

Gender Ideology and Evaluations of a Male versus Female Target:
Effects of Emphasizing versus Downplaying Gender Differences

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Abstract

Society offers mixed messages about whether we should emphasize versus downplay the differences between the genders. This study investigates two ideologies: *gender blindness*, the view that one should ignore gender categories and treat men and women as fundamentally the same, and *gender awareness*, the view that one should acknowledge and appreciate differences between the genders. This experiment replicates the finding from earlier research that angry female bosses are evaluated negatively compared to angry male bosses (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008), and manipulates gender ideology to examine its effect on this bias. This study shows divergent results, but ultimately suggests that gender awareness may be the best approach to eliminating workplace bias against a female. The article concludes by discussing gender differences in the broader context of contemporary social issues.

Gender Ideology and Evaluations of a Male versus Female Target: Effects of
Emphasizing versus Downplaying Gender Differences

Self-help books prove to be a strong influence in the United States. Americans spent \$563 million on self-help books in 2000 (Paul, 2001). When Bergsma (2007) analyzed the 57 bestselling self-help books in the Netherlands, the second-most common theme of these books was relationships. This suggests that much of what the public believes about the opposite gender originates from these volumes. What do they have to say about men and women? As it turns out, popular books on relationships frequently dichotomize the differences between the genders (Signorella & Cooper, 2011). This is best exemplified by the iconic *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus* (Gray, 1992), a book which spent 243 weeks on the bestseller list. Championing a clear distinction between the genders, Gray categorizes women as needing “caring, understanding, respect, devotion, validation and reassurance” and men as requiring “trust, acceptance, appreciation, admiration, approval and encouragement” (p. 133). Since Gray’s book, others have arrived to the scene espousing a similar message. When Zimmerman, Holm, and Starrels (2001) analyzed the contents of eleven bestselling relationship self-help books, they found that the five bestsellers viewed men and women as inherently different. These influential texts advise the public to pay attention to the differences between men and women in order to have more satisfying relationships.

While popular literature delivers the idea that we should see men and women as notably different, the opposite message is maintained in other sectors of society. First, social policies value a non-distinguishing view of men and women. For example, legislation prohibits employment and wage discrimination based on gender. In addition, employers are likely to fashion work-settings that discourage categorization by gender – the idea being that sexism and

discrimination is impossible if one cannot pay attention to possible gender differences (Koenig & Richeson, 2010). Second, the idea of male/female sameness resides in political and scientific thought. Notably, feminists in the *similarities tradition* claim that men and women are much more alike than different (Crawford & Unger, 2004). These thinkers contend that the gender differences purported by psychologists marginalize women, and work to maintain the status quo of male dominance (Eagly, 1995). With this stance, they have produced ample research that seeks to dispel the notion that men and women are significantly different.

These opposing views elicit a careful consideration of whether we should highlight versus downplay gender differences. Further, might this decision depend on the situation or context? If it is true that acknowledging gender differences helps decipher the opposite gender, then this view might prove beneficial when working within the domain of personal relationships. Contrarily, if it is true that accentuating gender differences works to maintain male dominance, then this approach might be problematic in the workplace, where the goal for equal treatment of men and women is heightened. The workplace, then, may benefit most from a view that deemphasizes the differences between men and women.

The question of how to handle gender differences has long been paralleled in research on ethnic and racial diversity. In particular, education reform is one area where the decision to accentuate versus ignore group differences has played out. As the public school system reached a greater number of minorities, a debate arose around whether to adopt a curriculum that acknowledged the unique experiences of different races and ethnicities or favor a curriculum that imparted a unifying Eurocentric heritage (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). By minimizing group differences in favor of instilling a common sameness, the former is a *color blind* perspective. The latter recognizes and values group differences, and thus is a *multicultural*

perspective. In other words, color-blindness disregards ethnic categories and emphasizes the sameness in people, while multiculturalism acknowledges and celebrates the differences among groups (Plaut, 2010; Park & Judd, 2005).

Copious discussion has taken place on which ideology is the optimal approach to achieve harmony among racial and ethnic groups (Apfelbaum, Sommers & Norton, 2008; Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008; Knowles, Lowery & Hogan, 2009; Park & Judd, 2005; Plaut, Thomas & Goren 2009; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). The use of these ideologies, however, has largely been absent within research on gender (Banchefsky & Park, 2011). It is not known what the effects are of adopting *gender blindness*, the view that one should ignore gender categories and treat men and women as fundamentally the same, versus *gender awareness*, the view that one should acknowledge and appreciate differences between the genders.

All that researchers currently know about these ideologies comes from Koenig and Richeson (2010). These authors, however, referred to them as *sex blindness* and *sex awareness*. The term *sex* refers to the biological characteristics that define men and women, while this study adopts the use of *gender*, a broader term that refers to the socially constructed roles and cultural representations of men and women. They showed that subjects were more likely to endorse sex blindness in work contexts, and sex awareness in social contexts. This is probably because the potential for mating is more relevant in the social context while the desire to act without prejudice is more relevant in the work setting. In addition, they showed that the sex blind ideology correlated with internal motivation to act without sexism. This suggests that the sex blind perspective might be the best approach for reducing prejudice at work. This idea, however, has not been empirically validated.

It is plausible that gender awareness, by drawing attention to the characterizations of

gender, could encourage the use of gender stereotypes, many of which are negative or harmful. Research shows that there is a lack of fit between the characterizations of a professional and a woman (Heilman, 2012). For example, men are expected to be confident, assertive, and controlling – agentic qualities which fare well in a leadership role. Women, on the other hand, are expected to be sensitive, nurturing, and gentle – communal qualities which misalign with the traits of a good leader (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Thus, to be a good leader women must break expectations by acting masculine, or live with the perception that their qualities are inconsistent with the role. Women suffer from these prejudices in tangible ways. For example, females who act agentic may be perceived as competent leaders, but suffer from backlash effects in the form of social consequences (Rudman & Glick, 2002), in which they are likely to be seen as socially deficient and unlikable (for a list of studies, see Rudman, & Phelan, 2008).

Research even questions the degree to which women can be competent and likeable at the same time. Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick (2002) put forth the idea that stereotype content can be captured by two dimensions: warmth and competence. They propose that positive evaluations on one dimension act jointly with negative evaluations on the other to maintain prejudice. For example, nonthreatening groups (e.g., elderly people) are seen as high on warmth but low on competency. Here, the stereotype serves to maintain advantage over the elderly by evaluating them as resigned and inept. As another example, high-status groups (e.g., the rich) are seen as high on competency but low on warmth. This time, the stereotype acknowledges the success of the out-group while justifying the in-group's resentment of them (Fiske et al., 2002). The model proposed by Fiske et al. suggests that prejudice against women may be maintained by the joint-relationship between competency and warmth; that is, agentic women are seen as competent but cold, whilst communal women are seen as warm but incompetent.

Koenig and Richeson's (2010) work on gender ideology is both seminal and inviting for future research. How does the adoption of gender blindness versus gender awareness impact evaluations of persons in leadership? More specifically, which ideological approach would best-reduce gender bias at work? The present experiment is interested in answering these questions. Previous research has shown that it is possible to use persuasive messaging to shift agreement with gender ideology (Banchefsky & Park, 2011). The current study attempts to manipulate gender ideology to investigate its effects on evaluations of a male versus female leader. In particular, the study tests whether gender ideology can alter evaluation gaps between a male and a female where they have been shown to exist.

