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ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN AND EQUALITY:
INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCE EFFECTS
ON GENDER-RELEVANT DECISION-MAKING

A Thesis Presented

by

SHERI L. ROSENBLUM

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Department of Psychology

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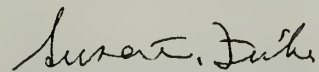
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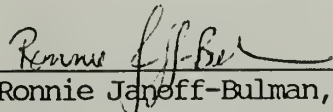
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Dedicated to Sweep and Smaug-
my warm, furry worry stones.

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I would like to express gratitude to Susan and Ronnie for participation in "the process" as official committee members and unofficial spur-of-the-moment question answerers and anxiety reducers. To Erv, an extra dose of appreciation and an acknowledged indebtedness for letting me own the failures as well as the successes.

ABSTRACT

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN AND EQUALITY:
INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCE EFFECTS ON GENDER-RELEVANT DECISION-MAKING

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In this study, the central area of interest was women's perception of themselves as women, their advocacy of non-traditional attitudes, and the translation of these perceptions and attitudes into decision-making in support of non-traditional candidates for leadership. Female participants rated and ranked six applicants to a fictional leadership program, who differed by sex and sex-type (masculine, neutral, and feminine). Participants also responded to four individual difference questionnaires; gender identification and consciousness measures (Gurin & Townsend, 1986), the Bem Sex-role Inventory (Bem, 1974), the Sex-role Egalitarianism Scale (Beere et al., 1981) and a newly developed general egalitarianism scale. Participants tended toward 1) perceiving themselves as members of the group "women", 2) recognizing and rejecting a power imbalance between men and women, 3) observing both masculine and positive feminine traits within themselves, and 4) positive attitudes toward equality between all social groups, including men and women, but also between racial, ethnic, age, and other groups. The participants scores on individual difference measures were generally quite strongly correlated. Male and female applicants for leadership were rated approximately equally, but masculine applicants

were rated significantly higher than feminine applicants. However, feminine applicants were liked significantly more than masculine applicants, as were traditional (feminine female and masculine male) over non-traditional (masculine female and feminine male) applicants. These effects were influenced by a number of individual differences, mostly measures that identified differences in discontent with status quo relations among social groups. For example, participants who strongly endorsed affirmative action as a solution to inequality rated feminine applicants more likable and masculine applicants less potentially successful as leaders than did low endorsers of affirmative action. In general, non-traditional attitudes were associated with higher ratings of female, feminine, and non-traditional applicants. In conclusion it is suggested that women develop an identification with women in advance of a political consciousness about gender relations. This political stance may also be characterized by a consciousness of inequality among other social groups, not only males and females. It seems, however, that it is not the simple recognition of inequality that prompts advocacy of non-traditional candidates for leadership, but instead, a sense of discontent over a perceived lack of justice.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Overview

Women, by virtue of sharing the human female biological category, are members of a single, objectively defined group. As members of a social category based on their biological characteristics, all women may sometimes be treated in the same way by others. However, objective biological category is not always translated into the more subjective experience of identification as a member of a cohesive psychological group labelled women, or advocacy on its behalf. Some women call themselves feminists, organize their experiences in terms of self-categorization as women, and advocate a restructured social definition of roles and equal rights. Others do not engage in such advocacy and might not even use "women" as an important subjective category.

There are a number of plausible explanations for this individual difference, from varying theoretical perspectives including feminism (Dworkin, 1974, 1983), social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Williams & Giles, 1978), and equity theory (Adams, 1963; Muchinsky, 1983). The present research utilized aspects of these theories in its attempt to explore differences along a number of psychosocial dimensions among women who adopt a feminist identity and/or attitudes to varying degrees.

This study was designed to explore three areas of interest. First, what is feminism? Feminism may be seen as a social movement to gain rights for women. Is support for this movement associated with

agreement that women are relatively powerless in society? Or is it associated with a more general belief that, among all social groups, equality is desirable? By looking at the relationship among the individual difference measures, we were able to address these and related questions.

Second, we were interested in the development of politicized feminist consciousness. Is there a developmental sequence of cognitions that leads to political support for a collective women's movement? Gurin and Townsend's (1986) gender identification and consciousness (GI/C) component measures suggested one possible sequence. This sequence begins with the identification of the individual woman with the larger social group women and ends with advocacy of collective action for social change. With the data we collected from the GI/C components and the other measures, it was possible to test this particular developmental hypothesis and explore other plausible models.

The third purpose of this research was to learn how participants would rate and rank targets. As a whole, how would the sample rate and rank targets who differed by sex and sex-type? And, if individual differences in attitudes toward women and equality were included in the analyses, how would these attitudes affect the rating and ranking of the targets? All the individual differences measured here were thought to be related to non-traditionalism. Non-traditionalism is against the status quo; we assumed that gender identification, gender consciousness, feminism, egalitarianism, and masculinity in a woman are all less rather than more status quo. Our general prediction was that more versus less non-traditional individuals would rate and rank

females, non-masculine, and non-traditional targets higher than male, masculine, and traditional targets.

It is debatable whether egalitarianism deserves its status as a non-traditional attitude. A norm of egalitarianism may be generally operative in the United States. However, among Americans sampled in 1974 and 1981, equality has been ranked at a mean number 12 of 18 in a list of terminal values, i.e., values that represent desirable endstates, rather than means of approaching endstates (Rokeach and Ball-Rokeach, 1989). This represents a relatively low ranking overall and a decline in ranking since 1968, suggesting that the norm of egalitarianism may no longer be in vogue. Furthermore, equality in specific situations may be less likely to be endorsed than egalitarianism as a value or "general conception of an ideal endstate of existence" (p. 779), while less likely still may be non-discriminatory behavior. A great deal of evidence supports the contention that discrimination is quite prevalent in the United States. We are ostensibly interested in attitudes toward equality, non-discriminatory behavior, and the relationship between the two. Although the issue is complicated, we start with the assumption that egalitarianism is non-traditional.

The present research proceeded in two steps. First, female participants rated and ranked six targets who differed by sex and sex-type. The targets were presented as applicants to a leadership program. Each application indicated that the applicant was male or female. This was the sex of target manipulation. Also, information was provided about the college major, previous work experience, hobbies, and some personal traits of the applicant. These types of

information were manipulated to represent stereotypes of traditional masculinity or femininity. Masculinity, femininity, and a third condition, neutrality, represented the levels of the sex-type variable. In the neutral condition, hobbies and personal traits characterized a sex-type neutral applicant. The two levels of sex and three levels of sex-type were fully crossed in this repeated measures design, so each participant rated and ranked a target who was a masculine male, a masculine female, a neutral male, a neutral female, a feminine male, and a feminine female.

Appearing at the bottom of each application were five questions. These requested the participant to rate 1) how likely she would be to offer the applicant a position in the leadership program, 2) how much she would like the applicant, 3) how much she thinks others would like the applicant, 4) how competent she thinks the applicant is, and 5) how much potential for success as a leader the applicant has. All responses were recorded on ten-point Likert scales. The five questions represented the dependent measures of target rating. Upon completing the ratings of each individual target, participants ranked the targets in the order they would accept them into the leadership program. In the analyses, we were looking for systematic differences in ratings and rankings of targets due to their sex, sex-type, or an interaction of sex and sex-type. Analyses of the interaction of sex by sex-type of target addressed the effects on ratings and rankings of traditional (masculine male and feminine female) versus non-traditional (masculine female and feminine male) targets.

The second step in the research was to categorize participants in terms of individual differences on a number of dimensions thought to be

relevant to feminism. These included gender identification, gender consciousness, sex-role egalitarianism, general egalitarianism, and sex-type. Participants filled out questionnaires designed to operationalize these constructs. With the exception of the general egalitarianism measures, all scales had been used prior to the present research. Factor analyses and correlational analyses assessed the relationships among the individual difference measures.

Further information concerning the choice of measures and the results we expected appears later in the introduction. In the meantime, we will turn to the theory behind the present study.

B. History Of the Psychology Of Groups

This research stands on the theoretical and empirical base of the social-cognitive psychology of group membership. Rather than looking at group membership as defined by outside observers or by behavioral manifestations of group solidarity, we are interested in self-perception of group membership. It is a central premise of this paper that specific cognitive tasks must be completed before a woman will actively engage in or support a social movement for the equality of women. These tasks include identification of the self as a member of the group women and a belief that women are unfairly treated simply because they are women.

1. The Individual In the Social Group

The idea of the cognitive inseparability of the individual from the rest of the social world has a long social psychological history. The first recorded psychological explanation of group processes was

offered by LeBon (1896), referring to the group mind of crowds, and suggesting that a group may have a character distinct from the sum of the individuals who compose it. McDougall (1921), while not refuting LeBon's conception of the group mind, advanced a further explanation of group processes, suggesting complex interactions between the individual and the group as a whole. As such, more attention is given to the cognitive experience of group membership.

Further complexity is introduced with the suggestion that human individuals are immutably bound to groups from birth. Sherif (1936) argued that the individual's perception of and feelings toward any object (social or non-social) is highly dependent on the context in which it appears and the referent against which it is judged. He also suggested that individuals are born into a culture as well as a community and that the rules of the culture become internalized as relevant to a positive self-concept. Accordingly, individuals never stand only alone, they also stand in relation to relevant social groups.

Individuals aside, groups themselves have defining characteristics. Lewin (1939) endowed groups with properties such as more or less cohesiveness, group standards, and a characteristic leadership style. Lewin's is a rejection of LeBon's short-term group mind, but not of distinct group properties, processes, and psychology. Asch (1952) moved the conception of groups more clearly in a cognitive direction. Group development was thought to be rooted in a "mutually shared psychological field," such that not only do I objectively share thoughts and feelings with others but I am aware that we all are aware of this sharing.

According to Brewer and Kramer (1985) and Turner (1987), group relations may be conceptualized as of three types. Intergroup relations may refer to international conflict or systematic intergroup (e.g., racial) discrimination, typically the research realm of sociologists or political scientists. Conversely, the study of groups may focus on the extension of essentially inter-individual processes (i.e., attraction, co-operation, aggression, social influence) into the domain of inter-group processes. This latter conceptualization underlies many of the psychological studies of group relations that have been conducted since World War II. Sherif (1966) proposed a third, integrative, conceptualization of groups, which is described by Brewer and Kramer (1985), who state, "the study of intergroup relations occupies a special niche at the intersection of individual and group level processes-how interpersonal perceptions, attitudes, or behaviors are shaped or transformed by the presence of group boundaries" (p. 220). Henri Tajfel and his associates, since their early studies of intergroup discrimination (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, et al., 1971), have been consistently strong proponents of this view of groups, providing another area of active research on intergroup relations.

A strong consensus presently exists concerning the central elements required for individuals to be considered a group (e.g. Turner & Giles, 1981). These elements are commonly conceptualized as identity, social structure, and interdependence (Turner, 1987). Identity refers to the collective perception of individuals that they share a common membership in a distinct social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1985). Social structure is the internal organization of the group that develops and stabilizes over time, as norms and values are delineated

and become attributes of the collective (Sherif, 1967). The interdependence criterion was introduced by Sherif (1936) and has been widely considered imperative to group formation. Cartwright and Zander (1968) define a group as "any collection of interdependent people" (p. 48). Although interdependence has been defined in various ways, according to Turner (1987), motivational interdependence is currently dominant. He states, "By motivational interdependence is meant the idea that actions and characteristics of others relevant to the satisfaction of one's needs are functionally related by the structure of the situation to actions and characteristics of one's own relevant to their needs" (p. 20). Group members, then, need each other to satisfy their own needs. Turner goes on to suggest that if individuals expect that mutual need satisfaction will result from association with others, that association will develop. If the association actually results in mutual need satisfaction, then the association will be maintained.

2. Social Identity

In a theoretical return to the merger of social and individual properties of groups, and in the Gestalt tradition, Tajfel (1978) offers the concept of social identity. This concept grew out of an empirical attempt to determine what psychological variables influence discrimination against out-groups, that is, under what conditions the individual turns from responding to others in the environment according to a me-you distinction in favor of an us-them distinction (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, Flament, Billig & Bundy, 1971). He believed that behavioral interactions between individuals fall on a continuum between

the interindividual and the intergroup. Extreme intergroup interaction occurs when, for example, individuals of two groups perceive each other as no more than perfect representatives of their respective groups. Conversely, the extreme interindividual interaction occurs, when in the same situation, each perceives the other as exactly representative of no more than the single, individual self that is presented. It is questionable whether the purely interindividual interaction ever occurs, although historical examples of extreme intergroup interaction are common (i.e., My Lai and the Cambodian genocide). Evidence from use of the minimal group paradigm supports the claim that perception of group membership (of the self and of the other) is both necessary and sufficient to produce discriminatory behavior favoring the in-group and detrimental to the out-group (e.g., Tajfel et al., 1971; Turner, 1978).

Social comparison can be undertaken at any point along the interindividual-intergroup continuum. Social comparison at the interindividual end of the continuum is a comparison between two individuals without consideration of group memberships. The opposite extreme of comparison also includes two individuals, but the comparison is between the groups they each represent. When Festinger (1954) introduced his social comparison theory, he focused almost exclusively on interindividual, intragroup comparisons. When a negative result of comparison is perceived and felt, relative deprivation is operative. As social comparison may occur anywhere on the continuum, so may relative deprivation. Gurr (1970) states,

Unexpected personal deprivation such as failure to obtain an unexpected promotion or the infidelity of a spouse ordinarily affect few people at any given time and are therefore narrow in scope. Events and patterns of conditions like the suppression of a political party, a drastic inflation or the decline

of a group's status relative to its reference group are likely to precipitate feelings of relative deprivation among whole groups of people and are wide in scope. (p. 29)

According to Gurr, it is therefore possible to determine empirically placement on the continuum based on the number of individuals feeling deprived in reference to a specific group or class of individuals.

However, a difficulty is encountered here. Consider the situation in which a woman has just discovered her spouse's infidelity. Although, as Gurr states, this situation may be operative for few women at a given time, the narrowness of the scope is not wholly determined by objective numbers. The same number of women all seeing the infidelity as an interindividual act of individual men against individual women has very different implications than if these women all see the act as one of the group "men" against the group "women". The relative deprivation takes on a different character depending on perception (or lack thereof) of and causal attribution to the group membership of participants. The numbers may be the same, but placement on the continuum would be different. Although Tajfel's continuum is helpful in explaining interactions, a question arises. Is there always a reciprocal perception by the interacting individuals that they are or are not being categorized according to group membership? It seems plausible to consider that one interactor may respond to another as though the other is more a representative of a social category, while at the same time the other responds to more of an individual case. Under what conditions are individuals likely to categorize others (for a review, see Fiske & Neuberg, 1990) and under what conditions are individuals likely to recognize that they are being categorized? Most

importantly, can we assume that discrimination against women, as a group, is somehow a consequence of categorization?

C. The Current Status Of Women

Women, as a discrete social category, appear to be objectively deprived in relation to men. The deprivation occurs in many realms. As of 1978, women working full-time outside the home earned approximately 60% the salary of their male counterparts (U.S. Department of Labor, 1978). Making allowances for sex differences in education, prior experience, and job level does not appreciably reduce this discrepancy (Suter & Miller, 1973). Although men are more likely than women to be victimized in a violent crime (U.S. Department of Justice, 1986), women are more frequently victimized by sexual violence, marital battering, and sexual harassment (Sheffield, 1984, as cited in Frieze, 1987). Two-thirds of all poor adults are women and half of all female-headed households with children live below the poverty level (Cocks, 1982). Male dominated occupations offer greater opportunities for status and promotion than do female dominated occupations (Epstein, 1976). Research on tokenism suggests that when a solitary woman is granted access to a high-level position in a male dominated sphere, she is a highly visible novelty, is treated as an outsider by her male counterparts, is isolated from other women, and urged to fulfill one of a number of possible stereotypic roles (Kanter, 1975, 1976; Taylor, 1981).

1. Denial Of Discrimination

Although a wealth of information exists to bear witness to the claim that women are discriminated against, oftentimes women do not see themselves as discriminated against (Crosby, 1984) and are not supportive of attempts by feminist groups to demand an end to the discrimination against all women (Rowland, 1986). There are a number of plausible explanations for this. Justice theories (Lerner, 1981; Walster et al., 1978) suggest that people are motivated to maintain a belief that outcomes are fair, relative to inputs. If a negative outcome is precipitated, the individual will tend to denigrate victims to maintain balance. This is especially likely if the choice of victim is thought to be random or if the victim is perceived to be similar to the observer (Shaver, 1980). However, if it is possible to restore the balance in reality, that option will be chosen over psychological adjustment (Walster et al., 1973). Restoring balance seems necessary for both observers and victims of injustice and is accomplished by manipulating the values of inputs and outcomes. This is quite disguised in some situations. For example, women in our society are expected to refrain from acting in "suggestive" ways if they are not interested in capturing sexual attention (Burt, 1980). If a woman is raped, observers in search of reasons why the rape occurred may blame the victim for her appearance, clothing or behavior, which reduces the psychological discomfort of the observer by pairing negative inputs with a negative outcome.

Victims themselves are also typically motivated to discard the victim status as rapidly as possible. The emotional response to victimization is commonly a negative stress reaction (Janoff-Bulman &

Frieze, 1983). Coping with this stress becomes the major focus of cognitive activity (Folkman, 1984; Stone & Neale, 1984) and may take a number of forms such as 'minimization' of the event (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1979), redefinition of the event (Scheppelle & Bart, 1980) or self-blame (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1979; Frieze et al., 1987). This new interpretation of the data may provide victims with the experience of regained control over their lives, and a removal of the victim label. However, if the victimization is sexual assault or domestic violence against women, this cognitive restructuring is unlikely to promote consideration that the event may be related to group relations between men and women, or spark a group political response. Other forms of discrimination against women, which may be more or less likely labelled victimization, by the self or others, are similarly unlikely to prompt a collective response.

Another explanation for women's failure to identify themselves as a victimized group concerns crossed category memberships. As Deschamps and Doise (1978) suggest, "a crossed structure, based on multiple memberships which cross each other's borders, reduces confrontations between the segments of a society" (p. 142). In reference to women, possibly the best example of this is heterosexual marriage. In Western culture, upon marriage, a woman pledges loyalty and honor to her husband. This loyalty may make it difficult for individual women emotionally, cognitively, and behaviorally to support the group 'women' in a struggle against societal male dominance (Lipman-Blumen & Tickamyer, 1975). Although under many conditions, a reduction in tension between groups is a positive outcome, when there is clear discrimination directed by a superordinate group at a subordinate

group, crossed category memberships may be detrimental to the subordinate group's attempts to gain equality. Black-Americans have exhibited a greater sense of themselves as a collective, social entity than women have since the 1960's (Gurin et al., 1980). This may be, in part, a consequence of the relentless segregation of blacks, making racially crossed category memberships relatively improbable. Blacks presently are more likely to see themselves first as members of a racial category than women are to see themselves first as members of a gender category (Gurin et al., 1980).

Faye Crosby (1984) found in a study of job satisfaction that, although women earned substantially less than men, and were aware of societal discrimination against women, they did not believe they were personally victims of sex discrimination and, in fact were as satisfied with their employment situations as were men. One important reason posited for this discrepancy between the reality of discrimination and women's experience is that it is difficult to determine discrimination from a single case, especially when it is one's own. Providing consensus information may increase the probability that individuals will attribute causality to situational rather than personal factors (Nisbett & Ross, 1980), but consensus information is under-utilized. Crosby states,

In most occupations, the distribution of outcomes and opportunities within an organization varies as a function of poorly formulated and highly complex attributes. Promotions, high salaries, honors, and grants in the academic world, for example supposedly go to those who are intelligent, creative, and dedicated. The criteria lack precision, to say the least. When a female or a minority group member fails to be promoted, she may attribute her failure to her publication record, her grantmanship, her departmental citizenship, or her interpersonal style; she is bound to differ

from the norm on at least one of these dimensions.
(p. 377)

Thus, personal attributes, rather than the general relationship between men and women, are blamed.

2. Gender Identification And Political Consciousness

This brings us once again to Tajfel's interindividual-intergroup continuum. Two specific questions arise. First, what conditions will lead a woman to perceive herself as more a group member of the social group women and less one individual woman? Second, what conditions will lead a woman to organize world experiences more in terms of group relations between women and men and less in terms of her relations with individual others? Gurin and her colleagues (Gurin et al., 1980; Miller et al., 1981; Gurin, 1985; Gurin & Townsend, 1986) have used the terms stratum identification and stratum consciousness to refer respectively to "cognitions...about a person's relation to others within a stratum [and]...about a stratum's position within a society" (Gurin et al., 1980; p. 30). Gurin's research group has addressed questions concerning identification and consciousness to members of a number of strata, including blacks, working class people, elders, and women.

The original operationalization of the identification construct was a question assessing perceived similarity. This single perception was thought to be indicative of subjective stratum identification. Identification with women, therefore, was assumed if a woman perceived herself as similar to other members of the group women. Treatment of identification as a multidimensional construct began in 1979, as documented in Gurin and Townsend (1986). The consciousness construct is demarcated based on the stratum's relationship with other strata.

Specifically, this includes a) power discontent, defined as the belief that one's group has less power than its superordinate counterpart; b) agreement that there should be no power discrepancy, and attribution of blame for the imbalance to societal rather than personal factors; and c) a collectivist orientation toward change.

