Are Women Allowed to be Proud? The Implications Proud Women Face

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of Master of Science

By Roseanna Lance

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This Thesis for the Master of Science Degree by

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

ARE WOMEN ALLOWED TO BE PROUD? THE IMPLICATIONS PROUD WOMEN FACE

By

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Millersville University, 2019

Millersville, Pennsylvania

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Gender stereotypes are powerful and prevalent in today's society having many negative effects on how people perceive themselves and each other. One of the most prominent gender stereotypes is that women are more emotional than men (Brescoll, 2016). This belief has many consequences for women as they are perceived as being irrational and unable to control their emotions making them incapable of being competent and confident leaders. The emotionality stereotype holds true for many negative emotions, however, emotions that indicate high status, such as pride, are often reserved for men. Researchers Shariff and Tracy (2009) used an implicit association to demonstrate the bias that pride is associated with high status. The present study replicated and expanded upon the Shariff and Tracy (2009) research by creating an IAT to determine the association between pride and high status for women. Results show an association between pride and high status and shame/embarrassment and low status. Additionally, a significant interaction effect shows that people are quicker at categorizing male photos when the emotional expression is pride, and they are quicker at categorizing female photos when the emotional expression is shame/embarrassment. These results indicate that people may associate men with pride and high status more than women, and they may associate women with shame/embarrassment and low status more than men.

Are Women Allowed to be Proud? The Implications Proud Women Face

Introduction

One of the most prominent gender stereotypes in Western cultures is the belief that women are more emotional than men (Brescoll, 2016). According to Shields (2002), this belief is the "master [gender] stereotype because it serves as an overarching organizing principle for other related beliefs" (p.3). However, it is not that women are viewed as experiencing more emotions than men, but rather women are viewed as outwardly expressing emotions to a greater frequency and intensity than men. As a result, women are seen as less able to control the outward display of their emotions (Brescoll, 2016). This stereotype negatively influences women in many facets of life, but consequences are highly adverse for female leaders.

One of the negative consequences for female leaders is that people often infer that because women are not able to control outward emotional displays, that they are not able to make rational and objective decisions (Shields, 2002). In a study conducted by Zammuner (2000), participants predicted that women would react incompetently and irrationally to emotion-eliciting events compared to men. Further, it was found that participants believed that men would be able to control their emotions and effectively intervene in emotionally-stimulating events, and that women would not be able to keep calm and would act "confused" and "bewildered" in these events (Zammuner, 2000).

Another consequence for female leaders stemming from the stereotype that women are not able to control the outward display of their emotions is that women are viewed as overly sensitive and unable to respond to feedback and failures (Brescoll, 2016). This belief influences women in leadership positions because effective leaders are to not "take things personally", and because women are viewed as unable to segregate their emotions from criticism, they are viewed

as ineffective leaders (Shields, 2002).   A related consequence is that because women are viewed as not being able to handle criticism and failures without emotional overreactions, they are also unable to give criticism and feedback in leadership positions. According to Greenberg Quinlan Rosner (2005), 45% of people reported to prefer a male boss because they concluded that men do not let their emotions get in the way of their work.

Lastly, due to the stereotype that women are incapable of controlling the outward display of their emotions, people often attribute women's emotionality as an ingrained personality characteristic. In a study conducted by Bliss-Moreau and Barrett (2009), participants made situational attributions for the male targets' emotions, and dispositional attributions for the female targets' emotions. These results indicate that people make internal attributions for women's emotions and external attributions for men's emotions. The implications for female leaders is that their displays of emotions are seen as fixed and irreversible across situations; any time that a woman displays emotions in a leadership position, it is attributed to her dispositional traits rather than the situation.

Although women are viewed as being the more emotional gender due to their tendency to outwardly display emotions more frequently than men, there are two emotions that are exceptions to the stereotype: anger and pride. Anger and pride are emotions that communicate dominance and power, but only when men express these emotions (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000). Lewis (2000) found that when women expressed anger or pride, people often reacted more negatively than when a man expressed these emotions.