The evaluation gap between men and women is prominent in the workplace, such that women are disadvantaged in male-dominated leadership roles (Eagly, 2007). This disadvantage was illustrated by Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008), who found that female professionals who expressed anger were penalized for their emotions; specifically, they were conferred less competency and lower status in the company, while males who behaved identically were awarded heightened status and competency due to their anger. Furthermore, women's emotional reactions were attributed to internal characteristics whilst men's emotional reactions were attributed to external circumstances. This fits with Kelley's (1967) covariation model, which predicts that members who act against the group consensus (e.g., for women, expressing anger) are likely to be given personality-based explanations. This punishes the female, because it blames her for her anger, while it releases the male from judgment by blaming his anger on the external situation.

The present study builds off Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008) by revisiting the scenario of the angry female leader. The control condition is expected to replicate their findings, such that

the angry female will be awarded less status and competency whilst the angry male will be conferred heightened status and competency. In addition, it is expected that participants in the control condition will make more external attributions for the male and more internal attributions for the female. The competency-warmth stereotype model is used to guide the prediction that if the female leader is perceived as high on competency, she will also be perceived as low on warmth.

The study hypothesizes that gender ideology will moderate the effects seen in the control condition. Specifically, the message to ignore gender differences in favor of evaluating men and women by the same set of standards might discourage the use of gender stereotypes that characterize women as unfit leaders. Thus, it is possible that gender blindness would wipe away negative female prejudice. From this, it is predicted that participants who read the gender blind article will produce more similar evaluations of the male and female compared to controls. Oppositely, the gender aware ideology might exacerbate differences in evaluation between men and women by drawing additional attention to the characterizations of gender, and thus gender stereotypes that serve to relegate women as naturally poor leaders. Therefore, it is predicted that participants in the aware condition will produce the most dissimilar evaluations, such that the male will be seen even more favorably than the female compared to controls.

Method

Overview

Participants read an article that argued for either gender blindness or gender awareness, or a control article that did not discuss gender. After completing a distractor task, subjects read about a manager of a workgroup who expressed anger in response to his/her team's unsatisfactory performance. For half the subjects in each ideology condition, the manager was

described as male, and for the other half, the manager was described as female. Participants were asked to evaluate the manager on accorded status, deserved salary, warmth and competence, and to make attributions for whether the manager's anger was due to something internal to the manager or due to the external situation.

Participants

The sample consisted of 217 undergraduate students enrolled in an introduction to psychology course at the University of Colorado Boulder. Students received partial course credit for partaking in the experiment. Three-quarters of participants were aged 18 or 19 years old. Ages ranged from 18 to 68 years old, with a mean of 19 years old ($SD = 3.7$). Genders were equally represented, with 114 (52%) male respondents and 103 (48%) female respondents (see Table 1). Two students who failed to identify as either male or female were dropped prior to analyses. Of participants, 81.7% identified as white/Caucasian, 11.9% Latino/Hispanic, 9.1% Asian or Pacific Islander, 2.3% black/African American, 1.8% Native American, and 2.7% other.

Table 1

Number of Males and Females in Each Condition

	Male Manager		Female Manager	
	Male participants	Female participants	Male participants	Female participants
Aware	19	18	19	18
Blind	22	14	17	18
Control	20	16	16	20

Materials

Articles. Participants were randomly assigned to read one of three articles developed specifically for this research. Two experimental articles argued for either gender blindness or gender awareness, while a control article did not discuss gender (see Appendices A, B and C). The experimental articles were persuasive in style, mimicking what might be found in the science section of a newspaper. Each contended that the mainstream media and the scientific community had converged on either gender awareness or gender blindness as the best approach for society. For example, the gender blind reading entitled *It's Time to Celebrate That Men and Women are From the Same Planet*, put forth that "modern American society would be better off if people recognize that women and men are much more similar than they are different," and that "acknowledging this similarity would help build a sense of harmony and unity among men and women." Contrarily, the gender aware reading entitled *It's Time to Celebrate That Men are From Mars, Women are From Venus*, purported that "men and women would be more successful, more satisfied with their lives, and interact more cooperatively both in the workplace and at home if people embraced the idea that the genders often approach situations and problems differently." The control article discussed how the rapid development of technology had changed the ways that humans think. Participants were randomly assigned to read one of the three articles, after which they summarized the basic message of the article and evaluated its readability, clarity, and effectiveness in making its point.

Article quality and agreement. A series of seven-point Likert scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*) captured the extent to which participants found the article convincing, well-written, clear, interesting, engaging, believable and fair ($\alpha = .87$). On the same type of scale, participants indicated their agreement with the argument put forth by the article.

These ratings were intended to show that participants agreed equally with the articles and saw them equivalently in how well they were written, such that a manipulation effect could not be due to one article being more compelling than another.

Manipulation check. Four statements (two gender blind, two gender aware) assessed endorsement of the ideologies. For example, a gender blind item read “All people are basically the same regardless of their gender,” while a gender aware item read “It is easier for men and women to get along if they simply acknowledge they approach things differently” (see Appendix D). These items gauged the extent to which participants endorsed the ideology conveyed by the article, and thus they captured the effect of the manipulation.

It is possible that after reading the article, participants might discern the purpose of the study and agree with certain items and not others simply to confirm the experiment’s hypothesis. To disguise the study’s purpose and reduce demand, eight filler items were randomly distributed amongst the four manipulation checks. The filler items ranged from assessments of personality (e.g., “I don’t like situations that are uncertain”), to universal truths (e.g., “Money acquired easily is usually spent unwisely”) to contentious social issues (e.g., “Most politicians in the U.S. care too much about Blacks and not enough about the average White person”). Participants rated their agreement with the twelve items on seven-point Likert scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

Workplace conflict scenario. Subjects read a vignette about a Senior Project Manager, either Karen or Brian, and her/his team of employees at a large advertising agency (see Appendices E and F). The vignette somewhat ambiguously described the lackluster performance and declining quality of work from the manager’s subordinates. As a result, Karen/Brian became angry and frustrated with her/his team. Determined to make a point, Karen/Brian announced that

98% of each team members' annual cash bonus would go to purchasing holiday dinner parties for the firm's clients. A \$10 bonus would go to each team member to remind him or her that unless the work improved, they would not receive any yearly bonuses. After reading the workplace conflict scenario, a prompt collected initial impressions of the manager.

Dependent variables. Participants rated Brian or Karen, from here on referred to as the *target*, on four categories: a) the perceived status of the target in the company; b) the salary that should be awarded to the target; c) the traits of the target, chosen to reflect competency and warmth; and d) attributions made for why the target became angry (situational v. dispositional).

Status conferral. Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008) used four items to measure status conferral: how much power, status, and independence the target deserved in a future job, and whether the target should be hired. The present study borrowed from these measures, but asked participants to consider the target in his/her *current* position, and replaced the hiring appraisal with a measure of how much the target deserved a promotion. The promotion item, however, failed to correlate with the other three items ($r = .32$) and was dropped prior to analysis. Thus, status conferral consisted of subjects' estimates of how much power, status, and independence the target had in his/her current company ($\alpha = .70$).

Participants completed these evaluations on three sliding-scales. They dragged sliders to indicate visually where they felt the manager fell along the continuums (left-most point: "none"; right-most point: "a great deal"). Continuous values were given based on the slider locations, with 1 indicating no status, power or independence, and 11 indicating a great deal of status, power or independence. The final status conferral value was the mean of the three scales.

Salary evaluation. Participants entered a yearly salary that they felt the target deserved. Subjects were presented a typical range of salaries for the target's position (\$50,000 to \$175,000)

to assist in the generation of a concrete number.

