

# Stereotyping Executives in Japan and the United States: Optimistic Women, Conservative Men

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*Gender stereotyping of executives as a male-oriented profession historically has been a robust finding. In this study, Japanese and U.S. business students rated task and person characteristics of executives. Women saw female executive traits as comparable to male executives; men rated executives differentially, depending on the executives' presumed gender.*

## *Introduction*

The working conditions of American women have improved and the number of female workers at all levels of the organizational hierarchy has increased (Catalyst, 2003a). Nevertheless, the movement of women into the upper echelons of management have been slow. According to Catalyst (2003a), 13.6% of board seats of the *Fortune* 500 companies in 2003 were women, an increase from 9.6% in 1995. Furthermore, they reported that women held 15.7% of corporate officers/executive managers in *Fortune* 500 companies (Catalyst, 2003b). Although there are still small numbers of women in higher positions, the number of women in these top positions has increased.

In contrast to changes in America, only recently has the idea that men and women be treated more equally in Japan seriously been considered. With the revision of the Equal Employment Opportunities Law (1999; Japan Institute, 2003), the government has tried to improve the situation of working women. A survey by the Japan Institute of Workers' Evolution revealed that of those eligible to work, the percentage of women working was 48.3% in 2003, compared to men whose rate was 75.1%. The proportion of women in higher posts is especially small in Japanese companies. In 2003, the percentage of women in various managerial classifications in Japan was as follows: 2.7% in director posts, 5.0% in section manager jobs, and 11.0% in section chief positions. For companies with operations in both countries, the difference in

the number of women in managerial positions is stark. For example, at the U.S. computer company, Hewlett-Packard (HP), over 25 percent of its female workforce is in managerial posts in the United States. On the other hand, fewer than 4 percent of the women working for HP in Japan have managerial jobs (Woods, 2005). At Sony, 32.7% of managerial positions were held by women in the U.S. in 2004 whereas in 2005 only 2.9% of the managers of the Japanese Sony workforce were women. Why are there such huge differences in the number of women in management positions in the U.S. and Japan? Specifically, why are there very small numbers of Japanese women in managerial positions?

## *Gender Stereotypes and Leadership Evaluation*

Gender stereotypes have received a great deal of attention, especially in relationship to the question of why women do not achieve as many high-level management positions as men. The problem posed by the research is based, in part, on the traditional function of management. Management requires, among other skills, the ability to lead that may necessitate a particular leadership style not correspondent with many women's preferred leadership styles. For example, women may prefer participative styles and men may prefer directive styles; employees expecting directive guidance may not accept participative approaches well, putting women at a disproportionate disadvantage in management roles. In addition, if women exhibit directive styles, this behavior may be discounted or used to

criticize them for acting out of role (Pelletier & Kottke, 1999).

Eagly, Karau & Makhijani (1995) questioned whether there is a sex difference in the effectiveness of leaders' roles and whether there are conditions that produce sex differences in the effectiveness of leaders and managers. They proposed that people tend to evaluate one sex better than the other in gender-congruent settings. Thus, this tendency leads raters to prejudiced reactions to men or women who are out of role and then to rate their performance on the basis of gender congruence rather than actual effectiveness. As already noted, Pelletier and Kottke (1999) found support for this conjecture.

To understand and eventually eliminate gender stereotype based-prejudice, we should consider what kind of expectations people have towards men and women as leaders and managers. Eagly and Karau (2002) argued that there are two attributions that people perceive consistently with each sex. One is that *communal characteristics* are attributed more strongly to women. These characteristics include person-oriented factors such as affectionate, helpful, kind, and so on. On the other hand, *agentic characteristics* are ascribed more strongly to men. These characteristics include task-oriented factors such as assertive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, and independent. These communal and agentic attributes especially illuminate the issues surrounding prejudice against women in high-level leadership positions. Using both social role theory and the previous work on communal and agentic attributions, Eagly and Karau (2002) developed congruity theory. Based on congruity theory, they argued that the perception of incongruity between leaders' roles and female gender roles leads people to hold a more negative view of females in leadership roles. Female leaders face two types of disadvantages according to congruity theory. One is that "the descriptive aspect of the female gender role is the perception of women as possessing less leadership ability than men" (p. 588). This disadvantage is based on how people perceive the combination of the descriptive aspects of gender and leader roles. This idea leads people to perceive that women possess "less agency and more communion" (p. 589) than men. Thus, people see women as less

qualified to be leaders. The second disadvantage for women in this theory derives from the fact that "the female gender role is the less favorable evaluation of behavior that fulfills the prescriptions of a leader role" (p. 588). That is, in addition to women being seen as less qualified, the expectation is that the behaviors necessary to be a leader are evaluated less favorably in women.

### *Perceptions of Women as Managers*

As mentioned before, a number of researchers have focused on women's advancement since the 1970s. In particular, Schein's program of research about the relationships between sex stereotypes and requisite managerial characteristics has influenced several researchers who hoped to identify barriers to women's advancement (Deal & Stevenson, 1998; Dennis & Kunkel, 2004; Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989; Kunkel, Dennis, & Waters, 2003).

In the early 1970s, Schein (1973) revealed from her empirical investigation that "think manager—think male" was a strongly held belief among middle managers in the United States. Schein examined how much male managers believed successful middle managers should possess those characteristics, attitudes and temperaments, and whether those attributes were more commonly ascribed to men in general than women in general. In addition, Schein (1973) hypothesized that the association between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics would be stronger among younger managers than older managers. Based on previous research (Bowman, Worthy, & Greyser, 1965), she assumed that male acceptance of women managers would increase with the age of the respondent because older managers have had more work experience, including more experience working with women. Her research results confirmed the first hypothesis that men in general were more likely to be perceived as successful middle managers than women in general. In examining age, the results showed that there was a small but significant difference between older managers and younger managers in their perceptions. The data from the older managers did not support the association between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics, but younger managers did. Schein

suggested that the more women become active participants in the labor force, and the more experience people have with working women, the relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics among all age groups will decrease. These findings may hold promise for enhancing the status of women in management for the future. Therefore, even though there was a strong belief in “think-manager—think-male,” the findings suggested that with tenure the differential stereotypical perceptions of men and women would lessen.

After the first empirical study, Schein (1975) replicated the study using the same materials among female managers and compared the results to the earlier 1973 study. She examined the same hypotheses and found similar results with the exception of the age variable. Even though she had found different associations between sex role stereotype and requisite management characteristics among younger male managers than older male managers, there was no association found between sex role stereotyping and management characteristics for younger female managers and older female managers. Younger and older female managers tended to ascribe male characteristics to managers in general. Taking the results of the 1973 study together with the 1975 study, Schein (1975) suggested that the association between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics perceived by both men and women would indicate that managers see women as less qualified than men and explain, in part, why women fail to advance to higher levels.

More recently, Schein repeated the study using students as participants. In her later work, Schein, Mueller, and Jacobson (1989) examined management students' perceptions in the U.S. and then Schein and Mueller (1992) compared the results with students from Great Britain and Germany. First, Schein et al. (1989) conducted the survey to investigate the relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics among male and female management students in the U.S. The first hypothesis was that characteristics of a successful manager would be more commonly ascribed to men in general than to women in general. The second hypothesis was that female management

students would also perceive successful managers as possessing those characteristics more commonly ascribed to men in general rather than women in general. According to the results, male students confirmed the first hypothesis but the results from the female students did not confirm the second hypothesis. Schein et al. (1989) also compared these results with the data from the managers studied 15 years earlier. The results from male management students were similar to the results from the study done in 1973. Men still perceived that successful middle managers would have those characteristics more commonly ascribed to men than to women. However, the results among female participants were different from the study in 1975. Female management students in the 1989 study did not perceive that successful middle managers would require masculine characteristics. Schein assumed that female management students perceive women and men as equally likely to possess requisite characteristics for successful middle managers.

Schein and Mueller (1992) also examined whether there was a relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics in samples drawn from Great Britain and Germany. She compared the results of this study to the previous 1989 study of the U.S. sample. The results from male management students revealed the same pattern across the three countries. Male students saw managers as more similar to men in general than women in general. On the other hand, female students showed differences across countries. As mentioned above, the female students in the U.S. perceived women and men to have similar characteristics as a successful manager. German female students provided similar responses as their male counterparts, in which men were rated more similarly to managers than women were. Finally, British female students showed similar responses as their male counterparts even though to a lesser extent than German students did. We turn now to a discussion of women's role within Japanese society.

