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The stereotypes of man and woman in Poland — content and factor structures*

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Introduction

Gender stereotypes have been an object of interest in psychology for merely thirty years. Pioneer research on this subject was conducted by BROVERMAN et al. (1972) in the United States, in the 1970s. It indicated the existence of two "concentrations" of stereotypical traits, which were significantly different in content; i.e. warmth and expressiveness as the female content, and competence and rationality as the male stereotype contents. In the 1980s, also in the USA, DEAUX and LEWIS (1983, 1984) successively proved that gender stereotypes do not constitute a chaotic and disorderly set of general convictions about the nature of women and men. On the contrary, they possess a coherent and multi-level structure, implicating mutual and complex relationships which determine the social perception of members of both sexes.

At the same time, along with the social and moral changes taking place worldwide, the question which arises concerns the stability or fluctuation of gender stereotypes. According to Diane HALPERN (1997), gen-

der stereotypes "are not a result of scientific research as to the aspects in which men and women differ […] but stem from an inductive experience (e.g. secretaries are usually women). […] Research is the only way for psychologists to differentiate between stereotypes which are based on fact, and those which are not" (pp. 1091—1092).

Social psychologists have proven that in the process of perceiving people we receive both individual (e.g. appearance, behaviour, traits) and categorical information concerning different types of people (Wojciszke, 2002). We can, therefore, also categorize people according to various options; based on how they are dressed, their gender, hair colour, age, manner of walking, etc. Grouping people according to simple categories reduces the effort necessary to understand them (Allport, 1954; Taylor, 1981; Cross and Markus, 2002).

It has been established that, given so many choices of categorizing a given person, we usually concentrate on the first, most available category (Bodenhausen and Macrae, 1998; Nelson, 2003). Thus, most of the time, we resort to the easiest accessible assets, connected with appearance, while one of the basic categories through which people maintain order in the social world is gender (Nelson, 2003; Wojciszke, 2002). Stereotypical thinking about gender begins very early, even in relation to infants. We know what colours of clothes and rooms are "suitable" for male and female infants. Men and women are gradually attributed an increasing number of behaviours "appropriate" for their gender.

A gender stereotype is defined as a "conviction as to what traits and behaviours are characteristic (and usually desired) of any gender" (Wojciszke, 2002, p. 418), or as "simplified judgements and concepts concerning the behaviour of the members of both sexes, shared by the majority of a given society, taught in the process of growing up and socializing in that society" (Mandal, 2004, p. 13; cf. Eagly, 1987). In the analyses of gender stereotypes, one takes into account their content aspect; what is the typical woman like and what is the typical man like in the eyes of others, affective aspect; being burdened with negative or positive judgements, and finally, the functions which these stereotypes fulfil in people's social behaviour (Polkowska, Potocka-Hoser and Kurcz, 1992; Kwiatkowska, 1999). Moreover, studies on gender stereotypes reveal the existence of subtypes or subschemas (Łukaszewski and Weigl, 2001; Wojciszke, 2002).

This results from an assumption that a stereotype is a specific kind of cognitive schema (Kurcz, 1992; Weigl and Łukaszewski, 1991). Therefore it appears that apart from schemas of prototypical character (those representing the ideal example of a category, with a clear stem and category boundaries) there also exist schemas based solely on family re-

semblance of the examples. Such a schema has no clear prototype or category boundaries (Kurcz, 1995).

Although gender stereotypes can be ascribed all the same traits as stereotypes in general, i.e. social origin, burden with negative or positive emotions and judgements, resistance to change (Polkowska et al., 1992), being shared by the society, subjective certainty as to the correctness of the representation content, overgeneralization — a conviction that examples included in a stereotype are identical (Łukaszewski and Weigl, 2000, 2001; Deaux and Lewis, 1984), they also possess their own specific characteristics. While stereotypes are simplified information about a group which they are concerned with, gender stereotypes possess a rich content and are relatively complex in their structure (Kwiatkowska, 1999), as well as being culturally universal with regard to traits (Wiliams and Best, 1982).

At first scientists doing research within the scope of gender stereotypes concentrated on describing their content. The studies conducted by Broverman, Kogel, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosenkrantz (1972) led to identifying "clusters" of traits, attributed to women and men. Currently, scientists are interested in searching for various aspects of stereotypes, their mutual relations, changes in judgements based on stereotypes, influenced by new and sometimes contradictory information and processes, through which these changes take place. Deaux and Lewis (1984) present a multi-factor construction of a gender stereotype, including components of traits, social roles, professions and physical appearance. Gender characteristics are understood as sets of mental traits and behaviour properties ascribed in a given culture. Roles, on the other hand, are socially and culturally defined expectations, addressed to both genders and expected to behave in specific social situations.

Thus, the female trait stereotype includes: emotionality, ability to make sacrifices, gentleness, sensitivity, caring for others' feelings, the ability to understand others, warmth in relations with others and helping. Stereotypical male traits are: independence, being active, competence, decisiveness reliability, self-confidence, not yielding to pressure and a sense of leadership. Stereotypical female roles are: giving emotional support to others, managing the household, taking care of the children and responsibility for arranging the household. Stereotypical male roles are: being the head of the household, providing financially for the family, leadership and responsibility for household repairs. The stereotypical female appearance consists of a gentle voice, tidiness, grace and softness of movement, whereas the stereotypical male appearance includes such traits as tall, strong, vigorous and broad-shouldered. Stereotypical female professions are: therapist, telephone operator, speech-therapist and primary school

teacher; male: truck driver, insurance agent, telephone installer, chemist and town mayor (Deaux and Lewis, 1983; Mandal, 2000, Strykowska, 1999). As suggested in studies by Williams and Best (1982) stereotypes connected with gender occur in every culture, however their content may be, to a narrow extent, different, depending on e.g. the social class or age of those examined (Williams and Best, 1982; Mandal, 1998).

