
(BSRI) (Bem, 1974). The BSRI asks subjects to indicate how well they feel each of 60 adjectives describes themselves on a seven-point scale (1 = "never or almost never true," 7 = "always or almost always true"). Twenty of the adjectives represent culture's definition of masculinity, 20 reflect culture's definition of femininity, and 20 are neutral items or fillers (Bem, 1984). The Bem Sex Role Inventory is presented in Appendix A.

The Bem Sex Role Inventory is the most widely used measure of gender orientation and gender self-schemata (McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990). Despite some claims that the BSRI is not a reliable or valid measure of gender orientation (Spence & Helmreich, 1978), past research shows the contrary.

Bem (1974) tested internal consistency of the BSRI by computing coefficient alpha for the Masculinity and Femininity scores of subjects in two separate samples and found scores to be highly reliable in both sample one (Masculinity alpha = .86; Femininity alpha = .82) and sample two (Masculinity alpha = .86; Femininity alpha = .82). Moreover, samples from each of the subject pools were retested after a four week
interval and showed all scores to be highly stable (Masculinity $r = .90$; Femininity $r = .90$; Androgyny $r = .93$) (Bem, 1972).

Scholars have also found the Bem Sex Role Inventory to be a valid measure of assessing differences in gender schematic processing. In a test of the validity of the BSRI and the PRF ANDRO scale (a measure of masculinity and femininity), Larsen and Seidman (1986) found both measures to be "appropriate research tools for distinguishing sex-typed from non-sex-typed individuals" (p. 211).

The masculinity and femininity scores on the BSRI show the extent to which a person believes the typical masculine and feminine adjectives accurately describe themselves. Bem (1974) explains that "Masculinity equals the mean self-rating for all endorsed masculine items, and Femininity equals the mean self-rating for all endorsed feminine items" (p. 158). These two scores are independent of one another. The androgyny score shows the amounts of masculinity and femininity that are included in a person’s self-description. This score is the difference between a person’s masculinity and femininity with respect to the
standard deviations of his or her masculinity and femininity scores (Bem, 1974). The closer a person's androgyny score is to zero, the more that person is androgynous.

The Androgyny score is computed by calculating individual $t$-ratios between each subject's masculine and feminine scores. Bem (1974) explained the Androgyny score as "the difference between an individual's masculinity and femininity normalized with respect to the standard deviations of his or her masculinity and femininity scores" (p. 158). Males who score below -1 and females who score above 1 are considered sex-typed, while females scoring below -1 and males scoring above 1 are classified as reversed sex-typed. Subjects who score between -1 and 1 are considered androgynous, with a score of zero representing a perfect androgynous score (Bem, 1974).

**Dependent Measures**

**The Attitudes Toward Women Scale.** This study's hypotheses predicted that more traditional attitudes toward women would be expressed by subjects primed by the experimental stimuli. Subjects' attitudes about
women were measured with the 15-item version of Spence and Helmreich's (1972, 1978) Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS). Originally a 55-item questionnaire, the Attitudes toward Women Scale measures opinions on the rights and roles of women in different realms of society such as education, employment, intelligence, sexual behavior, and marriage (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973). The Attitudes toward Women Scale has been found to have a Cronbach's Alpha of .94 (Buhrke, 1988). The 15-item version has been found to have a correlation of .91 with the original 55-item scale and a Cronbach alpha of .89 in a sample of college students (Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

The 15-item version consists of statements about women and asks the subject to indicate on a 5-point scale whether he or she: (5) Strongly agrees, (4) Agrees, (3) Agrees some and disagrees some, (2) Disagrees, or (1) Strongly disagrees. Five filler items containing statements about men were added to AWS to mask the intent of the measure or the study. The Attitudes toward Women Scale is presented in Appendix D.
Risk-Taking Scenarios. A second dependent measure of sex-role schemata effects used a set of nine risk-taking scenarios. These "choice dilemmas" are used to study the factors that affect people's choices when they have a risky, but relatively attractive option, versus a sure, but relatively unattractive option.

Each scenario consists of a situation in which the central person must decide between two choices in his or her working life. Subjects indicate on a 7-point scale what they feel the central person should do in his or her situation. Scenarios 1, 3, 5, and 7 were adapted from Kogan and Wallach (1964) and scenarios 2, 4, 6, 8, and 9 were created by Pavitt (C. Pavitt, personal communication, 1992) specifically to measure gender stereotypes (see Appendix E).

In order to adapt these risk-taking scenarios for this study, 42 undergraduate students from two sections of a business communication course pretested risk-taking scenario measures in order to obtain extra credit points. Subjects read the series of nine situations in which a woman must decide between two choices in her working life and indicated on a 7-point
scale which choice they would recommend. The pretest scenarios are presented in Appendix C. The scenarios were pretested to determine if they were a valid measure of assessing gender stereotypes.

Two versions of this measure were used in the pretesting procedure. In the first version, five of the nine women in the scenarios were described using typically masculine traits while the other four were characterized using typically feminine traits. All gender related adjectives were taken directly from the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). The second version was identical to the first except the women described with masculine traits were characterized using feminine adjectives and vice versa.

Nine t-tests determined which scenes differed significantly between the two versions. In other words, the measure was tested to see if the different descriptions of the women made a difference in the subjects recommendation of what choice each woman should make. Eight of the nine scenarios differed significantly in the desired direction ($p < .05$), with four differences highly significant ($p < .001$, see table 5.1). Results showed that, in every scenario but
one, subjects were significantly more likely to recommend a sexist option when the central characters were described with typically feminine adjectives than when they were described with typically masculine adjectives.
Table 5.1
Pretest Mean Choice Scores for Risk Scenarios

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version 1 (n = 26)</th>
<th>Version 2 (n = 18)</th>
<th>t (41)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 2.12</td>
<td>4.50†</td>
<td>t = 7.67***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 5.27†</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>t = 6.46***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 2.07</td>
<td>3.17†</td>
<td>t = 2.64*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 5.19</td>
<td>6.33†</td>
<td>t = 3.72**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 5.88†</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>t = 3.47**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 4.65†</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>t = 1.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 1.88</td>
<td>3.33†</td>
<td>t = 3.29**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 4.85†</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>t = 4.02***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 2.73</td>
<td>5.72†</td>
<td>t = 6.95***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Higher scores indicate more sexist choices.
* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001
† = sexist version
From these results, scenarios 1, 2, 4, 8, and 9 were used to measure gender stereotypes in the main study because they were highly significant and did not contain variables that might have interacted with the stimuli. Gender stereotypes were measured by the five scenarios by describing a woman as the central person, while the remaining scenes were included as filler items with a male as the central person. This was done to mask the intentions of the measure and the study.

**Ambiguous Photograph.** Because the study’s hypotheses predicted that the experimental stimuli would prime more sexist responses, opinions were measured by showing subjects two ambiguous color photographs in which two women or two men look at a rectangular object. Subjects were then asked "In one sentence, please write what you believe they are looking at and discussing" about the photographs of both the men and the women. Because the focus of the study was on priming effects on evaluations of women, only responses to the female photograph were included in analyses. The mens’ photograph was used to mask the intent of the study.
Similar exercises have been used in the past in order to raise awareness of racial and sexual discrimination (Edwards, 1991; Copeland & Griggs, 1987). The photographs were drawn directly from the exercises in the video "Managing Differences". The photographs and questionnaire are presented in Appendix F.

Control Measures

A "television questionnaire" was used to disguise the nature of the study by asking subjects how they felt about different issues related to the television program segments they viewed (see Appendix B). Most of data was not analyzed, however, the questionnaire included some variables relevant to the study. Demographic information such as age, major, and year in school, were used to describe the sample. Attention paid to the stimulus was used to check equivalency of experimental groups. Age of media stimulus was assessed to make sure all subjects saw the stimuli as dated. And, recognition and familiarity with stimulus were measured for possible use as control variables.
Attention to Stimuli. Subjects indicated how much attention they paid to the television program segment. The attention scale was created from items 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 on the television questionnaire. Subjects indicated to what degree they agreed with the following statements: "I paid close attention to the television segments"; "I listened closely to the television segments"; "I watched the television segments carefully"; "I missed parts of the television segments"; "I tried to concentrate when I watched the television segments." (See Appendix B). The measures were adapted from Cegala's (1981) attention dimension of the interaction involvement scale.

Estimation of Stimuli Creation Date. Because the goal of this study was to see if old, less relevant programs affect gender stereotypes, subjects indicated the year they believed the program was made. Subjects were asked: "When do you think this television program was originally made? Please write the year you think the program was made in."

Recognition and Familiarity with Stimuli. Familiarity with the programs was tested to make sure
that it did not affect results. Subjects were asked: "Did you recognize the television program you just saw?" (Yes = 1, No = 2) and "How familiar are you with the television program you just saw?" (1 = not at all familiar, 7 = very familiar).

Main Study

The Bem Sex Role Inventory

Prior to the experiment, subjects were tested in order to determine whether they were sex-typed (gender schematic) or non-sex-typed (gender aschematic) with the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1972).

It should be noted that both androgynous and undifferentiated subjects were considered non-sex-typed because of past research that showed no significant differences between undifferentiated and androgynous subjects in responses to schema-consistent or schema-inconsistent judgments (Bem, 1981). Moreover, reversed sex-typed subjects were considered neither sex-typed nor non-sex-typed because of conflicting results in past analyses (Bem, 1981; Larsen & Seidman, 1986).

Results of the Bem Sex Role Inventory showed that 44.7% of subjects (50 males, 35 females) were sex-
typed, 27.4% (17 males, 35 females) were non-sex-typed, and 16.8% (5 males, 27 females) were reversed sex-typed (See table 5.2). The remaining 11.1% consists of subjects (13 males and 8 females) who did not complete the BSRI and therefore were not included in analyses because their gender orientations were unknown.

