HOW ATTITUDES AFFECT GENDER AS A STATUS CHARACTERISTIC

by

Kyle Randolph

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Approved by:

_____
Dr. Joseph Dippong

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Dr. Lisa Walker

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Dr. Scott Fitzgerald

ABSTRACT

KYLE ROBERT RANDOLPH. How gender attitudes affect gender as a status characteristic. (Under the direction of DR. JOSEPH DIPPONG)

Status Characteristics theory (SCT) argues that individuals' gender attitudes are inconsequential in the status process. SCT states that, since the status process is subconscious, conscious beliefs and attitudes are irrelevant. Because of this argument, SCT research rarely examines the components of individuals and treats them instead as the byproducts of the social environment. This treatment neglects the individual in favor of the socially agreed upon expectations that are attached to status characteristics. The purpose of this paper is to create an argument as to why gender attitudes are important for the status process and to test this argument. Data was collected from 400 individuals using Amazon's MTurk and then analyzed using a series of different models and tests. The results of this vignette experiment provide evidence for a complex relationship between expectations and attitudes. I discuss the implications of this relationship and argue that further research should be conducted.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Status characteristics theory (SCT) is based on an assumption that status beliefs are widespread, if not universal, within a given society (Ridgeway 1991). As a sociological explanation, SCT draws on cultural beliefs and group structures to explain inequality in small groups. In general, the value associated with a given status characteristic is socially agreed upon and accepted by almost all members of the society. Status generalization is an unconscious process through which members of collective task groups connect cultural status beliefs to expectations for competence in specific tasks and for competence more generally. In other words, SCT provides a situational explanation for inequality that focuses on group structures and not individual differences, like personality traits and attitudes. Reflecting this situational viewpoint, Meeker and Weitzel-O'Neil (1977) argue that status characteristics, rather than task or individual differences, are the crucial difference that leads to inequality within a society. They also argue that the expectations associated with status characteristics lay out the foundation for behavioral differences.

Conversely, psychological research on gender attitudes focuses explicitly on individual-level characteristics as the basis for inequality. Psychologists in this vein argue that our perceptions of and beliefs about gender are byproducts of socialization and our unique personal experiences (Kågesten, et al. 2016). Individuals are exposed to multiple social stimuli that impact their gender attitudes. The important difference is that individuals will differ in gender role beliefs according to exposure to various stimuli, behavioral models, and socialization experiences. Attitudes are not seen as rooted primarily in situational structures or broad cultural belief systems, but in factors such as

family dynamics and personal experiences. Once formed, attitudes provide a basis for an individual's cognitions, behaviors, and affective experiences. Various theories of attitude functioning posit that attitudes affect how individuals evaluate and interact with others (c.f. Heider 1946; Festinger 1962). According to this view, once they are established, an individual's gender attitudes will shape how they perceive and interact with others.

SCT and gender attitude literature both discuss the impact that social differences make on interaction, however, with different approaches. While SCT focuses on the interplay between macro-level cultural beliefs and micro-level group structures, attitudes research examines how patterns of personal experiences shape stable individual-level cognitive structures. Together the two approaches could provide a more in-depth explanation regarding the effects of status characteristics on group behavior by examining the effects, if any, that individual attitudes play in the status generalization process. It is possible that individual gender attitudes influence how group members interpret and respond to status characteristics. That is, gender attitudes may impact the expectations that are attached to gender as a status characteristic or how expectations translate into observable behavior. Rather than every individual within a society having the same performance expectations associated with gender, it is possible that individual-level gender attitudes produce greater variability in status-based expectations than previously thought.

This thesis examines the relationships among status, gender attitudes, performance expectations, and behavior. First, I present an overview of literature regarding SCT and gender attitudes, and then discusses connections between the two. I outline the basics of SCT, gender as a status characteristic, gender attitudes, and the

potential moderating effect of gender attitudes on status characteristic expectations and offer several hypotheses to be tested within the paper. Afterwards, it discusses the data that was collected, shows results, and tests the hypotheses. Lastly, the paper discusses the results in-depth from the analyses conducted and explains their greater significance.

Literature Review

Expectation States Theory and Status Characteristics Theory

Individuals use a wide array of information to form impressions that shape how they interact with each other. This information can come in the form of salient, meaningful differences between individuals, including race, gender, education, and a variety of other socially differentiating traits known as status characteristics. According to SCT, a status characteristic is a trait that possesses at least two levels or states that are differentially valued and associated with expectations for task competence (Berger et al. 1977). While not all nominal traits reflect culturally-valued differences (e.g. eye color, hair color), Berger et al (1977) explain that status values are key in establishing what makes a nominal trait into a status characteristic.

When working together, individuals use the information from status characteristics to form expectations about other people within groups regarding their task ability. For example, under a variety of circumstances gender functions as a status characteristic (typically associated with two levels). That is, members of mixed-sex task groups generally form higher expectations for the performance of male group members than for female members. Even when individuals reject the negative content of cultural status beliefs, they still often act as if they are true (Devine 1989). This point is especially important as it points to the role that personal attitudes could play.

Furthermore, SCT defines two types of status characteristics: diffuse and specific (Berger et al 1977). Specific characteristics are associated with expectations for a bounded range of tasks. For example, one might expect a fellow group member who works as a computer programmer to be especially good at tasks involving math. A diffuse status characteristic is one that is associated with a nearly boundless range of task abilities (Berger and Fisek 2006).

Berger et al. (1977) lay out two scope conditions for SCT to be applicable. The first scope condition states that group members must be task-focused. This means that group members are involved in a task for which they believe there is a correct outcome and they are motivated to achieve the correct outcome. The second scope condition states that all group members must be collectively oriented. Collective orientation means that group members believe it is both legitimate and necessary to consider each other's input in completing the group task (Berger et al 1977). Any test of a claim derived from SCT must meet these scope conditions to be valid.

As stated above, status characteristics affect task outcomes only if they become "activated" or salient. A status characteristic becomes salient when it differentiates between group members (such as gender in a group comprised of men and women) or if group members believe the characteristic is directly connected to task ability (Berger, Rosenholtz, and Zelditch 1980). Once a status characteristic is salient then the values and expectations individuals hold act as a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy (Berger et al 1977). Because group members expect more competence from higher status individuals, higher status actors receive more positive evaluations, are presented more task opportunities, contribute more to the group task, and are generally more influential over group

decisions. In this way, cultural beliefs about the relative value of different categories of people are imported into the group interaction.