#### *Women in Japanese Society*

The Equal Employment Opportunities Law was revised by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare in 1997. The law prohibits gender

discrimination at every stage of working lives starting from classified advertisements, recruitment and promotion process, and employment until retirement (Sakai, 2001). The revised EEO law was put into force in 1999, and Japanese women must be treated equally to men in the workplace. At the time of the revision of the law, a survey conducted by the Cabinet Office, Government of Japan (2004) showed that the percentage of disagreement with the statement “men at work and women at home” was slightly higher than that of agreement. Further, women disagreed with the statement more than men did. It is evident that women are less satisfied than men with the traditional sentiment expressed in the sentence. That the Japanese government conducted a survey might be good sign for women and may help to begin the removal of some long standing barriers for working women.

Nevertheless, it is clear that Japanese women still face difficulties in terms of working in organizations and living in Japanese society. As already noted, American women have accepted an increased egalitarian role definition since the 1970s. Further, Schein (2001) confirmed that American female students have less strongly held sex-typed beliefs about managerial characteristics relative to 20 years ago. By virtue of this trend, the women have experienced positive employment, and people tend not to see the traditional female role as the ideal or only role for women in the U.S. Because some of the same societal changes (i.e., more women working outside of the home) that shaped U.S. attitudes are now present in Japan, Bankart (1985) expected to see positive change among the Japanese people. Her findings from research on Japanese attitudes toward women revealed that Japanese men continue to hold a more conservative view than women. Women with children were more liberal and unmarried college women were the most liberal about the appropriate role of women in Japanese society. Despite those women’s points of view, women have been unable to gain equal access to management jobs because male workers occupy most managerial positions.

To appreciate Japanese cultural background, we should consider how powerfully Confucian ideology has shaped and continues to shape social roles in Asian cultures. Chinn (2002) defined

Confucian ethics and explained the impact of Confucianism on social structures and roles. Confucius lived as a Chinese philosopher and teacher 2,500 years ago during a period of great social turmoil. His fundamental ideals of teachings were “to establish stable, reciprocal, ethical, but fundamentally nonegalitarian social relationships based on gender, age, and position in society” (p. 304). Confucian ethics defined relationships between ruler and the governed, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, even those between friends with the goal of establishing a stable society. Confucianism’s nonegalitarian ideology continues to have a strong influence on social roles not only in China’s educational, bureaucratic, and legal systems but also in Japan and Korea (Chinn, 2002). Confucian relationships still have a strong impact on the family structure and governmental resources even though legal systems have attempted to modernize society by liberating women.

How might Confucian principles affect expectations of the managerial role in Japan? Concerning the relationship between stereotypes and Confucian culture, Whitehill (1992) noted that the Confucian doctrines of unquestioned obedience to the family, loyalty to one’s superior and reverence for education are evidenced in the disciplines of Japanese management practices. One of the reasons that male workers in Japan have occupied most managerial jobs is adherence to Confucian principles. Islam (1997) also suggested that the relationships inherent in Confucian principles have transferred to Japanese companies, especially, “a paternalistic management style, loyalty to company, distinction between juniors and seniors, work based on group and differential treatment between male and female” (p. 152). Therefore, it is understandable why it is easier for men than for women to succeed in organizations in Confucian-oriented societies.

Sugihara and Katsurada (2000) focused on gender-role personality traits in Japanese culture and considered the historical background of Japanese gender roles. They mentioned, “Although the modern constitution declares that all citizens are equal, the traditional social systems and laws, which were established on the basis of gender inequality, still have a strong influence on many aspects of people’s lives in Japan” (Sugihara

& Katsurada, 2000, p. 310). According to Sugihara and Katsurada (2000), Japanese society still has a strong belief in a gendered division of labor in which men are at work and women are at home. This result seems to contradict the recent survey result by the Japanese government (2004). Therefore, although Japanese society has changed to give opportunities for women to work outside the home, it is evident that androcentric rules still operate to prevent many women from working in organizations and promoting to managerial levels.

#### *Other Barriers to the Advancement of Women in Japan*

In addition to the strong Confucian influence, other factors prevent Japanese women from getting promoted and make it difficult for them to work at higher managerial levels. First, traditional Japanese Human Resource Management (HRM) policies are unique in their characteristics, which have helped Japan to be independent as a highly self-reliant nation in the world after the Second World War but at the same time disadvantaged Japanese women (Islam, 1997). The traditional Japanese HRM has been extremely inflexible because of lifetime employment or senior-based pay systems (Morris, Hassard, & McCann, 2006). However, by increasing the number of women in the workplace, implementing the EEO law, developing high technology, and so on, companies have started to change the traditional HRM policies in recent years. For example, job advertisements are open to both men and women, selection and recruitment procedures are improved, and women are provided more job choices. However, there is very little change in the policy direction of HRM in the areas of job rotation, transfer and promotion, areas that are important for women who want to advance to management. Islam (1997) indicated the seniority rules, in terms of age and continuity of service, serves as a criterion to provide promotion and penalties. This rule creates a barrier to women's career development since women tend to leave the company because of family issues, even for a short time, and therefore bear a penalty such as loss of all accumulated years of service. In Japan, women have historically been considered short-term employees and unable to satisfy the requirements of continuous job rotation: thus, this

is another reason for preventing women from promoting to the higher levels.

Although Japanese women report that they prefer self-realization rather than self-sacrifice, many women still feel a strong responsibility to take care of their parents and parents-in-law Hashizume (2000). Considering that the Japanese population over 65 stood at 17 percent in 2000 (Higuchi, 2001), the care giving for elderly parents might become more of a pressure, rather than less, and thus prevent women from working outside the home. Specifically, if women want to work continuously and receive more promotions, they are likely to face escalating conflicts between family and work.

#### *Comparison of Japanese with United States Managers*

Although American and Japanese women are from clearly, culturally different societies, both societies are seen as highly developed capitalistic countries (Suzuki, 1991). Moreover, Robins-Mowry (1983) mentioned that there are strong similarities between the modern life styles of Japanese women and those of American women. Suzuki (1991) compared and contrasted the sex role attitudes of American and Japanese women and examined the demographic variables, education, work experience, and age in predicting attitudes toward men and women's sex roles. The purpose of her study was to assess how these variables affected female participants' egalitarian sex role attitudes. According to the findings, American women who had a job were more egalitarian than women without jobs. Japanese women with professional/managerial jobs had more egalitarian sex role attitudes than all other women, with or without jobs. Therefore, it is evident that, overall, Japanese women tend to have lower egalitarian sex role attitudes than American women. Even though America and Japan are highly developed countries, there is a huge difference in their expectation of egalitarian sex roles.

Turning to the effects of sex role expectations of managers, Schein, Mueller, Lituchy, and Liu (1996) conducted a survey to examine the relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics among management students in Japan and the People's

Republic of China. She compared the results of this study with the results of her previous studies, which were done in the U.S. (1989), Great Britain and Germany (1992). According to the comparison in these five countries, male management students perceived men to be more likely to have successful management characteristics; this effect held across all countries studied. The results of the degree of managerial sex typing showed that male students in all five countries exhibited high and significant expectations of male–manager similarity. On the other hand, the degree of female–manager similarity was low and close to zero among male students.

Female participants revealed different perceptions regarding the managerial sex typing across the five countries. Although females in four countries perceived that women were less likely to have the managerial characteristic than men, American women rated men and women most similarly in possession of requisite management characteristics. The degree of male–manager similarity among female students from all four countries revealed their ratings of men were significantly associated with managers' characteristics. On the other hand, the degree of female–manager similarity was different in each country. Of the four countries studied, there was a low (Germany  $r = .19$  and China  $r = .28$ ) or moderate (U.K.  $r = .31$  and U.S.  $r = .43$ ) positive significant resemblance between descriptions of women and managers. Ratings from the Japanese female students, however, exhibited no significant resemblance between descriptions of women and managers ( $r = -.04$ ). It is more difficult for Japanese women to be recognized as having the requisite management characteristics compared to other countries. Schein et al. (1996) suggested that the variations in the degree of managerial sex typing among female students might reflect their perceptions of opportunities for promotion and actual participation of women in management. In the United States where there are comparatively more women in management, female participants do not rate the manager job as exclusively male. In contrast, females in Japan have far fewer female role models in management.