In Poland, gender stereotypes have not been a subject of wider psychological research until recently. Nonetheless, the changes in social, economic and political life of the country triggered by a period of political transformation seem to be modifying the way Polish people think about men's and women's participation in it. Increasingly more women's organizations have appeared. Women started climbing higher up the career ladder, taking over more significant state posts. Men are also beginning to undertake responsibilities other than their usual ones, among others those connected with a wider involvement in, traditionally associated with women, housework.

Studies (Vianello et al., 1990; Best and Williams, 1997) indicate that women in Poland, as well as in Canada, Italy and Romania, are now more frequently working out of home and taking part in public life. This is why men are becoming more engaged in family life. At the same time young people of various cultures of the world conceptualise masculine gender roles, including both working away from home and activities connected with family and household (Gibbons, Stiles and Shkodriani, 1991; Gibbons et al., 1993). Presumably, these changes will consequently lead to a shift in the stereotypical perception of woman and man.

Polish studies from the 1990s, conducted by Kuczyńska (1992a, 1992b) show that the content of a stereotype of a gender connected with traits is different than that established in the American studies by Deaux and Lewis (1983). In the former studies, in the scope of the female trait components, the stereotype is represented by such traits as sensitive, caring, engaging in others' affairs, gentle, coquettish, looking after her appearance, thrifty, having a sense of aesthetics, querulous. In the scope of male traits the stereotype is represented by the following traits: dominating, independent, showing rivalry, success-oriented, belligerent, decisive arrogant, in good physical condition, having a sense of humour, persuasive, self-confident, self-sufficient, adventurous experimenting with sex, cunning.

The aim of the study presented here was an attempt at examining the content of the stereotypes of man and woman currently functioning in Poland, since in a period of ongoing moral changes and political transformation we may assume that these will undergo certain alterations. The detailed aim of the study was to learn the contents of three

components of the stereotypes of man and woman, concerning physical appearance, roles and professions, and to analyse their content. The study of the content of the trait connected components of the stereotypes of man and woman was not conducted due to the existence of the above mentioned studies by Kuczyńska (1992a, 1992b). Although these have been conducted nearly 17 years ago they are characterized by a high degree of accuracy and dependability. The study was also to determine, to what extent is the component content of the gender stereotype connected with the subject's biological sex.

The present studies were conducted in the two stages. The purpose of the first stage (Study 1) was to generally explore the problem and to construct a tool to be used in the second stage. Study 2 was designed to explore the complexity of the stereotypes of man and woman.

Study 1

Method

Participants

Two hundred and thirty people aged 18 to 30 (130 women and 100 men), all of them full-time or part-time students of various fields at the University of Opole, took part in the study. At no time during the first or second stage of the study did psychology students take part.

Materials and procedure

The study consisted of filling out a single sheet of paper with three columns, heading of which were entitled: "Appearance", "Professions", and "Roles", along with the following instructions: "We are curious about your notions of Polish women. Write down all associations that come to your mind regarding their typical appearance, professions and roles. You have all the time you need." An analogous research schema was also used in reference to Polish men.

In order to eliminate the primacy effect and a possibility of falsification of the study results the order of the headings on the questionnaires was different. On the two used versions — for women and for men — the headings were ordered accordingly as follows: appearance, roles, professions vs. roles, professions, appearance. The study participants were

given their questionnaires in a different order, thus some people were first asked to describe women, others started with men.

The use of free, uncontrolled descriptions in the study is justified as they have an advantage over ready lists of traits to which the participants need to assume an opinion. Even though the latter form does provide an answer to the question of which traits distinguish both genders, it does not make it possible to generate an overall image of man or woman. A more general image can be obtained when the participants are able to describe members of both sexes in an "uncontrolled" manner and using their own words (cf. Eagly and Wood, 1991; Miluska, 1996; Mandal, 2000).

Results

Uncontrolled free descriptions brought a list of 147 expressions concerning women's appearance, 256 typical woman's professions, 210 typical woman's roles. Similarly, a list of 54 expressions referring to man's appearance, 64 typical man's professions and 79 roles typical for the Polish man were obtained. Based on these expressions, proper lists were created. These, in turn, were initially comprised of the most frequently used expressions in the free descriptions.

The next step was to leave out one of several repeating, similar or synonymous terms and removing unclear expressions, i.e. those not connected directly with women or with men (e.g. "disgruntled face"). The final step was adding stereotype contents, i.e. appearance, professions and roles typical for men and women, derived in the American studies by Deaux and Lewis (1984), to each list. Thus, the proper lists on which measurements were conducted in the second stage were created. Due to the adopted procedure the lists differed in length. In relation to the woman stereotype the appearance trait list consisted of 35 items, roles — 29 items, and professions — 36 items. In relation to the man stereotype the appearance trait list consisted of 44 items, roles — 33 items, and professions — 48 items. The lists created in this manner were used in measurements during the second stage (Study 2).