In short, SCT argues that when group members are differentiated according to different levels of one or more status characteristics, these characteristics provide the basis for expectations regarding each other's competence at the group task. These expectations, then, lead to differences in behavior that advantage higher status actors. Figure 1 below describes the basic status generalization process through which differences between group members are translated into overt behaviors. While the central arguments that SCT presents apply to expectations associated with numerous status characteristics, in this thesis I focus solely on gender as a status characteristic.

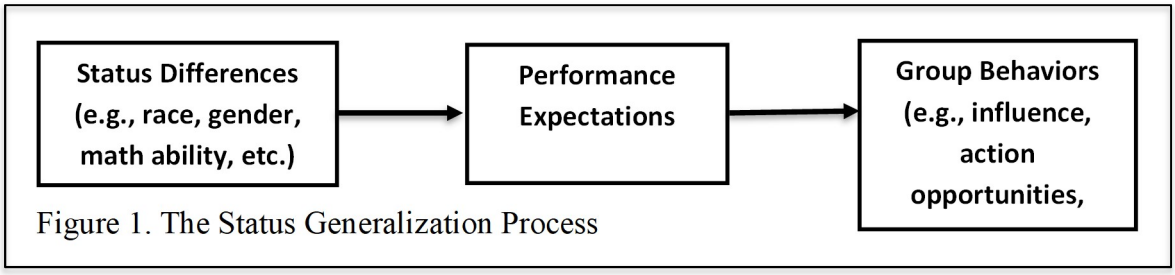

Figure 1. The Status Generalization Process

Gender as a Status Characteristic

As stated above, socially meaningful differences between individuals act as status characteristics. Substantial research demonstrates that gender serves as a status characteristic. Using experimental methods, Rashotte and Webster (2005) demonstrate that gender acts as a diffuse status characteristic, finding that individuals who express egalitarian beliefs will still demonstrate behaviors that are consistent with widespread cultural status beliefs. Additionally, Hopcroft (2002) found evidence that even though some scholars argue that gender no longer acts as a status characteristic, gender does in fact function as a status characteristic.

As a status characteristic, gender has two states that are differentially socially valued, with men possessing the positively valued state and women possessing the negatively valued state. Under collective task conditions, women are given less opportunities to act and when they do act, they are provided less positive unit evaluations from their peers. Because of their lower status, women are at a disadvantage when attempting to succeed. Pugh and Wahrman (1983) demonstrate that only when a woman is superior to a man at a novel task do status differences disappear. To reduce inequality, it is not sufficient for women to demonstrate equal ability; rather, they must demonstrate superior ability. Overall, then, men are associated with higher performance expectations, and because gender functions as a diffuse characteristic, men possess a status advantage at most tasks. As stated above, these expectations lead to a situation in which people behave in ways that ensure their expectations will be confirmed: men have greater opportunities to demonstrate their competency and under less scrutiny.

Further underscoring the power of gender to shape expectations, Foschi (1996) found that women were held to stricter standards than men, even in situations of identical ability levels. Across multiple studies, Foschi's research (Foschi 1996; Foschi, Lai, and Sigerson 1994; Foschi, Sigerson, and Lembesis 1995; Foschi, Warriner, and Hart 1985) demonstrates that when evaluating fictitious job candidates, research participants evaluate female applicants more harshly than male applicants with identical credentials, and that evaluators are more likely to recommend male candidates for hire. More recently, Gorman (2006) provided evidence that the double-standard penalty extends beyond hiring decisions and also influences decisions related to job promotion.

Further research demonstrates that status values are also associated with differing role expectations. For example, masculinity is associated with authoritative, dominant, and other leadership qualities. These perceptions advantage men. As lower status actors, women are believed to be submissive, docile, and in supporting roles. When women act outside the socially prescribed boundaries of their status, their peers (and subordinates) often resist their influence. This is known as the backlash effect due to status incongruity. Backlash may contribute to situations in which woman leaders struggle with acquiring and keeping legitimacy (Ridgeway 2001). Rudman and colleagues (2012) conducted multiple experiments that demonstrated individuals did not support woman leaders, especially if they exhibited stereotypically male characteristics. This effect is even stronger for higher status individuals when they notice lower status individuals act in a way that higher status individuals should or hold positions believed to be reserved for higher status individuals. Higher status individuals feel the need to protect their position and dominance, which is why they are more likely to backlash or even sabotage low status individuals who are in high status roles (Rudman et al. 2012).

Gender Attitudes

While SCT argues that the value of a status characteristic is widely shared within a given culture, research on gender role attitudes argues that these values are determined on an individual basis. Being in the same society does not guarantee that individuals will have the same beliefs about gender. Many factors can determine these attitudes, but society still plays an important role. From this perspective, the primary determinant of an individual's gender attitudes is the socialization process. For example, Morgan (1987)

found that the amount of time spent watching television shapes an adolescent's gender-role attitudes and behaviors, emphasizing the importance of the socialization process.

While socialization involves learning the general attitudes of a society (Mead 1934), smaller social influences are crucial. An individual's family and peers are important social influences. Individuals raised by parents that explicitly state and demonstrate egalitarian views, are more likely to adopt egalitarian views themselves (Cunningham 2001). Cassidy and Warren (1996) found that even parents' employment status can impact the gender attitudes that their children have. Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn (1983) discovered that age, work experience, and educational attainment help add to whether an individual will have an egalitarian view or not. Thornton et al. (1983) also found an effect of religious belief resulting in more traditional views. What all of these ideas share in common is an assumption that gender inequality can be best understood by examining a constellation of individual-level characteristics and the personal experiences that fostered the characteristics.

While women and men may both possess traditional or egalitarian beliefs, women are typically more liberal than men, especially regarding women's behaviors and attitudes (Smith, Resick, Kilpatrick 1980). To further iterate, individuals with egalitarian attitudes hold beliefs that men and women are equal and although gender ideologies are often *descriptive* they are not necessarily *prescriptive*. Such people believe that both men and women are inherently equal and can perform the same acts, live the same lifestyles, and do what they personally desire, even if it involves things that do not particularly fit cultural stereotypes about gender (Larsen and Long 1988). In many cases, individuals with more egalitarian views believe in fewer behavioral restrictions based on gender.