Trait ratings. Participants rated the target on warmth and competency. Nine 11-pt. semantic differential scales were used to assess these constructs. To reduce acquiescence bias, or the tendency for respondents to agree with all questions on a survey, the directionality of roughly half the scales were reversed, in which case the items were reverse-scored prior to analysis (see Table 2). Higher numbers reflected higher competency and higher warmth. The final warmth measure was the mean of the four warmth differentials ($\alpha = .76$). Likewise, the final competency rating was the mean of the five competency differentials ($\alpha = .87$).

Table 2

Semantic Differential Scales Getting at Warmth and Competency

Warmth		Competency	
Low	High	Low	High
1. cold	warm	5. ignorant	knowledgeable
2. selfish	selfless	6. inept	capable
3. abrasive	diplomatic	7. incompetent	competent
4. impulsive	self-controlled	8. ineffective manager	effective manager
		9. poor leadership skills	good leadership skills

Note. Items 3, 4, 7, 8, 9 were presented in opposite order and were reverse scored prior to analysis.

Attributions of the target's behavior. Four statements (two internal, two external) assessed the degree to which participants made internal versus external attributions for the target's behavior. Three of these closely shadowed Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008), while one was newly introduced by the present study (see Table 3). Participants indicated their agreement with

each statement on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The internal scales were reverse-scored and combined with the external scales; thus, lower numbers reflected internal attributions and higher numbers reflected external attributions. One external scale did not correlate with the other scales ($r = -.20$) and was thus dropped prior to analysis. The final attribution measure was the mean of the single external scale and the two reverse scored internal scales ($\alpha = .55$).

Table 3

Questions Assessing Internal Versus External Attributions of the Target

Attribution	Statement
Internal	1. Karen withheld the employees' bonuses because she is a harsh person 2. Brian became angry because of his personality.
External	3. The situation Karen found herself in with her team members caused her to feel angry. (dropped) 4. The employee's behavior left Karen no choice but to penalize them.

Note. Item 2 came exactly from Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008); items 1 and 3 followed closely from their work; item 4 originated from the present study. Item 3 did not correlate with the other three items and was thus dropped prior to analysis.

In or out of control. Participants used a sliding-scale to rate how in control the manager was, from *out of control* to *in control*. Continuous values were given based on the location of the slider, with 1 indicating *out of control* and 11 indicating *in control*. Lower numbers mapped onto dispositional attributions – the target acted the way he/she did because of his/her inner-qualities – and higher numbers mapped onto situational attributions – the external situation

caused her/him to act in the way he/she did.

Design

The study design was a 3 (Ideology) \times 2 (Target Gender) \times 2 (Participant Gender) between-subjects factorial. Ideology contained three levels: two experimental conditions in which participants read an article advocating the virtues of either gender blindness or gender awareness, and a control condition in which participants read an article about technology. Target gender included two levels, in which the manager in the workplace conflict scenario was either male (Brian) or female (Karen). Roughly equal numbers of participants were randomly assigned to the article and target gender conditions.

Procedure

Copies of the survey were loaded onto ten laptops in the lab. Participants were told that they were partaking in three separate studies: a newspaper article review, a simple creativity task, and an evaluation of a workplace-conflict scenario. Participants began the study by completing an informed consent page.

Next, the survey told participants that they were about to complete Study 1, in which researchers were interested in what makes for a good newspaper opinion piece. Depending on ideology condition, the subjects read one of the three articles and summarized their thoughts. After participants submitted the page, they were presented with the article quality and agreement ratings. After filling those out, the survey told subjects that they would be asked to provide opinions on a broad variety of topics, and that responses were entirely anonymous. Here, participants filled out the four manipulation checks amongst the eight filler items.

After submitting the page, the survey told participants that they were now on Study 2, and that researchers were interested in creativity and how people generate ideas. Participants

were presented an image of an empty Campbell's tomato soup can. They were asked to think of all the possible uses for the empty can (e.g., as a paperweight). Participants typed up their list in a text field beneath the image. After two minutes, the survey automatically forwarded respondents to the next section.

The survey told subjects that they were now on Study 3, the final part of the experiment, and that researchers were interested in their perceptions of a workplace conflict. Depending on target condition, participants read the vignette about either Karen or Brian and summarized their impressions of her/him. On the following page, participants completed the four status conferral sliders. Next, participants provided a salary for the target. Then, participants filled out the nine semantic differential scales. Finally, subjects completed the four attribution scales and the in control slider. Participants reported their gender, age, and ethnicity. They were debriefed, thanked, and dismissed.

Results

It was predicted that participants in the control condition would confer angry females less status and competency, and attribute her anger more internally, compared to angry men. It was also predicted that if the female manager were seen as highly competent, she would also be seen as low on warmth. In addition, participant gender was used in analyses as an independent variable. It had only one significant effect, but otherwise did not affect the results. Thus, while participant gender was included throughout the analyses, it will only be discussed for this single finding.

The study hypothesized that gender ideology would moderate the effects seen in the control condition. It predicted that gender blindness would produce more similar evaluations of the male and female, such that they would be conferred equal status and competency and that

their behaviors would be attributed similarly. Additionally, it predicted that gender awareness would produce more dissimilar evaluations above and beyond the control, such that the male would be conferred more status and competency, and his behavior would be attributed more externally, compared to the female.

Table 4 presents mean scores for article quality/agreement and ideology endorsement. The intent was for article quality and agreement to be same across conditions, which would ensure that the effect of the manipulation was due to the article's underlying ideological message. The manipulation would be successful if the aware condition most strongly agreed with the gender aware checks and the blind condition most strongly agreed with the gender blind checks.

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations by Ideology

	Article Quality		Article Agreement		Gender Aware Checks		Gender Blind Checks	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Aware	5.07	.96	5.63	1.20	5.75	1.05	3.84	1.44
Blind	4.83	1.19	4.83	1.61	4.99	1.26	4.73	1.23
Control	5.10	.81	5.62	.89	4.90	1.19	4.36	1.17

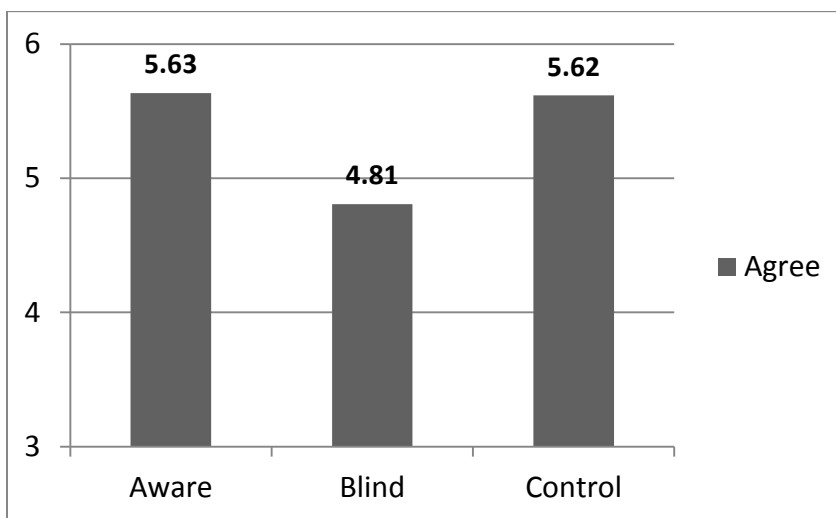
Article quality. Participants evaluated the articles more favorably than not ($M = 5.01$, midpoint of 4). Evaluations did not differ across ideology, $F(2, 211) = 1.63$, $p = .20$, indicating roughly equal quality amongst the articles. These findings ensured that any manipulation effect was not due to one article being more compelling than the other.