No research has examined the gender stereotypes of leader traits in Japan. However, Sczesny, Bosak, Neff, and Schyns (2004) examined the gender stereotypes and the attribution of leadership traits in Australia, Germany, and India; based on their findings, some hypotheses can be formulated about Japan. Sczesny et al. (2004) conducted a survey to analyze the impact of cultural background on the perceptions of incongruity between the feminine and leader roles and on how male and female participants described themselves on those leadership characteristics. They speculated that people in the countries in which there was a high degree of actual participation of women in leadership (holding top political offices and executive positions in companies) would perceive women as more fit in the leader role compared to the countries in which there was a lower degree of the actual participation of women in leadership. To formulate their research hypotheses, they examined information from the United Nations (UN) about the equality of women and men in those countries. Specifically, as a guide to assessing women's roles in their respective countries, they used the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) developed by the UN.

The GDI measures the average achievement of each country in life expectancy, literacy, school enrollments, and incomes, taking into account any disparities in achievement between men and women. The GDI adjusts the average achievement to account for inequalities between men and women regarding the three key dimensions measured. The higher the GDI value, the more women and men are treated equally on the three dimensions: a long and healthy life, knowledge, and adequate standard of living. For the samples in Sczesny et al.'s study (2004), the GDI indicated that Australia ranked 4th, Germany ranked 15th, and India ranked 112th of the 143 countries the UN had assessed. As another indicator, Sczesny et al. used the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), which measures these three basic dimensions—economic participation and decision-making, political participation and decision-making, and power over economic resources. Two indicators measure economic participation and

decision-making power—women and men’s percentage shares of professional and technical positions. Political participation and decision-making power are measured by women and men’s percentage shares of parliamentary seats. Finally, power over economic resources is measured by women and men’s estimated earned income. As the GEM focuses on women’s opportunities rather than their potential, it accounts for existing gender inequality in the above named dimensions. The higher the GEM value, the more gender equality in the areas such as economics and politics. For the samples, used in the Sczesny et al.’s study, on GEM, Australia was ranked 9th, Germany was ranked 5th, and India was ranked 95th of 102 countries.

First, Sczesny et al. (2004) hypothesized that participants in all three countries would be expected to perceive no differences in the characteristics of male executives and executives-in-general. Second, regarding the leadership characteristics of female executives and executives-in-general, they expected that women would perceive no differences in Australia and Germany while participants in India would report distinct differences (because fewer female role models exist in India).

According to their findings, the male participants in all three countries as well as German female participants reported the strongest stereotypes about leaders-in-general. That is, they viewed leaders to possess more male oriented traits than did women in Australia and India, who had less stereotypes of the leader role. Regarding leadership traits, while participants in Australia and India perceived that task-oriented traits were less valued than person-oriented traits, task-oriented were evaluated as more important in Germany. Thus, the results in Germany are consistent with the phenomenon “think-manager—think-male.” In summery, Sczesny et al.’s results (2004) support that gender stereotypes still have an impact on the perception of leadership. In addition, they found the perception of leader role and leadership traits varied with culture.

#### *Rationale for Research Questions*

The purpose of this study was to analyze the influence of cultural background on the perceived

incongruity between female and leader roles and investigate for potential differences in leadership characteristics between U.S. and Japanese samples. First, similar to Sczesny et al. (2004) who examined the gender stereotypes and the attribution of leadership traits in Australia, Germany, and India, we replicated their study to investigate the cultural impact on female leadership roles in the U.S. and Japan. Following the strategy of Sczesny et al.’s study, we also examined the GDI and GEM values for Japan and the U.S. According to the GDI rank, the U.S. ranked 5th of 144 countries while Japan ranked 13th. As another indicator of gender equality by national background, the GEM ranks show that the U.S. ranked 10th in 70 countries while Japan ranked 44th. For both the GDI and GEM ranks, it is clear that there is less equality between men and women in Japan than in the U.S. Further, the Schein studies have demonstrated that there are continuing differences in how men and women view leadership, especially when participant gender is taken into account. Therefore, we expected that there would be significant differences in the ratings of relevant traits for executives in Japan and in the U.S.

Following previous studies (Schein, 2001; Schein et al., 1996; Sczesny et al., 2004), we predicted:

H1a. Male executives and executives-in-general will be rated the same on person-oriented and task-oriented traits. That is, there will be no difference in the ratings of male executives, and executives-in-general on either the person-oriented or task-oriented traits. This lack of difference will be found, regardless of nationality of participants.

As Schein found that American women had a less gender stereotypic view of leadership roles than men, we predicted that American female students would report a less gender stereotypic view of leadership than Japanese female students. As Sczesny et al. (2004) hypothesized, we expected that women in the U.S. would be expected to perceive no differences, regarding the leadership traits of female executives and executives-in-general. In contrast, in Japan, female students would hold the traditional view of

leadership. That is, the female students would report pronounced differences between female executives and executives-in-general. Therefore, two hypotheses were,

H1b1. The U.S. female students will report no differences between executives-in-general and female executives on both traits.

H1b2. The Japanese female students will perceive differences in executives-in-general and female executives on both traits, reflecting a gender stereotypic view of leadership.

On the other hand, for the male students in both countries, we predicted they would hold traditional views of leadership traits for female executives. Therefore, we expected,

H1b3. Male students in both countries will report differences in both sets of traits between executives-in-general and female executives.

## Method

### *Participants*

Participants were undergraduate students in the United States and Japan whose major was business-related or who planned to work (in an organization) after graduation. After removing surveys that were incomplete, evidenced haphazard responding, or for which the respondents were ineligible (i.e., were not business majors or were not planning to work after graduation), there were 148 usable American surveys (56 male and 92 female) and 141 usable Japanese surveys (85 male and 56 female).

### *Procedure*

For the U.S. sample, we collected surveys at California State University, San Bernardino. Surveys were distributed by faculty at Toyo University (Tokyo), Senshu University (Kanagawa prefecture, adjacent to Tokyo), and Wakayama University (southwestern Japan). The number of surveys collected at each of these universities was 31 at Toyo, 35 at Senshu, and 79 from Wakayama.

Participants were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions. Their participation was

voluntary and participants were treated in accordance with the APA Standards.

### *Demographic Information*

We asked participants their age, gender, employment status (full time, part time, or not currently employed), student status (1<sup>st</sup> year, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 4<sup>th</sup> year, or other), and major. We also asked participants of the American sample if they were international students to clarify their status as American students. Additionally, there was a question of their primary language to confirm the cultural background of the American sample. Only students for which English was their first language were included in the American sample. To include participants who were business-oriented, all participants were asked about their plans after graduation. Therefore, not all their majors were business-related (e.g. psychology, literature), but participants whose plans were business-oriented (e.g. working in an organization upon graduation) were included.

### *Materials*

The U.S. participants were administered an English version of the survey and the Japanese participants answered a version in the Japanese language. The materials for the Japanese sample were translated from English into Japanese by the first author (a native speaker of Japanese) and back translated by another native speaker of Japanese who was also fluent in English (a faculty member at CSUSB). Unfortunately, after administration had begun, an error was detected in the Japanese version survey. One row of the Big Five personality survey was missing. This omission affected two items of extraversion, and one item of both conscientiousness and emotional stability. Item means were used in subsequent analyses as long as there were six valid item responses available.

### *Survey Design*

The design to address the hypotheses followed the method used by Sczesny et al. (2004). In all, four factors were assessed: type of leadership trait, executives' sex, country of participants, and participants' gender. Three surveys were constructed that varied by the executives' sex to be evaluated by the participants. One survey used



“all executives” (gender neutral), another used “male executives” as the target stimulus to be evaluated, and the third used “female executives” as the target stimulus.

### *Variables*

*Type of leadership trait.* Leadership-specific characteristics provided the dependent variables. As we will describe later, there were two types of leadership traits: person-oriented and task-oriented traits. Person-oriented traits consisted of 16 items and task-oriented traits consisted of 18 items (see Table 1). The classification of the items to the two types of traits was based on a pretest developed by Sczesny, et al. (2004). Participants were asked to evaluate these items with regard to target stimulus.

*Executive target conditions.* There were three executive targets: executives-in-general, male executives, female executives. Participants were assigned to one of the three types of target condition and asked to estimate the percentage to which the group *possesses* two types of leadership traits, which were person-oriented and task-oriented.