Study 2

Method

Participants

The study was conducted on a group of 220, both full-time and extra-mural students of the Polytechnic of Opole, aged between 20 and 39. The study group consisted of 124 women and 96 men.

Materials and procedure

The study participants were asked to estimate to what extent the expressions concerning appearance, roles and professions, provided in the lists, refer to Polish women and Polish men. The method was taken from Katz and Braly's (1933) classic studies on stereotypes.

The study on the content of the stereotypical appearance typical for the woman was conducted with the use of the revised version of the list of expressions referring to appearance created in the first study. The reliability of the scale was tested empirically during the study (*Cronbach* $\alpha = .77$). The participants were asked to determine, using a 7-point scale, to what degree the statements concerning appearance describe a typical looks of a Polish women, where 1 corresponded to "does not look like that at all" and 7 meant "definitely looks like that."

The lists were also provided with scales to measure the subjective certainty as to the accuracy of the given answers (Bocheńska, 1999). The participants were asked to determine, using the 11-point scale, to what degree, according to them, is the profile accurate (0 = "totally inaccurate", 11 = "very accurate").

Analogous studies were conducted concerning woman's typical professions (scale reliability $\alpha = .89$) and roles ($\alpha = .83$), as well as man's typical appearance ($\alpha = .93$), professions ($\alpha = .93$) and roles ($\alpha = .83$).

Results

Firstly, the content of individual gender stereotype components was subject to analysis. The obtained results were given in the form of tables and concern professions, roles and appearance typical for women and, similarly, professions, roles and appearance typical for men. All those items with a value equalling a standard deviation of at least 0.5 above average were considered stereotypical.

Woman stereotype component content

The stereotypical woman's appearance was most often described using the terms charm (M = 5.32), attractive (M = 5.20), well-groomed (M = 5.18). The stereotypical woman roles are bringing up children (M = 6.33), tidiness (M = 6.23), taking care of the children (M = 6.21), taking care of the family (M = 6.15), preparing meals (M = 6.13), emotional support (M = 5.96). The stereotypical woman's professions are primary school teacher (M = 5.82), nurse (M = 5.73), psychologist (M = 5.73), hairdresser (M = 5.64). All SDs were approximately 1 (SD_{min} = 1.05; SD_{max} = 1.73).

Man stereotype component content

When describing men's stereotypical appearance the participants would most often use the following traits: smells nice (M = 4.61), clean (M = 4.60), practical clothes (M = 4.58), handsome (M = 4.51). Man's stereotypical roles according to the respondents are: watching football on television (M = 6.05), providing financial support for the family (M = 6.02), car maintenance (M = 5.87), working to earn money (M = 5.79). Man's stereotypical professions are that of a blue-collar worker (M = 5.36), workman (M = 5.30), driver (M = 5.20), bricklayer (M = 4.95). All SDs were approximately 1 (SD_{min} = 0.93; SD_{max} = 1.74).

Woman stereotype vs. man stereotype — inter-gender comparisons

A further step was to analyse, to determine whether there exist differences between genders in the stereotypical perception of men and women. Comparison results are presented below. They indicate the existence of many differences between the examined women and men in the stereotypical representations of both genders, in the scope of appearance, roles and professions. Only the inter-gender differences concerning the man stereotype in the scope of the appearance components turned out to be statistically insignificant.

The results are as follows: In the representation of the woman stereotype, in the scope of the profession components, women rated (M = 5.97; SD = 0.90) the profession of teacher as typically female significantly higher than men (M = 5.61; SD = 1.11), F(1, 216) = 6.55; p < .05; η^2 = .17. Women also gave higher ratings (M = 5.71; SD = 1.15) than men (M = 5.33; SD = 1.26) in relation to the profession of accountant (F(1, 216) = 5.35; p < .05; η^2 = .16), as well as to that of a dressmaker (women M = 5.39; SD = 1.31; men M = 4.92; SD = 1.41) as typically female occupations (F(1, 216) = 5.47; p < .05; η^2 = .16).

In the representation of the stereotype of woman in the aspect of roles the women participants gave significantly higher ratings than the

men, particularly to such roles as emotional support (women M = 6.26; SD = 0.77; men M = 5.57; SD = 1.16; F(1, 216) = 26.75; p < .001; η^2 = .35), taking care of the family (women M = 6.47; SD = 0.68; men M = 5.74; SD = 1.21; F(1, 216) = 31.20; p < .001; η^2 = .38), taking care of the children (women M = 6.35; SD = 0.81 men M = 6.3; SD = 0.93; F(1, 216) = 4.77; p < .03; η^2 = .15), managing the household (women M = 6.10; SD = 0.94; men M = 5.53; SD = 1.16; F(1, 216) = 15.13; p < .001; η^2 = .27).

In the representation of the woman stereotype in the aspect of appearance men gave higher ratings than women to attractiveness (women M = 4.83; SD = 1.12; men M = 5.71; SD = 1.08; F(1, 216) = 34.49; p < .001; η^2 = .40). Women, on the other hand, gave a significantly higher rating than men (women M = 5.43; SD = 1.19; men M = 5.29; SD = 1.01) to elegant as a stereotypically female trait, F(1, 216) = 13.21; p < .001; η^2 = .25. What is more, women also gave more points than men to fair complexion (women M = 3.27; SD = 1.36; men M = 2.49; SD = 1.26) as typically female, F(1, 216) = 21.15; p < .001; η^2 = .31.