Article agreement. Participants tended to agree with the article ($M = 5.0$, midpoint of 4), but agreement differed by condition, $F(2, 211) = 9.99$, $p < .001$, such that participants in the gender blind condition agreed the least. Contrasts showed that the gender aware condition did

not differ from the control, $F(1, 211) < 1$, but the gender blind condition differed from the gender aware condition, $F(1, 211) = 15.37, p < .001$, and the control $F(1, 211) = 14.76, p < .001$ (see Figure 1). This was surprising, as previous work has shown no differences in agreement with similar articles (Banchefsky & Park, 2011).

Figure 1

Article Agreement by Condition



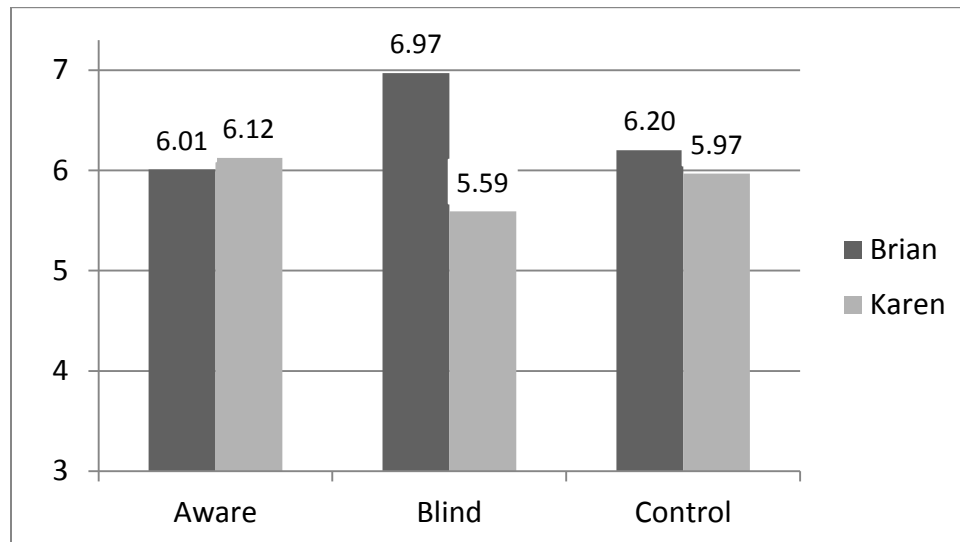
Manipulation check. Agreement with gender blind statements differed by condition, $F(2, 211) = 7.99, p < .001$, such that the blind condition most strongly agreed with the gender blind statements. The blind condition agreed more strongly than the aware condition, $F(1, 211) = 15.74, p < .001$, and while they agreed more strongly than the control, the difference was not significant, $F(1, 211) = 2.54, p = 0.11$. In addition, the control condition agreed with the gender blind statements significantly more than the gender aware condition, $F(1, 211) = 5.74, p = 0.02$. On the whole, the results suggested that the blind article successfully lead participants to adopt the gender blind ideology.

Agreement with gender aware statements differed by condition, $F(2, 211) = 11.98, p < .001$, such that the aware condition most strongly agreed with the gender aware statements. The aware condition agreed more strongly than the blind condition, $F(1, 211) = 17.04, p < .001$, and the control, $F(1, 211) = 18.75, p < .001$. Taken together, these findings suggested that the gender aware article successfully lead participants to adopt the gender aware ideology. Thus, it appeared that both articles had their intended effect.

Status conferral. There was a main effect of target gender, $F(1, 205) = 4.13, p = .04$, such that Brian was viewed as having greater status ($M = 6.39$) than Karen ($M = 5.89$). This confirmed the study's prediction, and replicated Brescoll and Uhlmann's (2008) finding that angry female professionals were given less status than angry male professionals. There was no main effect of ideology on status evaluation, $F(2, 205) < 1$.

There was an interaction between target gender and ideology, $F(2, 205) = 3.34, p = .04$. Focused comparisons showed that status ratings of Brian and Karen were not different between the aware and control conditions $F(1, 205) < 1$, marginally different between the blind and control conditions $F(1, 205) = 3.59, p = .06$, and significantly different between the blind and aware conditions, $F(1, 205) = 6.14, p = .01$ (see Figure 2). Simple tests showed that in the blind condition, Brian was conferred more status than Karen, $F(1, 69) = 9.11, p = 0.004$, while in the aware and control conditions, they were not rated differently, $F(1, 69) < 1$ (for both tests). These findings went opposite of the prediction that the gender blind ideology would wash away disparity in status evaluation whilst the gender aware ideology would exacerbate differences. Indeed, evaluations of the male and female manager were more dissimilar in the blind condition and more similar in the aware condition.

Figure 2

Status Conferral for the Target by Ideology and Target Gender

Salary evaluation. Three respondents who specified a salary of \$0 or greater than \$500,000 were eliminated. After removing outliers, salary trended in the direction for more pay for the female, but the effect was not significant, $F(2, 202) < 1$ (see Appendix G). Likewise, there was no main effect of ideology, $F(2, 202) < 1$. There was no interaction between ideology and target gender $F(2, 202) = 1.54, p = .22$.

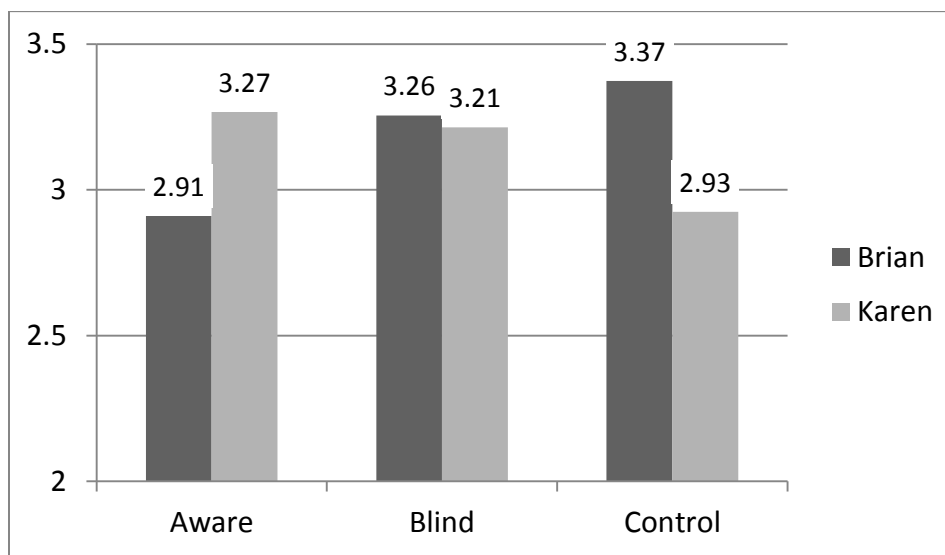
Attributions. Recall that attributions were measured with three combined items, scored such that higher values indicated more external attributions. There was no main effect of article type on attributions, $F(2, 205) = 0.55, p = .58$. Likewise, there was no main effect of target gender, $F(1, 205) = 0.15, p = .70$.