Responses from individuals interviewed in the 1972 National Election Study (Gurin et al., 1980) indicate that in comparison to the other subordinate strata, blacks, workingmen [sic], and older people, women were least stratum identified. Furthermore, when membership in the women category competed with any or all of the other three strata, strong identification with women fell far behind strong identification with blacks or older people but was nearly equivalent to that with workingmen. Also, consciousness was quite weak for women, especially in comparison with blacks or elders. Miller et al. (1981) used data from the 1972 and 1976 National Election Studies to assess the relationship of stratum identification and consciousness to the political participation of blacks and whites, poor people and businessmen, young and old, and women. They looked at responses to the similarity, discontent, and attribution of blame questions, and responses to a question regarding in-group preference and out-group hostility. They found that for blacks, the poor, and women, electoral turnout was best predicted by an interactive relationship among identification, power discontent, and societal attribution of blame. A similar pattern was discovered for non-electoral political participation, which included the activities of petition signing, group political activity, and contacting political leaders. Each of these

participatory behaviors (including voting itself) are considered behavioral manifestations of group consciousness.

Gurin (1985) looked at changes in women's identification and consciousness from 1972 to 1983 using National Election Study data from 1972 and 1976 with consumer survey information from 1983. Little change in identification or collective orientation was evident. However, substantial increases in power discontent and societal attribution of blame were documented. Gurin explains this pattern of results as indicative of a small change in women's appraisal of women's position in society and a much larger change in their perception of men's right to "economic superiority, privilege, and power." In an analysis of the demographic data of 742 women interviewed in 1972 and 1976, Gurin found that more educated and younger women were significantly more identified, discontented, and rejecting of legitimacy in 1976. Labor force and marital status contributed little to the analysis of change.

Gurin and Townsend (1986) report findings concerning the relationship between identification and consciousness in women. Here identification is treated as a multidimensional construct, including similarity, centrality, and common fate. The centrality construct is specifically defined as the amount of time spent thinking about being a woman and what women have in common with men. Common fate is the perception that one's own outcomes are related to the outcomes of the group as a whole. Interrelationships among similarity, centrality, and common fate were also considered. It was expected that each of these three identification components would differentially relate to the consciousness components. Evidence from national U.S. surveys in 1979

and 1983 suggests that all three identification components are significantly correlated with power discontent although the previous single measure of identification, similarity, was relatively unimportant in relation to consciousness. Common fate seemed to be most consistently related to consciousness, especially to the legitimacy component. Compared with the earlier research, this research reports a generally higher proportion of women scoring stratum identified and stratum conscious on all measures.

More recently, Gurin and Markus (1988) have further explored the centrality dimension. They define centrality as durable salience. Women are divided into groups based on two measures of centrality, one a question about how much time is spent thinking about being a woman, the second, their responses to the question "who am I?" Answers to the first question were strongly related to the processing of group relevant information and on evaluations of similar and non-similar others. However, individuals who answered with variants of "female" to the question "who am I?" did not differ significantly from those who did not in their evaluations of similar and non-similar others.

Although Gurin and her colleagues do not suggest a sequence of development of gender identification and consciousness, a sequence may be derived from her work and that of others. There is agreement, in theory, that identification must precede group consciousness and that group consciousness components include discontent over reward distribution, decisions indicating lack of acceptance of this distribution, and a belief in collective action to institute change (Morris & Murphy, 1966; Jackman & Jackman, 1973; Gurin, et al. 1980). Consensus also exists that the order of these cognitive tasks is as

presented above (Landecker, 1963; Morris & Murphy, 1966; Leggett, 1968; Williams, 1975).

The order of components of gender identification is more problematic. Gurin and Townsend (1986) provide some theoretical background on which to base an ordering scheme. Perception of similarity is thought necessarily to precede a sense of common fate. Common fate is seen as a special case of similarity, where group members are not only thought to be similar but also to be treated similarly. If group membership needs to be important before it becomes central to the self, then similarity should precede centrality also. However, it is conceivable that either centrality or common fate appears immediately after similarity. Overall, a plausible sequence of development of gender identification and consciousness using Gurin and Townsend's (1986) measures would appear as follows: 1) similarity, 2 or 3) centrality, 3 or 2) common fate, 4) discontent, 5) illegitimacy, and 6) collectivism.

Further support for the identification/consciousness construct is provided by Rowland (1986) in her interview study of women who do and do not support the women's movement. She finds that in comparison to feminists, antifeminists have little perception of themselves as members of the group 'women', do not agree that women as a group are oppressed, believe that sex differences between men and women are biologically determined, and view success as reflective of individual merit and failure as a personal rather than societal problem.

D. The Present Research

Previous theory and research offer numerous legitimate reasons for an individual woman to refrain from identifying with women and supporting the women's movement: women believe that outcomes, good or bad, are deserved, so women are not seen as unduly victimized; women are motivated to see themselves positively, not as victims, so they may not see themselves as members of a victimized group; crossed category memberships link women's outcomes with men, making action or even cognition, against men very uncomfortable; lack of consensus information or lack of use of that information creates the illusion that a victimized woman stands alone. It seems, at the cognitive level, that remaining unconscious, if not unidentified, is the path of least resistance. To become a feminist, to turn from societally sanctioned traditional values, is likely to require a great deal of effort. Possibly, feminism exists at the end of a path that is marked by a number of tasks that each must be mastered before continuing along to the next. In this sense, it may be said that feminism is incrementally learned.

Women are discriminated against at the group level. Women are more or less likely to align themselves with other women, to recognize outcome discrepancies between men and women, and to support collective social change on behalf of women. The feminist is an advocate of collective social change. Who does she believe should hold positions of power in society? Possibly, her preference is for all women and no men to have power, if the struggle for women's rights is viewed as a wrestling match for power between a subordinate and superordinate stratum. Or possibly, she would reject a cultural ideal of masculinity

and its associated approach to power, and prefer more feminine leaders. Or alternatively, she may prefer non-traditional individuals to hold power, to foster a breakdown of the entire concept of gender roles. Similar questions may be asked about non-feminists. Do they simply prefer the status quo, generally with males in power, and women subordinate? And if they do support a reorganization, along what lines? Should masculinity reign, regardless of sex, or is there room for traditional feminine values to influence leadership? What about cross sex-typed individuals?

Consistently strong evidence in the social psychological literature suggests that people like others who are perceived as similar (Bryne, 1969). Perception of similarity and liking, then, are parts of identification with an in-group. When we ask subjects to rate and rank targets who differ by sex and sex-type, we are asking them, in part, to identify their preferred groups, either an in-group or a reference group. The individual difference measures that are included in this study allow us the opportunity to determine better what elements of women's attitudes about self, other women, men, and others in general best predict the results of this process.

Although feminism has already been defined here as support for a collective movement for women's rights, this is certainly not the only definition available. For example, Andrea Dworkin (1983) defines feminism as "a radical stance against double standards in rights and responsibilities, and...a revolutionary advocacy of a single standard of human freedom." The empirical implications of this definition are different than if we see feminism as a specific social movement. Dworkin's definition directs us to equality, where not only must women

be equal to men, but vice versa, and not only are men and women equal, but all groups of people. Two individual difference measures assessing attitudes toward equality were included in this research.

The Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES; King et al., 1981; Beere et al., 1984) measures the degree to which one holds, "an attitude that causes one to respond to another individual independently of the other individual's sex" (Beere et al., 1984; p. 564). In contrast to the often used Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence & Helmreich, 1972), the SRES measures discriminatory attitudes toward men in non-traditional roles as well as toward women. All items request a degree-of-agreement judgment based on a comparison between men and women.

Construct validity analyses of the SRES have been undertaken by Beere et al. (1984). As they had hypothesized, men scored lower on the SRES than women. Also, business majors, police officers, and senior citizens scored lower in comparison with psychology majors and undergraduate college students in general. King and King (1986) administered the SRES and the AWS to determine if sex-role egalitarianism and attitudes toward women are essentially the same. They also included personality measures. They found that, although much of the variance is shared between the two measures, the individuals who scored high on the SRES were not the same as those who scored high on the AWS. Their conclusion, based on multiple regression analysis, was that the SRES taps the traditional-egalitarian dimension while the AWS taps the traditional-feminist dimension. However, with the problem of delineating a commonly agreed upon operationalization of the feminism construct, it might be unwise to become attached to this distinction. Dworkin's definition of feminism would be operationalized

with the SRES, not the Attitudes toward Women Scale, and not the collectivism measure of gender consciousness.

In research similar to the ranking task of the present research, King and King (1983) asked male and female subjects to judge male and female job candidates for stereotypically masculine or feminine jobs. SRES scores comprised an individual difference variable. In a second study they asked subjects to comment on administrative decisions previously made allocating resources favoring males, favoring females, or favoring neither. The results supported the authors' expectation that sex-role egalitarian attitudes lead to decision-making less influenced by the sex of the target.

The second scale assessing attitudes toward equality taps into domains outside of sex-roles. We have developed the tripartite Rights and Opportunities Scale (ROS) to answer three questions. In the United States today, do all people share an equal right and opportunity to gain valued outcomes? Second, should outcomes be distributed according to distinctions between social groups? Third, should rights and opportunities be offered in such a way as to make up for past discrimination, as in affirmative action programs? These three scales were designed to be loosely analogous to the three consciousness components of the gender identification and consciousness scale (GI/C). The overall purpose of developing and using the ROS was to assess the degree to which participants' gender consciousness is congruent with their attitudes about issues of equality concerning other sub- and superordinate social groups.

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) was included to measure the personal sex-type of each participant. This scale offers masculine and

feminine attributes for endorsement and allows us to generate a score for each individual on each of the two separate dimensions of masculinity and femininity. The study of stereotypes of women and men has provided a picture of expected and accepted roles for each. Clifton et al. (1976) found that three types of women were described in response to the question, "What words come to your mind when I say woman?" Two of these generalized women exemplify dependence on men: the housewife and the sex-object. The third, termed the independent woman, includes traits ascribed to career women, athletes, and clubwomen. The BSRI trait list taps into the dependent housewife domain and into the independent woman domain, the former in terms of femininity, the latter in terms of masculinity.

E. Expectations

Expectations about the outcome of this research ranged from the very specific to the very general and exploratory. Our expectations follow.

1. Cognitive Development Of Feminism

Our first idea is that feminism develops through a series of ordered cognitions. First, the individual becomes identified with the group women, and second, gains a politicized consciousness toward the relations between woman and men. Feminism, defined as support for a movement for women's rights, is adopted in the last stage of development of gender identification and consciousness. The proposed sequence of cognitions is as follows: 1) I think I am like other women, 2 or 3) I think about being a woman quite often, 3 or 2) I believe that

what happens to women in general is directly related to what happens to me, 4) I believe that women have too little power relative to men, 5) I think that men hold their excess of power illegitimately, that the reason men have more power is that women are discriminated against and 6) I believe that the solution to the power disparity lies in collective action geared toward gaining rights for all women.

Gurin and Townsend (1986) provide a measure for each of the six cognitions above. Using these measures and Guttman analyses, we can test the hypothesis that these cognitions appear in the proposed order in our participants. The Guttman model is represented by a series of questions that can be ordered by their degree of difficulty, such that if a test-taker answers one question correctly, all easier questions would also be answered correctly. Conversely, if one question is answered incorrectly, all more difficult questions would also be answered incorrectly. Guttman analysis takes individual scores on all items and assesses the degree to which the items actually do conform to the Guttman model. The six proposed measures of gender identification and consciousness can be adapted for testing against the Guttman model. To the degree that the measures conform to the model in their proposed sequence, we have a developmental model of feminism.

2. Individual Differences

A general prediction concerning the relationship among gender identification, gender consciousness, sex-role egalitarianism, general egalitarianism, and personal sex-type is that they are each related to the other. We believe that each is a measure of placement on a traditionalism-non-traditionalism continuum. Greater identification,

consciousness, egalitarianism, and masculinity, and less femininity are all associated with non-traditionalism in women. Initially, feminism was thought to underlie the measures, since measures were selected for inclusion as we answered, Who is a woman who supports the feminist movement for women's rights? However, with the discovery that feminism itself is not singularly defined, this belief declined. Possibly instead, two sub-dimensions may appear, one a traditional-feminist dimension and the other a traditional-egalitarian dimension, as differentiated by King and King (1986).

We propose a number of more specific relationships. Sex-role egalitarianism is expected to be strongly related to agreement that men illegitimately hold greater power than women. Given that the purpose of the Rights and Opportunities Scale is to assess the relationship between attitudes toward equality in and out of the gender domain, three expectations arise. First, participants' discontent with present power relations between men and women will be positively related to agreement that equality does not presently exist among other social groups. Second, agreement that men illegitimately have greater power than women will be positively related to agreement that all social groups should have equal rights and opportunities. Third, endorsement of the women's movement and collective action toward change will be more positively associated with endorsement of affirmative action than either of the other two ROS subscales.

The last predictions concern personal sex-type. We propose that a masculine sex-type will be positively correlated with gender identification and consciousness. Femininity is expected to be negatively correlated with gender identification and consciousness. The

qualities associated with traditional masculinity (i.e., assertive, strong personality, able to stand alone) may be required for a woman to reject the status quo power imbalance between men and women. The more docile nature of traditional femininity is less likely to inspire such activity. Correlational analyses will be used to test all predictions about relationships among individual differences.

3. Rating And Ranking Targets

Although it was of interest to learn how women in general would rate and rank targets, we have not attended to this issue, and therefore make no predictions. Individual difference effects on decision-making about targets were more a focus of concern. All individual difference measures fall on a traditional-non-traditional dimension, although we are not sure how to represent non-traditionalism. Feminist and egalitarian attitudes are anti-status quo, and therefore anti-tradition. Leadership is traditionally a male and masculine domain. When participants are requested to rate and rank targets who differ by sex and sex-type, it is expected that traditional participants will rate and rank targets who conform to the leader stereotype (male and/or masculine) higher than will participants who are non-traditional. Conversely, non-traditional participants are expected to rate and rank female and/or feminine targets higher than will traditional participants. Finally, non-traditional participants are expected to rate and rank cross sex-typed targets higher than will traditional participants.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

A. Overview

One hundred and twelve women were asked to rate and rank applicants for valued leadership training positions. In this repeated measures design, the six applicants differed by crossed combinations of sex (male, female) and sex-type (masculine, neutral, feminine). Targets were rated on three competency-based dimensions and two interpersonal dimensions. Participants also answered questions regarding their identification as women, beliefs about the relationship of women and men, beliefs about egalitarianism both in and out of the gender domain, and their own sex-type relevant attributes. Participants filled out the paper and pencil measures in groups of 6 to 15.

B. Participants

One hundred and seventeen undergraduate women volunteered to participate in the study. They were recruited exclusively from psychology classes for a study on "the effects of personal characteristics on decision-making." Participants were awarded course credit for their assistance. Five individuals were removed from all analyses as a result of negative answers to one or more of four questions designed to determine if participants were paying attention to questions.

Participants were predominantly white and middle class. Ninety-six percent of the sample fell in the age range between 17 and 22; the older students were almost exclusively psychology majors, while the younger students were often liberal arts or undeclared majors. The sample was predominantly heterosexual, and about half were involved in committed romantic relationships. Participants were also mostly Catholic or Protestant, and much more likely to be moderate to liberal than conservative and to be politically affiliated as Independents or Democrats.

C. Measures

In this mixed experimental-correlational design, participants first responded to experimental manipulations of target sex and sex-type, and second, to questions about themselves. As a result, measures fall into two broad categories, application response measures and individual difference measures. Appendix A.1 contains all the materials used in the study; the following text includes a detailed description of the various measures.

1. Applications

A series of six applications to a fictional leadership training program was developed to allow participants to assess targets who differed along sex (male, female) and sex-type (masculine, neutral, feminine) dimensions. The applicants were presented as upper-level undergraduate college students seeking entry to a highly competitive national training program. Information was displayed on each application regarding the fictional applicant's college major, work

experience, hobbies, and personal characteristics. Initially, eighteen applications were developed and thirty female students judged them on the probable sex of the applicant, traditionality of sex-type, and competence to participate in a leadership program. Two applications from each sex-type (masculine, feminine, and neutral) were matched on these dimensions. Appendix A.2 presents the mean application scores of those selected.

In this study, it was planned that each participant would see all six of the selected applications. The six applications represented a masculine male, a neutral male, a feminine male, a masculine female, a neutral female, and a feminine female. Since each participant was to see, for example, both a masculine male and a masculine female, two representations of masculinity were required. An essential purpose of the pilot study was to find two representations of masculinity (as well as neutrality and femininity) that would be as equal as possible, so differences in participant responses to the masculine male and masculine female could be unequivocally attributed to the sex manipulation, and not to differences between the two representations of masculinity. Of course, the need for equivalence had to be balanced with the need to convince participants that the applicants were real. As a result, the two representations had to appear as two different people.

Since the two representations within each sex-type category were different, a between-subject variable was introduced to allow separation of any effects that might result from the manipulation of sex within each sex-type category from effects due to real differences between the applications. This variable is best explained by

continuing to use the masculine male/masculine female example. The two representations of masculinity can be labelled by the college major that characterizes each of them; aerospace engineering and polymer science. The manipulation was simply that half the participants reviewed a male aerospace engineering student and a female polymer science student, while the other half reviewed a female aerospace engineering student and a male polymer science student. The combination of sex and representation was similarly manipulated in the neutral and feminine sex-type categories. The variable will be referred to as the "combination" variable. Using college major as a label for each representation, the two sets of applications that resulted from this manipulation appear below:

Sex by sex-type cross of target	Combination	
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
Male masculine	Aerospace engineering	Polymer science
Female masculine	Polymer science	Aerospace engineering
Male neutral	History	Communications
Female neutral	Communications	History
Male feminine	Elementary education	Social work
Female feminine	Social work	Elementary education

The order of presentation of applications was also manipulated as a between-subject variable. With the constraint that applications could not be ordered in any of a number of systematic ways (e.g. male-female, male-female, male-female or neutral-neutral, feminine-feminine, masculine-masculine), four orders were initially developed. Proper consideration was not given, however, to the relationship of order to combination, and as a result, the four orders associated with

Combination 1 are not the same, in terms of sex crossed with sex-type, as the four orders associated with Combination 2. An example of the incongruity follows.

order of presentation	Combination	
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
1.	neutral male (history)	neutral female (history)
2.	feminine female (social work)	feminine male (social work)
3.	masculine male (aerospace engineer)	masculine female (aerospace engineer)
4.	feminine male (elementary education)	feminine female (elementary education)
5.	neutral female (communications)	neutral male (communications)
6.	masculine female (polymer science)	masculine male (polymer science)

When presented in this way, it is apparent where the error lies. For presentation order to be the same in Combination 1 and 2, the first application, for example, in Combination 2 should be the combination of male and the other representation of neutrality, the communications major. However, when making the Combination 2 applications from a Combination 1 template, representation was held constant (as history major) while the sex was changed (to female) instead of sex being held constant (as male) while the representation was changed (to communications). The end result is that order is nested within, rather than crossed with combination. Interaction effects between order and combination cannot be extricated, leaving one source of variance unavailable for inspection. The eight presentations of applications are listed in Appendix A.3.

Upon completing development of orders and combinations, a total of 15 of each of the eight presentations were presented randomly to

participants with the other material discussed below. These two differences in presentation are the only between-subject manipulations in the study. Otherwise, all participants received identical materials.

Five questions appear at the bottom of each application. Each on a ten-point scale, they ask of the participant, 1) Would you offer this individual a position in the Winter Leadership Training Conference?, 2) How much do you think you would like this person?, 3) If this individual is accepted to the Conference, how much do you think others would like this person?, 4) How competent do you think this person is?, and 5) If accepted into the WLTC, how much potential do you think this person has to become an outstanding leader?

After the participants had responded to each application, they were requested to rank the applicants as though the participants themselves were responsible for filling positions in the Conference.

