

ACHIEVING POSITIVE SOCIAL IDENTITY: WOMEN'S COPING  
STRATEGIES IN RESPONSE TO STATUS INEQUALITY IN  
TELEVISION PORTRAYALS

by

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## ABSTRACT

This research investigated the influence of television viewing on the social identity management or coping strategies endorsed by women. Three studies ( $N = 536$ ) tested predictions formulated under the aegis of cultivation theory and social identity theory. Cultivation theory suggests that exposure to low-status mediated portrayals of female characters may lead to the internalization of low status in female heavy television viewers, possibly resulting in a negative ingroup or social identity. According to social identity theory, members of low-status groups may cope with negative social identity by adopting any of three identity management strategies: individual mobility (disassociating oneself from the ingroup), social creativity (changing the dimension of comparison with a high-status group or changing the comparison group altogether), and social competition (actively pursuing legal and/or civil means in order to obtain a higher status for the ingroup). By integrating the identity management strategies as outcome variables in a cultivation-led framework, the main predictions of this research were that television viewing would be directly related to strategies of mobility and creativity and inversely related to social competition. A model of television viewing's indirect effects on identity management via its influences on the sociostructural constructs (permeability, stability, and legitimacy) was also tested in this research. Finally, this research examined other theoretically important variables that were predicted to impact television's cultivation effects. These were (i) gender role attitudes, (ii) perceived ingroup vitality, (iii) ingroup identification, (iv) perceived ingroup efficacy, and (v) perceived realism of television programming. The findings from these three studies indicate that television viewing has

both direct and indirect influences on identity management in women. Specifically, television viewing was significantly and positively related to individual mobility and significantly and inversely related to attitudes of social competition. As television viewing was not related to any of the sociostructural variables, the preliminary model testing television viewing's indirect effects on identity management was not successful. However, a revised model incorporating perceived status of women, and perceived ingroup vitality, was more successful and consistently explained the data across the three studies. In non-traditional women, television viewing and gender role attitudes interacted to predict heightened mobility and creativity scores, and dampened attitudes of social competition. Similar but weaker effects were observed for more traditional women. Perceived ingroup vitality, ingroup identification, perceived ingroup efficacy, and perceived realism of television did not moderate the relationship between television viewing and identity management. The findings from the dissertation expand and add to the growing body of work integrating media effects and intergroup communication theories. Specifically, it extends the work focusing on media's influences on low-status group members' identity cognitions.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Recent research in the media effects arena has begun to clarify the linkages between patterns of media exposure and group identity, intergroup attitudes, and intergroup relations (e.g., Gorham, 2006; Mastro, 2003; Schiappa, Gregg, & Hewes, 2005). In one branch of this effort, scholars have studied intergroup attitudes and behaviors under the aegis of media effects frameworks (e.g., Abrams, 2008; Abrams & Giles, 2007; Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Kopacz, 2008; Ortiz & Harwood, 2007). However, the majority of such studies focus on explicating the influence of media, specifically television viewing, on intergroup cognitions in high-status groups and their members.

Consequently, research focusing on media influence on low-status or minority group members' cognitions is not as plentiful (Abrams, Eveland, & Giles, 2003). As such, the present research attempts to address this lacuna by studying television viewing's influences on the means by which low-status group members cope with or manage a negative social identity. Specifically, television images may contribute to a negative group identity for low-status group members. In turn, they may regain a positive social identity by adopting identity management strategies of individual mobility, social creativity, and social competition (Tajfel, 1972). With some exceptions (e.g., Abrams & Giles, 2007), relatively little work has focused on the direct conjunction between television viewing and identity management strategies of mobility, creativity, and competition in members of low-status groups. Predictions in this research are guided by

integrating key tenets from social identity theory into a cultivation-led theoretical framework.

This research focuses on women as the lower status group in comparison to men. Gender is an important and salient social categorization, and is associated with well-established power and status differentials favoring men over women (Williams, 1984; William & Giles, 1978). Given these status differentials, scholars note that an important intergroup dimension underlies gender relations (Abrams, 1989; William & Giles, 1978). Consequently, the choice of women as a sample for studying television influences' on low-status group members' identity management cognitions is apt for this research.

The aims of the current investigation are threefold. First, television viewing's direct effects on social identity management strategies are investigated. Second, television viewing's indirect effects on identity management through its influence on sociostructural variables are investigated. Finally, theoretically relevant variables that may impact the relationship between television viewing and identity management such as gender role attitudes, perceived ingroup vitality, ingroup identification, perceived realism of television, and perceived ingroup efficacy are also explored.

The outline of the dissertation is as follows. Chapter 1 contains the introduction and rationale for the dissertation. A review of the literature is presented in Chapter 2. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 each present one of three studies – the Pilot, Study 1, and Study 2, respectively. A revised theoretical model addressing television viewing's influences on identity management strategies is presented in Chapter 6. Finally, Chapter 7 contains the general discussion of results, limitations and future directions for the research, and the

conclusion. Please note that an overview of results for television genre effects found in the research is presented in Appendix F.

### Rationale

Television content is a powerful source of information for viewers, such that it plays an important role in the construction and framing of viewers' perceptions of social reality (Bandura, 1986; Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli, & Morgan, 2002; Hawkins & Pingree, 1981). Extant research notes that exposure to television portrayals influences viewers' orientation and attitudes towards their own and other groups, shaping perceptions of differential status for various groups in society (e.g., Harwood & Anderson, 2002; Harwood & Roy, 2005; Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Ortiz, 2007).

With respect to the portrayal of genders and gender roles in television programming, content analytic research documents the differential status that men and women occupy in the television universe; men are portrayed more favorably and in greater numbers as compared to women (e.g., Signorielli, 1989; Signorielli & Bacue, 1999). Broadly, women are consistently portrayed as having less power and authority than men, being subordinate to men, and as being in stereotypical, low-status social and occupational roles as compared to men. Experimental and survey research note the usually deleterious effects of exposure to these subtle, ubiquitous and negative themes on women about their perception of women's status, women's roles in society, and gender-related social change (e.g., Geis, Brown, Jennings, & Porter, 1984; Rouner, Slater, & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2003; Schwartz, Wagner, Bannert, & Mathes, 1987). In women,

these deleterious effects are typically manifested in lowered feelings of self and group worth.

Cultivation theory provides an overarching framework for understanding the effects of viewing deleterious portrayals of women on female television viewers, as this theory focuses on the long-term effects of watching television on heavy viewers of television (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 2002). Although genre-specific cultivation effects have been noted in the literature, these findings are inconsistent (Bilandzic & Rössler, 2004). Thus the focus of the dissertation research is on the effects of overall television viewing. Specifically, heavy television viewers are said to have a skewed perception of reality: their version of reality mirrors television's version of reality. Notably, this is reflected only in areas where television disproportionately portrays artifacts and occurrences from the everyday world. From this perspective, it is likely that a consequence of exposure to the plethora of low-status female portrayals is the internalization of low status of women in female heavy viewers of television. In turn, this internalization of low status may contribute to a negative social group identity.

Social identity theory provides us with a logical framework to understand how the internalization of low status motivates low-status group members' attempts to regain a positive social identity. According to Tajfel (1972), members of socially disadvantaged groups (e.g., lower status or less dominant groups) may regain a positive social identity by adopting social identity management or coping strategies of *mobility* (leaving their group to join another), *creativity* (comparing their group to the dominant group on a

dimension favorable to the lower status group or changing the comparison group), and *competition* (advocating for a change in the status quo through legal or political means).

Given the plethora of high-status male and low-status female portrayals, the notable lack of strong female characters, and the lack of portrayals of women engaged in collective action, the main predictions of this research are that amount of television viewing will be directly related to espousing strategies of mobility and creativity, and inversely related to social competition in female viewers (Figure 1).

Tajfel (1979) notes that the choice of identity management strategies by members of low-status groups is also influenced by sociostructural conditions, namely *permeability* of group boundaries (whether an individual can leave a group for a higher status group), *legitimacy* (whether individuals accept the status differentials as legitimate), and *stability* (whether status differentials can be changed to favor the low-status group). The relationships between the sociostructural conditions and identity management strategies (Figure 2) have been tested extensively with much support (e.g., Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, & Hume, 2001; Ellemers, van Knippenberg, de Vries, & Wilke, 1988, 1990).

As a second goal, the present research proposes the addition of television viewing as an independent variable to this framework. Essentially, television viewing may also indirectly affect identity management strategies via its influence on the three sociostructural variables (Figure 3). Thus, both direct as well as indirect influences of television viewing on identity management are tested in the dissertation research. Ultimately, both direct and indirect influences can be contrasted to see which provides a better explanation of television viewing's influence on identity management strategies.

The model presented in Figure 3 may be tested in broader intergroup contexts; however, by necessity, the model is contextualized in this particular presentation by the focus on women in the dissertation.

Finally, the last goal of the study is examining the influence of gender role attitudes, perceived ingroup vitality, ingroup identification, perceived realism of television, and perceived ingroup efficacy on the relationship between viewing television portrayals and endorsement of social strategies for women. Barring perceived realism of television, scant evidence exists to treat the other variables as potential moderators of television's cultivation effects (Hawkins, 1997; Shapiro & Chock, 2003). However, the positive relationship between television viewing and traditional gender role attitudes is well-documented (e.g., Kimball, 1986; Morgan, 1987). Perceived ingroup vitality, ingroup identification, and perceived ingroup efficacy have all been extensively studied in the intergroup realm, where they are noted as having moderate to strong associations with perceptions of group status and identity management strategies (e.g. Abrams, Eveland, & Giles, 2003; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In the interest of exploration, some purely exploratory hypotheses and research questions are proposed to address whether these variables can and do in fact influence the relationship between television viewing and identity management strategies.

A review of relevant literature follows in the next chapter. First evidence from content analytic and media effects studies focusing on gender role portrayals is presented. The quality of the television portrayals of female characters and the influence of such portrayals on female viewers is discussed here. Next, the theoretical frameworks of

cultivation and social identity theory are reviewed. This section contains the main hypotheses of the study. Finally, theoretically relevant variables predicted to influence television's cultivation effects are discussed with requisite hypotheses and research questions.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Portrayals of Women on Television: Content and Effects

The findings from content analyses of gender role portrayals on television and the effects of watching these portrayals on women are discussed in this section. The evidence from the content analyses highlights the underrepresentation of women in television programming and their portrayal in stereotypical, low-status gender roles. Evidence from the effects studies provides strong support to the notion that exposure to gender-stereotypical television portrayals of women contributes to traditional gender role attitudes in women.

#### *Content Analyses*

An examination of content analytic studies of television programming as well as television advertising is warranted, as together they provide a richer appreciation of gender and gender role portrayals in the television universe. Overall, content analyses of both television programming and advertising reveal that women as compared to men are variously underrepresented in high-status roles (e.g., news programming and current affairs) and overrepresented in stereotypical low-status roles (e.g., in advertising messages pertaining to domestic and household products) as compared to their masculine counterparts (e.g., Coltrane & Messineo, 2000; Elasmr, Hasegawa, & Brain, 1999; Ganahl, Prinsen, & Netzley, 2003, Signorielli, 1989).

While content analytic studies of gender role portrayals in prime-time television programming and television advertising exist in abundance, in contrast, there is much

lesser research that focuses on gender role portrayals in specific television genres. Researchers have examined portrayals of women in specific genres such as music videos, reality television, news programming, sitcoms, and soap operas, but these studies are relatively sparse (Brancato, 2007; Brown & Campbell, 1986; Sherman & Dominick; 1986; Sommers-Flanagan, Sommers-Flanagan, & Davis, 1993; Ziegler & White, 1990). It is clear, however, that for the most part these studies highlight women as being portrayed in lesser numbers, in traditional gender roles, and in low-status portrayals irrespective of the genre under study.

*Television programming content.* In early research endeavors spanning the 1960s to the 1980s, scholars noted that occupational portrayals in television programming content were severely gender-stereotyped and more favorable towards men (e.g., Jeffries-Fox & Signorielli, 1979; Signorielli, 1989). As Signorielli and Kahlenberg (2001) state, “Male characters were frequently cast in a diverse number of high-status, professional or law enforcement jobs...[women] were cast in a narrower range of occupations often perceived as less prestigious, glamorous, and interesting – roles such as secretaries, nurses, teachers, and household workers” (p. 6). Additionally, women were severely underrepresented in the television universe as compared to real-life population numbers (Signorielli & Bacue, 1999).

In recent years, these trends appear to have been checked to some extent. Scholars note that portrayals of women in television programming, specifically prime-time television programming, have steadily become more positive and diverse and have increased in number (Signorielli & Bacue, 1999). However, both the quality and the

quantity of female character portrayals are not up to par as compared to male characters. A few key studies and their results are discussed for illustrative purposes.

A meta-analysis by Herrett-Skjellum and Allen (1996) examining eight content analytic television programming studies concluded that overall, television portrayals of men and women were in line with notions of stereotypical traditional gender roles. In the television universe female characters are more often depicted as deferential (to men), sensitive, frail, and dependent on masculine support (emotional, financial, and physical). Male characters are seen as authoritative, problem solvers, independent, assertive, tough, and have greater depth and complexity as compared to female characters. While men are portrayed in prestigious and powerful occupations (e.g., businessmen, law enforcement), women are more often depicted in occupations that are traditionally feminine such as secretaries, teachers, homemakers, and mothers.

With respect to numerical parity, Davis (1990) examined over 800 male and female characters from a sample of prime-time network programming, and noted that women were under-represented across all genres of programming. He also noted that women on television tend to be young and beautiful, and the average characterization of a woman on television is "...more ornamental than functional" (p. 331).

Elasmar, Hasegawa, and Brain (1999) studied the portrayals of both men and women in their sample of prime-time television programming. They examined a total of 4908 characters across 13 different genres of television programming and found that 61.2% of the characters were men and 38.8% of the characters were women. Additionally, only 17.7% of the major characters were female, while the majority of

women were minor characters. The authors noted that the majority of female characters with clear occupations held blue-collar jobs, while few female characters were portrayed in prestigious occupations. Overall, the authors concluded that although the number of portrayals of women had increased from the 1970s and the 1980s, most female characters were still portrayed in minor and low-status roles.

Examining over 30 years of prime-time television programming, Signorielli and Bacue (1999) found that women were consistently under-represented in the television universe as compared to their numbers in the population, as well as occupying low-status roles as compared to men. The scholars examined over 8000 characters and concluded that women were not accorded the same degree of respect (quality of portrayals) and recognition (quantity of portrayals) as accorded to men. Although the authors documented a trend of increased representation of women in non-traditional occupations through the years, they noted that approximately 40% of women were classified as non-working or their occupation was unknown as compared to less than 25% of male characters. The implication drawn was that occupations outside the traditional norm of the homemaker were less important for women.

Whereas the studies discussed above concentrate on television programming, similar themes pervade studies of television advertising content.

*Television advertising content.* The gendered and sexual nature of television advertising is extremely well-documented (e.g., Allan & Coltrane, 1996; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Coltrane & Adams, 1997; Courtney & Whipple, 1983; Signorielli, McLeod, & Healy, 1994). For the most part, all these authors note similar gender role themes

prevalent in television advertising content. Male voice-overs are more prevalent than female voice-overs, especially with non-domestic products. Men are portrayed as authoritative, knowledgeable, active, and dominant. In contrast, women are portrayed as passive, dependent, and preoccupied with their looks and attractiveness. Most male characters are shown in the workplace, whereas most female characters are portrayed in the home. When both men and women are shown in the workplace together, typically female characters are shown as subordinate to men and are likely to hold service or clerical positions. Scholars such as Courtney and Whipple (1983) have also found that young women are depicted as rewards for men's use for certain products, implying that the sexual objectification of women takes precedence over a display of their abilities.

Coltrane and Messineo (2000) in their sample of 1699 advertisements accompanying programs with high ratings found that characters enjoy more authority and power if they are male rather than female. The authors also noted that the majority of female characters were portrayed as sex objects. In line with findings from other scholars, 86% percent of the voice-overs and off-screen narrations were male.

Ganahl, Prinsen, and Netzley (2003) analyzed a sample of 1,337 primetime commercials and 5,473 characters. The authors reported that women were underrepresented as primary characters during most primetime commercials except for health and beauty products. Men were disproportionately overrepresented in commercials for electronic appliances, cars, financial and insurance services, and political advertisements. The authors also noted that women were most often cast as younger and

subordinate to men, and that older women were the most underrepresented group amongst all age groups studied.

Bartsch, Burnett, Diller, and Rankin-Williams (2000) replicated earlier studies (e.g., O'Donnell & O'Donnell, 1978, Lovdal, 1989) and found that men were underrepresented in advertisements for household products, whereas women were underrepresented in advertisements for non-domestic products. This form of gender bias was higher in this study compared to previous efforts. However, the authors noted that a primary indicator of gender bias, male voice-overs, was down to 71% of the total advertisements as compared to earlier figures of nearly 90%.

Collectively, the findings from television programming and television advertising content suggest that the television universe is indeed a gendered universe, with rather strict dichotomies of actions and appearances for men and women. Male characters occupy roles of higher status as compared to female characters, while female characters are portrayed as traditional, less dominating, less active and ultimately less effective. The effects of watching these portrayals on viewers of this content are covered in the next section.

### *Effects of Portrayals*

Research indicates that exposure to gender representation in the media can affect individuals' gender-related attitudes, shape their gender-related behaviors, and perpetuate differences between the genders (Aubrey, 2007; Barner, 1999; Geis et al., 1984; Rivadeneyra, Ward & Gordon, 2007; Stern, Russell, & Russell, 2007). Amongst other sources of socialization, media content also serves as an important source for learning

gender-related attitudes, beliefs, and socially valued gender-role behaviors.

Stereotypically gendered content has especially powerful effects on younger children and adolescents (e.g., Morgan, 1982). Exposure to gender stereotypes on television has been linked to endorsing gender stereotypes and behaving in gender stereotypical ways for young boys and girls, as well as emerging adults (Eisenstock, 1984; Ward, 2002).

Scholars have also directly applied the cultivation framework to study the effects of watching gendered television content in viewers. For example, Lafky, Duffy, Steinmaus, and Berkowitz (1996) examined high school students in a study applying cognitive heuristics theory to gender role stereotyping in a cultivation-led framework. The authors found that exposure to stereotypical advertisements played a role in reinforcing stereotypes about traditional gender roles for both genders. Overall, modest correlations have been found between gender role attitudes and exposure to stereotypical television content for both men and women in studies using the cultivation framework (Herret-Skejellum & Allen, 1996; Ross, Anderson, & Wisocki, 1982; Saito, 2007; Signorielli & Lears, 1992).

Typically, effect sizes for television viewing's effects on gender role cognitions are small in size. For instance, in their meta-analysis of studies examining the effects of television on gender role attitudes, Herrett-Skjellum and Allen (1986) noted that the average effect size for experimental studies was  $r^2 = .04$ . In non-experimental settings, the average effect size of  $r^2 = .01$  was still smaller. Thus, considerable statistical power is needed to observe these small effects.

A seminal longitudinal survey study by Kimball (1986) provides strong evidence linking television viewing to stereotypical or more traditional gender role attitudes. Kimball studied children in three Canadian communities labeled as NOTEL, UNITEL, and MULTITEL – television had not yet been introduced in the first community, the second community had access to only one television channel, and the third had access to multiple television channels. In this natural experiment, it was possible to examine television viewing's influences on gender role attitudes relatively free of outside influences. The researcher hypothesized that children in the community with no television would score lower on traditional gender role attitudes or have more egalitarian gender role attitudes as compared to children from the other two communities. As part of a longitudinal design, Kimball also predicted that there would be a significant increase in stereotypical gender role attitudes in the NOTEL children two years after the introduction of television in that community.

Both hypotheses were substantiated for the most part. At the start of the study, children from NOTEL did have more egalitarian views on gender roles as compared to the communities with television. As predicted, two years after the introduction of television in their town, the same children exhibited increased stereotypical gender role attitudes. However, there was a difference between boys and girls – boys endorsed more stereotypical attitudes about suitable behaviors and suitable occupations for boys and girls, whereas girls endorsed more stereotypical attitudes towards relationships with authority figures and peers.

A second longitudinal survey conducted by Morgan (1987) also lends support to the assertion that television viewing strongly influences endorsement of stereotypical gender roles. In this study, Morgan studied 287 adolescents at two different points in time, and measured their television viewing, gender role attitudes, and gender role behavior. Those participants who watched more television at Time I were more likely to hold more stereotypical gender role attitudes at Time II after controlling for Time I attitudes. Morgan noted that heavy viewers of television were more likely to endorse traditional divisions of house chores and to endorse attitudes such as “Women are happiest at home raising children” and “Men are born with more ambition than women.”

More recently, Aubrey and Harrison’s (2004) survey research outlines how young girls’ preference for *male* stereotypical characters in children’s television programming negatively predicts their interpersonal attraction to *female* characters. One explanation for this finding is that the majority of male characters are seen to have higher status (compared to female characters), more authority, and are simply more “valued” by these young female viewers.

Overall, research shows that young children are affected by exposure to television programming and that some of these effects manifest themselves in children’s attitudes towards gender-appropriate behaviors, career aspirations for boys and girls, toy selections, and endorsement of gender stereotypes (Herrett-Skjellum & Allen, 1996; Kimball, 1986; McGhee & Frueh, 1980; Ruble, Balaban, & Cooper, 1981; Walsh-Childers & Brown, 1993).

Although gender patterns, identities and behaviors seem to be established in childhood and early adolescence, older audience members (e.g., college students) are also affected by the gendered representations in media content (Aubrey, 2007; Geis et al., 1984; Ward, 2002). For example, in an experimental study, Geis and colleagues (1984) exposed their sample of college students to two sets of stimulus material: gender-stereotypic and counter-stereotypic male and female portrayals in television commercials. They found that the character's role *status* was more important than gender in forming positive impressions about characters – high-status characters irrespective of gender were ranked more positively than low-status characters. However characters who were both female and of low status, received the *least* positive rankings by both male and female participants – a double jeopardy of sorts. Given the plethora of low-status images of women in the television universe, this has serious implications for perceptions of status of women as compared to men. The authors also found that *both* stereotypic and non-stereotypic gender content affected outcome variables such as female participants' aspirations, achievement motivations, self-concepts, and behaviors. Exposure to gender-stereotypic content acted as a depressant on these outcome variables, and vice-versa for non-stereotypic content.

In an experiment conducted by Ward (2002), college students were exposed to sexually stereotyped clips from popular television programs such as *Friends*, *Seinfeld* and *Ally McBeal*. Ward found that female participants in the experimental conditions endorsed gender sexual stereotypes more strongly than female participants in the control conditions.

Other researchers also note that exposure to gender stereotypical portrayals is associated with increased self-consciousness, self-doubt, and social anxiety, as well as decreased aspirations for achievement and decreased interest in political participation in women (Gould, 1987; Schwartz et al., 1987). For example, in an experimental study, Schwartz and colleagues (1987) found that compared to a control group, female participants reported less favorable attitudes towards political participation after exposure to advertisements portraying women as homemakers. Women in the experimental condition scored significantly lower scores than women in the control groups on items such as “It is very important to me to be thoroughly informed about current political issues” and “If necessary, I would participate in boycott activities to reach some of my political goals.” In other words, exposure to traditional gender role portrayals seems to negatively affect both political information-seeking as well as political action.

Additional research suggests that exposure to low-status and stereotypical portrayals of women contribute to young girls internalizing these images and forming expectations of stereotypical gender roles impacting both their adolescent and adult lives (Brown, White, & Nikopoulou, 1993; Rouner et al., 2003).

Scholars posit that media’s excessive stereotyping of women by way of physical appearance and occupation as well as the virtual absence of female characters in positions of authority contribute to women feeling marginalized, unimportant, and removed from the power structure in mainstream American society (hence the mediation attempts proposed by Nathanson, Wilson, McGee, & Sebastian, 2002 for example; also see Cooks

& Aden, 1995; Fair, 1993; Nichols & Wolf, 2000; Rao, 2001). Thus television content can affect and perpetuate notions of status inequality between women and men.

However, it must be noted that women exposed to reversed gender roles or counter-stereotypic portrayals (i.e., men performing traditionally feminine activities such as housework or making dinner; women in positions of power at the workplace) report more career aspirations and self-confidence as opposed to women exposed to traditional gender roles (Geis et al., 1984; Jennings, Geis & Brown, 1980). The implication is that non-traditional gender role portrayals can possibly have positive benefits for female viewers with respect to their motivations, confidence, abilities, and status in society.

In summary, the television universe underrepresents women and portrays them in low-status occupational and traditional gender roles while simultaneously overrepresenting men and portraying them in empowered, diverse and high-status roles and these themes are fairly consistent across genres. Survey research and experimental findings suggest that portrayals of gender roles on television have deleterious effects on female viewers. Television content may contribute to the perpetuation of status inequality between men and women, with men clearly emerging as the higher-status group as compared to women.

Given that the portrayals of women on American television reconfirm or reinforce the notion of their lesser status as compared to men, and that these portrayals are shown to impact viewers of this content, extant research suggests that stereotypes activated and promulgated by the media have serious consequences for women's self and group identity. Thus, this paper proposes that for female heavy viewers of television, the impact

of these portrayals contribute to a negative social identity. In turn, women may regain a positive social identity by adopting identity management strategies. As noted earlier, the present study combines tenets of cultivation theory from the media effects field and social identity theory from the intergroup processes field to predict the impact of these mediated portrayals on female viewers' identity management. A review of the theoretical frameworks used in the study is presented next.

### Theoretical Frameworks

Media representations of groups in society have been studied under several theoretical frameworks, notably ethnolinguistic vitality theory (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). Although these theories provide a broad framework within which group representations in media can be examined, empirical evidence for television effects on *individuals* is more readily available in studies using tenets of cultivation theory. Because predictions under the aegis of the cultivation hypothesis form the crux of the present investigation, a brief examination of the theory and its tenets is warranted.

#### *Cultivation Theory*

Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorielli, and Shanahan (2002) state that television is an ubiquitous socializing agent that contains themes of storytelling that are consistent across different genres of programming; however, television content does not always accurately reflect reality. Cultivation theorists propose that the more people are exposed to television programming, the greater the likelihood that there is a lack of distinction between 'objective reality' and 'television reality' (e.g., Gerbner et al., 1980a, 1980b, 2002). Specifically, compared to light viewers of television, heavy viewers are predicted

to give ‘television’ answers (answers that reflect patterns of portrayals common on television) to questions pertaining to social reality, and thus are said to be ‘cultivated.’ Cultivation theory has received empirical support across a wide variety of topics, though not without some controversy, and most cultivation studies have demonstrated small effect sizes (overall  $r^2 = .01$ ; see meta-analysis by Morgan & Shanahan, 1997).

The earliest and most frequently used dependent variable in cultivation studies is a person’s belief in a mean and violent world (e.g., Gerbner et al., 1980a). Cultivation studies have branched out into many other domains of research, examining dependent variables such as political orientations (Roberts & Bachen, 1981), idealistic marriage expectations (Segrin & Nabi, 2002), and sexism (Signorielli, 1989). Cultivation effects are generally divided into two sets (Shrum, 1995, 2004). First-order cultivation judgments are set-size or probability estimates regarding the prevalence of certain artifacts in the everyday world (e.g., estimates of the number of people working in law enforcement or the number of criminal acts). Second-order judgments are those that reflect more specific attitudes and beliefs, such as endorsement of political attitudes (e.g., Morgan & Shanahan, 1991). Scholars note that stronger and more consistent support exists for first-order effects as compared to second-order effects; however moderate support exists for second-order effects (Hawkins & Pingree, 1982; Shrum, 1999).

Although the theory is unquestionably heuristically provocative, the cultivation framework is not without its critics. Notably, the framework has been criticized for its nonfalsifiability (Hirsch, 1981), content measures (Potter & Chang, 1990), exposure measures (Potter, 1991), lack of contextualization of cultivation effects (Newcomb,

1979), spurious causation (Cook & Campbell, 1979; Doob & McDonald, 1979), lack of accounting for individual differences (Cohen & Weiman, 2000), and ignoring genre-wise effects and selective viewing (Hawkins & Pingree, 1980).