In the representation of the stereotype of man in the aspect of professions women gave higher ratings to that of civil engineer (women M = 5.30; SD = 1.46; men M = 4.32; SD = 1.42; F(1, 216) = 20.28; p < .001; η^2 = .30) and blue-collar worker (women M = 5.30; SD = 1.45; men M = 4.03; SD = 1.46; F(1, 217) = 33.91; p < .001; η^2 = .40). Women also rated higher such professions as academic teacher (women M = 4.76; SD = 1.41; men M = 4.36; SD = 1.46; F(1, 216) = 3.97; p < .05; η^2 = .13) and insurance salesman (women M = 5.58; SD = 1.31; men M = 5.09; SD = 1.36;) as stereotypically male, F(1, 216) = 6.70; p < .05; η^2 = .18.

In the scope of the social role component of the man stereotype the women participants gave higher ratings than men particularly to roles defined as making a mess (women M = 5.10; SD = 1.7; men M = 4.81; SD = 1.53; F(1, 216) = 16.62; p < .001; η^2 = .28) and sleeping (women M = 5.36; SD = 1.43; men M = 4.87; SD = 1.54; F(1, 216) = 5.93; p < .05; η^2 = .17). Similarly, women rated higher the role defined as commenting political events (women M = 5.25; SD = 1.47; men M = 4.81; SD = 1.48) as stereotypically male, F(1, 216) = 5.09; p < .05; η^2 = .15. Men, on the other hand, (M = 5.56; SD = 1.20) gave more points than women (M = 5.12; SD = 1.11) to the role defined as resting after work, as typically male, F(1, 216) = 7.70; p < .01; η^2 = .19.

The subjective feeling of certainty concerning the accuracy of the answers given by the participants

The subjective feeling of certitude of the study participants as to the accuracy of their answers in estimating man's and woman's stereotypi-

cal professions, roles and appearance was also analysed. These analyses revealed that in several instances women and men differ in their subjective feeling of certainty as to the accuracy of their indications, but only in relation to the description of men.

For the appearance components of the man stereotype — (MA) the average for women equalled 5.93 (SD = 1.98), whereas for men it was 6.37 (SD = 2.09), $F(1, 216) = 3.44$; $p < .10$; $\eta^2 = .14$. For the professions components of the man stereotype — (MP) the average for women amounted to 5.63 (SD = 2.04), and the average for men equalled 6.51 (SD = 2.11), $F(1, 216) = 9.70$; $p < .01$; $\eta^2 = .22$. For the men's role components — (PMR) the average for women equalled 6.81 (SD = 1.68), whereas for men it was 7.34 (SD = 1.75), with $F(1, 216) = 4,73$; $p < .05$; $\eta^2 = .15$.

For the appearance component of the woman stereotype — (WA) the average for women equalled 6.19 (SD = 1.92), and 6.71 for men (SD = 2.04). For the professions component of the woman stereotype — (WP) the average for women amounted to 6.34 (standard variation 1.95), and 6.52 for men (SD = 1.96). For the role components of the woman stereotype — (PWR) the average for women equalled 6.88 (SD = 1.92), and 7.04 for men (SD = 1.89). The differences between men and women in the evaluation of the subjective certainty as to those scales were not significant, all Fs < 1.

To sum up, the results show that men were more confident than women as to their evaluation of appearance, professions and roles but only with regard to the man stereotype.

Structure of the stereotypes of man and woman

The structures of the stereotypes were extracted through second-order factor analysis (hierarchical exploratory model). This method was developed to explore hierarchical structures of cognitive representations and was designed to replace first-order (standard) methods of factor analysis and rotation of factors (see Wherry, 1984; Tabachnick and Fidel, 2007). The above-mentioned allowed to show whether there is a connection between factors. If the connection is strong the factor analysis indicates the appearance of a second-order factor. We can treat this higher order factor as a sum of variance shared by first order factors. The mixed structure model is also possible. It occurs when one or more factors is orthogonal to others. In order to evaluate man and woman stereotype complexity, exploratory hierarchical factor analyses were performed in the study. Items with pattern coefficients greater than .40 were used to determine accordance of items with the factors. Values of pattern coefficients are provided in brackets.

Structure of the stereotypical woman's appearance

The second-order factor analysis indicated two second-order factors and five first-order factors. The first second-order factor was named *elegant woman*, and is described with the following terms: well-groomed (.56), elegant (.55), good make-up (.42), fine teeth (.48). The next second-order factor — *woman with class*: charm (.51), characterized by graceful and soft movements (.57), attractive (.48), slim (.55), stylish (.49), shapely (.59), tall (.46).

The first first-order factor was named *aesthetic woman*: soft voice (.49), tidiness (.61), grace (.58), characterized by graceful and soft movements (.49), slim (.42), well-groomed (.42). The second one is called *unsightly woman*: housewife (.52), bad make-up (.53), roots in hair (.52), bad teeth (.52), robust (.49). The third — *brunette*: dark eyes (.52), dark hair (.54). The fourth — *fashionable woman*: dressing in fashion (.51), blond hair (.52). The fifth factor — *neuter woman*: unkept (.48), not attracting attention (.43). The total variance accounted for by the factors was 58% (h^2_{min} = .46; h^2_{max} = .62).