2. Individual Differences

a. Gender Identification And Consciousness

Gurin's measures were used to assess the gender identification and consciousness of college women. Some modifications were introduced to better orient the measures to a college population and to address some issues raised in the previous research. Some demographic variables that are predictors of gender consciousness are constants in the student population; educational level and age are clearly two. In the prior studies, lists of social groups were provided to participants in the similarity and discontent measures. Some listed groups that seemed unimportant in this research were replaced; ethnic and sexual

preference groups which are clearly present and visible on the University of Massachusetts campus were included instead of regional groups. A final set of changes was made in the types of scales used. What were simple dichotomous scales in Gurin's measures became Likert scales in the present study.

i. Similarity. Participants were asked to look at a list of 19 category labels including sex, racial, political, class, ethnic, religious, and sexual-orientation groups and respond by circling categories in response to the question, "Which of these groups do you feel particularly close to—people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things?" They were also requested to indicate which single group they feel closest to. Three response categories resulted; high similarity if participants are "closest" to "women", moderate similarity if participants are "close" but not "closest" to "women", and low similarity if "women" is not circled at all.

ii. Centrality. The cognitive component of centrality is defined as the mental time spent thinking about the object over time (Converse, 1970). Participants were asked to respond to, "How often in your everyday life do you think about being a woman and what you have in common with women and men?" on a 10-point scale. High centrality is reflected in higher numbered responses.

iii. Common Fate. Common fate is conceptualized as the degree to which personal and group outcomes are linked in the perception of the

individual. Participants were asked, "Do you think that what happens to women generally in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?" Also, participants were asked to answer, "Do you think that the movement for women's rights has affected you personally?" Ten-point scales were offered with both questions. High common fate is evidenced by high numbered responses to both questions.

iv. Discontent. The same 19 social category list was used as in the similarity measure. Participants were told, "Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve." This time participants were requested to respond for each social group to the question, "Does this group have (way too much, a bit too much, just enough, a bit too little, or way too little) influence in American society?" Discontent is based on responses to "men" and "women", the highest discontent reflects a response of "way too much" power for "men" and "way too little" for "women".

v. Illegitimacy. Questions fall into two domains, assessing the legitimacy of traditional sex-roles and of the disparity of male and female influence in society. Participants were asked to Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree with 11 statements. Two questions asked specifically whether women "belong" in the home and in leadership positions in society. Illegitimacy is illustrated by a positive response to women in leadership roles and a negative response to women in traditional roles. The remaining questions asked

participants to attribute causality for male-female role differences to structural factors or to dispositional/genetic reasons. An example of the former is "Women have less top jobs because our society discriminates against them." An example of the latter is "By nature, women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children." A high illegitimacy score requires choosing structural and rejecting dispositional causes.

vi. Collective Orientation. Collective orientation or collectivism is conceptualized as support for collective over individual means toward securing equality with men. First, participants were asked to Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree with four statements concerning the best means toward gaining equality, for example, "Only if women organize and work together can anything really be done about discrimination." Then they were asked to rate, on a ten-point scale, the Equal Rights Amendment and the Women's Liberation Movement. They were also requested to rate their general affect towards the Women's Liberation Movement on a ten-point scale. A high collectivism score results from endorsing the women's movement, the ERA, and collective responses to disparity between men and women.

b. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory

Participants were administered the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974). The BSRI is a list of 60 adjectives. Twenty adjectives represent cultural stereotypes about masculinity (i.e., independent, assertive), twenty represent cultural stereotypes about femininity (i.e., sympathetic, gentle) and the rest are non-stereotypic on the

gender dimension. Participants were requested to rate themselves on a seven-point scale for all 60 items. The BSRI responses are thought to be representative of the individual's personal sex-type. The BSRI has been used extensively to categorize individuals as androgynous (high femininity, high masculinity), feminine (high femininity, low masculinity), masculine (high masculinity, low femininity), and undifferentiated (low femininity, low masculinity). However, in the present research, scores were simply used to represent individual differences in degree of sex-typing on the masculine and feminine dimensions.

c. The Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale

Participants were asked 25 questions assessing their attitudes towards the gender-relevant social roles of others. The 25 questions compose a short form of the Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (King et al., 1981; Beere et al., 1984). The questions address the perceiver's propensity to judge targets positively for holding social roles independent of the congruity between the sex of the target and the sex-type of the particular role. Higher egalitarianism is viewed as agreement that one's maleness or femaleness should not be a factor in social roles, for example, that males and females are equally capable of caring for children. Items are divided into five categories: marital roles, parental roles, employment roles, social-interpersonal-heterosexual roles, and educational roles. All questions requested responses on a 4-point Likert scale with choices Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. Scores were initially generated for each category and for the scale as a whole. However, the five question

subscales proved unreliable and were removed from further analyses. All SRES analyses refer to the whole scale.

d. The Rights And Opportunities Scale

Participants were asked a series of questions assessing their attitudes toward relations between social groups as they are and as they could be. In the three resulting subscales, the target social groups are not men and women, but other groups perceived at times to be in conflict. Questions either explicitly address issues relevant to the equality of all groups or of the stereotypes and discriminatory practices relevant to specific groups. Reference is made to the opportunities of blacks, homosexuals, the poor, and different ethnic groups. Responses are requested on 4-point Likert scales with the choices Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. The subscales are represented by statements that explicitly address three issues: 1) Equality of rights and opportunities exists in the United States today, 2) Equal opportunity and rights should be extended to everyone, regardless of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, wealth, age, religion, or politics, and 3) Groups of people who have been discriminated against in the past should be given more than their share until full equality is reached. These are, respectively, the equality exists, equality should exist, and affirmative action scales. Scores were used to position individuals on each of the three dimensions.

e. Demographics

Participants were asked their age, major area of college study, political party membership, political orientation, religion,

religiosity, sources of college funding, romantic involvement, and sexual preference.

D. Procedure

Participants were tested in groups of 6-15 individuals by a female experimenter. Materials were presented in the following order: applications, the Bem Sex-role Inventory, a combined SRES and ROS, the gender identification and consciousness measures, and lastly, demographics. Participants were introduced to the decision making task with the suggestion that important decisions are often made with less than optimal consideration of objective information. Given the negative implications of this, therefore, we would be interested in exploring the ways different amounts and types of objective information could interact with personal characteristics to produce a particular response pattern. They were also told that we were working in conjunction with a real program, and that their responses to applicants would be compared to responses made by the program's admission committee. With this in mind, participants were asked to review the six applications, then rate them. They were also asked to "answer questions about [their] attitudes, opinions, personality, and life history, [so we] can look for relationships between decision-maker characteristics and the decisions themselves." After they ranked the applications, the completed part of the study was given to the experimenter, and the individual difference measures were dispensed as a package. The entire procedure required an average of 40 minutes. At the close of the experiment, participants were given experimental credit, a written debriefing, and an expression of appreciation.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

A. Individual Differences

Individual difference measures fall into two categories: theory-based measures that were planned a priori and data-based combinations of variables that resulted from preliminary analyses. The planned measures include the following: the six components and the whole of gender identification and consciousness (similarity, centrality, common fate, discontent, illegitimacy, collectivism), the Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale, the three components of the Rights and Opportunities Scale (equality exists, equality should exist, affirmative action), and the masculinity and femininity subscales of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. Results of initial analyses of the Rights and Opportunities Scale will be discussed first, since it is a new scale, followed by 1) information concerning the generation of data-based scales, 2) the developmental model of feminism, and 3) results of analyses of relationships among all the individual difference variables. Table 3.1 appears first, however, as a reference guide providing basic information regarding all individual difference variables. The table, which appears on page 68, includes the full name, mean, standard deviation, coefficient alpha, number of items, range, and abbreviation for each variable addressed below. It will be referred to often, and is very useful for deciphering the numerous abbreviations in this chapter.

1. Adopting New Variables

Since this research was intended, in part, to develop a broadened conception of feminism, analyses were undertaken to consider the usefulness of combinations of variables. Similar analyses were conducted to evaluate the success of construction of the ROS, a new scale. Rules were developed to aid in this verification process.

New variables were adopted when three requirements were met or nearly met. First, in the factor analysis on the relevant scale or scales, items had to load together. Beyond this, the combination of items also had to display some face validity. If these two conditions were met, reliability analysis was performed, and the new variable was accepted if coefficient alpha exceeded .70. This process is explained in detail below for each new variable that did meet these standards.

a. The Rights And Opportunities Scale

Initially, 30 items concerning the rights and opportunities of Americans were included in the questionnaire. A preliminary Cronbach's alpha reliability estimate suggested that certain items were not making a positive contribution to the scale. These items were removed from further analyses. A principal components analysis extracted seven factors from the remaining 22 items. After varimax rotation, the first three factors generally represented the anticipated subscales: equality does not exist (EE), equality should exist (SE), and affirmative action (AA). Of the seven EE items, six appear in Factor 1, along with one SE item, stating "Equal opportunity and rights should be extended to everyone, regardless of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, wealth, age, religion or politics." This is the defining statement of SE, and

it also appears in Factor 2, with four of the remaining seven SE items. Two AA items also loaded on Factor 2, "People who have homes should donate time and money to build homes for people who don't" and "The U.S. government should return portions of ancestral lands to Native American Indians even though others who presently live there may have to leave." The first of these items also loads on Factor 3, along with four of the remaining five AA items, and one SE item, "People of different races should marry if they want to." Items, means, and loadings appear in Appendix B.

The three factors accounted for 20.0, 11.2, and 9.2 percent of the total variance. However, they did not fully represent the three subscales of the ROS as they had originally been developed. Since a choice had to be made about what to do with "misplaced" items, we decided to leave the a priori item groupings as they were. This was an admittedly arbitrary decision, based on two points. First, the scales were statistically reliable in their a priori form. Subscale reliability coefficients are presented in Table 3.1. Second, a glance at the few items that did not load with their a priori counterparts suggested that a reorganization would not make conceptual sense. For example, one of these items was "The U.S. government should return portions of ancestral lands to Native American Indians even though others who presently live there may have to leave." Although it is reasonable that this item should load with the "equality should exist" items, the question also epitomizes the affirmative action issue, suggesting some overlap between the two scales. Overlap had the effect of increasing the correlation among subscales, a result that did not seem particularly undesirable.

b. General Power Discontent

In the discontent subscale of GI/C, participants were asked to state whether 19 social groups had too much, too little, or just enough power in society. When their 19 responses were entered into a principal components analysis and treated to varimax rotation, five orthogonal factors resulted. Factor 1 accounted for 37.2 percent of the total variance. The seven groups with high positive factor loadings are all traditionally discriminated against groups, while those with the high negative loadings are traditionally quite powerful. General power discontent I (PD1) is a linear combination of the nine Factor 1 items that had factor loadings above .50 or below -.50. Scores for each of the seven positively loaded items were summed, and then the sum of the two negatively loaded items was subtracted from the positive sum.

Factor 3 was also a meaningful combination of items. High negative loadings appeared for whites, heterosexuals, and conservatives on this factor. Scores on these three items were summed, creating the General power discontent II variable. This factor accounted for 7.6 percent of the total variance. The item means and factor loadings for the two factors are presented in Appendix B. Reliabilities for the two new variables are presented in Table 3.1.

c. General Egalitarianism And Displeasure With the Status Quo

Principal components analysis of summed scores of the six gender identification and consciousness (GI/C) subscales, the three ROS subscales and the Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRE) produced three orthogonal factors after varimax rotation. The ten summed scores

included in the analysis represent the individual difference attitudes measures. Means and factor loadings appear in Appendix B. Factor 2 items yielded a low alpha reliability and were therefore not combined for inclusion in any further analyses. Factor 1 included high loadings on the SRE, the equality should exist (SE) subscale of the ROS, and the illegitimacy subscale of GI/C. It accounted for 34.9 percent of the total variance. The three items assess egalitarian values, in both gender relevant and non-gender relevant domains. The general egalitarianism variable (EGA) is a linear combination of these scores. Factor 3 included the equality doesn't exist and affirmative action subscales of the ROS and the discontent subscale of GI/C. It accounts for 11.1 percent of the total variance. These three components suggest a dimension for displeasure with the current status of social group relations in conjunction with endorsement of an affirmative action solution. The displeasure with the status quo variable (DSQ) is a linear combination of these scores. Reliabilities are presented in Table 3.1.

d. Religiosity

Three questions addressed religious matters: religious participation, religious faith, and spiritual faith. Since together they form a highly reliable scale, further analyses include them as a summed unit. This is the REL variable.

2. The Developmental Model Of Feminism

To test the hypothesis that identification and consciousness develop progressively through a series of stages, the data from the six

components of identification and consciousness (SIM, CEN, COF, DSC, IIG, COL) were entered as six items in a Guttman scale analysis. The Guttman scale analysis determines if the components are unidimensional and cumulative. A scale fits these criteria to the extent that successful completion of an item is associated with successful completion of less difficult items, and conversely, the failure to complete an item is associated with failure to complete more difficult items.

Guttman analysis is most useful with items that can be objectively defined as successes or failures, as with math problems. However, if a decision can be made about how to determine a success, continuous variables may be used also. In the present context, absolute success or failure does not exist, so relative success or failure was assumed.

With this in mind, and to maximize the numerical balance of successes and failures, a threshold point was set at the median for each component. However, the median did not function adequately as a threshold on the similarity and discontent subscales because so many scores fell exactly on it. Thus, analyses were completed using thresholds both above and below the median. Changing the threshold makes success more or less easy to attain by changing the proportion of observed scores in each category. Moving the threshold in this way affects how the Guttman analysis orders components from least to most difficult, and also how closely the components conform to the Guttman model.

The best Guttman result occurred when the SIM threshold was lowered and the DSC threshold raised (respectively making success less and more difficult). The coefficient of reproducibility equalled .78 and the

coefficient of scalability equalled .45. Although confidence in a valid Guttman scale requires a coefficient of reproducibility upwards of .90 and a coefficient of scalability at a minimum of .60, the above observed coefficients are associated with a theoretically reasonable order of components. The analysis orders the components automatically to maximize scale validity. Here, the components were ordered from least to most difficult as 1) similarity, 2) centrality, 3) common fate, 4) illegitimacy, 5) collective orientation, and 6) discontent. Except for the placement of discontent as the most difficult component (lowest proportion of successes to failures) instead of between common fate and illegitimacy, the order is as hypothesized a priori.

3. Relationships Among Scales

a. Gender Identification And Consciousness

i. Similarity. Of all the participants questioned, 19.7 percent saw themselves as not similar to other women, 58.9 percent as similar but not most similar to other women, and the remaining 21.4 percent as most similar to other women.

The relationship of components of gender identification and consciousness (GI/C) to each other and to the whole scale are presented as Pearson correlation coefficients in Table 3.2 on page 69. Also included are correlations of the sum of standardized identification scores with component consciousness measures and of summed consciousness scores with component identification measures. Similarity is positively correlated with all other component measures and with the whole GI/C. Its strongest association is with the centrality measure

($r=.37$, $p<.001$). Of the three identification measures, it is most weakly correlated with the summed consciousness measure.

ii. Centrality. Fifty-three percent of participants responded to this item by using the upper half of the ten-point scale. The distribution of scores is normal and leptokurtic (with a sharp peak). Centrality is correlated very strongly with all other GI/C measures except discontent, where the relationship is weaker but still significant. Centrality also correlates strongly with the combined consciousness measures.

iii. Common Fate. The sum of the two items in the scale has a minimum possible value of two and maximum of 20. The observed mean score was 14.19, with no subject scoring below six; participants saw their outcomes as more rather than less interdependent with the outcomes of other women. Common fate correlates most strongly with centrality ($r=.43$, $p<.001$) and illegitimacy ($r=.46$, $p<.001$). Of the three identification measures, common fate shares the strongest relationship with consciousness ($r=.45$, $p<.001$).

iv. Discontent. Of the 112 participants, five rated women as having more power in society than men. The remaining participants were distributed across a range of the five values that represented at its end points equal power between women and men and women having much less power than men. Fourteen percent of these received a score of 4 by rating men as having way too much power and women as having way too little. The mean score of 2.03 illustrates a moderate sense of women's

deprivation relative to men. Of all the subscales, discontent is least related to the others. It is only strongly related to illegitimacy ($r=.36, p<.001$). Discontent is unrelated to common fate or collectivism and weakly related to similarity ($r=.18, p<.05$) and centrality ($r=.17, p<.05$). As a result, of the three consciousness measures, it is most weakly related to identification ($r=.20, p<.05$).

v. Illegitimacy. The lowest possible score on this scale is 11. Scores in this sample range from 25 to 44, the maximum possible score. Within this range, scores are distributed approximately normally, with a mean of 35.71, and a median and mode of 35. The scores represent moderate to strong agreement that women should have the same access as men to societal leadership positions and that the present lack of women in such roles is illegitimately due to structural causes. Illegitimacy is strongly correlated ($r>.35, p<.001$) with all other subscales except similarity ($r=.23, p<.01$). Of the three consciousness measures, it is most strongly correlated with identification ($r=.46, p<.001$), and of all subscales, with the whole GI/C ($r=.63, p<.001$). Part-whole correlations for all subscales appear in Table 3.2.

vi. Collective Orientation. Scores are distributed quite normally over the range of possible scores on the collective orientation measure, with a mean of 30.46. Collective orientation correlates strongly ($r>.26, p<.005$) with all other subscales except discontent ($r=.03, n.s.$), and is also quite strongly correlated with the summed identification measures ($r=.41, p<.001$). Of all the subscales, only

collectivism does not significantly correlate with the GI/C as a whole ($r=.14$).

b. Personal Sex-Type

Initially, every participant was assigned a masculinity (BSM) and femininity (BSF) score, a sum of the twenty scores on each of the two subscales of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. We looked at item-whole correlations within each subscale and discovered that the BSF had a number of near zero correlation items. Upon further examination, it appeared that these items (yielding, shy, flatterable, do not use harsh language, childlike, soft-spoken, gullible) form a rather negative picture of femininity in the present age, although maybe not fifteen years ago, when the scale was developed. These items were removed, leaving 13 items that form a highly reliable scale ($\alpha=.91$) and provide a much more positive picture of femininity, including the items affectionate, loyal, gentle, loves children, tender, warm, eager to soothe hurt feelings, compassionate, understanding, cheerful, feminine, sympathetic, and sensitive to the needs of others. It is this scale that is used in all analyses. On this revised scale, participants scores are skewed quite drastically toward the feminine end. Of the possible range of 13 to 91, with the exception of one individual, all participants scored greater than 49, with a mean score of 75.38. Scores on the BSF do not significantly correlate with any gender identification and consciousness measures, as can be seen in Table 3.3 on page 70.

Scores were a little more widely distributed on the BSM than the BSF. One item was removed from the scale, the trait masculine. It

was non-significantly correlated with the whole BSM, due to its low mean and standard deviation (mean=2, sd=1.28). Participants rated themselves low on masculinity, regardless of their ratings on other BSM items. Scores could range from 19 to 133; the observed mean was 93.88. Participants generally rated themselves as high on masculine traits as well as feminine traits. The BSM is significantly correlated with the GI/C as a whole ($r=.24$, $p<.01$) and with common fate ($r=.29$, $p<.005$).

c. Sex-Role Egalitarianism

Out of a maximum score of 100 (and a minimum of 25), half of all participants scored 91 or higher on sex-role egalitarianism. The mean of 89.95 and standard deviation of 7.35 suggest that our participants are very sex-role egalitarian. Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRE) scores correlate very strongly with the illegitimacy subscale of the GI/C ($r=.67$, $p<.001$). This is as expected, since both scales have as their foundation a rejection of traditional division of roles along gender lines. Correlation coefficients for the SRE with all GI/C measures appear in Table 3.3.

The SRE correlates significantly also with all other subscales of gender identification and consciousness. With the GI/C as a whole, the relationship is very strong ($r=.60$, $p<.001$), as it is also with common fate ($r=.40$, $p<.001$) and a collective orientation ($r=.36$, $p<.001$). On the similarity, centrality, and discontent measures, correlations are somewhat weaker ($r<.21$, $p<.05$). The SRE is not significantly correlated with the BSF but exhibits a positive relationship with the BSM ($r=.25$, $p<.010$).

d. Rights And Opportunities

Values on the whole rights and opportunities scale (ROS) may range from 22 to 88, but the observed values actually fall, with a normal distribution, in the 51 to 81 range. The mean score is 66.3. This suggests that participants were generally agreed that equality does not exist, that it should be attained, and that affirmative action steps are desirable. The ROS is significantly correlated with all the GI/C measures (Table 3.3) and the SRE ($r=.49$, $p<.001$). Correlations among the three rights and opportunities components appear in Table 3.4 on page 71. These relationships while significant, are not particularly strong, suggesting that the subscales measure different constructs. Part-whole correlations are also presented in Table 3.4.

i. Equality Does Not Exist. Within a range of values from 7 to 28, the mean score on the equality does not exist (EE) subscale equals 22.15. With a standard deviation of 2.88, this represents a sample of individuals who generally agree that equality of rights and opportunities does not presently exist among all social groups in the United States. This measure was intended to be analogous, in a non-gender relevant domain, to the discontent measure of the GI/C, so it is of special interest that this relationship, although significant is not particularly strong ($r=.25$, $p<.010$). Correlations between the EE scale and other GI/C measures appear in Table 3.3.

ii. Equality Should Exist. There is nearly unanimous agreement among participants that equality of rights and opportunities is desirable. Seventy-one of 112 participants (63.4%) responded with a

positive endorsement of all items suggesting that equality should exist. With a possible scoring range of 24, the mean score is only 4 units below the maximum, with a standard deviation of 3.18.

The equality should exist subscale (SE) was intended to measure participants attitudes towards equality in a non-gender relevant domain. We anticipated that a strong relationship would emerge between a positive attitude toward equality here and where gender is relevant. The relationship then, between the SE scale and the SRE should be quite strong, and it is ($r=.61$, $p<.005$). A similarly strong correlation should appear between SE and illegitimacy (ILG), and it does ($r=.54$, $p<.005$). Correlations between the SE scale and GI/C measures appear in Table 3.3.

iii. Affirmative Action. Scores on the affirmative action (AA) scale are normally distributed across the whole range of possible scores (7-28). The mean score is 15.89, the standard deviation 3.00. Belief in affirmative action as a solution to inequality is not always endorsed. We expected that participants more discontented with gender relations would be more likely to consider affirmative action acceptable. Gender discontent is significantly but moderately correlated with AA ($r=.20$, $p<.05$). When participants are divided into two groups based on discontent scores, the difference between their corresponding AA scores is highly significant ($F(1,110)=9.84$, $p<.002$). For higher (above the median) discontent participants, the mean AA score is 17.06, for those less discontented, AA drops to 15.27. Correlations between AA and other GI/C measures can be found in Table 3.3.

