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## **Sex Stereotyping Managerial Positions**

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# Sex Stereotyping Managerial Positions: A Cross-Cultural Comparison between Egypt and the USA

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## Sex Stereotyping Managerial Positions: A Cross-Cultural Comparison between Egypt and the USA

Existing research indicates that women worldwide continue to face barriers to enter managerial positions simply because people, on average, sex stereotype the characteristics of managers in favour of men. Such sex role stereotyping of managerial positions creates negative views about the capability of women to occupy such positions. These views, if left unexamined, will reinforce the sex role stereotypes that already exist, which state that women are not as qualified as men or do not possess the necessary qualities to be successful managers.

In the past, research on the status of women in managerial positions primarily focused on developed Western countries such as the USA (Schein et al., 1989), the UK and Germany (Schein and Mueller, 1992), Canada (Burke, 1994), and Northern Ireland (Cromie, 1981), along with their Eastern counterparts such as Japan and China (Schein et al., 1996). There are potential gains to be derived from studying countries that have different cultures and religions, aside from the previously mentioned ones. Researching new countries could provide further insight into how culture affects the perception of women in managerial positions. Hence, it is important to examine how men and women sex stereotype managerial positions and how they view women in managerial roles in different countries. Very few studies to this date have attempted to study the status of women in managerial positions in Middle Eastern, Arab and Muslim countries. The current study utilizes the Schein Descriptive Index and the Women as Managers Scale (WAMS) to examine Egypt, a Muslim, Arab and Middle Eastern country. The study attempts to compare the status of women in managerial positions in Egypt and the USA in order to provide meaningful cross cultural comparisons.

Women's roles in Egypt

Egyptians have traditionally viewed men as possessing the following characteristics: leading, independent, aggressive, and dominant. However, women were traditionally seen as passive, dependent, gentle, and responsible for household tasks (Mensch et al., 2003; Baron, 1994). Congruent with these traditional views, existing research conducted in Egypt (Amin and Al-Bassusi, 2002; El-Laithy, 2003) shows that throughout Egypt's history, women in particular, simply because of their sex, were discriminated against in the workplace and constrained to the roles of care givers, child bearers, and nurturers in their families. At the same time, men assumed the role of the bread winner and were responsible for providing food, shelter, clothing, and the rest of life's necessities for the women (Naguib and Lloyd, 1994). As far as economic activities not based on the family unit were concerned, the norms and customs were that Egyptian women could only work as wage workers in agriculture and industry when their families were in need of their financial assistance (Amin and Al-Bassusi, 2002; Tucker, 1985).

Over the past few decades in Egypt, women have started to enter the labour force in large numbers. This influx of women into the labour force notwithstanding, Egypt still has one of the lowest wage labour participation rates for women in the world (El-Laithy, 2003; Baron, 1994). Only recently Egyptian women have seen an increase in their participation in salaried labour force and have been empowered, in rare instances, to reach managerial positions (Handoussa and El-Oraby, 2004; Shami et al., 1990). Hence, at least hypothetically, both Egyptian men and women are expected to sex stereotype managerial positions against women based on the type of jobs women held in the past such as clerical and secretarial work, tourist guides, waitresses, etc. Our study will examine whether Egyptian females show more positive attitudes toward women managers than their Egyptian male counterparts.

Role Congruity Theory

Eagly (1987) defined Gender Role Congruity (GRC) as "those shared expectations that apply to individuals on the basis of their socially defined gender." Similarly, Burn (1997), explained GRC as "Sets of norms that communicate what is generally appropriate for each sex." According to Konrad and Cannings (1997), in western industrialized society, the female gender role has been that of homemaker and child-rearer, and the male gender role has been that of income provider for the family. Given these gender roles, Burn (1995) stated that both men and women experience normative and informational pressures to conform to societal gender roles. Thus, people, in order to avoid disapproval, may conform to societal and/or organizational gender roles. The other pressure discussed by Burn was the informational pressure. In a socially constructed world, informational pressure refers to people's reliance on social information in order to navigate socially within their work environment. People may conform to gender roles as a guide for appropriate behaviour in new, ambiguous, or complex situations within the organization.