Consistent with past results of the BSRI, the majority of subjects are classified as sex-typed while the percentage of non-sex-typed subjects is usually near 30% (Bem, 1974) (see table 5.2). Men (58%) were more likely to be sex-typed than women (42%), and women were more likely to be androgynous (67%) than men (33%) and more likely to be reverse sex-typed (84%) than men (16%): Chi Square (N = 190) = 23.34, p < .001.
Table 5.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender Orientation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex-Typed</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Androgynous</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reversed</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subjects

One hundred ninety undergraduate students were drawn from several communication classes: five sections of "Oral Communication in Business" and one large section of "Introduction to Communication Inquiry." Some of the students participated to fulfill class research requirements while others were given extra credit by course instructors for participation.

Subject pool was made up of 105 females and 85 males whose ages ranged from 19 to 41, $M = 20.7$, $SD = 2.55$. Forty two percent of subjects indicated their major as business, 39% communication, 5% undecided, 5%
agriculture, 2% arts and science, and 7% other. Forty six percent of subjects were college sophomores, 29% juniors, and 25% seniors. Subjects estimated that they watch television an average of 1.7 hours per day ($SD = 1.29$), with a range from 0 to 7.5 hours.

**Procedure**

Subjects were given the opportunity to sign up for experimental times during their classes from March 9, 1992 through March 16, 1992. Stimuli and order of questionnaires were then randomly assigned to groups. Data were collected on weekdays between March 16, 1992 and March 25, 1992 from 9:00 am to 6:00 pm. The number of subjects in each group varied from 1 to 7, with an average group size of 3.5. The final total of subjects in each condition was: stereotype condition, 46; nontraditional condition, 51; neutral condition, 43; and no exposure condition, 50. Chi Square statistics indicated that the different gender schema types were distributed equally among conditions, $\chi^2 = (N = 190) = 7.89$, $p = .54$ (see table 5.3).
Table 5.3

Crosstabulation of Condition by Gender Orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Sex-Typed</th>
<th>Non-Sex-Typed</th>
<th>Reversed*</th>
<th>Unknown*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontraditional</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Exposure</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Not included in hypothesis testing
\[ \chi^2 = (N = 190) = 7.89, \ P = .54 \]

Upon entering the laboratory, subjects were given a chance to get comfortable. The experimenter read a script that introduced subjects to the study (See Appendix G). Subjects were told that they would be participating in two different studies, the first pertaining to their impressions of an 11-minute television clip, while in the second they would help pretest some measures for a study to be completed later in the semester. Subjects then viewed the video on an RCA 19-inch monitor.
Subjects in the no-exposure control condition were told that questionnaires were late and to amuse themselves for a few minutes with the provided innocuous materials like nature magazines, word finds and puzzles, or drawing materials. They waited for the same amount of time it took to view the televised stimuli (approximately 11 minutes).

Subjects then completed the television questionnaire that concerned the video they watched. These questions were used to disguise the intent of the study and asked about subjects' impressions of the people in the videos and how the excerpt made them feel (See Appendix B). Included in this questionnaire were questions to test success of experimental manipulation and questions to identify control variables.

Subjects were then asked to pre-test items for another study. These were the items relevant to this study: The AWS, the risk-taking scenarios, and the questions about the ambiguous photographs. Although questions concerning the photographs were first in every group in order to avoid a priming effect from the other measures, the actual questions concerning the photographs ("describe what the men are looking at" and
"describe what the women are looking at") and the other two measures were counter-balanced to avoid order effects. The no-exposure condition completed only gender-relevant items that were also counter-balanced to avoid order effects.

After completing the study, subjects were debriefed and asked not to talk about the study until data were completed. Subjects were informed that they participated in one study, not two, and that the Bem Sex Role Inventory that they had previously completed was also related to the experiment. The debriefing scripts are in Appendix H.

**Stimuli**

Three media stimuli were used in this study. Because the study focused on the possible priming effects of older television content, the television exposure stimuli were all in black-and-white and originally produced at least 25 years ago. A three-member faculty panel viewed the scenes and judged them to represent what was intended. The stimuli were all taped from cable television (The Family Channel and Nickelodeon) and professionally edited on half-inch video tape to ensure similar quality. Each stimulus
was edited so that the story could be understood while at the same time presenting gender stereotyped, counter-stereotyped, or neutral images.

Subjects were exposed to either: (a) a television program segment that contained gender-stereotypic images, (b) a program segment that contained nontraditional or non-gender-stereotypic images, (c) a neutral program segment, or (d) no exposure to any media stimulus.

The stereotyped television stimulus was a collection of excerpts from *Father Knows Best* entitled "The Good Neighbor" and "Betty Track Star." This television series ran from October, 1954, and April, 1963. The excerpt was 10 minutes, 58 seconds long and portrayed stereotyped images of women. One scene showed the mother admitting that she likes being dependent on her husband, while others portrayed a teenage daughter whose only concern was on beauty and winning a "flower queen" contest.

The nontraditional or nonstereotyped stimulus was an excerpt from *The Patty Duke Show* entitled "That Little Patty Went to Market." This series was originally aired from September, 1963, to August, 1966.
The excerpt was 10 minutes, 57 seconds long and portrayed Patty (a teenager) as an assertive, independent, businesswoman who founds her own company.

The neutral stimulus was an excerpt from Jeff's Collie (the predecessor to Lassie) that aired in 1957. The excerpt was 10 minutes, 56 seconds long and focused on a young boy and his dog who find a sick burro in the woods and, with the help of the town doctor, nurse it back to health.

Subjects in the no-exposure control group were given various activities such as neutral (nonstereotyped) magazines, puzzles, drawing material, or the opportunity to study. The activities did not contain any gender content or stereotypes. These activities served to keep subjects busy for the same amount of time it took to view the televised stimuli.
Control Measure Results

Attention to Stimuli. An attention measure was used to determine if subjects in each condition were interested in the stimuli. The attention scores ranged from 1.0 to 5.8 where "1" = Strongly agree and "7" = Strongly disagree (M = 2.34, SD = 1.02, Cronbach alpha = .88). Item 6 was recoded for consistency throughout the attention measure. Analysis of variance revealed that exposure groups did not differ in attention to the televised stimuli: $F(2, 137) = 1.58$, $p = .21$.

Estimation of Stimuli Creation Date. A stimulus creation date measure was employed to make sure that subjects believed the stimuli to be old. Consistent with the panel's judgment, subjects saw the programs as dated (Stereotyped condition $M = 1957$; Nonstereotyped condition $M = 1958$; Neutral condition $M = 1955$).

Recognition and Familiarity with Stimuli. Recognition of and familiarity with stimuli was measured to make sure that it did not influence
results. Of the subjects who viewed the televised stimuli, 76.4% recognized the program while 23.5% did not. The three exposure groups differed significantly with respect to recognition of the stimulus: Chi Square (N = 140) = 26.47, p < .001. All subjects in the neutral group recognized the stimulus, while only 78% recognized the stimulus in the stereotype group and 54% in the nontraditional.

Analysis of variance revealed that exposure groups differed significantly with respect to familiarity with the program segment they viewed, F (2, 137) = 15.97, p < .001. Subjects in the neutral condition were more familiar with the televised stimuli (M = 3.95) than in the stereotyped (M = 2.89) and nontraditional conditions (M = 2.47). All of the differences in familiarity were due to recognizing the program. An analysis of covariance revealed that when recognition was used as a covariate, there was no main effect for condition F (2,136) = 2.12, p = .12. Therefore, recognition was used as a control variable.
Dependent Measures

The Attitudes Toward Women Scale. Table 5.4 summarizes descriptive statistics of each item on the AWS. Statements 2, 3, 4, 9, 13, 15, and 18 were recoded for analysis so that higher scores reflect more sexist attitudes throughout the scale. Scores of the 15 times were averaged. AWS scores ranged from 1.07 to 3.53 (M = 2.05, SD = 0.52, Cronbach alpha = .83).
Table 5.4 - Means and Standards Deviations on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Swearing is more repulsive in women</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Men should share in household tasks</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>It is insulting to have &quot;obey&quot; in the marriage ceremony</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Women should assume their rightful place in business with men</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>A woman should not expect to have the same freedom as a man</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>It is ridiculous for a woman to dig ditches and a man to mend clothing</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>A woman should be free to propose marriage</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Women should worry less about rights and more about being good wives and mothers</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Intellectual leadership should be in the hands of men</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 5.4, cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*13. Women should be given an equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in various trades</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*15. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>16. Sons should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters</strong></td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17. Fathers should have greater authority in bringing up children</strong></td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>18. Economic and social freedom is worth more to women than the ideal of femininity</em></td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>19. There are many jobs where men should be given preference over women in being hired and promoted</strong></td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Higher scores = more sexist responses