These individuals also do not believe in treating people differently because of their gender. Individuals who espouse traditional gender beliefs are more likely to agree that individuals should adhere more strictly to what is socially defined as appropriate for their gender, following precedence set by their gender role. Individuals with these more traditional beliefs view gender as a more rigid guideline for how people should be treated and how they should interact with each other (Boeck, Pleysier, and Put 2018).

To measure individuals' gender attitudes, an assessment of their gender role beliefs is performed. Although beliefs are only one component of attitudes (Fishbein 1966; Eagly and Chaiken 1998) they are a strong predictor of attitudes. An example of one of these scales is the Brief Attitudes toward Women scale (which this proposal employs) that was created by Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp (1973). Depending on how traditional or egalitarian an individual falls, certain other assumptions can be made about the individual's beliefs and attitudes regarding other topics as well. For example, individuals with more traditional views are more accepting of male promiscuity than female promiscuity. That is, promiscuity is seen as a characteristic appropriate for men, but not for women.

Status Characteristics Theory and Gender Attitudes

When combined, SCT and gender role attitudes can provide a more holistic explanation regarding patterns of inequality in face-to-face interaction. Indeed, existing research has demonstrated a link between cognitive structures and performance expectations. To this end, Dippong (2015) found that priming woman participants with competent and prestigious women exemplars decreased the effect of being a lower status actor. Thus, while previous work has shown that differences in the cognitive accessibility

of gender beliefs affect status-related behavior in task groups, in this thesis, I focus on the content of gender beliefs. Specifically,

I argue that gender role attitudes shape the status-expectations-behavior relationship described above.

The purpose of this thesis is to test the relationship between gender attitudes, status-based expectations, and behavior to assess if and how attitudes and expectations combine to shape patterns of gender inequality. Gender attitude research demonstrates that our environments and opinions can impact the way we interpret the world around us. It is possible that our gender attitudes can influence the expectations we attach to gender as a status characteristic, acting in a moderating role. If these attitudes can influence our ideals of how people should behave or how they should feel about certain issues, it would seem sensible that these attitudes could impact how competent individuals view each other.

As gender attitudes shift and fluctuate depending on stimuli for each individual, it is possible that status values are not strictly tied to a society. In fact, these status values could be dependent on individual beliefs and attitudes instead. While society provides the fundamental value of a status, the gender attitudes of an individual could act as the lens shaping how individuals perceive them. For example, Vermeulen, Castellar, and Looy (2014) found a significant effect of personal attitudes affecting perceived competency of opponents. The more competitive the participant was, the less competent they felt their male partners were. While all participants still perceived their male partners are competent at video games, a personal belief was able to shape the way individuals perceived a status characteristic, its value, and the expectations associated with it.

The important point is that research on attitudes emphasizes the role of an individual's subjective interpretation of an interaction partner in shaping behavior. Background information feeds into how an individual evaluates others. The way we are raised and the information we are exposed to form the foundation of our attitudes about other people. Each individual, depending on their exposures, will form differing attitudes, especially in regard to gender attitudes. This means that individuals possess varying attitudes, there is no absolute attitude that every individual has. However, with SCT, the individual experience is less important. Rather, the society that individuals are a part of is the important component. SCT argues a more uniform interpretation of gender, rather than a gradient like attitudes research. This leads to predictable phenomena, such as expectation states while gender role attitudes are less predictable.

I argue that both the structure of the situation, following SCT, and individual attitudes, following psychological literature, matter in shaping patterns of gender inequality on small groups. Incorporating gender attitudes into the SCT model involves identifying where such attitudes fit within the status generalization process. Based on Figure 1 above, attitudes can affect the relationship between status and behavioral inequality through two possible routes. First, attitudes can influence the formation of expectations. If this is the case, I would anticipate that gender attitudes moderate the relationship between status characteristics and performance expectations. People who espouse egalitarian beliefs will form more equal expectations for men and women, while those with more traditional beliefs will form more unequal expectations.

Conversely, attitudes can impact the relationship between expectations and behavior. According to this approach, gender-based performance expectations are the

same regardless of gender attitudes. Rather, attitudes affect the extent to which people act on the basis of their expectations. Figure 2 below outlines the two possible theoretical models just described. Figure 2a reflects the notion of attitudes as a moderator of the formation of expectations, and Figure 2b reflects attitudes as a moderator of the expectations-behavior link.

