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Measures of Source Credibility of Male and Female Counterparts of a Traditionally Sex-typed Job

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Measures of Source Credibility
of Male and Female Counterparts
of a Traditionally Sex-typed Job

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Communication
and the
Faculty of the Graduate College
University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
University of Nebraska at Omaha

by
Joy Scott
April 1990

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Acceptance for the faculty of the Graduate College,
University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, University of
Nebraska at Omaha.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine what, if any, perceived differences in source credibility may exist between male and female counterparts of traditionally sex-typed occupations. The traditionally male job used in this study was that of commercial airline pilot. The occupation of airline flight attendant was used for the traditionally female job. Particular attention was paid to the nontraditional groups of female pilots and male flight attendants.

Subjects were asked to respond on the McCroskey-Jenson semantic differential scale for source credibility to one of four descriptions of a person's job and educational/work experience background. Two identical descriptions, except for gender changes in the name and grammar, were used for the pilot. The same was done for the two flight attendant descriptions.

The results of this study indicate that there were no significant differences in perception of job performance between male and female pilots, nor between male and female flight attendants. This indicates that a more widespread acceptance of cultural desegregation may exist than previously documented.

DEDICATION

To my husband, Craig, who was never too worn out to be my computer trouble-shooter, my sounding board and my numbers expert. And who showed he believed in me with his three magic words of, "Go for it."

Also to my parents, who helped in ways too numerous to count.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Wanzienried who very patiently advised me through this study, even from across the country when my husband's job required that my family and I move. Dr. Gillespie and Dr. Cowdin also deserve credit for taking time out from busy schedules to be on my committee. Without their guidance and moral support this work would not have been possible.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this study to investigate perceptions of source credibility of public service employees as an indicator of cultural change in the United States.

Source credibility is an indispensable quality for people whose jobs are in direct public service. It is not enough to be able to do the job well. These employees must be perceived by the public as being competent and of "good" character. They must also have personalities with some degree of sociability, extroversion and composure. (McCroskey and Wheelless, 1976)

Mainstream culture in the United States has been changing in regard to gender roles and employment patterns of both men and women. Traditional sex-role tasks in both the domestic and public aspects have shifted and are no longer so clearly defined or accepted. This creates perceptual problems as members of the population acculturate to this new wave of cultural change at different rates or do

not become accustomed to change at all.

As Charles U. Larson of the University of Minnesota put it:

Each of us goes through such cultural training seeing values demonstrated, and as a result we adopt the values. They become rules for governing ourselves as we interact. We do not even notice that they are there. We respond instinctively to them... It lurks beneath our surface thoughts and acts. (1989, p. 224)

Larson goes on to explain that this cultural training is why persuasive messages using tactics which exemplify the old views of the "man's man" and the "woman's woman" (Larson, 1989, p. 237) are still so effective. He also states that "credibility is culturally dependent." (p. 239) This may be why people who cross the boundaries of tradition and enter into sex-role-inconsistent occupations often have problems establishing and maintaining credibility.

For this study the public service occupations of commercial airline pilot and commercial airline flight attendant were chosen because they need high ratings of source credibility. If enough of the public population does not feel safe with perceived competency of an airline's pilots, or likewise if enough of the public feel they receive "bad" service from the flight attendants, the airline will lose business. The public's perceptions of these occupations are also affected by shifts in the distribution of male and female employees as more men enter

the traditionally female role of flight attendant, and more women enter the traditionally male role of pilot. Public attitudes toward the first entrants into highly sex segregated occupations may vary from full discrimination to acceptance.

For the person in a role-inconsistent occupation, that is, for the female pilot, or for the male flight attendant, high ratings of source credibility may be difficult to attain. Pearson documented this problem in her 1982 study in which she says,

Receivers may view men as more competent when they are presenting messages which are consistent with a stereotypical role, but may view women as more competent when they are speaking on traditionally female topics. (p. 4)

One way to explore the extent of acceptance of the current social change is by examining the attitudes people have toward employees in nontraditional occupations. This thesis will investigate perceptions of credibility of men and women in the airline industry who many social scientists term "token." A person is of token status if s/he belongs to a social group which comprises less than 15 percent of the overall population of any group. Therefore, females have token status in the occupation of pilot, and males have token status in the occupation of flight attendant.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review of the literature encompasses three general areas: cultural context, tokenism and source credibility.