* = item recoded for analysis
Risk Taking Scenarios. The five risk taking scenarios that were chosen as measures of gender schemata were analyzed. Item 9 was re-coded so that higher scores represent more sexist attitudes throughout the measure. Table 5.5 presents the five risk taking scenarios, their means, and standard deviations. The scenarios are presented in Appendix D.
Table 5.5 - Means and Standard Deviations on the Risk Taking Scenarios

| **1.** Alice Andrews is an electrical engineer. She has been working for a large electronics corporation since graduating from college five years ago. She is assured of a lifetime job with a modest, though adequate salary, and liberal pension benefits upon retirement. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that her salary will increase much before she retires. While attending a convention, Alice is offered a job with a small, newly founded company. The new job would pay less to start, but would eventually offer the possibility of a share in the ownership. Do you feel Alice should: Accept the job offer = 1
| Reject the job offer = 7 |

| **2.** Rachel Roberts is married and the mother of two young children. She has been able to obtain a work schedule that has allowed her to share the responsibility of child care equally with her husband. Rachel has just been offered a promotion that will increase her income substantially. However, if she accepts the promotion she will be expected to work longer hours and will no longer be able to share equally in child care. Do you feel that Rachel should: Accept the promotion = 1
| Reject the promotion = 7 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.5, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* 4. Sharon Smith has been a happily married mother for several years. Sharon has recently been offered a new job that would be more interesting and higher paying than her present job. Unfortunately, the company that she would be working for is three hundred miles away from where she and her family are living. Sharon’s husband is happy with his present job and her children enjoy their school, so Sharon does not think that her whole family should move. Therefore, if Sharon accepts the new job, she will have to rent an apartment at that location and be separated from her husband and children during the work week. Do you think Sharon should: Accept the job offer = 1 Reject the job offer = 7</td>
<td>5.82</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 8. For several years, Mary Murphy worked part-time and taken chief responsibility for the care of her two young children while her husband has worked full-time. Mary’s boss wants her to begin working full-time, and Mary finds the idea attractive. However, switching to full-time work would mean that Mary would have to find a daycare arrangement for their children. Do you think Mary should: Switch to full-time = 1 Stay on part-time = 7</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.5, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>1.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* +9. Darlene Dillard has been involved in a long distance relationship with a man for several years. Darlene is considering marrying her boyfriend, but he does not want to marry her unless she gives up her job and moves where he lives.
Do you think Darlene should: Keep her job = 1
Get Married = 7

**Adopted from Kogan and Wallach (1964)
* Adopted from Pavitt (1992)
+ Recoded for analysis
Ambiguous Photograph. Responses to the photograph were coded so that "1" represented a gender stereotyped response, "2" a neutral response, and "3" a counter stereotypical response. A coding scheme was created in order to categorize the responses. Those responses that concerned children, babies, homemaking, cooking, or beauty were coded as gender stereotyped. Responses that indicated the women were looking at and discussing a picture, photograph, or printout without an explanation of the content were coded as neutral. Counter stereotyped responses were those that described the object to be related to business, sports, or money.

Overall, most responses were gender stereotyped (52.1%), fewer were neutral (41.1%), and counter-stereotyped (6.8%). Twenty percent of the responses were recoded for reliability by an independent trained coder with a high percent agreement (93%).

Analysis

Data were analyzed using a 2 (Subject Gender Orientation: Sex-typed or non-sex-typed) x 4 (Stimulus: Stereotyped, nontraditional, neutral, and no-exposure) analysis of variance on the responses to the AWS and
the 5 scenarios with recognition of the stimulus as a covariate. Chi-squares were used to test whether response to the photograph were a function of exposure group. Hypothesized group differences were tested using the planned Bonferroni test of significance. Post-hoc tests using the Scheffe test were done in order to locate any non-hypothesized significant differences between exposure groups.
The purpose of this experiment was to explore how priming gender stereotypic schemata with older television programs influenced attitudes toward women. The results tested three hypotheses:

\[ H_1 = \text{Subjects who view a black-and-white television program segment that presents a stereotyped image of women will subsequently:} \]

(a) Express more stereotyped or traditional attitudes towards women,
(b) Choose solutions to problems that are more consistent with a traditional role of women in society, and
(c) Report that an ambiguous photograph is more gender stereotypic than groups that do not view the stereotyped media content.
H₂ - Sex-typed or gender schematic subjects will:

(a) Express more stereotyped or traditional attitudes towards women,
(b) Choose solutions to problems that are more consistent with a traditional role of women in society, and
(c) Report that an ambiguous photograph is more gender stereotypic than non-sex-typed or gender aschematic subjects.

H₃ - Sex-typed or gender schematic subjects who view a black-and-white television program segment that presents a stereotyped image of women will subsequently:

(a) Express more stereotyped or traditional attitudes towards women,
(b) Choose solutions to problems that are more consistent with a traditional role of women in society, and
(c) Report that an ambiguous photograph is more gender stereotypic than sex-typed subjects in all other conditions and all non-sex-typed subjects.
Hypothesis 1a predicted that older television programs would prime stereotypic attitudes toward women as measured by the AWS. Analysis of covariance revealed a near significant main effect of condition: $F(3, 125) = 2.55, p < .06$. Planned Bonferroni tests comparing the group means did not support Hypothesis 1a (see Table 6.1). While subjects in the stereotyped condition ($M = 2.03$) responded in a more sexist manner than the no-exposure condition ($M = 1.99$), this difference was not significant, $t(73) = 1.63, p = .11$. Subjects in the stereotyped condition responded in a less sexist manner ($M = 2.03$) than those in the nontraditional ($M = 2.11$) and neutral ($M = 2.19$) conditions however, these differences, too, were not significant (see table 6.1).

Post-hoc Scheffe tests comparing group means identified two, non-hypothesized significant differences. AWS scores for the neutral condition ($M = 2.19$) were significantly higher than those in the no-exposure condition ($M = 1.99$), $t(63) = 2.61, p < .01$, and responses in the nontraditional condition were
nearly significantly higher than those in the no-exposure, \( t(73) = 1.93, p < .06 \). Thus, hypothesis 1a was not supported.

Table 6.1
AWS Means by Condition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped</td>
<td>2.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontraditional</td>
<td>2.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>2.19a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Exposure</td>
<td>1.99a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Higher scores reflect more sexist responses. Means sharing similar subscripts significantly different by Scheffe, \( p < .01 \).

Risk Taking Scenarios

Hypothesis 1b predicted that the older, stereotyped television program would prime subjects to chose a more sexist solution for the women in the scenarios than subjects in the other conditions. A significant main effect for condition was found in scenario 1, \( F(4, 127) = 3.63, p < .02 \); however, no main
effects were found for condition in scenarios 2, 4, 8, and 9.

Planned Bonferroni tests comparing group means for scene 1 revealed that the subjects in the stereotype condition were significantly less likely to choose a sexist solution ($M = 2.20$) than the subjects in the no-exposure condition ($M = 2.93$), $t(63) = 3.46, p < .001$, and responses in the stereotyped condition were nearly significantly less sexist ($M = 2.20$) than those in the nontraditional condition ($M = 2.45$), $t(69) = 1.94, p < .06$ (see table 6.2). Although responses in the stereotype condition were also lower than those in the neutral condition ($M = 2.35$), this difference was not significant $t(59) = 0.31, p = .75$. Because these results were counter to predictions, Hypothesis 1b was not supported.

The post-hoc Scheffe tests comparing group means for scene 1 also revealed that scores in the no-exposure condition ($M = 2.93$) were significantly more sexist than those in the stereotyped ($M = 2.20$), $t(63) = 2.29, p < .02$, nontraditional ($M = 2.45$), $t(73) = 2.85, p < .005$, and neutral ($M = 2.35$), $t(63) = 3.46, p < .001$ conditions.
Table 6.2
Risk Taking Scenario Means by Condition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Scenario 1</th>
<th>Scenario 2</th>
<th>Scenario 4</th>
<th>Scenario 8</th>
<th>Scenario 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped</td>
<td>2.20&lt;sub&gt;Ab&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>5.63</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontraditional</td>
<td>2.45&lt;sub&gt;b&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>6.05</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>3.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>2.35&lt;sub&gt;b&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>6.10</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Exposure</td>
<td>2.93&lt;sub&gt;A&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>5.97</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Higher scores reflect more sexist responses. Groups sharing common upper-case subscripts differ significantly by planned Bonferroni tests. Groups not sharing common lower-case subscripts significantly different by Scheffe.
Hypothesis 1c predicted that subjects in the stereotype condition would be more likely to report that the women in the ambiguous photograph were looking at something gender stereotypical, such as children, families, or clothing, than subjects in the other three conditions. A significant main effect for condition was found on responses to the photograph, $\chi^2 (N = 190) = 14.67, p < .02$ (See Table 6.3). Subjects in the nontraditional condition were the least likely to judge the photograph in a gender stereotypic manner (47%) as compared to the stereotyped (52%), neutral (58%), and no-exposure (52%) conditions.

Interestingly, subjects in the stereotype condition were more likely (15%) to indicate a counter-stereotypical response than those in the nontraditional (9%), neutral (2%), and no-exposure (0%), conditions. However, because subjects’ responses in the stereotype condition were not significantly more gender stereotypic than those in the other conditions, Hypothesis 1c was not supported.
Table 6.3
Crosstabulation of Photograph Responses by Condition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gender Stereotyped</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Counter-Stereotyped</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped</td>
<td>24 (53%)</td>
<td>15 (32%)</td>
<td>7 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontraditional</td>
<td>24 (47%)</td>
<td>22 (44%)</td>
<td>5 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>25 (58%)</td>
<td>17 (40%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Exposure</td>
<td>26 (52%)</td>
<td>24 (48%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $\chi^2 (N = 190) = 14.67, p < .02$

Hypothesis 2

The Attitudes Toward Women Scale

This study was based on the notion that subjects' gender schema would affect their reactions to black-and-white television program segments. Hypothesis 2a predicted that sex-typed subjects would be more likely to choose more sexist responses to the AWS than non-sex-typed subjects. A significant main effect was found for gender orientation, $F(1, 125) =$
9.937, p < .002, with sex-typed subjects responding in a significantly more sexist manner (M = 2.18) than non-sex-typed subjects (M = 1.92) (see table 6.4). Therefore hypothesis 2b was supported.