In response to the criticism that cultivation theory did not allow for individual differences in television viewers, scholars explored various moderators of cultivation effects. Notably, Gerbner et al. (1980a) introduced the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance to account for variability in cultivation effects. Television has a mainstreaming effect on heavy viewers, such that other variables (e.g., education) have less influence on their beliefs than with light viewers. That is heavy viewers irrespective of their education, age or social class, may all believe that the world is a mean and evil place and people are untrustworthy (see *mean world syndrome* as explained by Gerbner and colleagues, 2002). In contrast, light viewers will vary considerably from one another based on demographic and sociographic variables. Further, resonance occurs when viewers' real world experiences are congruent with what they see on television, for example, a first-hand experience with crime such as being a victim of a mugging or theft in addition to viewing inordinately large amounts of television. In such a situation, cultivation effects are likely to be enhanced as television content and real world occurrences mirror each other and likely bolster each other.

Other moderators of television's cultivation effects were also considered with varying degrees of success. The moderating effects of perceived realism of television were studied extensively; however scholars concluded that this variable was problematic both in its conceptualization and operationalization (Elliot & Slater, 1980; Hawkins,

1977; Perse, 1986; Potter, 1986). In a more promising direction, Shrum (2001) presented evidence that cognitive processing strategies might moderate cultivation effects, such that cultivation effects were a result of heuristic processing strategies. Further, Shrum and Bischak (2001) found evidence that supported the tenets of resonance, that direct experience moderates associations between viewing and cultivation. Additionally, Kwak, Zinkhan, and Dominick (2002) found evidence for gender as a moderating variable in a cross-cultural study of cultivation effects on fear of crime and materialism; their findings suggested that cultivation effects were stronger for women as compared to men in both Korea and the United States.

Cultivation theory has long been criticized as being a cognitive “black box” – while there are demonstrable links between viewing of television content and “cultivation” effects irrespective of the social constructs under study, the processes by which these effects occur are not completely clear (Hawkins & Pingree, 1981). In recent years, research by Shrum and his colleagues has helped explicate and enhance the understanding of the process by which cultivation effects take place more completely (Shrum, 1996, 1999, 2001; Shrum & Bischak, 2001; O’Guinn & Shrum, 1993). For instance, Shrum and colleagues were amongst the first to introduce the concepts of attitude accessibility and processing strategies into the cultivation framework. Busselle and Shrum (2003) posit that television viewing influences attitudes by enhancing the accessibility of attitude-related constructs specifically for heavy viewers, and this is partly responsible for the cultivation effect. In a series of related studies testing these hypotheses, Shrum and colleagues consistently found that heavy viewers’ attitudes

mirrored the content of television messages: heavy viewers tended to give higher estimates of social constructs and they answered more quickly than lighter viewers (O'Guinn & Shrum, 1997; Shrum, 1996; Shrum & O'Guinn, 1993; Shrum, O'Guinn, Semenik, & Faber, 1991).

Specifically, Shrum (1999) argued that the frequency of television viewing is related to attitude strength via its influence on attitude accessibility and opportunities for “rehearsing” the attitudes – in other words, the more frequently an attitude is observed and noted, the stronger and more accessible it becomes to the observer. Applying this concept to the television universe, content analytic evidence documents that some themes or attitude objects are portrayed more frequently and consistently (e.g., crime, sex, materialism) than others. Thus, as Shrum suggests, it follows that heavy viewers will have attitudes more consistent with these portrayals as compared to lighter viewers; heavy viewers internalize these attitudes. Secondly, television viewing directly impacts the perceived functionality of attitudes and future decision-making. Attitudes that are highly accessible aid all aspects of decision-making. As Shrum (1999) stated, “Repeated exposure to a highly formulaic and very consistent message...lead[s] viewers to conclude that the message reflects attitudes prevalent in society and may thus be useful for later decisions” (p. 9). Thus, television viewing not only “cultivates” attitudes in heavy viewers, it also increases the likelihood of using these attitudes as decision-making roles in heavy viewers.

Shrum and O'Guinn (1993; also Shrum, 2001, 2007) posited that cultivation effects may partly be the result of viewers using heuristic processing strategies via

construct accessibility and the availability heuristic. Constructs activated more recently and frequently are more likely to be recalled. Citing Kahneman and Tversky's (1972, 1982) body of work, the authors argued that television provides viewers with information about social reality topics, and that these cognitions are much more readily accessible and amenable to heuristic processing to heavy viewers, leading to greater cultivation effects for heavy viewers compared to light viewers. Additionally, the vividness of television portrayals has been suggested as one factor that might make television portrayals and information more accessible (Shrum, 1995). Vivid portrayals are likely to attract attention and evoke emotion and are likely to be accessible in memory. Vividness increases the probability of recalling constructs that were formed through exposure to television content. Shrum (2004) also notes that television programs can be viewed as messages that are persuasive in nature. As message repetition increases persuasion, repeated viewing or increased frequency of television content should be positively related to agreement with the attitudes and beliefs presented in the programming content.

In sum, taken together, Shrum and colleagues' body of research indicates that increased viewing of television is associated with more accessible attitudes and increased construct accessibility; frequency of viewing in turn influences the retrieval of information and impacts subsequent judgments. Notably, the more accessible a construct, the greater influence it wields over the requisite attitudes/value judgments. Thus, television "cultivates" requisite attitudes, values, and judgments in heavy viewers.

With regard to gender-stereotypical portrayals on television, all indications are that heavy viewers of television content will espouse gender-stereotypical attitudes, as is

documented by numerous studies. It is also highly likely that female heavy viewers see a plethora of negative low-status depictions and portrayals of their group. A probable outcome of this prolonged exposure is an internalization of lower status of women in female heavy viewers. Social identity theory suggests that these women may be motivated to actively seek a positive group identity.

As this investigation predicts a link between observable outcomes in terms of social identity management strategies and television viewing, an overview of social identity theory follows. This in turn, is followed by the argument that the cultivation perspective provides a way to understand how viewing mediated portrayals may influence the adoption of social strategies by female heavy viewers.

#### *Social Identity Theory*

Social identity theory is a useful framework for understanding relations between high and low status groups (Tajfel, 1972). Social identity theory has been significant in understanding the mechanisms that affect between and within-group processes (Abrams & Hogg, 1999), group dynamics (Hogg & Abrams, 1993), and persuasive communication (Duck, Hogg, & Terry, 2000).

The theory posits that mere categorization is sufficient to induce ingroup bias. Tajfel (1972) proposed that a need for positive social identity was responsible for the creation of bias favoring one's own group as compared to other groups. Tajfel proposed that social identifications (social group-based identifications) are an important part of the self-concept, and because people strive for positive self-concepts, they are motivated to positively evaluate their social groups in comparison with other groups. Thus, ingroup

bias follows from a sequence of social categorization (e.g., recognizing the categories of “us” vs. “them”), social identification (identifying with the “us”) and social-group comparison (comparing “us” to “them”), driven by a pressure to positively differentiate one’s ingroup from other relevant out-groups (Turner, 1999).

Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) applied this social psychological analysis to a theoretical model that explains the ways in which low-status group members respond to social stratification. Specifically, group members’ beliefs about the stability and the legitimacy of the status structure and nature of group boundaries affect the strategies that might be used to achieve *positive* social identity. They defined the *stability of status* as the extent to which an alternative status position for the group as a whole is likely to be realized, the *legitimacy of status* as the extent to which both the high and the low status groups accept the status structure as legitimate, and the *permeability of group boundaries* as the extent to which group members can leave one group and join the other.

According to social identity theory, social comparison between high and low status groups should yield favorable outcomes for members of the high status groups (e.g., van Knippenberg, 1984; van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1990). If through social comparison the low-status members recognize the relative superiority of another group, their relative standing should be unable to provide a positive social identity. Under these circumstances, members of the low-status groups will be motivated to adopt any one of the following strategies, depending on the social structure (please see Table 1 for a summary of the three identity management strategies, including definitions, examples and the structural conditions under which they occur).

One strategy involves attempting to improve the positivity of one's own social identity by individually gaining membership in a higher status group. This strategy is a less viable alternative, however, when a cue such as skin color determines group status (Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, & Hume, 2000; e.g., passing as White is certainly easier for light-skinned African-Americans as compared to those with darker skin color). Thus, perceived permeability of boundaries between groups is important; when boundaries between groups can be crossed and the social structure and stratification practices seem stable and legitimate, members of disadvantaged groups may adopt this strategy. This *individual mobility* strategy rests on a belief that status differences are essentially legitimate and based upon individual characteristics and effort. If successful, it involves a change for the individual, but no change at the group level. When members of a low-status group engage in upward individual mobility, they may describe themselves in terms of attributes that are consistent with those of the high-status group to which they aspire to rather than those attributes associated with the low-status group to which they presently belong.

A second strategy, *social creativity*, involves altering the dimension or the groups on which the intergroup comparison is made. In implementing this strategy, members of low-status groups can make comparisons with higher status groups on new dimensions that yield more favorable outcomes for the low-status groups. For example, gay men actively celebrate their gay identity through participation in pride celebrations in contrast to conservative heterosexual norms regarding the expression of sexuality (Hajek & Giles, 2002). Alternatively, members of low-status groups may change the group that they

compare themselves with. Typically, they compare themselves with another low-status group to achieve a positive social identity. For example, young gay men may compare themselves favorably against older gay men on dimensions such as appearance and acceptance within the gay culture. Social creativity typically is chosen by members of low-status groups when boundaries between groups are less permeable and the existing social structure is perceived as legitimate and stable.

Finally, positive group distinctiveness may be achieved by means of direct competition (*social competition*) with the higher status out-group. For example, the low-status group as a whole may adopt a strategy in which they collectively mobilize to improve their status vis-à-vis the high-status group (e.g., Van Zomeren et al., 2004). The civil rights movement in the early 1960's in the U.S. would be an example of this strategy as implemented by African-Americans. The suffragette movement, wherein women mobilized to seek a voice in the political process would be another example of social competition in action. Social competition occurs when the existing social structure is perceived as illegitimate and unstable, and boundaries between groups are not permeable (under conditions of low permeability individual mobility would be highly restricted).

*Social identity theory and gender.* Williams and Giles (1978) first applied this theoretical framework to examine the impact of status differences between men and women on women. At the time of their work, the status of women in American society was not as positive as in later years – women were still primarily regarded as homemakers, and their full participation in the civic, economic, and political arenas had not yet flourished. Thus, the authors noted no distinctions in status differences of the

genders in different spheres of life (society, business, politics, etc.) – unilaterally women had the lower status compared to men across all these different areas. Notably, in present times, the status of women is much improved, yet women still lag behind men on the very same indicators of societal participation (IWPR, 2004).

Two key ideas propagated by Williams and Giles were that (a) women's social identity is derived from comparisons to men, and (b) their social identities are negative as they have internalized the dominant ideology that men occupy higher status than them. Consequently, as a result of their perceived lower status, women should be motivated to regain a positive social identity by adopting any of the three identity management strategies under the overarching sociostructural constructs such as legitimacy, permeability, and stability of status relations between men and women. While this original perspective has formed the cornerstone of most research focusing on women and social identity (e.g., Breinlinger & Kelly, 1994), three major offshoots characterize subsequent research in this area.

First, contrary to grouping all women into the same category with the same notions of inequality, researchers have argued that different women perceive womanhood differently and consequently they react to their status as women differently, and the group "women" may actually consist of different identities (Breakwell, 1979; Skevington & Baker, 1989). Second, a strong ingroup identification and subsequently adoption of collective strategies is not restricted to only women who have rejected the status quo (i.e., feminists); "traditional" women are equally likely to identify strongly with the ingroup (Condor, 1986). Finally, women as a group might gain self-esteem through ties of

affiliation and attachment to other members of the group, creating a sort of communal identity that is not fully taken into account by either Tajfel's (1979) or other early theorists' frameworks (although see later work by Williams, 1984; Brown & Williams, 1984).

More recent research focusing on women and social identity encompasses a wide array of topics, ranging from the theory's application to women in organizations, coping with sexism, acculturation processes in foreign cultures, and the impact of advertising images (Anderson, 2004; Joshi, Hui, & Jackson, 2006; Lee, 2007; Woods, 2006). A dominant stream of research in the identity arena focuses on the connection between feminist identity and collective action (Crosby, Todd, & Worrell, 1996; Liss, Crawford, & Popp, 2004; Stryker, Owens, & White, 2000). These researchers have noted that in some women, embracing a feminist identity is strongly and directly correlated to endorsing strategies of social competition and collective action.

When adopting identity management strategies as a means towards a positive social identity, an individual mobility perspective would suggest that women might be motivated to compete on an individual level with men (e.g., playing by men's rules at the workplace). This would involve beliefs that the status difference between men and women is legitimate and group boundaries are permeable by imitating men's "abilities" (a case of "If you cannot beat them, join them" perhaps). Social creativity may be used to assuage a negative group-based identity by comparing women to men on dimensions more favorable to them or changing the comparison group (e.g., women are more nurturing than men, or women today are better off than women from previous

generations). And finally, a perception that status differences are unstable and illegitimate, might spur women on to collective action (as reflected notably in the women's movement).

In summary, women have lower status than men, notably in the television universe. Importantly, low-status portrayals of women are pervasive across genres and are consistent with the findings from the overall television portrayals literature. This lends support to studying the effects of overall exposure to television rather than genre-specific exposure. Constant exposure to themes of low status and restricted abilities may lead to an internalization of low status for female viewers. Accordingly, these women may achieve a positive social identity by adopting relevant identity management strategies. The choice of identity management strategies is influenced by sociostructural variables such as permeability, legitimacy and stability of status differences. With this as the background, the following section notes predictions regarding the choice and endorsement of identity management strategies using tenets from cultivation theory.

#### *Derivation of Identity Management Strategies from a Cultivation Perspective*

Cultivation theory predicts that prolonged exposure to television content influences a person's view of the world around them, and over time internalization of television content may take place (e.g., Gerbner et al., 2002). From this perspective, female heavy viewers of television may espouse more traditional gender roles for women and consciously or unconsciously submit to the notion that women occupy lower status than men. Studying identity management strategies as an outcome of television exposure/consumption can be conceptualized as akin to studying second-order cultivation

judgments. From the cultivation perspective, tenets of *resonance* and *mainstreaming* help explain how viewing television may influence the internalization of low status for women. U.S. society is notionally egalitarian, but patriarchal mores are present in the prevailing societal consciousness (e.g., gender disparity in income favoring men in the workplace). Employing the tenet of *resonance* from the theory, real-world experiences or beliefs may amplify the cultivation effects of television in reinforcing notions about, and the acceptance of, more traditional roles and lower status for women who already espouse traditional gender roles.

From a *mainstreaming* perspective, heavy viewers of television, irrespective of individual differences, may gravitate towards espousing traditional gender roles for women. Extant research documents the connection between traditional gender roles endorsement and television viewing, such that television viewing is positively related to endorsing more traditional ideas of masculinity and femininity, or endorsing in some way the notion of masculine superiority (e.g., Herrett-Skjellum & Allen, 1996).

More specifically, it is argued that due to prolonged exposure to television content, female heavy viewers of television will accept televised portrayals of their group as an accurate depiction of the real world and accept the existing status quo as the lower status group as compared to men. These arguments find support from Shrum and colleagues' work on cultivation effects. As noted, Shrum (1999) posits that frequency of television viewing provides opportunity for rehearsing attitudes as well as reinforcing the perceived functionality of attitudes noted in the television universe. Repeated exposure to a formulaic and consistent set of thematic content (e.g., portrayal of women in low-status

roles) may lead viewers to internalize the themes and to conclude that the messages reflect attitudes prevalent in society. Social identity theory would suggest that when members of low-status groups perceive “legitimate” status differentials, they would indulge in or endorse individual mobility strategies and social creativity strategies in order to achieve positive social identity. When members of low-status groups believe that the status structure is illegitimate, they would endorse social competition. The following three points underline this argument.

First, television is a valued social institution, and from the perspective of cultivation theory, internalization of and belief in television reality is an outcome of prolonged exposure to television content. Television images serve a “legitimizing” function in society. Gerbner and colleagues state that television “...serves primarily to maintain, stabilize, and reinforce – not subvert – conventional values, beliefs, and behaviors” (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorielli, & Jackson-Beeck, 1979, p. 180). Real world perceptions are influenced by television depictions, notably for heavy viewers of the content (Gerbner et al., 2002; Hawkins & Pingree, 1981, 1982; Shrum, 1999). Prolonged exposure to television content, therefore, should *heighten* beliefs about the stability and the legitimacy of the existing social structure, specifically the status differentials between men and women. Thus, internalization of low-status should logically culminate in a choice between individual mobility and creativity strategies for women.

Second, television is a site for individual action when it comes to women. A few individual token women are shown in positions of power (e.g., Cloud, 1996). As noted by

researchers, tokenism weakens a low-status group's collective action strategies and discourages social activism as the presence of token characters signifies that boundaries between groups may be permeable (Oliver, 1984). Perceived permeability of group boundaries signals that individual achievement may be possible; in turn this perception weakens group mobilization in low-status groups (Barreto, Ellemers, & Palacios, 2004; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). Exposure to token female characters on television may result in a perception of permeable group boundaries, and thus lead to a choice of individual mobility as an identity management strategy.

Third, and related to the second point, there are almost no images of women participating in collective action on television, and very few images of women as a powerful group (Cloud, 1996; Rhode, 1995). From the perspective of social cognitive theory people learn through observation as compared to more traditional mechanisms of learning through "doing" (Bandura, 2001). Essentially, the absence of "women as a collective force" role models, and the dearth of images of collective action in television, underlines why creativity and mobility strategies rather than competition might be chosen by female heavy viewers.

Therefore, the main hypotheses for this research are:

H1: Television viewing will be positively related to endorsing individual mobility.

H2: Television viewing will be positively related to endorsing social creativity.

H3: Television viewing will be inversely related to endorsing social competition.

And

H4a: Television viewing will be positively related to perceived permeability.

H4b: Television viewing will be positively related to perceived legitimacy.

H4c: Television viewing will be positively related to perceived stability.

In line with previous research (See Table 1), predictions regarding the influence of sociostructural variables on identity management strategies are as follows:

H5a: Permeability will be positively associated with individual mobility.

H5b: Permeability will be negatively associated with social creativity.

H5c: Permeability will be negatively associated with social competition.

H6a: Stability will be positively associated with individual mobility.

H6b: Stability will be positively associated with social creativity.

H6c: Stability will be negatively related to social competition.

H7a: Legitimacy will be positively associated with individual mobility.

H7b: Legitimacy will be positively associated with social creativity.

H7c: Legitimacy will be negatively associated with social competition.

### *Intervening Variables*

*Gender role attitudes.* As elucidated earlier, gender role attitudes are impacted by television portrayals (e.g., Gould, 1987; Herret-Skjellum & Allen, 1996), such that exposure to stereotypical masculine and feminine portrayals is accompanied by lower desires to deviate from traditional gender roles. Thus, scholars note that television viewing is positively related to more traditional gender role attitudes and norms of gender-appropriate behavior in women. In line with these previous findings, the prediction for the present research is:

H8: Television viewing will be positively associated with endorsement of traditional gender roles.

Scholars have found positive relationships between endorsing traditional gender roles and strategies of mobility and creativity, and similar relationships between endorsing non-traditional gender roles and social competition in women (e.g., Stryker, Owens, & White, 2000). Thus:

H9a: Endorsement of traditional gender roles will be positively associated with individual mobility.

H9b: Endorsement of traditional gender roles will be positively associated with creativity strategies.

H9c: Endorsement of traditional gender roles will be negatively associated with social competition.

It is likely that television viewing and gender role attitudes interact in predicting individual mobility, social creativity and social competition. From the resonance perspective, low-status television portrayals of women may resonate with women who hold traditional gender role attitudes, as likely they bolster each other. Consequently, women who are traditional *and* who are heavy viewers of television should be more inclined towards mobility and creativity, and less inclined towards competition as compared to non-traditional heavy viewers and all light viewers. Thus the hypotheses tested are:

H10a: The positive relationship between television viewing and individual mobility will be moderated by gender role attitudes such that the relationship will be stronger for traditional women and weaker for non-traditional women.

H10b: The positive relationship between television viewing and social creativity will be moderated by gender role attitudes such that the relationship will be stronger for traditional women and weaker for non-traditional women.

H10c: The negative relationship between television viewing and social competition will be moderated by gender role attitudes such that the relationship will be stronger for traditional women and weaker for non-traditional women.

*Perceived ingroup vitality.* As levels and quality of group representation in television and other media are a direct indicator of that group's institutional support and vitality in society (see Harwood & Roy, 2005), it is hypothesized that television viewing may impact women's notion of their vitality in society, and this in turn may also impact identity management strategies.

Research suggests that societies such as the United States are characterized by unequal distribution of power in terms of groups and their relative social status (e.g., Wilson, Gutierrez, & Chao, 2003). Hirshman (1993) argues that in such societies, ideology is one means by which dominant groups maintain and legitimize their power over other groups. Hirshman notes that one of the most influential means of reproducing and transmitting the dominant ideology is through the mass media. This emphasis both in production and in the presentation of the dominant ideology has implications when examining the portrayals of various racial, gender, and cultural groups in that society's

media vehicles. Specifically, portrayals of dominant groups are positive and buttress the dominant group ideology; not surprisingly as ownership and control of the said vehicles is in their hands. Conversely, the ideology of minority groups is weakened by the short shrift given to them in terms of their often negative or stereotypical representations (or lack thereof) in media vehicles.

From this perspective, scholars have critically analyzed portrayals of women on television and other media vehicles, and concluded that media content is dominated by and shaped by patriarchal norms at the expense of women as a group (e.g., Steeves, 1997). These efforts follow in line with early work in this area by scholars such as Tuchman (1978). Tuchman characterized this treatment of women by the mass media as the “symbolic annihilation” (p. 8) of women by condemning and trivializing them, and perpetuating their absence from media content. Tinged with vitriol and a touch of hyperbole, this statement nevertheless parallels some of the findings from quantitative analyses of television content.

As mentioned previously, group representations in media content are also studied under the aegis of ethnolinguistic vitality theory (Giles et al., 1977). Ethnolinguistic vitality theory lays emphasis on the importance of media as an element in groups’ social strength and influence (Harwood & Roy, 2005). Specifically, vitality is a measure of a group’s relative strength in society in terms of its level of demographic representation, institutional support, and its relative status. Levels of group representation in television and other media are a direct indicator of that group’s institutional support and hence its vitality in society. Hence portrayals of different groups and their members in the media

can be used to analyze the state of intergroup relations and parity between groups in that society. Simply put, underrepresentation of certain groups and their members in terms of their visibility in the media leads to marginalization of those groups, whereas positive over representations strengthens and solidifies group status (Abrams, Eveland, & Giles, 2003; Abrams & Giles, 2007; Harwood, 1999). For example, Abrams and Giles (2007) found that African-Americans who identified strongly with their ingroup tended to avoid television as they felt that their group was not represented fairly. In turn, African-Americans' television avoidance was negatively associated with perceived vitality of their group. Although not explicitly tested, Abrams and Giles argued that television avoidance and perceptions of low vitality might contribute to beliefs in an impermeable and stable social hierarchy, and suppress attitudes of social competition in members of low-status or minority groups.

In their sample of prime-time programming Harwood and Anderson (2002) noted that overall women were underrepresented in the television universe as compared to their actual proportion of the population, and this was most overtly recorded for older female characters. Other scholars have noted that male representations in television programming are more positive (with respect to status, power, etc.) as compared to female representations (e.g., Thompson & Zerbinos, 1995). From the perspective of ethnolinguistic vitality theory, female vitality as manifested in the television universe seems weaker than that of men, both in terms of quality as well as quantity. Thus it is of interest to explore how television viewing can impact women's perceived ingroup vitality, and whether perceived ingroup vitality is associated with identity management.

H11: Television viewing is inversely related to perceived ingroup vitality.

RQ1: How is perceived ingroup vitality associated with identity management strategies?

*Ingroup identification.* Ingroup identification is an outcome of self-categorization and social identity processes (Haslam & Turner, 1992). Scholars have noted that individuals who identify strongly with the ingroup tend to act in ways consistent with social creativity and social competition strategies; however, those individuals who are low identifiers tend to act in terms of individual mobility (e.g., Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997). An exploratory research question is proposed to explore how television viewing may impact women's ingroup identification and whether ingroup identification is associated with identity management.

RQ2: How is ingroup identification related to television viewing and identity management?

*Perceived realism of television.* Perceived realism of television is believed to influence viewing involvement and relevance, which in turn may enhance or detract from viewing effects (Shapiro & Chock, 2003). Hawkins (1977) suggested that 'realistic' information on television might lead to stronger effects. Thus, perceived reality of television appears to be an important intervening variable impacting cultivation effects. In terms of women's portrayals, if television content is perceived as realistic, that is, an accurate representation of group status in society, it adds weight to the perceived low status for women. For this study, an exploratory research question is proposed

RQ3: How is perceived realism of television associated with identity management?

*Perceived ingroup efficacy.* According to Ouwerkerk, Ellemers, and de Gilder (1999), ingroup or collective efficacy refers to “beliefs in the capabilities of one’s group to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments” (p. 195). It is likely that for low status groups, high perceived ingroup efficacy might translate into attitudes of social competition as members may feel that they have the resources to mount a challenge against the status-quo (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

RQ4: How is perceived ingroup efficacy associated with television viewing and identity management?

Given the complexity in teasing out the relationships and the connections between the intergroup variables, lack of previous empirical support, and the exploratory nature of the study, exploratory analyses will be carried out to test whether, in fact (a) perceived ingroup vitality, (b) ingroup identification, (c) perceived realism of television, and (d) perceived ingroup efficacy moderate the relationship between television viewing and the identity management strategies.

## CHAPTER THREE

### PILOT STUDY

A Pilot study was conducted to test and validate new measures, as well as to test all the hypotheses and research questions detailed in the previous chapter. As part of the Pilot, some exploratory analyses were performed as past research integrating cultivation theory and social identity theory is scant. Additionally, these are two rather disparate theoretical frameworks. The following sections elaborate on the method, analyses, results, and the chapter concludes with a discussion of the results from the study. Please note that social creativity was operationalized using two scales for each of the two sub-strategies. From this point forward “social dimension creativity” refers to *changing the dimension of comparison to favor the ingroup*, and “social group creativity” refers to *changing the comparison group altogether*.

#### Method

##### *Participants*

Participants were 167 women from a large Southwestern university who answered a questionnaire in exchange for extra credit. Two participants were excluded from the analysis as they reported inordinately high scores ( $z$ 's > 4) for daily television viewing, the main independent variable. The final  $N$  was 165 women (18-49 years old;  $M = 21.10$ ,  $SD = 3.73$ ). Most respondents were White (83.8%). The remaining respondents were Hispanic/Latina (7.2%), Asian (4.8%), African-American (3%), while 1.2% indicated other ethnic groups.

### *Procedures and materials*

Approval from the Institutional Review Board of the University was secured before starting the study. Each participant completed a questionnaire at their convenience (see Appendix A for all items). The questionnaire was broadly divided into three sections—questions pertaining to television viewing, endorsement of identity management strategies, and other variables of interest in the study. Most measures were Likert scales, and all reliabilities are reported as Cronbach's alpha. Exploratory factor analyses (principal axis factoring, *Varimax* rotation with Kaiser Normalization) were carried out individually for all scales to make sure that items in each scale loaded on a single factor. Unless mentioned otherwise, all items from these scales were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 "Strongly Disagree" to 5 "Strongly Agree." Please see Table 2 for a correlation matrix for all independent and dependent variables. Additionally, please see Table 2 for all non-significant correlations.

### Measures

#### *Independent Variable*

*Daily television viewing.* As per procedures used by Shrum, Wyer and O'Guinn (1998) and Segrin and Nabi (2002), respondents indicated the number of hours of TV viewed in four time periods for an average weekday, and on an average Saturday or Sunday. The four time periods were 6 a.m. to noon, noon to 6 p.m., 6 p.m. to midnight and midnight to 6 a.m. These data were combined by weighting the weekday viewing by a factor of five and the weekend viewing by a factor of two, and divided by seven to obtain an "average TV viewing hours per day" variable ( $M = 4.21$ ,  $SD = 2.48$ ).