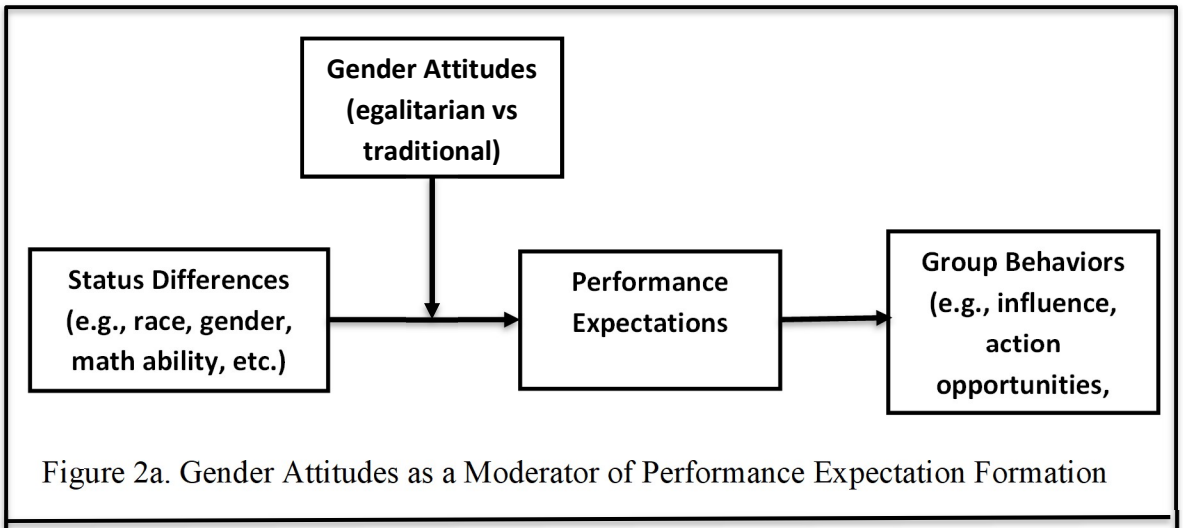

Figure 2a. Gender Attitudes as a Moderator of Performance Expectation Formation

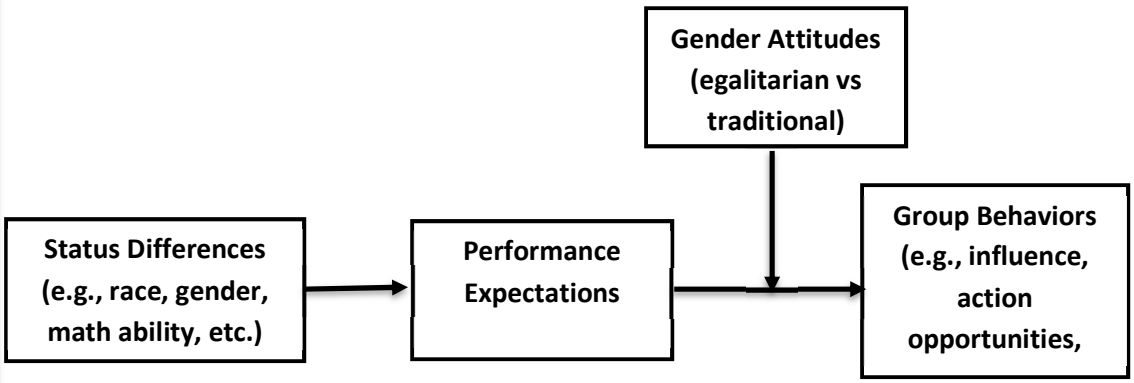

Figure 2b. Gender Attitudes as a Moderator of the Expectations-Behavior Link

It is also possible that attitudes could have a *direct* effect on performance expectations themselves. That is, instead of affecting the relationship between status, performance expectations, and group behaviors, it is possible that have a direct relationship with the expectations that arise. While it is unknown at this point, it could

possibly have this direct effect on the performance expectations group members attach to individuals of particular statuses, or it could influence the types of behaviors they enact regarding the performance expectations formed. While this is not the primary concern of this thesis, my analyses also investigate direct effects between attitudes and expectations, and between attitudes and behavior.

While the model presented in Figure 2a challenges SCT's assumption that gender-based performance expectations are relatively uniform within a society (i.e., the model suggests that gender attitudes affect the expectation formation process), it is possible SCT is correct in assuming culturally-shared status values *and* that attitudes scholars are correct in positing a central role for individual socialization experiences. As such, the model in Figure 2b retains the assumption of culturally shared status values for gender, and suggests that rather than shaping expectations, gender attitudes influence the extent to which people act on their expectations or resist the self-fulfilling nature of the expectations. Because there is no *a priori* theoretical reason to prefer one model over the other, I test both approaches. Based on the arguments developed above, I offer the following three hypotheses:

> H_1: Participants with egalitarian beliefs will report higher performance expectations for the female partner than participants with traditional beliefs.
>
> H_2: Participants with egalitarian beliefs will report lower performance expectations for the male partner than participants with traditional beliefs.
>
> H_{3a}: Attitudes will moderate the relationship between gender differences and performance expectations
>
> H_{3b}: Attitudes will moderate the relationship between performance expectations and behavior, as indicated by choice of male or female partners for a fictitious task

Hypothesis 1 will receive support if a comparison of mean performance expectations reveals significantly higher expectations for women among participants with self-reported egalitarian attitudes. Hypothesis 2 will receive support if a comparison of mean performance expectations reveals significantly lower expectations for men among participants with self-reported egalitarian attitudes. Hypothesis 3a will receive support if regression analyses reveal a significant interaction effect between status and attitudes in predicting expectations. Hypothesis 3b will receive support if regression analyses reveal a significant interaction effect between expectations and attitudes in predicting task partner choice. If hypothesis 3a or 3b fail to receive support and attitudes do not function as a moderator, then as an exploratory analysis, I will test for the presence of mediation effects, using the KHB method to examine direct and indirect effects in both proposed models.

Even with their differences, combining the two approaches will create a more encompassing interpretation of how individuals draw on gender as a basis for assessing performance or competence. SCT largely neglects the personal experience while gender attitudes scholarship lacks a component to truly capture the effect of social structures. Combing the two could overcome the other's weakness and establish a more complete explanation for how personal and societal forces work together to influence our interactions. It can be argued that adding further complexity to an already complex set of theories does little to improve it, I would argue that any approach that further adds clarity is beneficial. Having the ability to analyze how personal attitudes and societal forces combine to affect our interactions is important.

To test my arguments, I conducted a vignette study to analyze the combined effects of performance expectations and attitudes. Participants were presented with two fictitious actors—one male and one female—and were asked to report their expectations for each person. Participants also reported preferences to work with either the male or female other in a pair of hypothetical task scenarios. Participants also completed an assessment of their gender attitudes.

CHAPTER 2: METHOD

A total of 400 participants were recruited using Amazon's Mechnical Turk (MTurk). In order to complete the study, participants were asked to complete three tasks. The first of these tasks was a vignette to assess their performance expectations of two individuals introduced through a brief biography. They were also asked to pick one of them as a partner for an imagined scenario. Second, participants completed the Brief Attitudes toward Women Scale (BAWS). Lastly, participants provided demographic information. All participants answered questions in the same order (vignette, followed by BAWS). Limitations in the survey administration software did not allow for block randomization to counterbalance question order effects.[1] Participants received $0.50 for completing the entire study.