Similarly, it was expected that endorsement of affirmative action would be positively related to agreement that equality should exist. A look at Table 3.4 shows that this relationship does exist. Further evidence is provided in a one-way ANOVA, where we looked for mean AA differences between higher and lower SE scorers. Those scoring above the median on the SE scale had a mean AA score of 16.74, in comparison to those scoring below the median, whose mean AA score was 14.91. This difference is highly significant ($F(1,110)=11.30, p<.001$).

e. General Power Discontent

As noted earlier, two scales were developed to assess general power discontent. The first scale, PD1, has a mean of 24.71 and a standard deviation of 6.45. The scale range is -3 to 33. The observed scores indicate that participants agree that non-heterosexual, non-white, non-economically stable social groups lack power while the rich and men have too much. Except for a positive relationship with illegitimacy ($r=.30, p<.001$), participants' attitudes toward the above-mentioned group power relations are not associated with GI/C measures. However, PD1 is quite strongly correlated with the three ROS subscales ($.25<r>.31, p<.005$), and with the BSF ($r=.18, p<.05$).

High scorers on the second measure of general power discontent (PD2) are those who believe whites, conservatives, and heterosexuals have too little power. These individuals are in the minority; the scores are skewed quite positively, with a mean of 7.33. and a standard deviation of 2.12, on a scale with a range from 3 to 15. Responses on PD2 are negatively correlated with every other individual difference measure except general religiosity. The magnitude and significance of

these correlations and those concerning PD1 are displayed in Table 3.5 on page 72.

f. Displeasure With the Status Quo

Subject scores on the DSQ scale (combining EE, AA, and DSC) are normally distributed across a range of observed scores condensed slightly on the low end. The mean is 40.07, with a standard deviation of 5.07, and a possible range of scores from 10 to 60. DSQ is significantly correlated with all other attitude measures. Correlation coefficients between DSQ and all other individual difference measures appear in Table 3.5. Missing coefficients represent scales that overlap, as in this case, between DSQ and AA, which is part of DSQ. The strongest relationship is between DSQ and ILG ($r=.52$, $p<.001$), while the association of DSQ with SRE is much weaker ($r=.29$, $p<.001$). Gender discontent alone and DSQ show a similar pattern of relationships with ILG and SRE, which hints that illegitimacy may be part of a displeasure dimension as well as an egalitarianism dimension.

g. General Egalitarianism

By combining three scores (SRE, SE, and ILG), each already quite skewed toward high egalitarian scores, we have created a very skewed measure of general egalitarianism, with a mean score of 153.92 out of a possible 176, with a possible low score of 44. We have also created a score that correlates significantly with every other individual difference measure we have used, with the exception of the BSF. Pearson r values and significance levels appear in Table 3.5.

h. Religiosity

Religiosity scores distribute normally across the entire range of scores, with a mean of 8.5, and a standard deviation of 2.91. Religiosity does not appear to be related to gender identification and consciousness except for the illegitimacy subscale ($r = -.22$, $p < .010$). A belief that equality should exist is also negatively related to religiosity ($r = -.33$, $p < .001$), as is EGA, which was expected. Also in line with this constellation of relationships, religiosity is negatively correlated with PD1, where a high score indicates agreement that minority social groups lack power ($r = -.20$, $p < .05$). Correlation coefficients including REL are presented in Table 3.5

B. Application Effects

Order effects refer to differences in how participants respond to targets as a result of changes in the order of presentation of the targets¹. Combination effects refer also to differences in response tendencies, but as a result of switching the sex between the two applications within each sex-type. Combination effects would arise if, for example, participants rated a male target differently when he was portrayed as an aerospace engineer than when he was portrayed as a polymer scientist. Both order and combination are between-subject variables; each participant reviewed one of eight orders and one of two combinations. As discussed earlier, order is nested within combination; the four orders presented with one combination are different than the orders presented with the other combination.

¹Use of the word target reflects our underlying assumption that participant responses are a function of differences in sex and sex-type of the applicants, not real differences among applicants.

To assess the effects of presenting participants with the applications in varying orders and of changing the sex of the target back and forth between the two representations of each sex-type, a MANOVA was conducted. The independent variables included the two between-subject variables and the within-subject sex and sex-type variables. Since each participant sees all the targets, male and female, masculine, neutral, and feminine, sex and sex-type are within-subject variables. Responses to each of the five questions on the applications comprise the five dependent variables.

The order within combination variable interacts with sex by sex-type on two dependent variables (like: $F(12,208)=2.29, p<.009$; others like: $F(12,206)=2.20, p<.013$). Although determining the reason for these effects is statistically complicated, at first glance it appears that the first target presented to participants in each order tends to be rated lower to much lower than the mean on these two variables. Table 3.6 on page 73 shows the mean ratings for the first versus the last five applications on the liking variable. This rating trend clearly contributes to the interaction effect. Each sex by sex-type is presented in the first position, so to some extent the low scores cancel each other. However, eight orders were presented, so that two applications came first twice. Also, a further contribution is added by one or two seemingly random high rating scores on each variable. There is no simple explanation for this. The order within combination variable also interacts with the sex of target on two dependent variables (others like: $F(6,103)=2.25, p<.044$; competence: $F(6,104)=2.43, p<.031$). These effects are due to the same unusually high and unusually low target means specified above.

The combination variable also interacts with target variables. On every dependent variable, there is a statistically significant combination by sex by sex-type interaction (offer position: $f(2,208)=12.98, p<.001$; like: $F(2,208)=9.56, p<.001$; others like: $F(2,206)=3.51, p<.032$; competence: $F(2,208)=4.72, p<.010$; potential: $F(2,208)=17.11, p<.001$). The explanation for these findings is quite uncomplicated. The two masculine targets, although matched in the pilot testing of applications, were not rated equally by the present participants. The aerospace engineer is always rated higher than the polymer scientist, regardless of whether the sex of the target is male or female, and regardless of the dependent variable. Similarly, of the two neutral applications, on four of the five dependent variables, the communications student is rated higher than the history student. Only on the others like variable is this pattern absent. When reviewing the two feminine applications, participants apparently find no difference between them, except on the potential question, where the elementary education student is rated higher than the social work student.

Using the offer position variable as an example, Figure 3.1 on page 74 exhibits the most common pattern of interaction. Each line represents a combination of target sex and the application associated with that sex. In the masculine condition, mean ratings were high and nearly equal for the male and female aerospace engineers. Targets were rated lower when males or females appeared as a polymer science student. Although with less distinction, the neutral targets are also separated by application. The two higher means are associated with the communications student, with female targets rated highest. Each of the history majors are rated below either of the communications majors.

Finally, within the feminine target category, no distinction is observed between ratings of social work and elementary education students. Table 3.7 on page 75 reports the mean ratings by sex by type by combination.

Sex interacts with combination on two variables (like: $F(1,104)=9.70, p<.002$; others like: $F(1,103)=10.05, p<.002$). Both of these effects are due to the unusually high rating of the feminine female target when she is represented as either an elementary education or social work student.

Although neither the order nor combination manipulation was supposed to exert a strong influence on subject responses, they each did. As a result, they are included as between-subject variables in all subsequent MANOVAs performed to assess effects on ratings.

C. Responses To Applications

1. Rating Targets

MANOVAs were performed separately for the five dependent variable application questions (offer position; like; others like; competence; potential) to determine the effects of sex, sex-type, and sex by sex-type interactions on each. Mean responses to each question on the within-subjects sex variable are presented in Table 3.8 on page 76. A significant main effect for sex is found only on one dependent variable (others like: $F(1,103)=4.00, p<.048$). Female targets are preferred over male targets. Although this is the only statistically significant finding concerning sex as a target variable, note that females are non-significantly preferred over males on each of the other four dependent variables.

Mean differences as a function of the within-subjects sex-type variable are presented in Table 3.9 on page 76. Here, the result is a highly significant main effect on each dependent variable (offer position: $F(2,208)=7.51, p<.001$; like: $F(2,208)=33.93, p<.001$; others like: $F(2,206)=14.31, p<.001$; competence: $F(2,208)=5.84, p<.003$; potential: $F(2,208)=4.91, p<.001$). Participants significantly preferred to offer leadership positions to masculine targets over both neutral ($t(111)=3.12, p<.002$) and feminine ($t(111)=3.35, p<.001$) targets. The situation was reversed when participants were asked how much they thought others would like the target. Here, their preference was for feminine ($t(111)=4.08, p<.001$) and neutral ($t(111)=4.94, p<.001$) targets over masculine targets. Participants rated liking feminine targets significantly more than neutral targets ($t(111)=2.28, p<.025$), and neutral targets more than masculine targets ($t(111)=7.1, p<.001$). On both the competence and potential for leadership questions, participants endorsed masculine targets significantly more than either neutral (competence: $t(111)=2.86, p<.005$; potential: $t(111)=2.89, p<.005$) or feminine targets (competence: $t(111)=2.88, p<.005$; potential: $t(111)=3.33, p<.001$). Based on these findings, there is support for seeing the five dependent measures as falling into two categories; one interpersonal, composed of the like and others like questions, and the other competency-based, encompassing the questions of offering positions, competence, and potential for success.

Two significant interactions between sex and sex-type were also revealed (like: $F(2,208)=5.55, p<.004$; others like: $F(2,206)=20.11, p<.001$). Mean responses are presented in Table 3.10 on page 77. Participants show significantly more liking for feminine female rather

than feminine male targets (like: $t(111)=2.86, p<.005$). The second interaction effect is due to participants' judgments that others would prefer traditional to non-traditional targets; masculine males to masculine females ($t(111)=2.56, p<.012$) and feminine females to feminine males ($t(111)=4.81, p<.001$). Figure 3.2 on page 78 displays the like and others like interaction effects.

2. Ranking Targets

After attending to each individual application, participants were asked to decide in what order they would enroll the six targets in the leadership program. Initially, this ordinal level data was tested for order and combination effects, using the Friedman test of related samples and the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance. It was immediately clear that both variables strongly influenced the participant's ranking of the targets. It had seemed reasonable to expect that order would no longer create significant differences after all the targets had been reviewed. It was not possible to separate order and combination variance from variance due to target characteristics, so no further analysis of variance tests were conducted. Instead, the next step was to determine from the five interval dependent variables, which, if any, of the participants' ratings contributed to their decisions about ranking targets.

A nonparametric correlation coefficient, Spearman's rho, was computed between the numbered rank and ranked scores on each dependent variable for each target. The results suggest that, overall, three of the dependent variables, offer position, competence, and potential contribute substantially to participant's ranking schemes. As would be

expected, offer position ratings are most strongly correlated with ranking, since ranking is offering positions. The like and others like variables were less influential. Table 3.11 on page 79 presents the Spearman's coefficients for all dependent variables with their associated ranks. The leftmost column labels represent the six targets as indicated in the legend (i.e., MM designations refer to the male masculine targets).

D. Individual Difference Effects On Responses To Applications

Nineteen individual difference variables resulted from breaking scales down into their previously defined subscales, and creating some new scales (listed in the leftmost column of Table 3.5). Each of these variables were split at the median, placing participants into high and low categories.² Then, in the interest of assessing the effect of individual differences on decision-making, each variable was entered as a between-subjects grouping variable (together with order and combination) into a MANOVA with sex and sex-type of the target as within-subject independent variables. A separate MANOVA was completed for each of the five dependent variables, which represent the five questions on each application presented to participants. A total of 95 analyses were executed.

Statistical propriety demands that, when conducting a large number of analyses, only the most extremely improbable null hypotheses be rejected. In the present study, with 95 analyses, and a family error rate of .05, the threshold of extreme improbability was set at .0005, ensuring that few, if any, significant results would appear. However,

²Analyses were completed using a quartile split also, but the cell sizes were too small and non-significant results were the norm.

this is not the reason why we chose to ignore family error rate constraints. This research was designed to explore the possible influence of individual differences on decision-making. If we felt confident about what variables would affect target ratings, 95 analyses would have been unnecessary. So, in the interest of discovering individual difference effect patterns, we developed an alternative criterion for reporting results.

Within each analysis, we looked for significant ($\alpha=.05$) effects due to 1) the individual differences grouping variable itself, 2) the grouping variable by sex of target, 3) the grouping variable by sex-type of target, and 4) the grouping variable by sex by sex-type of target. Many such effects were found. However, it seemed probable that isolated findings were spurious, given the number of analyses. In addition, we had less confidence in individual difference effects that were not supported with similar individual difference effects. Therefore, significant results were not reported unless the following condition was met: within a set of analyses including one of the individual differences grouping variables, and within one of the four effect categories, significant effects were required for at least two of the dependent variables. For example, when we looked at high and low BSF scorers, we discovered a main effect for the grouping variable itself, on two dependent variables: competence and potential. Here, two significant effects are associated with effect category 1 above. BSF effects would not have been reported if 1) the BSF main effect was significant on only one dependent variable, or 2) two significant effects appeared but one was a main effect and the other an interaction. The important rule is that different types of effects

represent different categories, and only when two significant effects occur within a category are they reported.

Of the many analyses completed, most produced statistically non-significant results. The significant results are reported below.

1. Bem Sex-Role Inventory Femininity Scale Main Effects

There was a general trend among our high scorers on the femininity scale of the BSRI to rate all targets more positively than low scorers did. On two of five dependent variables, the mean difference reached significance (competence: $F(1,96)=6.6$, $p<.012$; potential: $F(1,96)=3.98$, $p<.049$). The mean ratings of high versus low scorers on the BSF collapsed across all six targets, for the five dependent variables are presented in Table 3.12 on page 79.

2. Centrality

Centrality is a measure of the amount of time a woman thinks about herself as a woman. Significant differences between ratings of male and female targets on two dependent variables occur when participants are divided into high and low centrality groups (competence: $F(1,96)=4.91$, $p<.029$; potential: $F(1,96)=3.75$, $p<.056$). This interaction of sex of target and participant centrality is due, on the competence dimension, to high centrality participants rating female targets higher in competence than male targets ($t(58)=2.25$, $p<.029$) while low centrality participants rate males a bit higher than females ($t(52)=.93$ n.s.). On the potential dimension, low centrality participants rate male and female targets equally, while high centrality participants rate the potential of female targets higher

than males ($t(58)=2.58, p<.013$). The means of these two interactions can be observed in Table 3.13 on page 80. Graphic representations are presented in Figure 3.3 on page 81.

3. Affirmative Action

When participants were divided into high and low endorsers of affirmative action, this grouping variable interacted significantly with sex-type of target on two dependent variables (like: $F(2,192)=3.82, p<.024$; potential: $F(2,192)=4.86, p<.009$). On the liking variable, the interaction is due largely to the difference in ratings of feminine targets by high versus low AA participants. While all participants like masculine participants least, and neutral participants significantly more, low AA participants do not show an increase in preference for feminine over neutral targets. However, high AA participants do like feminine targets significantly more than neutral targets ($t(63)=2.88, p<.005$). High AA participants also like feminine targets more than do low AA participants ($F(1,96)=5.53, p<.021$).

The pattern is somewhat different when target potential for success is reviewed. High AA participants rate masculine, neutral, and feminine targets equally while low AA participants rate masculine targets higher than do high AA participants ($F(1,96)=4.45, p<.038$) and higher than they rate both neutral and feminine targets. The means of these interactions appear in Table 3.14 on page 82, with graphic depictions in Figure 3.4 on page 83.

4. Displeasure With the Status Quo

The created DSQ variable, representing the participants' degree of agreement that equality is lacking and their endorsement of an affirmative action solution, interacts with sex-type of target, on the same dependent variables as the affirmative action subscale alone (like: $F(2,192)=4.67, p<.011$; potential: $F(2,192)=3.72, p<.026$). On the potential for success variable, the interaction is caused by the same pattern of means for high and low DSQ scorers as for high and low AA scorers. However, when we address the liking variable, the pattern is a bit different. Simply, high AA scorers liked feminine targets significantly more than low AA scorers did, but in the present situation, the only significant between-groups difference is that high DSQ participants like masculine participants less than do low DSQ participants ($F(1,96)=3.90, p<.051$). The pattern of means actually is quite parallel for the two scales, as can be seen by comparing the high and low DSQ means in Table 3.15 on page 84 with the AA means of Table 3.14.

5. General Power Discontent

The first of the general power discontent variables (PD1) becomes part of a significant three-way interaction, with target sex and sex-type, on two dependent variables (offer position: $F(2,192)=5.99, p<.003$; potential: $F(2,192)=5.00, p<.008$). A look at the means suggests a possible explanation for these interactions. Table 3.16 on page 84 provides mean ratings for both dependent variables. Notice that high PD1 participants on both variables give the highest ratings to masculine females and the lowest to feminine females. Conversely,

low PD1 participants rate masculine males highest and feminine males lowest on both questions. This pattern is clearer on the offer position variable, but can also be seen in the "potential" means.

6. Religiosity

Three-way interactions were also found on three dependent variables when religiosity was entered as a grouping variable (others like: $F(2,190)=3.04$, $p<.05$; competence: $F(2,192)=3.34$, $p<.038$; potential: $F(2,192)=4.10$, $p<.018$). The mean scores are all presented in Table 3.17 on page 85.

Although complicated, the relationships here are partially explicable. On the others like variable, high and low religiosity participants rate male targets equally, with the exception of feminine males, who are rated higher by low religiosity participants. Female targets are rated more positively by low than high religiosity participants except when the target is feminine, where this pattern reverses. None of these differences is significant but together they seem to provide a picture of the interaction effect.

When we look at the competence variable, we see again that high and low religiosity participants rate male targets evenly except when the target is feminine, when he is rated less competent by high than low REL participants. All female targets are rated nearly equal by high religiosity participants, while participants scoring low rate masculine females somewhat higher than do high REL participants and significantly higher than neutral ($t(54)=2.91$, $p<.005$) or feminine ($t(54)=2.76$, $p<.008$) targets. High REL participants rate the feminine

male lowest of all targets, while low REL participants rate the masculine female highest.

On the potential variable, high REL participants rate feminine male targets lower than both masculine male ($t(57)=1.89, p<.064$) and neutral male ($t(57)=2.23, p<.029$) targets while low REL participants rate male targets higher when masculine than when either neutral ($t(54)=2.61, p<.012$) or feminine ($t(54)=2.06, p<.045$). Female targets are all rated equally by high and low REL participants, with the exception of very high rating of masculine females by low REL participants. This mean of 8.073 is significantly higher than all the other female target ratings.

Although the pattern of REL effects on the rating means differs somewhat among the three dependent variables, an overall pattern also emerges. One component of the pattern is that high REL participants always rate cross sex-typed targets (masculine females and feminine males) lower than do low REL participants. Also, high REL participants generally rate female targets lower than do low REL participants. Together, these two tendencies probably account for the effect of individual differences in religiosity on target ratings.

Table 3.1
Means, standard deviations, Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients, number of items, score ranges, and abbreviations for all scales that were used in any analysis. Component measure names are indented below the names of their whole scale sources.

Variable name	Mean	S.D.	Alpha	# of items	Range (possible)	Abb.
Gender identification and consciousness	82.14	11.71	.77	23	17-126	GI/C
Similarity	1.02	.64	—	1	0-2	SIM
Centrality	5.71	2.43	—	2	1-10	CEN
Common fate	14.19	3.70	—	1	2-20	COF
Discontent	2.03	1.40	—	2	-4-4	DSC
Illegitimacy	35.71	4.22	.82	11	11-44	IIG
Collectivism	30.46	6.15	.51	7	7-46	COL
Sex-role egalitarianism	89.95	7.35	.90	25	25-100	SRE
Rights and opportunities	66.30	6.39	.79	22	22-88	ROS
Equality does not exist	22.15	2.88	.72	7	7-28	EE
Equality should exist	28.26	3.18	.76	8	8-32	SE
Affirmative action	15.89	3.00	.70	7	7-28	AA
Bem-sex role inventory-femininity	75.38	10.62	.91	13	13-91	BSF
Bem-sex role inventory-masculinity	93.88	13.89	.86	19	19-133	BSM
General power discontent I	24.71	6.45	.89	9	-3-33	PD1
General power discontent II	7.33	2.12	.71	3	3-15	PD2
General egalitarianism	153.92	12.90	.93	44	44-176	EGA
Displeasure with the status quo	40.07	5.07	.71	15	10-60	DSQ
Religiosity	8.5	2.91	.82	3	3-15	REL

Table 3.2

Pearson correlation coefficients among components of gender identification and consciousness.

Component	SIM	CEN	COF	DSC	ILG	COLS
Similarity (SIM)	---	.37***	.24**	.18*	.23**	.26**
Centrality (CEN)		---	.43***	.17*	.35***	.35***
Common fate (COF)			---	.11	.46***	.30***
Identification (SIM, CEN, COF)	---	---	---	.20*	.46***	.41***
Discontent (DSC)				---	.36***	.03
Illegitimacy (ILG)					---	.40***
Consciousness (DSC, ILG, COLS)	.28**	.44***	.45***	---	---	---
Part-whole correlations						
WHOLE	PART SIM	CEN	COF	DSC	ILG	COLS
Gender identification and consciousness (GI/C)	.34***	.51***	.50***	.27***	.63***	.14

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .010$ * $p < .05$

Table 3.3

Pearson correlation coefficients of gender identification and consciousness with other a priori individual difference scores.

	SIM	CEN	COF	DSC	ILG	COLS	GI/C
Measure							
Bem Sex-role Inventory F (BSF)	.00	.01	.04	-.03	-.01	.14	.05
Bem Sex-role Inventory M (BSM)	-.02	.18*	.29***	.06	.15	.16	.24**
Sex-Role Egalitarianism (SRE)	.21*	.20*	.40***	.17*	.67***	.36***	.60***
Rights and Opportunities (ROS)	.16*	.23**	.20*	.26**	.60***	.29***	.50***
Equality (does not exist) (EE)	.10	.21*	.13	.25**	.43***	.25**	.40***
Equality (should exist) (SE)	.10	.03	.19*	.11	.54***	.22**	.37***
Affirmative Action (AA)	.13	.26**	.11	.20*	.30***	.14	.28***

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .010$ * $p < .05$

Table 3.4

Pearson correlation coefficients among components of rights and opportunities.