In a study conducted by Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008), participants viewed female targets who displayed anger as less competent, less hirable, and less deserving of power, status, and independence compared to the male targets displaying identical amounts of anger. For women,

anger did not increase status like it did for men. Because anger is an emotion of entitlement, it is therefore reserved for high status individuals, such as men in leadership positions (Tiedens, 2001).

Pride is the other emotion that is reserved for high status individuals and men. In a study conducted by Tracy and Beall (2011), participants rated male faces displaying pride as significantly more attractive than male faces displaying happiness, and they rated female faces displaying happiness as significantly more attractive than female faces displaying pride. The bias toward women expressing pride creates backlash effects for female leaders. For example, participants penalized self-promoting women displaying pride, but did not penalize self-promoting men displaying pride (Rudman et al., 2012).

Researchers Shariff and Tracy (2009) conducted several experiments examining whether the nonverbal expression of pride sends a signal of high status. They used implicit association tests (IAT), a reaction time test, to measure implicit biases of pride and high status. In a series of six studies, they found strong support for an implicit association between pride and high status. Although Cohen's d yielded large effect sizes for each of the studies, a limitation to their research is that the pride expresser was a photo of a 24-year-old White man in each of their studies. In order to generalize the results of the Shariff and Tracy study to women, it is of highest importance to replicate their research using a photo of a woman expressing pride.

The present research will focus on study one of the Shariff and Tracy (2009) experiment. In study one, participants viewed photos of an actor displaying pride and photos of an actor displaying shame/embarrassment. Participants had to categorize photos into appropriate positions in a congruent as well as an incongruent pairing. This replication will create the same IAT using photos of a man displaying pride and shame/embarrassment, as well as photos of a

woman displaying pride and shame/embarrassment. Each participant will complete the IAT and they will categorize photos into appropriate positions of a congruent and an incongruent pairing. Participant's reaction times will be measured in order to investigate if the association between pride and high status exists for women like it does for men.

Because the emotion of pride and the concept of high status is often reserved for men in leadership positions, it is important to investigate implicit associations of the expression of pride and status for women, and how potential biases may influence the perception of women displaying pride in a leadership role. To measure this, I plan to give participants a resume and cover letter of a job candidate displaying pride for a high-status job. I will manipulate the gender of the candidate by using a typical male name (i.e. John) and a typical female name (i.e. Jill). I will randomly assign participants to one gender, and measure ratings of leadership qualities and other personal characteristics to assess biases toward women who display pride.

Due to implications from the existing literature, I hypothesize that participants will have faster reaction times when pride is paired with high status words than with low status words. I also predict that participants will have faster reaction times when the photo of the pride expresser is a male than when the photo of the pride expresser is female. Lastly, my exploratory hypothesis is that the differences in the IAT d scores for male and female pride expressers will predict perceptual biases of men and women in leadership contexts.

This research is of utmost importance because female leaders experience an incongruence in the emotions they are "allowed" to display and the emotions that are typical of leaders. Women are expected to be warm and communal, and they are often criticized for expressing anger or pride. However, pride especially is an emotion that is expected of leaders. The mismatch in the emotions that women are expected to display and that leaders are expected to

display creates many challenges for female leaders. Women are faced with having to navigate how much emotion to display as well as identifying which emotion to display. For female leaders, they must learn how to exercise power without displaying the emotions (i.e., pride and anger) that convey power (Brescoll, 2016).

Method

Participants

Sixty-six undergraduate and graduate students from Millersville University. Sixty-eight percent of the participants were female. In the first part of the study, participants completed the IAT. I corrected for latency errors using Greenwald's IAT suggestions, and due to inadequate response times (i.e. responses below 300 milliseconds or above 10,000 milliseconds) I had to eliminate 3 participants from the IAT data pool, leaving 63 students for IAT analyses. Participants were recruited from various psychology and social work classes, and participated in exchange for extra credit. Prior to beginning the experiment, participants gave their informed consent, and answered various demographic questions.

Implicit Association Test

For the IAT, photographs were obtained from an online database and included male and female photos of an actor displaying nonverbal expressions of pride and nonverbal expressions of shame/embarrassment. There were two variations of pride and shame/embarrassment expressions for both genders. The photographs can be found in Appendix A.