### *Dependent Variables*

*Identity management strategies.* No suitable existing scales that were found to measure identity management strategies in women. Therefore, each of the three identity management strategies were assessed using different scales created for this investigation. As noted earlier, all items from these scales may be seen in Appendix A. Responses were coded on a 5-point Likert scale, with higher scores reflecting greater endorsement of that strategy. Individual mobility was assessed with eight items (e.g., “Sometimes to get ahead, I play by men’s rules”;  $\alpha = .86$ ,  $M = 2.20$ ,  $SD = .81$ ). Social creativity was assessed using two different scales for the two sub-strategies. Social dimension creativity was assessed with four items (e.g., “When I see how obsessed with getting ahead most men are, I feel better about being a woman”,  $\alpha = .75$ ,  $M = 3.32$ ,  $SD = .86$ ). Social group creativity was assessed using two items (e.g., “When I see how little women in other countries have, I feel grateful for what I have”;  $\alpha = .65$ ,  $M = 4.63$ ,  $SD = .48$ ). Originally the social group creativity scale had eight items. However, the measure suffered from poor reliability. Thus only two items were retained for the preliminary analyses.

Social competition was assessed with eleven items (e.g., “I would join a protest for women’s rights if it was held on campus”;  $\alpha = .88$ ,  $M = 2.97$ ,  $SD = .78$ ). One item from the original twelve items was dropped to improve reliability (“I would rather vote for a woman than a man, even if I disagreed with some of her views”).

### *Intervening Variables*

*Sociostructural variables.* Permeability, stability and legitimacy were also measured using scales created for the investigation, as suitable existing scales could not

be found. Permeability was assessed using four items (e.g., “In America, women and men have equal access to high status jobs in the workplace”;  $\alpha = .71$ ,  $M = 3.06$ ,  $SD = .80$ ). Stability of status differentials was measured using five items (e.g., “The balance between men and women’s status in society will remain stable over the next decade”;  $\alpha = .87$ ,  $M = 3.15$ ,  $SD = .76$ ). Legitimacy was measured using one item (“Men’s position in U. S. society is legitimate”;  $M = 2.98$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ). Originally four items were meant to measure legitimacy. However, this scale had extremely low reliability ( $\alpha < .50$ ). Hence a single item was used to measure legitimacy, as it was the only item that was significantly correlated with other variables in the study (stability, permeability, and social competition; see Table 2 for correlation matrix). Higher scores on all three scales indicated greater belief in the prevalent sociostructural conditions.

*Gender role attitudes.* Gender role attitudes were measured using a modified version of the Sex Role Stereotyping subscale of the Sexual Attitudes Survey. Originally Burt (1980) found a Cronbach’s alpha of .80. In the present study, the scale had ten items and an  $\alpha$  of .74 ( $M = 2.41$ ,  $SD = .63$ ). Items included, for example, “There is something wrong with a woman who doesn't want to marry.” Higher scores indicated greater endorsement of sex-role stereotypes and hence more traditional gender role attitudes.

*Perceived ingroup vitality.* No suitable scales were found in the existing literature for this variable, therefore a new scale was created for this study. Perceived ingroup vitality was measured using seven items (e.g., “Women are represented fairly in American culture”;  $\alpha = .89$ ,  $M = 2.77$ ,  $SD = .77$ ). Higher scores indicated greater perceptions of ingroup vitality.

*Ingroup identification.* Ingroup identification was measured with four items adapted from Klandermans, Sabucedo, Rodriguez and de Weerd's (2002) study (e.g., "I feel strong ties to other women";  $\alpha = .74$ ,  $M = 3.89$ ,  $SD = .75$ ). Higher scores indicated greater identification with the ingroup.

*Perceived realism of American television.* This was assessed using four modified items from the Perceived Realism Scale (Rubin, 1981, e.g., "Television shows American life as it really is";  $\alpha = .73$ ,  $M = 2.31$ ,  $SD = .76$ ). Published reliabilities for this scale range from  $\alpha$  of .70 up to .90. Higher scores on this measure indicated greater identification with the ingroup.

*Perceived ingroup efficacy.* Perceived ingroup efficacy was measured using a modified version of the Generalized Self-Efficacy scale (GSE; Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995; published  $\alpha$ 's range from .77 to .89). Items included, for example, "Women as a group can always manage to solve difficult problems". Five items formed the scale ( $\alpha = .82$ ,  $M = 4.22$ ,  $SD = .60$ ), where higher scores indicated greater perceptions of ingroup efficacy.

## Results

### *Television Viewing and Identity Management Strategies*

Television viewing was not significantly related to endorsing strategies of mobility and creativity. Thus H1 and H2 were not supported. H3 was supported. As hypothesized, television viewing was significantly and negatively related to social competition  $r(158) = -.26$ ,  $p < .001$ .

### *Television Viewing and Sociostructural Variables*

Television viewing was not significantly related to permeability (H4a), stability (H4b) or legitimacy (H4c). Thus there were no significant relationships between television viewing and any of the three sociostructural variables.

### *Sociostructural Variables and Identity Management Strategies*

With regard to relationships between the sociostructural variables and individual mobility, permeability was significantly and positively related to individual mobility,  $r(158) = .26, p < .001$ , thus supporting H5a. Permeability was not associated with social creativity (H5b) or competition (H5c). Stability was not related to mobility (H6a) or creativity (H6b). However, as predicted, stability was significantly and negatively related to social competition (H6c),  $r(158) = -.17, p < .05$ . Legitimacy was not related to individual mobility (H7a) or social creativity (H7b), but was significantly and negatively related to social competition (H7c) as predicted,  $r(158) = -.33, p < .001$ .

### *Television Viewing, Gender Role Attitudes and Identity Management Strategies*

Television viewing was not related to gender role attitudes (H8). Gender role attitudes were not associated with individual mobility (H9a). However, as predicted, traditional gender role attitudes were positively associated with social group creativity,  $r(164) = .16, p < .05$ , but not with social dimension creativity, providing some support to H9b. Traditional gender role attitudes were significantly and negatively related to social competition as hypothesized (H9c),  $r(158) = -.19, p < .05$ .

### *Television Viewing and Gender Role Attitudes – Interaction Effects*

The impact of television viewing and gender role attitudes on the identity management strategies of individual mobility, social creativity and social competition was investigated by a series of hierarchical regression analyses. The criterion variable in each of the regression analyses was one of the three identity management strategies. The first predictor in each analysis was the measure of television viewing, followed by gender role attitudes. Finally each regression included the interaction term of the television measure and gender role attitudes. Interaction terms were created using centered variables as per Aiken and West (1991).

*Individual mobility.* H10a received little support (see Table 3). Results indicated that the overall model was non-significant,  $F(3, 156) = 1.38, p > .05$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .01$ . There were no significant direct effects for television viewing ( $\beta = -.08, p > .05$ ) and gender role attitudes ( $\beta = .01, p > .05$ ). However, the interaction term was borderline significant ( $\beta = .16, p = .057$ ). This interaction effect was further examined for exploratory purposes.

The interaction term was decomposed and illustrated by running the regression analysis with the gender role attitudes variable at -1 standard deviation from its centered mean, at the centered mean, and at +1 standard deviation above the centered mean following procedures outlined in Aiken and West (1991), and Segrin (2003). The standardized regression coefficient for television viewing in each of these analyses illustrates the relationship between television viewing and individual mobility at three

arbitrary points - “traditional”, “average”, and “non-traditional” for gender role attitudes. These points are selected merely for purposes of illustration.

The associated coefficients for television viewing were  $\beta = .01, p > .05$ , for traditional gender roles,  $\beta = -.03, p > .05$ , for average gender roles, and  $\beta = -.06, p > .05$ , for non-traditional gender roles. These regression slopes are plotted in Figure 4. As the regression coefficients in this case were non-significant, any interpretations of the same should be treated with caution. It appears that increased television viewing is associated with higher individual mobility scores for traditional viewers per the hypothesis, however, contrary to the hypothesis, television viewing was negatively related to individual mobility in both non-traditional women as well as women who were neither traditional nor non-traditional.

*Social creativity.* H10b was not supported. The model was non-significant for both social group and social dimension creativity. There were no significant direct effects for television viewing or gender role attitudes on social creativity. Television viewing and gender role attitudes did not significantly interact to predict social creativity.

*Social competition.* H10c received some support (see Table 3). Results indicated that the overall model was significant,  $F(3, 152) = 8.49, p < .001$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .13$ . There were significant direct effects for television viewing ( $\beta = -.29, p < .01$ ) and gender role attitudes ( $\beta = -.19, p < .05$ ), such that both television viewing and traditional gender role attitudes were inversely related to social competition. The interaction term was significant ( $\beta = .20, p < .01$ ). Following the procedures for decomposing the interaction as outlined in the analysis of H10a, regression coefficients for television viewing were

obtained. These were  $\beta = -.03, p > .05$ , for traditional gender roles,  $\beta = -.08, p < .01$ , for average gender roles, and  $\beta = -.14, p < .01$ , for non-traditional gender roles. These regression slopes are plotted in Figure 5.

As seen in Figure 5, television viewing is negatively related to social competition for all women; however, this relationship is strongest for non-traditional women. Increased television viewing appears to *dampen* or diminish attitudes of social competition in non-traditional women to a greater extent than that for traditional women.

#### *Other Intervening Variables*

*H11 and RQ1: Perceived ingroup vitality.* Television viewing was not associated with perceived ingroup vitality, thus there was no support for H11. Perceived ingroup vitality was significantly and negatively associated with individual mobility,  $r(163) = -.16, p < .05$ , social dimension creativity,  $r(163) = -.17, p < .05$ , and with social competition,  $r(158) = -.32, p < .01$ . Perceived ingroup vitality did not moderate the relationship between television viewing and identity management strategies.

*RQ2: Ingroup identification.* Ingroup identification was not associated with television viewing or with any of the identity management strategies, and did not moderate the relationship between television viewing and identity management strategies.

*RQ3: Perceived realism of television.* Perceived realism of television was not significantly associated with any of the identity management strategies, and did not moderate the relationship between television viewing and identity management strategies.

*RQ4: Perceived ingroup efficacy.* Perceived ingroup efficacy was not significantly related to television viewing, individual mobility or social competition.

However perceived ingroup efficacy was significantly related to social dimension creativity,  $r(164) = .16, p < .05$ . Additionally, perceived ingroup efficacy did not moderate the relationship between television viewing and identity management strategies.

### Discussion

The goals of the Pilot were two-fold. The first was to test new measures, and the second goal was to test planned and exploratory hypotheses and research questions. Overall, the study succeeded in producing reliable measures for most of the constructs. However, the scales designed to test (a) perceptions of the legitimacy of existing status differentials between men and women in society and (b) social group creativity suffered from poor reliability. Accordingly, new scales were developed to test these measures, and were pre-tested before embarking on Study 1 (see Chapter 4). Additionally, a direct measure of perception of women' status in relation to men was included in the next study as this variable was not measured adequately in the Pilot.

The inverse relationship between television viewing and social competition, and the interaction between television viewing and gender role attitudes in predicting dampened social competition in non-traditional women, were the key significant findings from the primary hypotheses. There was support for a direct relationship between television viewing and one identity management strategy (social competition), but not the other two strategies. No significant findings were observed for television viewing's hypothesized positive relationships with the sociostructural variables (permeability, legitimacy, and stability), implying little support for their mediating the relationship between television viewing and identity management. In line with past work, some

support was found for the various linkages between the sociostructural variables and the identity management strategies. Surprisingly, no significant relationship was observed between television viewing and gender role attitudes. This finding is surprising considering that past research has demonstrated positive relationships between television viewing and traditional gender role attitudes. As hypothesized, traditional gender role attitudes were significantly and positively related to social group creativity and negatively related with social competition. Television viewing and gender role attitudes interacted to significantly predict only social competition of the three identity management strategies. Specifically, it was found that increased television viewing was most strongly and negatively related to social competition in non-traditional women. This was a very interesting and important finding, as it implies that increased television viewing *dampens* social competition for both traditional as well as non-traditional women, and the effects of television viewing are more deleterious in non-traditional women.

With regard to the remainder of the intervening variables, no major meaningful relationships were observed between perceived realism of television, ingroup identification, and perceived ingroup efficacy and the main variables of interest in the Pilot test. In addition, these variables did not moderate the relationship between television viewing and identity management. Although television viewing was not related to perceived ingroup vitality, there were significant and theoretically meaningful relationships observed between perceived ingroup vitality and the three identity management strategies. It appears that notions of vitality of women in society are

inversely related to all three identity management strategies. In other words, the more women perceive high vitality for their group in society, the less inclined they are to endorse identity management strategies. This makes sense, as per social identity theory, women engage in identity management only when they have a negative social identity.

The numerous non-significant findings are not surprising, considering that power to detect small effects in this study was extremely low. Specifically, power to detect small effects for the correlational analyses was .37. The statistical power of the moderator analyses was still lower. As some support for the main hypotheses was observed from the Pilot's results the next step was to replicate the study in order to provide further evidence to support the observed relationships. Accordingly, a second survey study (see Study 1 in Chapter 4) was undertaken.

No significant relationships were found between perceived realism of television, ingroup identification, perceived ingroup efficacy, and other key variables (e.g., television viewing) in the pilot. After careful consideration, these three variables were not retained in Study 1. It must be emphasized that the absence of significant findings in the Pilot does not necessarily mean that these variables are uncorrelated with television viewing in real life. Based on the power analysis, tests in the Pilot had low power to detect small effects, so it is likely that these relationships might have very well achieved significance given greater statistical power (via an increased sample size). As these variables were not the main focus of the research, it was decided to keep the focus on the main premises.

The hypotheses for the proposed interactions between television viewing and gender role attitudes on the identity management strategies were reworded after taking into account the dampening effect observed for social competition in the Pilot. Specifically, if television viewing dampened social competition in non-traditional women, would it also heighten their tendencies toward mobility and creativity? Although there was no support demonstrated for relationships between television viewing and the sociostructural variables, the requisite hypotheses were retained for Study 1 in order to rule out any relationships between these variables.

Thus the final set of hypotheses tested in Study 1 was as follows:

H1: Television viewing will be positively associated with individual mobility

H2: Television viewing will be positively associated with social creativity.

H3: Television viewing will be negatively associated with social competition.

H4a: Television viewing will be positively associated with permeability.

H4b: Television viewing will be positively associated with legitimacy.

H4c: Television viewing will be negatively associated with stability.

H5a: Gender role attitudes will be positively related to individual mobility

H5b: Gender role attitudes will be positively related to social creativity

H5c: Gender role attitudes will be negatively related to social competition

H6a: Gender role attitudes will moderate the association between television viewing and individual mobility, such that television viewing will be positively related to individual mobility scores for non-traditional women and less positively for traditional women.

H6b: Gender role attitudes will moderate the association between television viewing and social creativity, such that television viewing will be positively related to social creativity scores for non-traditional women, and less positively related to social creativity scores for traditional women.

H6c: Gender role attitudes will moderate the association between television viewing and social competition, such that television viewing will be negatively related to social competition scores for non-traditional women, and less negatively related to social competition scores for traditional women.

H7a: Perceived ingroup vitality will be negatively related to individual mobility

H7b: Perceived ingroup vitality will be negatively related to social creativity

H7c: Perceived ingroup vitality will be negatively related to social competition

## CHAPTER FOUR

### STUDY ONE

#### Method

##### *Pre-test*

Twenty eight undergraduate female students (19-27 years,  $M = 21.30$ ,  $SD = 1.92$ ; White = 71.4%, non-White = 28.6%) enrolled in an introductory communication class filled out a short survey in exchange for extra credit. The questionnaire elicited demographic information, and contained measures for legitimacy, and social group creativity (items can be found in Appendix B). All items from these measures were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 “Strongly Disagree” to 5 “Strongly Agree.”

*Legitimacy* was measured with seven items (e.g., “It is unfair that men have a higher status than women in U.S. society”). Two items (“Men deserve the advantages they have achieved”, and “Men’s position in US society is legitimate”) were dropped from the final scale to improve reliability. The 5-item scale had adequate reliability ( $\alpha = .80$ ,  $M = 1.45$ ,  $SD = .70$ ).

*Social group creativity* was measured with eight items (e.g., “Women in the U.S. are socially better off than many women in other countries”, and “Women in the US today have a better quality of life compared to women in the US in the last century”). Together, the eight items formed a reliable scale that measured social group creativity ( $\alpha = .84$ ,  $M = 4.20$ ,  $SD = .63$ ).

## Main Study

### *Participants*

Participants were 166 women from a large Southwestern university who answered a questionnaire in exchange for extra credit (18-37 years old;  $M = 21.23$ ,  $SD = 1.85$ ). Most respondents were White (81.3%). The remaining respondents were Hispanic/Latina (9%), Asian (4.8%), African-American (2.4%), while 2.4% indicated other ethnic groups. One participant was excluded from the analysis as she reported an inordinately high score ( $z > 4$ ) for daily television viewing, the main independent variable. Thus the final analysis sample had an  $N$  of 165 women.

### *Procedures, Materials, and Measures*

Approval from the Institutional Review Board of the University was secured before starting the pre-test and the main study. Each participant completed a questionnaire at their convenience (see Appendix C for all items). Participants were given a flyer with a *url* where the survey could be found, and the questionnaires were completed online using Survey Monkey. As with the Pilot test, the questionnaire was divided into three sections—questions pertaining to television consumption, endorsement of identity management strategies, and other key variables. Most measures were Likert scales, and all reliabilities are reported as Cronbach's alpha. Exploratory factor analyses (principal axis factoring, *Varimax* rotation with Kaiser Normalization) were carried out individually for all scales to make sure that items in each scale loaded on a single factor. Unless mentioned otherwise, all items from these scales were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 "Strongly Disagree" to 5 "Strongly Agree."

All of the measures apart from the two measures detailed in the pre-test were the same as used in the Pilot. One item was used to measure perceived status of women. Participants were asked their level of agreement with the statement “Women overall have lower status than men in society”. Please see Table 4 for the reliabilities (where applicable) and the descriptive statistics for all measures. A correlation matrix is presented in Table 5. Additionally, please see Table 5 for all non-significant correlations.

## Results

### *Television Viewing and Identity Management Strategies*

Television viewing was not related to strategies of mobility and creativity. Thus H1 and H2 were not supported. H3 was supported. As hypothesized, television viewing was significantly and negatively related to social competition  $r(160) = -.17, p < .05$ .

### *Television Viewing and Sociostructural Variables*

Television viewing was not significantly related to permeability (H4a), stability (H4b) or legitimacy (H4c). Thus there were no significant relationships between television viewing and any of the three sociostructural variables.

### *Gender Role Attitudes and Identity Management Strategies*

Hypothesis 5a and b were not supported. Gender role attitudes were not associated with either mobility or creativity strategies. Hypothesis 5c was supported. Traditional gender role attitudes were inversely related to social competition,  $r(160) = -.16, p < .05$ .

*Television Viewing and Gender Role Attitudes – Interaction Effects*

The impact of television viewing and gender role attitudes on the identity management strategies of individual mobility, social creativity and social competition was investigated by a series of hierarchical regression analyses (See Table 6). Procedures were similar to those carried out in the Pilot study.

*Individual mobility.* Results indicated that the overall model was non-significant,  $F(3, 157) = 2.15, p > .05$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .02$ . There were no significant direct effects for television viewing ( $\beta = .07, p > .05$ ) and gender role attitudes ( $\beta = -.13, p > .05$ ). However, the interaction term was significant ( $\beta = -.18, p < .05$ ).

The interaction term was decomposed and illustrated by running the regression analysis with the gender role attitudes variable at -1 standard deviation from its centered mean, at the centered mean, and at +1 standard deviation above the centered mean following procedures outlined in Aiken and West (1991), and Segrin (2003), and followed in the Pilot. The standardized regression coefficient for television viewing in each of these analyses illustrates the relationship between television viewing and individual mobility at three arbitrary points - “traditional”, “average”, and “non-traditional” for gender role attitudes. These points are selected merely for purposes of illustration.

The associated coefficients for television viewing were  $\beta = -.09, p > .05$ , for traditional gender roles,  $\beta = .07, p > .05$ , for average gender roles, and  $\beta = .24, p < .01$ , for non-traditional gender roles. These regression slopes are plotted in Figure 6. It appears that increased television viewing is slightly and negatively associated with

individual mobility scores for traditional viewers, and positively associated with individual mobility for the “average” viewers. However, television viewing is more strongly and positively associated with individual mobility for non-traditional women per the hypothesis. In this case, increased television viewing seems to *heighten* or *elevate* the propensity towards individual mobility in non-traditional women, per the hypothesis.

*Social creativity.* Results indicated that the overall model was significant,  $F(3, 157) = 3.20, p < .05$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .04$  for social dimension creativity. There was a significant direct effect for television viewing ( $\beta = .18, p < .05$ ) indicating that increased television viewing was associated with increased social dimension creativity. There was no significant direct effect for gender role attitudes ( $\beta = .09, p > .05$ ). The interaction term was significant ( $\beta = -.18, p < .05$ ).

Following procedures outlined earlier, the interaction was decomposed. The associated coefficients for television viewing were  $\beta = .01, p > .05$ , for traditional gender roles,  $\beta = .18, p < .05$ , for average gender roles, and  $\beta = .34, p < .01$ , for non-traditional gender roles. These regression slopes are plotted in Figure 7. In line with the findings for individual mobility and per the hypothesis, it appears that television viewing strongly *heightens* the propensity towards social dimension creativity in non-traditional women. The relationship between television viewing and social dimension creativity is much less stronger for “average” and traditional viewers. No effects were found for social group creativity.

*Social competition.* No support was found for this hypothesis; gender role attitudes and television viewing did not interact to predict social competition. Per social

identity theory, perceptions of low status for one's own group influences adoption of identity management strategies (e.g., Tajfel, 1972). Accordingly a somewhat exploratory analysis was carried out, where a three-way interaction between perceptions of women's status (i.e., high or low status), traditional gender role attitudes, and television viewing was predicted to influence adoption of social competition. Based on the theory's tenets, it seemed likely that relationships between television viewing and social competition would be stronger for non-traditional women, when they perceived low status as opposed to high status for their group. Accordingly a three-way regression was conducted, and the interaction term (perceived low status x gender role attitudes x television viewing) was significant in predicting social competition (see Table 6 for a summary of the analysis).

To further assess this relationship, separate two-way regressions were conducted for high and low perceptions of status. First, a median split on perceptions of status was created, where the mean for high status was 3.04 (SD = .43), and the mean for low status was 4.15 (SD = 2.67). Next, *t*-tests were then used to compare the regression coefficients at high and low perceptions of status. The two groups were significantly different from each other,  $t(162) = 20.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = .72$ . Finally, two-way regressions were conducted separately at high and low perceptions of status.

Following procedures outlined earlier, the interactions between gender role attitudes and television viewing were decomposed separately for both high and low perceptions of status. The regression slopes may be found in Figures 8 and 9. The results somewhat mirrored the *dampening* effect of television viewing on social competition in non-traditional women as demonstrated in the Pilot test. Specifically, for those non-

traditional women who perceived low status, increased television viewing was strongly and negatively associated with social competition (Figure 9), similar to the Pilot.

However, there was a small positive correlation between television viewing and social competition for non-traditional women who perceived high status for their group (Figure 8). Traditional women with perceptions of high status also displayed dampened social competition scores. Overall, television viewing's dampening effect on social competition was more consistent across both high and low perceptions of women's status.

#### *Perceived Ingroup Vitality and Identity Management Strategies*

All three hypotheses (6a, b, and c) were supported. Perceived ingroup vitality was significantly and negatively related to individual mobility,  $r(160) = -.21, p < .01$ , social dimension creativity,  $r(160) = -.22, p < .01$ , and social competition,  $r(160) = -.27, p < .01$ .

#### Discussion

The main purpose of Study 1 was to replicate key findings from the Pilot. In line with the results from the Pilot, television viewing was significantly and inversely related to social competition. Gender role attitudes were significantly and inversely related to social competition. Perceived ingroup vitality was significantly and inversely related to all three identity management strategies. No significant relationships were observed between television viewing and the sociostructural variables in both studies, indicating that television viewing did not influence identity management via the sociostructural variables. Additionally, television viewing was not related to gender role attitudes in

either study. One significant and positive relationship between gender role attitudes and social group creativity (H5a) in the Pilot was missing from Study 1.

Results of the two-way interactions between television viewing and gender role attitudes were inconsistent across the two studies. The significant interaction predicting social competition in the Pilot was only partially replicated in Study 1. Significant interactions predicting individual mobility and social creativity were found only in Study 1. However, over both studies television viewing and gender role attitudes interacted to predict all the identity management strategies at least once. From Study 1, the significant three-way interaction between television viewing, gender role attitudes, and perceived status of women was useful in understanding the differences in adopting identity management strategies, based on perceptions of high and low status.

The findings from both the Pilot and Study 1 collectively demonstrate that television viewing and gender role attitudes are associated with women's self-identity and this is manifested in their choice of identity management strategies. However, television viewing does not have any relationship with the sociostructural variables, suggesting more support for direct influences of television viewing on identity management as opposed to its indirect influences. Importantly, increased television viewing *dampens* activism as is evident in the social competition scores of *non-traditional* women and *heightens* their propensity toward social creativity and individual mobility. Women's perception of their status in society is an important and overarching concept – per social identity theory, women must perceive their group to have lower status as compared to men in order to engage in any of these identity management

strategies. Ultimately, both gender role attitudes and perceived status of women seem important in influencing the relationship between television viewing and identity management strategies.

In line with the Pilot, there was low statistical power in Study 1 to detect small effects. Power was less than .4 for the correlational analyses, and lower for the moderator analyses. A key limitation of both the Pilot as well as Study 1 is that both are cross-sectional studies. Hence, there are limitations to drawing causal claims from these data, as correlational findings do not in themselves imply causality (Rindfleisch, Malter, Ganesan, & Moorman, 2008). For instance, it may be hard to substantiate that gender role attitudes influence individual mobility, for example, and not the other way around.

Accordingly, a follow-up study to the previous two cross-sectional studies was undertaken. Study 2 was an experiment, and the focus of this study was to establish clear causal relationships. In Study 2, perceptions of women's status (High/Low status) in society, and salience of gender roles (Traditional/Non-traditional) were manipulated. The effects of these manipulations on the relationship between television viewing and the three identity management strategies were then examined. Additionally, Study 2 was used as another opportunity to replicate findings from the Pilot and Study 1. To this end, most variables from Study 1 were also measured in Study 2. Specifically, the key hypotheses relating to television viewing's direct effects on identity management from the Pilot and Study 1 were retained in Study 2. These were:

H1: Television viewing is positively related to individual mobility.

H2: Television viewing is positively related to social creativity.

H3: Television viewing is negatively related to social competition.

The results of the Pilot and Study 1 suggest that both gender role attitudes and perceived status of women influence identity management strategies. Specifically, gender role attitudes were inversely related to social competition, suggesting that non-traditional women advocated social competition more than traditional women. Gender role attitudes were positively related to social creativity; traditional women endorsed social creativity more strongly than non-traditional women. Significant relationships between gender role attitudes and individual mobility were not found; however the literature suggests that traditional women might advocate strategies of mobility more than non-traditional women. In order to clear issues of causality gender role salience was manipulated (Traditional/Non-traditional) in Study 2, and it was predicted that the participants in the traditional gender roles condition would advocate strategies of mobility and creativity, and score lower on competition as compared to participants in the non-traditional gender roles condition. The next set of hypotheses tested in Study 2 was as follows:

H4: Exposure to traditional gender roles creates higher desire for individual mobility as compared to exposure to non-traditional gender roles.

H5: Exposure to traditional gender roles creates higher desire for social creativity as compared to exposure to non-traditional gender roles.

H6: Exposure to traditional gender roles creates reduced desire for social competition as compared to non-traditional gender roles.

The results of the three-way interaction examining the effects of status, television viewing, and gender role attitudes on social competition indicate that perceptions of low

status may affect identity management. Specifically, perceptions of low status should result in stronger endorsement of identity management strategies. Thus, the next hypothesis is:

H7: Overall, all effects in the above hypotheses (4-6) should be stronger in those participants who are primed to believe that women have lower status than men in society.