Research has shown that gender stereotypes changed little between 1972 and 1988 (Brabant and Mooney, 1986; Bergen and Williams, 1991). As proof of this gender stereotype, DiBenedetto and Tittle (1990) found that both men and women in their sample perceived a trade-off between paid work and family for women but not for men (Konrad and Cannings, 1997). Evidence that women conduct more childcare than men and that men are more likely to be in the labour force full time than women indicates that traditional gender role expectations influence behaviour (Alpern, 1993; Snyder, 1994). As such, GRC theory still applies in contemporary western society.

In the cases when work roles are ambiguous, productivity becomes difficult to observe. In such situations, productivity is less likely to be a good predictor of earnings (Konrad and Pfeffer, 1990). In addition to productivity, normative pressures affect the rewards workers receive from organizations (Bergmann, 1989). Norms probably have a stronger influence on organizational rewards when productivity is difficult to measure. Hence, normative pressures such as GRC may be expected to influence the organizational rewards received by workers whose productivity is difficult to observe.

The work of managers, the subjects of the present research, is quite ambiguous, and the problem of describing managerial work has been the focus of a rather large body of research (Luthans, 1988; Hales, 1986; Mintzberg, 1973). It is not unreasonable, therefore, to expect that GRC pressures might affect managers' organizational rewards. Recent studies of women and men in management support the GRC perspective. One implication is that employers may be more willing to accommodate women's desires to balance work and family than men's. For example, Schneer and Reitman (1990) found that withdrawing from the labour force for a period of time had a greater negative impact on men's earnings than on women's. Further, when women work reduced hours or withdraw from the labour force for family reasons, the impact for long term earnings was negligible (Olson and Frieze, 1989). A study by Lobel and St. Clair (1992) reported that women managers with a strong family orientation received larger merit salary increases than their male counterparts. Konrad and Cannings (1997) found that men were more strongly penalized for dividing their attention between work and family than were women.

Further addressing this issue of GRC, Cleveland et al., (2000) and Powell and Graves (2003) reviewed considerable research indicating that individuals in organizations form mental prototypes or images of an ideal candidate or incumbent for a specific organizational role.

Further, these prototypes may involve traits that are stereotypic of one gender (e.g., being male). When the tasks involved are typecast as mostly masculine, such as taking aggressive action and performing physically demanding tasks, and when most job incumbents are men, the prototype will likely be masculine, and men will routinely be deemed more suitable for the role by male and female evaluators to an equivalent extent (Biernat and Kobrynowicz, 1997; Cleveland et al., 2000; Powell and Graves, 2003; Heilman et al., 2004). This perceptual bias may occur even when evaluators have extensive information about individuals' relevant credentials, experiences, and values, simply because being female is incongruent with the gender prescriptions inherent in the male-typed role (Pratto et al., 1997; Thomas-Hunt and Phillips, 2004; Heilman et al., 2004). In this vein, scholars have suggested that stereotypes about women in the workplace are difficult to overcome, inasmuch as they are entrenched, influential, and automatically activated (Pratto et al., 1997; Bargh, 1999; Powell and Graves, 2003; Chattopadhyay et al., 2004).

#### **Prior Research**

Schein Descriptive Index

Basic findings of previous studies regarding the sex role stereotype and requisite management characteristics could be summarized in Schein's (1973, 1975) work which demonstrated that managerial positions were mainly dominated by males. A sample of male US managers (Schein, 1973) and another one of female US managers (Schein, 1975) showed that both males and females perceived that successful middle managers ought to posses certain characteristics, and those characteristics were viewed as more commonly held by men than by women. Numerous researchers replicated Schein (1973, 1975), utilizing the Schein Descriptive Index. Brenner et al., (1989), for example, found that US males still stereotype against females regarding the characteristics that successful middle managers ought to possess, while females no

longer stereotype the managerial position favouring males. One possible explanation for the variation in the findings from the studies conducted in 1970's and late 1980's is that women were beginning to change their opinions regarding the characteristics that successful middle managers ought to posses, not restricting those characteristics to males. The reasoning behind the previous statement could be because females have recently held more managerial positions than in the past in the USA. But, in order to generalize such findings, more studies need to be conducted in different countries and at different points in time to determine whether such findings will continue to change over time.