TABLE 6.4
Means on the AWS by Gender Orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex-Typed</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Sex-Typed</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Higher scores reflect more sexist responses

Risk Taking Scenarios

Hypothesis 2b predicted that sex-typed subjects would indicate a more sexist choice for the women in the five scenarios than non-sex-typed subjects. A near significant main effect for gender was produced in scenario 8, F(1, 127), p < .06, with sex-typed subjects responding in a more sexist way (M = 3.29) than non-sex-typed subjects (M = 2.77). Sex-typed subjects were less likely to endorse a more sexist solution in scenario 1, F (1, 128) = .26, and in scenario 4, F (1, 128) = .68 than non-sex-typed subjects, but the
differences were not significant, $p = .61$ and $p = .41$, respectively. Although sex-typed subjects were more likely to endorse a more sexist solution than non-sex-typed subjects in scenario 2, the difference was not significant, $F(1, 128) = .24, p = .62$, as was the case in scenario 9, $F(1, 128) = 1.40, p = .24$. Thus, Hypothesis 2b was not supported.

**TABLE 6.5**

_Scenario Means by Gender Orientation_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Sex-Typed</th>
<th>Non-Sex-Typed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scenario 1</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenario 2</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>3.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenario 4</td>
<td>5.87</td>
<td>6.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenario 8</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenario 9</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Higher scores reflect more sexist responses
Photograph

Hypothesis 2c predicted that sex-typed subjects will report that an ambiguous photograph of women is more gender stereotypic than non-sex-typed subjects (see table 6.6). It was found that responses of sex-typed subjects did not differ significantly from those of non-sex-typed subjects: \( \chi^2 (N = 190) = 1.85, p = .93 \). Therefore, Hypothesis 2c was not supported.

Table 6.6
Photograph Responses by Gender Orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender Orientation</th>
<th>Sex-Typed</th>
<th>Non-Sex-Typed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender Stereotyped</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter Stereotyped</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: \( \chi^2 (N = 190) = 1.85, p = .93 \)
Hypothesis 3

The Attitudes Towards Women Scale

This study was grounded on the idea that older, stereotyped television program clips would prime gender self-schemata in sex-typed subjects. Therefore, Hypothesis 3a predicted a 2-way gender orientation by condition interaction where sex-typed subjects who viewed an older, gender stereotyped, television program would choose more sexist responses than sex-typed subjects in the other three conditions and non-sex-typed subjects in all conditions. Inconsistent with the hypothesis, there was no significant gender by condition interaction effect on AWS scores, \( F(3, 125) = 0.11, p = 0.95 \) (see table 6.7).
Table 6.7
AWS Means by Condition and Gender Orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Sex-Typed</th>
<th>Non-Sex-Typed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontraditional</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Exposure</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Higher scores reflect more sexist responses

Risk Taking Scenarios

Hypothesis 3b predicted that exposure to older, gender stereotyped, television programs would prime sex-typed subjects to choose more sexist responses in the risk taking scenarios than sex-typed subjects in the other three conditions and non-sex-typed subjects. A significant gender by condition interaction effect was found in scenario 8, $F(3, 127), p < .02$, and scenario 9, $F (3, 128) = 3.27, p < .02$; however, the 2-way interactions were not consistent with hypotheses (see table 6.8). While the sex-typed subjects in the
stereotype condition were more likely to choose the sexist option than non-sex-typed subjects in scenario 8, they were no more likely to do so than subjects in the neutral and no-exposure conditions. However, in the nontraditional condition, sex-typed subjects choose the less sexist option while non-sex-typed subjects responded in a more sexist manner.

Scenario 9 revealed that responses of sex-typed subjects in the neutral condition were significantly more sexist than in any other condition. No significant gender by condition interaction effects were found in scenarios 1 ($F[3,128] = 1.40, p = .25$), 2 ($F[3,128] = 0.52, p = .67$), or 4 ($F[3,128] = 0.23, p = .88$); so, Hypothesis 3b was not supported.
Table 6.8

Risk Taking Scenario Means on Gender Orientation x Condition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Scenario 1</th>
<th></th>
<th>Scenario 2</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sex-Typed</td>
<td>Non-Sex-Typed</td>
<td>Sex-Typed</td>
<td>Non-Sex-Typed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontraditional</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>3.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>3.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Exposure</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Higher scores reflect more sexist responses
TABLE 6.8, cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Scenario 4</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Scenario 8</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sex-Typed</td>
<td>Non-Sex-Typed</td>
<td>Sex-Typed</td>
<td>Non-Sex-Typed</td>
<td>Sex-Typed</td>
<td>Non-Sex-Typed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>5.69</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontraditional</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>6.10</td>
<td>6.09</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Exposure</td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td>6.23</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Higher scores reflect more sexist responses
### TABLE 6.8, cont.

#### Scenario 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Sex-Typed</th>
<th>Non-Sex-Typed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontraditional</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>3.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Exposure</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Higher scores reflect more sexist responses
Photograph

Hypothesis 3c stated that sex-typed subjects are more likely to judge an ambiguous photograph of women as gender stereotypic than sex-typed subjects in the other three conditions as well as non-sex-typed subjects. Crosstabulations of sex-typed subjects by condition revealed no significant differences, \( \chi^2 (N = 85) = 6.20, p = .40 \) (see table 6.9). Similar nonsignificant findings from crosstabulations of non-sex-typed subjects by condition, \( \chi^2 (N = 52) = 2.64, p = .85 \) indicate no interaction effects (see table 6.10); therefore, Hypothesis 3c was not supported.
Table 6.9
Crosstabulation of Photograph Responses by Condition for Sex-Typed Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Stereotyped</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Counter-Stereotyped</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontraditional</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Exposure</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $\chi^2 (N = 85) = 6.20, \ p = .40$

Table 6.10
Crosstabulation of Photograph Responses by Condition for Non-Sex-Typed Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Stereotyped</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Counter-Stereotyped</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontraditional</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Exposure</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $\chi^2 (N = 52) = 2.64, \ p = .85$
Social cognition theories hold that individuals need to simplify and categorize social stimuli in order to process information. Central to social cognition theory are schemata, which are cognitive structures organized into a framework that contain people's beliefs about ideas and situations and help them understand their social environment (Hamilton, 1981; Roloff & Berger, 1982). Individuals organize, process, and retrieve social information based on the schemata that are activated or primed (Rumelhart, 1984).

One of the most frequently accessed categories of schemata are self-schemata. Self-schemata develop with repeated associations of the self with certain ideas or concepts (Markus & Smith, 1981; McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990). Information is processed in terms of schemata that are relevant to ourselves. One type of self-schemata is the gender schema.

A gender schema is a cognitive structure used to process information based on sex-linked associations.
which are used to evaluate social stimuli (Bem, 1981, 1984; Edwards & Spence, 1987). A gender schema will become a self-schema if gender has become an important concept to an individual. Those people who are gender schematic and use gender self-schemata in social evaluations are considered sex-typed while those who are gender aschematic are non-sex-typed. Because gender stereotypes are prevalent in our society, gender schemata may be biased or contain gender stereotypes that will be used in evaluating people if the schema is activated.

Studies have shown that the mass media can prime gender stereotype schemata (Geis et al., 1984; Hansen & Hansen, 1988; Malamuth & Check, 1985). Due to the pervasiveness of gender stereotypes in the mass media, especially in older, black-and-white television programs (Dominick, 1979; Reep & Dambrot, 1988; Signorielli, 1989), it is likely that gender stereotype schemata will be activated and used in subsequent evaluations.

The purpose of this study was to explore the effects of priming gender stereotypic self-schemata with older, black-and-white television programs on
people's attitudes toward women and judgments about ambiguous females. While most hypotheses were not supported, post-hoc tests found significant differences other than those predicted.

Hypothesis 1 predicted a main effect for condition such that subjects who viewed a television clip that showed gender stereotypes would express more sexist views than subjects in the other conditions. This hypothesis was not supported. Post-hoc tests revealed, however, that subjects in the neutral conditions indicated significantly more sexist responses than those in the no-exposure condition on the AWS. Moreover, subjects in the no-exposure condition were significantly more likely to choose a sexist option on scenario 1 than subjects in all of the remaining conditions. Finally, subjects in the nontraditional condition were the least likely to judge the photograph in a gender stereotypic manner, while those in the neutral condition were most likely.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that sex-typed subjects would respond in a more sexist manner on measures than non-sex-typed subjects. This hypothesis was supported by scores on the AWS, but not on the scenario or risk-
taking measures. Although sex-typed subjects were more likely to endorse more sexist solutions in many of the risk-taking scenarios, the differences were not significant. Similarly, responses of sex-typed subjects to the photograph did not differ significantly from those of non-sex-typed subjects.

Hypothesis 3 predicted an interaction effect such that sex-typed subjects that viewed the gender stereotyped program would subsequently evaluate women in a more sexist manner than sex-typed subjects in other conditions and all non-sex-typed subjects. This hypothesis was not supported. No significant gender by condition interaction effects were found on the AWS and three of the risk-taking scenarios. While a significant interaction effect was found on scenarios 8 and 9, results were counter-theoretical.
Discussion and Implications of Findings

Can Non-Relevant Stimuli Prime Self-Schemata?

One of the fundamental questions driving this study was whether or not older, black-and-white television programs can prime. Previous research indicates that stimuli must be "relevant" or salient to an individual in order to prime related schemata (Markus & Smith, 1981). Repeated exposure, congruity with perceiver's beliefs, as well as how real perceiver believes the stimulus to be have an influence on the salience or relevance of a stimulus (Berkowitz & Rogers, 1986; Malamuth & Check, 1985).

Most media effects and priming studies have used relevant, contemporary media content as stimuli such as current television commercials (Geis et al., 1984; Lipka, 1992; Tan, 1979) and current music videos (Hansen & Hansen, 1988). Very few, if any, research has concentrated on the possible priming effects of older television content, probably because the content and images presented in older shows seemed irrelevant to people in today's society.