Results from the Pilot and Study 1 indicate that gender role attitudes moderate the relationship between television viewing and identity management strategies. Specifically, it was observed that non-traditional women displayed amplified mobility and creativity scores and diminished social competition scores. The same effects are predicted with the gender role salience manipulation. Specifically, the relationship between television viewing and the identity management strategies (as hypothesized in H1, 2 and 3) will be moderated by gender role salience such that:

H8a: Television viewing will be more strongly and positively associated with individual mobility scores in the non-traditional gender role conditions as compared to the traditional gender role conditions.

H8b: Television viewing will be more strongly and positively associated with social creativity scores in the non-traditional gender role conditions as compared to the traditional gender role conditions.

H8c: Television viewing will be more strongly and negatively associated with social competition scores in the non-traditional gender role conditions than in the traditional gender role conditions.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### STUDY TWO

#### Method

An experiment tested the hypotheses detailed at the end of Chapter Four in a 2 (Gender Role Salience: Traditional and Non-traditional women's roles) by 2 (Status of Women: Low and High status) design with the three identity management strategies as the dependent variables. The manipulations for the gender role salience and status conditions were pre-tested to ensure their effectiveness before embarking upon the main study. An overview of the manipulations and the results from the pre-test are presented next, followed by the set-up for the study.

*Gender role salience and status of women manipulations.* The manipulations were embedded in a fictional print news story about the current status of women in society, and featured a female protagonist. The protagonist was presented as a college student at a large Eastern university named Carly. Four different versions of the news story were created by combining the manipulations – Low Status/Traditional, Low Status/Non-traditional, High Status/Traditional, and High Status/Non-traditional (please see Appendix D for all four versions of the news story). All four news stories were designed to be as parallel as possible with respect to structure, sentence construction, language and word count. External validity of the study was bolstered as the stories were created using published reports and stimuli that were experimentally validated.

The gender role salience manipulation was modeled after previous research (Dall'Ara & Maass, 2000; Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri & Grasselli, 2003). Two separate

narratives featuring a female protagonist were constructed; one with the protagonist espousing traditional gender roles for women and one where the protagonist espoused non-traditional gender roles.

The status manipulation was partially based on a report on the status of women issued by the Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR, 2004). As with the gender role salience manipulation, two separate narratives regarding the status of women in America were created; one which emphasized the higher status of women as compared to men and one where women were portrayed as having lower status than men.

#### *Pre-test*

Forty nine female undergraduate students (20 to 47 years;  $M = 22.39$ ;  $SD = 4.32$ ) enrolled in Communication classes at a large Southwestern university answered a short questionnaire containing the fictional news stories in return for extra-credit (see Appendix D). Participants were mostly White (non-White = 16.3%) and completed a questionnaire at their convenience. These questionnaires were divided into four conditions – Low Status/Traditional (LT), Low Status/Non-Traditional (LN), High Status/Traditional (HT), and High Status/Non-Traditional (HN). Overall, all four conditions had roughly equal numbers of completed surveys (LT  $n = 10$ , 20.4%; LN  $n = 12$ , 24.5%; HT  $n = 13$ , 26.5%, HN  $n = 14$ , 28.6%).

Participants were instructed to read the news story and answer the following questions. The gender role salience manipulation was assessed with one item “How traditional is Carly?” (1 = Not at all traditional, 5 = Extremely traditional). The status manipulation was assessed with one question, “According to the news story which gender

has the higher status with regard to business, education, and overall standards of living? Choose one: men/women”. Finally, participants were asked to indicate how realistic they found the news story (1 = Not at all realistic to 5 = Extremely realistic).

The gender role salience manipulation worked. Participants in the traditional gender role condition reported that the protagonist was more traditional ( $M = 4.04$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ) as compared to the participants in the non-traditional gender role condition ( $M = 2.12$ ,  $SD = .77$ ),  $t(47) = 7.34$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .53$ . The status manipulation also worked. Participants for the most part, correctly identified women having the higher/lower status as per the requisite condition,  $\chi^2(1) = 17.61$ ,  $p < .001$ . With regards to realism of the stories, a one-way ANOVA revealed that there were no significant differences in perceived realism across the four stories,  $F(3, 45) = 1.03$ ,  $p > .05$  (LT = 3.60,  $SD =$  ; LN = 3.58,  $SD$  ; HT = 3.08,  $SD$ ; HN = 3.21,  $SD$ ). Thus, the results of the pre-test indicated that the manipulations were effective.

## Main Study

### *Participants*

One hundred and twenty six women (18 to 27 years;  $M = 20.00$ ;  $SD = 2.00$ ) enrolled in communication classes at a large Southwestern university received course credit in exchange for their participation. Participants were predominantly White (84%), followed by Hispanic/Latina (11.2%), Asian or Pacific Islander (2.4%), and African-American (.8%); approximately 1.6% of the participants indicated other or multiple ethnic groups. One participant was excluded from the analysis as they reported an inordinately high score ( $z > 4$ ) for television viewing, the main independent variable.

Thus the final analysis sample had an  $N$  of 125 women.

### *Procedures, Materials, and Measures*

Approval from the Institutional Review Board of the University was secured before starting the pre-test and the main study. Participants completed a questionnaire at their convenience. The questionnaires were divided into sets of four – each set had one each of the Low Status/Traditional (LT), Low Status/Non-Traditional (LN), High Status/Traditional (HT), and High Status/Non-Traditional (HN) questionnaires. The questionnaires were handed out to participants in this order to maintain random assignment to conditions, and to ensure equal numbers in each condition. Overall, all four conditions had roughly equal numbers of completed surveys (LT  $n = 33$ , 26.2%; LN  $n = 35$ , 27.8%; HT  $n = 29$ , 23%, HN  $n = 29$ , 23%).

Measures for the most part were in line with those used in the Pilot and in Study

1. Participants were asked to complete a section on demographic information.

Participants were asked to read the article and then complete the measures for the various identity management strategies. Manipulation checks, television viewing measures, measures for sociostructural variables, perceived ingroup vitality, and gender role attitudes measures rounded out the questionnaire. The questionnaire can be seen in Appendix E. Please see Table 7 for the reliabilities (where applicable) and the descriptive statistics for all measures. A correlation matrix is presented in Table 8. Additionally, please see Table 8 for all non-significant correlations. Since the television viewing measure used in Study 2 was different from the measure used in the previous studies, this measure is explained in detail along with the manipulation check measures.

*Manipulation check measures.* The gender role salience manipulation was assessed with one item “How traditional is Carly?” (1 = Not at all traditional to 5 = Extremely traditional). This item was accompanied by two filler items assessing the protagonist’s ambitiousness and dedication. One item assessed perceptions of status of women (“According to the news story, has women’s status in US society advanced (progressed) in the last few years? Choose from 1 = Not at all advanced to 5 = Extremely advanced”). Two items assessed the believability and perceived realism of the story on a 5-point scale (“How believable did you find this news story?” and “How realistic did you find this story?”) These two items were combined to form a composite “perceived realism of story” variable (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .89$ ). Finally, participants were asked to indicate how similar they felt to the protagonist (1 = Not at all similar, 7 = Extremely similar), and whether they agreed or disagreed with the protagonist’s opinions. The findings for these measures are presented in the results section.

*Television viewing.* Television viewing was measured by the following process. Daily television viewing was operationalized per Shrum, Wyer and O’Guinn (1998) and Segrin and Nabi’s (2002) procedures (please see Pilot and Study 1). Participants were also asked to indicate the number of hours of television watched “yesterday”. Finally, participants were asked to indicate the amount of television programming watched on the Internet/iPod/DVD; i.e. media apart from television itself on a daily basis. A “television viewing” composite variable was created by adding all three measures and dividing the sum by 3 ( $M = 2.17$ ,  $SD = 1.48$ ).

### *Power*

A power analysis indicated that all tests had power greater than .8 at  $\alpha = .05$  to detect medium effect sizes ( $d = .5$ ; Cohen, 2001).

## Results

### *Manipulation Checks*

The gender role salience manipulation was effective. Participants in the traditional gender role condition reported that the protagonist was more traditional ( $M = 3.93$ ,  $SD = 1.25$ ) than the participants in the non-traditional gender role condition ( $M = 2.46$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ),  $t(122) = 7.23$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .30$ . The status manipulation was effective too. Participants in the lower status condition reported that the status of women had not advanced in recent times ( $M = 2.94$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ) as compared to participants in the higher status condition ( $M = 4.50$ ,  $SD = 1.63$ ),  $t(122) = -10.07$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .45$ .

A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to evaluate whether there were any differences in the “perceived realism” of the news stories. The analysis was significant,  $F(3, 122) = 5.22$ ,  $p < .01$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .11$ . Post-hoc comparisons conducted using Dunnett’s C test revealed that the perceived realism for the LT news story ( $M = 3.00$ ,  $SD = .94$ ) was significantly lower than the LN news story ( $M = 3.83$ ,  $SD = .81$ ). Perceived realism scores for the HT news story ( $M = 3.32$ ,  $SD = .79$ ) and the HN news story ( $M = 3.52$ ,  $SD = .97$ ) did not differ significantly from any other news story.

A 2 (Low and High Status) x 2 (Traditional and Non-traditional gender roles) ANOVA was conducted with perceived similarity to protagonist and agreement with protagonist’s opinions as dependent variables. There was no main effect for status in both

cases. There was a main effect for gender roles on similarity,  $F(1, 122) = 36.85, p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .24$ . Participants in the traditional gender roles conditions ( $M = 2.59, SD = 1.46$ ) rated themselves as less similar to the protagonist as compared to participants in the non-traditional gender roles condition ( $M = 4.24, SD = 1.28$ ). There was a main effect for gender roles on agreement,  $F(1, 122) = 55.93, p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .32$ . Participants in the traditional gender roles conditions ( $M = 2.65, SD = 1.17$ ) rated themselves as agreeing less with the protagonist as compared to participants in the non-traditional gender roles condition ( $M = 3.95, SD = .84$ ).

There was an interaction between gender roles and status such that in the traditional gender roles condition, participants rated themselves as more similar to the protagonist for higher status as compared to lower status. However, in the non-traditional gender roles condition, this was reversed – participants rated themselves as less similar for higher status as compared to lower status (see Table 10 for means and standard deviations).

### *Hypotheses*

*Television viewing.* H1 was supported. Overall television viewing was significantly and positively related to individual mobility,  $r(122) = .24, p < .01$ . H2 and H3 were not supported. Television viewing was not related to either social creativity or social competition.

*Gender role salience and perception of women's status.* Four 2 (Low and High Status) x 2 (Traditional and Non-traditional Gender Roles) ANOVAs were conducted with the three identity management strategies as the dependent variables (two separate

analyses were run for social dimension and social group creativity). There was no significant main effect for gender role salience or perceived status of women on any of the three identity management strategies. Additionally, there were no significant interaction effects between gender role salience and perceptions of women's status.

One main effect of gender role salience approached significance when examining social competition,  $F(1, 122) = 2.79, p = .09$ . Participants in the traditional gender role conditions scored lower on social competition ( $M = 2.90, SD = .68$ ), as compared to participants in the non-traditional gender role conditions ( $M = 3.13, SD = .81$ ). Thus hypotheses 4 through 7 were not supported.

*Gender role salience and television viewing.* Hypotheses 8 a, b and c were tested using four hierarchical regression analyses. Predictors included scores on television viewing variables (continuous) and the experimental condition (Traditional/Non-traditional; categorical). The criterion variable in turn was one of the three identity management strategies.

All television viewing variables' scores were centered following Jaccard and Turrisi (2003) and Aiken and West (1991). The experimental condition variable was dummy coded: the traditional condition was assigned a value of 0 and the non-traditional condition assigned a value of 1. To test the moderator hypothesis, an interaction term was created by multiplying centered scores on the television viewing variables by experimental condition. The two predictors and the interaction term were then entered into the regression analysis.

*Individual mobility.* Hypothesis 8a was not supported. Results indicated that the overall model was significant,  $F(3, 121) = 3.21, p < .05$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .05$ . There was a significant direct effect for television viewing ( $\beta = .33, p < .01$ ) indicating that increased television viewing was associated with increased individual mobility. There was no significant direct effect for the gender roles experimental condition ( $\beta = .01, p > .05$ ). The interaction term was non-significant ( $\beta = -.17, p > .05$ ).

*Social creativity.* Hypothesis 8b was not supported for either social dimension creativity or social group creativity. For social dimension creativity, results indicated that the overall model was non-significant,  $F(3, 121) = .34, p > .05$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .00$ . There was no direct effect for television viewing ( $\beta = -.08, p > .05$ ), or for the gender roles experimental condition ( $\beta = -.06, p > .05$ ). The interaction term was non-significant ( $\beta = .06, p > .05$ ).

For social group creativity, results indicated that the overall model was non-significant,  $F(3, 120) = .24, p > .05$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .00$ . There was no direct effect for television viewing ( $\beta = .06, p > .05$ ), or for the gender roles experimental condition ( $\beta = -.01, p > .05$ ). The interaction term was non-significant ( $\beta = -.09, p > .05$ ).

*Social competition.* Hypothesis 8c was not supported. Results indicated that the overall model was non-significant,  $F(3, 121) = 1.21, p > .05$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .01$ . There was no direct effect for television viewing ( $\beta = -.05, p > .05$ ), or for the gender roles experimental condition ( $\beta = -.14, p > .05$ ). The interaction term was non-significant ( $\beta = .12, p > .05$ ).

### *Additional Analyses*

A follow-up 2 (Low and High Status) x 2 (Traditional and Non-traditional Gender Roles) ANOVA was conducted with the three sociostructural variables (permeability, stability, and legitimacy), perceived ingroup vitality, and gender role attitudes as the dependent variables. There was a significant main effect of status on perceived ingroup vitality,  $F(1, 121) = 7.12, p < .01$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .06$ . Participants in the high status conditions scored higher on perceived ingroup vitality ( $M = 3.40, SD = .74$ ), as compared to participants in the low status conditions ( $M = 3.03, SD = .76$ ).

Status and gender role conditions interacted to predict stability  $F(1, 121) = 8.75, p < .01$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .06$ , and permeability  $F(1, 121) = 4.34, p < .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .03$ . Participants' stability scores were higher in the HT condition ( $M = 3.49, SD = .67$ ) as compared to the HN condition ( $M = 2.92, SD = .95$ ). However, LN participants scored higher ( $M = 3.09, SD = .85$ ) than the LT participants ( $M = 3.43, SD = .88$ ) on stability. With regard to the permeability scores, there was practically no difference between the HT ( $M = 3.43, SD = .80$ ) and the HN participants ( $M = 3.53, SD = .97$ ). However, LT participants scored higher ( $M = 3.73, SD = .73$ ) than LN participants ( $M = 3.20, SD = .89$ ) on permeability.

### Discussion

The main purpose of Study 2 was to establish causal relationships. A secondary goal was to replicate findings for the three hypotheses relating to the direct relationships between television viewing and identity management from the previous studies. In Study 2, gender role salience, and status of women were manipulated and the effects of these

manipulations were studied on the identity management strategies. Unlike the Pilot and Study 1, in Study 2, a significant and positive relationship was found between television viewing and individual mobility. However, none of the other hypotheses received any support. Unlike the Pilot and Study 1, in this study television viewing was not related to social competition. No main or interaction effects for gender role salience and status of women were observed on the identity management strategies. Additionally, manipulations of gender role salience and status of women did not influence the relationship between television viewing and the identity management strategies.

Four reasons are forwarded to explain the lack of findings in this study. First, all tests had power to detect medium effect sizes. This was the chosen effect size as it was expected that the effect sizes would be larger in an experimental situation (see Herret-Skjellum & Allen, 1996, for example). However, since small effects seem to be the norm, greater statistical power was needed to detect them. With a larger sample size, perhaps these relationships would be statistically significant, rather than approaching significance (which they did in numerous instances).

Second, the nature of the stimuli might have affected participants' involvement in the study. Audiovisual clips (segments of a television show, etc.) could possibly have been more interesting, involving, and visually arresting compared to written scripts.

Third, the content of the stimuli might be problematic too. Perhaps, it is too much to expect participants to read the article and internalize two main ideas at the same time, i.e. women have the lower status AND some women chose to challenge the status quo, and the like. Additionally, the mean believability score for one of the versions (Low

status/Traditional) was quite low. However, its complementary version (Low status/Non-traditional) had the highest believability score across all four versions. Clearly, participants had no issues with women occupying lower status – it is the response to that low status that was problematic. When the protagonist espoused non-traditional gender roles, this was more believable to participants than when she espoused traditional gender roles. This is also evident in the ‘agreement with’ and ‘similarity to’ protagonist scores. Participants in the traditional gender roles conditions rated themselves as significantly less similar to the protagonist and as agreeing less with the protagonist as compared to participants in the non-traditional gender roles conditions.

Finally, the manipulations were perhaps not sophisticated enough and did not work as planned. For instance, the manipulation check for status revealed that participants correctly identified whether the news stories conveyed the high or low status of women. However, there were no significant differences between participants in both the high and low status conditions on perceptions of women’s status overall: across the board participants agreed that women have lower status than men. To be absolutely clear, the former was a manipulation check item “According to the NEWS STORY, has women’s status in US society advanced (progressed) in the last few years?” and the latter a more general item “Women have lower status than men in society”. Clearly, the manipulation did not affect overall perceptions of status; participants may have recalled the content of the article while answering the question. Thus the status manipulation did not work as planned. Additionally, the differences in realism and similarity to the protagonist across the four versions of the articles might have affected the findings.

However, the manipulations did impact certain antecedent variables. For instance, status and gender role salience interacted to predict permeability. Participants in the low status/traditional condition scored significantly higher than participants in the low status/non-traditional condition. There were no differences between high status/traditional and non-traditional participants on permeability. Additionally, there was a main effect for status on perceived ingroup vitality. Specifically, participants in the high status conditions scored significantly higher scores on ingroup vitality compared to participants in the low status conditions.

Overall, Study 2 was not at all successful in its goals. Only one hypothesis was supported. The significant positive relationship between television viewing and individual mobility found in this study was not found earlier in either the Pilot or Study 1. This finding is explored in greater detail in the General Discussion in Chapter 7.

## CHAPTER SIX

### PROPOSED NEW THEORETICAL MODEL FOR TELEVISION VIEWING'S INFLUENCE ON IDENTITY MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

As mentioned previously, relatively few scholars have considered a model explicating the effects of television viewing on identity management cognitions in individuals belonging to low-status or minority groups. In one such effort, Abrams and Giles (2007) tested and found support for a model where television avoidance based on ethnic identity gratifications mediated the relationship between ethnic identification and vitality perceptions in a sample of African-American students. Melding cultivation theory and social identity theory to arrive at a model of television viewing's effects on identity management is at once intuitive and worthy of exploration. Accordingly, this chapter attempts to arrive at a sensible and theoretically justifiable model that plays out the effects of television viewing on the social identity strategies manifested in low-status group members. As noted in the introduction, the model can be tested in broader intergroup contexts; however, by necessity, the model is contextualized in this particular presentation by the focus on women in the dissertation studies. Ultimately, the goal of this chapter is to arrive at a global model that can explain findings consistently across the three dissertation studies.

A short summary of key results from the three studies is presented first. This is followed by a test of the hypothesized model as proposed in the introduction and the literature review. Finally, a refined model incorporating additional variables is presented.

### Summary of Key Results

Direct and significant relationships between television viewing and two of the three identity management strategies were found across the three studies. As hypothesized, television viewing was positively and significantly associated with individual mobility in one study and negatively and significantly related to social competition in two studies. In line with previous research, the three sociostructural variables were for the most part associated with the three identity management strategies in a theoretically predictable fashion (Figure 2). However, television viewing was not significantly associated with any of the sociostructural variables across the three studies.

### Test of Hypothesized Model

It was originally hypothesized that television viewing would be positively related to the three sociostructural variables, and these in turn would be associated with the three identity management strategies (Figure 3). This theoretical model was examined across the three dissertation studies. Each analysis contained the identity management strategies as criterion variables for a total of 3 separate SEM (AMOS) analyses.

### Results

Model summary statistics for this set of analyses are reported in Table 11. Model fit was assessed with a combination of the overall chi-square statistic, the ratio of the chi-square statistic to its respective degrees of freedom, and standard fit indices such as the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), the Incremental Fit Index (IFI), and Root Mean Square of Approximation (RMSEA).

Clearly the hypothesized model (Figure 3) showed little to none goodness-of-fit across the three datasets. All chi-squares were significant suggesting that the model was not consistent with the observed data. Additionally, the ratio of the chi-square statistic to its degrees of freedom across the analyses indicated inadequate fit for the model. For example, scholars such as Byrne (1998) recommend that a ratio of the overall chi-square to its degrees of freedom larger than 2 is an indication of a poorly fitted model. In these analyses the ratios in the Pilot and Study 1 exceeded this criterion. Similarly, the IFI, TLI and RMSEA statistics fell short of acceptable levels (both IFI and TLI should be at least equal to or greater than .90 and RMSEA should be equal to or less than .05; see Hu and Bentler, 1999).

The tests of the hypothesized model across the data sets revealed that this model could not adequately explain the data and the relationships between the constructs. As television viewing was not significantly associated with the sociostructural variables across the datasets, of course this endeavor was significantly handicapped from the start. However, there were a few variables across the datasets that were consistently associated with the majority of the variables in the hypothesized model. Thus it was decided to test a new model incorporating these previously unconsidered variables in an effort to come up with a new global model. The rationale and testing of the new model follows next.

#### Test of New Theoretical Model

As the hypothesized model showed inadequate fit with the data, other variables were examined to see whether their inclusion improve the chances of finding a global model that explained findings across the three datasets. Rather than embark on a purely

exploratory exercise, only those variables that could be justified from a theoretical standpoint were included. Additionally, the criterion of parsimony was adhered to scrupulously – simply put, the goal was *not* to end up with a model which passed goodness-of-fit tests purely because of over-identification or over-parametrification.

Upon an examination of results across the three studies, two variables were identified that could potentially add depth to the new model. These were (a) perceived low status of women and (b) perceived ingroup vitality. Television viewing was positively related to perceived low status of women in two of the three studies. In turn, perceived low status was associated with the sociostructural variables as well as some of the identity management strategies. Therefore the new model (Figure 10) incorporated perceived low status of women in addition to the existing variables in the hypothesized model. Theoretically, the inclusion of perceived low status of women is sound. Tajfel's (1972) original formulations suggest that women would seek to regain a positive social identity only if they perceived that their ingroup had lower status as compared to men. As noted here, television viewing was positively related to perceived low status, thus possibly triggering the mechanisms that influence the management of social identity. This possibility was noted in the introduction and the literature review of the dissertation research, however, the original model did not contain perceived low status. Thus, by including it in the new model its omission was rectified. A direct path from television viewing to each of the identity management strategies was included to account for any independent influence of television viewing on identity management.

The second variable included in the new model was perceived ingroup vitality (Figure 10). Television viewing was not significantly associated with perceived ingroup vitality across the three studies. However, perceived low status and perceived ingroup vitality were strongly and negatively related across the studies. Additionally, perceived ingroup vitality was significantly associated with the sociostructural variables. Perceptions of low vitality of the ingroup may trigger the need for positive social identities in women by influencing their perceptions of the sociostructural constructs.

This model was tested on the datasets from the Pilot, Study 1, and Study 2. Wherever appropriate, non-significant paths were omitted. In these cases, the overall results for model fit did not change appreciably. It must be noted that perceived status of women was not measured in the Pilot in the same way that it was in Study 1 and Study 2. In the Pilot, participants were asked to agree/disagree with the statement “Women overall have equal status with men in society” ( $M = 2.80$ ,  $SD = 1.05$ ). Of course, in hindsight, this item made little sense, as which gender had the higher/lower status could not be told from the responses. Thus a more direct measure for ascertaining perceived status for women was included in Study 1 and Study 2. However, for exploratory purposes, this item was retained as a proxy for perceived status in the Pilot for the present exercise only.

## Results

Model summary statistics for the new model from a set of 3 SEM analyses are presented in Table 12. From a preliminary reading of these analyses, clearly the new model (Figure 10) fulfilled the task of explaining the data more adequately than the

original model (Figure 3). The new model explained the data and relationships across the three studies more consistently and demonstrated an overall good fit.

Overall chi-square was significant only when the model was run on the Pilot data. Chi-squares were non-significant for Study 1 and Study 2 data suggesting that the model was consistent with the observed data. The ratio of the chi-square statistic to its degrees of freedom across the analyses indicated good fit for the model for the Study 1 and 2 data and reasonable fit for the Pilot. The IFI, TLI and RMSEA statistics were good for Study 1 and 2, and acceptable for the Pilot. For illustrative purposes, please see Table 17 for a report of path coefficients obtained from the Study 2 data.

#### Discussion

Although this effort was not exhaustive, certainly it was a start towards a global model that could explain the data across the three studies. Results of the Pilot and Study 1 effectively discounted the predicted indirect influences of television viewing on identity management via the sociostructural variables. However, the revised model presented in this chapter suggests that television viewing may indirectly influence identity management by influencing perceptions of status. Perceived status in turn is related to the sociostructural variables, and the relationship between the sociostructural variables and identity management is well established. The results of this endeavor also provide impetus to further study the role of perceived ingroup vitality and its relations with identity management. Overall, the revised model is worthy of more in-depth exploration, testing, and refinement. Future endeavors should test the measurement model and include confirmatory factor analyses while creating and testing scales for all measures.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### GENERAL DISCUSSION

The primary goal for the dissertation research was to integrate tenets from social identity theory into a media effects framework to predict television viewing's influence on social identity management strategies. These predictions were tested with three samples of female college students across two survey-based studies and one experiment (overall  $N = 536$ ). Content analytic evidence suggests that compared to men, women are typically underrepresented and portrayed in unfavorable and diminished roles in television programming (Signorielli, 1989; Signorielli & Bacue, 1999). Media effects research suggests that exposure to these portrayals of women results in stereotypical gender-role beliefs and attitudes and lessened efficacy in women viewers (Aubrey & Harrison, 2004; Kimball, 1986; Rouner et al., 2003; Schwartz et al., 1987). Consequently, for female viewers exposure to unfavorable portrayals may lead to internalization of low-status and a negative identity for their ingroup. Findings from intergroup research suggest that members of low-status groups with a negative ingroup identity are motivated to regain a positive or more favorable ingroup identity (Tajfel, 1972; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Cultivation theory and social identity theory were used to explain the outcomes of exposure to television programming. Using tenets of cultivation theory it was argued that exposure to diminished or low-status portrayals of women over time may lead to an internalization of lower status for women as a group as compared to men. Here, the focus was on overall television viewing, as low-status portrayals of women are pervasive across

genres. Social identity theory suggests that perceptions of low status may motivate women to cope with this negative ingroup identity by adopting certain identity management strategies. Specifically it was argued that television viewing would be positively related to strategies of individual mobility and social creativity and negatively related to social competition. Additionally, a model explicating television viewing's indirect influences on identity management mediated by perceptions of sociostructural variables (permeability, legitimacy and stability) was also tested. Finally, the moderating influence of gender role attitudes on the relationship between television viewing and identity management strategies was investigated.

Overall, support for the predictions in these three studies was mixed. A few relationships were consistently observed, whereas some were either inconsistent or non-existent. Television viewing was positively and significantly related to perceptions of lower status for women in Study 1 and Study 2. Television viewing was significantly and positively related to endorsing individual mobility in the experiment. Television viewing was significantly and negatively related to attitudes of social competition in both the survey-based studies. Significant interactions between television viewing and gender role attitudes in predicting individual mobility, social creativity and social competition were observed in Study 1 and Study 2.

Direct relationships were not found between television viewing and social creativity. Television viewing was not related to the socio-structural variables overall; however television viewing was significantly and positively related to permeability in Study 2. Although a direct relationship between television viewing and traditional gender

attitudes has been observed in previous research, this research did not support those findings.

The overall results from these three studies suggest confidence in television viewing's direct and deleterious influences on perceptions of status and on social competition. There is considerable support that gender role attitudes moderate the relationship between television's cultivation effects on identity management, but the specific nature of the moderator effect seems to vary across the studies. There were several non-significant findings, specifically, the associations between television and gender role attitudes, television viewing and the sociostructural variables, and direct relationships between television viewing and social creativity, and individual mobility (except in Study 2). In these cases, it is not entirely appropriate to claim support for the null hypothesis because, as previously noted, analyses across the studies suffered from low power.