Structure of the stereotypical woman's social roles

The second-order factor analysis indicated one second-order factor and three first order factors. The second-order factor was called *caring roles*: taking care of the children (.46), taking care of the family (.44), preparing meals (.45), bringing up children (.40), tidiness (.40), doing shopping (.44), monitoring a husband (.45), housekeeping (.47), ironing (.49).

The first first-order factor was also called *caring roles*: taking care of the children (.68), preparing meals (.42), bringing up children (.53), tidiness (.67), doing the shopping (.61), housekeeping (.48), ironing (.61). The second first-order factor was *household roles*: watching soap-operas (.53), monitoring the husband (.49), and gossiping (.60). The third first-order factor was called *out-of-home roles*: having a career (.46), social work (.64). The total variance accounted for by the factors was 52% (h^2_{min} = .45; h^2_{max} = .64).

Structure of the stereotypical female professions

The second-order factor analysis indicated two second-order factors and four first-order factors. The first second-order factor was called *traditionally "female" profession*, with the following items: telephone operator (.57), speech-therapist (.48), nurse (.61), primary school teacher (.61), accountant (.58), dressmaker (.65), hairdresser (.70), cashier (.65), cook (.55), cleaning lady (.55), nursery teacher (.65), housewife (.54),

child-minder (.59), beautician (.53), waitress (.47), hostess (.48), secretary (.49), shop assistant (.53). The second second-order factor was *prestigious profession*: psychologist (.52), journalist (.46), director (.61), doctor (.62), lawyer (.66), advocate (.42), politician (.42), businesswoman (.59) and academic teacher (.63).

The first first-order factor is called *traditionally "female" profession*: nurse (.52), secretary (.40) and high-school teacher (.51). The second first-order factor was called *profession connected with entrepreneurship*: businesswoman (.49) and sales-assistant (.49). The third — *unprestigious profession*: cook (.50), cleaning lady (.61), housewife (.57) and factory worker (.47), and the fourth — *profession connected with using one's voice*: therapist (.61), telephone operator (.50) and speech therapist (.42). The total variance accounted for by the factors was 55% (h^2_{min} = .43; h^2_{max} = .63).

Structure of the stereotypical man's appearance

The second-order factor analysis indicated one second-order factor and three first-order factors. The second-order factor was called *man with class*: strong (.51), vigorous (.62), well-groomed complexion (.64), tall (.62), well-shaved (.50), clean shoes (.57), good smell (.50), tastefully dressed (.64), well-kept teeth (.72), well-kept hands (.68), muscular (.45), handsome (.63), fair complexion (.63), matching hairstyle (.56), unathletic (.61), clean and well-built (.40).

The first first-order factor — *unsightly man*: impractical outfit (.43), wears a suit (.57), slim (.58), weak (.58), dirty (.45), not handsome (.41), with a dark complexion (.62). The second factor was the *aesthetic man*: well-shaved (.41), tastefully dressed (.42), well-kept teeth (.41), well-kept hands (.41) and muscular (.51). The third factor was the *athletic man*: sport clothes (.41), well-built (.64). The total variance accounted for by the factors was 55% (h^2_{min} = .42; h^2_{max} = .63).

Structure of the stereotypical man's social roles

The second-order factor analysis indicated one second-order factor and six first-order factors. The second-order factor was called the *role of the family's material provider*: financial support of the family (.54), gainful employment (.51), looking after the material assets of the family (.41), earning for the household (.53) and being a breadwinner (.60).

The first first-order factor was named *irresponsible roles*: drinking beer (.55), watching television (.55), idleness (.71), rushing their wives (.78), sleeping (.76), doing nothing (.59), going to pubs (.55), indulging their own pleasures (.74), commenting on political events (.41), making

a mess (.45), resting after work (.48), lying on the sofa (.48). The second first-order factor is *the role of the family's material provider*: gainful employment (.42), looking after the material assets of the family (.42), and earning for the household (.47). The third factor is *home roles*: bringing up children (.40), paying the bills (.61), organizing the family's time (.58), doing the shopping (.68) and playing with the children (.61). The fourth factor is *roles fulfilled in free time*: lying on the sofa (.60), do-it-yourself work (.68), making decisions concerning important issues (.71), indulging their own hobbies (.73) and taking out the garbage (.58). The fifth factor is *"minor" household roles*: mowing the lawn (.56), taking the dog for a walk (.76) and preparing dinner (.41). The sixth factor is *leadership roles*: being the head of the family (.60), providing financially for the family (.59) and being the leader (.46). The total variance accounted for by the factors was 51% (h^2_{min} = .42; h^2_{max} = .71).

Structure of the stereotypical male professions

The second-order factor analysis indicated one second-order factor and five first-order factors. The second-order factor was named *prestigious profession*: journalist (.52), police-officer (.40), IT specialist (.52), businessman (.47), lawyer (.44), doctor (.53), academic teacher (.55), stockbroker (.62), radio announcer (.58), firefighter (.68), film director (.59), pilot (.68), manager (.45), professor (.49), judge (.62), footballer (.65), advocate (.52), psychologist (.68), biologist (.51), notary public (.70) and sociologist (.63).