Results of this study indicate that although subjects saw the older, black-and-white television
programs as dated, the programs were not dismissed by experimental subjects as irrelevant. Significant differences among means on the AWS, some risk-taking scenarios, and responses on the photograph measure suggest that the black-and-white programs primed some schemata, perhaps gender schemata, although not in the hypothesized direction and in different degrees depending on the content of the program.

There are a few explanations as to why the older, black-and-white programs primed schemata. Research has shown that a stimulus is more likely to prime when there is high involvement or attention. Older, black-and-white programs are novel in today's society because of the black-and-white film as well as the different clothing, vocabulary, and hairstyles (Auter, 1991; Thurman, 1983). This novelty may have made such programs salient to the viewer and increased attention.

Further, it has been shown that black-and-white film invites greater psychological participation from the viewer (Auter, 1991; Zettl, 1990). These factors, along with the fact that subjects in every exposure condition indicated that they paid a high amount of
attention to the stimuli (perhaps because they were in an experimental setting and encouraged to do so), lead to salience of stimuli and an opportunity for that stimuli to prime schemata.

**Do Gender Self-Schemata Affect Reactions to Media Content?**

Past research indicates that sex-typed or gender schematic individuals evaluate social stimuli in a more gender stereotyped manner than non-sex-typed individuals. This is explained by the idea that sex-typed people have gender self-schemata and use these schemata in their cognitive processes, whereas non-sex-typed individuals are far less likely to organize information according to gender (Bem, 1981, 1984; Edwards & Spence, 1987).

Results of the effects of exposure condition on the AWS support the hypothesis that the older, black-and-white program segments primed sex-typed subjects to be more sexist than non-sex-typed subjects. Sex-typed subjects responded in a significantly more sexist manner on the AWS than non-sex-typed subjects. However, similar support was not found on the risk-
taking scenario or photograph measures. There is a possible explanation for these findings.

The AWS measure asked subjects their opinions about real women and their roles in today's society. The risk-taking scenarios, however, described fictitious women in hypothetical situations. Similarly, the women in the photograph were also unreal in that they were obviously models posing for a picture. It is possible that activated gender schemata in sex-typed subjects were offset when evaluating the scenarios and photograph because they knew they were unreal.

Past research has found that conscious recognition that a priming stimulus is not real may override the activation of a schema (Hasher & Zacks, 1984). In the same respect, it is possible that conscious recognition that a subsequent stimulus to be appraised is unreal may outweigh or nullify an activated schema. Therefore, sex-typed subjects might not use gender self-schemata when evaluating the hypothetical women in the scenarios if they realized they were fictitious, and hence did not respond in a more sexist manner than non-sex-typed subjects.
Do Older, Televised, Stereotyped Images Affect Attitudes Toward Women?

Based on theories discussed above, it was hypothesized that subjects who viewed a black-and-white television program segment that presented a stereotyped image of women would subsequently respond in a more sexist manner than subjects in the other three conditions. Contrary to predictions, subjects' mean responses in the stereotype condition did not differ significantly from any of the other conditions on the AWS. Surprisingly, post-hoc tests found that the responses in the neutral exposure condition were significantly more sexist than those in the no-exposure group.

Although a significant main effect for condition was found in scenario 1, results did not support the hypothesis. Post-hoc tests revealed that subjects' responses in the no-exposure group were significantly more sexist and more risky than those in the stereotype, nontraditional, and neutral conditions.

Similar to the findings on the AWS, results of the photograph measure were counter-theoretical. Subjects in the neutral condition were the most likely
to indicate that the women in the photograph were looking at and discussing something considered gender stereotypic, while subjects in the nontraditional group were the least likely to indicate a stereotyped response.

A possible explanation for subjects' sexist responses in the neutral condition may be found in the stimulus itself. As previously discussed, the neutral stimulus was an excerpt from Jeff's Collie (later to be known as Lassie), that focused on the nurturing abilities of a young boy as he helped a sick burro. It is likely that this was not a valid "neutral" stimulus and may, in fact, have had more priming potential than the stereotyped stimulus Father Knows Best.

Although the program focused on a young boy and an animal, he displayed many characteristics that are typically considered feminine such as caring for and nurturing a sick creature. These images may have primed schemata that contain concepts such as "nurturing," "caring" and "women." Such a primed schema might cause subjects to believe the sexist notion that women are best when they are nurturing and
supportive (like mothers and wives) rather than independent and aggressive (such as business people).

It is somewhat more difficult to explain why subjects in the no-exposure condition responded in a more sexist way than those subjects in all other conditions. Because these results appeared only in scenario 1, it is possible that there was some interaction between the content of the scenario and the televised stimuli. Further, the fact that this occurred on the first scenario on the questionnaire may be meaningful. Perhaps subjects who viewed the television segments were a bit more relaxed than those who were kept waiting for 11 minutes. Maybe this influenced subject’s initial responses on the questionnaires.

Do Self-Schemata Interact with Older, Irrelevant Media Content?

Gender schema theory holds that sex-typed subjects use gender self-schemata when evaluating social stimuli, while non-sex-typed subjects do not. Given this, an interaction effect was hypothesized such that an older, television program that presents a stereotyped image of women would prime sex-typed
subjects to respond in a more sexist manner than sex-typed subjects in other conditions and non-sex-typed subjects in all conditions.

Results did not support this hypothesis. Although the difference was not significant, the sex-typed subjects in the neutral condition responded in a more sexist manner on the AWS than sex-typed subjects in the other three conditions and all non-sex-typed subjects. Again, this may be due to the fact that that the "neutral" televised stimulus may have been more effective in priming gender schemata than the stimulus in the stereotype condition.

Similar results occurred in scenario 9 where a significant gender orientation by condition interaction effect was found. In the stereotype, nontraditional, and no-exposure conditions, sex-typed and non-sex-typed subjects' responses were nearly the same. However, in the neutral condition, the sex-typed subjects responses were considerably more sexist than non-sex-typed subjects. An explanation for this finding may be found in the scenario itself.

Scenario 9 describes a woman who has been involved in a long distance relationship with a man for
several years. Although they both want to marry, he will only do so if she quits her job and moves to where he lives. The choice to be made, therefore, is whether to keep her job and be independent, or get married and be supportive and nurturing of her new husband. Once again, the nurturing content of the Jeff's Collie stimulus may have influenced sex-typed subjects to believe that people (in this case, a woman) should be supportive and helpful, therefore endorsing the solution of marriage and moving over keeping the job.

Another significant interaction effect was found in scenario 8 where subjects were asked to indicate whether or not a woman should switch to full-time work and place her children in daycare. Sex-typed subjects' responses were more sexist than those of non-sex-typed subjects in every condition except for the nontraditional. Oddly, sex-typed subjects who viewed the nontraditional stimulus responded in a less sexist manner than non-sex-typed subjects in that condition and sex-typed subjects in all other conditions. Moreover, responses of non-sex-typed subjects in the nontraditional condition were more sexist than the sex-
typed subjects in the same condition and the non-sex-typed subjects in all other conditions.

Such findings may be related to the interaction of the content of scenario 8 and the content of the nontraditional stimulus. The excerpts from The Patty Duke Show focused on a young woman starting her own business and doing whatever necessary to make it work. Possibly the content of this stimulus did not prime gender stereotype schemata and may, in fact, have influenced sex-typed subjects to feel that, in certain situations, women should do whatever necessary to succeed in business.

A second explanation for the less sexist responses of sex-typed subjects in the nontraditional condition comes from social judgment literature (Sherif & Hovland, 1961; Simpson & Ostrom, 1976). Focused on impression formation, this argument holds that the extremity of the priming stimulus and the ambiguity of the target to be judged plays a critical role in the subsequent evaluation (Herr, Sherman, & Fazio, 1983). A moderately extreme stimulus with an ambiguous target generally leads to an assimilation effect where the target is evaluated as part of the primed group. An
extreme prime with both unambiguous and ambiguous targets to be appraised generally leads to contrast effects, where the evaluation of the target is inversely related to the priming stimulus.

It is possible that because the Patty Duke stimulus was moderate and the risk-taking scenarios were ambiguous that an assimilation effect occurred in sex-typed subjects. The Father Knows Best and Jeff's Collie stimuli, however, may have been more extreme primes that resulted in a contrast effect. Therefore, the scores in the nontraditional conditions were significantly different from those in the other groups.

However, the question still remains why the non-sex-typed subjects responded in a more sexist manner in the nontraditional condition than sex-typed subjects in that condition and non-sex-typed subjects in all other conditions. In its most basic form, gender schema theory holds that sex-typed subjects have gender schemata and non-sex-typed do not. Therefore, non-sex-typed subjects' responses should not change as a result of a primed stimulus because there is little or no gender schema to prime.
It may be possible that non-sex-typed subjects saw the Patty Duke stimulus as more extreme than the sex-typed, therefore causing a contrast effect where sex-typed subjects had an assimilation effect. While similar, nonsignificant results were found in scenarios 1 and 2, scenario 8 may have been the best measure of such an effect.

Finally, it is also possible that the Patty Duke segments were also a good prime for a "risk" schema because it showed her taking a risk by starting her own business. Maybe sex-typed and non-sex-typed subjects differ in terms of this type of schema. In the nontraditional condition only, non-sex-typed subjects consistently suggested a more sexist (hence a less risky) option than did sex-typed subjects. It is possible that sex-typed people are more apt to believe that taking a risk is good than non-sex-typed people and therefore suggested a riskier (yet less sexist) option.

Methodological Limitations

As this study progressed, several methodological limitations became apparent. First, while the AWS is the most widely used measure of
people's opinions of women's roles in society and is consistently valid and reliable, the risk-taking scenarios and the photograph measures have never been used as measures of attitudes toward women. Although the scenario pre-test results indicated that the measure was valid, it is possible that the validity of the measure changed when the descriptions of the women were omitted and the male scenarios were added.