Three key points frame the discussion of the results from the three studies. First, effect sizes from the media effects realm are traditionally small. Consider that a meta-analysis of cultivation effects puts the average effect size at about  $r^2 = .01$  (Morgan & Shanahan, 1997). In a similar vein, Herrett-Skjellum and Allen's (1986) meta-analysis found similar effect sizes for television viewing's relationship with stereotypical gender-role attitudes ( $r^2 = .01$  for non-experimental studies and  $r^2 = .04$  for experimental studies). These findings suggest that overall television viewing's effects are small and difficult to detect. Consequently, greater statistical power is needed to detect these effects. However, small effects cannot be dismissed as being meaningless or weak

evidence. Small effects aggregated over numerous cultivation studies underline the importance of television's cultivation effects for viewers of its content. However, it is remiss to portray television as the sole agent of people's knowledge of the world around them. A more restrained and scholarly perspective acknowledges learning from television content as an important part of the socialization process, amidst other key socialization agents such as culture, family, schooling, and socio-economic background.

Second, the dissertation research is ambitious in its scope. This research attempts to integrate two well-established, but disparate theoretical frameworks in a novel and theoretically sound manner. However, since previous research has not focused on this conjunction, the present research is hampered by a lack of established empirical support with regard to specific predictions. Although every attempt was made to ground the studies in a theoretically sound manner, some exploratory analyses were carried out. Thus, drawing sweeping conclusions from only the significant results is not warranted and must be done cautiously. Additionally, the creation of new measures, although a salutary effort, may also speak towards why some hypotheses were not supported. This could be due to inherent problems with the measures as well as problems with the articulation of the constructs themselves. Overall, the findings suggest that the relationships between television viewing and identity management are worth studying and exploring in greater detail. As a start, the present research has mapped out several avenues that can be investigated further.

Third, and last, the choice of college students as the sample for this set of studies seems counter-intuitive at first. The adoption of identity management strategies,

theoretically, should be studied in members of groups who clearly perceive their group to have low status. Female college students working towards a degree in an institution of higher education should not theoretically fall under a “low-status group.” These women are actively working towards educational goals, and are probably going to enter the workforce in the near future.

However, taking into account the profile of the sample and the reported effect sizes in cultivation studies, the significant findings of this research, such as television viewing’s negative relationship with attitudes of social competition take on *additional* importance. If the deleterious influences of television’s cultivation effects are found in a reasonably empowered and able sample of women, this has broader societal consequences for women who are not necessarily as educated and empowered. These findings thus provide some support for the choice of college students as the sample for the studies.

With these points in mind, the discussion section is laid out as in the following sections. First, the direct relationships of television viewing with perceived status of women as well as identity management strategies are discussed. Second, the relationships between television viewing and the sociostructural variables (permeability, stability and legitimacy) and the revised model presented in Chapter 6 are discussed. Third, the moderating influences of gender role attitudes are discussed. Fourth, the attempt to integrate cultivation and social identity theory is evaluated. Lastly, the discussion section concludes with the limitations of the research and directions for future research.

### *Perceived Status of Women*

In two of the three studies (Study 1 and Study 2), increased television viewing was significantly and positively associated with perceptions of the lower status of women in society. As television viewing increased, respondents were more inclined to think that women had lower status as compared to men in society. This is an important finding, and it is surprising to find these effects in reasonably empowered women. According to several scholars, television viewing has a direct impact on shaping and reinforcing traditional gender-appropriate behaviors in women. The plethora of images of low-status jobs and weak character portrayals very likely contributes to the overall notion that women seem to be less qualified, less able, and less vital as compared to men. This particular finding is of importance as it provides a direct consequence of watching negative mediated ingroup portrayals on perceptions of ingroup status. Lowered group esteem, stunted aspirations, and decreased self and group efficacy are very likely outcomes of a sense of negative ingroup identity.

### *Individual Mobility*

Individual mobility is defined as the tendency to disassociate oneself from the ingroup. As Tajfel (1972) notes, mobility may be geographical, physical, psychological, and behavioral in nature. Mobility can be achieved by leaving the ingroup and gaining membership in a higher status group or adopting behaviors of members from a higher status group. With some exceptions (e.g., gender reassignment surgery, passing), women cannot achieve individual mobility by physically leaving their gender group to become men. However, it is possible that by adopting or copying behaviors of the members of the

higher status group (men), women may see some potential benefits as a consequence of adopting such behaviors. In the dissertation research, television viewing was predicted to be positively associated with individual mobility, i.e., increased television viewing should predict higher scores on individual mobility.

Support for this prediction was inconsistent. Although no support was found in the Pilot and Study 1, a modest correlation between television viewing and individual mobility was found in Study 2. Findings from the Pilot and Study 1 suggest that television viewing by itself does not have any relationship with individual mobility. As noted, the measure for individual mobility focused on whether women would adopt “masculine” behaviors in order to succeed in their endeavors. In other words, the measure attempted to note whether women endorsed behaving like men. Mean scores on this measure were 2.20 in the Pilot, 2.48 in Study 1, and 2.18 in Study 2, on a five-point scale. This suggests that overall women did not endorse the strategy of individual mobility.

How can the positive relationship between television viewing and individual mobility in Study 2 be explained? In the Pilot as well as Study 1, the measure for daily television viewing was based solely upon the average hours spent daily on television viewing. This was calculated using the procedures detailed by Segrin and Nabi (2002). Comparatively, in Study 2, the daily television viewing measure included time spent on watching television programming on media other than regular television (iPod, Internet, DVD etc.). Correlations between all the components of the daily television viewing measure and individual mobility revealed that while neither daily television viewing nor television viewed yesterday were related to individual mobility, there was a significant

and positive relationship between time spent on watching television programming on other media and individual mobility (see Table 9).

While 68% of the sample reported that they did watch television programming on other media, participants were not asked to report the type of genres or programs viewed on alternative media in the questionnaire. This was an oversight, and very likely, a limitation of the study. One explanation of this significant finding could be that participants are viewing programs that contain token female characters in positions of power, and this is why television viewing on alternative media is related to their individual mobility scores. As reviewed earlier, tokenism weakens a low-status group's collective action strategies, and discourages social activism, as the presence of token characters signifies that boundaries between groups may be permeable (Oliver, 1984). In Study 2, television viewing on alternative media was significantly and positively related to permeability, providing some support to this explanation. Notably, this was the only instance where a relationship between a measure of television viewing and one of the sociostructural variables was observed across the dissertation studies. In turn, permeability was significantly and positively related to individual mobility. However, this cannot be stated with any certainty, because, as stated, the programs and genres viewed on alternative media were not recorded. The connection between television programming watched on alternative media and individual mobility is worthy of further exploration.

### *Social Creativity*

Social creativity involves altering the dimension on which the intergroup comparison is made by members of low-status groups. Members of low-status groups can engage in social dimension creativity by making comparisons with higher status groups on new dimensions that yield more favorable outcomes for the low-status groups. Alternatively, members of low-status groups may change the group that they compare themselves with, a strategy known as social group creativity. Typically, they compare themselves favorably with another low-status group to achieve a positive social identity. In the dissertation research, it was predicted that television viewing would have a direct and positive relationship with social creativity.

No support for this prediction was found across the three studies. Television viewing was not significantly related with either dimension creativity or group creativity. Overall, the mean scores for social creativity across the three studies were higher compared to those of individual mobility. The mean scores for social dimension creativity were 3.32 in the Pilot, 3.00 in Study 1, and 3.16 in Study 2 on a five-point scale. The mean scores for social group creativity were 4.63 in the Pilot, 4.05 in Study 1, and 4.14 in Study 2 on a five-point scale. In hindsight, a reason behind the non-significant relationship between television viewing and social creativity was the articulation of the social creativity construct itself *in relation to the television universe*. Social dimension creativity was measured by items like “When I see how uncaring men are, I feel better about being a women,” and “When I see how obsessed with money men are, I feel better about being a women.” Although images of “uncaring” and “obsessed

with money” male characters do exist in the television universe, perhaps these items should have been grounded in more explicit dimensions to facilitate direct comparisons between men and women. For example, women could conceivably compare themselves favorably against men on the following dimensions – being a better parent, a better homemaker, better at social skills, and having a better social network. Favorable representations of women on some of these dimensions are present to a certain extent in television portrayals of women (e.g., Brancato, 2007).

With regard to the measure for social group creativity, female participants were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with statements such as “Women in the US are socially better off than many women in other countries” and “Women in the US today are socially better off than women in the US in the previous century”. Perhaps television content does not influence these comparisons, as images of women from earlier times, and images of women from other countries are rather scarce in television programming. In line with the television universe, comparisons with lesser-educated women, or women from a lower socio-economic class might have yielded more interesting results.

### *Social Competition*

Social competition is a strategy to achieve positive group distinctiveness by means of direct competition with the higher status group. Members of low-status groups may collectively mobilize to improve their status by civil or legal means. In the dissertation research, television viewing was predicted to be negatively related to attitudes of social competition. Overall participants’ scores for social competition were

fairly average, with mean scores of 2.97 in the Pilot, 2.88 in Study 1, and 3.03 in Study 2 on a five-point scale.

Support for this prediction was consistent across both the Pilot and Study 1. As hypothesized, television viewing was significantly and negatively related to attitudes of social competition. However, no support was found for this relationship in the experiment (Study 2). The implication of the finding from the Pilot and Study 1 is that the likelihood of endorsing social competition increases as less time is spent watching television. Some reasons that can explain this relationship are as follows.

It is likely that women who spend less time watching television are exposed to fewer low-status female portrayals. Selective viewing may also play a role in explaining this finding. Women who watch less television might watch particular genres of programming, or fewer selected programs, perhaps emphasizing quality over quantity. Women may choose to view only certain programs that may not be as filled with images of women in stereotypical gender roles. Viewing genres such as news programming may be related to more knowledge and information seeking behaviors, and ultimately a rejection of the status quo. For example, consumption of news programming was positively related to social competition in Study 1,  $r(160) = .17, p < .05$ , and in Study 2,  $r(122) = .25, p < .01$  (see Appendix F and Tables 13 through 16). One final explanation is possibly the simplest one – the less television you watch the more time you have to devote to other pursuits. Perhaps an outcome of this is an inclination toward activism.

*Television, Sociostructural Variables, and Identity Management*

Permeability, stability, and legitimacy are defined as sociostructural variables that affect the choice of identity management strategies. Simply put, various combinations of these sociostructural variables are said to influence the choice of the identity management strategy (see Table 1). As hypothesized, these sociostructural variables were consistently and significantly associated with identity management strategies across the three dissertation studies in a theoretically predictable fashion. For example, permeability was significantly and positively related to individual mobility across all the studies.

In the dissertation research, television viewing was hypothesized to be positively related to permeability, legitimacy, and stability, but scant support was found for the predicted relationship across all three studies. One significant positive relationship was observed between television viewing and permeability in Study 2; however, the significant relationship was only observed between television programming viewed on alternative media, and individual mobility.

These findings suggest that perceptions of the sociostructural variables are socially learned, and television viewing does not contribute to these perceptions. The results from the three studies and the tests of the hypothesized model (see Figure 3, also Chapter 6) revealed no support for the sociostructural variables as mediators of television's cultivation effects on identity management strategies. Additionally, the hypothesized model could not adequately explain the data and the relationships between the various constructs. In sum, the theoretical integration of social identity tenets into the

cultivation framework for this model was not completely successful – while the “intergroup” part of the model worked, the “media effects” part did not work as well.

However, the revised model (Figure 10) presented in Chapter 6 took into account two additional variables – perceived status of women and perceptions of ingroup vitality. Additionally, the model was reworked to allow direct paths between television viewing and the identity management strategies. The test of the new model revealed that the model explained the data across the studies more strongly than the hypothesized model. There was some support for television viewing’s indirect influences on identity management strategies via perceived status.

Theoretically, the inclusion of perceived low status of women to this model is sound. Tajfel’s (1972) original formulations suggest that women would seek to regain a positive social identity only if they perceived that their ingroup had lower status as compared to men. Low status is negatively related to perceptions of vitality. Perceptions of low ingroup vitality, in turn are related to the sociostructural constructs, thus triggering the mechanisms that influence the choice of social identity strategy. So television viewing does play an indirect role in buttressing sociostructural constructs, which in turn influence identity management.

#### *Gender Role Attitudes*

Television viewing was predicted to be positively related to gender role attitudes, such that increased television viewing would be positively related to more traditional gender role attitudes. Surprisingly, television viewing was not associated with gender role attitudes although in the Pilot the relationship did approach significance. This is contrary

to previous research where this relationship is well-established. Participants scored a mean score of 2.41 in the Pilot, 2.49 in Study 1, and 2.59 in Study 2 on a five-point scale.

The lack of significant findings for this relationship could be attributed to low statistical power in the studies to detect small effects, as effect sizes for television viewing's effects on gender role attitudes especially in non-experimental studies are small ( $r^2 = .01$ ; Herret-Skjellum & Allen, 1996). An additional reason could be the measure of gender role attitudes itself. The measure incorporated items from the Sex Role Stereotyping subscale of the Sexual Attitudes Survey created by Burt (1980). The scale contained items such as "A woman should be a virgin when she marries." Perhaps these items do not adequately represent sexual and gender role mores over twenty-five years after their original creation and are outmoded. Lastly, the samples consisted of young female undergraduate students, women who perhaps are not very traditional in their outlook.

Interaction effects between television viewing and gender role attitudes were observed for each of the three identity management strategies. However, these results were not consistent across studies. A significant interaction for social competition was noted in the Pilot. Significant interactions were observed for both individual mobility and social dimension creativity in Study 1, but no significant interactions were observed in Study 2. One reason behind this inconsistency could be that the tests lacked the power to detect significant moderator effects, a substantial problem with this form of analysis (McClelland & Judd, 1993).

The most interesting findings that emerged from the moderator analyses were the effects of television viewing on women who espoused non-traditional gender roles. Specifically, it was observed that television viewing *amplified* non-traditional women's predilections for individual mobility and social dimension creativity. Similarly, increased television viewing *dampened* or diminished scores of social competition in non-traditional women. These are important findings as they suggest that television viewing can override existing non-traditional gender role attitudes and compel these women towards managing their identities in certain ways. It is unclear as to why similar effects were not found in traditional women. Perhaps, it is because traditional women are happy with the status and position of women in the current *status quo*.

However, there may be alternative explanations for these findings. Take the strategy of social competition for example. With regard to women, social competition is adopted primarily by women who espouse non-traditional gender role attitudes. Women who endorse traditional gender role attitudes are likely not to endorse social competition. This was demonstrated by the inverse relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and endorsing social competition across all three studies in the dissertation research. Thus increased television viewing should logically suppress attitudes of social competition in non-traditional women to a much greater extent than in traditional women.

From a uses and gratifications perspective, television avoidance and selection may also help in explaining lowered social competition scores. For example, Abrams and Giles (2007) found that African-Americans who had lower scores on ingroup identification tended to have lower scores on television avoidance. This in turn, was

positively related to perceptions of vitality for their group. Abrams and Giles also found that television selection for ethnic identity gratifications was also positively related to vitality perceptions. Presumably, if members of a group perceive high ingroup vitality via selective viewing, they may not feel the need to pursue strategies of identity management or social change. Similarly, non-traditional women may selectively view content that bolsters their perceptions of women's vitality, and this in turn may suppress the desire for social competition. However, it must be noted that it is easier for African-Americans to find content that bolsters their ethnic identity gratifications via specialized channels and programs. Additionally, African-Americans are overrepresented in the television universe as compared to their population numbers (Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). Women viewers might find it especially hard to find large quantities of female-centric programming that portray women in high-status roles. Thus effects of selective viewing may be considerably weaker in women as compared to the effects for African-Americans found by Abrams and Giles. More broadly, Abrams and Giles' work draws attention to the importance of selective viewing and avoidance of television programming in this area. It is clearly the case that some of the effects observed in the current study might be a function of television viewing that is not habitual and non-selective, but rather that may itself be driven by some of the variables included as "outcomes" in the current study. As noted elsewhere, this point echoes more general criticisms of the cultivation tradition that have been made in the past (e.g., Hawkins & Pingree, 1980).

### *Evaluation of the Attempt to Integrate Social Identity Theory and Cultivation*

Although the findings from the dissertation research provided ample support to the predictions made for the intergroup variables, the same cannot be said for the cultivation led predictions. Overall, there was some support demonstrated for television's cultivation effects via its influences on perceived status of women and social competition.

However, efforts to integrate the two frameworks did not meet with much success. This may be due to small effect sizes, the choice of the sample, the methodology employed, the inherent difficulties in operationalizing second-order effects, or a combination of all these factors. These results suggest that while there is some validity in the use of cultivation theory as a framework, the mechanisms by which television viewing seemingly influence identity management is still unclear. The new model proposed in Chapter 6 is a step in this direction. However, the linkages proposed in this model must be extensively researched and tested for validity before drawing any conclusions. The direct relationship between television viewing and perceived low status of women is an important finding in this research. Although the literature extensively details television's influence on gender role attitudes, and television's role in maintaining the *status quo* between the genders, this is one of the few times such a relationship has been tested directly.

### *Limitations and Directions for Future Research*

One key criticism of cultivation theory is the level of measured exposure to television. Per the original postulates of the theory, overall television viewing should be treated as the level of measured exposure as thematically similar messages pervaded all

genres of programming (Gerbner et al., 2002). However, other scholars have demonstrated that genre and program level measures have stronger associations with cultivation effects, as compared to overall television viewing (Hawkins & Pingree, 1981; Potter & Chang, 1991). Although researchers have found evidence of genre-specific cultivation effects, there are inconsistencies in the findings of these studies (Bilandzic & Rössler, 2004). Additionally, there is a lot of variability in the television audience themselves; effects of television content may vary depending upon viewers' motivations behind seeking content and gratifications obtained upon viewing the content (Bilandzic & Rössler, 2004). In general, little is known about genre-specific cultivation effects and identity management cognitions. In keeping with the original postulates of cultivation theory, the dissertation research focuses on overall television viewing and its influences on identity management. Genre-level viewing was measured, but in a very nominal manner in the dissertation research. For a brief overview of the genre-based findings, please see Appendix F and Tables 13 through 16. Thus, future research may examine program level and genre level television viewing and their connections with identity management.

Secondly, in this era of media fragmentation and advances in new media technology, it becomes increasingly difficult to justify studying overall television measures. Consider that cultivation came into its own when there were but a few broadcast channels and absolutely no room for viewer interactivity. In contrast, today's viewers have a plethora of channels to choose from, and the availability of new media technologies to shape and enhance their viewing experience. From yesteryear's "passive"

consumer, today's television viewer is more active, selective, interactive, and in control of their viewing experience via increasingly specialized media vehicles available to consumers. Additionally, media convergence makes it more important to study the effects of viewing television programming on alternative media such as the Internet. It is unclear, at this point, whether television's cultivation effects work in similar ways when considering programming viewed on alternative media such as the Internet. This could be a future area of research, especially for identity-related cognitions.

Third, most of the measures used in the studies were created specifically for the dissertation research. Thus, they have not been extensively tested. Although most of the measures showed adequate to good reliability, they might benefit from extensive validity tests. For example, the measure for individual mobility was problematic. Women did not endorse behaving like men as a way to success. An alternative to would be to give participants a list of traditionally masculine behaviors and traditionally feminine behaviors and then ask them which behaviors they would endorse. This would mean taking a more nuanced perspective of the construct. Although exploratory factor analyses were carried out on all scales, it must be acknowledged that an overall factor analysis of all items from all scales was not performed. For example, individual factor analyses were carried out for each of the sociostructural constructs' scales and on the mobility, creativity, and competition scales. However, all the items from these scales were not submitted to a single overarching factor analysis. It is quite likely that items from some of these scales may map on each other (e.g., permeability and individual mobility). Similarly, perceived vitality and perceived status of women, though measured separately,

are closely related with each other. As reviewed earlier, vitality of a group in society is made up of three components – demographic representation, institutional support and its relative status to other groups. In-depth confirmatory factor analysis and clarity of definitions while articulating concepts and constructing scales is a must in future research.

Fourth, the manipulations in the experimental study (Study 2) did not work as planned. As detailed in the discussion for the study, there could be several reasons behind why the experiment was not successful. Chiefly, as opposed to written scripts, video manipulations might have been more effective. Additionally, there is an inherent difficulty in manipulating gender role attitudes. This manipulation might have worked for women who were not as entrenched in their gender role attitudes. However, it might have backfired for women with strongly held attitudes, e.g., non-traditional women may have viewed the traditional protagonist with derision rather than be influenced by such a depiction.

Lastly, the choice of the sample, namely college students, was based on convenience. Ideally, this research should have been tested in women who were not college students in order to have good generalizability of the results. However, by the rationale detailed earlier, what looked like a limitation actually provides strong evidence for studying television's deleterious effects on identity cognitions in women.

Future research should re-conceptualize cultivation effects to include examination of effects of watching television programming on alternative media. Additionally, it is important to consider the efficacy of the cultivation framework in today's media

environment. Research frameworks should integrate tenets of cultivation theory with other media effects frameworks such as social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986, 2001), for a more diverse, rich and nuanced picture of the “process” of media’s cultivation effects. Mediating variables from social cognitive theory can shed more light on the process of *how* media depictions influence viewers’ perceptions of social reality. The revised model (Chapter 6) should be tested in diverse intergroup contexts (e.g., age groups, ethnic groups), in order to test its validity for various low-status groups.

### *Conclusion*

This dissertation expands and adds to the growing body of work integrating media effects and intergroup communication theories. Specifically, it extends the work focusing on media’s influence on low-status group members’ cognitions. Three studies explored the influence of television viewing on new untested outcome variables from social identity theory. A model is proposed that integrates tenets of cultivation and social identity theory. This model may be particularly useful in studying low-status group members’ cognitions in various intergroup contexts. Continued research in this area will help in understanding and combating media’s deleterious influences on intergroup cognitions in both advantaged and disadvantaged groups’ members.

## APPENDIX A

## Pilot Test Questionnaire

\*Item dropped from analysis

**SECTION ONE:** Please answer the following questions regarding your background. Please circle/check/fill in as applicable.

1. Age: \_\_\_\_\_ years
2. Gender: \_\_\_\_\_ Male                      \_\_\_\_\_ Female
3. Ethnic background:
 

_____ American Indian or Alaskan Native	_____ Asian or Pacific Islander
_____ African-American	_____ Hispanic/Latino
_____ White	_____ Other/Unknown

**SECTION TWO:** Please answer the following questions regarding your feelings about your gender. Please circle/check/fill in as applicable.

**{INGROUP IDENTIFICATION}**

- I. Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about being a **woman** in general. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

1. I identify with other women in general.
 

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
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2. I try to hide that I am a woman.\*
 

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
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3. In many respects, I am like most other women.
 

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
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4. I feel little commitment to other women.\*

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

5. I am glad to be a woman.\*

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

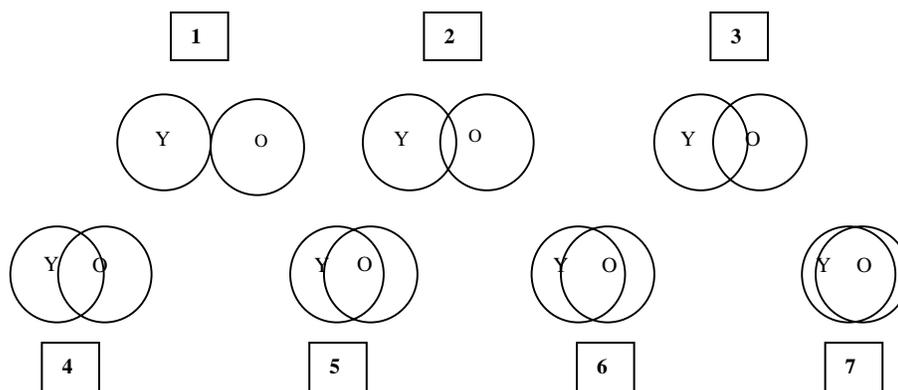
6. I feel strong ties to other women.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

7. I feel ashamed to be a woman.\*

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

8. Please circle the pair of circles that best represents your **feelings**, where “**Y**” refers to **YOU** and “**O**” refers to **other women**. How **CONNECTED** do you feel to other women?



### {GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES}

**II. Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about appropriate behavior for men and women. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

1. When a man and a woman are on a date, it is OK for the woman to pay for the date.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

2. A woman should be a virgin when she marries.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

3. There is something wrong with a woman who does not want to marry.  
**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**
4. There is something wrong with a woman who does not want to have children.  
**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**
5. A woman's children should come before her career.  
**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**
6. A woman's marriage should come before her career.  
**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**
7. It looks worse for a woman to be drunk than a man.  
**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**
8. Women should do more housework than men.  
**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**
9. Women rather than men should do the cooking at home.  
**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**
10. Women should be in charge of child-rearing.  
**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

### {PERCEIVED INGROUP VITALITY}

**III. Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about women and their status in society.

Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

1. Women overall have equal status with men in society.  
**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**
2. Women overall have equal status with men in the workplace.  
**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

3. Women are represented fairly in American culture.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
4. Women are represented fairly in American government.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
5. Women are represented fairly in education.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
6. Women are represented fairly in business.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
7. Women are represented fairly in the legal world (legal rights, representation in the legal professions, etc.).  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**IV. Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about the balance of power between women and men in everyday life. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

**{STABILITY}**

1. The balance between men and women's status in society will remain stable in the next decade.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
2. The balance between men and women's status in the workplace will remain stable in the next decade.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
3. The balance between men and women's status in the government will remain stable in the next decade.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

4. The balance between men and women's status in education will remain stable in the next decade.

**Strongly Disagree**   1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

5. The balance between men and women's status in the law will remain stable in the next decade.

**Strongly Disagree**   1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

### {LEGITIMACY}

6. The status of women in society will not change easily. \*

**Strongly Disagree**   1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

7. Men's position in US society is legitimate.

**Strongly Disagree**   1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

8. Men are entitled to have better positions than women in the workplace. \*

**Strongly Disagree**   1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

9. Men deserve the advantages that they have achieved. \*

**Strongly Disagree**   1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

### {PERMEABILITY}

10. It is almost impossible for a woman to be taken as seriously as a man in society.

**Strongly Disagree**   1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

11. In America, women and men have equal access to high status jobs in the workplace.

**Strongly Disagree**   1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

12. It is almost impossible for a woman to be taken as seriously as a man in the workplace.

**Strongly Disagree**   1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

13. Advancement in American society is possible for both men and women. \*

**Strongly Disagree**   1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

14. If women want to get ahead in the professional sphere, there is nothing to stop them.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

### **{PERCEIVED INGROUP EFFICACY}**

- V. Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about women and their **abilities**. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

1. Women as a group can always manage to solve difficult problems.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

2. If another group opposes women, women find the means to get what they want.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

3. Women can deal efficiently with unexpected events.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

4. Women can solve most problems if they work together and invest the effort.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

5. If women are confronted with a problem, they can work together to think of solutions.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

- VI. Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about **your own** abilities and the strategies that you use in your everyday life. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

### **{INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY}**

1. I can be successful in today's world without behaving like a man.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

2. When it comes to success in life, sometimes I wish I was a man.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

3. I try to act like a man when it helps me get ahead.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
4. In a work situation I might sometimes behave like a man.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
5. Behaving like a man could be a good way for me to succeed.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
6. Sometimes to get ahead, I play by men's rules.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
7. I would never act like a man.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
8. I wouldn't act like a man just so I could accomplish more.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**{SOCIAL DIMENSION CREATIVITY}**

9. When I see how obsessed with money most men are, I feel better about being a woman.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
10. When I see how uncaring most men are, I feel better about being a woman.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
11. I'm glad that I'm not obsessed with "Getting Ahead" like most men are.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
12. I define success by things that are more important than making money.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**VII. Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about the treatment and status of women in everyday life. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

**{SOCIAL GROUP CREATIVITY}**

1. When I see how some oppressed groups are treated, it makes me think that being a woman is not so bad. \*

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

2. My parents' generation of women had it a lot tougher than I do. \*

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

3. I compare myself with previous generations of women to feel better about women's position in society. \*

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

4. When I see how little women in other countries have, I feel grateful for what I have.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

5. I try to compare myself to other women rather than men. \*

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

6. When I see how little some other women have, I feel thankful for what I have.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

7. I'd rather be an American woman than a woman in a lot of other countries. \*

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

8. I'd rather be woman now as compared to being a woman 50 years ago. \*

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**VIII. Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about the **treatment** of women. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

**{SOCIAL COMPETITION}**

1. I would join a protest for women's rights if it was held on campus.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

2. I am really not interested in feminism and stuff like that.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

3. If the university discriminated against women, I would protest.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

4. I would rather vote for a woman than a man, even if I disagreed with some of her views.\*

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

5. I don't get involved with women who fight for "equal rights."

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

6. I would donate money to a group fighting for women's rights.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

7. I am a feminist.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

8. I would sacrifice my individual achievement if I could achieve something for women as a group.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

9. I can't imagine protesting for women's rights.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

10. I wouldn't ever give my money to a group like the National Organization for Women.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

11. When it's an option, I try to work with other women to improve our status in life.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

12. I fight with other women to help us achieve equality with men in all aspects of life.

**Strongly Disagree**    1       2       3       4       5       **Strongly Agree**

**{DAILY TELEVISION VIEWING}**

**SECTION THREE:** Please answer the following questions regarding your television viewing. Please circle as applicable.

1. On an **average weekday (Monday to Friday)**, how many *hours* of television do you typically watch during the following time periods? For each time period, please **circle** the approximate number of **hours** that you spend watching television **in a single day**.