Cultural Context

It is a cross-cultural universal that adult roles have been allocated on the basis of sex. (Bem, 1981a) However, the "modern world has had to adapt to almost complete legal and sexual equality in less than a decade." (Tannyhill, 1980, p. 422) Because of the advances in technology, machines now do most of the heavy physical work. Strength is no longer an issue for most jobs. Also, many women now choose when to have children and how many they want, if any. Women are having fewer children, and children are spending much of their time in school and day care. Women can also expect to live longer after their last child leaves home than at any other time in history. (Geile, 1977; Eakins and Eakins, 1978) For reasons such as these, it is possible for men and women to do each other's jobs. (Katz, 1986; Leder, 1986; Geile, 1977; Eakins and Eakins, 1978; Leder, 1986)

Physical and legal limitations to androgynous (not sex-stereotyped) lifestyles are disappearing faster than cultural norms can adapt. (Tannyhill, 1980; Priest, Prince, and Vitters, 1978; DeFleur and Gillman, 1978) For example,

women in the military receive pay, status and benefits equal to their male counterparts, yet they are "exposed to a very traditional, masculine environment." (DeFleur et al., 1985 p. 196) Although women have had success in the work force, they have by no means achieved a balance in their workload. Many women are merely adding their career goals onto an already full domestic schedule, with all its traditional roles.

The culture, in general, has been based on occupational segregation. Domestic occupations such as child care and housekeeping have been perceived as women's work, as opposed to an individual's (male or female) or couple's work. In 1974, for example, male child care workers comprised only four percent of the total number of child care workers in this country. (U.S. News and World Report, 1971) And only fifteen percent of elementary school teachers in 1979 were men. (Phillips, 1979)

In a study of house-spouses, subjects' impressions were less positive in describing male homemakers. Homemakers of either sex were viewed more positively when successfully pursuing activities beyond child care and housekeeping. (Rosenwasser et al., 1985)

Men have been traditionally allocated the role of financial supporter whereas women have been traditionally allocated the role of emotional supporter. (Thomas and Durning, 1978) These traditional attitudes still persist to

some extent. For example, in a study of college students, Marsha Katz (1986) found that female students expected to be more involved in their careers than male students expected females to be.

On the other hand, Powell, Posner and Schmidt (1982) found that women were more likely than men to give up a home function when it conflicted with a job function. Peruci (1968) found that differences in work values between men and women disappeared when they came from the same educational background and held the same kind of job.

Although relatively few in number, some men and women are entering into nontraditional occupations. Studies show that people's attitudes may change more slowly than expected, so that those in nontraditional jobs may experience some lack of acceptance from the majority of society. (U.S. News and world Report, 1971; Philips, 1979; Rosenwasser et al., 1985; Thomas and Durning, 1978; Katz, 1986) The most common theory used to describe the problems encountered by the men and women in role-inconsistent occupations is called tokenism.

Tokenism

The theory of tokenism attempts to explain the effects of highly skewed social groupings, particularly in the corporate environment. A highly skewed social grouping in an organization is one in which there is a very large group

of one type of employees, and a very small group of another type of employees. The difference between the groups may be based on sex, race, disability or other readily visible difference that both groups acknowledge.

Tokenism theory predicts that the smaller "token" group will take on subordinate roles to the larger, dominant group. The theory further predicts that this will create problems for the token in terms of getting a job done, in promotions, and in job stress and satisfaction.

Rosabeth Moss Kanter coined the term "tokenism" from her studies of corporate structures, processes, and interventions. In looking at corporations she found that "men far outnumbered women in all of the groups studied." (Kanter, 1977, p. 208) She proposed that it was the social ratio, and not maleness or femaleness, that encouraged men to play "proactive, task-oriented leadership roles" and women to "take reactive, emotional and nurturant postures." (Kanter, 1977, p. 208) She also proposed that any social group which finds itself in such highly skewed ratios would take on subordinate roles to the dominant population.

Kanter identified four groups by proportional representation. Tokens fall into the most highly skewed ratio of 85:15. That is, token groups are social groups which vary from the dominant group by sex, race, ethnicity, or other physical, readily visible characteristic, and which make up 15 percent or less of the overall population. The

other types of groups she identified are: the uniform group, which has only one significant type of social group; the balanced group, in which the two social groups are in 50:50 to 60:40 ratio; and the tilted group, which is in the ratio of approximately 65:35.