There was an interaction between article type and target gender, $F(2, 205) = 4.24, p = .02$. Focused comparisons showed that the difference in attributions for Karen and Brian's behavior was not different between the blind and aware conditions, $F(1, 205) = 2.02, p = 0.16$, or the blind and control conditions, $F(1, 205) = 2.12, p = 0.15$, but was significantly different between the

aware and control conditions $F(1, 205) = 8.47, p < .005$ (see Figure 3). Simple tests showed that in the aware condition, Karen received comparatively more external attributions, $F(1, 69) = 4.12, p = .05$, whilst in the control condition, Brian received more external attributions, $F(1, 69) = 4.78, p < .03$. Attributions were not different in the blind condition, $F(1, 67) < 1$.

Figure 3

External Attribution of the Target by Ideology and Target Gender

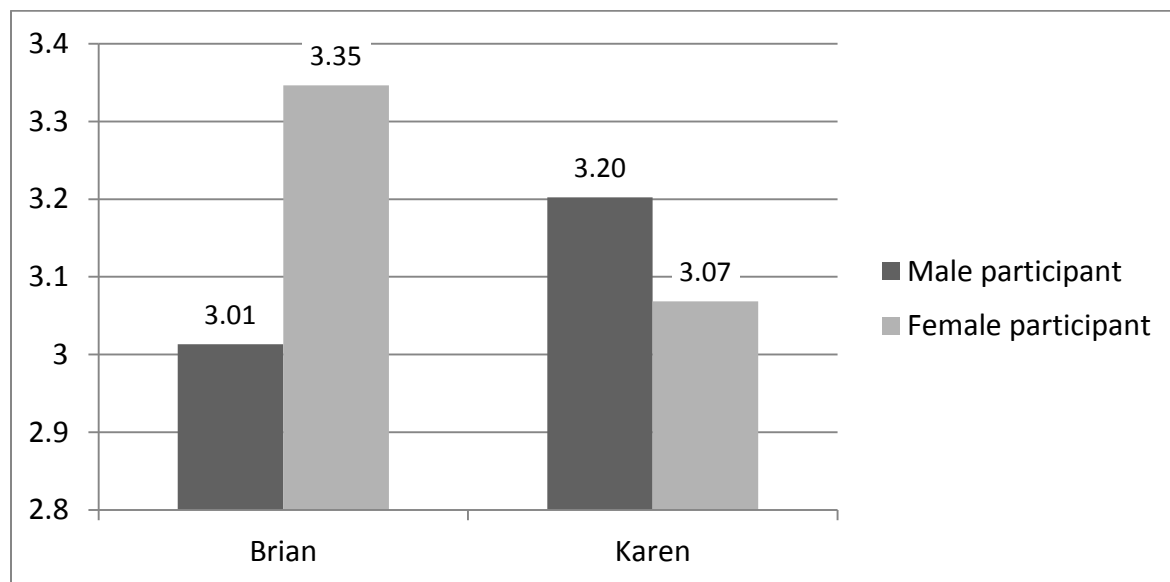


Here, the control condition replicated Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008), who showed that participants attributed the female's anger more to internal factors compared to the male's anger. On the one hand, the ideology conditions accorded with the prediction that the attributions would be more alike in the blind condition and more different in the aware condition. On the other hand, the gender aware ideology produced more external attributions for the female. This went against the prediction that the aware condition would produce more external attributions for the *male* compared to the female.

Participant gender and target gender showed a significant interaction, $F(1, 205) = 4.20, p = .04$ (see Figure 4). For Brian, females made significantly more external attributions for his behavior compared to males, $F(1, 104) = 4.49, p = 0.04$, while participant gender did not affect the results for Karen $F(1, 101) < 1$. These results showed that females favored the male in that they attributed his anger to the external situation.

Figure 4

External Attribution of the Target by Participant Gender and Target Gender

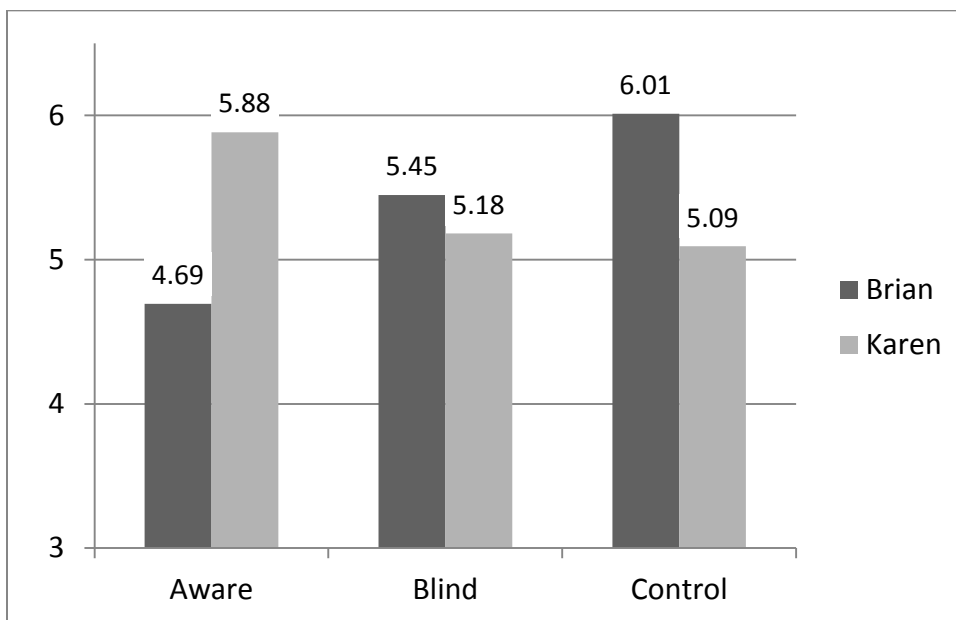


In or out of control. Analyses showed no main effect of article type, $F(2, 201) = 0.37, p = .69$, or target gender, $F(1, 201) = 0.00, p = .99$. There was, however, an interaction between article type and target gender, $F(2, 201) = 5.18, p = .006$. Focused comparisons showed that in control ratings were not different between blind and control, $F(1, 201) < 1$, but were significantly different between aware and blind, $F(1, 201) = 4.67, p = 0.03$, and aware and control, $F(1, 201) = 9.9, p = 0.002$ (see Figure 5).

Simple tests showed that in the aware condition, Karen was perceived as being more in control than Brian, $F(1, 66) = 5.88, p = .02$, whilst in the control condition, Brian was perceived as being relatively more in control, $F(1, 68) = 3.65, p = 0.06$. In control ratings did not differ by target gender in the blind condition, $F(1, 67) < 1$. Altogether, these results converged with the earlier attribution measures and thus tell a similar story. This made sense, as the in control measure was essentially another way to ask about attributions.

Figure 5

In Control Ratings of the Target by Ideology and Target Gender



Trait ratings. There were no main effects or interactions for competency or warmth (see Appendix H). This result failed to replicate Brescoll and Uhlmann's (2008) finding that angry females were seen as less competent than angry males. As a result, this finding did not speak to Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick's (2002) competency-warmth model.

Discussion

The results of this experiment replicate the finding that angry female professionals are conferred less status than angry male professionals (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008). This converges with the notion that women are punished for acting against expectations (Rudman & Phelan, 2008; Rudman & Glick, 2002). In particular, females who act agentially by expressing anger violate the expectation to be communal and are thus punished with less status conferral. Thus, this study demonstrates one form of prejudice that keeps women at a disadvantage in the work setting (Eagly, 2007).