Measure	EE	SE	AA
EE	—	.26**	.16*
SE		—	.31***
Part-whole correlation			
WHOLE	PART EE	SE	AA
ROS	.26**	.38***	.30***

*** p<.001 ** p<.010 * p<.05

Table 3.5

Pearson correlation coefficients for linear combination scales with each other and all other individual difference measures.

	New combinations/created scores				
	PD1	PD2	DSQ	EGA	REL
SIM	-.02	-.04	.18*	.22**	-.09
CEN	.08	-.17*	.32***	.24**	-.02
COF	.00	-.03	.17*	.42***	-.06
DSC	----- ^a	-.51***	-----	.24**	-.03
IIG	.30***	-.32***	.52***	-----	-.22**
COLS	-.01	-.18*	.23**	.39***	-.08
GI/C	.24**	-.31***	-----	-----	.18*
ROS	.42***	-.42***	-----	-----	-.21*
EE	.30***	-.20*	-----	.38**	-.03
SE	.31***	-.34***	.36***	-----	-.33***
AA	.25**	-.34***	-----	.24**	-.06
SRE	.14	-.17*	.29***	-----	-.12
BSM	.01	-.05	.02	.22*	.02
BSF	.18*	-.12	.07	.01	.07
	PD1	PD2	DSQ	EGA	REL
PD1	-----	-.55***	.46***	.25**	-.20*
PD2		-----	-.51***	-.28***	.13
DSQ			-----	.42***	-.07
EGA				-----	-.22**

^acorrelation coefficients do not appear if there are any items shared between the two variables

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .010$ * $p < .05$

Table 3.6

Mean "like" responses to the first versus the average of the last five applications presented in each of the eight orders.

Order of presentation	1st application	last five applications
1	6.29	6.53
2	4.29	7.53
3	6.39	6.95
4	6.79	7.06
5	6.07	6.66
6	4.79	7.56
7	6.33	6.75
8	6.43	7.31

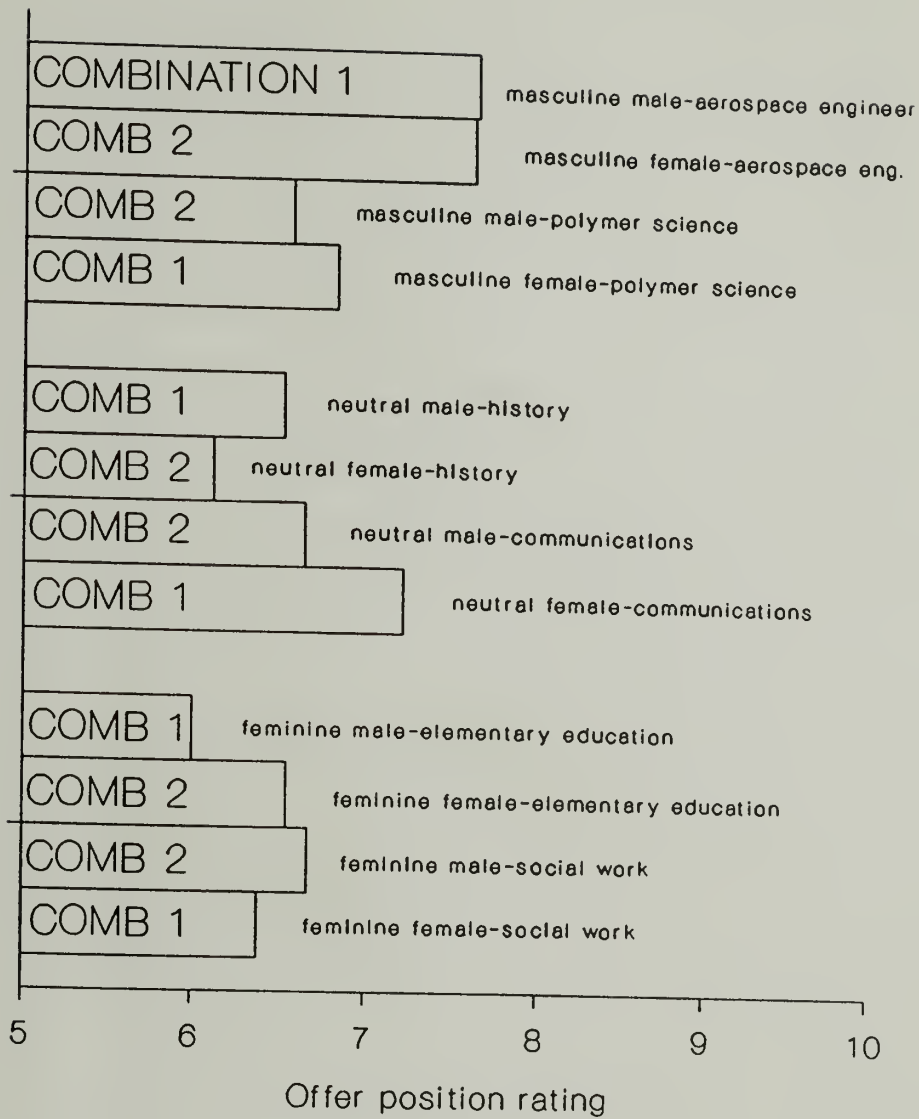


Figure 3.1
Offer position ratings on all combinations of sex and representation of sex-type.

Table 3.7

Mean responses to the "offer position" question, by sex by type of target and by the between subject combination variable.

		Sex-type of target		
		Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
1	Target sex			
	Male	7.655 (AE)	6.527 (HS)	6.001 (EE)
	Female	6.836 (PS)	7.218 (CC)	6.382 (SW)
<hr/>				
2	Male	6.579 (PS)	6.649 (CC)	6.667 (SW)
	Female	7.632 (AE)	6.123 (HS)	6.544 (EE)

Legend: AE=aerospace engineer HS=history EE=elementary education
 PS=polymer science CC=communications SW=social work

Table 3.8

Mean responses to the five questions on each application, collapsing on sex of target.

Dependent variable	Sex of target		F	p
	Male	Female		
offer position	6.678	6.789	<1	ns
like	6.798	6.910	<1	ns
others like	6.913	7.135	4.00	.048
competence	7.741	7.842	1.39	ns
potential	6.881	7.042	<1	ns

Table 3.9

Mean responses to the five questions on each application, collapsing on sex-type of target.

Dependent variable	Sex-type of target			F	p
	Masculine	Neutral	Feminine		
offer position	7.714 _a	6.625 _b	6.401 _b	7.51	.001
like	5.978 _a	7.089 _b	7.496 _c	33.93	.001
others like	6.554 _a	7.347 _b	7.192 _b	14.31	.001
competence	8.067 _a	7.706 _b	7.603 _b	5.84	.003
potential	7.398 _a	6.880 _b	6.607 _b	7.48	.001

Within a row, differing subscripts indicate significant differences between means.

Table 3.10

Mean responses to the "like" and "others like" questions, by target sex and sex-type.

Dependent variable		Sex-type of target		
		Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
like	Target sex Male	6.143 _a	7.080 _b	7.170 _b
	Female	5.812 _a	7.098 _b	7.821 _c
others like	Male	6.793 _a	7.324 _b	6.622 _a
	Female	6.315 _c	7.369 _b	7.721 _b

Within each interaction, differing subscripts indicate significant differences between means.

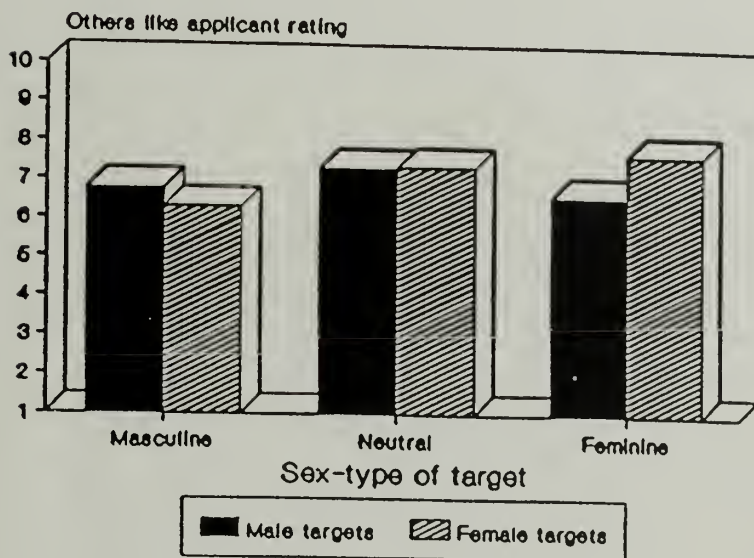
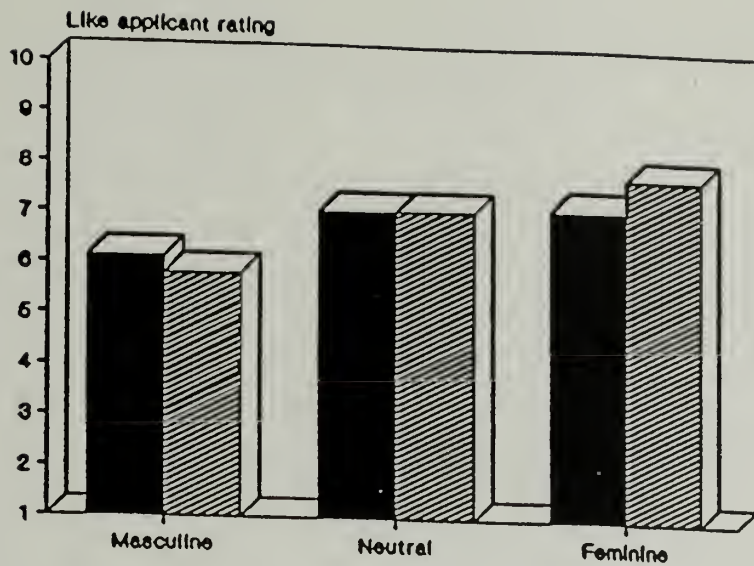


Figure 3.2
Like and others like ratings by sex by sex-type of target.

Table 3.11

Spearman's rho rank order correlation coefficients for each target's rank with its associated dependent variables. Lower numbered ranks represent higher ranking.

Targets	Dependent variables				
	offer position	like	others like	competence	potential
MM	-.65***	-.42***	-.42***	-.49***	-.62***
ME	-.64***	-.32***	-.39***	-.40***	-.61***
MF	-.74***	-.37***	-.42***	-.52***	-.75***
FM	-.62***	-.27**	-.28**	-.37***	-.50***
FE	-.72***	-.39***	-.48***	-.53***	-.56***
FF	-.71***	-.20*	-.27**	-.54***	-.70***

Legend: MM=male masculine ME=male neutral MF=male feminine
 FM=female masculine FE=female neutral FF=female feminine

*** p<.001 ** p<.005 * p<.05

Table 3.12

Mean ratings by high and low femininity participants of the six targets, on each of the five dependent variables.

Dependent variable	Femininity		F	p
	High	Low		
offer position	6.92	6.56	3.64	.059
like	7.00	6.71	2.25	.136
others like	7.17	6.88	3.47	.065
competence	8.01	7.58	6.60	.012
potential	7.17	6.76	3.98	.049

Table 3.13

Mean competence and potential ratings by high and low centrality participants of male and female targets.

Dependent variable	Centrality	Sex of target	
		Male	Female
competence	High	7.59	7.89
	Low	7.91	7.79
potential	High	6.78	7.17
	Low	6.99	6.90

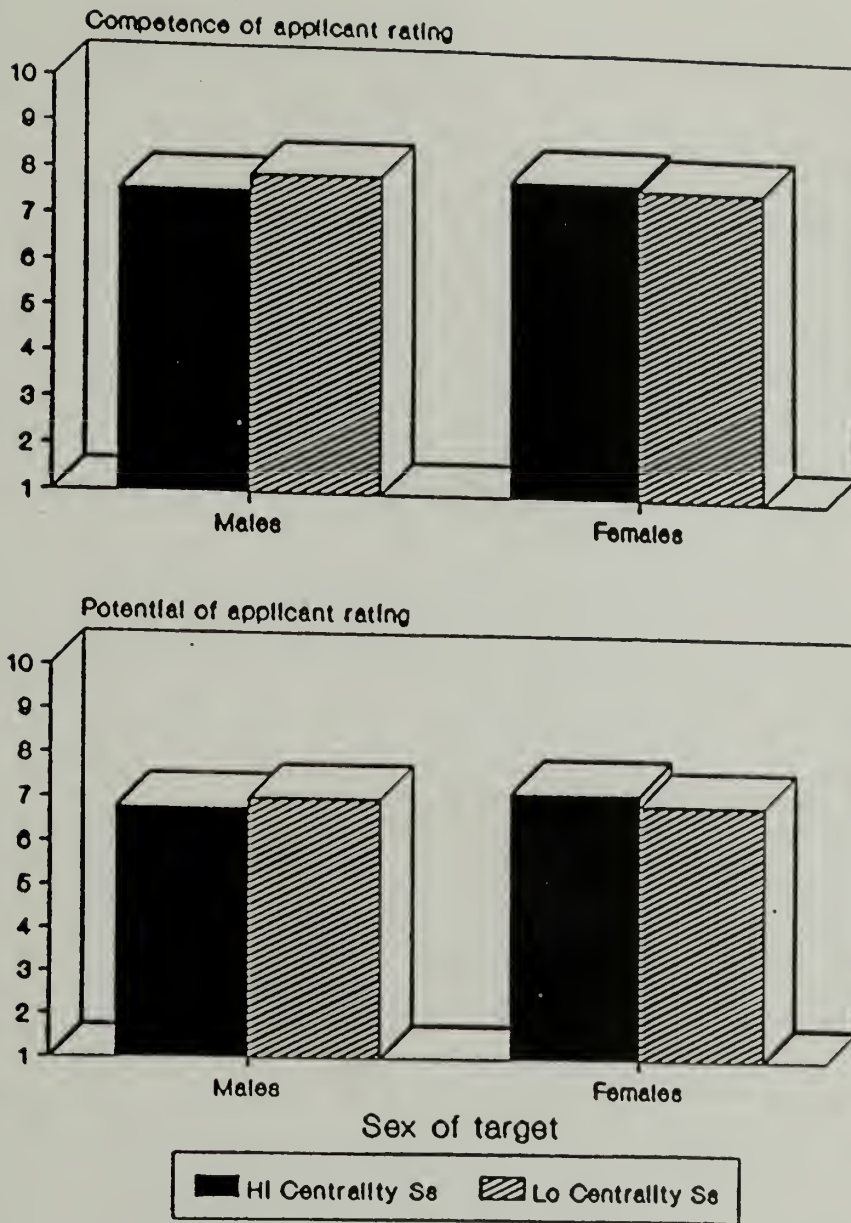


Figure 3.3
 Competence and potential ratings by high and low centrality participants of male and female targets.

Table 3.14
 Mean like and potential ratings by high and low affirmative action
 participants of masculine, neutral, and feminine targets.

Dependent variable	Affirmative action	Sex-type of target		
		Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
like	High	5.86	7.09	7.79
	Low	6.14	7.09	7.10
potential	High	7.13	7.01	6.83
	Low	7.75	6.71	6.31

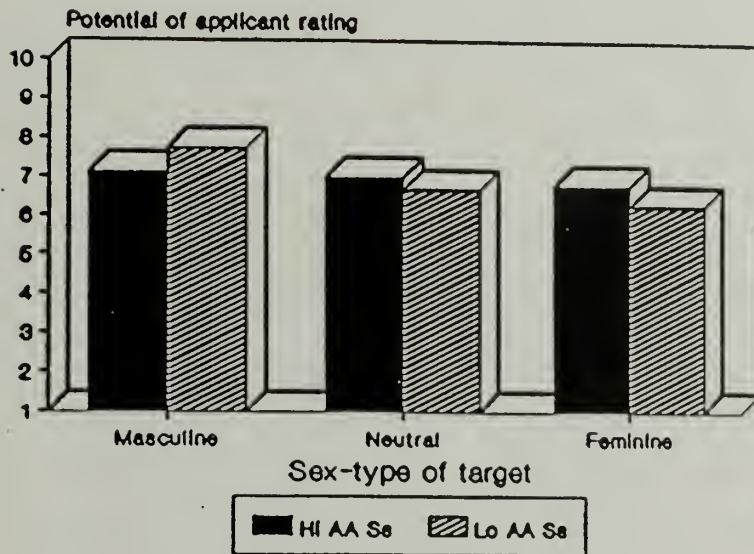
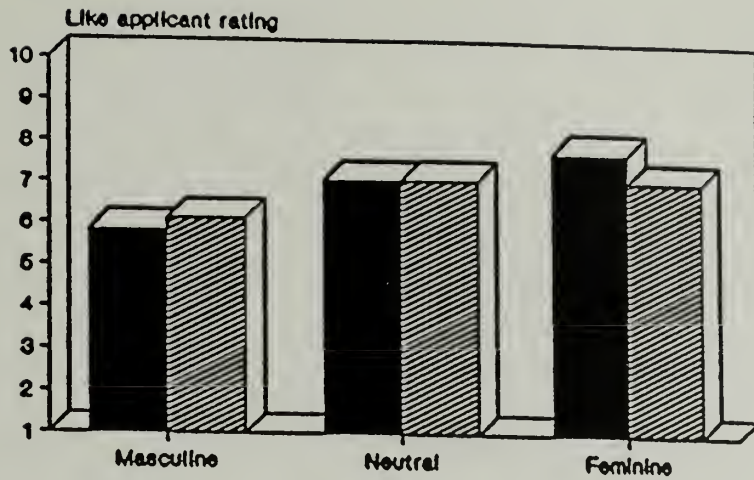


Figure 3.4
 Mean like and potential ratings by high and low affirmative action participants of masculine, neutral, and feminine targets.

Table 3.15

Mean like and potential ratings by participants high and low on the displeasure with the status quo dimension of masculine, neutral and feminine targets.

Dependent variable	Displeasure	Sex-type of target		
		Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
like	High	5.68	6.99	7.75
	Low	6.31	7.20	7.21
potential	High	7.00	6.87	6.76
	Low	7.84	6.90	6.44

Table 3.16

Mean offer position and potential scores of high and low general power discontent participants by sex and sex-type of target targets.

Dependent variable	Offer position	Target sex	Target sex-type		
			Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
Power discontent	High	Male	6.67	6.19	6.48
		Female	6.96	6.61	5.96
	Low	Male	7.52	6.97	6.21
		Female	7.50	6.71	6.93
Potential	High	Male	6.85	6.91	6.78
		Female	7.35	6.72	6.37
	Low	Male	7.72	6.85	6.17
		Female	7.62	7.03	7.10

Table 3.17

Mean responses to others like, competence, and potential questions, by religiosity of participant by sex and sex-type of target.

Dependent variable		Target sex-type				
		Masculine	Neutral	Feminine		
others like	High	Target sex Male	6.79	7.37	6.32	
		Female	6.02	7.14	7.90	
	Low	Male	6.80	7.28	6.94	
		Female	6.63	7.62	7.54	
	competence	High	Male	7.98	7.68	7.21
			Female	7.79	7.44	7.49
Low		Male	8.02	7.64	7.93	
		Female	8.49	8.07	7.80	
potential	High	Male	7.14	7.12	6.28	
		Female	6.93	6.83	6.83	
	Low	Male	7.47	6.62	6.66	
		Female	8.07	6.95	6.67	

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

A. Overview

The hypothesis suggesting that gender identification and gender consciousness develop in a sequence was partially supported by the data. With a few exceptions, participants' attitudes toward women and equality were both positive and significantly correlated with each other. Target applicants were rated, on average, quite positively, but with a more positive tilt toward masculinity in competency-based domains and toward femininity in interpersonal domains. This tilt sometimes also favored female targets and cross sex-typed targets (e.g. masculine females and feminine males). When individual difference variables further influenced target ratings, it was typically in the direction of participants with more positive attitudes toward women and equality being associated with higher ratings of female, feminine, and cross sex-typed targets.

The discussion will proceed with a summary of the findings within each broad area of interest and an accompanying explanation of their meaning. Following that, we will conclude with a general discussion of the study as a whole and some ideas for further exploration in this research area.

B. The Developmental Model Of Feminism

We proposed that feminism develops through a process of gender identification followed by a process of increasing gender

Our expectation concerning the development of gender consciousness is less well supported by the data. We proposed that a collective orientation would appear after both discontent and illegitimacy. We operationalized one definition of feminism with the collectivism measure. We believed that feminism is the end product of the development of gender identification and consciousness. As expected, the Guttman analysis confirmed that illegitimacy appears before collectivism. However, the pattern of discontent scores suggests that discontent with current gender power relations develops after both a belief that a lack of equality between men and women is illegitimate and an endorsement of a collective response to improve women's status.

We suspected that rejection of unequal social roles and strong support for the women's movement would always be associated with high discontent about current power relations between men and women but the data suggest that women may reject the legitimacy of inequality and support collective action aimed at reducing inequality between the sexes, without believing that severe inequality exists. A possible explanation for this unexpected result may be that participants understand the discontent question to be an assessment of satisfaction with gender relations in their own lives, rather than in the lives of women in general. If so, they might be expected to deny a power imbalance, as Crosby's (1984) women denied personal discrimination and as people in general seem to deny victim status. On the other hand, rejection of legitimacy of unequal social roles and support for the women's movement may tend to grow out of a norm of egalitarianism instead of as a consequence of personal experience. They may have thought of discrimination against other women and wished to support

their bid for equality. If the questions were perceived in this way, we would expect that discontent would appear after illegitimacy and collectivism in the developmental sequence, since it seems that labelling oneself as disadvantaged may be more difficult than labelling others that way. Of course, it is important to remember that absolute discontent and collectivism scores were quite high, so any such difference in perception is relative.