The complexity of hierarchical factor structure are presented in Figure 1 and Figure 2. The both stereotypes were compared in the each stereotype component.

The first first-order factor was named *prestigious profession*: journalist (.51), police-officer (.46), IT specialist (.52), businessman (.42), lawyer (.52), doctor (.43), academic teacher (.42), stockbroker (.53), fire-fighter (.47), film director (.45) and pilot (.42). The second first-order factor was called *unprestigious profession*: truck driver (.79), insurance agent (.77), taxi driver (.77), notary public (.59), assembler (.60) and workman (.66). The third factor was called *"traditionally" male profession*: sociologist (.88), civil engineer (.82), blue-collar worker (.63), miner (.85), railwayman (.54) and farmer (.56). The fourth factor — *profession connected with teaching*: teacher (.45), academic teacher (.40), psychologist (.58), pedagogue (.69) and biologist (.41), and the fifth factor — *lucrative profession*: footballer (.56), security guard (.48) and lawyer (.40). The total variance accounted for by the factors was 60% (h^2_{min} = .42; h^2_{max} = .74).
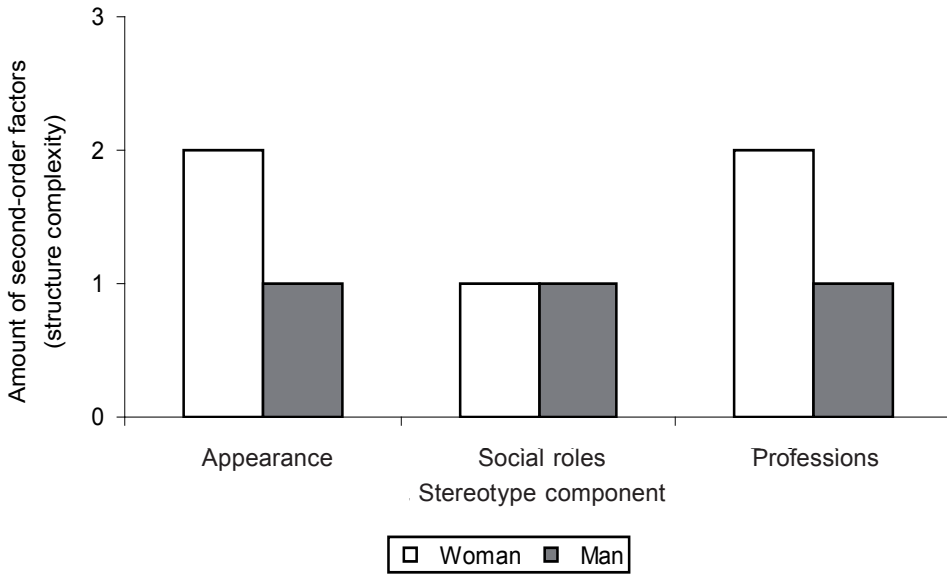
Fig. 1. Structure complexity: amount of second-order factors in each gender stereotype component. The upper is the number, the more complex is the higher order structure
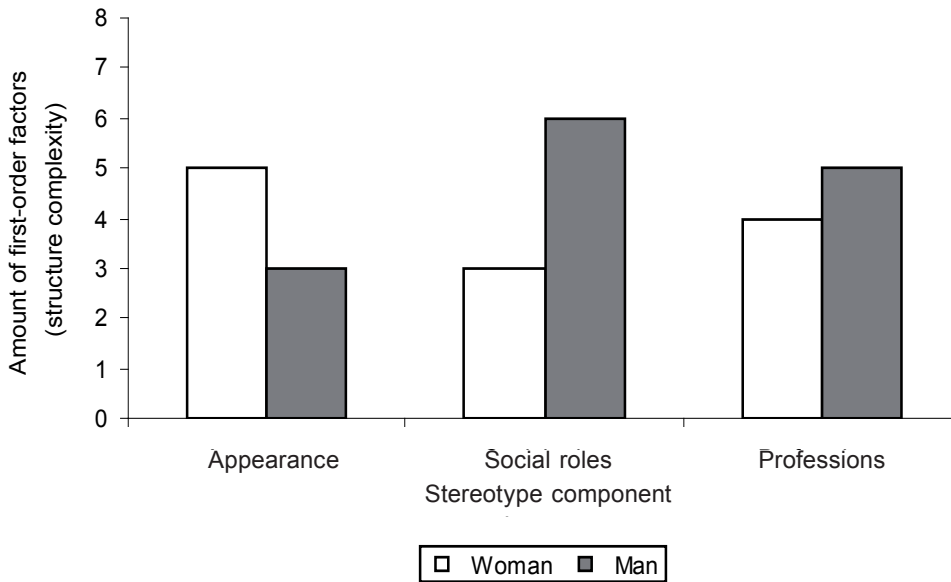

Fig. 2. Structure complexity: amount of first-order factors in each gender stereotype component. The upper is the number, the more complex is the lower order structure

General discussion

The conducted studies indicated the functioning of content varying and complex stereotypes of man and woman in contemporary Poland. The modern man, according to social convictions, should remain "manly" in a traditional sense, i.e. achieve material and professional success and, what is more, possess a certain — greater or lesser — "addition" of female traits; thus being gentle, emphatic and family oriented. On the other hand, the modern woman, according to social belief, can possess many varieties of trait combinations, traditionally regarded as female and male. This is because her behaviour can be placed at a random point of a broad spectrum, from a helpless "little woman", "Polish mother", to the dynamic "tomboy", "sportswoman", "woman of success", "single", or "businesswoman".