Schein and Mueller (1992) answered a crucial question regarding the extent of the existence of sex role stereotypical thinking of a successful middle manager job in other countries and the comparison of such stereotypical thinking across countries. They found that male management students within Germany, UK, and the USA stereotyped successful middle manager characteristics to be male dominated. Female management students in Germany stereotyped successful middle manager characteristics to be male dominated as well. Female management students in UK also stereotyped successful middle manager characteristics to be male dominated but perceived a greater resemblance between females and successful middle managers than the German females. Female management students in the USA did not stereotype successful middle manager characteristics to be either male or female dominated. Furthermore, Schein et al. (1996) examined two developed Eastern countries: China and Japan. They found that Chinese males stereotyped successful middle manager characteristics to be male dominated, while Chinese females where somewhat close to the managerial stereotype although they perceived some resemblance between characteristics held by females and successful middle managers. Both

Japanese males and females stereotyped successful middle manager characteristics to be male dominated.

Women as Managers Scale (WAMS)

The WAMS is a scale that measures attitudes toward women as managers. It has been used extensively in previous studies that have attempted to measure such attitudes (e.g. Sakalli-Ugurlu and Beydogan, 2002). Early research in a USA sample using the WAMS found that women rated women significantly higher than men rated men as managers (Die et al., 1990). In addition, studies conducted in the USA that used instruments that included questions relating to the ability of females to be successful managers (such as the WAMS) generally found that females were more prone to favour women managers over men managers (e.g., Stevens and DeNisi, 1980). However, when different instruments were used that were somewhat disguised regarding the questions relating to the ability of females to be successful managers (such as the Schein Descriptive Index), both men and women showed negative attitudes towards women as managers. There are no studies that we know of that have attempted to examine those beliefs regarding women managers in Middle Eastern, Arab and Muslim countries. Nevertheless, there have been numerous studies conducted on different countries. Among those studies was a study by Sakalli-Ugurlu and Beydogan (2002) conducted in Turkey, using the WAMS that found that females held more positive attitudes toward women managers than did males. Another study by Burke (1994) was conducted in Canada using the WAMS and found that male business students showed significantly more negative attitudes towards women as managers than their female counterparts. Another study by Cromie (1981) was conducted on Northern Ireland using the WAMS and found that men were less inclined to accept women as managers than were women.

The findings of these previous studies were not totally new because they have been previously documented in earlier studies (such as Dubno, 1985).

It is interesting to note that the phenomenon of male stereotyping against females is a worldwide phenomenon and is not restricted to specific countries. Nevertheless, in order to generalize these findings, it is necessary to continue examining stereotyping in other countries in different parts of the world. To this end, it is interesting to examine the attitudes that Egyptian management students have toward women managers in Egypt, which is a Middle Eastern, Arab and Muslim country and is considered to be different than North American and European countries (including Turkey that is considered a European secular country).

#### Methods

We use the Schein Descriptive Index and the Women as Managers Scale (WAMS) compare the status of women in managerial positions in Egypt and the USA. Schein et al. (1989) found that women in the United States have more positive attitudes toward women managers than their American male counterparts. Stevens and DeNisi (1980) found that females were more prone to favour women managers over male managers. Sakalli-Ugurlu and Beydogan's (2002) study in Turkey found that females held more positive attitudes toward women managers than did males.

H1: Females will show more positive attitudes toward women managers than their male counterparts in both samples: USA and Egypt.

Women in Egypt have always been viewed as passive, dependent, gentle, and responsible for household tasks (Mensch et al., 2003; Baron, 1994). Egyptian women's entry into the labour force and their potential to reach managerial positions has been very recent (Handoussa and El-Oraby, 2004; Shami et al., 1990) compared to their counterparts in the USA.

H2: American students will show more positive attitudes toward women managers than their Egyptian counterparts.

We expect that Egyptian management students in the English section will be more prone not to sex stereotype managerial positions because they have received a substantially higher quality level of education throughout their primary and secondary education, as well as high level education at the university, while management students in the Arabic section have not received the same quality of education. Most of the students who attend the English section will be graduates of private schools. Those students usually come from wealthy families who are more liberal than your average Egyptian family. As a result, we expect the English section students to have a more favourable attitude towards women as managers. We should keep in mind that around 18.5% of Egyptians live on less than \$2 USD a day (UN Human Development Report).

H3: English section male and female students will show more positive attitudes toward women managers than their male and female counterparts in the Arabic section in the Egyptian sample.