C. Individual Differences

We anticipated that all individual difference measures would be correlated with each other. The measures of sex-role egalitarianism, general egalitarianism, and gender identification and consciousness were very strongly related to each other. Femininity was only weakly related to masculinity, while masculinity shared a moderate correlation with sex-role egalitarianism and gender identification and consciousness. It was thought that all these measures would tap into the traditional-non-traditional dimension. The evidence suggests that, with the exception of femininity, a single dimension is shared among the individual difference measures. High scores on each of the measures (except femininity) are associated with the non-traditional end of the dimension.

It was considered possible that a feminist and an egalitarian sub-dimension would be revealed upon closer inspection of the relationship among measures. We did not hypothesize what measures would comprise either of the sub-dimensions. Factor analysis of the attitudes measure components suggested instead three sub-dimensions; one for egalitarianism, one for feminist identification, and one for

displeasure with the status quo. Sum scores were created only from the component measures for general egalitarianism and displeasure with the status quo. Although feminism measures did not create a strong sum score, it seems likely that a component of feminism was present in this sample. For unknown reasons, it did not appear as had been anticipated.

Support for our expectations regarding more specific relationships among measures was also found. Sex-role egalitarianism, agreement that unequal gender relations are illegitimate, and that equality should exist among all social groups are very strongly related to each other. This supports our contention that belief in equality between men and women is associated with belief in equality outside the realm of gender. We proposed that gender discontent would be strongly related to agreement that equality does not exist among social groups outside the gender realm. This relationship was confirmed. We also expected that endorsement of affirmative action would be strongly associated with a collective orientation toward change in gender relations, but no such relationship was revealed.

The results of the more specific correlational analyses support the results of the abovementioned factor analysis. It is of special interest to address the "displeasure with the status quo" dimension because its emergence was not anticipated. How is this displeasure different from general egalitarianism? It seems plausible that displeasure with the status quo represents more non-traditional attitudes than does egalitarianism. It may be quite easy to agree that human beings should all be judged by a common standard, not limited by race or sex, for example. This belief system may develop from

listening to others espouse democratic ideals, in books, in classrooms, in the liberal state of Massachusetts. Also, even in its absence, we may see egalitarianism advocated simply because a pro-equality stance is socially desirable.

Conversely, in comparison to egalitarianism, displeasure seems less likely to be a traditional, status quo stance, in the sense that support for the status quo is the default option. To report that all is not well in the land of democratic ideals, that in actuality, rewards and punishments are not distributed equally, to recommend redistribution of rewards and punishments, these may require more effort, if not also more experience and emotion. General egalitarianism scores are very high; in comparison, the mean displeasure score is much lower. This is due mostly to the contribution of low affirmative action scores. Participants' widely varying scores on the displeasure dimension can rule out a systematic social desirability bias and support our contention that egalitarian values may be more the norm than we initially thought, while for some individuals, displeasure with the status quo may be less a function of social influence and more a result of experience with and consideration of the reality of human relations.

The last predictions about individual differences concerned the relationship of personal sex-type to attitudes. It was expected that masculinity and femininity would both be correlated with gender identification and consciousness. We proposed a positive relationship with masculinity and a negative relationship with femininity. No such relationship between femininity and any GI/C component was exhibited.

Masculinity was associated with the centrality and common fate components of gender identification and with the whole GI/C.

We expected high femininity scores to represent a traditional feminine sex-type and to be associated with a lack of identification with other women and positive attitudes toward disparate gender roles. However, after removal of unreliable items, high femininity scores represented instead a very positive picture of femininity with little apparent relevance to the traditional-non-traditional dimension. Traits such as compassionate, sensitive, and understanding may still be associated with femininity, but probably not with docility or dependence, which epitomize the traditional stereotype of women. This distinction should explain why femininity scores were quite high and why the scores did not correlate with gender identification or gender consciousness.

The relationship of masculinity to centrality and common fate is somewhat surprising. We thought that the adversarial nature of the attitudes of gender consciousness would result in its correlation with masculinity, which is characterized in part, by competitiveness, a willingness to defend one's beliefs, and assertiveness. These sound like requirements for political consciousness, not gender identification, which is a connection to the in-group, rather than conflict with the out-group. However, this may be a false dichotomy. Is it possible to focus attention toward "women" as a group without bringing "men" to mind? The centrality operationalization even explicitly asks how much time is spent thinking about women in comparison to men although it purports to address the relationship of the self to women. The common fate operationalization implies a

similar comparison with, or separation from, men. It is possible that it is in the early stages of rising identification with women that one must view oneself as, for example, assertive, individualistic, and willing to take risks, to accomplish the necessary alliance with women and separation from men.

Within the individual difference domain, our general predictions received strong support. Some of our more specific expectations also received support, while others did not.

D. Rating Targets

1. Application Effects

All findings concerning the rating of targets were the result of multivariate analyses of variance. The order of presentation of applications influenced ratings of male versus female targets, and cross sex-typed versus non-cross sex-typed targets. These effects are mostly due to lower ratings of the first versus the next five applications presented.

Target ratings were also influenced by the combination of sex and representation of sex-type. Within the masculine sex-type category, participants' mean ratings of the aerospace engineering student were higher than those of the polymer science student on all dependent variables, regardless of the sex of the applicant. Similarly, within the neutral sex-type category, participants rated the communications student higher than the history student on four dependent measures. No such systematic differences in ratings appeared in the feminine sex-type category. Given the results of our pilot investigation of the applications, it was surprising to discover these combination effects.

There are two obvious explanations for the differences. First, within the masculine and neutral categories, the two applications may not possess the same amount of the portrayed sex-type, for example, one masculine application may be more masculine than the other. Or second, the two applications may differ along a positivity dimension, for example, one masculine application may be a more positive representation of masculinity or of personhood than the other.

The two masculine applications are characterized as an aerospace engineering student and a polymer science student. The aerospace engineering student is rated higher on all five dependent variables. We might postulate that the aerospace engineer is more masculine than the polymer scientist. Where masculine targets are rated higher than feminine targets, as on the offer position variable, it would then make sense that the aerospace engineer be rated higher. However, we would expect the opposite result where feminine targets are rated higher, as on the liking variable. The more masculine target should then be rated lower. Instead, the aerospace engineer is still rated higher than the polymer scientist, suggesting another explanation. To address the positivity issue, we return to the applications themselves.

The aerospace engineer and the polymer scientist applications can be seen in Appendix A.1. The surface features of the two seem to be the same, i.e., length of descriptions of work experience and number of personal characteristics checked. The work experiences are similarly specialized, responsible, and probably uninteresting to the average psychology student. The hobbies seem fun and well matched. The only likely answer lies within the adjective list. Although the two applications each include five masculine adjectives, the polymer

scientist seems to be more consistently representative of negative masculinity. Where the aerospace engineer is adventurous, courageous, athletic, ambitious, and forceful, the polymer scientist is individualistic, competitive, ambitious, objective, and athletic. The former seems warmer and more trustworthy than the latter. The accompanying neutral adjectives lend weight to this possibility. The aerospace engineer is also responsible and optimistic, while the polymer scientist is prompt and pleasant. A difference in the target's positivity of portrayal, then, seems to explain the rating differences.

How do the neutral applications hold up under the same type of review? Here, the communications major is rated higher than the history major on all but the others like dependent variable, where there is no difference in mean ratings. Again we can rule out differences on the sex-type dimension. A review of the applications themselves does not support a difference in positivity. It is unclear how to explain the established difference.

2. Target Effects

Participants' average ratings of female targets was higher than for male targets on all dependent variables, but only significantly higher on the others like variable. Target sex-type always influenced ratings; masculine targets were seen as more competent and having greater potential for success than feminine targets. Participants were also more willing to offer leadership positions to masculine targets. However, feminine targets were rated as more likable than masculine targets on the two interpersonal dependent variables. Mean ratings for neutral targets were always more similar to those of feminine targets

than to masculine targets. The interaction of target sex and sex-type also influenced ratings, but only on the interpersonal "like" and "others like" variables. Both effects were due to rating cross sex-typed targets lower than non-cross sex-typed targets.

Before implementing this study, we did not fully consider what pattern of target rating results was likely to appear. If we had expectations, they were that individual participant's rating schemes would differ widely and thereby cancel each other, effectively eliminating systematic bias. If differences were to appear, we expected them as a result of comparisons between groups of participants divided on their individual difference scores. Instead, we found that, on average, participants made clear discriminations of two types; first, they differentiated among targets on the sex, the sex-type, and the interaction dimensions and second, they differentiated among dependent variables, apparently making disparate decisions when rating target competency and target likability. Our discussion will continue with an attempt to extricate meaning from these two findings.

a. Competency Versus Likability

Since participants clearly rated targets differently on the competency-based and interpersonal dimensions, we will approach the two dimensions separately. But we would first like to know why participants discriminated between the two dimensions. It is possible that participants distinguished between who, of the targets, would make good friends, and who would make good leaders. When responding to either of the two likability questions, what information could participants use but their own sense of how much they would like the

targets? When answering competency-based questions, on the other hand, participants may have felt more need to be objective. Questions of competency may justifiably have seemed more important in this task, leading to more serious consideration of the facts, and less of the personal feelings evoked by the target. This view is supported by the actual pattern of the differences found between the two dimensions.

This separation of responses into two spheres is similar to a distinction made by Rosenberg et al. (1968). Using responses to a sorting task requiring subjects to assign traits to others, they provided a two-dimensional configuration of the relationship of 60 traits to each other. One dimension encompasses good-intellectual/active versus bad-intellectual/passive traits. Another encompasses good/good-social versus bad/bad-social traits. The portrayal of masculine targets represents the gist of the good-intellectual/active person, while the feminine and neutral targets together represent the gist of the good-social/good person. This distinction may further explain not only the different responses to interpersonal versus competency-based dependent variables, but also the fact that neutral target mean ratings are always more similar to feminine than to masculine targets.

b. Competency

Within the competency-based domain, the only significant finding was that masculine targets were rated higher than feminine or neutral targets. Why might sex-type have been the chosen dimension for distinguishing among targets? The leadership domain is male and masculine, suggesting that sex also should have influenced ratings. A

great deal of evidence compiled in past research indicates that males are more often chosen to fill masculine-typed roles (see Ruble & Ruble, 1982, for a review). Perhaps, in this research, where sex-role egalitarianism is so strongly and consistently endorsed, the sex of the target was discounted. Instead, participants turned to sex-type information in their search for a meaningful way to fulfill their decision-making duties. In research very similar to ours, Ruble (1979) found that sex-type was a more consistent basis than sex for judging individuals fit for managerial promotion; as we also discovered, Ruble's masculine targets were deemed most suitable for leadership positions.

Ruble and Ruble (1982) provide a process model of performance evaluation which can enlighten our understanding of the present findings. They suggest that evaluators bring prior sex stereotypes about people and about occupations to their observation of specific target performances. Performance information includes not only objective evidence about performance, but also sex and sex-type characteristics of the target and characteristics of the task. Causal attributions about performance are supposedly made next, followed by reward decisions. Figure 4.1, found on page 104, presents the Ruble and Ruble model.

We suggest that our pattern of target competency ratings represents two tendencies in participants, 1) to see leadership as a stereotypically masculine domain, and 2) to refute disparate roles for males and females. In terms of the Ruble and Ruble model, this would be explained as differing sex and occupational stereotypes resulting in the discounting of target sex information and the heavy use of sex-

type information in the rating process. Sex was not deemed a suitable basis for decision-making about targets, but sex-type was, possibly because it was the only other option, and/or possibly because of a belief that masculinity and leadership belong together.

There is a final alternative explanation for competence ratings that must also be addressed. Did participants perceive the masculine targets as more intelligent or studious, and therefore as more competent? The masculine targets included a scientist and an engineer, two college majors that may generally be considered among the most demanding and challenging. Conversely, feminine targets were introduced as social work and elementary education majors, which may be seen as the majors of choice for less academically talented students. We find this to be a dispiriting, albeit credible, argument for our pattern of findings. The interpersonal skills required to excel as a teacher or social worker are probably valued far less than the more instrumental skills of engineers and scientists. However, these skills epitomize the differential stereotypes of femininity and masculinity. Do the traditionally feminine skills really require less intelligence or hard work? Or is our conception of intelligence simply biased toward masculinity along with our conception of competence? And which type of intelligence is truly more important for leadership? Whether or not this apparent confound is responsible for our findings is an empirical question. Answering the question could be accomplished by 1) assessing whether masculine targets were in fact perceived as more intelligent and 2) by representing our masculine targets as students in less stereotypically intelligent fields of study.

c. Likability

When we move into the interpersonal domain, we find an influence on target ratings from target sex, sex-type, and the sex by sex-type interaction. Higher female, feminine, and traditional sex-typed target ratings account for all significant differences in likability. The effect of target sex-type is quite pronounced, and may be due to a perception of similarity between rater and target. Although participants scored quite high on masculinity themselves, masculine targets may not have been seen as similar to the raters. Masculine targets hobbies include highly sex segregated activities which are probably foreign to most of our sample. These include playing lacrosse and rugby, building model airplanes, and billiards. Neutral and feminine activities are surely much more in tune with the typical participant's picture of herself, and therefore, lead to an identification of these targets as similar, and therefore, likable.

Perception of similarity may also play a part in participants rating cross sex-typed targets as less likable. Here, however, participants may view targets as very different from themselves. The cross sex-typed targets, while not the most extreme representation imaginable, are undoubtedly quite atypical. It is likely that few, if any, of our participants identified themselves or their friends with these targets. It seems interesting that participants did not translate a diminished liking of cross sex-typed targets to a corresponding lowering of ratings in the competency domain. It is unfortunate that people may like others less if they are unusual when judged against societal norms. However, it would be downright discriminatory if they were also labelled incompetent and/or denied

access to societal positions. The women in our study seemed able to distinguish between their own feelings and the need to be more objective when faced with important decisions about the future of others.

3. Individual Difference Effects

Individual differences on six dimensions influenced target ratings: femininity, centrality, affirmative action, displeasure with the status quo, general power discontent, and religiosity. Our predictions in the domain of individual difference effects on target ratings were very general. We proposed that participants who scored more non-traditional on an individual difference measure would also make non-traditional decisions about applicants to a leadership program. Leadership is traditionally male and masculine; we expected non-traditional participants to rate female, feminine, and/or cross sex-typed targets higher than traditional participants. In all cases where an individual difference variable significantly interacted with target variables, the pattern of effects conformed to these expectations.

Notably absent from the list of individual difference effects were any egalitarianism measures. With the exception of centrality, feminism (or gender identification and consciousness measures) are not represented either. The displeasure dimension is well represented, as displeasure with the status quo, as affirmative action, and as general power discontent. The general power discontent measure, although not discussed earlier as a displeasure measure, assesses the inequity of group relations, sharing a conceptual similarity with the gender

discontent and equality does not exist scales. It is also moderately to strongly correlated with each, as well as with displeasure with the status quo. As such, general power discontent seems to belong within the displeasure domain.

While most of the individual difference distributions in this study were skewed sharply negative, representing a preponderance of non-traditional scorers, centrality, affirmative action, displeasure with the status quo, and religiosity are, instead, distributed quite normally. A median-split on a normal distribution insures that the two resulting groups will represent a more absolute division between high and low scorers. We believe that comparisons between high and low scorers on the four above mentioned dimensions yielded significant differences in target ratings because the two groups represented different people, more and less traditional. Conversely, where variance among scores was limited, dividing participants into high and low scorers produced two groups that differed in a relative sense, but were only minimally different in absolute numerical terms. As such, the groups would not necessarily be expected to differ significantly in target ratings.

The two remaining individual differences that influenced target ratings but were not normally distributed were femininity and general power discontent. It is unclear why division on these two variables was effective in producing groups that rated targets differentially, when division of other highly skewed distributions was not. Femininity is interesting, because it alone does not interact with any target variables; higher femininity scorers simply rate all targets higher than do lower femininity scorers. This may be due, in part, to the

"niceness" implicit in the BSRI femininity traits used in this study, for example, warm, gentle, and compassionate.

Although, on average, participants agreed that lesbians, gay men, Hispanics, Jews, Blacks, Asians, and poor people have too little power while rich people and men have too much power, extremely high scorers on PDI differed from slightly lower scorers in their ratings of cross sex-typed versus non-cross sex-typed targets. There is no evident explanation for this finding, although it is apparent that small differences in scores were meaningful. Possibly, this measure has greater power to detect non-traditional attitudes.

How do we explain, in conceptual terms, the displayed pattern of statistically significant results? The results seem to be a consequence of participants rating targets higher when target traditionalism was best matched to their own level of traditionalism. In fact, this is the best explanation of the significant interactions of participant individual difference with target variables not only on the general power discontent dimension, but also affirmative action, displeasure with the status quo, and religiosity. Interactions resulted when more non-traditional participants rated female, feminine, and cross sex-typed candidates for leadership positions higher than did less non-traditional participants.

The last question that must be addressed concerning individual difference effects is, why, of all the gender identification and consciousness measures, was centrality the only one to influence target ratings? The answer probably lies in the definition of centrality as durable salience (Gurin & Markus, 1988). Participants who often think about being a woman and about what they have in common with women and

men were more likely to have such thoughts in mind when they rated targets. As a consequence, they rated female targets higher and male targets lower than did their low centrality counterparts who were less likely to be thinking about women and men at the time of rating. None of the other GI/C measures assess the relative probability that gender issues are on one's mind. Instead, they could be seen as requests to bring the issues to mind and report them, for example, in the discontent measure, by asking participants to retrieve their attitudes about gender power relations. Since targets were rated before individual differences were measured, unless participants were high on centrality, this information was unlikely to be part of the decision-making process and unlikely to influence target ratings.

E. Conclusions And Future Research Interests

The relationship between expectations and results in this study is strong. Expectations were confirmed in each of the three major areas of exploration: the developmental model of feminism, relationships among individual differences, and individual difference effects on target ratings. It is clear, however, that three small changes in methodology could have greatly improved our confidence in the findings.

A lack of variability in the sample, on a number of important dimensions, contributed to the difficulties encountered in testing the developmental model of feminism and assessing individual difference effects on decision-making. In both cases, we would have liked to divide participants into "high" and "low" groups on all relevant individual difference dimensions, rather than the more relative "higher" and "lower" groups. Unfortunately, our sample did not include

many participants representing the traditional pole of our traditional-non-traditional continuum. In future research, this problem could be solved by pre-selecting participants who do represent the poles of the continuum, rather than relying on existing variability in the population.

A second related problem concerns the presence of one or two-item scales. Reliability estimates cannot be computed for these small scales, but are probably low. Also, if items do not have a large response range, variability again becomes a problem. These problems are together epitomized in the similarity component of gender identification and consciousness. The measure includes a single item, a response to the item "women". Only three possible responses are available; "women" is not circled, circled, or circled and starred. Dividing participants into high and low similarity groups was impossible to accomplish without making arbitrary decisions. A methodological improvement would be to expand the similarity and certain other measures, with an eye toward improving reliability and providing the opportunity for participants to distribute across a wider range of scores.

The final suggested methodological change would be a change from a within-subject to a between-subject application rating task. Order and combination effects would disappear if the male or female label was applied to a single representation of each sex-type and if participants rated one instead of six applicants. Our initial choice to use a within-subject design was guided by a wish to maximize the data payoff per participant. The strong influence exerted on target ratings by application presentation variables suggests that we either make the

above mentioned design change or proceed with further pilot research designed to pinpoint and reduce the application effects.

In conclusion, we would like to suggest some areas for further research. First, this study should be implemented again, with much the same hypotheses and the minor methodological changes cited above. The results of the present study provide much evidence for and none against our a priori expectations. With a more "polished" methodology, our results may provide even stronger evidence in support of our hypotheses. Second, more research is needed to address the relationship among individual difference variables; we have provided some initial evidence for egalitarian, feminist, and displeasure sub-dimensions of a traditional-non-traditional continuum. Defining and separating the three sub-dimensions, and assessing the relationship of each to the super-dimension could be one focus of attention. We are especially interested in understanding the displeasure domain, since it may identify the individuals most politically radical and/or committed to social change. A third avenue of exploration is in the area of sex differences between participants. Initially, we could look at target ratings with sex of participant as the only individual difference variable. Later, the gender identification and consciousness measures could be adapted to include options for males, and we could look for the same type of individual difference effects as in the present study.

A final proposal for further research focuses on the issue of leadership. Participants in this study were uniformly egalitarian, and it is probable that the tendency to rate male and female target competence equally, or females a bit higher, reflects these attitudes. However, participants' rating of targets who differed by sex-type

conformed to traditional stereotypes; masculine targets were considered more competent for leadership positions, a finding that is supported in other research. Why were participants' egalitarian attitudes not reflected in equal ratings of masculine and feminine targets? It seems that participants accepted that both males and females could be masculine and therefore competent to fulfill leadership roles, but not that masculine and feminine targets could equally fulfill the role requirements of leadership. Perhaps, the stereotype of leadership as a masculine domain is unusually persistent. Yet a feminine style of leadership, characterized by cooperation, sensitivity, and compassion, while probably somewhat rare, is not completely absent from our society. Such a leadership style may have certain advantages, and at least, may provide a valuable contrast to the more common masculine style. What conditions might promote stronger endorsement of feminine leadership? Is there a measurable attitude, analogous to sex-role egalitarianism, that represents a willingness to reject traditional division of social roles into sex-type categories? Would individuals holding such an attitude endorse feminine and masculine targets equally for leadership positions? Addressing these and related research questions could lead to a greater understanding of the relationship between people's beliefs about social roles and their sex-stereotypes.