Further research has substantiated Kanter's claims. A study of hospital tokenism looked at male nurses and female physicians. (Floge and Merrill, 1986); Yoder and Sinnett (1985) also documented tokenism issues in another study of male and female tokens who were full-time employees of three concession stands.

Since the government opened the military academies and many of the military occupations to women, there have been many studies done specifically on female tokens in these work environments. These studies also substantiate tokenism theory. Yoder, Adams, Grove, and Priest (1985), for example, studied the first and second class of women to enter West Point. Safilios-Rothschild (1978) studied the integration of women into the U.S. Coast Guard.

Tokenism as a theory can also explain perceptions of people outside the organization. In this case, the dominant group is defined as the social group with traditional views and interpretations of what men and women do for occupations. The token group is the social group of men and women who have crossed the traditional boundaries into traditionally sex-typed occupations.

From this perspective, a major problem that tokens have is not being recognized as holding that position by people outside the organization. Bonnie Tiburzi, the first woman to become a pilot in the major airlines, has been mistaken for a flight attendant, a purser, and a bus driver. (1984, p. 164) Other early-hire woman pilots had similar experiences. One woman pilot was mistaken for a bellhop in a hotel lobby by a guest who instructed her to take some luggage to a taxi. Another woman was doing her preflight check at Miami airport and was accosted by security police. (Tiburzi, 1984, p. 165) As Tiburzi describes,

It simply didn't occur to people that we could possibly have anything to do with flying the plane. They were unaware that there were such things as female airline pilots or even that there ever might be any. How could they cope with the reality of us when we almost didn't exist? By the end of 1973 there were, in this equality-conscious land of opportunity, exactly four of us. And one in Canada. (Tiburzi, 1984, p. 166)

Occasionally, passengers voice doubts about women's ability in such positions. Jeanne Schnackenberg, a first officer with United, has had a few passengers tell her that, had they known there was a woman pilot on the flight deck, they would have gotten off the airplane. (Seidenman and Spanovich, March, 1988) Dana Kothe, a captain of a YS-11 aircraft also found that she had to prove her competence continually in her flying career. (Seidenman and Spanovich, March, 1988)

Male tokens in traditionally female-dominated occupations have encountered very similar kinds of prejudices as the female tokens in traditionally male-dominated occupations have. Studies that have verified consumer and co-worker prejudice against male child care workers are Gordon and Draper (1982) and Draper and Gordon (1984). Hesselbart (1977) found prejudices against male nurses.

In an attempt to explain these prejudices against male workers, Feinman (1981) suggested that viewing "sex of behavior and sex of actor as status variables with male as the higher-status behavior and actor is a useful way of thinking about the evaluation of behavior." (p. 297) Thus, males are often perceived as high-status actors, and occupations such as housewife are often perceived as low-status positions. This perceived miss-match may account for the low acceptance rate of males who exhibit cross-sex-role behavior.

Rosenwasser, Gonzales and Adams (1985) supported this hypothesis of devaluation of male house-spouses as high-status performers in low-status roles.

Source Credibility

According to McCroskey and Young (1981), source credibility is a "very important element in the communication process, whether the goal of the

communication effect be persuasive or the generation of understanding." (p. 24) The beginning of awareness of source credibility goes back to the ancient rhetorical scholars, particularly the Greek philosopher, Aristotle, who described ethos, or ethical proof. He cited a person's character as being "the most effective means of persuasion he possesses." (Aristotle, 1941, 1356a, lines 12-14, in Pearson, 1982, p. 1) He also described three dimensions of ethos: intelligence, character, and good will. (McCroskey and Young, 1981)

Research over the past few decades has acknowledged the multi-dimensionality of source credibility and has attempted to enumerate these dimensions.