In addition, it is possible that the risk-taking scenarios measured the amount of risk the central person, male or female, should take rather than measuring sexist views. Perhaps subjects concentrated more on the riskiness of each scenario as opposed to "what a woman should do" and "what a man should do." Possibly sex-typed and non-sex-typed subjects differ in how much risk they feel people should take.

Second, the photograph measure may have been biased because the women were smiling and laughing, which may have given the impression that they were looking at and discussing something more lighthearted and personal, rather than something serious and businesslike. Consequently, both sex-typed and non-sex-typed subjects may have felt that the women were
discussing something more personal, hence, more gender stereotypic.

Third, analysis of results overwhelmingly demonstrated that the segments from Jeff's Collie were not a good neutral stimulus. While no blatant sexist images of women were presented, in fact few images of women were shown in the entire segment, this program was the most effective prime of gender schemata. As previously discussed, the typically feminine characteristics such as nurturing and caring most likely activated gender schemata because of the stereotypic link with women. Future research might use a nature program as a neutral stimulus and pretest more extensively each stimulus condition.

Finally, no measure for realism (for both the stimulus and the targets to be evaluated) was employed. Past research and results of this study suggest that the extremity of the stimulus and the ambiguity (or reality) of the targets to be appraised play a big role in priming effects. Both concepts needed to be measured in order to fully comprehend results.
Directions for Future Research

Considering some of the unexpected findings in this study, the following suggestions for further research are in order. First, research is needed to determine if conscious recognition that a target to be appraised in unreal will nullify or offset an activated schema or schemata. Results of this study indicate that perhaps this is the case. Sex-typed subjects responded in a significantly more sexist manner than non-sex-typed subjects when evaluating the roles of real women on the AWS. However, when subjects evaluated women they knew to be hypothetical and unreal, responses of sex-typed subjects were not more sexist than non-sex-typed, suggesting that gender stereotype schemata were not employed.

A second direction for future research concerns the interaction of gender orientation and assimilation and contrast effects. Research has shown that the extremity of the prime stimulus and the ambiguity of the target to be appraised affects whether assimilation or contrast effects will occur. Some results of this study suggest that sex-typed subjects and non-sex-typed subjects may differ in how extreme they believe the
prime stimulus to be. After viewing the segments from The Patty Duke Show, assimilation effects seemed to occur for sex-typed subjects while contrast effects apparently occurred in non-sex-typed subjects. Further research might investigate the importance of gender orientation on contrast and assimilation effects.

Third, researchers interested in gender schema activation might look at the interaction of gender orientation and the inclination to take or recommend risk. Results of the risk-taking scenario measure in the nontraditional condition suggest that sex-typed people may be more likely to endorse a risky option than non-sex-typed individuals. It would be interesting to see if there is such a connection between gender orientation and risk.

Fourth, future research might investigate why the seemingly innocuous segments from Jeff's Collie primed gender stereotype schemata more than did the blatant stereotyped images of women in Father Knows Best. Although some possible explanations were discussed above, these effects are very interesting and deserve further attention. It is possible that
programs we believe to be harmless and wholesome may actually be affecting people in very unexpected ways.

A final direction for research concerns the effects of black-and-white programs compared with color programs. While time and resources did not allow it, the original goal of this study was to test the effects of the same television programs in black-and-white and color. It would be interesting to discover if these older programs (Jeff’s Collie in particular) may activate gender stereotype schemata because stereotyped images are expected in black-and-white programs.

Conclusions

Despite some of the inconsistent findings in this study, several general conclusions can be made. First, it was determined that media, even older, seemingly outdated media can prime. While this older content may not seem threatening, it may be adding dimensions or reinforcing existing stereotypes with its outdated content and views of women. Further, it is the presumably harmless older media that seem to be the most effective in activating, and therefore, sustaining gender stereotypes.
Second, this study is just one of many that supports the theory that activated gender schemata affect subsequent evaluations of people. Significant differences between sex-typed and non-sex-typed subjects on the AWS indicate that gender schemata were used by one group and not by the other.

Third, it is encouraging to see that even though sex-typed subjects were more sexist in most measures, the scores overall were skewed toward the non-sexist side of the scales. These overall nonsexist answers may be a result of the sample, which consisted of college students. These subjects may be better educated and less sexist or maybe they just knew to respond in a "politically correct" fashion.

As I conclude this study, I look back to the original reasoning for examining the effects of gender stereotyped images in older, black-and-white television programs. While at times this topic seemed irrelevant to today’s society, in the end I still believe in its worth. This study, among others, shows that gender stereotypes play a role in our cognitive processes and can be activated even by stimuli that seem irrelevant,
devoid of gender stereotypes, and harmless to present day society.

This finding is somewhat discouraging since the perpetuation of gender stereotypes generally affects women in a negative way. Negative stereotypes and preconceptions of women may be so interwoven into our society by our culture, values, government, and media that, unless greater changes occur, escape may be impossible and effects imminent. How these changes will come about and what can be done to unravel and discard negative gender stereotypes from society are the next, and more important questions to be answered.
REFERENCES


Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. (1972). The Attitudes toward Women Scale: An objective instrument to measure attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. JSAS Catalog of Selected Documents in psychology, 2, 66.


APPENDIX A

Bem Sex Role Inventory
On the following pages, you will find a series of adjectives that some people use to describe themselves. Please rate how well you think each of these adjectives describes you. Please make your rating on a scale from 1 (if you feel the adjective is never or almost never true about you) to 7 (if the adjective is always or almost always true about you). Feel free to use any number between 1 and 7. For example, if you feel that the adjective is hardly at all like you, you might rate it a 2 or 3. If you feel that the adjective is mostly true about you, rate it a 5 or 6.

I will answer any inquiries you may have concerning this study. The results of this study will contribute to our scientific knowledge, but will probably have no direct benefits or risks to you as a participant. The study should take about 15 minutes to complete.

All responses will be confidential. While we must ask you to sign this page, do not write your name or social security number on the response form. In all probability, the responses will be used in research reports presenting statistical data, but all personally identifying material will be removed. You are free to discontinue participation at any time prior to the completion of the project.

Charles Pavitt
Project Director

I have read the above and give my consent to participate in this study.

Name ___________________________ Date _______________
Indicate below how well each of the characteristics describes yourself by circling the appropriate number.

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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ 54. Unsystematic..</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 55. Competitive....</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† 56. Loves children.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ 57. Tactful........</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 58. Ambitious......</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† 59. Gentle.........</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ 60. Conventional...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* = masculine</td>
<td>† = feminine</td>
<td>■ = neutral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

Television Content Questionnaire
The purpose of this study is to assess your reactions to short segments of a television program. On the following pages are a series of questions about the television segments you just saw. The first set of questions asks a few things about your media habits. Please write your responses directly on the questionnaire.

The second set of questions is a series of statements. Please write your responses directly on the questionnaire. Please rate each of these statements on a scale from 1 (if you strongly agree with the statement) to 7 (if you strongly disagree with the statement). Feel free to use any number between 1 and 7. For example, if you moderately agree with a statement you might rate it a 3. If you moderately disagree with a statement you might rate it a 5.

For the next series of questions, mark the number that represents your feelings about the television segment you just saw. Please answer each question on a scale from 1 (extremely) to 7 (not at all). Please feel free to use any number between 1 and 7.

I will answer any inquiries you may have concerning this study. The results of this study will contribute to our scientific knowledge, but will probably have no direct benefits or risks to you as a participant.

All responses will be confidential. While we must ask you to sign this page, do not write your name or social security number on the response form. In all probability, the responses will be used in research reports presenting statistical data, but all personally identifying material will be removed. You are free to discontinue participation at any time prior to the completion of the project.

Lisa Holderman
Project Assistant

I have read the above and give my consent to participate in this study.

Name (PLEASE PRINT) ___________________________ Date ___________________________

Name (PLEASE SIGN) ___________________________
Yesterday, about how many hours of television did you watch?  

_______ hours yesterday

You may not have watch the same amount of TV yesterday that you usually do. About how many hours of television do you usually watch on the average weekday?  

_______ hours average weekday

Did you recognize the television program you just saw? (Please circle your response).

Yes  No

How familiar are you with the television program you just saw? (Circle the best answer).

not at all  1  2  3  4  5  6  7 very familiar

IF YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH THIS TELEVISION PROGRAM, how much do you like it? (Circle the best answer).

Very much  1  2  3  4  5  6  7 Not at all

When do you think this television program was originally made? Please write the year you think the program was made in.

_____________________

How old are you, as of your last birthday?

_____________________

What is your major?  ________________________________

Please circle to indicate your sex.

Male  Female

Please circle your class in school:

Freshman  Sophomore  Junior  Senior  Other
Please circle the number that best represents your feelings about the following statements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The people in the television segments seemed like natural, down-to-earth people..............1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. For the most part, the people in the segments were attractive..............1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I paid close attention to the television segments..............1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I listened closely to the television segments..............1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I watched the television segments carefully..............1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I missed parts of the television segments..............1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I tried to concentrate when I watched the television segments..............1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The people in the television segments made me feel comfortable, as if I'm with friends..............1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the next series of questions, please circle the number that represents your feelings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extremely</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

9. How absorbing were the segments?.................1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. How eventful were the segments?.................1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. How demanding were the segments?.................1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. How boring were the segments?.................1 2 3 4 5 6 7
13. How cognitively involving were the segments?.............1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. How interesting were the segments?...............1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. How pleasant were the segments?...............1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. How positive were the segments?...............1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. How good were the segments?...............1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. How warm were the segments?...............1 2 3 4 5 6 7

For this next set, mark the number that most closely represents your feelings about the television program.