*Country of participants.* Because we wanted to assess the possible impact of culture, participant background (Japanese and American) was used as an independent variable.

*Participants' gender.* To assess the effect for gender, both men and women were included as participants and gender was used as an independent variable.

### *Measures*

*Percentage estimate of person-oriented and task-oriented leadership traits.* Participants were asked to estimate the percentage of a given stimulus group/person (i.e., executives-in-general, male executives, and female executives) that possess a specific leadership characteristic. Sczesny et al. (2004) developed and pilot tested 16 person-oriented and 18 task-oriented leadership characteristics that were used for the final version of this study's questionnaire. The questionnaire followed the sentence that provides the target stimulus: “In your opinion, what percent of [*all executives; male executives; female executives*] possess this characteristic?” Each question was answered on a scale from 0 to 100% in ten percent increments (i.e., 0%, 10%, 20%, 30% etc).

*Image of Executives-in-general.* Following the procedure of Sczesny et al. (2004), we also asked people to identify gender of their image of executives-in-general. Participants who were assigned to the “executive-in-general” condition were asked to answer which group they imagined while they were responding to the questions: male executives, female executives, or both male and female executives. Specifically, the question asked was “Which group did you imagine while answering the questionnaire?”

## Results

### *Data Screening*

Prior to beginning data analysis, the assumptions of normality were evaluated through SPSS. Several variables had missing data. However, there were no variables with 5 percent or more missing values, and there were no significant patterns of missing data using a criterion of  $p < .001$ . Using a criterion of  $z = |3.3|$ ,  $p < .001$ , twelve cases with extremely low  $z$  scores on one or more variables were found to be univariate outliers. Therefore, these cases were deleted. After detecting univariate outliers, we checked for multivariate outliers. With Mahalanobis distance statistic, we used  $\chi^2 = 16.266$  ( $\alpha = .001$  with  $df = 3$ ) as a criterion. There were no significant multivariate outliers.

After deleting all outliers and the evaluation of the assumptions, 277 cases were left for analysis. There were 136 cases in the Japanese sample and 141 cases in the U.S. sample.

### *Overview of the Planned Analyses*

*Repeated-Measures Analysis of Variance.* Because *a priori* differences were predicted, we specifically examined F tests and mean differences using pairwise comparisons.

Regarding executives-in-general and male executives (Hypothesis 1a), we predicted that male executives and executives-in-general will be rated the same on person-oriented and task-oriented traits, regardless of nationality of participants.

To examine this hypothesis, we used the data from the students who rated executives-in-general and male executives. Ninety-nine students in total

rated executives-in-general and 80 students rated male executives.

First, main effects were examined through between-subjects ANOVA. Concerning the effect of executive target condition, no significant mean differences were found for either rating of traits, person, [ $F(1, 171) = 3.43, p = .066$ ] and task, [ $F(1, 171) = .857, p = .356$ ] (see Table 2 for person, Table 3 for task). Although no significant differences by executive target condition were found, subsequent analyses demonstrated differences by country. Therefore, Hypothesis 1a was not supported.

Other effects from this ANOVA were examined. For the effect of country, the person-oriented result was not significant,  $F(1, 171) = 3.07, p = .081$ . For the interaction effect, the person-oriented result was not significant,  $F(4, 171) = 1.68, p = .157$ . (see Table 2). However, the task-oriented results by country were significant,  $F(1, 171) = 15.12, p < .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .081$ . As shown in Table 3, the U.S. participants ( $M = 77.49$ ) rated the target higher on task-oriented traits than the Japanese participants did ( $M = 71.84$ ). Although we predicted no effect of country on both traits, the task-oriented traits differed. The task-oriented result was significant,  $F(4, 171) = 5.12, p < .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .107$ . The mean scores of person-oriented traits are shown in Table 2 and in Figure 1 for male participants and Figure 2 for female participants. The mean scores of task-oriented traits are shown in Table 3 and in Figure 3 for males, Figure 4 for females.

To test hypothesis 1b, there were data available from 176 students (male: 89 and female: 87) who were assigned into one of two conditions: executives-in-general ( $n = 99$ ) and female executives ( $n = 77$ ). There were three hypotheses for these conditions. Hypothesis 1b1 and 1b2 focused on female students in two countries. Hypothesis 1b3 analyzed the ratings made by male students in their reactions to the two conditions. The results of person-oriented traits are shown in Table 4 and in Figure 5 for males and Figure 6 for females. The results of task-oriented traits are shown in Table 5 and in Figure 7 for males and Figure 8 females.

*United States female students (Hypothesis 1b1).* For the U.S. female students, we predicted that they would not show the stereotypic views of

leadership. Specifically, we expected that U.S. female students would report no differences between executives-in-general and female executives on both traits.

To examine this hypothesis, pairwise comparisons were conducted. As we predicted, the ratings of both traits were not significantly different in the U.S. female students, thus supporting the hypothesis, person, [ $F(1, 168) = 3.11, p = .080$ ] and task, [ $F(1, 168) = .176, p = .675$ ].

*Japanese female students (Hypothesis 1b2).* Contrary to the U.S. females, Japanese females were expected to perceive stereotypic views of leadership traits.

Through the analysis of the pairwise comparisons, we examined this hypothesis. Although the Japanese females were expected to report differences in rating two executives' conditions, the results did not show differences on either trait, person, [ $F(1, 168) = .058, p = .810$ ] and task, [ $F(1, 168) = 1.65, p = .201$ ]. That is, they did not differentiate between executives-in-general and female executives and thus the data did not support the hypothesis.

*Male students in Japan and the United States (Hypothesis 1b3).* For the male students in both countries, we predicted they would hold traditional views of leadership traits.

The U.S. male students differentiated between executives-in-general and female executives on person-oriented traits, person  $F(1, 168) = 4.65, p < .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .027$ . The mean scores are shown in Table 4. U.S. male participants perceived that female executives were more likely to have person-oriented traits than executives-in-general. However, for the perception of task-oriented traits, participants did not differentiate these executives' conditions, task  $F(1, 168) = .454, p = .501$ . Therefore, our prediction was not supported.

For the Japanese male students, the results were unexpected. According to the results, the ratings by the Japanese male students of both person-oriented and task-oriented traits were significantly different, person, [ $F(1, 168) = .411, p < .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .024$ ] and task, [ $F(1, 168) = 17.42, p < .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .094$ ]. The mean scores are shown in Table 4 for person-oriented traits and Table 5 for task-oriented traits. Although they

differentiated on both traits, they rated executives-in-general higher on both traits than those of female.

### *Image of Executives-in-General*

Following the previous study of Sczesny et al. (2004), we examined how students perceived “executives-in-general.” Students who were assigned to the “executives-in-general” condition were asked to answer which gender grouping they imagined while they were responding to the questions: male executives, female executives, or both male and female executives. There were 101 students who responded to this question (Japan  $n = 58$  and U.S.  $n = 43$ ).

The results of chi-square test were significant only in the U.S. sample, overall  $\chi^2(2, N = 101) = 6.68, p < .05$ . Whereas men imagined no female executives and mostly male executives, women reported that they had imagined both male and female executives. However, no significance was found in Japan, overall  $\chi^2(2, N = 101) = 3.60, p = .166$ . For the Japanese sample, that lack of difference appears to reflect that men and women alike imagined male executives (see Table 6). Therefore, gender stereotypes were still found in the students’ perceptions.

## Discussion

The present study examined cultural differences of gender stereotypes in management. To address the first two hypotheses, students were asked to estimate the percentage to which one of three executive target conditions possessed person-oriented and task-oriented leadership traits.

### *Executives-in-General and Male Executives*

Following the results of Schein et al. (1996) and Sczesny et al. (2004), we expected that management students would not differentiate in their ratings of leadership traits for executives-in-general and male executives. Specifically, as many people perceive that men are more likely to have successful managerial characteristics than women (Schein, et al., 1996), we expected that the ratings of the characteristics of executives-in-general and male executives would be similar. Regardless of country or gender, these similarities of leadership characteristics between executives-in-general and

male executives were expected. For the ratings of person-oriented traits, participants did not differentiate between executives-in-general and male executives as we had predicted. However, the results of task-oriented traits revealed differences by country.