High and low status words were included in the IAT in order to test for the association between status and emotion. The high-status words were: commanding, dominant, important, powerful, and prestigious. The low status words were: humble, minor, submissive, unimportant,

and weak. These words were used in the original Shariff and Tracy (2009) study, and thus were chosen for this replication.

Participants were asked to categorize photos and words into appropriate positions in a congruent as well as an incongruent pairing. The congruent test paired pride with high status and shame/embarrassment with low status. The incongruent test paired pride with low status and shame/embarrassment with high status. Participants were instructed to categorize photographs and words into appropriate positions using the "e" and the "i" keys, and they were asked to go as quickly as possible. Their latency reaction times were measured in milliseconds for each test.

Explicit Measures

Upon completing the IAT, participants were randomly assigned to view either a male or a female job applicant's cover letter and resume. The cover letter and resume were identical with the exception of a first name change; for the male job applicant condition, the name used was John, and for the female job applicant condition, the name used was Jill. In the cover letter, I attempted to convey the display of pride by having the applicant state their accomplishments and that they are proud of where they are; additionally, I chose a gender-neutral, yet high status business positon for the applicant. I wanted the explicit part of the study to indicate the display of pride and high status so I could examine if people rate men and women displaying pride and aiming for high status differently. The male cover letter and resume can be found in Appendix B. The female cover letter and resume can be found in Appendix C.

After viewing the cover letter and resume, participants were asked a series of questions pertaining to leadership qualities and traits/characteristics of the job applicant. I created a leadership survey based on various work-related leadership qualities that I was interested in evaluating if people would rate male and female leaders differently. The leadership survey used

was based on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. The survey assessed a number of work-related characteristics such as: hiring the job applicant, having the applicant as a supervisor; and being willing to work with this applicant. The leadership survey in its entirety can be found in Appendix D.

I also created a traits survey based on Anderson's (1968) likableness ratings of personality trait words. The original list consists of 555 words, and I included 32 traits and asked participants to rate the job applicant on whether they think each trait is characteristic of the job applicant based on the given resume and cover letter. The survey is a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 'not at all characteristic' to 'extremely characteristic'. The traits survey can be found in its entirety in Appendix E.

Results

IAT Results

The results show support for the Shariff and Tracy (2009) findings. Participant's reaction times were significantly faster for the congruent test (pride with high status and shame/embarrassment with low status, $M = 776.65$, $SD = 185.44$) than their reaction times for the incongruent test (pride with low status and shame/embarrassment with high status, $M = 1263.59$, $SD = 372.98$), $t(62) = -13.69$, $p < .001$. In looking just at the congruent test, I found further support for the replication finding. Participants were significantly faster at categorizing pride expressions and high status words ($M = 756.88$, $SD = 183.06$) than they were at categorizing shame/embarrassment expressions and low status words ($M = 796.41$, $SD = 201.72$), $t(62) = -3.01$, $p = .004$. Participants were also significantly faster at categorizing high status words ($M = 790.77$, $SD = 251.77$) than they were at categorizing low status words ($M =$

870.66, $SD = 294.40$), $t(62) = -3.62$, $p = .001$. Each of these findings provide support for the association between pride and high status.

A repeated measures ANOVA was used to examine participant's reaction times for categorizing male and female photos in the congruent test; there were no significant main effects for gender, $F(1, 62) = .006$, $p = .940$, or emotional expression, $F(1, 62) = .006$, $p = .939$. Although I did not find significant main effects for gender or emotional expression, there was a significant interaction effect, $F(1, 62) = 4.40$, $p = .04$, $n_p^2 = .07$. Reaction times were faster for categorizing male photos when the emotional expression was pride, and reaction times were faster for categorizing female photos when the expression was shame/embarrassment. This interaction is showing that taken together, emotional expression and gender had an effect on participant's reaction times.

Explicit Measures

The items on the leadership survey were found to be strongly correlated ($\alpha = .88$). Because the items in the scale were strongly associated, I created a composite variable for the items in the leadership survey. I conducted a 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA examining effects for condition (John vs Jill) and participant gender (male vs female). There were no significant main effects for condition, $F(1, 59) = 2.64$, $p = .109$, or for participant gender, $F(1, 59) = .021$, $p = .885$.