This experiment shows that gender ideology affects evaluations, but not in the directions that the study predicted. It was predicted that the gender blind ideology would reduce attention to the characterizations of gender, leading to a reduction in the use of feminine stereotypes that serve to portray women as unfit leaders. With this logic, it was thought that the gender blind ideology would produce more similar evaluations of men and women by eliminating stereotype bias. Contrary to this reasoning, for status conferral the gender blind ideology provided the most biased treatment in favor of the male. This finding opposes feminists in the similarities tradition who argue that it is gender differences that work to maintain the marginalization of women (Crawford & Unger, 2004). It may be the case – one this study certainly supports – that an attitude which downplays the differences between men and women actually serves to maintain the status quo of male dominance.

This conclusion suggests that gender blindness may not be the most effective strategy to attain equal treatment of the genders. This converges with research on race and ethnicity that shows that color blindness fails to produce equivalent treatment towards groups. Specifically, Plaut, Thomas and Goren (2009) showed that White's color blindness in a work environment

alienated minorities and elicited disengagement. The authors concluded that downplaying group differences worked to reinforce majority dominance and minority marginalization. In addition, Knowles, Lowery, and Hogan (2009) showed that anti-egalitarian White people used color blindness as a way to maintain social inequality. It may be that gender is no different, in that downplaying gender differences actually maintains male dominance and female marginalization.

While the gender blind ideology produced the greatest disadvantage for the female in terms of status, the gender aware ideology produced equal evaluations across the genders. Indeed, participants produced equivalent status conferral for men and women when they were advised to acknowledge and appreciate gender differences. It may be that the gender aware ideology abolishes female prejudice with its positive attitude toward gender differences, arguing that men and women possess and offer unique and complimentary values. This may be a more active approach to countering adverse female stereotypes than gender blindness. Research in race and ethnicity demonstrates the advantage of an approach that positively acknowledges group differences. For example, Whites' multiculturalism positively predicted minority engagement (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009); the multicultural perspective reduces out-group bias compared to the color blind perspective in high-conflict scenarios (Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008); and, those who endorse multiculturalism evaluate their culture and other cultures on more similar terms, whereas those who endorse color blindness are more biased towards their own culture (Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). In addition, newer research questions the feasibility of eliminating group distinctions to begin with (Park & Judd, 2005). These findings, along with the results of the study, give the impression that gender awareness may be a better strategy in the quest for male/female equality.

Although the results show that the female was awarded less status than the male, she was

not seen as having less competence. Hence, the study failed to replicate Brescoll and Uhlmann's (2008) finding that angry women were seen as less competent than angry men. This may be due to differences in the manipulations. Brescoll and Uhlmann had participants view a videotaped job interview in which targets described how they and a colleague lost an important account. This manipulation differs from the present study's manipulation in significant ways: 1) in the job interview, the target was the predominant focus of scrutiny, whereas in the workplace conflict scenario both the target and his/her team were underscored; 2) the purpose of a job interview *is* to critically evaluate the target, while the present study's task did not intrinsically motivate participants to be judgmental towards the manager; and, 3) in the videotaped interview there were only two persons on which to place the blame, while the vignette described a large team that failed, of which each team member could be held somewhat accountable. Thus, the interviewee's competency may have been at greater jeopardy. In addition to finding no competency differences, the results show that the female was not seen as less warm than the male. Since the male and female were not evaluated differently in terms of warmth or competency, the study does not purport any evidence (in either direction) for Fiske's stereotype-content model.

The effect of gender ideology on attributions (internal vs. external) showed an interesting pattern of results. The control condition replicated Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008), such that the angry female received more internal attributions compared to the angry male. This signifies the robustness of Kelley's (1967) covariation model, which predicts that persons are more likely to receive internal/personality-based attributions for their behaviors when they are low in consensus (e.g., a woman expressing anger when the majority of women do not). This serves as a source of prejudice against women, in that females are held personally accountable for their anger, while

males' anger is seen as an understandable reaction to an evocative situation.

Interestingly, the gender blind ideology washed away this effect and produced equivalent attributions for the male and female target. It is curious that the message to downplay gender differences produced equal attributions but largely dissimilar status conferrals. Stated differently, the gender blind ideology mitigated the attribution bias against women, but exaggerated the bias in status conferral. Further research should be carried out to explore how gender blindness acts differently on these processes. Still, gender blindness did not counteract prejudice against the female as well as gender awareness. Indeed, in the aware condition, participants were more likely to attribute the female's anger to the external situation compared to the male. This signifies greater sympathy for the female, as participants placed the blame for her anger on her team. This effect goes beyond gender blindness, in that it *reverses* the trend seen in the control condition. While this is not evidence that gender awareness produces *equal* treatment of the genders, it may be taken as a positive finding. Indeed, females may need the extra-benefit considering the disadvantages they currently face in the work setting (Eagly, 2007).

Overall, this study offers evidence that gender awareness may be a useful strategy to eliminate or counteract female discrimination in the workplace. It remains to be seen, though, how gender blindness and gender awareness function in other domains, such as in social settings or within interpersonal relationships. Further studies should be carried out to look at the effects of gender ideology in these contexts. The popular press, with its dense pool of literature alleging the differences between men and women, certainly argues that the gender aware perspective is necessary for happy and fulfilling relationships. The results, however, may be confirming, disconfirming – or like this study's results – surprising.

On a broader level, this study addresses the question: *Is it best for society to see the*

genders as more similar or more different? This question is deeply related to the concern of reaching equality and harmony between the genders. For example, there is lots of discussion about what can be done to increase the number of women in STEM fields (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics), or whether the increasing number of stay at home dads are as naturally capable of caretakers as are mothers. Would an educational environment sensitive to the distinct skills that women possess better recruit and retain females in these fields? Or should colleges argue that women are no different than men, and thus they should enroll in these fields and succeed at the same rate as men? Likewise, should stay at home dads be seen as offering a distinct perspective to the act of raising children? Or should we see dads and mothers as essentially the same, who both offer the same type of care? It remains to be explored how the decision to emphasize versus downplay gender differences matters in these situations.

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Appendix A
Article Arguing For Gender Blindness

We Should Celebrate That Men And Women Are From The SAME Planet

By M. Grant

The popular notion that “Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus” appears to be problematic in many respects. Rather, men and women co-exist on planet Earth. The recently-popular idea that there are important differences between men and women is now being challenged. Arguments in magazines, newspaper articles, and books tell a story about two very similar groups of people who are in many ways interchangeable. According to this perspective, we will be in a better position to advance as a society if we stop thinking of men and women as different from each other, and instead see each person as an individual.

Dr. Mary Fineway, author of The Gender Paradox, suggests that modern American society would be better off if people would recognize that women and men are much more similar than they are different. Acknowledging this similarity would help build a sense of harmony and unity among men and women. “That is really the story here – The most striking thing about men and women is how much they have in common. There is simply so much overlap between the two groups. The most important thing is to pay attention to the characteristics that make a person a unique individual rather than focusing on his or her gender.”

“The notion of ‘the opposite sex’ is really just a historical artifact,” says Michael Roth, a Sociology Professor of at Princeton University who agrees with Fineway’s point of view. “The genders are much more alike than they are different.” Roth points out that these similarities may be due to the largely identical biological make-up that all humans share or they may be shaped and molded through our culture. According to Roth, where the similarities come from is unimportant. “Regardless, the similarities exist and to deny that is simply like sticking our heads in the sand. Pretending men and women approach life tasks in fundamentally different ways is counterproductive to society,” says Roth.