Through pairwise comparisons we found unexpected results from the Japanese male students in their ratings of executives on both traits (see Figures 1, 3). They differentiated the leadership traits of these executives and rated executives-in-general on leadership traits higher than male executives. There are several reasons to explain why this study’s result was not consistent with the previous studies (Schein et al., 1996; Sczesny, et al., 2004). First, we may consider that the current Japanese society has been in a process of change since the revised EEO was put into force (1999). When Schein et al. (1996) conducted a survey for Japanese management students, the opinions of these students probably had not been influenced strongly by the changing society or the revised EEO. As one of indicators of the influence of this change of Japanese society, a survey by the Japanese government (2004) found that the percentage of disagreement with the statement “men at work and women at home” was slightly higher than that of agreement. These proportions by gender are fairly close to the results of the  $\chi^2$  in our study regarding which executive group the participants imagined when they responded to the executive-in-general condition. Perhaps the Japanese views of executives or leadership have been changing. Therefore, the unexpected results found in the Japanese male sample may reflect these Japanese current circumstances.

Schein et al. (1989) found in their study that the U.S. women’s view of managerial competence was different from that of participants from the other countries in her study; the female students in this study also had different views when compared with the Japanese female students. Therefore, the analysis of the images of executives-in-general also revealed that Japanese students—both male and female—imagined predominately male executives, consistent with a stereotypic view of executives, “think-manager—think-male.”

### *Executives-in-general and Female Executives*

Schein et al. (1989) found that female management students reported different perspectives from their male counterparts in the U.S. With respect to the cultural differences, Schein (2001) also argued that participants' leadership stereotyping could be different if they perceive their opportunities for or actual participation in management. Therefore, following the strategy employed by Sczesny et al. (2004), we also described how the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) were indicators of the degree of gender equality in the U.S. and Japan. For GDI score, which measures a long and healthy life, knowledge, and adequate standard of living, the U.S. was 5th out of 144 countries while Japan was 13th out of 144 countries. For the GEM score, which measures economic participation and decision-making, political participation and decision-making, and power over economic resources, the U.S. ranked 10th out of 70 countries, and Japan ranked 44th out of 70 countries. For this study, the GEM scores might be the more relevant as they represent the constructs of interest in this study, those that relate to leadership models in the workplace. The GDI scores, which reflect standards of living, did not differentiate Japan from the U.S. as much as did the GEM scores. The standards of living are relatively similar for Japan and the U.S. whereas the amount of political and economic power are much more divergent between the two cultures. Specifically, the GEM scores revealed that Japan ranked considerably lower than the U.S.

For the first hypothesis (Hypothesis 1b1), we predicted that the U.S. female students would not differentiate between executives-in-general and female executives in rating both traits. This hypothesis was in keeping with the GEM score and means that the female students would rate in accordance to their perception for opportunities in management. Therefore, regardless of types of leadership traits, the U.S. female students were expected to report the same scores in rating both trait types. The results of this study indicated that these students reported no difference in rating on both traits as predicted, results consistent with previous studies (Schein et al., 1989).

On the other hand, Japanese female students were expected to rate executives-in-general and female executives differently. As the GEM score represents fewer economic and political opportunities for women in Japan, we anticipated that Japanese female students would not perceive many opportunities for management or actual participation in higher positions. Therefore, these students were expected to report that executives-in-general would possess different leadership traits than female executives. Contrary to this expectation, the Japanese female students did not differentiate between executives-in-general and female executives on either leadership trait. In other words, they perceived that executives-in-general and female executives would possess leadership traits to a similar extent. These results in the Japanese sample were not generally consistent with Schein and associates' previous study (Schein et al., 1996). Japanese female students did not perceive of executives-in-general as exclusively male when asked to indicate which group of executives they had imagined while rating the executive in general. This finding suggests that the Japanese female students might have optimistic views of opportunities for managerial positions.

Suzuki (1991) found that Japanese women with education and career-oriented managerial jobs tended to have an egalitarian sex role attitude in her study. When she conducted her research (1991), the egalitarian sex role attitudes among U.S. and Japanese women were significantly different probably because of the differences in education or fewer opportunities for managerial jobs for Japanese women. However, as the number of Japanese women pursuing higher education has increased, an egalitarian sex role attitude might be more prevalent among Japanese females than ever before.

In addition to this perspective, Powell, Butterfield, and Parent (2002) studied the extent to which undergraduate students were aware of their circumstances in terms of business settings. Powell et al. (2002) investigated whether the perception of gender stereotypes of managerial characteristics have changed with an increase in the proportion of women managers. They used the data collected in 1990 and compared these data with the data collected from the same two groups

in 1984-1985 and 1976-1977. Powell et al. (2002) found that there had been a change in stereotyping across the decades studied. Powell et al. suggested that the personal experiences of business students were a key factor in the reduction of stereotyping. In more recent years, more students had parents, relatives, or other models of women in the workforce. Considering the responses from Powell et al.'s sample, the Japanese sample in our study also may have seen some sort of change in the proportion of women in management through elders and public media. Therefore, the Japanese students, especially females, showed views that differed from the results of Schein et al.'s study (1996).

The latest study of gender stereotypes in Japan may also help to explain this result. Gunkel, Lusk, Wolff, and Li (2007) examined the effect of gender stereotypes on the importance of work-related goals, the preference for performance rewards, and the preference for management styles in Germany, China, Japan, and the U.S. From their study, Japanese full-time male and female employees exhibited similar patterns for managerial styles, especially for decision-making. This result was not consistent with the previously found characteristic of high masculinity for Japanese society on Hofstede's dimensions (1990). Therefore, the results of no differences between executives-in-general and female executives among Japanese females shows consistency with these previous studies (Gunkel, Lusk, Wolff, & Li, 2007; Suzuki, 1991).

Finally, we examined how male students rated executives-in-general and female executives in terms of leadership traits. Following Sczesny et al.'s (2004) strategy, we predicted that male students would differentiate executives-in-general and female executives. We found that the U.S. male students rated female executives on person-oriented traits higher than executives-in-general. However, they did not rate differently the two executives' conditions in terms of task-oriented traits. This result was consistent with the perceptions of Australian male students in Sczesny et al.'s study (2004) and revealed that the U.S. male students still hold stereotypic views of female executives with regard to person-oriented traits. Perhaps, the male students rating female executives higher on person-oriented traits is not

an altogether negative outcome. What one does not know is if those same students would respect the authority of a female executive who displayed person-oriented characteristics. These results are in keeping with some arguments made by Eagly (2007) in which she compared the potential advantages for women in leadership positions in the U.S. with the known disadvantages to women. Considering the characteristics associated with leadership, women face a conflict with masculine leader roles and people's expectations of them as women. Although attitudinal prejudices toward female leaders yet remain in the U.S., women have steadily achieved more leadership and managerial positions over the years (Eagly, 2007). Relative to the findings in this study, Eagly suggested that there would be some situations (i.e., middle-level leadership positions) where women would be perceived to be more effective than men because these types of positions require communal or person-oriented skills. Therefore, female executives with person-oriented leadership traits might not be negatively evaluated in business settings.

The Japanese male students rated the executive targets in an unexpected way. Although they differentiated executives-in-general and female executives on both leadership traits, we had not expected that they would rate executives-in-general higher than female executives on person-oriented traits. As we found differences in rating executives-in-general and male executives on task-oriented traits, the Japanese male students tended to have unique perspectives regarding leadership traits. As found in executives-in-general and male executives on task-oriented traits, we could explain this latter result by the same reasoning (e.g., the revised EEO, or changes in current Japanese society). Although Yuasa (2005) showed that the number of women employed has noticeably increased over the past forty years, there are still very few female managers in Japanese society because of its "male dominant culture" (Yuasa, 2005, p. 207). Considering this Japanese situation, it is not likely that the lack of differences in rating executives-in-general and female executives is a result of positive reasons (e.g., the revised EEO or the results from the survey by the Japanese government). Rather, it makes more sense that there are too few Japanese

female managers as existing executive models for the male students to imagine “female” executives and rate them. Therefore, Japanese men may have rated female executives relatively similarly to executives-in-general because their only available examples of executives are men. Therefore, they may have had no image of female executives upon which to draw while completing the survey.