Larson, for example, focuses on three major dimensions: 1) expertise or competence, which refers to the source's knowledge and experience in relation to the topic addressed; 2) trustworthiness, sometimes also referred to as safety or personal integrity, which refers to the perceived sincerity of the source; and 3) dynamism or image, which refers to the source's attractiveness, power, forcefulness and energy. (Larson, 1989)

Pearson (1982) concurred with these three, and included a fourth: coorientation. This is "the extent to which the source and receiver can establish and maintain a similarity of ideas, beliefs and experiences." (p. 1)

Other researchers have worked with five dimensions: competence, character, sociability, extroversion, and composure. (McCroskey and Jenson, 1975) These dimensions are the ones that have been chosen for this study because they have been used extensively and show a high internal reliability. (McCroskey and Young, 1981)

Competence "refers to the degree to which a person is perceived to be knowledgeable or expert on the subject matter under discussion." (McCroskey and Wheelless, 1976, p. 102) This construct attempts to determine whether a person is perceived to be qualified, reliable, believable, intellectual, expert, valuable and informed. People who are not perceived to be competent in their jobs may be ostracized. As noted in the discussion of tokenism, female pilots have had to content with this problem. (Seidenman and Spanovich, March, 1988)

According to McCroskey and Wheelless, character is of equal or even greater importance than competence as a dimension of source credibility because it centers on the element of trust. (1976) A person may be recognized as being very knowledgeable, or competent, on a topic, but if the receiver does not trust this person to tell the truth s/he will be perceived as having little credibility. (McCroskey and Wheelless, 1976) The bipoles which make up the dimension of character are: kind-cruel, sympathetic-unsympathetic unselfish-selfish, and

virtuous-sinful. Because of the amount of contact with the public, flight attendants in particular would be affected by perceptions of this dimension since sympathy and kindness are important aspects of passenger care.

Sociability is another dimension of credibility which is especially important in interpersonal communication. It "refers to the degree that we perceive another person to be friendly, likeable, and pleasant." (McCroskey and Wheelless, 1976, p. 104) And just as people who are perceived to be sociable are sought out more often for dyadic communication than those who are perceived as not being sociable, consumers will also choose companies whose employees are perceived as being more pleasant and sociable. This is the reasoning behind the billions of dollars spent by companies on public relations every year. Sociability bipoles are: Friendly-unfriendly, cheerful-gloomy, irritable-good-natured, and sociable-unsociable.

The fourth dimension, composure, "refers to the degree of emotional control that we perceive another person to have." (McCroskey and Wheelless, 1976, p. 104) While composed individuals are usually considered more credible, overly composed individuals may create an impression of being cold and unfriendly. This delicate balance is obviously necessary in the perceptions of both pilots and flight attendants who are expected to be calm and poised but not cold or unfriendly. Composure bipoles are:

Excitable-composed, calm-anxious, tense-relaxed, and poised-nervous.

The last dimension of the McCroskey-Jenson credibility scale is extroversion. Bold, talkative and out-going extroverts are generally perceived to be more credible than shy introverts. But here again, there is the possibility of too much extroversion in which case the receiver has a lower perception of credibility. (McCroskey and Wheelless, 1976) Meek-aggressive, verbal-quiet, introverted-extroverted, bold-timid and silent-talkative are the bipoles for extroversion. Here again the perception of pilots and flight attendants need to be balanced. Pilots, for example, are in charge of the aircraft, and as such cannot be perceived so meek as to not be able to handle an emergency situation, nor perceived as so aggressive as to be pushy and inconsiderate of the passengers.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to determine what, if any, perceived differences in source credibility may exist between male and female counterparts of a sex-role identified job. That is, the objective is to discover if males and females who are in occupations traditionally atypical for their sex will be perceived differently by the

consumer public in terms of source credibility.

These insights should show areas in which structural change has occurred to accept desegregation, or, conversely, areas where desegregation has not yet been accomplished.

For this study, the occupations of pilot and flight attendant were used as examples of public service jobs. Both professions have been restricted to one sex (males to that of pilot and females to that of flight attendant) until the mid-1970's. While more males have entered the traditionally female role of flight attendant than females have entered the traditionally male role of pilot, both groups are still sufficiently low enough in number to be considered tokens in their fields.

The occupations of pilot and flight attendant should be representative of other fields in our culture in which desegregation is occurring, namely, in the medical field, the armed forces and corporations.

The information gained in this study can also be used in the area of persuasion. While there are negative connotations to the persuasion aspect, it is as a faucet of daily life. This study will focus on the positive aspects of persuasive messages.