19. impersonal __:__:__:__:__:__:__ personal

20. insensitive __:__:__:__:__:__ sensitive

21. cold __:__:__:__:__:__:__ warm

22. sociable __:__:__:__:__:__ unsociable

23. active __:__:__:__:__:__ passive
Now, here are a few questions about you.

Yesterday, about how many hours of television did you watch?

_________ hours yesterday

You may not have watch the same amount of TV yesterday that you usually do. About how many hours of television do you usually watch on the average weekday?

_________ hours average weekday

How old are you, as of your last birthday?

_____________________

What is your major?

_____________________

Please circle to indicate your sex.

Male          Female

Please circle your class in school:

Freshman  Sophomore  Junior  Senior  Other
APPENDIX C

Risk-Taking Scenarios (Pre-test)

Versions 1 and 2
On the following pages, you will find a series of situations that are likely to occur in one's working life. The central person in each situation is faced with a choice between two alternative choices of action. For each situation on the following pages, you will be asked to indicate the extent to which you feel that person would choose each of the two courses of action based on what you know about her.

You will be asked to make your choice on a seven-point scale. Feel free to use any point on the scale. For example, imagine that the central person has to choose between Alternatives A and B. If you are fairly sure that Alternative A is better you might want to mark 2. Instead, if you lean slightly toward Alternative B, you might want to mark a 5.

Alternative A  
1  2  3  4  5  6  7  

Alternative B  

Read each description of the person and situation carefully before giving your judgment. There are nine situations in all. Please do not omit any of them.

I will answer any inquiries you may have concerning this study. The results of this study will contribute to our scientific knowledge, but will probably have no direct benefits or risks to you as a participant. The study should take about ten minutes to complete.

All responses are confidential. While we must ask you to sign this page, do not write your name or social security number on the following pages. In all probability the responses will be used in publications and research reports presenting statistical data, but all personally identifying material will be removed. You are free to discontinue participation at any time prior to the completion of the project.

Elizabeth Perse  
Project Director
I have read the above and give my consent to participate in this study.

Name

Date
Version 1

1. Alice Andrews is an aggressive, independent woman. She has been working for a large electronics corporation since graduating from college five years ago. She is assured of a lifetime job with a modest, though adequate salary, and liberal pension benefits upon retirement. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that her salary will increase much before she retires. While attending a convention, Alice is offered a job with a small, newly founded company. The new job would pay less to start, but would eventually offer the possibility of a share in the ownership.

Given what you know about Alice, do you feel she would:

Accept the job
offer 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Reject the job
offer

2. Rachel Roberts is an understanding, gentle, feminine woman who is married and has two young children. She has been able to obtain a work schedule that has allowed her to share the responsibility of child care equally with her husband. Rachel has just been offered a promotion that will increase her income substantially. However, if she accepts the promotion, she will be expected to work longer hours and will no longer be able to share equally in child care.

Given what you know about Rachel, do you feel she would:

Accept the Promotion
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Reject the Promotion


3. Linda Littell, a competitive, assertive, forceful, thirty-year old research physicist, has been given a five-year appointment by a major university laboratory. As she contemplates the next five years, she realizes that she might work on a difficult, long-term problem which, if a solution could be found, would resolve basic scientific issues in the field and bring high scientific honors. On the other hand, she could, as most of her professional associates are doing, work on a series of short-term problems where solutions would be easier to find, but where the problems are of lesser scientific importance.

Given what you know about Linda, do you feel she would:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do the</th>
<th>Do the</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short-Term Project</td>
<td>Long-Term Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Sharon Smith is an individualistic, ambitious, happily married mother with an assertive personality. Sharon has recently been offered a new job that would be more interesting and higher paying than her present job. Unfortunately, the company that she would be working for is three hundred miles away from where she and her family are living. Sharon’s husband is happy with his present job and her children enjoy their school, so Sharon does not think that her whole family should move. Therefore, if Sharon accepts the new job, she will have to rent an apartment at that location and be separated from her husband and children during the work week.

Given what you know about Sharon, do you think she would:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accept the</th>
<th>Reject the</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>job offer</td>
<td>job offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Helen Helson is a loyal, tender, woman with traditional values. She is a college senior and has studied the piano since childhood. She has won amateur prizes and given small recitals, suggesting that Helen has considerable musical talent. As graduation approaches, Helen has the choice of going to business school, which would lead to financial rewards, or entering a conservatory of music to become a professional pianist, a profession that would bring great satisfaction.

Given what you know about Helen, do you think she would:

Study Music
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Study Business

6. Wendy Wilson is a sensitive, tender, feminine woman. She and her husband are about to become parents of twins. They both work for the same corporation, which has a special parental leave policy for their circumstance. One of them can go on parental leave at no loss of income, but if the other also goes on leave, the other is only paid fifty percent of their income. Wendy’s husband is definitely going to go on parental leave, and Wendy has to decide whether to go on leave also.

Given what you know about Wendy, do you think she would:

Stay at Work
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Go on Leave

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7. Jennifer Jones is an analytical, ambitious woman who is willing to take risks. She is currently a college senior who wants to pursue graduate study in chemistry leading to the Doctor of Philosophy degree. She has been accepted by both Big University and Small College. Big University has a world-wide reputation for excellence in chemistry and a degree from Big University would signify outstanding training in this field. However, the standards are very rigorous and Jennifer would have to work extremely hard at the expense of her other interests and any social life. Small College, on the other hand, has much less of a reputation in chemistry and the degree has much less prestige, but Jennifer would have the time to pursue other interests and maintain a social life.

Given what you know about Jennifer, do you think she would go to:

Small 
College  

Big University

8. Mary Murphy is a warm, sympathetic, childlike person. For several years, Mary has worked part-time and taken chief responsibility for the care of her two young children while her husband has worked full-time. Mary’s boss wants her to begin working full-time, and Mary finds the idea attractive. However, switching to full-time work would mean that Mary would have to find a daycare arrangement for their children.

Given what you know about Mary, do you think she would:

Switch to Full-time  

Stay on Part-time
9. Darlene Dillard is a self-reliant, forceful woman who is always willing to take a stand. She has been involved in a long distance relationship with a man for several years. Darlene is considering marrying her boyfriend, but he does not want to marry her unless she gives up her job and moves to where he lives.

Given what you know about Darlene, do you think she would:

Get Married

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Keep her Job

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Version 2

1. Alice Andrews is an understanding, gentle, feminine woman who loves children. She has been working for a large electronics corporation since graduating from college five years ago. She is assured of a lifetime job with a modest, though adequate salary, and liberal pension benefits upon retirement. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that her salary will increase much before she retires. While attending a convention, Alice is offered a job with a small, newly founded company. The new job would pay less to start, but would eventually offer the possibility of a share in the ownership.

Given what you know about Alice, do you feel she would:

Accept the offer
Reject the offer

2. Rachel Roberts is an aggressive, independent woman who is married and has two young children. She has been able to obtain a work schedule that has allowed her to share the responsibility of child care equally with her husband. Rachel has just been offered a promotion that will increase her income substantially. However, if she accepts the promotion, she will be expected to work longer hours and will no longer be able to share equally in child care.

Given what you know about Rachel, do you feel she would:

Accept the Promotion
Reject the Promotion
3. Linda Littell, a shy, soft-spoken, feminine, thirty-year-old research physicist, has been given a five-year appointment by a major university laboratory. As she contemplates the next five years, she realizes that she might work on a difficult, long-term problem which, if a solution could be found, would resolve basic scientific issues in the field and bring high scientific honors. On the other hand, she could, as most of her professional associates are doing, work on a series of short-term problems where solutions would be easier to find, but where the problems are of lesser scientific importance.

Given what you know about Linda, do you feel she would:

Do the Short-Term Project

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Do the Long-Term Project

4. Sharon Smith is a loyal, tender, happily married mother with traditional values. Sharon has recently been offered a new job that would be more interesting and higher paying than her present job. Unfortunately, the company that she would be working for is three hundred miles away from where she and her family are living. Sharon’s husband is happy with his present job and her children enjoy their school, so Sharon does not think that her whole family should move. Therefore, if Sharon accepts the new job, she will have to rent an apartment at that location and be separated from her husband and children during the work week.

Given what you know about Sharon, do you think she would:

Accept the job offer

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Reject the job offer
5. Helen Helson is an individualistic, ambitious woman with an assertive personality. She is a college senior and has studied the piano since childhood. She has won amateur prizes and given small recitals, suggesting that Helen has considerable musical talent. As graduation approaches, Helen has the choice of going to business school, which would lead to financial rewards, or entering a conservatory of music to become a professional pianist, a profession that would bring great satisfaction.

Given what you know about Helen, do you think she would:

Study Music
_____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ Study Business
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Wendy Wilson is an analytical, ambitious woman who is willing to take risks. She and her husband are about to become parents of twins. They both work for the same corporation, which has a special parental leave policy for their circumstance. One of them can go on parental leave at no loss of income, but if the other also goes on leave, the other is only paid fifty percent of their income. Wendy's husband is definitely going to go on parental leave, and Wendy has to decide whether to go on leave also.

Given what you know about Wendy, do you think she would:

Stay at Work Go on Leave
_____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7. Jennifer Jones is a sensitive, tender, feminine woman. She is currently a college senior who wants to pursue graduate study in chemistry leading to the Doctor of Philosophy degree. She has been accepted by both Big University and Small College. Big University has a worldwide reputation for excellence in chemistry and a degree from Big University would signify outstanding training in this field. However, the standards are very rigorous and Jennifer would have to work extremely hard at the expense of her other interests and any social life. Small College, on the other hand, has much less of a reputation in chemistry and the degree has much less prestige, but Jennifer would have the time to pursue other interests and maintain a social life.