The items on the traits survey were also found to be strongly correlated ($\alpha = .85$). I created a composite variable for the items on the traits survey due to the high degree of association. I conducted a 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA with condition (John vs Jill) and participant gender (male vs female) as the variables. There was a significant main effect for condition, $F(1, 54) = 7.21$, $p = .01$. Participants in the Jill condition gave significantly higher or more positive

ratings ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 2.41$) than participants in the John condition ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.93$). There was not a significant main effect for participant gender, $F(1, 54) = .077$, $p = .782$.

Implicit and Explicit Analyses

In order to analyze the relationship between implicit biases and explicit ratings of men and women in leadership positions, I calculated difference scores for gender and emotional expression for the IAT, and examined whether the difference scores were correlated with participant's explicit ratings of the job applicants. For the condition of John, the pride difference score was not significantly correlated with the leadership survey ($r = -.270$, $p = .135$) or the traits survey ($r = -.085$, $p = .663$). There was a significant negative correlation between the shame/embarrassment difference score and the traits survey ($r = -.463$, $p = .011$), but not the leadership survey ($r = -.184$, $p = .312$). The significant and negative correlation between the shame/embarrassment difference score and the total traits for the John condition suggests that as the difference in reaction times for categorizing male shame/embarrassment photos versus female shame/embarrassment photos increased, the ratings for John decreased.

I also calculated a difference score for gender. For the John condition, the male difference score was not significantly correlated with the leadership survey ($r = -.144$, $p = .433$) or the traits survey ($r = -.162$, $p = .402$). There were also no significant correlations between the female difference score and the leadership survey ($r = -.262$, $p = .147$) or the traits survey ($r = -.298$, $p = .116$) in the John condition.

For the John condition, there was a significant positive correlation between the leadership survey and traits survey ($r = .655$, $p < .001$), suggesting that participants rated the leadership qualities and traits of John similarly.

In the condition of Jill, the pride difference score was not significantly correlated with the leadership survey ($r = -.063$, $p = .746$) or the traits survey ($r = -.087$, $p = .666$). The shame/embarrassment difference score was also not significantly correlated with the leadership survey ($r = -.119$, $p = .538$) or the traits survey ($r = -.252$, $p = .204$).

For the Jill condition, the male difference score was not significantly correlated with the leadership survey ($r = .102$, $p = .599$) or the traits survey ($r = .181$, $p = .365$). The female difference score was significantly and negatively correlated with the traits survey ($r = -.457$, $p = .016$), but not the leadership survey ($r = -.271$, $p = .156$). The significant and negative correlation between the female difference score and traits survey indicates that as the difference in reaction times for categorizing female shame/embarrassment photos and female pride photos increased, the ratings of the female job applicant (Jill) decreased. Additionally, in the Jill condition, the leadership survey and the traits survey were significantly and positively correlated ($r = .875$, p < .001) indicating that they rated Jill similarly on explicit measures.

Discussion and Limitations

My research supports the association between pride and high status and shame/embarrassment and low status. The findings suggest that pride may send a signal of high status and shame/embarrassment may send a signal of low status. Additionally, the findings suggest that men may be associated with pride and therefore high status more than women, and women may be associated with shame/embarrassment and low status more than men.

Regarding the explicit measures, I anticipated that people would rate the male job applicant more positively and favorably than the female job applicant. The results actually show the opposite effect, with participants in the Jill condition rating the applicant more positively than the participants in the John condition. This is an interesting finding considering the existing

literature on female leaders and the tendency for women to be rated negatively when they display pride in a leadership role. I expect that the display of pride may not have been strong enough in the cover letter and resume, and participants may not have perceived the applicants as prideful. Additionally, the sample consisted primarily of female participants, which may have had an influence on how participants rated the job applicants.

In examining the relationship between implicit biases and explicit ratings, the data yield interesting results. First, for the male job applicant condition, there was a significant and negative correlation between the shame/embarrassment difference score and the traits survey. This relationship suggests that as the difference between the reaction times for categorizing male shame/embarrassment photos and female shame/embarrassment photos increased, the ratings of the male job applicant decreased. Making sense of this data, I looked at the mean reaction times for categorizing male shame/embarrassment photos and female shame/embarrassment photos; people were slower at categorizing the male shame/embarrassment photos than they were at the female shame/embarrassment photos. This indicates that the association between men and shame/embarrassment is not as strong as it is for women. This implicit bias may influence how people rate male job applicants that display pride. These results could also be attributed to the fact that people were already rating the male job applicant less favorably than the female job applicant. Additionally, I suspect that the display of pride and high status in the cover letter and resume may not have been strong enough for participants to detect, which could explain these results.