**TIME PERIOD****HOURS SPENT WATCHING TELEVISION IN A DAY**

6 a.m. to 12 noon	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 noon to 6 p.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
6 p.m. to 12 midnight	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 midnight to 6 a.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

2. On an **average weekend (Saturday & Sunday)**, how many hours of television do you typically watch during the following time periods? For each time period, please **circle** the approximate number of **hours** that you spend watching television **per day, on a typical weekend day**.

**TIME PERIOD** **HOURS SPENT WATCHING TELEVISION PER DAY ON SATURDAY OR SUNDAY**

6 a.m. to 12 noon	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 noon to 6 p.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
6 p.m. to 12 midnight	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 midnight to 6 a.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

**{GENRE VIEWING}**

3. The following is a list of **different types of television programs**. On the line next to each type, please indicate how frequently you watch that type of program. **Please choose a number from 1 to 5 to represent your viewing frequency, where 1 means you never watch this type and 5 means you watch this type almost every day.** (The shows in parentheses are *examples* of the various types of programs, but do not include all the shows in those categories.)

<b>Genre</b>	<b>Never watch</b>				<b>Watch almost everyday</b>
Sporting Events	1	2	3	4	5
Young Adult Dramas (Dawson's Creek, Smallville)	1	2	3	4	5
Daytime Soap Operas (Days of Our Lives)	1	2	3	4	5
News (60 Minutes, Local News, CNN)	1	2	3	4	5
Relationship-focused Reality Shows (The Bachelor)	1	2	3	4	5
Other Reality Shows (American Idol, Survivor, Real World)	1	2	3	4	5
Dating 'Game' Shows (Blind Date, Shipmates)	1	2	3	4	5
Music Videos	1	2	3	4	5
Romantic Movies on TV (You've Got Mail)	1	2	3	4	5
Daytime Talk Shows (Oprah)	1	2	3	4	5
Spanish-language programming	1	2	3	4	5
Shopping (HSN, QVC)	1	2	3	4	5

**{PERCEIVED REALISM OF TELEVISION}**

**4. Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about television. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

1. Television presents things as they really are in life.  
**Strongly Disagree    1            2            3            4            5            Strongly Agree**
  
2. If I see something on TV, I cannot be sure it really is that way.\*  
**Strongly Disagree    1            2            3            4            5            Strongly Agree**
  
3. Television lets me really see how other people live.  
**Strongly Disagree    1            2            3            4            5            Strongly Agree**
  
4. TV does **NOT** show life as it really is.  
**Strongly Disagree    1            2            3            4            5            Strongly Agree**
  
5. Television lets me see what happens in other places as if I'm really there.  
**Strongly Disagree    1            2            3            4            5            Strongly Agree**

## APPENDIX B

## Pre-test Questionnaire – Study 1

\*Item dropped from analysis

**Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about the balance of power between women and men in everyday life. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

**{LEGITIMACY}**

1. It is right that men have a higher status than women in US society.  

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
--------------------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	-----------------------
  
2. It is fair that men have a higher status than women in US society.  

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
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3. It is justified that men have a higher status as compared to women in US society.  

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
--------------------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	-----------------------
  
4. It is unfair that men have a higher status than women in US society.  

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
--------------------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	-----------------------
  
5. Men's position in US society is legitimate. \*  

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
--------------------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	-----------------------
  
6. Men are entitled to have better positions than women in the workplace.  

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
--------------------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	-----------------------
  
7. Men deserve the advantages that they have achieved. \*  

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
--------------------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	-----------------------

**Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about the treatment and status of women in everyday life. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

**{SOCIAL GROUP CREATIVITY}**

1. American women are socially better off than many minority groups in US society.\*  
**Strongly Disagree      1      2      3      4      5      Strongly Agree**
  
2. American women are economically better off than many minority groups in US society.\*  
**Strongly Disagree      1      2      3      4      5      Strongly Agree**
  
3. American women have higher status in society compared to many minority groups in US society.\*  
**Strongly Disagree      1      2      3      4      5      Strongly Agree**
  
4. American women have a better quality of life than many minority groups in US society.\*  
**Strongly Disagree      1      2      3      4      5      Strongly Agree**
  
5. Women in the US are socially better off than many women in other countries.  
**Strongly Disagree      1      2      3      4      5      Strongly Agree**
  
6. Women in the US are economically better off than many women in other countries.  
**Strongly Disagree      1      2      3      4      5      Strongly Agree**
  
7. American women have a higher status in the US than many non-US women in their own countries.  
**Strongly Disagree      1      2      3      4      5      Strongly Agree**
  
8. American women have a higher quality of life compared to many non-US women in their own countries.  
**Strongly Disagree      1      2      3      4      5      Strongly Agree**
  
9. Women in the US are socially better off than many men in other countries.\*  
**Strongly Disagree      1      2      3      4      5      Strongly Agree**

10. Women in the US are economically better off than many men in other countries.\*

**Strongly Disagree**      **1**      **2**      **3**      **4**      **5**      **Strongly Agree**

11. Women in the US have a higher quality of life than many men in other countries.\*

**Strongly Disagree**      **1**      **2**      **3**      **4**      **5**      **Strongly Agree**

12. Women in the US are educationally better off than many men in other countries.\*

**Strongly Disagree**      **1**      **2**      **3**      **4**      **5**      **Strongly Agree**

13. Women in the US today are socially better off than women in the US in the last century.

**Strongly Disagree**      **1**      **2**      **3**      **4**      **5**      **Strongly Agree**

14. Women in the US today are economically better off than women in the US in the last century.

**Strongly Disagree**      **1**      **2**      **3**      **4**      **5**      **Strongly Agree**

15. Women in the US today have higher status than women in the US in the last century.

**Strongly Disagree**      **1**      **2**      **3**      **4**      **5**      **Strongly Agree**

16. Women in the US today have a better quality of life compared to women in the US in the last century.

**Strongly Disagree**      **1**      **2**      **3**      **4**      **5**      **Strongly Agree**

## APPENDIX C

## Main Questionnaire – Study 1

\*Item dropped from analysis

**SECTION ONE:** Please answer the following questions regarding your background. Please circle/check/fill in as applicable.

1. Age: \_\_\_\_\_ years
2. Gender: \_\_\_\_\_ Male                      \_\_\_\_\_ Female
3. Ethnic background:
 

_____ American Indian or Alaskan Native	_____ Asian or Pacific Islander
_____ African-American	_____ Hispanic/Latino
_____ White	_____ Other/Unknown

**Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about appropriate behavior for men and women. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

**{GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES}**

1. When a man and a woman are on a date, it is OK for the woman to pay for the date.  
**Strongly Disagree    1            2            3            4            5            Strongly Agree**
2. A woman should be a virgin when she marries.  
**Strongly Disagree    1            2            3            4            5            Strongly Agree**
3. There is something wrong with a woman who does not want to marry.  
**Strongly Disagree    1            2            3            4            5            Strongly Agree**
4. There is something wrong with a woman who does not want to have children.  
**Strongly Disagree    1            2            3            4            5            Strongly Agree**

5. A woman's children should come before her career.  
**Strongly Disagree** 1 2 3 4 5 **Strongly Agree**
6. A woman's marriage should come before her career.  
**Strongly Disagree** 1 2 3 4 5 **Strongly Agree**
7. It looks worse for a woman to be drunk than a man.\*  
**Strongly Disagree** 1 2 3 4 5 **Strongly Agree**
8. Women should do more housework than men.  
**Strongly Disagree** 1 2 3 4 5 **Strongly Agree**
9. Women rather than men should do the cooking at home.  
**Strongly Disagree** 1 2 3 4 5 **Strongly Agree**
10. Women should be in charge of child-rearing.  
**Strongly Disagree** 1 2 3 4 5 **Strongly Agree**

**Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about women and their status in society. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

**{PERCEIVED STATUS OF WOMEN}**

1. Women overall have lower status than men in society.  
**Strongly Disagree** 1 2 3 4 5 **Strongly Agree**

**{PERCEIVED INGROUP VITALITY}**

2. Women are represented fairly in American culture.  
**Strongly Disagree** 1 2 3 4 5 **Strongly Agree**
3. Women are represented fairly in American government.  
**Strongly Disagree** 1 2 3 4 5 **Strongly Agree**

4. Women are represented fairly in education.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

5. Women are represented fairly in business.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

6. Women are represented fairly in the legal world (legal rights, representation in the legal professions, etc.).

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about the balance of power between women and men in everyday life. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

**{STABILITY}**

1. The balance between men and women's status in society will remain stable in the next decade.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

2. The balance between men and women's status in the workplace will remain stable in the next decade.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

3. The balance between men and women's status in the government will remain stable in the next decade.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

4. The balance between men and women's status in education will remain stable in the next decade.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

5. The balance between men and women's status in the law will remain stable in the next decade.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

6. The status of women in society will not change easily. \*

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**{LEGITIMACY}**

7. It is right that men have a higher status than women in US society.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

8. It is fair that men have a higher status than women in US society.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

9. It is justified that men have a higher status as compared to women in US society.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

10. It is unfair that men have a higher status than women in US society.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

11. Men's position in US society is legitimate.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

12. Men are entitled to have better positions than women in the workplace.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

13. Men deserve the advantages that they have achieved. \*

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**{PERMEABILITY}**

14. It is almost impossible for a woman to be taken as seriously as a man in society.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

15. In America, women and men have equal access to high status jobs in the workplace.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

16. It is almost impossible for a woman to be taken as seriously as a man in the workplace.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

17. Advancement in American society is possible for both men and women.

**Strongly Disagree**   1   2   3   4   5   **Strongly Agree**

18. If women want to get ahead in the professional sphere, there is nothing to stop them.

**Strongly Disagree**   1   2   3   4   5   **Strongly Agree**

**Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about **your own** abilities and the strategies that you use in your everyday life. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

**{INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY}**

1. I can be successful in today's world without behaving like a man.

**Strongly Disagree**   1   2   3   4   5   **Strongly Agree**

2. When it comes to success in life, sometimes I wish I was a man.

**Strongly Disagree**   1   2   3   4   5   **Strongly Agree**

3. I try to act like a man when it helps me get ahead.

**Strongly Disagree**   1   2   3   4   5   **Strongly Agree**

4. In a work situation I might sometimes behave like a man.

**Strongly Disagree**   1   2   3   4   5   **Strongly Agree**

5. Behaving like a man could be a good way for me to succeed.

**Strongly Disagree**   1   2   3   4   5   **Strongly Agree**

6. Sometimes to get ahead, I play by men's rules.

**Strongly Disagree**   1   2   3   4   5   **Strongly Agree**

7. I would never act like a man.

**Strongly Disagree**   1   2   3   4   5   **Strongly Agree**

8. I wouldn't act like a man just so I could accomplish more.

**Strongly Disagree**   1   2   3   4   5   **Strongly Agree**

**{SOCIAL DIMENSION CREATIVITY}**

9. When I see how obsessed with money most men are, I feel better about being a woman.

**Strongly Disagree**    **1**    **2**    **3**    **4**    **5**    **Strongly Agree**

10. When I see how uncaring most men are, I feel better about being a woman.

**Strongly Disagree**    **1**    **2**    **3**    **4**    **5**    **Strongly Agree**

11. I'm glad that I'm not obsessed with "Getting Ahead" like most men are.

**Strongly Disagree**    **1**    **2**    **3**    **4**    **5**    **Strongly Agree**

12. I define success by things that are more important than making money.\*

**Strongly Disagree**    **1**    **2**    **3**    **4**    **5**    **Strongly Agree**

**Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about the treatment and status of women in everyday life. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

**{SOCIAL GROUP CREATIVITY}**

1. Women in the US are socially better off than many women in other countries.

**Strongly Disagree**    **1**    **2**    **3**    **4**    **5**    **Strongly Agree**

2. Women in the US are economically better off than many women in other countries.

**Strongly Disagree**    **1**    **2**    **3**    **4**    **5**    **Strongly Agree**

3. American women have a higher status in the US than many non-US women in their own countries.

**Strongly Disagree**    **1**    **2**    **3**    **4**    **5**    **Strongly Agree**

4. American women have a higher quality of life compared to many non-US women in their own countries.

**Strongly Disagree**    **1**    **2**    **3**    **4**    **5**    **Strongly Agree**

5. Women in the US today are socially better off than women in the US in the last century.

**Strongly Disagree**    **1**    **2**    **3**    **4**    **5**    **Strongly Agree**

6. Women in the US today are economically better off than women in the US in the last century.

**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

7. Women in the US today have higher status women in the US in the last century.

**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

8. Women in the US today have a better quality of life compared to women in the US in the last century.

**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

**Instructions:** The following statements involve your feelings about the **treatment** of women. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (**where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree**).

**{SOCIAL COMPETITION}**

1. I would join a protest for women's rights if it was held on campus.

**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

2. I am really not interested in feminism and stuff like that.

**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

3. If the university discriminated against women, I would protest.

**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

4. I would rather vote for a woman than a man, even if I disagreed with some of her views.

**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

5. I don't get involved with women who fight for "equal rights."

**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

6. I would donate money to a group fighting for women's rights.

**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

7. I am a feminist.

**Strongly Disagree**   1      2      3      4      5      **Strongly Agree**

8. I would sacrifice my individual achievement if I could achieve something for women as a group.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

9. I can't imagine protesting for women's rights.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

10. I wouldn't ever give my money to a group like the National Organization for Women.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

11. When it's an option, I try to work with other women to improve our status in life.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

12. I fight with other women to help us achieve equality with men in all aspects of life.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**{DAILY TELEVISION VIEWING}**

On an **average weekday (Monday to Friday)**, how many *hours* of television do you typically watch during the following time periods? For each time period, please **circle** the approximate number of **hours** that you spend watching television **in a single day**.

**TIME PERIOD****HOURS SPENT WATCHING TELEVISION IN A DAY**

6 a.m. to 12 noon	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 noon to 6 p.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
6 p.m. to 12 midnight	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 midnight to 6 a.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

On an **average weekend (Saturday & Sunday)**, how many hours of television do you typically watch during the following time periods? For each time period, please **circle** the approximate number of **hours** that you spend watching television **per day, on a typical weekend day**.

**TIME PERIOD** **HOURS SPENT WATCHING TELEVISION PER DAY ON SATURDAY OR SUNDAY**

6 a.m. to 12 noon	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 noon to 6 p.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
6 p.m. to 12 midnight	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 midnight to 6 a.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

**{GENRE VIEWING}**

The following is a list of **different types of television programs**. On the line next to each type, please indicate how frequently you watch that type of program. **Please choose a number from 1 to 5 to represent your viewing frequency, where 1 means you never watch this type and 5 means you watch this type almost every day.** (The shows in parentheses are *examples* of the various types of programs, but do not include all the shows in those categories.)

<b>Genre</b>	<b>Never watch</b>				<b>Watch almost everyday</b>
Sporting Events	1	2	3	4	5
Young Adult Dramas (Dawson's Creek, Smallville)	1	2	3	4	5
Daytime Soap Operas (Days of Our Lives)	1	2	3	4	5
News (60 Minutes, Local News, CNN)	1	2	3	4	5
Relationship-focused Reality Shows (The Bachelor)	1	2	3	4	5
Other Reality Shows (American Idol, Survivor, Real World)	1	2	3	4	5
Dating 'Game' Shows (Blind Date, Shipmates)	1	2	3	4	5
Music Videos	1	2	3	4	5
Romantic Movies on TV (You've Got Mail)	1	2	3	4	5
Daytime Talk Shows (Oprah)	1	2	3	4	5
Spanish-language programming	1	2	3	4	5
Shopping (HSN, QVC)	1	2	3	4	5



**High Status/Non-traditional**

# The New York Times

November 4, 2007, Sunday

NATIONAL DESK

**Status of Women Report: Women on the Rise**

By LINDA GREENHOUSE (NYT) 394 words

American women are fast achieving an edge over American men in various fields such as business, education, and overall standards of living, according to a new report on the status of women.

“At the rate things are changing, soon we will see American women coming into the forefront of public life and the American economy,” according to economist Heidi Hartmann.

Hartmann heads the Institute for Women’s Policy Research which today issued the *The Status of Women in the States*, the institute’s fifth biennial report comparing women’s progress towards equality in the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

“Things are better in some places and worse in others, but wherever you go, women are outperforming men on several indicators such as notable successes in educational achievements, participation in local politics, and a growing trend towards economic independence,” said Hartmann.

Women outnumber men 3 to 1 in their numbers of enrollment in institutions of higher education. The graduation rate of women involved in majors such as business, computer science, political science, biology and economics is 32% higher than that of men.

The number of female CEOs has increased 400% over the last decade. Overall, women’s participation in local and national politics has grown with many key elections decided on the basis of women’s votes – politicians and pundits alike have realized that the key to getting elected to office rests with this influential and powerful group of voters.

“This changing and exciting climate heralds a more forceful and powerful position for women in American society,” according to Hartmann. “More and more women are pursuing careers traditionally thought to be only for men. Women are not afraid to enter the workforce and shake up the playing field.”

Carly Stuart, a pre-law major at the University of Arizona, said, “Since the last year, I have been clerking at a local law-firm, and I plan to work as a litigation lawyer once I get my law degree. I want to make partner in my law-firm before I turn 35.”

She continued, “Some people may believe that the job of a lawyer is not appropriate for women as it takes so much time away from the family, and the field is dominated by men. However, I want it all. I feel I can live up to the challenges, and I am not afraid of competing with men. Bring it on!”

**High Status/Traditional**

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“However, despite the growing presence of women in positions of power, many women are still choosing to become homemakers,” according to Hartmann. “The study indicates that a number of women prefer low-stress, low-impact, and less competitive careers that allow them to spend more time with their families.”

Carly Stuart, an education major at the University of Arizona, said, “Since the last year, I have been teaching at an elementary school, and I plan to work as a school teacher once I get my degree. I think that teaching is the ideal job for a woman, as it allows you to have more time to spend with your family and children.”

She continued, “Initially I enrolled at the law school, but then I switched to education, as I believe the job of a lawyer is more appropriate for a man. I am not interested in having a prestigious job, and I do not feel I could compete with men.”

## Low Status/Non-traditional

# The New York Times

November 4, 2007, Sunday

NATIONAL DESK

### Status of Women Report: Gender Inequality in America

By LINDA GREENHOUSE (NYT) 406 words

Women are still decades away from achieving full equality in America, according to a recent report. The report claims that women have a lower status as compared to men across various fields such as business, education, and overall standards of living.

“At the rate things are changing, it will be 50 years before women’s paychecks equals men’s, and nearly a full century before women hold half the seats in Congress,” according to economist Heidi Hartmann.

Hartmann heads the Institute for Women’s Policy Research which today issued the *The Status of Women in the States*, the institute’s fifth biennial report comparing women’s progress towards equality in the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

“Things are better in some places and worse in others, but wherever you go in America, women are shortchanged as compared to men, starting with their paychecks,” said Hartmann. American women are paid 76 cents for every dollar men earn, according to the new report. Additionally, 1 out of every 8 American women lives in poverty, as compared to 1 out of every 17 men.

Men outnumber women 3 to 1 in their numbers of enrollment in institutions of higher education. The graduation rate of men involved in majors such as business, computer science, political science, biology and economics is 32% higher than women.

Women as a whole are also underrepresented in political offices. According to Hartmann, “These examples emphasize the lower status of American women as compared to men.”

“However, although the overall picture for women in American society seems grim,” Hartmann said, “a few women are testing these boundaries and breaking out into the limelight. These women are pursuing careers traditionally thought to be only for men. They are not afraid to enter the workforce and shake up the playing field.”

Carly Stuart, a pre-law major at the University of Arizona, said, “Since the last year, I have been clerking at a local law-firm, and I plan to work as a litigation lawyer once I get my law degree. I want to make partner in my law-firm before I turn 35.”

She continued, “Some people may believe that the job of a lawyer is not appropriate for women as it takes so much time away from the family, and the field is dominated by men. However, I want it all. I feel I can live up to the challenges, and I am not afraid of competing with men. Bring it on!”

Low Status/Traditional

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November 4, 2007, Sunday

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Women as a whole are also underrepresented in political offices. According to Hartmann, “These examples emphasize the lower status of American women as compared to men.”

“When confronted with the current status of women in American business and public life, more and more women are choosing to become homemakers, or choose low-stress, low-impact and less competitive careers that allow them to spend more time with their families,” Hartmann said.

Carly Stuart, an education major at the University of Arizona, said, “Since the last year, I have been teaching at an elementary school, and I plan to work as a school teacher once I get my degree. I think that teaching is the ideal job for a woman, as it allows you to have more time to spend with your family and children.”

She continued, “Initially I enrolled at the law school, but then I switched to education, as I believe the job of a lawyer is more appropriate for a man. I am not interested in having a prestigious job, and I don’t feel I could compete with men.”

**SECTION THREE:** Please answer the following questions based on the NEWS STORY you just read.

1. According to the news story, which gender earns more in the workplace? (Choose one)\*
  - a. Men
  - b. Women
  
2. Which gender has the higher status with regard to business, education, and overall standards of living? (Choose one)
  - a. Men
  - b. Women
  
3. According to Heidi Hartmann noted economist, how many years will it take for women's paychecks to equal men's? (Choose one)\*
  - a. 10 years
  - b. 25 years
  - c. 50 years
  - d. 100 years
  
4. The following items will test your impressions of the college student Carly Stuart interviewed for the article
  - a. How friendly is Carly? \*
 

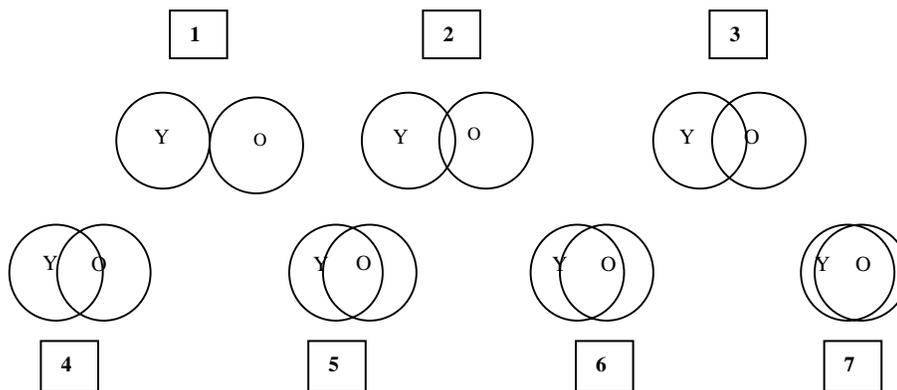
<b>Not at all Friendly</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Extremely Friendly</b>
----------------------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	---------------------------
  
  - b. How ambitious is Carly? \*
 

<b>Not at all Ambitious</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Extremely Ambitious</b>
-----------------------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------------------------
  
  - c. How dedicated is Carly? \*
 

<b>Not at all Dedicated</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Extremely Dedicated</b>
-----------------------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------------------------
  
  - d. How likeable is Carly? \*
 

<b>Not at all Likeable</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Extremely Likeable</b>
----------------------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	---------------------------
  
  - e. How traditional is Carly?
 

<b>Not at all Traditional</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Extremely Traditional</b>
-------------------------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	------------------------------
  
5. Please circle the pair of circles that best represents your **feelings**, where "Y" refers to YOU and "O" refers to CARLY. How **SIMILAR** do you feel to CARLY? \*



6. How much do you agree/disagree with Carly's opinions?\*

**Strongly Disagree**      **1**      **2**      **3**      **4**      **5**      **Strongly Agree**

7. How believable did you find this news story?\*

**Not at all Believable**      **1**      **2**      **3**      **4**      **5**      **Extremely Believable**

8. How realistic did you find this news story?

**Not at all Realistic**      **1**      **2**      **3**      **4**      **5**      **Extremely Realistic**

## APPENDIX E

## Main Questionnaire – Study 2

\*Item/question dropped from analysis

<b>SECTION ONE:</b> Please answer the following questions regarding your background. Please circle/check/fill in as applicable.
---

1. Age: \_\_\_\_\_ years
2. Gender: \_\_\_\_\_ Male                      \_\_\_\_\_ Female
3. Ethnic background:
 

_____ American Indian or Alaskan Native	_____ Asian or Pacific Islander
_____ African-American	_____ Hispanic/Latino
_____ White	_____ Other

<b>SECTION TWO:</b> Please read the NEWS STORY on the following page. Take your time and read the news story carefully.
---

**Please proceed to the next page to read the NEWS STORY.**

*{All Four Versions of the News Story Follow}*

HOME PAGE	MY TIMES	TODAY'S PAPER	VIDEO	MOST POPULAR	TIMES TOPICS
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# The New York Times

## Society

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| • <a href="#">Home Improvement</a> | • <a href="#">Loans for Self-Employed Borrowers</a> | • <a href="#">Can I lock in a low rate now?</a>   | • <a href="#">Jumbo Loans</a>              |

## Status of Women Report: Women on the Rise!

*NATIONAL DESK*

By **LINDA GREENHOUSE (NYT)** 393 words

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"This changing and exciting climate heralds a more forceful and powerful position for women in American society," according to Hartmann. "More and more women are pursuing careers traditionally thought to be only for men. Women are not afraid to enter the workforce and shake up the playing field."

**STORY CONTINUES AFTER BREAK**

**STORY CONTINUES**

Carly Stuart, a pre-law major at New York University, said, "Since the last year, I have been clerking at a local law-firm, and I plan to work as a litigation lawyer once I get my law degree. I want to make partner in my law-firm before I turn 35."

She continued, "Some people may believe that the job of a lawyer is not appropriate for women as it takes so much time away from the family, and the field is dominated by men. However, I want it all. I feel I can live up to the challenges, and I am not afraid of competing with men. Bring it on!"

**END OF STORY**

HOME PAGE	MY TIMES	TODAY'S PAPER	VIDEO	MOST POPULAR	TIMES TOPICS
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# The New York Times

## Society

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## Status of Women Report: Women on the Rise

*NATIONAL DESK*

By **LINDA GREENHOUSE (NYT)** 393 words

Published: **November 4, 2007, Sunday**

American women are fast achieving an edge over American men in various fields such as business, education, and overall standards of living, according to a new report on the status of women.

“At the rate things are changing, soon we will see American women coming into the forefront of public life and the American economy,” according to economist Heidi Hartmann.

Hartmann heads the [Institute for Women’s Policy Research](#) which today issued the *The Status of Women in the States*, the institute’s fifth biennial report comparing women’s progress towards equality in the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

“Things are better in some places and worse in others, but wherever you go, women are outperforming men on several indicators such as notable successes in educational achievements, participation in local politics, and a growing trend towards economic independence,” said Hartmann.

Women outnumber men 3 to 1 in their numbers of enrollment in institutions of higher education. The graduation rate of women involved in majors such as business, computer science, political science, biology and economics is 32% higher than that of men.