Participants

Participants were recruited from MTurk. They were offered $0.50 for participating in the study. This amount of compensation is consistent with other MTurk studies similar to the current research. In total, 400 participants aged 18 and older completed the entire study. Only Turk Workers who had a 95 percent task approval rate or higher were allowed access to the HIT.[2] There were no other limitations in place to be eligible for this study. As such, the current study relies on a convenience sample of

[1] The decision was made to present the vignette first and BAWS second to avoid overtly signaling that the study was focused on gender beliefs prior to collecting information on expectations and behavior (which questions contained no direct mention of gender). At the same time, it is possible that presenting the vignette first produced biased responses to the BAWS portion of the survey.

[2] This was done to ensure that data were of the highest possible quality. Workers with task approval rates lower than 95 percent can be seen as having a record of submitting incomplete work or work of poor quality.

individuals registered as Turk Workers. In general, Turk Workers are younger than the larger population and report higher levels of education (Ipierotis 2010). Additionally, close to 40 percent of Turk Workers currently reside in India (Ipierotis 2010). Nonetheless, the goal of the current study is not to generalize from sample to population, but to test a theoretical argument. As such, concerns about sample representativeness are less critical.

Procedures

A link to the questionnaire was posted as a Human Intelligence Task (HIT) on Amazon's MTurk website. Participants were informed that they would be answering questions for a study examining how people evaluate each other. The HIT description stated that the study would take up to 20 minutes and that they would only receive payment if they completed the entire survey. After accepting the HIT, participants were redirected to a SurveyShare website where they completed the survey instrument. After providing informed consent, the survey proceeded in three phases.

Phase One: Vignette, Expectations, and Partner Choice

During the first phase of the study, participants were shown a photograph and a short biographical description for two people; a man and a woman. They were informed that the woman was named Diane and that the man was named Bill. Both fictitious others were described as 21 years old and attending a large university in the Southern United States. After viewing the photographs and biographical information, participants were asked to complete a short questionnaire regarding their performance expectations of both of the fictitious individuals. This scale was developed by Rashotte and Webster (2005) and includes items from Zeller and Warnecke's (1973) index of expectations, as well as

items assessing specific expectations. Participants reported expectations for the fictitious female actor first, and the male actor second. Again, limitations in the survey software precluded randomizing the presentation order.

After completing the expectations scale, participants read two scenarios involving completing a collective task, were asked to imagine themselves in the given scenario. Further, they were asked to choose a task partner for the imagined scenario from the two individuals they assessed earlier (they were also able to report no preference for either task partner). Please see Appendix A and Appendix B for the photographs and complete text of the vignette and expectation questions. Appendix D contains the task partner choice questions.

Phase Two: Brief Attitudes Toward Women Scale

During the BAWS questionnaire, participants completed a 25-item questionnaire. The BAWS is a shortened version of the AWS scale that was condensed by Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp (1973). Rather than the 55 questions of the full version, this scale only uses 25 of the original questions and has been demonstrated to have the similar validity. The index includes items such as: 1) Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers; 2) Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together; and 3) Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men. This scale was used to assess the gender attitudes of each participant. See Appendix C for the complete list of BAWS items.

Phase Three: Demographics

Lastly, I collected information on participants' demographic makeup. These items provide the basis for control variables in my regression models. Specifically, participants were asked to provide information on their age, gender, race/ ethnicity, and highest level of education.

Variables and Analyses

The primary analyses for testing my hypotheses involve comparing how participants respond to the fictitious male and female task partners portrayed in the vignette. This study involves means comparisons for testing differences in expectations across levels of gender attitudes, as well as regression models for testing moderation and mediation effects.

Dependent variables. Testing the hypotheses above involves collecting data on two dependent variables 1) performance expectations for each potential partner; and 2) self-reported preference to work with a partner. To measure performance expectations, I employ the nine-item index from Rashotte and Webster's (2005). Responses were measured on a 9-point scale, allowing participants to rank potential partners ranging from "Below average" to "Above average" across all nine dimensions, with "Average" as the neutral midpoint of the scale. Performance expectations were calculated by taking the average of the nine items separately for the male and female task partners. Accordingly, each participant generated two separate expectations scores (expectations for male partner and expectations for female partner), with higher scores representing higher expectations for task competence. Expectations also serve as the primary independent variable in test of hypothesis 3b and supplementary analyses.

Partner choice, which was used for testing hypothesis 3b, consists of two items asking participants to rate their preference to work with each partner on two separate, but similar tasks. Responses ranged from (1 = much more likely to choose Bill) to (9 = much more likely to choose Diane), with (5 = equally likely to choose either of them) as the neutral midpoint. Responses to the two items were summed, creating a scale with a minimum score of 2, a maximum of 18, and a midpoint of 10. Higher scores reflect a stronger preference for the female task partner.

Independent variables. My analyses involve two primary independent variables. First, I include participants' status relative to the fictitious interaction partners (based only on gender differences). Male participants are high status relative to female others and equal status relative to male others. Likewise, female participants are lower status relative to male others and equal status relative to female others. As such, I created a trichotomous variable ranging from -1 to 1, with 0 as the equal status midpoint. For men, status = 1 when rating female partners and status = 0 when rating male others. For women, status = -1 when rating male partners and status = 0 when rating female partners.

Second, participants' gender attitudes were measured using the Brief Attitudes toward Women Scale. Participants responded to each item on a 4-point scale ranging from (0 = strongly disagree) to (3 = strongly disagree). Gender attitudes were calculated by taking the mean of the 25 items. Higher scores represent more egalitarian attitudes. Because some of the items presented more egalitarian statements and other presented more traditional statements for agreement, it was necessary to reverse code 12 items.

To conduct means comparisons for testing hypotheses 1 and 2, it was necessary to categorize participants as either egalitarian or traditional regarding their gender attitudes.

Using the BAWS scale, I categorized participants based on a median split, with those scoring above the median categorized as egalitarian and those at or below the median categorized as traditional. For regression analyses, I treat attitudes as a continuous variable using the mean BAWS score described above.

Control variables. My regression models include controls for age, race, gender, and education level. Participants reported age as a continuous variable. For race, participants self-reported as either: white (non-Hispanic), white (Hispanic), Black or African American, Asian or Pacific Islander, Native American or Alaskan Native, or Multi-racial. For the purpose of analyses, race was dummy coded (1 = white non-Hispanic), with all other racial categories serving as the comparison group. For education, individuals could identify as having less than a high school education, high school or equivalent, some college, 2-year degree, 4-year degree, or professional degree. Education was dummy coded (1 = greater than high school), with high school or equivalent as the comparison group (no one reported less than high school education). Lastly, gender was dummy coded (1 = female), with male as the comparison group.