Sample

The Egyptian sample consisted of 404 male and 149 female undergraduate freshmen level students enrolled in a school of business in a large Egyptian university in the Fall Semester of 2010. This university, which is the second largest university in Egypt, is located in Egypt's capital, Cairo. The Egyptian sample was broken down into two sections, English and Arabic. All the courses throughout the four-year program in the English section are taught in English and all the courses in the Arabic section are taught in Arabic. Two hundred and sixty six students (202)

males and 64 females) were enrolled in the Arabic section and 287 (202 males, 85 females) in the English section. The USA sample consisted of 190 male and 134 female undergraduate junior level students enrolled in a school of business in a large Midwestern university in the USA in the Fall Semester of 2010.

#### Procedure

The distribution procedure was identical in both countries. Course instructors at the colleges were mailed, in the case of the USA sample, or given, in the case of the Egyptian sample, a closed folder containing distribution instructions, Schein Descriptive Index, and Women as Managers Scale (WAMS). Each folder contained the same number of middle manager, men, and women forms so that the Index could be distributed equally in each class. The instructors were required to shuffle the forms prior to handing them out to ensure the random distribution of forms. Each student received only one form of the Index to avoid duplication of results and was not made aware of the purpose of the study prior to completion. The questionnaires were completed during class time and returned to the instructor immediately after completion. The students signed their names on a class attendance sheet of paper to receive extra credit for their participation and were given an option for an alternate exercise in case they did not wish to participate in the study. All students chose to participate. After completion of the questionnaire, the students were debriefed and thanked.

The Schein Descriptive Index and WAMS were translated from English to Arabic for the Arabic section students in the Egyptian sample. The translated version was not given to the English section students in the Egyptian sample simply because they are proficient in English. The decentring method, first suggested by Werner and Campbell (1970), which is based on the back-translation procedure that is commonly used in cross-cultural research (Brislin, 1976) was

used to translate the Schein Descriptive Index and WAMS questionnaires from English to Arabic. The instruments were originally in English, and a fluently bilingual native Egyptian graduate student translated the questionnaires into the Arabic language. A second fluently bilingual native Egyptian graduate student blindly translated the questionnaires back into the original language, English. The original and translated English language questionnaires were compared and examined for differences and it was determined that no differences existed between the two English language questionnaires. Thus, no adjustments were necessary.

#### **Measuring instruments**

Schein Descriptive Index

The 92-item Schein Descriptive Index (Schein, 1973) was used to define both the sex role stereotypes and the characteristics of successful middle managers. Three forms of this index were used. All three forms contained the same descriptive terms and instructions, except that one form asked for a description of middle managers in general, one for a description of men in general, and one for a description of women in general.

The instructions on the three forms of the Index were as follows (Schein, 1975):

"On the following pages you will find a series of descriptive terms commonly used to characterize people in general. Some of these terms are positive in connotation, others are negative and some are neither very positive nor very negative. We would like you to use this list to tell us what you think (successful middle managers, men in general, or women in general) are like. In making your judgments, it might be helpful to imagine you are about to meet a person for the first time and the only thing you know in advance is that the person is (a successful middle manager, an adult male, or an adult female). Please rate each word or phrase in terms of how characteristic it is of (successful middle managers, men in general, or women in general)". The

ratings were made according to a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (not characteristic) to 5 (characteristic) with a neutral rating of 3 (neither characteristic nor uncharacteristic).

Women as Managers Scale (WAMS)

The attitudes toward women as managers were measured on a 21-item scale developed by Peters et al. (1974). Items referred to traits and behaviours expected from managers and characteristics of women that might hinder their performance as managers. Respondents indicated their agreement with each item on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) with scores ranging from 21 to 147, with the highest scores indicating more favourable attitudes toward women as managers. The reliability of the 21-item scale was 0.91 and has been validated with samples of students and managers (Peters et al., 1974; Terborg et al., 1977). The WAMS was chosen because it has been used extensively in previous studies that have attempted to measure attitudes toward women managers (e.g., Sakalli-Ugurlu and Beydogan, 2002). The psychometric properties of the scale were detailed in Peters et al. (1974). Terborg et al. (1977) presented evidence to support the construct validity of the scale, and Ilgen and Moore (1983) verified its reliability. No changes were made to the WAMS questionnaire.