Roth believes that men and women would be more successful, more satisfied with their lives, and interact more cooperatively both in the workplace and at home if people embraced the idea that the genders typically approach situations and problems in much the same way. According to Roth, understanding and focusing upon individual differences, not group differences, would not only contribute to a more cooperative and creative workplace, but could help people in romantic relationships who may perceive a bigger communication gap than really exists. Some research in this area suggests that divorce rates could be cut by as much as one-third simply by acknowledging that husbands and wives have the same goals and desires in their marriages.

Importantly, experts in this area argue that acknowledging similarities between the genders leads us to value **both** genders. “Recognizing that women and men may function in similar ways means we should look beyond gender and focus on the individual person. Each gender is capable of accomplishing any career or social role they may choose. Women can be CEO’s and men can stay at home to raise the kids,” says Fineway. “But rather than pretending that men and women

approach things in totally different ways, we should appreciate that they are quite often on the very same page.”

Appendix B
Article Arguing For Gender Awareness

It's Time To Celebrate That Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus

By M. Grant

It would appear that there is something to the popular notion that “Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus,” even though we co-exist on planet Earth. The idea that there are important differences between men and women seems to be popping up everywhere. Arguments in magazines, newspaper articles, and books tell a story about two very different groups of people who are in many ways like night and day or yin and yang. For centuries and across cultures, people have recognized that the two genders bring different perspectives to life, providing a richness in viewpoints, styles of interaction, and problem solving strategies.

Dr. Mary Fineway, author of The Gender Paradox, suggests that modern American society would be better off if people would recognize that women and men have their own strengths and weaknesses. Acknowledging this diversity would help build a sense of harmony and complementarity among men and women. “While there is great variety within the group men and within the group women,” she says, “there are indisputable differences—on the whole, men are typically better than women at some things and worse than women at others.”

“The notion of ‘the opposite sex’ has some truth,” says Michael Roth, a Sociology Professor at Princeton University, who agrees with Fineway’s point of view. Roth points out that these differences could be due to biological make-up or they may simply be learned and socialized through our culture. According to Roth, where the differences come from is unimportant. “Regardless, the differences exist and to deny that is simply like sticking our heads in the sand. Pretending men and women approach life tasks in the same way is counterproductive to society,” says Roth.

Roth believes that men and women would be more successful, more satisfied with their lives, and interact more cooperatively both in the workplace and at home if people embraced the idea that the genders often approach situations and problems differently. According to Roth, understanding and utilizing women and men’s unique strongpoints would not only contribute to a more cooperative and efficient workplace, but could help people in romantic relationships who are experiencing a communication gap. Some research in this area suggests that divorce rates could be cut by as much as one-third simply by acknowledging that husbands and wives will approach their shared lives from different vantage points.

Importantly, experts in this area argue that acknowledging differences between the genders can occur while still valuing **both** genders. “Recognizing that women and men may function somewhat differently does not mean we need to return to the 1950s. Although there are differences between men and women, each gender is capable of succeeding in any career or social role they may choose. There will still be women who are CEO’s and men who stay at home to raise the kids,” says Fineway. “But rather than pretending that men and women will do

those things in exactly the same way, we should appreciate that they might go about it with a different style, and that's Okay.”

Appendix C
Control Article Discussing Technology

Technology Is Changing the Way We Think

By M. Grant

Technology has developed rapidly over the past decade, becoming more easily accessible and widespread to people of all ages. Schools have made use of ever-changing technology so that important concepts may be more easily understood by everyone in class. Teachers almost never use chalkboards anymore, and instead take advantage of Power Point presentations, the web, and “clickers.” Even grade-schoolers learn their alphabet very differently than they did in the past. Such concepts are now taught with the aid of interactive computer games and books, rather than mere recitation.

According to research, this technology use can benefit people in some ways. First, people who use a lot of technology become more efficient at finding information and multi-tasking. Even basic physiological functioning can improve through technology; some video games develop better visual acuity and hand-eye coordination.

However, while technology can be a great resource, constant exposure to it also affects the way that people think. Research shows that juggling e-mail, phone calls and other incoming information can change how people process information and behave. Although multitasking ability may be improved, fractured thinking and lack of focus are often side effects of technology binges.

Scientists say our ability to focus is being undermined by bursts of information, a claim that is corroborated by an important study published in a recent issue of the journal *NeuroReport*. Using fMRI (Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging) technology, researchers compared the brain activity of people as they completed a Crossword Puzzle. Half of these people had previously been multi-tasking on a computer, and half had not. Results demonstrated that for people who had just been multi-tasking, areas of the brain related to attention were less likely to light up (or “become active”) during the Crossword Puzzle.

Some people are not surprised that technology use is having an impact on the human race. According to Dr. Michael Roth, who studies technology’s impact on behavior, “the nonstop interactivity of the technological environment is one of the most significant shifts ever in the way humans live.” We should not be surprised to see frequent use of technology alter the basic way that we think, engage and interact with others.

Appendix D
Manipulation Check Items

Ideology	Statement
Gender blind	<p>1. All people are basically the same regardless of their gender.</p> <p>2. In order to achieve our full potential as a society, we should stop thinking of men and women as different from each other, and instead see each person as an individual who is part of the larger group, "Humankind."</p>
Gender aware	<p>3. If we want to help create a thriving society, we must recognize that men and women have uniquely different strong points</p> <p>4. It is easier for men and women to get along if they simply acknowledge they approach things differently.</p>

Appendix E
Vignette for the Female Target

Karen is a Senior Project Manager at a large advertising agency called Hogarth & Smyth. As a Senior Project Manager, Karen manages a team of 18 employees who create commercial advertisements for large clients. There are three other advertising teams within the company that are of a similar size, and each team is responsible for a given subset of clients.

Hogarth & Smyth is a highly competitive agency with a strong reputation in the industry. The company provides a number of incentives for their employees to work hard and do well. For example, each year, the Senior Project Manager for each of the four teams is awarded a cash prize based on the total revenue generated by their team for that year. The money is spent at the discretion of the Project Manager. Usually, some of it is spent on holiday celebrations for team members, on gifts for important clients of the team, and typically a substantial amount is used to provide financial bonuses to team members.

Over the past 12 months, Karen has been struggling with a number of issues regarding her team. Multiple high profile clients made decisions to take their accounts to other advertising firms, which was a huge blow to the team. Several campaigns were not completed by the original target date, and others were not received well by the clients, who felt the pitched campaigns were stale and boring. This left Karen increasingly frustrated with her team members.

The mood has grown increasingly dark around the office; where there was once small talk and enjoyable chatter, tension now boils just beneath the surface. Karen was particularly angered when one of her best team members transferred to a position within one of the other advertising teams. She became furious and accused the other team leader of stealing her talent, making it difficult for her to attract and maintain strong clients.

In the midst of all this turmoil, the head of management at Hogarth & Smyth announced the annual cash prizes to each team. Karen's team was awarded the least money of any team, \$9000, half of what the next lowest team was given (\$18,000). Determined to make a point, Karen announced to her team that 98% of the money would be spent on a holiday dinner party for clients (an event to which only upper management and not team members are invited), and holiday gifts for the clients. The remaining 2% would provide a measly \$10 bonus for each team member in an effort to remind them that unless the team's productivity increases, their holiday bonuses are history.

Appendix F
Vignette for the Male Target

Brian is a Senior Project Manager at a large advertising agency called Hogarth & Smyth. As a Senior Project Manager, Brian manages a team of 18 employees who create commercial advertisements for large clients. There are three other advertising teams within the company that are of a similar size, and each team is responsible for a given subset of clients.