Planned analyses. A series of means comparisons (ANOVA, with follow-up t-tests) were used to compare the performance expectations for egalitarian and traditional participants comparing across gender. I employ independent samples t-test, examining expectations for male partners and expectations for female partners separately. I employ repeated measures LMM to test for moderation effects. This approach is necessary to account for the fact that the separate expectation scores for male and female partners are nested within individual respondents (i.e., each participant provided two separate measures of expectations). Repeated measures LMM corrects for clustering and produces

unbiased standard errors. Failure to account for clustering can lead to reduced standard errors, and therefore, inflated significance and false positive conclusions.

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

Data was collected from 400 participants. Time to complete the study ranged from 2.5 minutes to 20 minutes, with an average time of 10.55 minutes (standard deviation = 4.02). I exclude data from 29 participants for two reasons: 9 of the participants were excluded because they skipped at least one question or responded "prefer not to answer" on relevant demographic questions, and 19 were excluded for taking less than five minutes to complete the survey. The five-minute cutoff was determined in advance and all 29 participants were excluded prior to examining the data.

Descriptive statistics for the analytical sample are presented below Table 1. As can be seen in Table 1, participants were almost 32 years old, on average. The two largest racial categories are white non-Hispanic (36.9%) and Asian (39.4%). More than half of the sample reported holding a 4-year degree (55.8%) and an additional 11.1 percent reported holding a professional degree. Furthermore, more than half of the sample (59%) reported their gender as male.

Turning to the focal analytical variables, Table 1 includes some important results to note. First, both male and female participants were more likely to have higher expectations for the fictitious female partner (male participants *paired samples* $t = 5.747$, $df = 218$, $p < .001$; female participants *paired samples* $t = 4.646$, $df = 151$, $p < .001$). Second, both male and female participants were also more likely to score above the scale midpoint on the gender attitudes scale, indicating more egalitarian gender beliefs (male participants *one sample* $t = 10.480$, $df = 218$, $p < .001$; female participants *one sample* $t = 7.315$, $df = 151$, $p < .001$). Third, both male and female participants were more likely to pick the female partner over the male partner (male participants *one sample* $t = 10.063$, *df*

= 218, $p < .001$; female participants *one sample* $t = 7.225$, $df = 151$, $p < .001$). Overall, then, the sample reports more positive attitudes and higher expectations for women.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics & Sample Characteristics 1 ($N = 371$)[a]

Variable	Total Sample	Female Participants	Male Participants
Expectations for Male Other (GESM)	6.348 (1.343)	6.338 (1.104)	6.356 (1.489)
Expectations for Female Other (GESF)	6.760 (1.105)	6.652 (1.054)	6.836 (1.135)
Gender Attitudes	1.786[b] (.432)	1.747[b] (.417)	1.813[b] (.441)
Partner Choice	12.014[b] (3.132)	11.822[b] (3.097)	12.146[b] (3.156)
Age	31.862 (8.952)	32.776 (9.919)	31.225 (8.173)
Race/ Ethnicity			
White (non-Hispanic)	.369	.395	.352
White (Hispanic)	.089	.099	.082
Black/ African American	.121	.145	.105
Asian	.394	.316	.447
Other	.028	.047	.014
Education			
Less than High School	.008	.000	.014
High School/ GED	.081	.079	.082
Some College/ 2-year	.243	.224	.256
Four Year Degree	.558	.592	.534
Professional Degree	.111	.105	.114

[a]Female Participants $N = 152$; Male Participants $N = 219$

[b]Denotes significant differences from scale neutral/ no preference mid-point (one sample t-test, $p < .001$)

Scale Reliability

All of the scales employed in my analyses demonstrated an acceptable level of internal consistency. Principal components factor analysis revealed that both the expectations for men (GESM) and expectations for women (GESW) scales loaded onto a single factor. Both the expectations towards men index and the expectations towards women index had Cronbach's Alphas of 0.933, which is very good. Concerning the BAWS scale, principal component analysis revealed that the items loaded onto two factors (using varimax rotation). The two factors correspond roughly to items assessing traditional attitudes and items assessing egalitarian attitudes. Because the BAWS demonstrated a high Cronbach's Alpha score (alpha = 0.859), I elected to treat the scale as a single factor.

Hypothesis Tests

Turning to hypothesis tests, I employ independent samples t-tests to assess if there were differences in expectations between participants who report more traditional attitudes and those who report more egalitarian attitudes. Comparisons were based on a median-split for scores on the Brief Attitudes Toward Women Scale. Participants below the median were categorized as holding more "traditional" gender beliefs, and participants above the median as holding more "egalitarian" beliefs (median = 1.72). Note that the median score falls well above the scale midpoint, and as such it would be incorrect to label those below the median as necessarily holding traditional gender attitudes. Rather, their attitudes can be seen as *more* traditional than those of participants whose scores fell above the median.

Table 2 below shows the results of these t-tests. Recall that hypothesis 1 states that participants with egalitarian beliefs will report higher performance expectations for the female partner than participants with traditional beliefs. As can be seen in Table 2, there is no significant difference between groups in terms of expectations for female task partners. As a result, Hypothesis 1 is not supported. Hypothesis 2 states that participants with egalitarian beliefs will report lower performance expectations for the male partner than participants with traditional beliefs. This hypothesis is supported. Based on these results, it appears that any effect that gender attitudes have on expectations comes by affecting perceptions of male task partners, and that there is no relationship between gender attitudes and expectations for female task partners.

Table 2. Independent-samples t-tests Comparing Self-reported Expectations based on Gender Attitude Score

	Traditional	Egalitarian	Comparison
Expectations for Female Other	6.862 (1.184)	6.688 (1.041)	$t = 1.498$ $df = 369$ $p = .135$
Expectations for Male Other	6.649 (1.465)	6.135 (1.208)	$t = 3.690$ $df = 369$ $p < .001$

Looking at hypothesis 3a, a repeated measures linear mixed model was estimated to assess the relationship between status, gender attitudes, and performance expectation. As the model uses multiple observations from the same participant (i.e., two assessments: one of a male other and one of a female other), robust clustered standard errors were also computed to ensure that standard errors were not biased. The first model computed was a simple examination at the relationship between status and expectations, and as can be seen in Table 3, status is a statistically significant predictor of an individual's performance expectations, and in the expected direction. Although, as discussed above,

participants on average reported higher expectations for women, these analyses show that status differences do matter.