#### **Results**

Schein Descriptive Index

The degree of similarity between the descriptions of men and middle managers and between women and middle managers was determined by computing the intra-class correlation coefficients (r') from two randomized-groups analyses of variance (see Hays, 1963, p. 424). The randomized-groups were the 92-items in the Schein Descriptive Index. In the first analysis, the

scores within each group were the mean item ratings of men and middle managers. In the second analysis, the scores within each group were the mean item ratings of women and middle managers. According to Hays, the larger the value of r', the more similar the observations in the group tend to be relative to the observations in different groups. Thus, the smaller the within item variability, relative to the between-item variability, the greater the similarity between the mean item ratings of either men and middle managers or women and middle managers.

The two analyses were run separately for the male and female samples within the two countries, Egypt and USA.

-----Insert Table 1 About Here-----

Egyptian sample

As shown in Table 1, for males there was a positive significant resemblance (0.36) between the ratings of men and middle managers and a negative significant resemblance (-0.14) between the ratings of women and middle managers. For females, there was a larger positive significant resemblance (0.47) between the ratings of men and middle managers than those of males and a surprisingly more negative significant resemblance (-0.38) between the ratings of women and middle managers than those of males. This finding suggests that females are harsher on themselves when they rate themselves than males. This harshness is probably due to the inherent culture and upbringing that teaches females that males are more capable to be successful managers than females. Another reason could be the stipulations of both Islamic religion and Egyptian culture, which states that men should support their wives and children, probably influencing the views of the work patterns of women and what kinds of jobs are more suitable for them to occupy, clearly excluding managerial positions. Those positions that were

deemed suitable for women were referred to as "proper work roles for women" such as clerical, secretarial, tourist guides, waitresses, etc. (Baron, 1994).

USA sample

As shown in Table 1, for males there was a large positive significant resemblance (0.64) between the ratings of men and middle managers and a moderate positive significant resemblance (0.48) between the ratings of women and middle managers. For females, there was a smaller positive significant resemblance (0.52) between the ratings of men and middle managers than those of males and a larger positive significant resemblance (0.61) between the ratings of women and middle managers than those of males. These results are similar to those of Schein et al. (1989).

-----Insert Table 2 About Here-----

Table 2 shows the Egyptian and USA sample, along with those found by Schein and Mueller (1992) for male and female British and German management students, Schein et al. (1989) for male and female US management students, and Schein et al. (1996) for male and female Chinese and Japanese management students. The changes in male and female attitudes over time in different countries are shown in Table 2. For example, the Egyptian females are harsher on their ratings of middle managers and women (-0.38) than their German counterparts (0.19), while the German females are more favourable on their ratings of middle managers and men (0.66) than those of the Egyptian females (0.47). The previous results could be explained in terms of culture. The Egyptian culture is ingrained with the thought that women do not possess the characteristics and qualities that successful middle managers need while men do.

----Insert Table 3 About Here----

Women As Managers Scale (WAMS)

Table 3 presents some descriptive statistics for the samples in both countries: Egypt and USA. The Egyptian sample is broken down by section to represent the differences that students in each section have towards women as managers. This table shows that the USA students are more favourable towards women as managers than Egyptian students, both in men and women raters. The higher scores indicate a more favourable attitude toward women as managers.

When the results are examined by gender of rater, we find that women raters in the USA sample are more favourable towards women as managers than men raters (130.11 vs. 109.11). In the Egyptian sample, we find the same observation that was found in the USA sample - women raters are more favourable towards women as managers than men raters (62.16 vs. 34.09 for the Arabic section and 64.47 vs. 38.37 for the English section). We find that the women raters in the English section are slightly more favourable towards women as managers than the women raters in the Arabic section (64.47 vs. 62.16). We find a similar result when we look at the men raters. We find that men raters in the English section are more favourable towards women as managers than those in the Arabic section (38.37 vs. 34.09). One interpretation for the two previous findings could be explained in terms of the western style of education which exposed the English section students to different new concepts which lead them to view women as possessing the characteristics of successful middle managers, compared to the Arabic section students who have not received western style education and continue to believe what they have learned about the notion that women do not possess the necessary characteristics that are required of successful middle managers.

#### **Discussion, Implications and Conclusion**

The current study has investigated the perceptions of various groups of students regarding women's possession of suitable managerial skills and characteristics. The hypotheses were that western-influenced students and women in general would hold more positive perceptions of women as managers. Conversely, the hypotheses also stated that men in general and Egyptian educated men and women would hold more negative perceptions of women as managers. Hypotheses one stated, "Females will show more positive attitudes toward women managers than their male counterparts in both samples: USA and Egypt." The findings show that hypothesis 1 proves true for women in the US sample, but not for Egyptian females, who had a somewhat negative perception of female managers, given the possible aforementioned traditional Egyptian sex stereotypes. The results statistically show differences among men and women in the cultures of Egypt and the USA.