At the same time an analysis of the free uncontrolled descriptions generated by the study subjects showed that of the expressions obtained there were three times as many concerning women than those concerning men. This indicates a greater development and complexity of the woman stereotype than the man stereotype, regarding content. This, in turn, can be explained by emancipation changes, which apply to women more than men because man's social roles to a greater extent than woman's social roles remain close to the traditional stereotypes. The acquired data also indicate that change in the stereotypes of man and woman takes place through their extension, when new traits are added to the "core" of the stereotype. Furthermore, they reveal that the man stereotype, as the more traditional one, is more coherent and uniform. This is confirmed by worldwide research which shows that presently the stereotype of man is more constant and changes slower than the stereotype of woman (WERNER and LaRUSA, 1985).

When analysing the content and structure of the stereotypes of man and woman it was noticed that they differ in their content and level of complexity. The stereotype of woman is more affluent in content in two of the three studied components: profession and appearance, whereas the stereotype of man is richer in content in the scope of social roles (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). This results from the fact that the female professions component in the carried out analysis included 22 professions while the male professions component included seven. The majority of the female professions (15 occupations) were connected with typically "female" competencies linked to taking care of other people, as well as with providing services (e.g. hairdresser, beautician, nurse). Similarly, among the professions regarded by the participants as typically male

none require high intellectual competence or academic education. All of those are connected with a typically male trait — physical strength. According to the acquired data, stereotypically male professions are: blue-collar worker, workman, and bricklayer.

These results show that we are currently facing a stereotype of male professions and a stereotype of female professions only in the scope of professions, the practice of which is connected with typical gender roles — taking care of others, and providing protection and security. They require characteristics typical for a given gender, i.e. protectiveness in women and physical strength in men. On the other hand, gender stereotypes in the scope of professions seem to be less concerned with the assessment of professions based on high qualifications, academic education, or ones connected with high social prestige. This reflects the changes in education concerning women.

A certain dissimilarity of results related to gender stereotypes in the area of professions from the data obtained in the USA by Deaux and Lewis (1984) may result from changes in education and the situation of women on the labour market. However, it can also be a result of the applied research procedure. The American researchers established a list of male and female professions, based on a 70% majority of the gender practicing it. Such a procedure reflects the state of employment, whereas the procedure presented here involved stereotypical social convictions as to male and female professions.

Analysis of the data deriving from statistical yearbooks (GUS, 2001, 2002 from Ośrodek Informacji Kobiecych — Women's Information Centre) shows that increasingly more women are practicing prestigious professions, though, at the same time, in the majority of institutions a disproportionally higher number of managerial positions is held by men. Wojciszke (2002, pp. 438) claims that: "The percentage of women in a given profession is inversely proportional to its prestige." It seems that this discrepancy between the stereotypical situation of women and their real situation can be explained as a gradual shift in the gender stereotype in the scope of female professions (Strykowska, 1999). The fact that women are now practicing new professions is reflected by the rise of scientists' interest in women's new professional fields, e.g. politics or business (Mandal, 1994, 1996; Siemieńska, 1990; Siemieńska and Marody, 1996; Strykowska, 1992, 1994). Meanwhile these tendencies are not represented in the content concerning male and female professions.

In the studies presented in this work 15 expressions make up the content of the stereotypical female appearance, the most frequent being: graceful, attractive, well-groomed, pretty. The content of the stereotypical male appearance is constituted by four equally positive character-

istics, i.e. smells good, clean, practically dressed, and handsome. Such results of studies in the scope of the stereotypical appearance of Polish women confirm the results of Polish studies conducted by Anna KWIAT-KOWSKA (1999) in the scope of the image of women, resembling elegant and well-groomed ladies.

An explanation of the differences regarding the abundance of content between the stereotypes of man and woman in relation to appearance is the fact that in the traditional social view physical appearance is much more important for women than men. Hence the mental representations concerning appearance are more abundant in content for women. At the same time, it is a result of an obvious observation that people in general — both men and women — differ significantly in their appearance, age, height, weight, eye-colour, hair-colour, clothes, etc. The appearance component undoubtedly refers more to individual categories, which means that various stereotypes of woman's and man's appearance may function in people's minds, and are not necessarily shared by everyone (KOFTA and JASIŃSKA-KANIA, 2001). Thus, a gender stereotype in the scope of appearance is probably not highly consensual. It turns out that a singular stereotypical trait is rarely socially ascribed to a given group or category by more than 50% of respondents (KURCZ, 2001; KOFTA and JASIŃSKA-KANIA, 2001).

When comparing the obtained results concerning appearance with the American studies (DEAUX and LEWIS, 1984) we may find that it includes four expressions related to female appearance (graceful, well-groomed, softness of movements, gentle voice), with no expressions concerning male appearance. An explanation, in the case of male appearance, can be provided through differences between American and Polish culture, and by the fact that the quoted research was conducted in the USA over 20 years ago. Since that time far going changes have taken place in both cultures regarding man image, in relation to concern with their appearance, going to beauticians, fashion, plastic surgery, etc. (MELOSIK, 1999).