Another important note about Table 3 is the effect of attitudes on expectations. Attitudes are first introduced into Model 2 with a statistically significant and positive effect on expectations. In Model 3, the interaction term between status and attitudes is added, while insignificant, attitudes remain an accurate predictor of performance expectations. Lastly, in Model 4, the demographic variables are added, and attitudes continue to remain a statistically significant predictor. This demonstrates that attitudes might have a direct effect on performance expectations as they remain an consistent predictor of them throughout the four models that were created. While measuring for direct effects was not the purpose of this paper, this effect is still important to note and will need further investigating to fully understand.

Table 3. Repeated Measures LMM Predicting Performance Expectations from Status and Gender Attitudes (*N* = 371)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	6.531***	4.820***	4.788***	4.238***
	.057	.224	.235	.380
Status	.259***	.228***	.523*	.746***
	.058	.054	.232	.223
Attitudes		.960***	.979***	.978***
		.129	.130	.142
*Status*Attitudes*			-.166	-.187
			.124	.123
Age				.008
				.006
Education				.174
				.173
Female				.363**
				.129
White				-.097
				.119

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Table 4. Repeated Measures LMM Predicting Performance Expectations from Status and Gender Attitudes, by Participant Gender

	Male Participants	Female Participants
Constant	4.148***	5.086***
	.667	.649
Status	.701	1.295***
	.500	.282
Attitudes	.989**	.733***
	.315	.191
*Status*Attitudes*	-.121	-.562***
	.293	.150
Age	.007	.009
	.008	.008
Education	.232	.060
	.203	.324
White	-.048	-.154
	.182	.151

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Model 2 adds in attitudes. In model 2, attitudes are a significant predictor of expectations, and status also remains significant. Model 3 adds the interaction between attitudes and status. The coefficient is not significant. Controlling for demographic variables in model 4, the interaction effect remains non-significant. Interestingly, there is a significant participant gender effect. This points to the possibility of a three-way interaction between status, gender, and attitudes. To assess this, I estimate my full model separately for male and female participants.

Table 4 above presents the moderation tests separated by participants' gender. When looking at male participants, the only significant predictor of expectations is their gender attitudes. Neither status nor the interaction term reach statistical significance. Looking at female participants, the interaction between status and attitudes is significant.

This result provides partial support for hypothesis 3a. Attitudes do moderate the relationship between status and expectations, but only for female participants. As such, the relationship between attitudes and status is somewhat more complex than my theoretical model suggests.

Table 5. Repeated Measures LMM Predicting Partner Choice from Performance Expectations and Gender Attitudes (*N* = 371)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	7.385***	6.188***	6.275***	9.399***
	(.604)	(.651)	(.859)	(2.473)
Expectations	.699***	.536***	.541***	.055
	(.090)	(.095)	(.096)	(.064)
Gender Attitudes		1.273***	1.330***	-.487
		(.274)	(.290)	(1.387)
Age			-.008	-.006
			(.013)	(.013)
Education			-.030	-.030
			(.391)	(.391)
Female			-.124	-.124
			(.223)	(.223)
White			.298	.298
			(.252)	(.252)
*Expectations*Attitudes*				.272
				(.202)

***$p < .001$

Note: Numbers in parentheses are robust clustered standard errors

Another repeated measures linear mixed model was performed to evaluate hypothesis 3b pertaining to participants' partner choices and examine it with respect to performance expectations and gender attitudes. Again, as there are multiple measurements from the same participants, robust clustered standard error terms were computed to ensure the model is as accurate as possible. The first model in Table 5 above

examines performance expectations in regard to partner choice and it was statistically significant. The second model includes gender attitudes. Gender attitudes and performance expectations are both statistically significant as well as positive. Model 3 adds the demographic characteristics of participants. Again, gender attitudes and performance expectations remain significant and positive predictors of partner choice. The final model added in an interaction term between performance expectations and attitudes. This interaction term was not significant indicating that performance expectations and gender attitudes do not moderate the effect of expectations on behavior. Because there is no significant effect of gender in these models, I do not analyze the relationships separately by male and female participants. In sum, hypothesis 3b is not supported. Again, though, it is worth noting that across models 2 and 3 in Table 5, attitudes demonstrate a significant positive relationship with behaviors. Although this thesis specifically focuses on potential moderating and mediating effects, the direct effects of attitudes are clear.

Exploratory Analyses

Because my regression models show that attitudes do not moderate the effects of expectations on partner choice, I conducted exploratory analyses to test for the presence of mediation effects. To test the exploratory hypotheses, a KHB model was conducted. The KHB process decomposes the total effect of a predictor into direct and indirect effects. If the indirect effect is significant, then a significant proportion of the total effect is conveyed through the mediator variable. The results of this test can be found below in Table 6. Looking first at the performance expectations participants had for the female task partner, we see significant mediation effects through attitudes. Although attitudes

mediate a portion of the relationship between expectations and partner choice, expectations retain a significant direct effect.

Table 6: KHB Tests Examining if Attitudes Mediate the Effects of Expectations on Partner Choice[a]

	Expectations for Female Other	*Expectations for Male Other*
Total Effect	1.103*** (.134)	.362** (.117)
Direct Effect	.956*** (.142)	.157 (.125)
Indirect Effect	.146** (.052)	.204*** (.053)

[a]Due to limitations in KHB command, it was necessary to test separately based on expectations for female and male others

**$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ *Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors*

Looking at mediation tests for the effects of male expectation on partner choice, we see a somewhat different pattern. Again, the indirect effect is significant, pointing to the presence of mediation effects. Unlike with expectations for women, however, the direct effect of expectations is reduced to non-significance. This means that performance expectations for men partner choice are fully mediated by gender attitudes. Once again, the relationship between status, expectations, and attitudes appears much more complex than anticipated.