Hypothesis two states, "USA students will show more positive attitudes toward women managers than their Egyptian counterparts." This hypothesis held to be somewhat true. Egyptian males and females held negative views of women managers. However, in the USA sample, women held more favourable views of women managers than did their male counterparts. Again, the results statistically show differences among men and women in the cultures of Egypt and the USA.

Hypothesis three states, "English section male and female students will show more positive attitudes toward women managers than their male and female counterparts in the Arabic section in the Egyptian sample." In the English and Arabic sections, women held more favourable views toward women managers than did male respondents. The English section female students had a more positive perception of female managers than their Arabic section

counterparts. Again, the results statistically show differences among men and women in Egypt depending on whether or not they received a western-style education.

Our contribution was to study the perceptions of female leaders in Egypt, an Arab, Muslim, Middle Eastern country. The gender research on countries with conservative cultures, such as Egypt, is an area that remains mostly unexamined. Cross-cultural studies, such as ours, are essential in better understanding the business environment in emerging markets all over the world. The practical implications of our study is that it will help developed countries, such as the USA, better direct their aid programs, such as the USAID, when it comes to promoting gender equality and championing women's rights in the Middle East.

Our findings raise important questions about how culture affects business as globalization flattens the world around us. First, are Middle Eastern businesses that engage in international trade with western countries less likely to develop relations with companies that have women in roles of leadership? Second, do western businesses have reservations appointing women to leadership positions that deal in Middle Eastern business relations? Lastly, do international businesses treat women leaders differently than men leaders when developing a global policy?

This study was conducted using traditional students in traditional settings at traditional universities. In today's global economy this study should be further developed to consider the gender perceptions in online or electronic leadership positions, while concurrently comparing those findings to the traditional results reported here. We conclude and suggest that the perceptions of gender are major considerations in a global economy and while numerous countries have employed legal controls to help resolve gender inequalities, a global concern is now present that needs to be addressed. This study is but a start to the development of equalities needed in gender roles within a global economy.

#### Limitations

The sample is limited to management students in Egypt and the USA. A sample of middle managers would have provided interesting results. However, the response rate would have been very low. The authors use Egypt as an example of a Middle Eastern country.

However, it should be noted that the Middle East includes countries with different cultures, such as Israel. It should also be noted that about 10% of Egypt's population are Coptic Christians who do not necessarily share the same cultural beliefs as the country's Muslim majority.

Table 1

Source		Egypt	USA
All raters			
	Managers and men	0.44***	0.4***
	Managers and women	-0.23***	0.31***
	Z*	9.4908***	1.07262
Males			
	Managers and men	0.36***	0.64***
	Managers and women	-0.14***	0.48***
	Z*	5.9792***	1.85533***
Females			
	Managers and men	0.47***	0.52***
	Managers and women	-0.38***	0.61***
	Z*	6.1392***	-0.037892

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Significant at 0.001, \*\* Significant at 0.01, \* Significant at 0.05

Table 2

Source		Egypt	USA	China	Japan	Germany	UK	USA
		(Current	(Current	(1996)	(1996)	(1992)	(1992)	(1989)
		Study)	Study)					
3.6.1								
Male								
	Managers and	0.36***	0.64***	0.91***	0.54***	0.74***	0.67***	0.7***
	men			` (*)				
	Managers and	-0.14***	0.48***	-0.04	-0.07	0.04	0.02	0.11
	women							
Females								
	Managers and	0.47***	0.52***	0.91***	0.68***	0.66***	0.6***	0.51***
	men							
	Managers and	-0.38***	0.61***	0.28***	-0.04	0.19*	0.31***	0.43***
	women							

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Significant at 0.001, \*\* Significant at 0.01, \* Significant at 0.05

Table 3

	_		ypt	USA
		Arabic section	English section	
Men				
	Mean	34.09	38.37	109.11
	Standard deviation	2.64	8.07	19.93
	Number of	205	199	190
	Observations			
Women				
	Mean	62.16	64.47	130.11
	Standard deviation	4.28	4.81	12.17
	Number of	62	87	134
	Observations			

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