The number of female CEOs has increased 400% over the last decade. Overall, women’s participation in local and national politics has grown with many key elections decided on the basis of women’s votes – politicians and pundits alike have realized that the key to getting elected to office rests with this influential and powerful group of voters.

“However, despite the growing presence of women in positions of power, many women are still choosing to become homemakers,” according to Hartmann. “The study indicates that a number of women prefer low-stress, low-impact, and less competitive careers that allow them to spend more time with their families.”

**STORY CONTINUES AFTER BREAK**



## **STORY CONTINUES**

Carly Stuart, an education major at New York University, said, "Since the last year, I have been teaching at an elementary school, and I plan to work as a school teacher once I get my degree. I think that teaching is the ideal job for a woman, as it allows you to have more time to spend with your family and children."

She continued, "Initially I enrolled at the law school, but then I switched to education, as I believe the job of a lawyer is more appropriate for a man. I am not interested in having a prestigious job, and I do not feel I could compete with men."

## **END OF STORY**

## LOW STATUS/ NON-TRADITIONAL

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## Status of Women Report: Gender Inequality in America

NATIONAL DESK

By LINDA GREENHOUSE (NYT) 405 words

Published: November 4, 2007, Sunday

Women are still decades away from achieving full equality in America, according to a recent report. The report claims that women have a lower status as compared to men across various fields such as business, education, and overall standards of living.

“At the rate things are changing, it will be 50 years before women’s paychecks equals men’s, and nearly a full century before women hold half the seats in Congress,” according to economist Heidi Hartmann.

Hartmann heads the [Institute for Women’s Policy Research](#) which today issued the *The Status of Women in the States*, the institute’s fifth biennial report comparing women’s progress towards equality in the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

“Things are better in some places and worse in others, but wherever you go in America, women are shortchanged as compared to men, starting with their paychecks,” said Hartmann.

American women are paid 76 cents for every dollar men earn, according to the new report. Additionally, 1 out of every 8 American women lives in poverty, as compared to 1 out of every 17 men.

Men outnumber women 3 to 1 in their numbers of enrollment in institutions of higher education. The graduation rate of men involved in majors such as business, computer science, political science, biology and economics is 32% higher than women.

Women as a whole are also underrepresented in political offices. According to Hartmann, “These examples emphasize the lower status of American women as compared to men.”

“However, although the overall picture for women in American society seems grim,” Hartmann said, “a few women are testing these boundaries and breaking out into the limelight. These women are pursuing careers traditionally thought to be only for men. They are not afraid to enter the workforce and shake up the playing field.”

**STORY CONTINUES AFTER BREAK****STORY CONTINUES**

Carly Stuart, a pre-law major at New York University, said, "Since the last year, I have been clerking at a local law-firm, and I plan to work as a litigation lawyer once I get my law degree. I want to make partner in my law-firm before I turn 35."

She continued, "Some people may believe that the job of a lawyer is not appropriate for women as it takes so much time away from the family, and the field is dominated by men. However, I want it all. I feel I can live up to the challenges, and I am not afraid of competing with men. Bring it on!"

**END OF STORY**

LOW STATUS/ TRADITIONAL

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Women as a whole are also underrepresented in political offices. According to Hartmann, “These examples emphasize the lower status of American women as compared to men.”

“When confronted with the current status of women in American business and public life, more and more women are choosing to become homemakers, or choose low-stress, low-impact and less competitive careers that allow them to spend more time with their families,” Hartmann said.

**STORY CONTINUES AFTER BREAK**



### **STORY CONTINUES**

Carly Stuart, an education major at New York University, said, "Since the last year, I have been teaching at an elementary school, and I plan to work as a school teacher once I get my degree. I think that teaching is the ideal job for a woman, as it allows you to have more time to spend with your family and children."

She continued, "Initially I enrolled at the law school, but then I switched to education, as I believe the job of a lawyer is more appropriate for a man. I am not interested in having a prestigious job, and I don't feel I could compete with men."

### **END OF STORY**

**Please proceed to the next section.**

**SECTION THREE: The following statements involve your feelings about your own abilities. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree).**

**{INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY}**

1. I can be successful in today's world without behaving like a man.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

2. When it comes to success in life, sometimes I wish I was a man.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

3. I try to act like a man when it helps me get ahead.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

4. In a work situation I might sometimes behave like a man.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

5. Behaving like a man could be a good way for me to succeed.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

6. Sometimes to get ahead, I play by men's rules.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

7. I would never act like a man at work.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

8. I wouldn't act like a man just so I could accomplish more.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**{SOCIAL DIMENSION CREATIVITY}**

9. When I see how obsessed with money most men are, I feel better about being a woman.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

10. When I see how uncaring most men are, I feel better about being a woman.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

11. I'm glad that I'm not obsessed with "Getting Ahead" like most men are.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

12. I define success in life by things that are more important than making money.\*

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**SECTION FOUR: The following statements involve your feelings about the status of women in everyday life. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree).**

**{SOCIAL GROUP CREATIVITY}**

1. Overall, women in the US are socially better off than many women in other countries.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
  
2. Overall, women in the US are economically better off than many women in other countries.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
  
3. American women have a higher status in the US than many non-US women in their own countries.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
  
4. American women have a higher quality of life compared to many non-US women in their own countries.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
  
5. Women in the US today are socially better off than women in the US in the last century.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
  
6. Women in the US today are economically better off than women in the US in the last century.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
  
7. Women in the US today have higher status than women in the US in the last century.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
  
8. Women in the US today have a better quality of life compared to women in the US in the last century.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**SECTION FIVE: The following statements involve your feelings about the treatment of women. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree).**

**{SOCIAL COMPETITION}**

1. I would join a protest for women's rights if it was held on campus.  
**Strongly Disagree**        1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
  
2. I am really not interested in feminism and stuff like that.  
**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**
  
3. If the university discriminated against women, I would protest.  
**Strongly Disagree**        1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

4. I **do not** get involved with women who fight for “equal rights.”

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

5. I would donate money to a group fighting for women’s rights.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

6. I would sacrifice my individual achievement if I could achieve something for women as a group.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

7. I **cannot** imagine protesting for women’s rights.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

8. I **would not** ever give my money to a group like the National Organization for Women.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

9. When it’s an option, I try to work with other women to improve our status in life.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

10. I fight with other women to help us achieve equality with men in all aspects of life.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**SECTION SIX: The following statements involve your feelings about women and their status in society. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree).**

**{PERCEIVED INGROUP VITALITY}**

1. Women are represented fairly in **American culture.**

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

2. Women are represented fairly in **American government.**

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

3. Women are represented fairly in **education.**

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

4. Women are represented fairly in **business.**

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

5. Women are represented fairly in the **legal world** (legal rights, representation in the legal professions, etc.).

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**{PERCEIVED STATUS OF WOMEN}**

6. Women overall have **lower** status than men in society.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**SECTION SEVEN: The following statements involve your feelings about the balance of power between women and men in everyday life. Please indicate how much you agree/disagree with each statement.**

**{STABILITY}**

1. The balance between men and women's status in **society** will remain stable in the next decade.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

2. The balance between men and women's status in the **workplace** will remain stable in the next decade.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

3. The balance between men and women's status in the **government** will remain stable in the next decade.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

4. The balance between men and women's status in **education** will remain stable in the next decade.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**{LEGITIMACY}**

5. It is **right** that men have a higher status than women in US society.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

6. It is **fair** that men have a higher status than women in US society.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

7. It is **justified** that men have a higher status as compared to women in US society.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

8. It is **unfair** that men have a higher status than women in US society.\*

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**{PERMEABILITY}**

9. It is almost **impossible** for a woman to be taken as seriously as a man in society.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

10. In America, women and men have equal access to high status jobs in the workplace.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

11. It is almost **impossible** for a woman to be taken as seriously as a man in the workplace.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

12. If women want to get ahead in the professional sphere, there is nothing to stop them from doing so.

**Strongly Disagree**    1        2        3        4        5        **Strongly Agree**

**{DAILY TELEVISION VIEWING}**

On an **average weekday (Monday to Friday)**, how many *hours* of television do you typically watch during the following time periods? For each time period, please **circle** the approximate number of **hours** that you spend watching television **in a single day**.

**TIME PERIOD****HOURS SPENT WATCHING TELEVISION ON AN AVERAGE WEEKDAY**

6 a.m. to 12 noon	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 noon to 6 p.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
6 p.m. to 12 midnight	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 midnight to 6 a.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

On an **average weekend (Saturday OR Sunday)**, how many hours of television do you typically watch during the following time periods? For each time period, please **circle** the approximate number of **hours** that you spend watching television **per day, on a typical weekend day**.

**TIME PERIOD****HOURS SPENT WATCHING TELEVISION PER DAY ON SATURDAY OR SUNDAY**

6 a.m. to 12 noon	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 noon to 6 p.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
6 p.m. to 12 midnight	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 midnight to 6 a.m.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

**{GENRE VIEWING}**

The following is a list of **different types of television programs**. On the line next to each type, please indicate how frequently you watch that type of program. **Please choose a number from 1 to 5 to represent your viewing frequency, where 1 means you never watch this type and 5 means you watch this type almost every day.** (The shows in parentheses are *examples* of the various types of programs, but do **not** include all the shows in those categories.)

Genre	Never watch				Watch almost everyday
Sporting Events	1	2	3	4	5
Young Adult Dramas (e.g., Gossip Girls, Smallville)	1	2	3	4	5
Daytime Soap Operas (e.g., Days of Our Lives)	1	2	3	4	5
News (e.g., 60 Minutes, Local News, CNN)	1	2	3	4	5
Relationship-focused Reality Shows (e.g., The Bachelor)	1	2	3	4	5
Other Reality Shows (e.g., American Idol, Survivor, Real World)	1	2	3	4	5
Dating 'Game' Shows (e.g., Blind Date, Shipmates)	1	2	3	4	5
Music Videos	1	2	3	4	5
Romantic Movies on TV (e.g., You've Got Mail)	1	2	3	4	5
Daytime Talk Shows (e.g., Oprah)	1	2	3	4	5
Spanish-language programming	1	2	3	4	5
Shopping (e.g., HSN, QVC)	1	2	3	4	5

**Please answer the following questions about your TV viewing patterns: {Part of Television Composite Measure}**

- i. Think back to **yesterday**, how many hours of TV did you watch **yesterday**?

\_\_\_\_\_ **Hours**

- ii. Do you watch television programs or movies on the Internet, or iPod, or DVD?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_

No \_\_\_\_\_

(Check one)

**If yes,**

- iii. On average, how many hours of TV or movies do you watch on DVD/iPod/Internet in a **day**?

\_\_\_\_\_ **Hours**

- iv. On average, how many hours of TV or movies do you watch in a **week** on DVD/iPod/Internet?

\_\_\_\_\_ **Hours**

**SECTION TEN: The following statements involve your feelings about appropriate behavior for men and women. Please indicate how much you agree with each statement (where 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree).**

**{GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES}**

1. When a man and a woman are on a date, it is OK for the woman to pay for the date.  
**Strongly Disagree    1        2        3        4        5        Strongly Agree**
  
2. A woman should be a virgin when she marries.  
**Strongly Disagree    1        2        3        4        5        Strongly Agree**
  
3. There is something wrong with a woman who does not want to marry at all.  
**Strongly Disagree    1        2        3        4        5        Strongly Agree**
  
4. There is something wrong with a woman who does not want to have children at all.  
**Strongly Disagree    1        2        3        4        5        Strongly Agree**
  
5. A woman's children should always come before her career.  
**Strongly Disagree    1        2        3        4        5        Strongly Agree**
  
6. A woman's family should always come before her career.  
**Strongly Disagree    1        2        3        4        5        Strongly Agree**
  
7. It looks worse for a woman to be drunk than a man.  
**Strongly Disagree    1        2        3        4        5        Strongly Agree**
  
8. At home, men should do more housework than women.  
**Strongly Disagree    1        2        3        4        5        Strongly Agree**
  
9. Women rather than men should do the cooking at home.  
**Strongly Disagree    1        2        3        4        5        Strongly Agree**
  
10. Women rather than men should be in charge of child-rearing.  
**Strongly Disagree    1        2        3        4        5        Strongly Agree**



## APPENDIX F

### Genre Effects

Across the three studies participants were asked to indicate their consumption of twelve different genres of television programming 5-point Likert scale (1 = Never Watch to 5 = Watch almost everyday). Means, standard deviations, and viewing percentages for all genres are presented in Table 13.

Based on the viewing percentages, genres which consistently had lower than 50% viewership across the three samples were dropped from further consideration. This left eight out of the original twelve genres, namely: *Sporting Events*, *Young Adult Dramas*, *News Programming*, *Relationship-focused Reality Shows*, *Other Reality Shows*, *Music Videos*, *Romantic Movies on Television*, and *Daytime Talk Shows*.

Correlations between these eight genres and the main variables of interest are presented by study in Tables 14 through 16. Overall, only a few consistent relationships were observed. Consumption of sporting events was significantly and negatively related to social competition across all three studies ( $r$ 's of -.25, -.17, and -.17). Consumption of news programming was significantly and positively related to social competition in two studies ( $r$ 's of .16, and .23). Consumption of relationship-focused reality shows was positively related to traditional gender role attitudes in two studies ( $r$ 's of .25, and .17), and with social group creativity in two studies ( $r$ 's of .19, and .16). Consumption of other reality shows (excluding the romantic ones) was also significantly and positively associated with social group creativity ( $r$ 's of .21, and .17) in two studies.

## FIGURES

Figure 1

*Direct Relationships between Television Viewing and Identity Management Strategies*

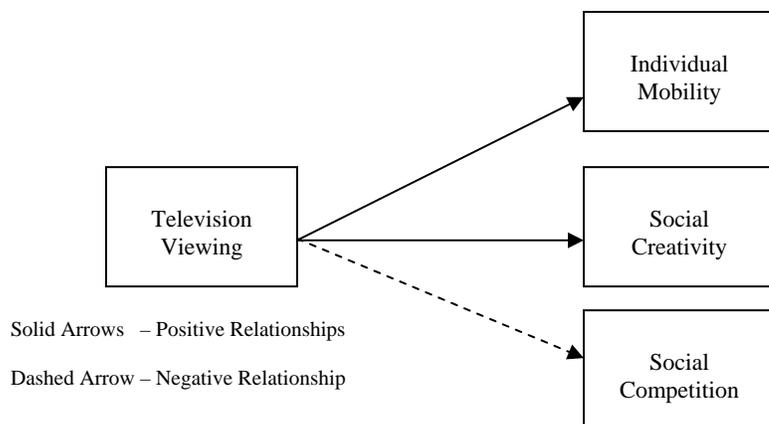


Figure 2

*Relationships between Sociostructural Variables and Identity Management Strategies*

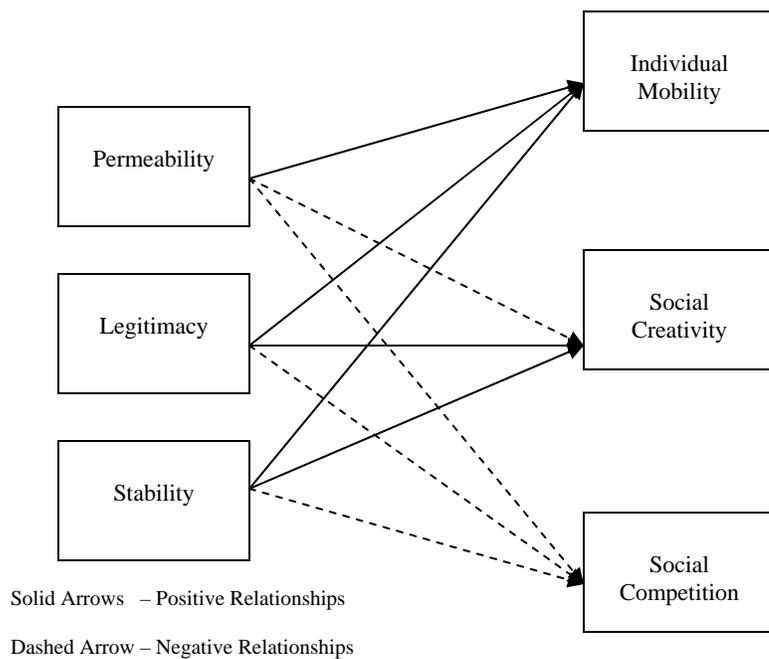


Figure 3

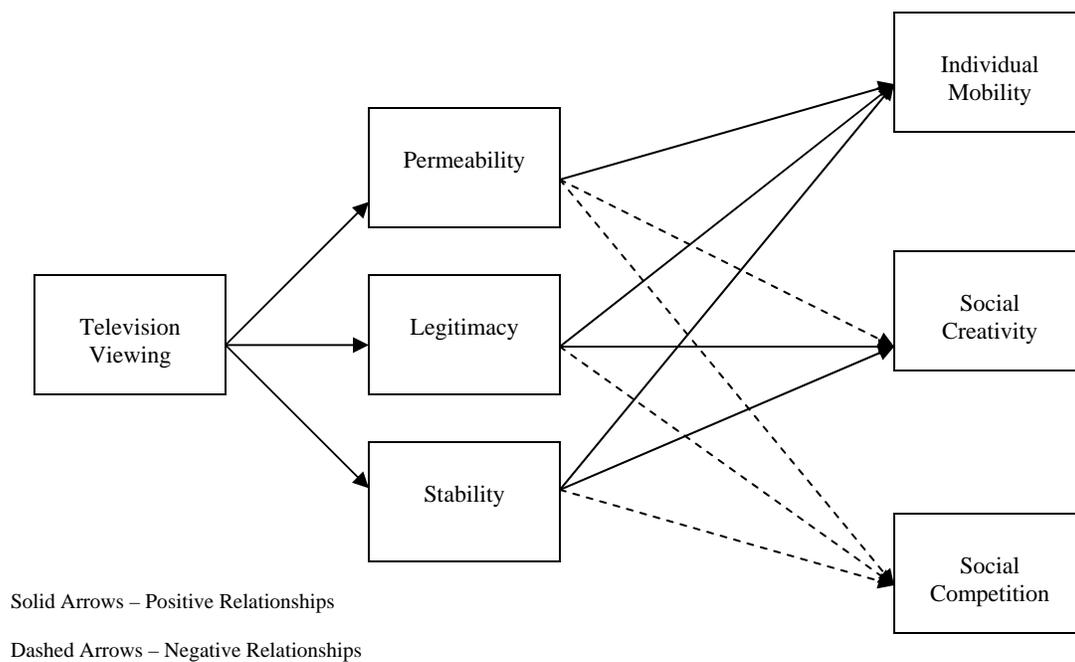
*Proposed Theoretical Model with Television as an Independent Variable*