The area of social group identification and relations provides many opportunities for ongoing research, opportunities restricted only by the limits of creativity, energy, and passion for information of its investigators. It is our fondest wish that the research reported here contributes to this process of discovery.

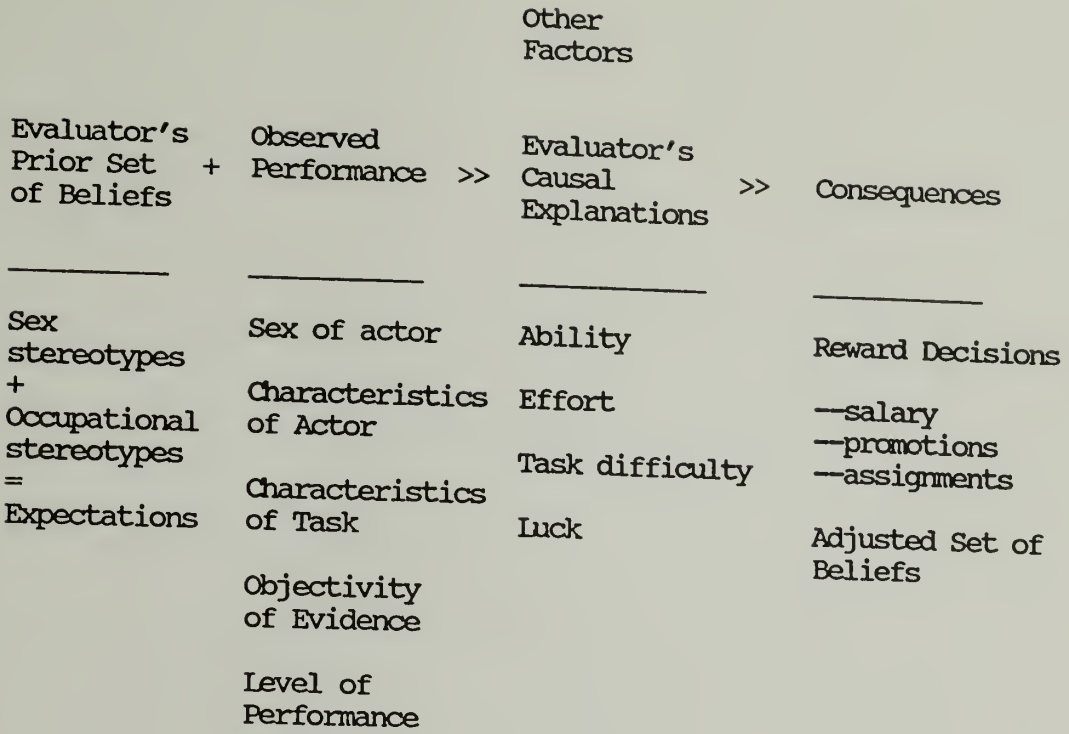


Figure 4.1
A "Process" Model of Performance Evaluation (From Ruble & Ruble, 1982).

APPENDIX A

PRESENTATION MATERIALS

- A.1 All materials presented to participants
- A.2 Application pilot data
- A.3 Application orders of presentation

APPENDIX A.1

Often times, the people who make decisions about offering applicants jobs, scholarships or graduate school appointments are faced with limited time and many lengthy applications. It may be difficult for these decision-makers to take into consideration all the information that is presented on each application. Decision-makers may instead adopt one of two time saving strategies to come to their decisions. Sometimes, they may read only selected parts of the applications and make decisions based on only those parts. Other times, a decision may be made based on the general feeling the decision-maker has about the applicant. Each of these approaches to decision-making can result in decisions that are unfair to applicants, in the sense that the personality of the decision-maker is too important. Ideally, only qualities of the applicant should be considered. It is the purpose of this research to try to explore this issue of how information on applications interacts with characteristics of decision-makers to determine what decisions are made.

In order to explore this question, the University of Massachusetts is working in conjunction with an East coast private program called the Winter Leadership Training Conference (WLTC). The WLTC is a three-week boarding program that will take place in January of 1990 on a mid-Atlantic state college campus. The purpose of the Conference is to provide an opportunity for qualified college students of junior or senior status presently enrolled in U.S. or Canadian colleges to gain skills associated with leadership and to work with present leaders in many areas including government, business, social services, labor, and

community advocacy. The applicants for the Conference are consistently above average in their GPA's and the types of extracurricular experiences they have had.

The Conference accepts 120 applicants from an applicant pool that exceeded 1100 for this year's Conference (the application deadline was August 15). The WLTC has given us an anonymous sample of 175 applications from their pool. We are using these applications to run the experiment that you are currently participating in.

In this experiment we are looking at two specific issues. First, we are interested in seeing what effect does changing the amount of information on the application have on decision-making. We have used each original application to produce new applications that include different amounts of information from the original. Many groups of people are looking at these new applications and making decisions about the applicants suitability for the Conference. Second, we are trying to assess the effects of qualities of the decision-maker on the decision he/she makes. By asking the decision-maker to answer questions about attitudes, opinions, personality, and life history, we can look for relationships between decision-maker characteristics and the decisions themselves.

If you choose to participate in this study, you will have the role of decision-maker. You will be asked to look at six applications and answer questions about the applicants. Afterward, you will be asked to answer a series of questions about yourself.

While we are working here at UMass, the WLTC Selection Board will be selecting candidates for the January 1990 Conference. At the end of this research, we will compare decisions made by our students with the

actual decisions made by this year's Selection Board. Then, our team will be responsible for developing a new application to test for next year's Conference. Lastly, we will make recommendations to the WLTC on qualities to look for when they hire next year's Selection Board.

More instructions about the applications and your role in this process will follow if you choose to participate. If you feel you want to continue in this experiment, please turn the page and read the consent form.

This study is concerned with the effects on decision-making of the interaction of objective information and personal qualities of the decision-maker. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to be a decision-maker and to answer questions about yourself. All information that you provide will be kept in strictest confidence. Your name will never appear in association with responses you give to any questions.

Although you will be an anonymous contributor to this research and many others will also contribute, your individual participation is extremely important. Potentially, this research has major policy implications. If you agree to participate in this study, you must also agree to carefully follow the instructions given. None of the questions you will be asked are difficult to answer.

If at any time during this study you feel you must stop for any reason, you may do so and still receive experimental credit. Our most important request is that you do NOT complete this study unless you can do so according to the requirements outlined above. It would be much better to leave the study than to pay less attention to it than is needed. In any case, we appreciate your willingness to participate.

You will receive one experimental credit for your participation. The study requires approximately 35 minutes of your time.

If you agree to participate at this time, please sign below (and print your name, too);

signature

date

print your name

Instructions for the decision-making task:
Each of the next six pages include an application to the WLTC and a number of questions about the applicant which you are asked to answer. As stated earlier, there are different applications with varying amounts of information on them. You have been assigned to make decisions for

LEVEL 3F APPLICATIONS

Level Key:

The higher the number, the less information is offered. Letter designations refer to the type of information offered--the information requested on the applications was of three types, academic, leadership, and personal. Not only have we changed the amounts of information on the applications we are using in this study, we have also varied the types of information. The mixes of information are designated by letters A thru H. The amount and kind of information on each of the six applications that you have received is the same.

You will carefully read each application. Try to get a sense of who the applicant is and how you feel about him/her. Use all the information given to do this. Then answer the questions at the bottom of the application page. We know that this may seem difficult because you don't know very much about the Conference. Keep in mind one important thing, that it is quite difficult to get accepted into the Conference, in fact, this year only about 1 in 10 applicants will get in. Because of this, the applicants are typically quite excellent. So, even though all the applicants might look just great to you, try not to be too easy on them. Then, just answer the questions as best you can with the information you have. Be sure to ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS. Be aware that the applications you are looking at were randomly selected from the group of 175 applications that we have. They are not in any way ranked or selected. Look at the applications one at a time. Try to refrain from comparing one to another as much as possible during this part of the task. When you are finished with this part of the study, you will bring your questionnaire to the experimenter. Then you will receive the second part of the study. Further instructions will be included with the second part.

CAUTION: STARTING WITH THE NEXT PAGE, INFORMATION IS PRESENTED ON BOTH SIDES OF EACH PAGE.

Subject L. A. (#81)

Sex: Male

College major: Communications

One significant work experience (at least one full-time summer or part-time academic year): Television news production assistant: writing and editing news stories, accompanying reporters and photographers on assignments, research for assignment desk and reporters, running teleprompter during newscasts

One sport or form of physical recreation you participate in regularly: jogging

What is your favorite activity when you are alone? watching PBS news and nature shows

What do you most like to do when you are with your friends? go to the beach

Put an X next to the seven words that you feel best describe you.

Sensitive to others needs _____ Consistent _____ Intuitive _____

Adventurous _____ Compassionate _____ Forceful _____ Optimistic _____

Sociable X Responsive _____ Analytical _____ Ambitious _____ Cheerful X

Athletic _____ Empathic _____ Individualistic _____ Competitive X

Approachable _____ Responsible _____ Daring _____ Cooperative _____ Honest _____

Pleasant X Expressive X Prompt X Objective _____ Diligent X

Humorous _____ Faithful _____ Considerate _____ Courageous _____

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BEFORE TURNING TO THE NEXT PAGE:

1. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NO and 10=definitely YES: Would you offer this individual a position in the Winter Leadership Training Conference? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NOT AT ALL and 10=definitely VERY MUCH: How much do you think you would like this person? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NOT AT ALL and 10=definitely VERY MUCH: If this individual is accepted to the Conference, how much do you think the other students would like this person? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely INCOMPETENT and 10=definitely COMPETENT: How competent do you think this person is? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=NO POTENTIAL and 10=GREAT POTENTIAL: If accepted into the WLTC, how much potential do you think this person has to become an outstanding leader? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Subject K. T. (#142)

Sex: Male

College major: Polymer science

One significant work experience (at least one full-time summer or part-time academic year): Chemical engineering project assistant; research and development of high stability plastics for long-term fresh food storage, product testing, high volume production testing, data analyses, scientific report writing and presentation

One sport or form of physical recreation you participate in regularly: rugby

What is your favorite activity when you are alone? coin collecting

What do you most like to do when you are with your friends? shoot pool\billiards

Put an X next to the seven words that you feel best describe you.

Sensitive to others needs _____ Consistent _____ Intuitive _____

Adventurous _____ Compassionate _____ Forceful _____ Optimistic _____

Sociable _____ Responsive _____ Analytical _____ Ambitious X Cheerful _____

Athletic X Empathic _____ Individualistic X Competitive X

Approachable _____ Responsible _____ Daring _____ Cooperative _____ Honest _____

Pleasant X Expressive _____ Prompt X Objective X Diligent _____

Humorous _____ Faithful _____ Considerate _____ Courageous _____

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BEFORE TURNING TO THE NEXT PAGE:

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3. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NOT AT ALL and 10=definitely VERY MUCH: If this individual is accepted to the Conference, how much do you think the other students would like this person? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely INCOMPETENT and 10=definitely COMPETENT: How competent do you think this person is? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=NO POTENTIAL and 10=GREAT POTENTIAL: If accepted into the WLTC, how much potential do you think this person has to become an outstanding leader? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Subject C. D. (#17)

Sex: Female

College major: Aerospace engineering

One significant work experience (at least one full-time summer or part-time academic year): Project assistant in an aerospace technology laboratory; computer simulation of wind currents, data analyses, airplane wing technology research and development, research team liason to division management

One sport or form of physical recreation you participate in regularly: lacrosse

What is your favority activity when you are alone? building model airplanes

What do you most like to do when you are with your friends? go hiking

Put an X next to the seven words that you feel best describe you.

Sensitive to others needs _____ Consistent _____ Intuitive _____

Adventurous X Compassionate _____ Forceful X Optimistic X

Sociable _____ Responsive _____ Analytical _____ Ambitious X Cheerful _____

Athletic X Empathic _____ Individualistic _____ Competitive _____

Approachable _____ Responsible X Daring _____ Cooperative _____ Honest _____

Pleasant _____ Expressive _____ Prompt _____ Objective _____ Diligent _____

Humorous _____ Faithful _____ Considerate _____ Courageous X

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BEFORE TURNING TO THE NEXT PAGE:

1. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NO and 10=definitely YES: Would you offer this individual a position in the Winter Leadership Training Conference? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NOT AT ALL and 10=definitely VERY MUCH: How much do you think you would like this person? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NOT AT ALL and 10=definitely VERY MUCH: If this individual is accepted to the Conference, how much do you think the other students would like this person? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely INCOMPETENT and 10=definitely COMPETENT: How competent do you think this person is? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=NO POTENTIAL and 10=GREAT POTENTIAL: If accepted into the WLTC, how much potential do you think this person has to become an outstanding leader? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Subject J. W. (#134)

Sex: Female

College major: Elementary education

One significant work experience (at least one full-time summer or part-time academic year): Assistant coordinator of recreation in an after school day care center; planned and led educational and recreational activities for 30 children aged 5-10 years including field trips, reading groups, arts and crafts, plays and carnivals

One sport or form of physical recreation you participate in regularly: aerobics

What is your favorite activity when you are alone? gardening

What do you most like to do when you are with your friends? talk about life, relationships, and the world

Put an X next to the seven words that you feel best describe you.

Sensitive to others needs X Consistent _____ Intuitive X

Adventurous _____ Compassionate X Forceful _____ Optimistic _____

Sociable _____ Responsive _____ Analytical _____ Ambitious _____ Cheerful _____

Athletic _____ Empathic _____ Individualistic _____ Competitive _____

Approachable _____ Responsible X Daring _____ Cooperative X Honest X

Pleasant _____ Expressive X Prompt _____ Objective _____ Diligent _____

Humorous _____ Faithful _____ Considerate _____ Courageous _____

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BEFORE TURNING TO THE NEXT PAGE:

1. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NO and 10=definitely YES: Would you offer this individual a position in the Winter Leadership Training Conference? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NOT AT ALL and 10=definitely VERY MUCH: How much do you think you would like this person? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NOT AT ALL and 10=definitely VERY MUCH: If this individual is accepted to the Conference, how much do you think the other students would like this person? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely INCOMPETENT and 10=definitely COMPETENT: How competent do you think this person is? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=NO POTENTIAL and 10=GREAT POTENTIAL: If accepted into the WLTC, how much potential do you think this person has to become an outstanding leader? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Subject S. M. (#67)

Sex: Male

College major: Social work

One significant work experience (at least one full-time summer or part-time academic year): Counsellor\intern in drug treatment facility: planning, facilitation and supervision of therapeutic activities, co-facilitation of group counselling, individual crisis counselling, monitoring crisis hot-line

One sport or form of physical recreation you participate in regularly: ballet

What is your favorite activity when you are alone? drawing

What do you most like to do when you are with your friends? go to art museums and galleries

Put an X next to the seven words that you feel best describe you.

Sensitive to others needs____ Consistent____ Intuitive____
Adventurous____ Compassionate X Forceful____ Optimistic X
Sociable____ Responsive X Analytical____ Ambitious____ Cheerful____
Athletic____ Empathic X Individualistic____ Competitive____
Approachable X Responsible____ Daring____ Cooperative____ Honest____
Pleasant____ Expressive____ Prompt____ Objective____ Diligent X
Humorous____ Faithful X Considerate____ Courageous____

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BEFORE TURNING TO THE NEXT PAGE:

1. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NO and 10=definitely YES: Would you offer this individual a position in the Winter Leadership Training Conference? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NOT AT ALL and 10=definitely VERY MUCH: How much do you think you would like this person? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NOT AT ALL and 10=definitely VERY MUCH: If this individual is accepted to the Conference, how much do you think the other students would like this person? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely INCOMPETENT and 10=definitely COMPETENT: How competent do you think this person is? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely UNSUCCESSFUL and 10= definitely SUCCESSFUL: If accepted into the WLTC, how successful do you think this person will be? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Subject J. L. (#12)

Sex: Female

College major: History

One significant work experience (at least one full-time summer or part-time academic year): Assistant researcher at farming history museum; research and writing on American farm history to find appropriate tools for mechanization in Third World countries. presentation of options to visiting Third World agricultural technologists

One sport or form of physical recreation you participate in regularly: skiing

What is your favorite activity when you are alone? reading

What do you most like to do when you are with your friends? watch old movies

Put an X next to the seven words that you feel best describe you.

Sensitive to others needs _____ Consistent _____ Intuitive _____

Adventurous _____ Compassionate _____ Forceful _____ Optimistic X

Sociable X Responsive X Analytical _____ Ambitious _____ Cheerful X

Athletic _____ Empathic _____ Individualistic _____ Competitive _____

Approachable _____ Responsible X Daring _____ Cooperative _____ Honest X

Pleasant _____ Expressive _____ Prompt _____ Objective X Diligent _____

Humorous _____ Faithful _____ Considerate _____ Courageous _____

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BEFORE TURNING TO THE NEXT PAGE:

1. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NO and 10=definitely YES: Would you offer this individual a position in the Winter Leadership Training Conference? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NOT AT ALL and 10=definitely VERY MUCH: How much do you think you would like this person? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely NOT AT ALL and 10=definitely VERY MUCH: If this individual is accepted to the Conference, how much do you think the other students would like this person? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely INCOMPETENT and 10=definitely COMPETENT: How competent do you think this person is? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=NO POTENTIAL and 10=GREAT POTENTIAL: If accepted into the WLTC, how much potential do you think this person has to become an outstanding leader? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Consider again the six individuals who have applied to the Winter Leadership Training Conference. Please answer the questions below.

Assume that there are three remaining slots left in the Winter Leadership Training Conference. You are responsible for filling them and you may choose only from the six applicants whose files you now have. Who will you choose? Write in the numbers (indicated in parentheses next to the applicant's initials on each application) of the three applicants you have chosen below in order of their acceptability.

FIRST CHOICE _____

SECOND CHOICE _____

THIRD CHOICE _____

If alternate slots are available, in what order would you fill them with the remaining three applicants.

FIRST ALTERNATE _____

SECOND ALTERNATE _____

THIRD ALTERNATE _____

Please turn in this questionnaire to the experimenter and pick up the second part of the study. The second part of the study asks you questions about yourself. This will take up the remainder of your time, but will go quickly.

How well do each of the following characteristics describe you? Below is a list of personality characteristics. Please indicate, on a scale of 1 to 7, how true these various characteristics are of you. Please do not leave any characteristics unmarked.

Scale:

- 1 -- ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE
- 2 -- USUALLY TRUE
- 3 -- OFTEN TRUE
- 4 -- OCCASIONALLY TRUE, OCCASIONALLY NOT TRUE
- 5 -- INFREQUENTLY TRUE
- 6 -- USUALLY NOT TRUE
- 7 -- NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Self-reliant | 39. Likable |
| 2. Yielding | 40. Masculine |
| 3. Helpful | 41. Warm |
| 4. Defend own beliefs | 42. Solemn |
| 5. Cheerful | 43. Willing to take a stand |
| 6. Moody | 44. Tender |
| 7. Independent | 45. Friendly |
| 8. Shy | 46. Aggressive |
| 9. Conscientious | 47. Gullible |
| 10. Athletic | 48. Inefficient |
| 11. Affectionate | 49. Act as a leader |
| 12. Theatrical | 50. Childlike |
| 13. Assertive | 51. Adaptable |
| 14. Flatterable | 52. Individualistic |
| 15. Happy | 53. Do not use Harsh language |
| 16. Strong personality | 54. Unsystematic |
| 17. Loyal | 55. Competitive |
| 18. Unpredictable | 56. Love children |
| 19. Forceful | 57. Tactful |
| 20. Feminine | 58. Ambitious |
| 21. Reliable | 59. Gentle |
| 22. Analytical | 60. Conventional |
| 23. Sympathetic | |
| 24. Jealous | |
| 25. Have leadership abilities | |
| 26. Sensitive to the needs of others | |
| 27. Truthful | |
| 28. Willing to take risks | |
| 29. Understanding | |
| 30. Secretive | |
| 31. Make decisions easily | |
| 32. Compassionate | |
| 33. Sincere | |
| 34. Self-sufficient | |
| 35. Eager to soothe hurt feelings | |
| 36. Conceited | |
| 37. Dominant | |
| 38. Soft-spoken | |

Please answer the following questions. Read each one carefully and then circle the response that best represents your opinion. We are not interested in what society says; we are interested in your personal opinions.

Please respond to ALL questions.

For the following 59 questions, use the scale below to choose your responses.

SA--Strongly agree

A--Agree

D--Disagree

SD--Strongly disagree

1. Equality of rights and opportunity exists in the United States today.

SA A D SD (ROS-EE)

2. Women should have just as much right as men to go to a bar alone.

SA A D SD *(SRES)

3. Everyone wants pretty much the same rewards out of life.

SA A D SD *(ROS-XXX)

4. Facilities at industrial oriented vocational schools ought to be expanded to admit qualified female applicants.

SA A D SD *(SRES)

5. Women ought to have the same possibilities for leadership positions at work as do men.

SA A D SD *(SRES)

6. It generally makes more sense to hire younger employees than older employees, since younger employees have more time left in their careers.