Summary

My hypothesis tests show that attitudes affect the status-expectations-behavior relationship in two different ways. First, attitudes moderate the relationship between

status and expectations, but only for female participants. And second, attitudes mediate the relationship between expectations and behavior, though the size of the mediation effect differs based on whether participants were evaluating a male or female other.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper was to analyze the relationship between individuals' gender attitudes and the expectations they attach to gender as a status characteristic. I found that gender attitudes are situationally related to expectations. Individuals with egalitarian beliefs did not report higher expectations for women, but they did have lower expectations for men. Also, the results support the idea that gender attitudes are a mediator between expectations and behavior. However, these effects are not as straightforward as expected, and warrant further testing. For female participants, the interaction between attitudes and status was significant in shaping the expectation formation process, but not for male participants. While expectations and gender attitudes do have a relationship, the precise nature of it will require further investigation. This paper should serve as the foundation to further investigations to analyze the relationship between gender attitudes and status characteristics, especially as a relationship clearly exists, as this paper demonstrates. The question now is how gender attitudes fit into the theoretical model of SCT and what exactly does this effect entail.

An important note of the results of this paper is that the expectations for women was higher than it was for men within the demographic analysis. This could be several reasons. As noted above, the sample was made of 39 percent Asian participants. This is consistent with descriptive research that points to 40 percent of Turk Workers residing in India. This is an important note, as expectations and status characteristic beliefs are cultural in origin. Assuming that my sample reflects the overall distribution of Turk Workers, and having a large proportion of my sample from an entirely different culture could have led to this distinct difference. The second reason this could be is that the

measure does not account for status incongruent or congruent situations. While this should not be significant enough to skew the results, it could create an effect that has not been found before. Even though this is an oddity, especially with status still being statistically significant predictor of performance expectations and picking a partner to work with, it does not necessarily undermine the results that I found.

Another important note about this thesis is the fact that my results do not replicate previous findings regarding the expectations for men and women. Previous work has found that expectations for men are typically higher than the expectations that individuals have for women. While it could be argued that this might call into question the validity of the results that I found, again, this paper is not a true test of SCT (i.e., my test did not instantiate the scope conditons of a colletive task setting). Instead, this thesis serves as an empirical starting point to assess the relationship between gender attitudes and the status process. The primary purpose of this paper was to examine if any relationship at all existed between gender attitudes and the status process and it has accomplished that. Now that some evidence exists to support this relationship, proper investigations can be conducted and used as proper tests of SCT and attitudes, with this paper serving as the foundation for those investigations.

Limitations

The primary limitation of this study is the vignette design and the online component. It can be difficult for participants to be collectively orientated when they do not explicitly work with a partner. It is also possible that participants lacked task focus as they are not explicitly working on a task but asked to imagine themselves in the situation. Because of this, the study does not follow the scope conditions for SCT strictly. A major

limitation of this study is the fact that the sample and population were global in its focus. This paper primarily spoke about status characteristics and expectations from a United States perspective and it is possible that the interpretation or framing of SCT in a different culture could significantly impact the results that I found.

Conclusion

In sum, my thesis shows that the relationship between status, attitudes, expectations, and behavior is complex. While I found that attitudes moderate the relationship between status and expectations, this relationship was further moderated by participant gender. Additionally, attitudes mediate the relationship between expectations and behavior, in terms of task partner selection. Again, though, this relationship differed somewhat based on the target of evaluation. Overall, I argued that structural factors and individual differences work together to shape patterns of gender inequality. My results broadly support my arguments.

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APPENDIX A: Expectations for Women Questionnaire

Diane Williams is a 21 year old woman who attends the University of Alabama.

1. How intelligent do you perceive Diane to be?

Below Average					Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____		

2. How well do you expect Diane to do at situations in general?

Below Average					Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____		

3. In terms of things that you think count in this world, how does Diane rate?

Below Average					Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____		

4. How capable do you think Diane is at most tasks?

Below Average					Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____		

5. How do you rate Diane concerning reading ability?

Below Average					Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____		

6. How do you rate Diane at abstract abilities?

Below					Average					Above

Average ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Average

7. How would you rate Diane's grade point average?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	

8. Diane took the FAA exam for a private pilot's license. How well do you think Diane probably did on this exam?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	

9. In your opinion, how does Diane rate on physical attractiveness?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	

APPENDIX B: Expectations for Men Questionnaire

Bill Walker is a 21 year old man who attends Georgia State University.

1. How intelligent do you perceive Bill to be?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	

2. How well do you expect Bill to do at situations in general?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	

3. In terms of things that you think count in this world, how does Bill rate?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	

4. How capable do you think Bill is at most tasks?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	

5. How do you rate Bill concerning reading ability?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	

6. How do you rate Bill at abstract abilities?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____

7. How would you rate Bill's grade point average?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____

8. Bill took the FAA exam for a private pilot's license. How well do you think Bill probably did on this exam?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____

9. In your opinion, how does Bill rate on physical attractiveness?

Below Average				Average					Above Average
	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____

APPENDIX C: Brief Attitudes Toward Women Scale

1) Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man.

2) Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.

3) Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.

4) Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative.

5) Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.

6) Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home. men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.

7) It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.

8) There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.

9) A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

10) Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

11) Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.

12) Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

13) A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

14) Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.

15) It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.

16) In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.

17) Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiancés.

18) The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income.

19) Women should be concerned with their duties of childbearing and house tending. rather than with desires for professional and business careers.

20) The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

21) Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

22) On the average. women should be regarded as less capable of contributing to economic production than are men.

23) There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

24) Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

25) The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control that is given to the modern boy.

APPENDIX D: Task Partner Choice Questions

1) Imagine that you are taking a class and needed some help with your homework due in a few hours. You go online to a live homework help site. There are two tutors currently available for homework help. The rules of the site indicate that you can only use one tutor per day. Which of these two people would you be more likely to choose to help you?

Much more likely to choose Bill — Equally likely to choose either of them — Much more likely to choose Diane

____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____

2) Recently, the College Bowl competition organization has been on college campuses testing juniors for their potential as contestants in their program. If you had to choose which of these two people had done better on their screening test, which would you choose?

Much more likely to choose Bill — Equally likely to choose either of them — Much more likely to choose Diane

____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____