Figure 4

*Interaction – TV x Gender Roles on Individual Mobility – Pilot Study*

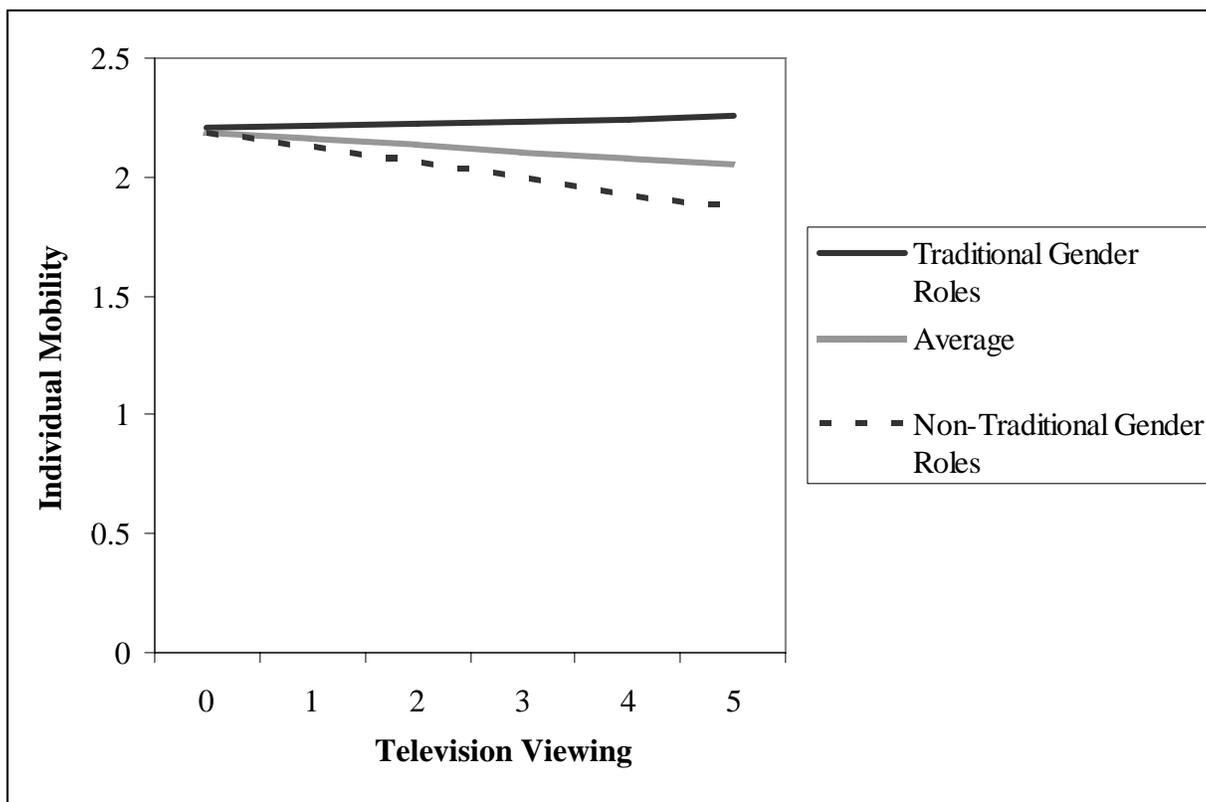


Figure 5

*Interaction – TV x Gender Roles on Social Competition – Pilot Study*

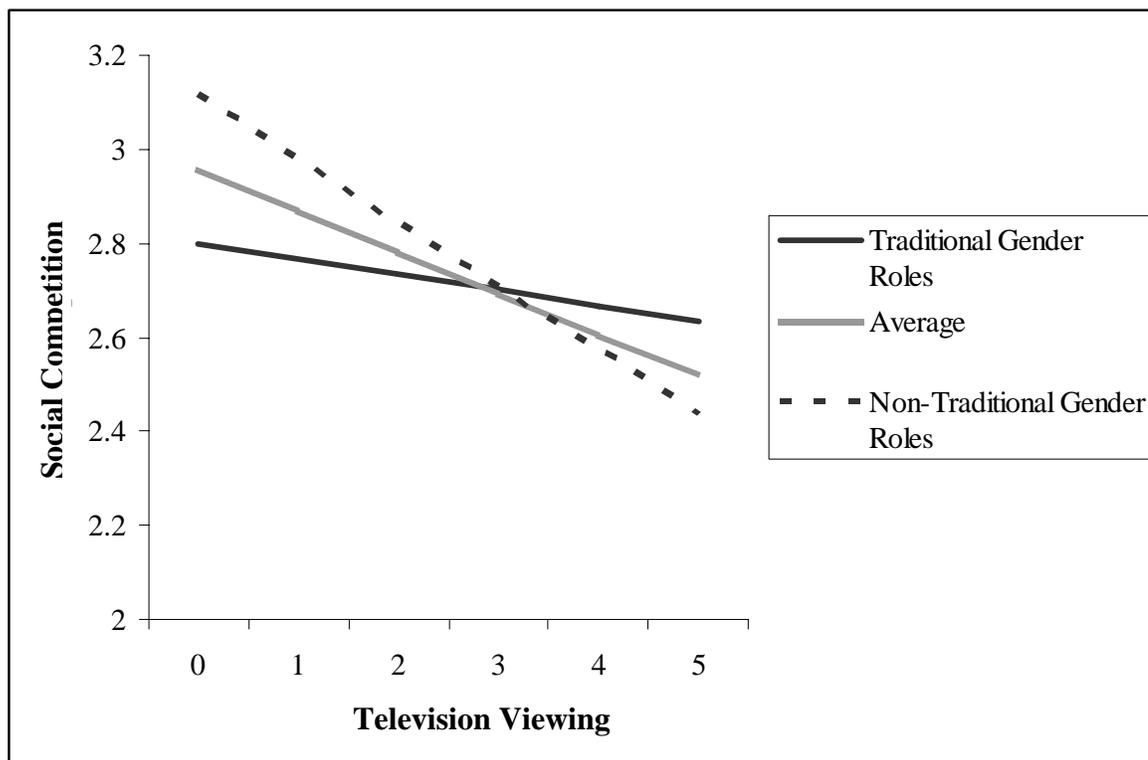


Figure 6

*Interaction – TV x Gender Roles on Individual Mobility – Study One*

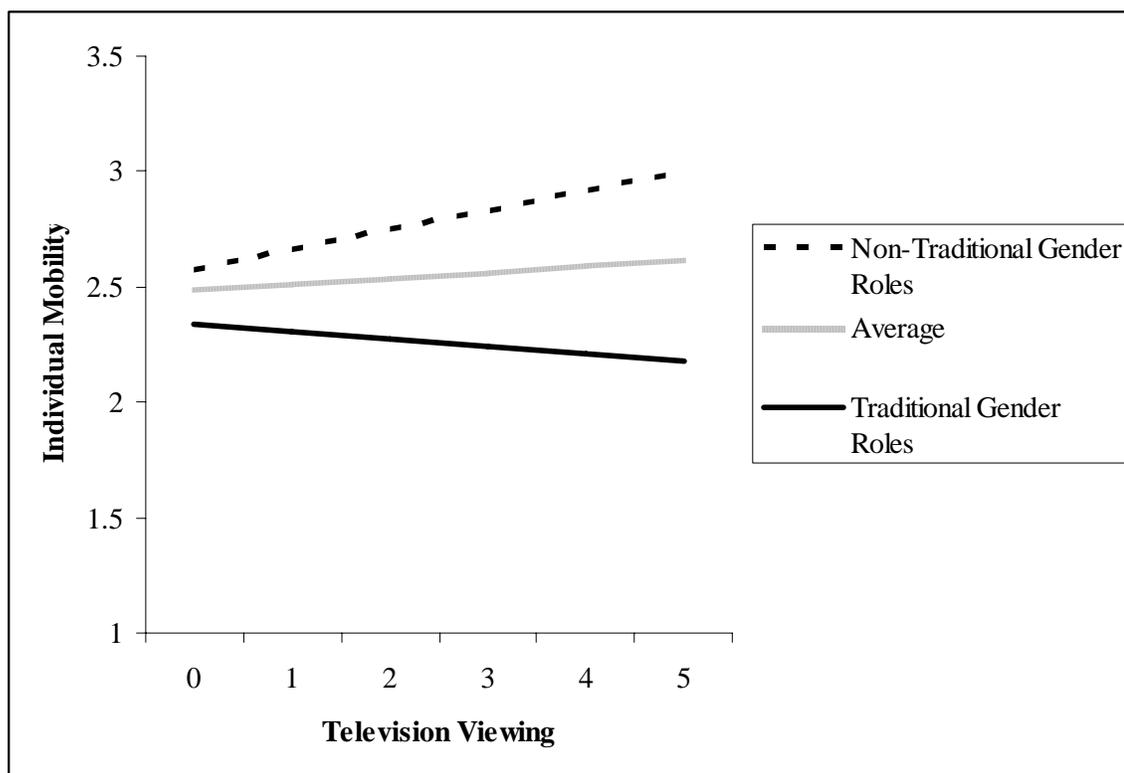


Figure 7

*Interaction – TV x Gender Roles on Social Dimension Creativity – Study One*

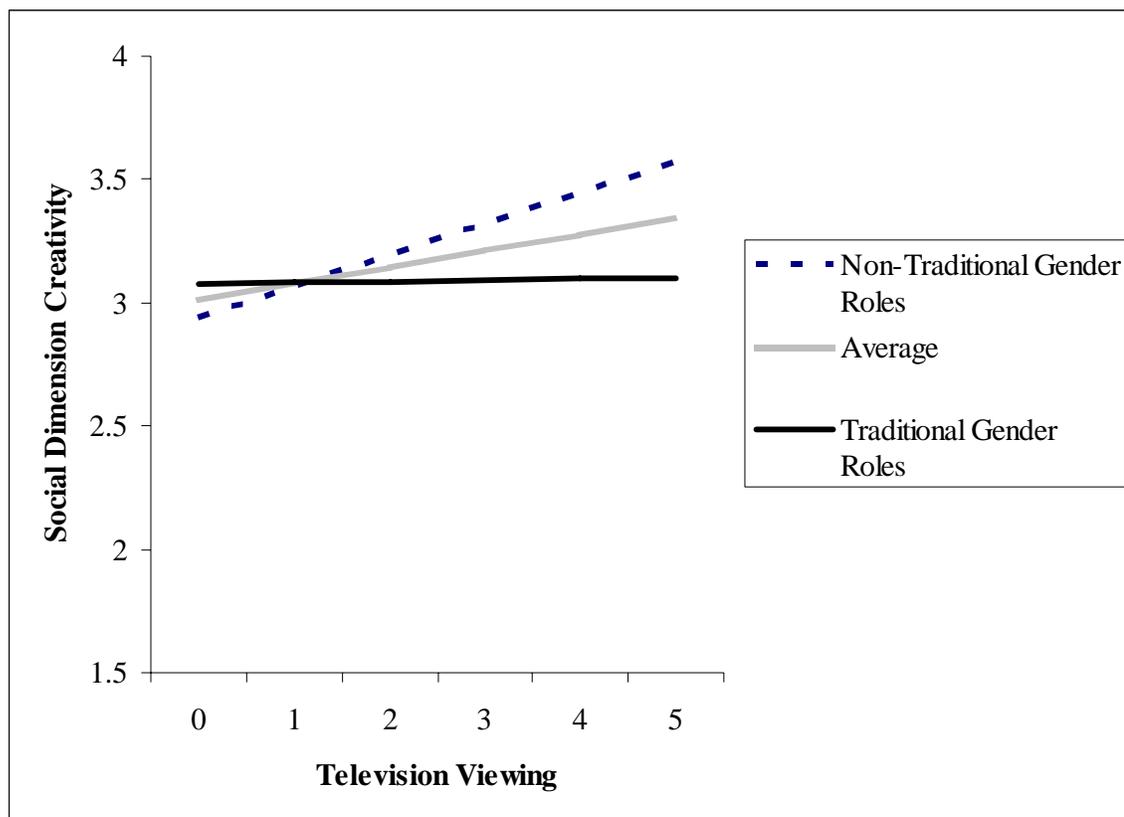


Figure 8

*Interaction – TV x Gender Roles on Social Competition – Study One*

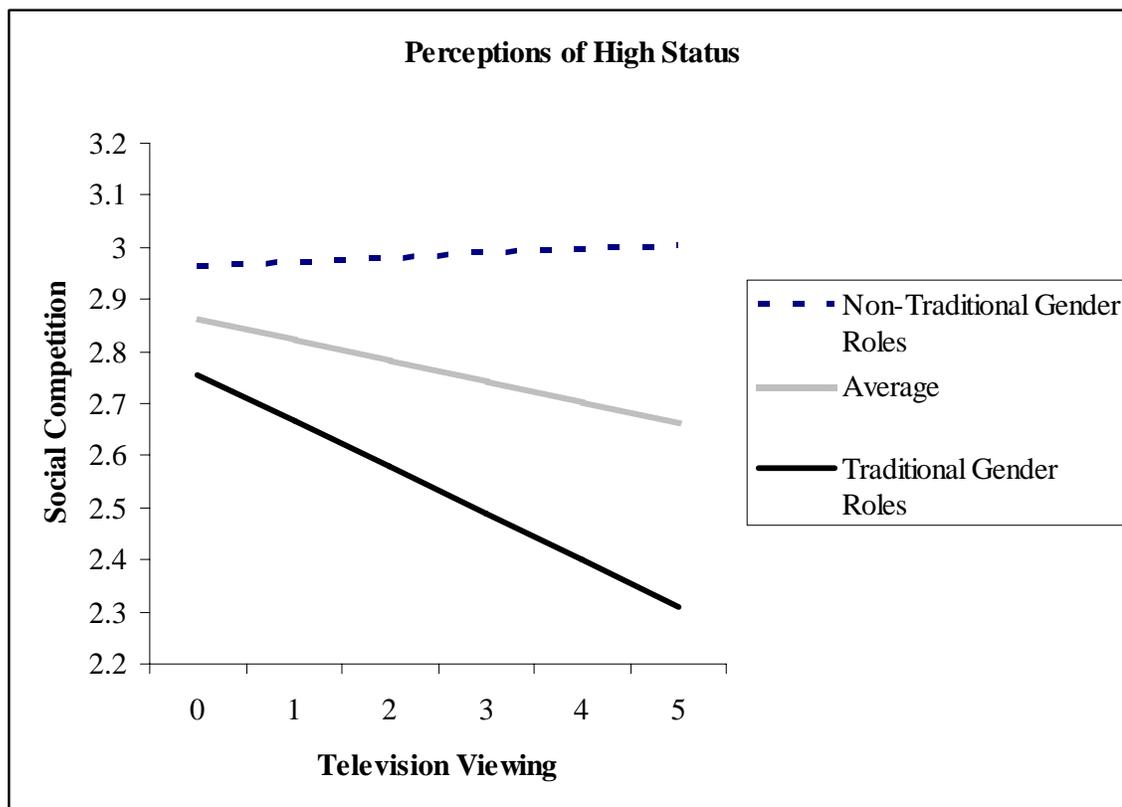


Figure 9

*Interaction – TV x Gender Roles on Social Competition – Study One*

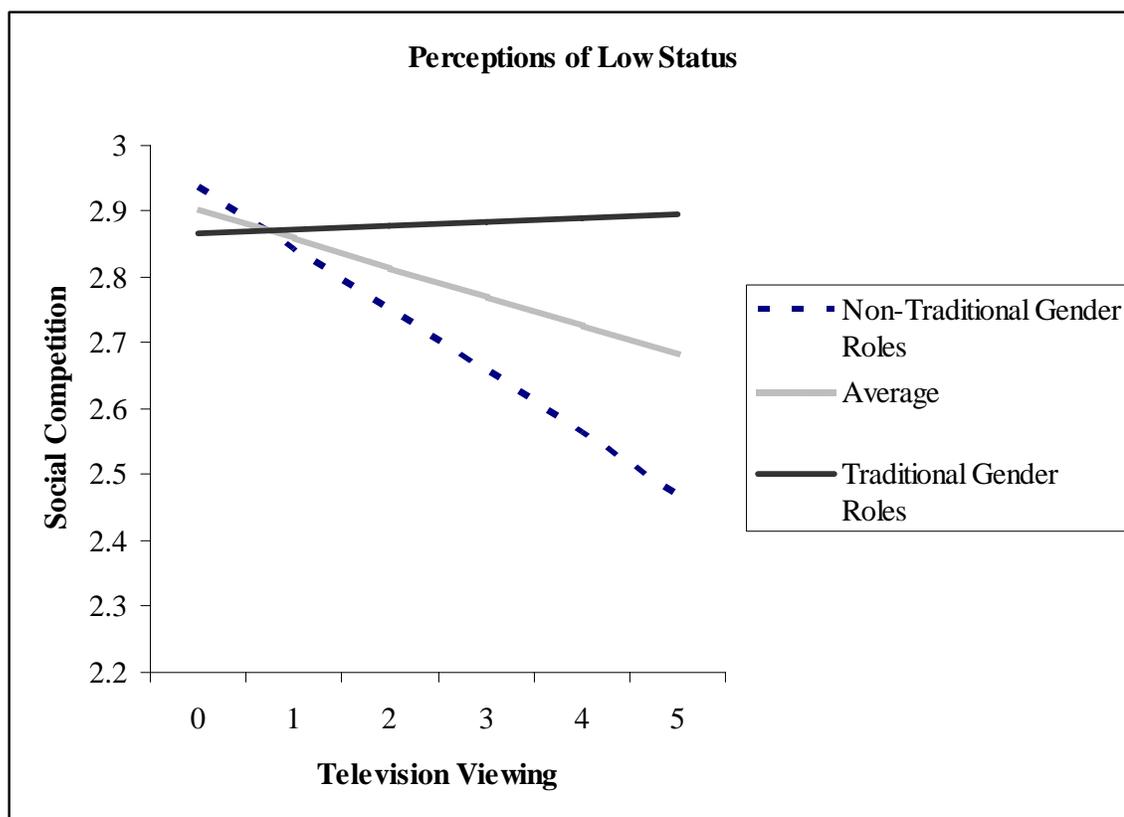
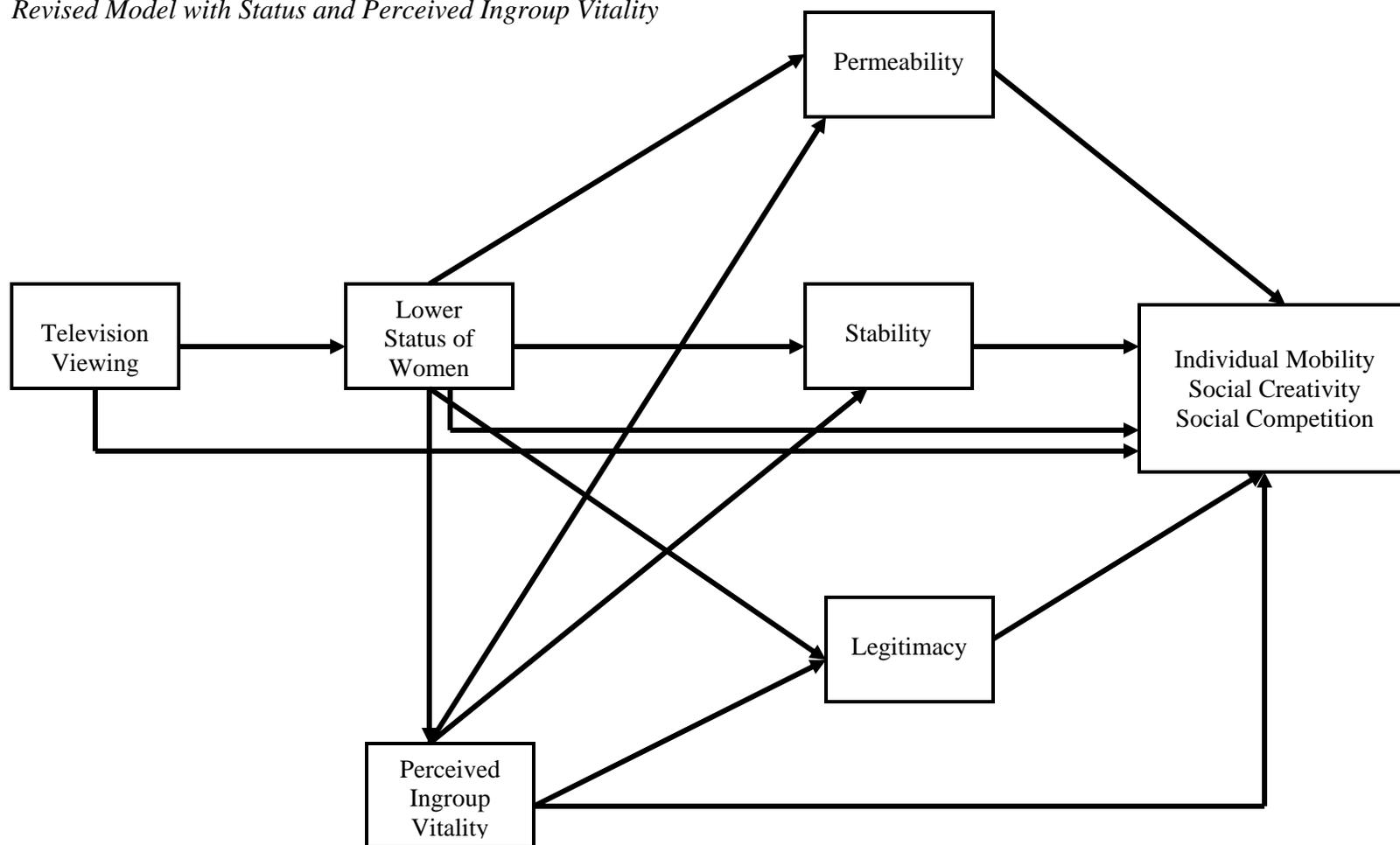


Figure 10

*Revised Model with Status and Perceived Ingroup Vitality*



## TABLES

Table 1

*Social Identity Management Strategies, Definitions, Examples and Structural Conditions that Influence the Choice of Strategy*

Strategy	Definition	Example	Structural conditions
Individual mobility	Leaving the in-group and gaining membership in a higher-status group	Light-skinned African-Americans passing as White	High permeability High stability High legitimacy
Social creativity	Changing the evaluative dimension of comparison to favor the low-status in-group	Women may favorably compare themselves to men on dimensions such as nurturing instincts	Low permeability High stability High legitimacy
	Changing the high-status comparison group to another with low or lower status	Younger gay men may compare themselves favorably with older gay men on physical attractiveness and grooming	Low permeability High stability High legitimacy
Social competition	Advocating for a higher status for the in-group through civil and/or legal means	The Civil Rights movement Women's suffragette struggle	Low permeability Low stability Low legitimacy

Table 2

*Correlation Matrix – Pilot Study*

	STB	PRM	LGT	GRA	IGI	IGV	IGE	PRT	IMO	SDC	SGC	SCOM
Television Viewing	.07	-.07	.10	.04	.03	.13	-.07	.14	-.02	-.02	.03	-.26**
Stability (STB)	-	-.39**	.28**	-.06	.20**	.47*	.18*	.11	-.02	-.05	-.14	-.17*
Permeability (PRM)		-	-.17*	.10	-.05	-.59**	.01	-.17*	.26**	-.13	-.09	-.11
Legitimacy (LGT)			-	.34**	.19*	.36**	.03	.17**	-.07	-.08	.07	-.33**
Gender Role Attitudes (GRA)				-	.19*	.01	.00	.19**	.02	-.03	.16*	-.19*
Ingroup Identification (IGI)					-	.17*	.17*	.27**	-.03	.08	.14	-.00
Ingroup Vitality (IGV)						-	.15*	.14	-.16*	-.17*	.01	-.32**
Ingroup Efficacy (IGE)							-	.23**	.01	.04	.16*	.02
Perceived Realism of TV (PRT)								-	-.01	.06	.06	.00
Individual Mobility (IMO)									-	-.16*	-.14	.16*
Social Dimension Creativity (SDC)										-	.27**	.31**
Social Group Creativity (SGC)											-	.00
Social Competition (SCOM)												-

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 3

*Regression Analyses predicting Individual Mobility and Social Competition – Pilot Study*

	$\beta$	$t$	$pr^2$	$R^2$	$F$
<i>Criterion: Individual Mobility</i>					
Television Viewing (TV Viewing)	-.08	-.88	.00		
Gender Role Attitudes (GRA)	.01	.23	.00		
TV Viewing x GRA	.16	1.81	.02		
Complete Model				.01	1.38
<i>Criterion: Social Competition</i>					
Television Viewing (TV Viewing)	-.29	-3.85**	.08		
Gender Role Attitudes (GRA)	-.19	-2.47*	.04		
TV Viewing x GRA	.20	2.65**	.04		
Complete Model				.13	8.49**

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 4

*Reliabilities and Descriptive Statistics of Measures – Study One*

Measure	Mean	SD	# of Items	$\alpha$
Television Viewing	3.54	2.03	-	-
Perceived Status of Women	3.65	.66	1	-
Permeability	3.25	.61	5	.66
Stability	2.88	.72	5	.88
Legitimacy	1.88	.56	6	.77
Individual Mobility	2.48	.73	8	.87
Social Dimension Creativity	3.00	.75	3	.74
Social Group Creativity	4.05	.59	8	.91
Social Competition	2.88	.56	12	.86
Gender Role Attitudes	2.49	.55	9	.76
Perceived Ingroup Vitality	2.80	.65	5	.77

Table 5

*Correlation Matrix – Study One*

	SW	STB	PRM	LGT	GRA	IGV	IMO	SDC	SGC	SCOM
TV Viewing	.17*	.06	.13	.12	-.02	.01	.04	.12	.07	-.17*
Perceived Status of Women (SW)	-	-.06	-.46**	-.22*	.06	-.48**	.20*	.13	.18*	.09
Stability (STB)		-	.13	.12	.12	.21**	-.10	-.12	.04	-.17*
Permeability (PRM)			-	.15*	.04	.48**	-.38**	-.13	-.03	-.18*
Legitimacy (LGT)				-	.28**	.28**	.02	-.10	-.27**	-.34**
Gender Role Attitudes (GRA)					-	.08	-.08	.12	-.03	-.16*
Ingroup Vitality (IGV)						-	-.21**	-.22**	-.07	-.27**
Individual Mobility (IMO)							-	.06	.07	.19*
Social Dimension Creativity (SDC)								-	-.02	.18*
Social Group Creativity (SGC)									-	.00
Social Competition (SCOM)										-

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 6

*Regression Analyses predicting Individual Mobility, Social Creativity, and Social Competition – Study One*

	$\beta$	$t$	$pr^2$	$R^2$	$F$
<i>Criterion: Individual Mobility</i>					
Television Viewing (TV viewing)	.07	.89	.00		
Gender Role Attitudes (GRA)	-.13	-1.60	.02		
TV Viewing x GRA	-.18	-2.16*	.03		
Complete Model				.02	2.15
<i>Criterion: Social Dimension Creativity</i>					
Television Viewing (TV viewing)	.18	2.17*	.03		
Gender Role Attitudes (GRA)	.09	1.17	.01		
TV Viewing x GRA	-.18	-2.18*	.03		
Complete Model				.04	3.20*
<i>Criterion: Social Competition</i>					
Television Viewing (TV Viewing)	-.15	-1.78	.02		
Gender Role Attitudes (GRA)	-.10	-1.14	.01		
Perceived Status of Women	.08	1.00	.01		
TV Viewing x GRA	.06	.74	.00		
GRA x Perceived Status of Women	.09	1.06	.00		
Perceived Status of Women x TV Viewing	.01	.16	.00		
TV Viewing x GRA x Perceived Status of Women	.19	2.32*	.03		
Complete Model				.04	2.06*

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 7

*Reliabilities and Descriptive Statistics of Measures – Study Two*

Measure	Mean	SD	# of Items	$\alpha$
Television Viewing	2.24	1.52	-	-
Perceived Status of Women	3.13	1.16	1	-
Permeability	3.47	.87	4	.74
Stability	3.24	.87	4	.85
Legitimacy	1.47	.70	3	.78
Individual Mobility	2.18	.81	8	.86
Social Dimension Creativity	3.16	.93	3	.67
Social Group Creativity	4.26	.68	8	.91
Social Competition	3.02	.76	10	.86
Gender Role Attitudes	2.59	.57	10	.64
Perceived Ingroup Vitality	3.20	.77	5	.83

Table 8

*Correlation Matrix – Study Two*

	SW	STB	PRM	LGT	GRA	IGV	IMO	SDC	SGC	SCOM
TV Viewing	.28**	-.01	.09	-.07	.08	.05	.24**	-.04	.02	.02
Perceived Status of Women (SW)	-	-.23*	.45**	-.21*	-.06	-.58**	.25**	.01	-.07	.19*
Stability (STB)		-	-.15	.14	.05	.38**	-.25*	.18*	.09	-.07
Permeability (PRM)			-	.01	.01	-.41**	.38**	.04	-.16	.08
Legitimacy (LGT)				-	.33**	.11	.18*	.08	.00	-.11
Gender Role Attitudes (GRA)					-	.16	.19*	.04	.07	-.27**
Ingroup Vitality (IGV)						-	-.26**	.12	.32**	-.17
Individual Mobility (IMO)							-	-.07	.05	-.08
Social Dimension Creativity (SDC)								-	.03	.14
Social Group Creativity (SGC)									-	-.09
Social Competition (SCOM)										-

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 9

*Correlation Matrix – Television Viewing Measure's Individual Components and other**Variables – Study Two*

	TVViewing (Daily)	TVViewing (Yesterday)	TVViewing (Other Media)	TV Viewing (Overall)
Perceived Status of Women	.19*	.14	.24**	.28**
Permeability	-.12	-.08	.18*	.09
Stability	.01	.01	-.02	-.01
Legitimacy	-.05	-.07	-.05	-.07
Individual Mobility	.10	.09	.23**	.24**
Social Dimension Creativity	-.06	-.13	.00	-.04
Social Group Creativity	-.04	.20**	-.02	.02
Social Competition	.05	.09	-.02	.02
Gender Role Attitudes	.17*	.09	.02	.08
Perceived Ingroup Vitality	.07	.10	.01	.05

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 10

*Means and Standard Deviations – Status x Gender Roles on Similarity – Study Two*

	Traditional Gender Roles	Non-traditional Gender Roles
Low Status	2.18(1.36)	4.43(1.44)
High Status	3.07(1.46)	4.00(1.52)

Table 11

*Model Summary Statistics for Hypothesized Model*

	Pilot Study	Study 1	Study 2
$\chi^2$	94.28	27.35	22.66
Probability Level	.00	.01	.05
$df$	13	13	13
Ratio of $\chi^2$ to $df$	7.25	2.10	1.74
TLI	.00	.28	.15
IFI	.36	.82	.82
RMSEA	.19	.08	.07

Table 12

*Model Summary Statistics for Proposed New Model*

	Pilot Study	Study 1	Study 2
$\chi^2$	70.27	33.96	34.24
Probability Level	.00	.37	.27
$df$	34	32	30
Ratio of $\chi^2$ to $df$	2.07	1.06	1.14
TLI	.83	.98	.95
IFI	.91	.99	.98
RMSEA	.08	.02	.03

Table 13

*Genre Viewing – Means, Standard Deviations, and Viewing Percentages\**

	Pilot Study	Study 1	Study 2
Sporting Events	2.43(1.19) 76%	2.76(1.07) 85%	2.28(1.07) 73%
Young Adult Dramas	2.32(1.18) 68%	2.79(1.25) 79%	2.63(1.26) 76%
Daytime Soap Operas	1.23(.74) 11%	1.33(.76) 19%	1.14(.52) 9%
News	2.41(1.12) 78%	2.88(1.05) 89%	2.49(1.09) 82%
Relationship-focused Reality Shows	2.49(1.24) 74%	2.88(1.24) 79%	2.56(1.37) 70%
Other Reality Shows	2.96(1.30) 82%	3.14(1.15) 89%	2.98(1.40) 81%
Dating ‘Game’ Shows	1.63(.87) 43%	1.66(.83) 45%	1.44(.80) 30%
Music Videos	2.48(1.28) 70%	2.08(1.00) 66%	1.82(1.12) 48%
Romantic Movies on Television	3.11(1.17) 88%	3.12(.87) 95%	2.57(1.21) 76%
Daytime Talk Shows	2.60(1.38) 70%	2.36(1.10) 72%	1.97(1.19) 52%
Spanish-language Programming	1.11(.52) 6%	1.21(.60) 14%	1.09(.42) 6%
Shopping Networks	1.21(.68) 11%	1.16(.46) 12%	1.10(.34) 8%

\*Includes people who “rarely” watch too

Table 14

*Correlations between Genre Viewing and Other Variables – Pilot Study*

	Sporting Events	Young Adult Dramas	News	Relation- ship Reality	Other Reality	Music Videos	Romantic Movies	Daytime Talk Shows
Stability	.00	-.01	-.03	.07	.12	.06	.06	.12
Permeability	-.11	-.02	-.02	.15	.09	.19*	.16*	.03
Legitimacy	.07	.08	-.05	.22**	.19*	.16*	.09	.19*
Gender Role Attitudes	.05	.13	.16*	.25**	.23**	.15	.03	.25**
Ingroup Vitality	-.04	.01	.00	.16*	.11	.10	.13	.09
Individual Mobility	.12	-.01	-.01	-.11	-.11	.07	.02	.05
Social Dimension Creativity	-.04	.12	-.11	.01	.00	.07	-.02	.01
Social Group Creativity	.03	.19*	.00	.19*	.21**	.11	.07	.12
Social Competition	-.25**	-.07	.03	-.24**	-.32**	-.09	-.19*	-.11

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 15

*Correlations between Genre Viewing and Other Variables – Study One*

	Sporting Events	Young Adult Dramas	News	Relation- ship Reality	Other Reality	Music Videos	Romantic Movies	Daytime Talk Shows
Stability	-.05	.06	-.02	.04	.02	.03	.02	-.03
Permeability	.04	.06	.08	.15*	.14	.09	.01	.14
Legitimacy	.20*	.03	-.08	.01	-.03	.00	-.10	-.04
Gender Role Attitudes	.00	.01	-.10	-.05	-.04	-.19*	.14	.04
Ingroup Vitality	.14	.00	.04	-.03	-.02	-.10	.01	-.05
Individual Mobility	.08	-.05	.00	-.08	-.10	-.06	.07	.15*
Social Dimension Creativity	-.04	-.18*	.01	.01	.03	.18*	.10	.15*
Social Group Creativity	-.06	-.06	-.01	.16*	.17*	.05	.06	.03
Social Competition	-.17*	.01	.16*	.05	-.11	.06	.11	.09

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 16

*Correlations between Genre Viewing and Other Variables – Study Two*

	Sporting Events	Young Adult Dramas	News	Relation- ship Reality	Other Reality	Music Videos	Romantic Movies	Daytime Talk Shows
Stability	.03	.14	-.09	.18*	.08	-.01	-.06	.14
Permeability	.14	.21*	-.04	.08	.16	.10	.05	.12
Legitimacy	.01	.03	-.18*	.00	-.01	-.03	-.14	-.12
Gender Role Attitudes	.08	.02	-.08	.17*	.11	.08	.08	.08
Ingroup Vitality	.08	.23**	-.14	.08	.10	.11	.06	-.01
Individual Mobility	.07	-.21*	-.03	-.02	.01	-.05	-.06	-.08
Social Dimension Creativity	-.18*	.16	-.16	.10	.12	.13	.01	.07
Social Group Creativity	-.03	.10	-.13	.10	.04	.14	.12	-.09
Social Competition	-.17*	.03	.23**	.13	-.07	-.01	.15	.18*

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 17

*Report of Path Coefficients from Study Two Data*

Path	$\beta$	SE
TV-----> Status	.27**	.06
Status -----> Perceived Ingroup Vitality	-.59**	.04
Perceived Ingroup Vitality -----> Stability	-.37**	.11
Perceived Ingroup Vitality -----> Legitimacy	-.03	.09
Perceived Ingroup Vitality -----> Permeability	-.21*	.10
Status----->Stability	-.01	.07
Status----->Legitimacy	-.23*	.06
Status----->Permeability	.33**	.07
Legitimacy-----> Social Competition	-.08	.09
Stability-----> Social Competition	.01	.08
Permeability-----> Social Competition	-.01	.08
Status-----> Social Competition	.13*	.07
TV-----> Social Competition	.01	.04
Perceived Ingroup Vitality-----> Social Competition	-.09	.11
TV-----> Individual Mobility	.20*	.04
Status-----> Individual Mobility	.01	.07
Perceived Ingroup Vitality-----> Individual Mobility	.10	.10
Stability-----> Individual Mobility	-.20*	.07
Legitimacy-----> Individual Mobility	.25**	.09
Permeability-----> Individual Mobility	.27**	.08
TV-----> Social Dimension Creativity	-.08	.05
Status-----> Social Dimension Creativity	-.16	.09
Perceived Ingroup Vitality-----> Social Dimension Creativity	.25*	.13
Permeability-----> Social Dimension Creativity	.07	.10
Legitimacy-----> Social Dimension Creativity	.07	.12
Stability-----> Social Dimension Creativity	.14	.12
TV-----> Social Group Creativity	-.09	.03
Status-----> Social Group Creativity	.23*	.06
Perceived Ingroup Vitality-----> Social Group Creativity	-.43**	.09
Permeability-----> Social Group Creativity	-.09	.07
Legitimacy-----> Social Group Creativity	.01	.08
Stability-----> Social Group Creativity	-.04	.07

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

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