Given what you know about Jennifer, do you think she would go to:

Small
College

Big
University

8. Mary Murphy is a self-reliant, forceful woman who is always willing to take a stand. For several years, Mary has worked part-time and taken chief responsibility for the care of her two young children while her husband has worked full-time. Mary's boss wants her to begin working full-time, and Mary finds the idea attractive. However, switching to full-time work would mean that Mary would have to find a daycare arrangement for their children.

Given what you know about Mary, do you think she would:

Switch to
Full-time

Stay on
Part-time
9. Darlene Dillard is a warm, sympathetic, childlike person. She has been involved in a long distance relationship with a man for several years. Darlene is considering marrying her boyfriend, but he does not want to marry her unless she gives up her job and moves to where he lives.

Given what you know about Darlene, do you think she would:

- Get married
- Keep her job
APPENDIX D

Attitudes toward Women Scale
On the following pages you will find some questions that focus on attitudes towards the roles of people in society that different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. Please write your responses directly on the questionnaire.

I will answer any inquiries you may have concerning this study. The results of this study will contribute to our scientific knowledge, but will probably have no direct benefits or risks to you as a participant.

All responses will be confidential. While we must ask you to sign this page, do not write your name or social security number on the response form. In all probability, the responses will be used in research reports presenting statistical data, but all personally identifying material will be removed. You are free to discontinue participation at any time prior to the completion of the project.

Elizabeth Perse
Project Director

I have read the above and give my consent to participate in this study.

Name (PLEASE PRINT)  Date

Name (PLEASE SIGN)
The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the roles of people in society that different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. Please express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you (5) strongly agree, (4) agree, (3) agree some and disagree some, (2) disagree, or (1) strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree Some &amp; Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. It is insulting to have the &quot;obey&quot; clause remain in the marriage service.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Men should be as responsible as women in child rearing.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Agree Some &amp; Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. It is ridiculous for a woman to dig ditches and for a man to mend clothing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Men deserve higher salaries because they must support their families</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Men are as sensitive and caring about emotional problems as women</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Women should be given an equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Men should take the time to open doors and carry packages for women</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Agree Some &amp; Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Men should protect women, no matter what the circumstance</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E

Risk-Taking Scenarios
The following are a series of situations that are likely to occur in one's working life. The central person in each situation is faced with a choice between two alternative choices of action. For each situation, you will be asked to indicate the extent to which you would recommend to that person that he or she choose each of the two courses of action.

You will be asked to make your choice on a seven-point scale. Feel free to use any point on the scale. There are nine situations in all. Please do not omit any of them.

1. Alice Andrews is an electrical engineer. She has been working for a large electronics corporation since graduating from college five years ago. She is assured of a lifetime job with a modest, though adequate salary, and liberal pension benefits upon retirement. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that her salary will increase much before she retires. While attending a convention, Alice is offered a job with a small, newly founded company. The new job would pay less to start, but would eventually offer the possibility of a share in the ownership.

Do you feel Alice should:

Accept the job offer

Reject the job offer

1  2  3  4  5  6  7
2. Rachel Roberts is married and the mother of two young children. She has been able to obtain a work schedule that has allowed her to share the responsibility of child care equally with her husband. Rachel has just been offered a promotion that will increase her income substantially. However, if she accepts the promotion, she will be expected to work longer hours and will no longer be able to share equally in child care.

Do you feel that Rachel should:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accept the Promotion</th>
<th>Reject the Promotion</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

3. Lawrence Littell, a thirty-year old research physicist, has been given a five-year appointment by a major university laboratory. As he contemplates the next five years, he realizes that he might work on a difficult, long-term problem which, if a solution could be found, would resolve basic scientific issues in the field and bring high scientific honors. On the other hand, he could, as most of his professional associates are doing, work on a series of short-term problems where solutions would be easier to find, but where the problems are of lesser scientific importance.

Do you feel Lawrence should:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do the Short-Term Project</th>
<th>Do the Long-Term Project</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
4. Sharon Smith has been a happily married mother for several years. Sharon has recently been offered a new job that would be more interesting and higher paying than her present job. Unfortunately, the company that she would be working for is three hundred miles away from where she and her family are living. Sharon's husband is happy with his present job and her children enjoy their school, so Sharon does not think that her whole family should move. Therefore, if Sharon accepts the new job, she will have to rent an apartment at that location and be separated from her husband and children during the work week.

Do you think Sharon should:

Accept the job offer

Reject the job offer

5. Howard Helson, a college senior, has studied the piano since childhood. He has won amateur prizes and given small recitals, suggesting that Howard has considerable musical talent. As graduation approaches, Howard has the choice of going to law school, which would lead to financial rewards, or entering a conservatory of music to become a professional pianist, a profession that would bring great satisfaction.

Do you think Howard should:

Study Music

Study Business
6. William Wilson and his wife are about to become parents of twins. They both work for the same corporation, which has a special parental leave policy for their circumstance. One of them can go on parental leave at no loss of income, but if the other also goes on leave, the other is only paid fifty percent of their income. William's wife is definitely going to go on parental leave, and William has to decide whether to go on leave also.

Do you think William should:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stay at Work</th>
<th>Go on Leave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

7. Joseph Jones is currently a college senior who wants to pursue graduate study in chemistry leading to the Doctor of Philosophy degree. He has been accepted by both Big University and Small College. Big University has a worldwide reputation for excellence in chemistry and a degree from Big University would signify outstanding training in this field. However, the standards are very rigorous and Joseph would have to work extremely hard at the expense of his other interests and any social life. Small College, on the other hand, has much less of a reputation in chemistry and the degree has much less prestige, but Joseph would have the time to pursue other interests and maintain a social life.

Do you think Joseph should go to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small College</th>
<th>Big University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
8. For several years, Mary Murphy has worked part-time and taken chief responsibility for the care of her two young children while her husband has worked full-time. Mary's boss wants her to begin working full-time, and Mary finds the idea attractive. However, switching to full-time work would mean that Mary would have to find a daycare arrangement for their children.

Do you think Mary should:

Switch to Full-time  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Time
Stay on Part-time

9. Darlene Dillard has been involved in a long distance relationship with a man for several years. Darlene is considering marrying her boyfriend, but he does not want to marry her unless she gives up her job and moves to where he lives.

Do you think Darlene should:

Get Married  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
Keep her Job
APPENDIX F

Ambiguous Photographs and Questionnaire
Please look at the photograph of the two women that is enclosed in your questionnaire.

In one sentence, please write what you believe they are looking at and discussing.

Now, please look at the photograph of the two men.

In one sentence, please write what you believe they are looking at and discussing.
APPENDIX G

Introduction to Study Script
Thank you for coming.

You will be helping us out with two studies today.

In the first study, we will be asking about your impressions of some television clips.

Please make yourself comfortable and watch this 11-Minute segment as if you were watching a video at home.

Now, in this second study, we would like you to help us pre-test some measures to be used in a later study. Please fill out these short questionnaires.
Debriefing Script for Stereotype Condition

You have just participated in an experiment concerning the effects of gender stereotyped portrayals in older television programs. According to my theoretical perspective, exposure to gender stereotypes in the media may prompt people to think and evaluate things in a more gender stereotypic manner. You did not participate in two different studies. Both were part of one study designed to see if the television clips led you to think gender stereotypic thoughts. Although this effect is only temporary, it is important that you are aware that the program you viewed contained stereotyped images of women and that these images may influence your thinking in further encounters.

The questionnaire that you completed in your class last week is also related to this study. That survey was used to measure your gender orientation (masculine, feminine, or androgynous) in order to determine how the televised stimuli affects different types of people. Please do not talk about this experiment to anyone.
Debriefing Script for Nontraditional Condition

You have just participated in an experiment concerning the effects of gender stereotyped portrayals in older television programs. According to my theoretical perspective, exposure to gender stereotypes in the media may prompt people to think and evaluate things in a more gender stereotypic manner. You did not participate in two different studies. Both were part of one study designed to see if the television clips led you to think gender stereotypic thoughts. You were part of one of the control groups. The segments you saw showed counter-stereotypical images of women and it is not expected that they will lead you to think more stereotypically.

The questionnaire that you completed in your class last week is also related to this study. That survey was used to measure your gender orientation (masculine, feminine, or androgynous) in order to determine how the televised stimuli affects different types of people. If you would like to know your score on the sex-role inventory, I would be happy to tell you after this study is completed. Please do not talk about this experiment to anyone.
Debriefing Script for Neutral Condition

You have just participated in an experiment concerning the effects of gender stereotyped portrayals in older television programs. According to my theoretical perspective, exposure to gender stereotypes in the media may prompt people to think and evaluate things in a more gender stereotypic manner. You did not participate in two different studies. Both were part of one study designed to see if the television clips led you to think gender stereotypic thoughts. You were part of one of the control groups. The segments you saw did not include any gender stereotypes, therefore, it is not expected that they will lead you to think more stereotypically.

The questionnaire that you completed in your class last week is also related to this study. That survey was used to measure your gender orientation (masculine, feminine, or androgynous) in order to determine how the televised stimuli affects different types of people. If you would like to know your score on the sex-role inventory, I would be happy to tell you after this study is completed. Please do not talk about this experiment to anyone.
Debriefing Script for No Exposure Condition

You have just participated in an experiment concerning the effects of gender stereotyped portrayals in older television programs. According to my theoretical perspective, exposure to gender stereotypes in the media may prompt people to think and evaluate things in a more gender stereotypic manner. You were part of the no exposure control group and therefore did not view any televised stimuli.

The questionnaire that you completed in your class last week is related to this study. That survey was used to measure your gender orientation (masculine, feminine, or androgynous) in order to determine how the televised stimuli affects different types of people. If you would like to know your score on the sex-role inventory, I would be happy to tell you after this study is completed. Please do not talk about this experiment to anyone.