In a recent study conducted by Gunkel et al. (2007), men and women in both the U.S. and Japan did not reveal gender stereotypic views of work-related goals. Among the U.S. sample, men and women held closely to the gender stereotypes on work-related goals as predicted. Contrary to the expected gender stereotypes, Japanese men in the Gunkel et al. study perceived more favorably not only the masculine work attribute of advancement but also feminine factors such as fringe benefits. In contrast, Japanese women were more likely to value not only physical working conditions but also the challenging work that is supposed to be valued more highly by men. Thus, the results of our study are comparable to reduced gender stereotypical views found in Gunkel et al.’s study.

### *Limitations*

For the Japanese surveys, we asked a third party (professors at each University) to collect the data. Therefore, if students had questions, no one knowledgeable about the survey could answer them. Considering this situation, perhaps students responded to questions despite potential difficulties in understanding the task. Because the original survey materials were in German and English, the translated surveys in Japan may not have conveyed the meaning intended. Although the translations and back translations were done by native Japanese speakers who also understood English, it is possible that the construct meanings were not equivalent. In addition, it is possible that the perceptions of “executives-in-general” are not commonly shared by individuals in different cultures (Sczesny et al., 2004). For instance, although Schein’s studies showed people generally consider executives-in-general as male executives, Japanese male students in this study may not have considered “executives” as a similar concept to ‘male’ or ‘female’ executives. The concept of “executive” in Japan might express a certain status not similarly communicated when

that term is modified with an adjective, regardless of the type of modifier (i.e., gendered)). Considering no students held full time jobs in the Japanese sample, it may have been hard for Japanese students to imagine executives-in-general.

### *Future Implications*

Although Schein (2001) suggested that there is a similar tendency in terms of attitudes between management students and organizational manager, it would be interesting to extend the cross-cultural investigation to managers’ perception of leadership. Although students were targeted because they represent future employees and managers, their responses may not reflect what they would do when employed. Such research could positively influence the perception of female managers and increase opportunities of women for managerial positions. Although we did not find typical stereotypes in terms of the perception of executives, it is true that there are very few female managers in Japan (Yuasa, 2005). Therefore, besides gender stereotypes of managerial position, it may be useful to investigate structural factors that prevent women from being promoted. Finally, because this is a cross-cultural comparison, the survey materials had to be translated into Japanese. Considering the effect of translation, the surveys of this study may not have precisely represented opinions of Japanese people because the translation may not have adequately converged on the same meanings to the participants as for the U.S. participants. This concern echoes other research into the difficulty of adequately capturing measurement equivalence across cultures (e.g., Wong Rindfleisch, & Burroughs, 2003) and reinforces the need for additional cross-cultural research.

### *Conclusion*

The present study showed that gender stereotypes of executives (think-manager—think male) were not clearly found, compared to the results from Sczesny et al.’s study (2004). Although previous studies suggested Japan was a highly masculine country and we expected students to have more stereotypic views of executives than the U.S., the Japanese students’ stereotypic views were different when compared

to the U.S. students. First, we found that Japanese males had different perspectives of executives-in-general and male executives in rating leadership traits. Although the gender stereotype of executives was expected to be high in a masculine society such as Japan, this study did not support our expectations. In addition, female students in both countries revealed similar tendencies in their perceptions of executives-in-general and female executives. This lack of stereotypic views among Japanese students may reflect changes in the current Japanese society. However, this optimism must be mitigated by one of the additional analyses (i.e. executives-in-general imagined gender) that suggested gender stereotyping of executives among those in the Japanese sample. With respect to image of executives-in-general, men and women in Japan did imagine predominately male executives when rating executives-in-general. Therefore, although Japanese students may not have gender stereotypical views of leadership traits, they may have gender stereotypic picture of leaders.

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#### Author Notes

This study was conducted by the first author as part of her thesis research, under the supervision of the second author. Please address correspondence to the second author at [jkottke@csusb.edu](mailto:jkottke@csusb.edu).



Table 1

*Items of Person-oriented and Task-oriented Leadership Traits*

Person-oriented	Task-oriented
Communicative	Able to cope with stress
Compassionate	Administratively skilled
Confidence-builder	Ambitious
Cooperative	Assertive
Dependable	Career-oriented
Diplomatic	Competitive
Encouraging	Courageous
Honest	Decisive
Innovative	Dynamic
Inspirational	Effective bargainer
Intuitive	Hard-working
Just	Independent
Motivational	Intelligent
Team-builder	Performance-oriented
Trustworthy	Persuasive
Visionary	Plans ahead
	Rational
	Self-confident

Table 2

*Mean Scores of the Interaction between Countries and Executives Target Conditions on Percentage Estimates of Person-oriented Traits*

Country	Types of executives target condition		Country <i>M</i>
	Executives-in-general	Male Executives	
	Male Students ( <i>n</i> = 86)		
Japan	68.62 <sup>a</sup>	56.18 <sup>b</sup>	62.98
U.S.	67.40	65.51	66.66
Executives <i>M</i>	66.77	62.87	-----
	Female Students ( <i>n</i> = 93)		
Japan	63.65	63.46	62.98
U.S.	67.40	66.34	66.66
Executives <i>M</i>	66.77	62.87	-----

*Note.* Different superscripts (a, b) in columns of means represent significant differences ( $p < .05$ ).

Table 3

*Mean Scores of the Interaction between Countries and Types of Executives Target Conditions on Percentage Estimates of Task-oriented Traits*

Country	Types of executives target condition		Country <i>M</i>
	Executives-in-general	Male Executives	
Male Students ( <i>n</i> = 86)			
Japan	78.57 <sup>a</sup>	67.22 <sup>b</sup>	71.84
U.S.	75.04	79.44	77.49
Executives <i>M</i>	75.34	73.99	-----
Female Students ( <i>n</i> = 93)			
Japan	60.60	71.96	71.84
U.S.	78.15	77.34	77.49
Executives <i>M</i>	75.34	73.99	-----

*Note.* Different superscripts (a, b) in rows of means represent significant differences ( $p < .001$ ).

Table 4

*Mean Scores of the Interaction between Countries and Executives Target Conditions on Percentage Estimates of Person-oriented Traits*

Country	Types of executives target condition		Country <i>M</i>
	Executives-in-general	Female Executives	
Male Students ( <i>n</i> = 89)			
Japan	68.62 <sup>a</sup>	60.30 <sup>b</sup>	64.36
U.S.	67.40 <sup>a</sup>	78.75 <sup>b</sup>	72.00
Executives <i>M</i>	66.77	69.59	-----
Female Students ( <i>n</i> = 87)			
Japan	63.65	64.88	64.36
U.S.	67.40	74.45	72.00
Executives <i>M</i>	66.77	69.59	-----

*Note.* Different superscripts (a, b) in rows of means represent significant differences ( $p < .05$ ).

Table 5  
*Mean Scores of the Interaction between Countries and Executives Target Conditions on Percentage Estimates of Task-oriented Traits*

Country	Types of executives target condition		Country <i>M</i>
	Executives-in-general	Female Executives	
Male Students ( <i>n</i> = 89)			
Japan	78.57 <sup>a</sup>	66.75 <sup>b</sup>	70.00
U.S.	75.04	77.49	77.50
Executives <i>M</i>	75.34	72.16	-----
Female Students ( <i>n</i> = 87)			
Japan	69.60	65.07	70.00
U.S.	78.15	79.31	77.50
Executives <i>M</i>	75.34	72.16	-----

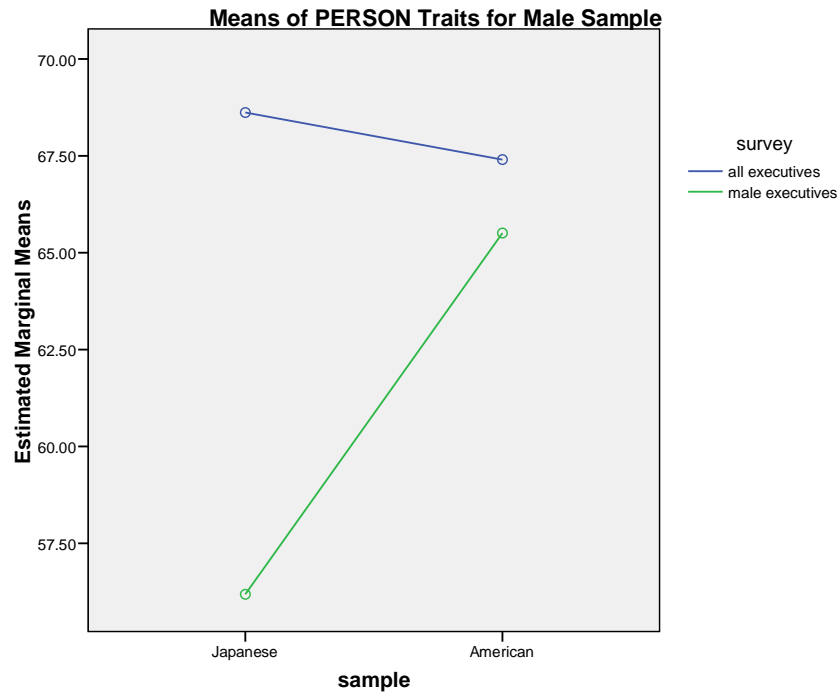
Note. Different superscripts (a, b) in rows of means represent significant differences ( $p < .001$ ).