According to Larson, "Once we know something about our target group and how its members feel about our topic, we can shape the message, be it speech interview, ad, or rally cry." (Larson, 1989, p. 302)

Therefore, once the person in a sex-role-inconsistent occupation (the male flight attendant or the female pilot) knows something about how s/he is perceived by the target group, (in this case, the consumer public) then that person may take compensatory measures to shape his or her message of credibility.

For example, one aspect of source credibility is composure. Composure is a quality which may be in high demand by the consumer public for both pilots and flight attendants, particularly in emergency situations. Females, however, have been stereotyped as being emotional in the past. If this was indicated in this study, then female pilots would know to accentuate their composure in future dealings with the public.

Likewise, sociability is a source credibility trait which consumers may rate as important, especially for flight attendants. "Service with a Smile" is an advertising slogan that has brought many customers back to participating companies. Yet, males have often been stereotyped as cold and intimidating in the past. If low sociability ratings were found for male flight attendants, then this group would know to make extra efforts toward being pleasant and good-natured.

CHAPTER II

INSTRUMENTS AND PROCEDURES

Subjects

Subjects were 253 male and female undergraduate students attending communication classes for general requirements at the University of Nebraska at Omaha and at Yuba Community College at Marysville, California.

Design

All subjects were asked to respond on a semantic differential scale questionnaire concerning source credibility, to one of four descriptions of a person's job and background relating to that job. Of the four descriptions, two described a commercial airline pilot, and two described a commercial airline flight attendant. The two pilot descriptions were identical, except for gender changes in the name and grammar. The same was done with the two flight attendant descriptions. (See Appendices C and D for examples of the descriptions.)

The semantic differential scale used in measuring source credibility was the McCroskey-Jenson scale of 25 word bi-poles. (See Appendices A and B) This scale has been widely used and is considered to have a high internal reliability. (McCroskey and Young, 1981)

F values were then compiled on the various combinations as depicted in Table 1.

TABLE 1

	MP/FP	MA/FA
overall results:	*	*
sex:		
male	*	*
female	*	*
subject's age:		
20 or under	*	*
21-30	*	*
31 and over	*	*

* indicates on which combinations F values were compiled

MP=male pilot

FP=female pilot

MA=male attendant

FA=female attendant

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

The data were calculated in three main sections for analysis: Overall scores, sex of subjects and age of subjects. While there were originally also race and income sections, there was an insufficient number of non-whites and of higher income earners to perform statistical analysis on these sections.

T-tests were calculated by combining the responses for all bipoles characteristic of a dimension, then calculating the mean, standard deviation and F value for that dimension.

Section 1: Overall Results

Before dividing the data by demographics of the subjects, overall scores were calculated. Table 2 reflects the findings that no significant differences in attitudes were found between male and female pilots, or between male and female flight attendants.

Character, sociability, composure and extroversion all had F values under .25. This indicates that subjects made virtually no distinction between male and female pilots on four of the five dimensions.

Very little distinction was made between male and female flight attendants. Only the sociability dimension approaches significance. The F value for extroversion is so

small (under .25) that, again, subjects made almost no distinction between flight attendants on the issue of gender.

TABLE 2
FLIGHT CREW CREDIBILITY SCORES
OVERALL SCORES BY DIMENSION

	N=	PILOTS		FLIGHT ATTENDANTS	
		male 63	female 64	male 62	female 64
competence					
mean		4.27	4.38	3.56	3.63
SD		.57	.41	.64	.58
F value		1.64		.45	
character					
mean		3.36	3.36	3.44	3.54
SD		.52	.55	.54	.61
F value		.0003		.79	
sociability					
mean		3.56	3.52	3.93	4.16
SD		.63	.61	.65	.69
F value		.13		3.82	
composure					
mean		3.71	3.65	3.46	3.3
SD		.81	.68	.7	.85
F value		.22		1.44	
extroversion					
mean		3.71	3.7	3.64	3.62
SD		.55	.54	.61	.66
F value		.02		.02	

Section 2: Sex of Subject

Responses were divided by sex of subject to determine if any differences in perceptions existed between male and female subjects. Tables 3 and 4 reflect these findings.

Female Subjects:

Aside from finding no significant differences, female subjects made virtually no distinction in perceived composure or extroversion between male and female pilots (F is less than .25). Likewise, they made almost no distinction between male and female flight attendants in the dimensions of competence, character and extroversion (F is less than .25).