SA A D SD (ROS-SE)

7. Keeping track of a child's out-of-school activities should be mostly the mother's responsibility.

SA A D SD (SRES)

* reverse scored items, () scale including item

SA—Strongly agree
A—Agree
D—Disagree
SD—Strongly disagree

8. America is the land of equal opportunity for all.

SA A D SD (ROS-EE)

9. Things work out best in a marriage if a husband leaves his hands off domestic tasks.

SA A D SD (SRES)

10. People who have homes should donate time and money to build homes for people who don't.

SA A D SD *(ROS-AA)

11. The joint earnings of husband and wife should legally be under the control of the husband.

SA A D SD (SRES)

12. The government has almost eliminated segregation.

SA A D SD (ROS-EE)

13. As a national rule, everyone should volunteer for public service for five hours per week.

SA A D SD *(ROS-AA)

14. There are many good reasons why a woman should not be President of the United States.

SA A D SD (SRES)

15. I have never combed my hair before going out in the morning.

SA A D SD (LIE)

16. The best teachers should be channelled into inner-city schools until the quality of education there is as good as outside the inner-cities.

SA A D SD *(ROS-AA)

SA--Strongly agree
A--Agree
D--Disagree
SD--Strongly disagree

17. Women should feel as free to 'drop in' on a male friend as vice versa.

SA A D SD *(SRES)

18. Groups of people who have been discriminated against in the past should be given more than their share until full equality is reached.

SA A D SD *(ROS-AA)

19. Civil rights laws should protect all citizens, no matter what their background or lifestyle.

SA A D SD *(ROS-SE)

20. Males should be given priority over females in courses which would qualify them for positions as school principals.

SA A D SD (SRES)

21. In situations in which both husband and wife are working, housework should be equally shared by them.

SA A D SD *(SRES)

22. Racism is not much of a problem in the United States today.

SA A D SD (ROS-EE)

23. Educational honorary societies in nursing should admit only women.

SA A D SD (SRES)

24. Women can handle pressures from their jobs as well as men can.

SA A D SD *(SRES)

25. All U.S. citizens are treated equally as Americans, no matter where they originally came from.

SA A D SD (ROS-EE)

SA—Strongly agree
A—Agree
D—Disagree
SD—Strongly disagree

26. Male managers are more valuable to an organization than female managers.

SA A D SD (SRES)

27. I support laws requiring wealthy people to pay more to take care of the poor.

SA A D SD *(ROS-AA)

28. Laws against homosexuality should be abolished.

SA A D SD *(ROS-SE)

29. People from different religions should not get married.

SA A D SD (ROS-SE)

30. A woman should have as much right to ask a man for a date as a man has to ask a woman for a date.

SA A D SD *(SRES)

31. It should be up to the father rather than the mother to grant permission to the teenage children to use the family car.

SA A D SD (SRES)

32. People of different races should marry if they want to.

SA A D SD *(ROS-SE)

33. Sons and daughters ought to be given equal opportunity for higher education.

SA A D SD *(SRES)

34. Driving from New York to San Francisco is generally faster than flying between these cities.

SA A D SD (LIE)

35. A marriage is more likely to be successful if the wife's needs are considered after the husband's needs.

SA A D SD (SRES)

SA--Strongly agree
A--Agree
D--Disagree
SD--Strongly disagree

36. Someone born into a poor family is as likely to make as good a corporate executive as someone born into a rich one.

SA A D SD *(ROS-XXX)

37. Kids everywhere in the U.S. get pretty much the same education.

SA A D SD (ROS-EE)

38. It is wrong for neighborhoods to exclude certain classes or types of people.

SA A D SD *(ROS-SE)

39. Some types of people are born to be doctors and lawyers while others are born to clean their offices.

SA A D SD (ROS-XXX)

40. Since so many Americans speak languages other than English, all students should be taught a second language starting in kindergarten.

SA A D SD *(ROS-AA)

41. Fathers are better able than mothers to determine the amount of weekly allowance a child should be given.

SA A D SD (SRES)

42. No colleges should be allowed to exclude any group of people based on race, religion or ethnicity.

SA A D SD *(ROS-SE)

43. It should be a mother's responsibility rather than a father's to see that their children are transported to after-school activities.

SA A D SD (SRES)

44. The U.S. government should return portions of ancestral lands to Native American Indians even though others who presently live there may have to leave.

SA A D SD *(ROS-AA)

SA—Strongly agree
A—Agree
D—Disagree
SD—Strongly disagree

45. A person should generally be more polite to a woman than to a man.

SA A D SD (SRES)

46. Laws should exist to insure that there are as many Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians in government positions as there are in the general population.

SA A D SD *(ROS-AA)

47. In a social situation women should feel as free as men to express their honest opinion.

SA A D SD *(SRES)

48. There are times when I have dialed a telephone number only to find that the line was busy.

SA A D SD *(LIE)

49. Equal opportunity and rights should be extended to everyone, regardless of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, wealth, age, religion or politics.

SA A D SD *(ROS-SE)

50. Hard work is all it takes to make it in America.

SA A D SD (ROS-EE)

51. Fathers are not as able to care for their sick children as mothers are.

SA A D SD (SRES)

52. It is easier for Jews to become wealthy than for other people.

SA A D SD (ROS-XXX)

53. An applicant's sex should be an important consideration in job screening.

SA A D SD (SRES)

SA—Strongly agree
A—Agree
D—Disagree
SD—Strongly disagree

54. Gay people should not be allowed to teach in public schools.

SA A D SD (ROS-SE)

55. Wives are better able than husbands to send thank you notes when the couple receives gifts.

SA A D SD (SRES)

56. Choice of college is not as important for women as for men.

SA A D SD (SRES)

57. I believe most lightbulbs are powered by electricity.

SA A D SD *(LIE)

58. When it comes to punishing criminals, before the judge all people are created equal.

SA A D SD (ROS-EE)

59. Everyone is happiest when neighborhoods have only members of one social group living in them.

SA A D SD (ROS-XXX)

For the rest of the questions, circle the response that best represents your opinion. Be aware that a few questions have special instructions (i.e. to use an * to indicate your response) for you to follow. Most questions require only one response. Those that allow more than one response are indicated. Again, please read each question carefully.

1. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1=not at all and 10=to a great extent: To what extent will what happens to women generally in this country have something to do with what happens in your life?
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (GI/C-COF)

3. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1=not at all and 10=to a great extent: Do you think the movement for women's rights has affected you personally?
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (GI/C-COF)

4. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1=never and 10=very frequently: How often in your everyday life do you think about being a woman or what you have in common with women and men?
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (GI/C-CEN)

5. (YOU MAY CIRCLE MORE THAN RESPONSE TO THIS QUESTION) To which of these groups do you feel particularly close, that is, as people who are most like you in their ideas, interests, and feelings about things?

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| JEWS | RICH PEOPLE | BLACK PEOPLE |
| WORKING CLASS PEOPLE | MEN | PROGRESSIVES |
| WOMEN | PROTESTANTS/CHRISTIANS | MIDDLE CLASS PEOPLE |
| WHITES | ASIANS | GAY MEN |
| HISPANICS | CONSERVATIVES | LESBIANS |
| YOUNG PEOPLE | HETEROSEXUALS | POOR PEOPLE |
| CATHOLICS (GI/C-SIM) | | |

6. Which of the above groups do you feel closest to? Place a star (*) to the left of this group above. (ONE GROUP ONLY.) DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF A MEMBER OF THIS GROUP? YES NO

7. Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. How much influence do you think each of these groups has in American society? CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH GROUP.

Use the following scale:

WIM — WAY TOO MUCH INFLUENCE

BIM — A BIT TOO MUCH INFLUENCE

JE — JUST ENOUGH INFLUENCE

BTL — A BIT TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE

WTL — WAY TOO LITTLE INFLUENCE

MIDDLE CLASS PEOPLE	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
JEWS	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
WORKING CLASS PEOPLE	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
BLACK PEOPLE	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
WOMEN	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
WHITES	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
POOR PEOPLE	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
HISPANICS	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
GAY MEN	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
YOUNG PEOPLE	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
CATHOLICS	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
LESBIANS	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
RICH PEOPLE	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
MEN	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
HETEROSEXUALS	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
PROGRESSIVES	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
PROTESTANTS/CHRISTIANS	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
CONSERVATIVES	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL
ASIANS	WIM	BIM	JE	BTL	WTL

(GI/C-DSC)

Answer questions 8 thru 22 using the following scale.

SA-STRONGLY AGREE

A-AGREE SOMEWHAT

D-DISAGREE SOMEWHAT

SD-STRONGLY DISAGREE

8. Men and women ought to have an equal role in running business, industry and government.

SA A D SD *(GI/C-IIG)

9. Men are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women.

SA A D SD (GI/C-IIG)

10. In general, men are more qualified for jobs that have great responsibility.

SA A D SD (GI/C-IIG)

11. By nature, women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children.

SA A D SD (GI/C-IIG)

12. Women have less top jobs because our society discriminates against them.

SA A D SD *(GI/C-IIG)

13. Many qualified women can't get good jobs; men with the same skills have much less trouble.

SA A D SD *(GI/C-IIG)

14. A woman's place is in the home.

SA A D SD (GI/C-IIG)

15. Our society, not nature, teaches women to prefer homemaking to work outside the home.

SA A D SD *(GI/C-IIG)

16. Women have less opportunity than men to get the education for top jobs.

SA A D SD *(GI/C-IIG)

SA-STRONGLY AGREE
A-AGREE SOMEWHAT
D-DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
SD-STRONGLY DISAGREE

17. Our schools teach women to want the less important jobs.

SA A D SD *(GI/C-ILG)

18. Men have more of the top jobs because they are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women.

SA A D SD (GI/C-ILG)

19. It is not enough for a woman to be successful herself; women must work together to change laws and customs that are unfair to all women.

SA A D SD *(GI/C-COL)

20. Women can best overcome discrimination by pursuing their individual career goals in as feminine a way as possible.

SA A D SD (GI/C-COL)

21. The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each woman to make sure she gets the best training possible for what she wants to do.

SA A D SD (GI/C-COL)

22. Only if women organize and work together can anything really be done about discrimination.

SA A D SD *(GI/C-COL)

23. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=definitely WOULD pass and 10=definitely WOULD NOT pass: If it were up to you to decide whether or not to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, what would you do?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (GI/C-COL)

24. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=much too little and 10=much too much: How much influence does the Women's Liberation Movement have?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (GI/C-COL)

25. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1=very positive and 10=very negative: What are your overall feelings toward the Women's Liberation Movement?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (GI/C-COL)

1. How old are you? _____
2. What is your major? _____
3. What is your year of graduation? _____

4. (CHECK ONE FROM EACH COLUMN-IF NONE OF THE LABELS FIT, FILL IN THE 'OTHER' BLANK WITH A LABEL THAT DOES FIT) What is your political orientation?

Democrat	—	Conservative	—
Republican	—	Moderate	—
Independent	—	Liberal	—
Other _____	—	Other _____	—

5. How strong is your religious faith?

None	—
Little	—
Moderate	—
Strong	—
Very strong	—

6. How strong is your spiritual faith?

None	—
Little	—
Moderate	—
Strong	—
Very strong	—

7. What is your participation in formal religion?

None	—
Low	—
Medium	—
High	—
Very high	—

8. What is your religious affiliation? _____

9. How would you describe your family of origin?

Poor working class	—
Working class	—
Lower middle class	—
Middle class	—
Upper middle class	—
Upper class	—

10. What percentage of your college education is paid for by you, by financial aid, and by your parent(s) or guardian(s)?

You? _____

Financial aid? _____

Your parent(s) or guardian(s)? _____

11. How would you describe the current status of your romantic life?

Not involved with anyone _____

Casually dating _____

Dating one person _____

Seriously involved with one person _____

Living with someone _____

Engaged _____

Married _____

12. How would you describe yourself?

Exclusively heterosexual _____

Mostly heterosexual _____

Bisexual _____

Mostly homosexual _____

Exclusively homosexual _____

You are now finished. Thank you for your time and patience and your helpful contribution to psychological science. Please bring your whole packet of information to the experimenter and pick up your experimental credit slip and feedback form. Please read the feedback form and either keep it, return it to the experimenter, or dispose of it in the trash in this room. It is important to us that other potential contributors to this study do not have information about it before they participate. Keeping feedback forms under control is one way of insuring secrecy. The other way is your silence about your participation if there is any chance you are talking with someone who might participate in this study in the future. If someone asks you about the study, please say, truthfully, that it involves selection of personnel and takes about 35 minutes. Thanks again.

FEEDBACK TO PARTICIPANTS

Thank you again for completing this study on information processing. Your assistance is invaluable and greatly appreciated. I, the behind the scenes researcher, would like to tell you a little bit more about the study now that you have finished. Please either save or properly dispose of this sheet after you have read it. PLEASE BE AWARE THAT IF YOU "TIP OFF" OTHER PARTICIPANTS ABOUT WHAT WE ARE DOING BEFORE THEY COMPLETE THIS STUDY, THE COST IS GREAT BOTH TO ME, THE EXPERIMENTER, AND TO PSYCHOLOGY IN GENERAL. IF SOMEONE ASKS ABOUT THE STUDY, TELL THEM ONLY THAT IT INVOLVES SELECTION OF PERSONNEL FOR A PROGRAM. YOUR WILLINGNESS TO REMAIN SILENT INSURES THAT THIS RESEARCH IS MEANINGFUL. WITHOUT YOUR HELP IN THIS AREA, IT IS INSTEAD WORTHLESS. IF YOU WERE TIPPED OFF YOURSELF, PLEASE TELL THE EXPERIMENTER NOW, SO WE CAN REMOVE YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE FROM THE STUDY. YOU WILL NOT BE PENALIZED IN ANY WAY FOR YOUR HONESTY. THANK YOU.

The purpose of this study is, in fact, to further our understanding of information processing. However, I did not specify in advance the particular type of information I wanted you to respond to. Instead, I developed an elaborate cover story so you would not know exactly what I was doing. As much as I, as a researcher, dislike deceiving you or anyone, some amount of deception is necessary to do research. We psychologists know that the instructions given to study participants greatly effect the responses participants make. To do research without accounting for this is a waste of time. In the present study, I was interested in determining if you make different decisions depending on whether the applicant is a male versus a female, or if the applicant exhibits masculine or feminine traits. If differences are recorded, I would like to know if your decisions are related to your attitudes toward equality between social groups, your experience of yourself as a female, and/or your personality characteristics. Although I speak to you here on a one to one basis, I will not be looking at your responses individually. All the information you and others have given will be entered into computer analysis only as a series of numbers. Names will never appear, nor will anyone even be looking at your answers as a representation of you.

The reason I am doing this research is to try to gain a better understanding of how women's personality characteristics effect their perception of real-life candidates for important societal positions. I made up the story of the WLTC so you would seriously apply yourself to making decisions that would count. Fortunately, your decisions do count, although not in the way I said they would originally. They count in the sense that your contribution to my study is also a contribution to a greater understanding of processes in human behavior. And I thank you very much for that.

If you are interested in the results of this study, or if you have questions, comments, or complaints, give your name and phone number to the experimenter, who will pass them on to me, the researcher (who will remain anonymous for now).

APPENDIX A.2

Item	Application (M=masculine, N=neutral, F=feminine)					
	M1	M2	N1	N2	F1	F2
1. Would you guess that this individual is a man or a woman? With how much confidence?	4.95	5.00	3.08	3.03	1.00	1.16
2. Does this person fit the traditional cultural stereotype for a man (if you guessed he is a man) or for a woman (if you guessed she is a woman)?	1.34	1.08	2.87	2.84	1.08	1.42
3. Based on the information given above, is there anything either in general or specifically about this applicant that makes him/her appear unsuitable for the Summer Leadership Training Program?	4.34	4.40	4.47	4.34	4.50	4.76

Question 1 scores are based on a continuum of certainty that the applicant is a woman (1) to certainty the applicant is a man (7).

Question 2 scores range from 1=very traditional to 7=very untraditional.

Question 3 scores range from 1=very unsuitable to 7=very suitable.

APPENDIX A.3

Presentation orders

Combination 1

1.
NM-history
FF-social work
MM-aerospace engineer
FM-elementary education
NF-communications
MF-polymer science

2.
MF-polymer science
NM-history
FF-social work
NF-communications
MM-aerospace engineer
FM-elementary education

3.
NM-history
FM-elementary education
NF-communications
MF-polymer science
MM-aerospace engineer
FF-social work

4.
FF-social work
MF-polymer science
FM-elementary education
NM-history
MM-aerospace engineer
NF-communications

Combination 2

1.
NF-history
FM-social work
MF-aerospace engineer
FF-elementary education
NM-communications
MM-polymer science

2.
MM-polymer science
NF-history
FM-social work
NM-communications
MF-aerospace engineer
FF-elementary education

3.
NF-history
FF-elementary education
NM-communications
MM-polymer science
MF-aerospace engineer
FM-social work

4.
FM-social work
MM-polymer science
FF-elementary education
NF-history
MF-aerospace engineer
NM-communications

Legend: FF=feminine female NF=neutral female MF=masculine female
FM=feminine male NM=neutral male MM=masculine male

APPENDIX B

FACTOR LOADINGS

Means and factor loadings for the ROS items.

	\bar{X}	FACTOR		
		1	2	3
1. All US citizens are treated equally as Americans, no matter where they originally came from. (EE)	3.44	.75	.01	-.21
2. Racism is not much of a problem in the US today. (EE)	3.53	.70	.18	-.04
3. The government has almost eliminated segregation. (EE)	2.96	.69	.08	.22
4. Kids everywhere in the US get pretty much the same education. (EE)	3.66	.53	.15	.17
5. Hard work is all it takes to make it in America. (EE)	2.97	.04	-.08	-.09
6. America is the land of equal opportunity for all. (EE)	2.83	.36	.03	.05
7. Equality of rights and opportunities exists in the US today. (EE)	2.77	.44	.08	.22
8. Laws against homosexuality should be abolished. *(SE)	2.98	.09	.79	.00
9. Civil rights laws should protect all citizens, no matter what their background or lifestyle. *(SE)	3.64	.15	.64	.01
10. Equal opportunity and rights should be extended to everyone, regardless of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, wealth, age, religion, or politics. *(SE)	3.72	.44	.54	-.03
11. It is wrong for neighborhoods to exclude certain classes or types of people. *(SE)	3.56	.05	.06	.04
12. No colleges should be allowed to exclude any group of people based on race, religion, or ethnicity. *(SE)	3.74	.18	.17	.15
13. People from different religions should not get married. (SE)	3.64	.03	-.02	.04

14. Gay people should not be allowed to teach in public schools. (SE)	3.40	.12	.57	.12
15. People of different races should marry if they want to.*(SE)	3.57	.02	.32	.26
16. Groups of people who have been discriminated against in the past should be given more than their share until full equality is reached.*(AA)	2.11	.12	-.11	.21
17. The US gov't should return portions of ancestral lands to Native American Indians even though others who presently live there may have to leave. *(AA)	2.23	-.06	.32	.05
18. Laws should exist to insure that there are as many Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians in gov't positions as there are in the general population. *(AA)	2.22	.12	.14	.46
19. As a national rule, everyone should volunteer for public service for five hours per week.*(AA)	2.22	-.08	-.05	.71
20. I support laws requiring wealthy people to pay more to take care of the poor.*(AA)	2.65	.04	.03	.67
21. People who have homes should donate time and money to build homes for people who don't.*(AA)	2.25	.15	.34	.55
22. The best teachers should be channeled into inner-city schools until the quality of education there is as good as outside the inner-cities.*(AA)	2.20	.08	-.02	.53

Means, factor loadings on the power discontent items.

Social group	Mean ^a	Factor	
		1	3
Lesbians	4.00	.86	-.14
Gay men	4.05	.86	-.17
Hispanics	4.22	.81	-.17
Black people	4.01	.64	-.25
Asians	3.94	.58	-.24
Poor people	4.49	.57	-.23
Men	1.87	-.54	.50
Jews	3.31	.53	.25
Rich people	1.44	-.51	.44
Middle class people	3.21	-.15	.00
Working class people	3.71	.23	-.41
Women	3.90	.25	-.19
Young people	3.96	.39	.11
Heterosexuals	2.73	-.07	.77
Conservatives	2.43	-.16	.72
White people	2.17	-.46	.63
Protestants/Christians	2.79	-.14	.11
Catholics	2.55	-.15	.04
Progressives	3.19	.08	-.13

^a Mean scores are based on a five point scale, with higher scores ascribing too little power to the group.

Means and factor loadings of the individual difference attitude measures.

Item (AND THE SCALE THAT INCLUDES IT)	Mean	Factor		
		1	2	3
Sex-role egalitarianism (SRE)	89.95	.84	.24	.03
Equality should exist (ROS)	28.26	.83	-.08	.18
Illegitimacy (GI/C)	35.71	.72	.34	.36
Centrality (GI/C)	5.71	-.01	.80	.25
Common fate (GI/C)	14.19	.33	.66	-.06
Similarity (GI/C)	1.02	-.02	.65	.20
Collective orientation (GI/C)	30.46	.39	.58	-.08
Discontent (GI/C)	2.03	.04	.08	.79
Affirmative action (ROS)	15.89	.15	.10	.64
Equality doesn't exist (ROS)	22.15	.41	.11	.43

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