Table 6  
*Executives-in-general as Stimulus Group: The Number and Percentage of Students who Thought of Male Executives, Female Executives, or Male and Female Executives While Working on the Questionnaire*

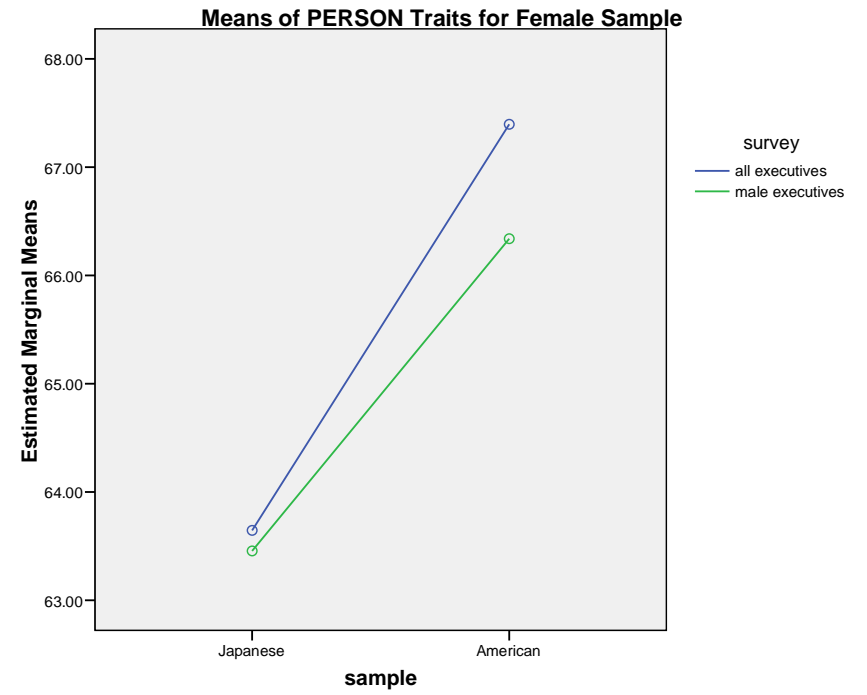
Gender	Type of executives target condition			$\chi^2$
	Male executives	Female executives	Both executives	
Japanese sample ( <i>n</i> = 58)				
Men	33 (82.5 %)	1 (2.5 %)	6 (15.0 %)	
Women	11 (61.1 %)	2 (11.1 %)	5 (27.8 %)	
Total	44 (75.9 %)	3 (5.2 %)	11 (19.0 %)	
U.S. sample ( <i>n</i> = 43)				
Men	9 (75.0 %)	0 (.0 %)	3 (25.0 %)	6.68*
Women	10 (32.3 %)	3 (9.7 %)	18 (58.1 %)	
Total	19 (44.2 %)	3 (7.0 %)	21 (48.4 %)	

\*  $p < .01$ .

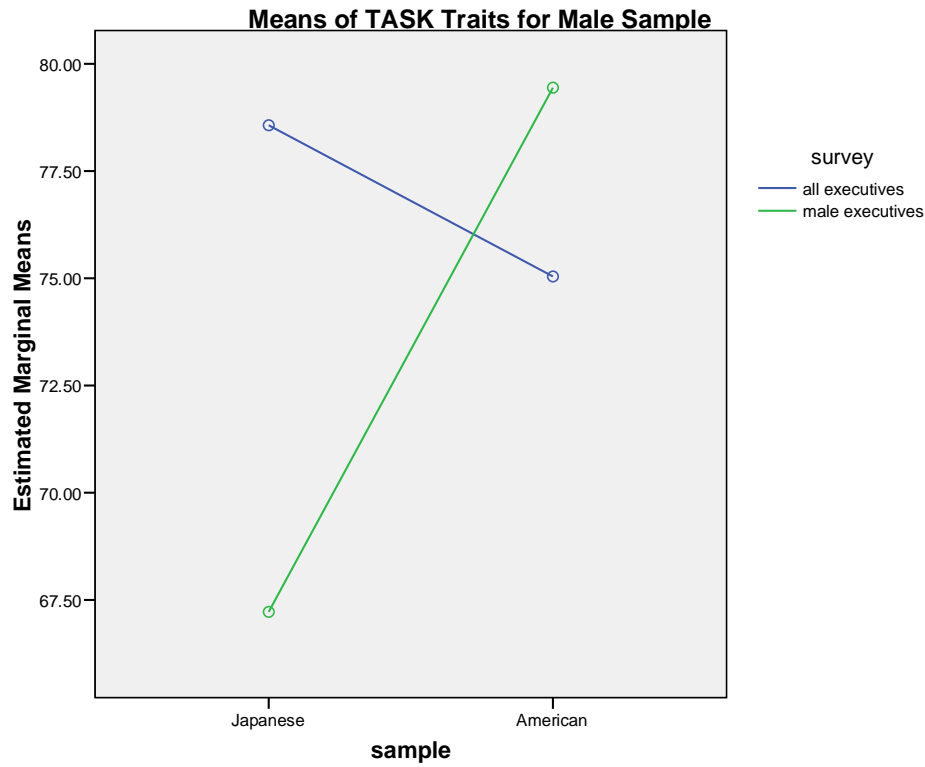
**Figure 1. Interaction between Countries and Executives Target Conditions Male Executives and Executives in General on Percentage Estimates of Person-oriented Traits for Male Sample**



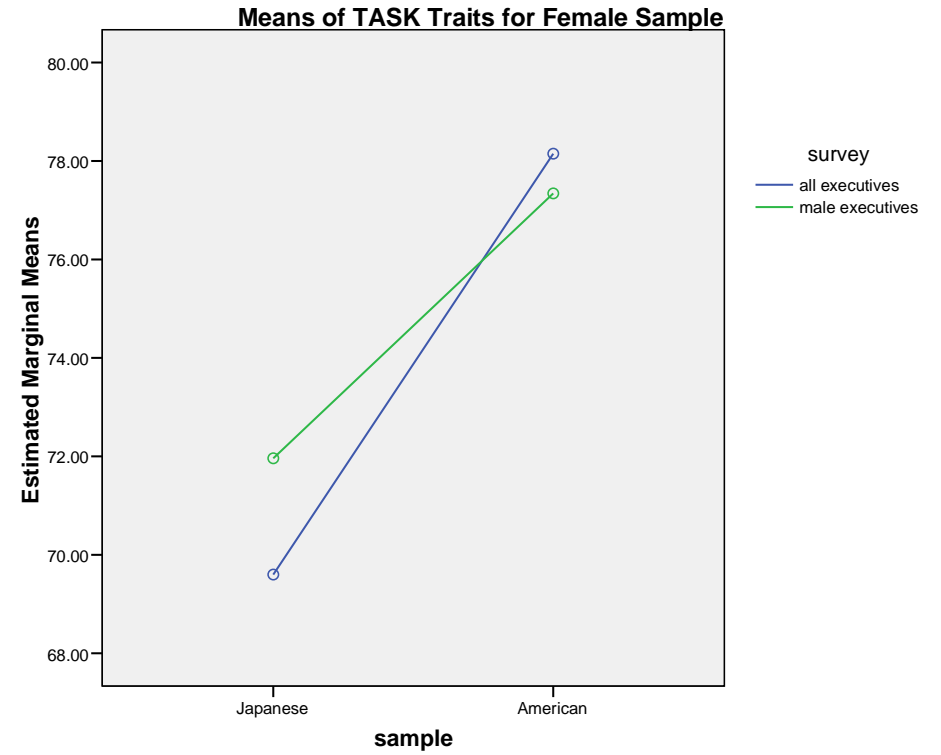
**Figure 2. Interaction between Countries and Executives Target Conditions Male Executives and Executives in General on Percentage Estimates of Person-oriented Traits for Female Sample**