Male Subjects:

Male subjects made no significant distinctions between male and female pilots. Differences in competence, character and extroversion were almost nonexistent (F is less than .25).

Males perceived flight attendants to be near equal (F is less than .25) in composure and extroversion.

TABLE 3
FEMALE SUBJECTS' PERCEPTIONS
OF FLIGHT CREW CREDIBILITY

	N=	PILOTS		FLIGHT ATTENDANTS	
		male	female	male	female
		35	36	37	39
competence					
mean		4.24	4.43	3.75	3.72
SD		.61	.42	.57	.58
F value		2.39		.06	
character					
mean		3.31	3.19	3.54	3.54
SD		.52	.4	.52	.57
F value		1.07		0.0	
sociability					
mean		3.61	3.38	4.01	4.22
SD		.64	.48	.71	.56
F value		3.02		1.94	
composure					
mean		3.71	3.75	3.64	3.4
SD		.86	.65	.67	.66
F value		.04		2.42	
extroversion					
mean		3.73	3.69	3.72	3.72
SD		.55	.54	.59	.49
F value		.11		.00006	

TABLE 4
MALE SUBJECTS' PERCEPTIONS
OF FLIGHT CREW CREDIBILITY

	N=	PILOTS		FLIGHT ATTENDANTS	
		male 28	female 28	male 25	female 25
competence					
mean		4.3	4.32	3.27	3.49
SD		.53	.4	.64	.56
F value			.01		1.69
character					
mean		3.42	3.56	3.3	3.53
SD		.54	.65	.54	.67
F value			.8		1.81
sociability					
mean		3.5	3.71	3.8	4.07
SD		.63	.7	.53	.85
F value			1.33		1.82
composure					
mean		3.7	3.51	3.2	3.13
SD		.74	.71	.67	1.08
F value			.94		.08
extroversion					
mean		3.69	3.71	3.52	3.47
SD		.55	.55	.64	.85
F value			.02		.05

Section 3: Age of Subjects

Subjects were asked to check their appropriate age category of either: under 20, 21-30, 31 and over. Each of these categories was then explored. These results are reflected in Tables 5-7.

Under 20:

There were no significant values found in this grouping. There were, however, a number of scores (F is less than .25) which indicated that no distinction on the basis of sex was perceived by the subjects. For this age group, male and female pilots were considered to be almost equal in the dimensions of sociability and composure. And male and female flight attendants were perceived to be close to equal standing for composure.

21-30:

As in the under 20 grouping, this age group showed no significant differentiations between male and female counterparts of the same job.

Dimensions for the pilots which had a less than .25 F value were competence, character and sociability. This indicates a near equal standing of males and females in these areas.

Near equal ratings for flight attendants were found in the dimensions of competence, character and extroversion.

31 And Over:

One significant value was found in this age grouping.

These subjects considered female pilots to be more extroverted than male pilots. Yet in three of the other dimensions (competence, character and sociability), they viewed the males and females to have almost equal standing (F is less than .25).

No significant values were found for their perceptions of flight attendants. Competence and composure were two dimensions in which the values (F is less than .25) indicated little perceived differentiation between male and female attendants.

TABLE 5
PERCEPTIONS OF FLIGHT CREW CREDIBILITY
BY SUBJECTS UNDER AGE 20

	N=	PILOTS		FLIGHT ATTENDANTS	
		male 21	female 22	male 18	female 13
competence					
mean		4.19	4.39	3.47	3.78
SD		.53	.39	.62	.5
F value		2.05		2.25	
character					
mean		3.54	3.43	3.33	3.62
SD		.6	.55	.45	.63
F value		.35		2.16	
sociability					
mean		3.58	3.58	3.83	4.13
SD		.63	.61	.64	.57
F value		.0004		1.81	
composure					
mean		3.38	3.44	3.31	3.37
SD		.66	.71	.67	.64
F value		.09		.06	
extroversion					
mean		3.78	3.58	3.43	3.85
SD		.46	.54	.66	.52
F value		1.7		3.54	