Hogarth & Smyth is a highly competitive agency with a strong reputation in the industry. The company provides a number of incentives for their employees to work hard and do well. For example, each year, the Senior Project Manager for each of the four teams is awarded a cash prize based on the total revenue generated by their team for that year. The money is spent at the discretion of the Project Manager. Usually, some of it is spent on holiday celebrations for team members, on gifts for important clients of the team, and typically a substantial amount is used to provide financial bonuses to team members.

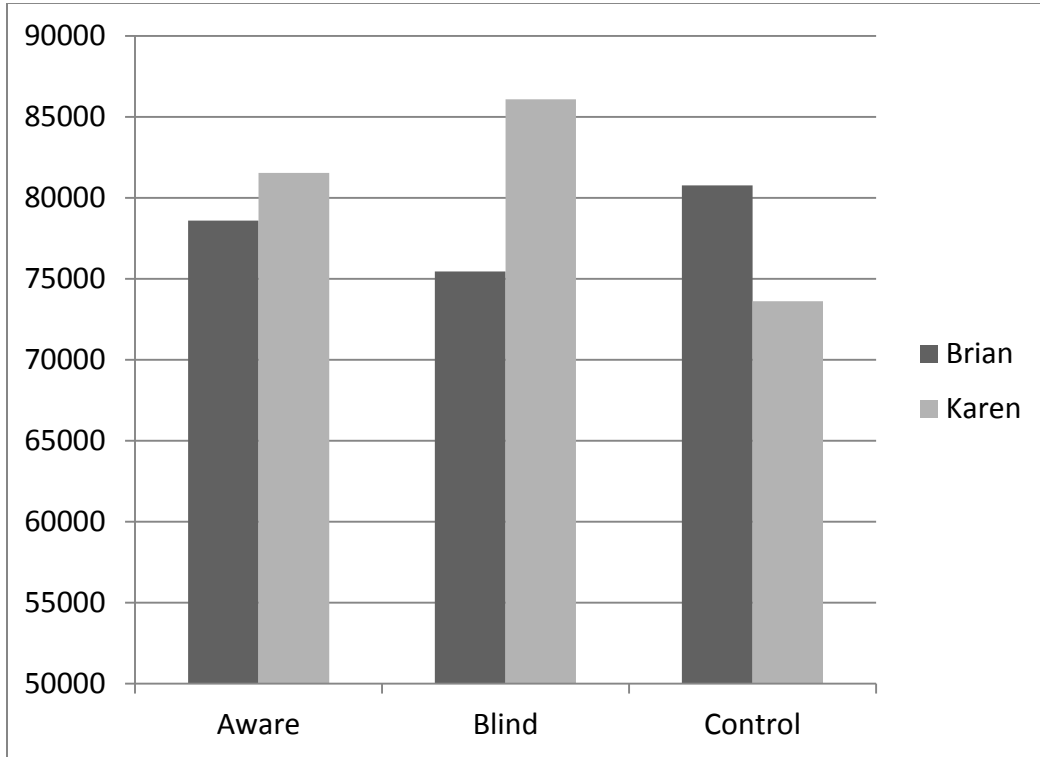
Over the past 12 months, Brian has been struggling with a number of issues regarding his team. Multiple high profile clients made decisions to take their accounts to other advertising firms, which was a huge blow to the team. Several campaigns were not completed by the original target date, and others were not received well by the clients, who felt the pitched campaigns were stale and boring. This left Brian increasingly frustrated with his team members.

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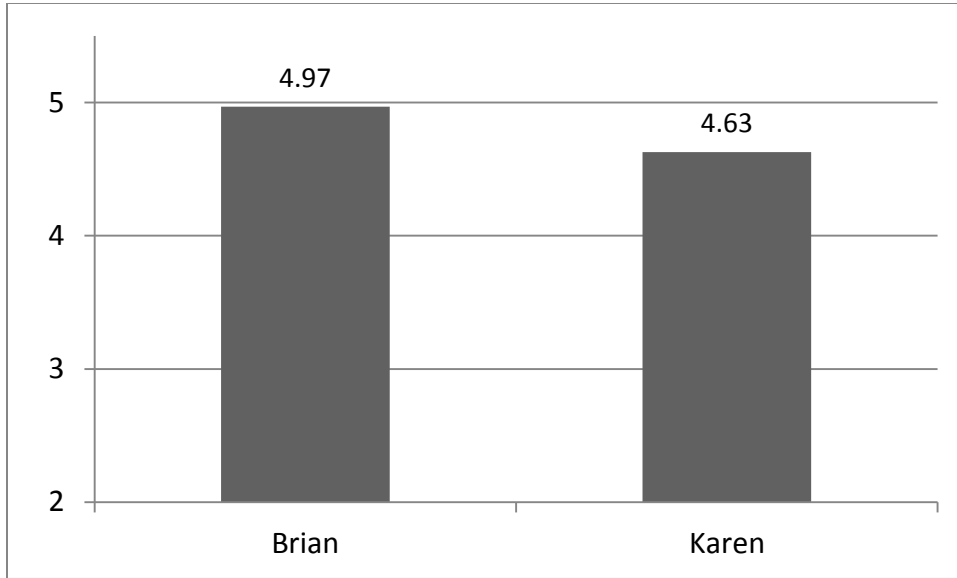
Appendix G
Non-significant Figure Showing Salary Evaluation

Salary Given to the Target by Ideology

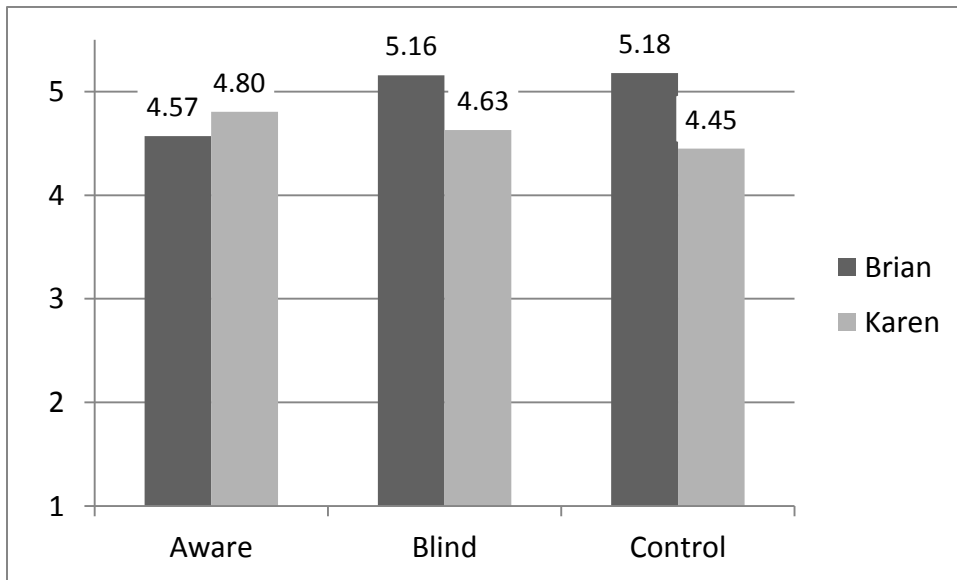


Appendix H
Non-significant Figures Showing Trait Ratings of the Target

Competency Ratings of Target by Condition



Competency Ratings of Target by Condition and Target Gender



Warmth Ratings of Target by Condition and Target Gender