The present studies have shown that in the scope of social roles the stereotypes of man and woman involve various activities — connected with both work and leisure. Men are stereotypically viewed as those responsible for the household, as well as those drinking beer, watching television or sleeping on the sofa. Women, on the other hand, are viewed as those who look after the household or do work directly connected with the household, such as shopping or taking care of the children. They are also viewed as those watching soap operas, gossiping and making long telephone conversations. Thus, women's social roles are invariably and mainly associated with home duties.

The acquired data showed that in the scope the stereotypical representation of roles gainful employment in case of women makes a marginal appearance. Meanwhile, as shown by the reality of women in Poland, they are better educated than men and very active professionally — in most families the women work bearing the costs of supporting the household on equal terms with the man (Balcerzak-Paradowska, 2004; Mandal, 2004; Knothe, 1997). This aspect seems to be completely unnoticed by the study participants, for it is not reflected in the stereotype. Similar results were obtained by Mandal (1998) in her studies on the stereotypes of the mother and the father among nursery-school age children, where the mother was not perceived as working out of home, though the respondents were children whose mothers were professionally active.

The typical man, on the other hand, though viewed in the context of typically male roles in stereotypical representations "does not forget" about unstereotypical roles, i.e. helping his wife with the household chores. This seems to be a reflection of the changes and the participation of modern men in family life, however, it is probably also a case of fitting the created representations into the ideal image and women's expectations (Buss, 1990; Boski, 1999), as they do not only seek financial assets but also emotional support in men.

It is in the role stereotype where the biggest cultural similarity concerning gender stereotype components is revealed. When we relate the obtained results to those acquired by the American researchers (Deaux and Lewis, 1984), it becomes clear that the component content connected with male and female roles "includes" three out of four items selected by the Americans. These are traditionally "female" roles — emotional support, managing the household, responsibility for arranging the household. Thus, this result confirms the data concerning a significant cultural universality of gender stereotypes (Wiliams and Best, 1990).

While characterising in the presented research the sign of the evaluative gender stereotype components we can conclude that it is generally positive. This indicates that we are dealing with an auto-stereotype, grouping itself according to the "us—them" category, composed mainly of positive or neutral traits. The studies under discussion concerned Polish men and women, thus people of the same nationality or gender, and in this context were more concerned with an auto-stereotype. As shown by the analyses (e.g. Kurcz, 2001; Kofta and Jasińska-Kania, 2001; Skarżyńska, 1981), the image of one's own group (as opposed to the other group, classified as strangers) in majority consists of positive traits.

In the scope of inter-gender differences it turned out that the women participants, when making a description of all three components of the

gender stereotype, evaluated some of the traits much higher than the men. Generally, however, both genders evaluated the stereotype of their own sex more positively than the others. The women participants were more divergent in their evaluations when characterizing their own sex. Similarly, men were more divergent in their evaluations of themselves. This asymmetry may indicate that the stereotype of both genders is more diverse, less "black and white" and content saturated than the stereotype of the opposite group.

The presented research revealed the existence of many subtypes of man and woman stereotypes in people's minds. This is also indicated by a conducted factor analysis (e.g. Figure 1 and Figure 2), finding subtypes of men and women. In the scope of the appearance component of the stereotype of woman these were: *elegant woman*, *woman with class*, *aesthetic woman*, *unsightly woman*, *brunette*, *blonde (fashionable woman)* and *neuter woman*. In the man stereotype these were: *man with class*, *unsightly man*, *aesthetic man*, *athletic man*. In the scope of the role component in the woman stereotype the factors were: *caring roles*, *household roles*, *out-of-home roles*. In the man stereotype: *role of the family's material provider, irresponsible roles*, *home roles*, *roles fulfilled in free time*, *"minor" household roles*, *leadership roles*. In the scope of the professions component of the woman stereotype we find: *traditionally "female" profession*, *prestigious profession*, *profession connected with entrepreneurship*, *profession connected with using one's voice*. In the male stereotype these professions are: *prestigious profession*, *unprestigious profession*, *"traditionally" male profession*, *profession connected with teaching* and *lucrative profession*.

Men's greater subjective confidence as to the accuracy of their own evaluation of women and men can be associated with their greater self-confidence in general. There are empirical reasons showing that men generally display greater self-confidence than women (Kuczyńska 1992; Wiliams and Best, 1975, 1990; Lachowicz-Tabaczek, 2000; Feingold, 1994; Mandal, 2000; Kwiatkowska, 1999). Thus, their convictions concerning women and men are characterised by a greater certainty of judgement.

Overall, the researches presented in this paper indicate a significant stability and traditional character of the stereotypes of man and woman. The woman stereotype is more developed regarding content than the man stereotype. At the same time, along with the changes taking place in the lives of modern men and women, various subtypes of the stereotypes of man and woman — both traditional and less traditional — which reflect social changes, appear in people's mental representations. Thus, a further question arises as to whether those less traditional images of men and women serve as "exceptions confirming the rule",

maintaining traditional gender stereotypes, or do they constitute a type of somewhat obvious claim, according to which men and women differ not only among themselves but, above all, within their own groups. However, answers to these questions can only be provided by future research on gender stereotypes.

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