TABLE 6
PERCEPTIONS OF FLIGHT CREW CREDIBILITY
BY SUBJECTS 21-30 YEARS OLD

	N=	PILOTS		FLIGHT ATTENDANTS	
		male 24	female 29	male 24	female 33
competence	mean	4.33	4.37	3.4	3.46
	SD	.56	.44	.71	.64
	F value		.06		.11
character	mean	3.31	3.37	3.45	3.42
	SD	.47	.6	.57	.58
	F value		.15		.04
sociability	mean	3.55	3.47	3.89	4.16
	SD	.64	.69	.59	.77
	F value		.18		2.11
composure	mean	3.72	3.53	3.48	3.1
	SD	.89	.57	.7	.88
	F value		.91		3.1
extroversion	mean	3.73	3.63	3.65	3.62
	SD	.62	.47	.61	.62
	F value		.5		.03

TABLE 7
PERCEPTIONS OF FLIGHT CREW CREDIBILITY
BY SUBJECTS AGE 31 AND OVER

		PILOTS		FLIGHT ATTENDANTS	
		male	female	male	female
competence					
	mean	4.25	4.46	3.92	3.88
	SD	.93	.82	1.07	.98
	F value	2.22		.08	
character					
	mean	3.11	3.28	3.62	3.82
	SD	.72	.88	.91	.94
	F value	.84		1.34	
sociability					
	mean	3.55	3.61	4.19	4.17
	SD	.85	.69	.89	.97
	F value	.14		.01	
composure					
	mean	4.09	4.19	3.54	3.59
	SD	.83	.71	1.02	1.17
	F value	.35		.06	
extroversion					
	mean	3.55	3.91	3.88	3.61
	SD	.86	.9	.89	1.04
	F value	4.18*		2.6	
* indicates significant value					

Chapter IV

DISCUSSION

The results of this study indicate that acculturation to the "new wave" of cultural norms is occurring. That is, subjects seem to accept male and female counterparts of a job, even if that job was previously sex-specific.

Perhaps in reading the descriptions of the pilots and flight attendants, subjects were able to see that male and female tokens met all the requirements for that job. And because of this, acknowledged them as competent.

Older subjects would be expected to be less accepting of tokens in role-inconsistent occupations, than would younger subjects. This is because older people would have been acculturated to one set of norms (i.e. accepting of sex-specific roles). When those norms changed, people needed to change their conceptual framework to accept the tokens who have crossed those barriers. This can be difficult to accomplish since it involves rejecting principles and traditions in which the person may have invested a great deal of time, energy and emotion. Younger people, on the other hand, would be brought up with the newer norms.

An interesting trend in the statistics verifies this notion. Of the bipoles that describe extroversion, meek-aggressive and bold-timid are probably the key

characterizations which explain the trend found for this dimension in the age category. For the youngest group (under 20) the female attendants and male pilots received the highest extroversion ratings. But in the next older age group (21-30) expectations converged. that is, males and females were rated as being about the same. Finally, in the 31 and over age group, female pilots were rated significantly higher than their male counterparts. Male flight attendants were also rated higher than their female counterparts, though not significantly so.

This may be valuable information to tokens in dealing with patrons in the work environment. Older people may feel threatened by what they perceive as "pushy" or aggressive individuals. Extroversion ratings that are too high may also be detrimental to the overall perception of competence. (McCroskey and Wheelless, 1976) Tokens, knowing this, may adapt their own behavior to appease older patrons of the airlines.

Ideally, complete acceptance of a worker on a job, whether male or female, would show F values of 0.0, or no perceived differences in expectations. This study may reflect areas in which acculturation is being accomplished.

This information may also be useful in implementing affirmative action policies. As airlines make these policies they may take into account the bias in the evaluations of tokens by this age group.

Chapter V
LIMITATIONS OF STUDY
AND
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

If this study was to be repeated, it would be useful to add more demographic questions to the surveys. For example, information about frequency of flying on commercial airlines and how pleasant those flights were may have some bearing on how subjects would respond on the McCroskey-Jenson scale. This would be especially true if the subject had encountered a male attendant or female pilot on any of these flights.

Also, a longitudinal study might help explain why subjects presently in the under 20 age grouping would rate workers following traditional vocations as most extroverted, instead of following the 21-30 year-olds' trend of more equal ratings between males and females.