The data also show an interesting relationship between the female difference score and the traits survey for the female job applicant condition. The significant negative correlation suggests that as the difference score for categorizing female photos increased, the ratings of the

female job applicant decreased. This finding suggests that as people continue to associate women with shame/embarrassment and low status, the more harshly and negatively they will rate women who display pride. The implicit bias associating women with shame/embarrassment and low status shapes the gender stereotype that women are not to be in high status positions and that they should not display dominant emotions such as pride, and when they do, they are rated more negatively.

A limitation to the research is a relatively small sample size of college-age students. The participants are all college students at a rural university in southern Pennsylvania. Because of this, we may not be able to generalize the results to people from different geographic locations and age groups. For example, the findings may be even more prominent in an older population that holds many rigid gender beliefs and ideals. Additionally, an increase in sample size would provide increased power to the results, and future studies should focus on a larger and more diverse sample.

Another limitation to the research was being limited by study design. The original goal was to create two individual IATs, one with photos of men and one with photos of a woman to examine whether the association between pride and high status was stronger for men or for women. However, the program that I used to build the IAT only allowed me to run one script at a time, and I was unable to create and run two separate IATs. This limited the original research design, and forced me to include both male and female photos in one IAT and hone in on reaction times as the main point of analysis.

Lastly, the photographs that I used were of a white man and white woman appearing to be in their early to mid-twenties. Because of this, I am unable to generalize the results of this study to people of different racial/ethnic groups and ages. It is imperative that future research

focus on examining the relationship between pride and high status and shame/embarrassment and low status for other groups.

Taken together, the results of this study demonstrate the implicit biases people have toward women (Brescoll, 2016, Lewis, 2000), and how these implicit biases may shape explicit ratings of women. Our implicit biases shape how we interact with and judge others, often strengthening and enabling existing stereotypes. Although we are often unaware of the implicit assumptions that we hold, it is imperative that we start to understand our own biases and how they influence our perceptions of others as well as ourselves. In today's society, this is a prominent issue for women as we continue to remain an oppressed group based on social constructs of gender roles as well as gender stereotypes fueled by implicit biases.

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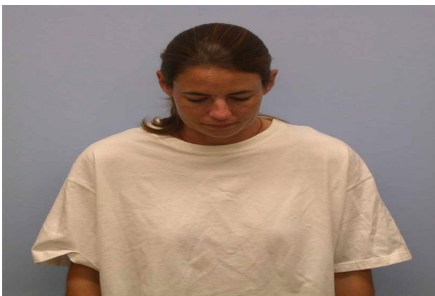
Appendix A

Male Pride Photos:
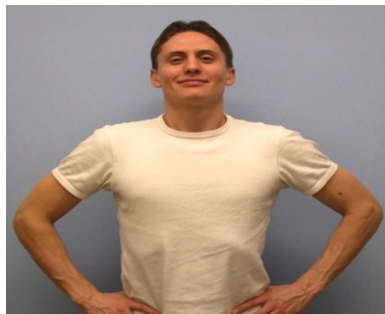
Male Shame/Embarrassment Photos:
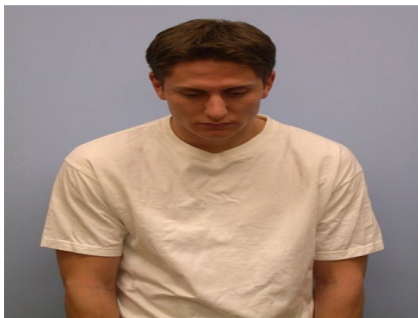
Female Pride Photos:

Female Shame/Embarrassment Photos:

Appendix B

Male cover letter and resume

JILL WILLIAMS

68 Pebble Rd., Lancaster, PA 17601

Phone: 717-921-5555

Email: john.williams@gmail.com

January 8, 2018

Lancaster General Hospital
555 N Duke Street
Lancaster, PA 17602

To Whom It May Concern:

I am a highly trained business analyst with a background in health care environments, and I have a history of discovering ways to save money. My objective as a business analyst is to ensure operational efficiency, and my expertise aligns with the qualifications needed for the position at Lancaster General Hospital.
In the course of my work, I have regularly identified process bottlenecks and participated in design sessions. Additionally, I am a very focused worker and I have supervised direct reports in health care settings. I am extremely enthusiastic about Lancaster General Hospital's focus on efficient hospital operations and would love the opportunity to contribute to the achievement of your financial goals.
I am proud of my accomplishments, and I am confident in my abilities to be a successful business leader at Lancaster General Hospital. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Jill Williams

JOHN WILLIAMS

68 Pebble Rd., Lancaster, PA 17601
Phone: 717-921-5555
Email: john.williams@gmail.com

OBJECTIVE

Accomplished Business Analyst skilled in achieving efficiency and increasing revenue in the health care industry. Business process improvement, data analysis, and asset management expert. Employs root cause analysis to identify issues and develop process improvements that lead to cost savings. Exceptional planning and implementation capabilities.

EXPERIENCE

Community Health Center
Business Analyst | August 2016 to Present

- Lead cross-functional teams to analyze and understand the operational impacts and opportunities for technology changes, and redirected plan toward a forward-thinking approach.
- Conducted activity-based analysis of health center processes and made recommendations based on findings.
- Ensured compliance with established internal control procedures by examining records, reports, operating practices, and documentation.
- Collected data, analyzed trends, and created reports.

EDUCATION

Bachelor of Science: Business Management, May 2016
Penn State University, University Park, PA
GPA: 3.923

ADDITIONAL SKILLS

- Proficient in Microsoft Office (Word, Excel, Outlook, PowerPoint, Visio)
- Expert knowledge database management systems
- Skilled with project management software

Appendix C

Female cover letter and resume

JILL WILLIAMS

68 Pebble Rd., Lancaster, PA 17601

Phone: 717-921-5555

Email: jill.williams@gmail.com

January 8, 2018

Lancaster General Hospital
555 N Duke Street
Lancaster, PA 17602

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- Conducted activity-based analysis of health center processes and made recommendations based on findings.
- Ensured compliance with established internal control procedures by examining records, reports, operating practices, and documentation.
- Collected data, analyzed trends, and created reports.

EDUCATION

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ADDITIONAL SKILLS

- Proficient in Microsoft Office (Word, Excel, Outlook, PowerPoint, Visio)
- Expert knowledge database management systems
- Skilled with project management software

Appendix D

Leadership Survey

Please indicate the degree to which you either agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

1. I would hire this person for this job position.

1	2	3	4
strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree

2. I would feel comfortable if this person was my supervisor.

1	2	3	4
strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree

3. This person appears to be qualified for the job based on the information I have read about them.

1	2	3	4
strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree

4. I would want this person to be my supervisor/boss.

1	2	3	4
strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree

5. I would be willing to have this person as a coworker.

1	2	3	4
strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree

6. This person would handle conflict well.

1	2	3	4
strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree

Appendix E

Traits Survey

Please evaluate the job candidate from the cover letter and resume on the following traits, and indicate the degree to which you find each trait to be characteristic or not characteristic of the candidate.

1	2	3	4
Not at all characteristic	Somewhat characteristic	characteristic	extremely characteristic

1. Helpful
2. Pleasant
3. Supportive
4. Agreeable
5. Cooperative
6. Fair
7. Self-confident
8. Self-assured
9. Goal-oriented
10. Ambitious
11. Dominant
12. Assertive
13. Competent
14. Enthusiastic
15. Mature
16. Emotionally Stable
17. Rational
18. Able
19. Skilled
20. Strong-minded
21. Confident
22. Obnoxious
23. Cruel
24. Phony
25. Dishonest
26. Controlling
27. Bossy
28. Egotistical
29. Smug
30. Ungracious
31. Disagreeable
32. Irrational

Each trait will have the answer options following it for participants to choose their answer.