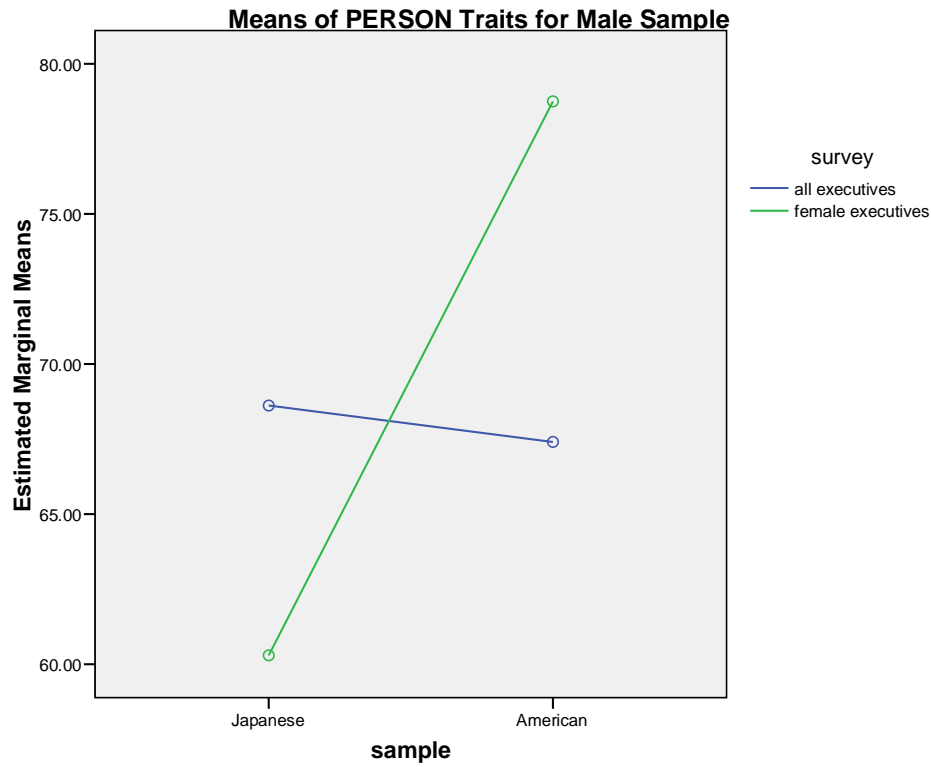
**Figure 3. Interaction between Countries and Types of Executives Target Conditions Male Executives and Executives in General on Percentage Estimates of Task-oriented Traits for Male Sample**



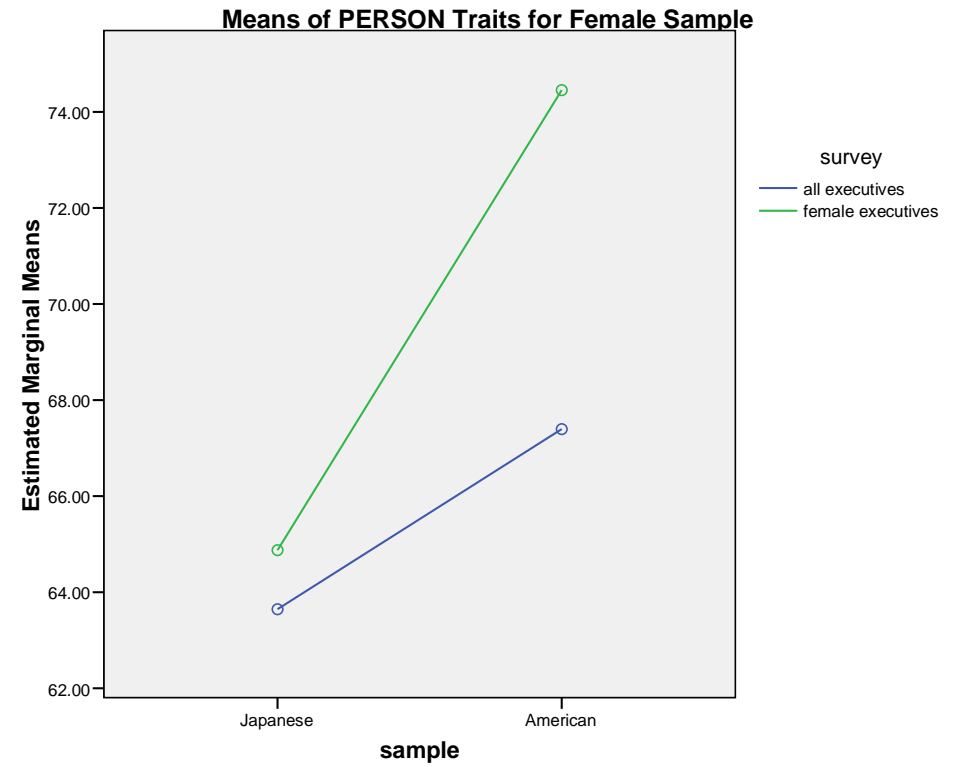
**Figure 4. Interaction between Countries and Types of Executives Target Conditions Male Executives and Executives in General on Percentage Estimates of Task-oriented Traits for Female Sample**



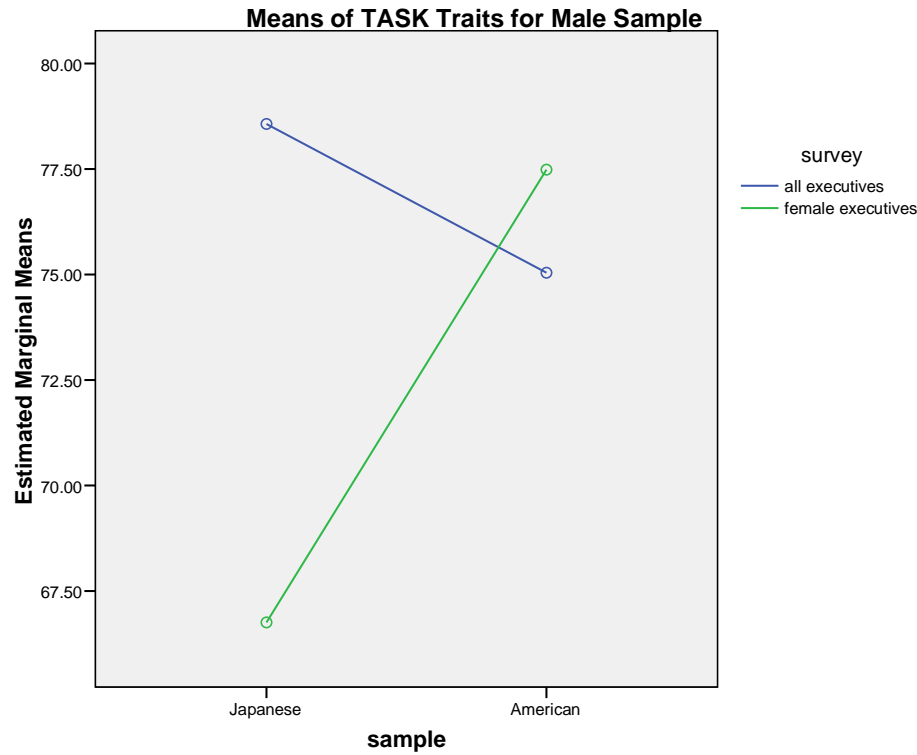
**Figure 5. Interaction between Countries and Executives Target Conditions Female Executives and Executives in General on Percentage Estimates of Person-oriented Traits for Male Sample**



**Figure 6. Interaction between Countries and Executives Target Conditions Female Executives and Executives in General on Percentage Estimates of Person-oriented Traits for Female Sample**



**Figure 7. Interaction between Countries and Types of Executives Target Conditions Female Executives and Executives in General on Percentage Estimates of Task-oriented Traits for Male Sample**



**Figure 8. Interaction between Countries and Types of Executives Target Conditions Female Executives and Executives in General on Percentage Estimates of Task-oriented Traits for Female Sample**