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APPENDIX A

1	Qualified	_____	_____	_____	_____	Unqualified
2	Narrow	_____	_____	_____	_____	Intellectual
3	Unbelievable	_____	_____	_____	_____	Believable
4	Informed	_____	_____	_____	_____	Uninformed
5	Unsympathetic	_____	_____	_____	_____	Sympathetic
6	Unfriendly	_____	_____	_____	_____	Friendly
7	Good-natured	_____	_____	_____	_____	Irritable
8	Excitable	_____	_____	_____	_____	Composed
9	Nervous	_____	_____	_____	_____	Poised
10	Quiet	_____	_____	_____	_____	Verbal
11	Bold	_____	_____	_____	_____	Timid
12	Inexpert	_____	_____	_____	_____	Expert
13	Valuable	_____	_____	_____	_____	Worthless
14	Kind	_____	_____	_____	_____	Cruel
15	Gloomy	_____	_____	_____	_____	Cheerful
16	Calm	_____	_____	_____	_____	Anxious
17	Aggressive	_____	_____	_____	_____	Meek
18	Silent	_____	_____	_____	_____	Talkative
19	Unreliable	_____	_____	_____	_____	Reliable
20	Competent	_____	_____	_____	_____	Incompetent
21	Unselfish	_____	_____	_____	_____	Selfish
22	Virtuous	_____	_____	_____	_____	Sinful
23	Sociable	_____	_____	_____	_____	Unsociable
24	Tense	_____	_____	_____	_____	Relaxed
25	Introverted	_____	_____	_____	_____	Extroverted

*Note that the bipoles in Appendix A are purposely not arranged by dimension. This is the format used in the subject surveys. See Appendix B for arrangement by dimension.

APPENDIX B

McCROSKEY-JENSON SOURCE CREDIBILITY BIPOLES

ARRANGED BY DIMENSION

Competence:

unqualified--qualified
inexpert--expert
unreliable--reliable
unbelievable--believable
incompetent--competent
intellectual--narrow
valuable--worthless
uninformed--informed

Character:

kind--cruel
unsympathetic--sympathetic
unselfish--selfish
virtuous--sinful

Sociability:

unfriendly--friendly
cheerful--gloomy
irritable--good-natured
sociable--unsociable

Composure:

excitable--composed
calm--anxious
tense--relaxed
poised--nervous

Extroversion:

meek--aggressive
verbal--quiet
introverted--extroverted
bold--timid
silent--talkative

APPENDIX C

DESCRIPTIONS OF FLIGHT ATTENDANTS USED IN SURVEYS

Donna attended the University of Colorado for 4 years, from which she received a Bachelor of Arts degree. Shortly thereafter Donna responded to an ad for flight attendants, and was hired after the initial interview. After completing the six weeks of training at the flight attendant school in Chicago, she went to work for a major airline on a B-737 based out of New York.

David attended the University of Colorado for 4 years, from which he received a Bachelor of Arts Degree. Shortly thereafter David responded to an ad for flight attendants, and was hired after the initial interview. After completing the six weeks of training of the flight attendant school in Chicago, he went to work for a major airline on a B-737 based out of New York.

APPENDIX D
DESCRIPTIONS OF PILOTS USED IN SURVEYS

Donna attended the Air Force Academy. During that time she received training in the T-41, a small prop-engine airplane. After graduation from the Academy, Donna was sent to Reese AFB, Texas, for Undergraduate Pilot Training (UPT). This consisted of a year's training in the T-37 and T-38 jets. Her first assignment after UPT graduation was as a KC-135 co-pilot, operating out of March AFB, California. Donna opted to stay there for the full six years of her commitment with the Air Force. During that time, she upgraded to aircraft commander and then to instructor pilot. Toward the end of her six year commitment, Donna attended a week-long civilian school to earn her commercial license. She now flies for a major carrier as a co-pilot in a B-737.

David attended the Air Force Academy. During that time he received training in the T-41, a small prop-engine airplane. After graduation from the academy, David was sent to Reese AFB, Texas, for Undergraduate Pilot Training (UPT). This consisted of a year's training in the T-37 and T-38 jets. His first assignment after UPT was as a KC-135 co-pilot, operating out of March AFB, California. David opted to stay there for the full six years of his commitment with the Air Force. During that time, he upgraded to aircraft commander, and then to instructor pilot. Toward the end of his six year commitment, David attended a week-long civilian school to earn his commercial license. He now flies for a major carrier as a co-pilot in a B-737.