# COUNTERACTING SUBCONSCIOUS GENDER DISCRIMINATION 

## - A STUDY ON PERSPECTIVE-TAKING AND PERCEIVED COMPETENCE AS MEDIATING VARIABLES IN INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION

Nicolina Jonsson* Jenny Zhao**


#### Abstract

Over the years, gender equality has been gaining ground in all aspects of society, as more and more people realize its importance, and the value it brings. Today, understanding, and counteracting, gender discrimination lies in the interest of not only those being discriminated against. Legislations might prevent discriminatory actions, but counteracting structural gender discrimination requires an understanding of people's subconscious discriminatory behaviour.


Prior research has found that people (both women and men) discriminate against women by not allowing them to influence their memory on public world topics in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm, supposedly due to their lower perceived competence. This study sets out to (i) counteract this discrimination against women by investigating perspective-taking as a non-discriminatory method, and (ii) examine perceived competence's role in gender discrimination. An experimental research method, based on the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm, is applied on a population of Swedish high school students, in order to make comparisons between subjects who have received treatments with those in the control group.

In contrast to prior research, discriminatory behaviour against women is only found among men. In counteracting this, perspective-taking is found to be a nondiscriminatory method for subjects who report high levels of empathic feelings as a result of the perspective-taking instructions. Lastly, different levels of perceived competence among women does not affect people's willingness to allow women to influence their memory in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm.

Key Words: Interpersonal communication, Saying-Is-Believing paradigm, gender discrimination, perspective-taking, competence

Tutor: Per Henrik Hedberg Opponent: David Olson Examiner: Claudia Rademaker

## Acknowledgements:

We would like to give our sincerest thanks to our tutor Per Henrik Hedberg for invaluable guidance, our family and friends for limitless love and support, and finally, each other for great teamwork and friendship.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION .....  7
1.1 GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN THE PUBLIC WORLD ..... 7
1.2 UNDERSTANDING GENDER DISCRIMINATION THROUGH RESEARCH ..... 8
1.3 RESEARCH GAP ..... 9
1.4 PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS ..... 10
1.5 EXPECTED KNOWLEDGE CONTRIBUTION ..... 11
1.6 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS. ..... 11
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ..... 12
2.1 DISCRIMINATION IN INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION ..... 12
2.1.1 The Saying-Is-Believing paradigm ..... 12
2.1.2 Shared reality - A prerequisite for the Saying-Is-Believing effect ..... 13
2.1.3 Structural discrimination of women in interpersonal communication ..... 15
2.2 INTERGROUP CONTACT THEORY. ..... 16
2.2.1 Reducing prejudice with intergroup contact ..... 16
2.2.2 Perspective-taking to generate empathy ..... 18
2.3 GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES ..... 19
2.3.1 Social roles determine the cognitive beliefs about women ..... 19
2.3.2 The female stereotype and its changeability ..... 20
2.3.3 Ambivalent emotions towards women ..... 22
2.4 SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES ..... 25
3. METHODOLOGY ..... 26
3.1 INITIAL WORK ..... 26
3.2 SCIENTIFIC APPROACH ..... 27
3.3 EXPERIMENT DESIGN ..... 27
3.4 EXPERIMENT SUBJECTS ..... 29
3.5 PRE-STUDY ..... 29
3.6 EXPERIMENT PROCEDURE: OVERVIEW ..... 30
3.6.1 Introduction to the experiment ..... 31
3.6.2 Experiment part 1: Stimuli priming ..... 31
3.6.3 Experiment part 2: The Saying-Is-Believing paradigm ..... 35
3.6.4 Practical experiment preparations ..... 37
3.6.5 Experiment de-briefing ..... 38
3.7 DATA ANALYSIS ..... 38
3.8 DATA QUALITY ..... 39
3.8.1 Reliability ..... 39
3.8.2 Validity ..... 40
3.9 ETHICS ..... 43
4. RESULTS ..... 45
4.1 MANIPULATION CHECKS ..... 45
4.1.1 Female stereotypicality ..... 45
4.1.2 Female counter-stereotypicality ..... 46
4.1.3 Competence ..... 46
4.2 THE SAYING-IS-BELIEVING EFFECT ..... 47
4.2.1 Confirming the Saying-Is-Believing effect ..... 47
4.2.2 Discrimination in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm ..... 48
4.3 PERSPECTIVE-TAKING ..... 50
4.4 FEMALE COUNTER-STEREOTYPICALITY ..... 53
4.5 SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESIS TESTING ..... 55
5. ANALYSIS ..... 56
5.1 A NEW BASELINE OF THE SAYING-IS-BELIEVING PARADIGM ..... 56
5.2 PERSPECTIVE-TAKING AS AN ENHANCING FACTOR ..... 59
5.3 DISCONFIRMING COMPETENCE AS AN EXPLANATORY FACTOR ..... 61
6. CONCLUDING DISCUSSIONS ..... 64
6.1 CONCLUSION ..... 64
6.2 GENERAL DISCUSSION ..... 65
6.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR MARKETERS AND SOCIETY AT LARGE ..... 68
6.4 CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ..... 69
6.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH ..... 71
7. REFERENCES ..... 73
APPENDIX ..... 82
Appendix A. List of terminology ..... 82
Appendix B. Manipulation checks ..... 82
Appendix C. Experiment material 1 ..... 83
Appendix D. Experiment material 2 ..... 114
Appendix E. Experiment manuscript ..... 123
Appendix F. Coding template ..... 125
Appendix G. Pre-study results ..... 126
Appendix H. Regression results ..... 127

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Masculine and feminine personality characteristics ..... 21
Table 2. Summary of hypotheses ..... 25
Table 3. Overview of experiment groups ..... 28
Table 4. Overview of manipulation checks ..... 46
Table 5. Message valence's effect on Recall valence (Saying-Is-Believing effect) ..... 48
Table 6. Message valence's effect on Recall valence for the Control Group ..... 49
Table 7. Message valence's effect on Recall valence for the Control Group (Female Receiver). ..... 49
Table 8. Perspective-taking's effect (Female Receivers) ..... 51
Table 9. Perspective-taking's effect separated on gender (Female Receivers) ..... 51
Table 10. Perspective-taking's effect (Female Receivers) ..... 52
Table 11. Perspective-taking's effect (Female Receivers) ..... 53
Table 12. Counter-stereotypicality's effect (Female Receivers) ..... 54
Table 13. Counter-stereotypicality's effect separated on gender (Female Receivers). ..... 54
Table 14. Summary of the hypothesis testing ..... 55
LIST OF FIGURES
Figure 1. Conclusions of previous research and identified research gap ..... 10
Figure 2. Hypotheses model ..... 25
Figure 3. Overview of the experiment procedure ..... 36
"Gender equality is not only a basic human right, but its achievement has enormous socio-economic ramifications. Empowering women fuels thriving economies, spurring productivity and growth."

- UN Women


## 1. INTRODUCTION

This introductory chapter motivates why gender discrimination against women in the public world is chosen as a research topic. The purpose of the study is presented together with the research questions and the expected knowledge contribution. Finally, a short outline of this thesis is provided.

### 1.1 GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN THE PUBLIC WORLD

During recent years, feminism and the issue of gender equality have grown to become ubiquitously present in society. The on-going development towards a more gender equal society is neither isolated to one part of the world nor one aspect of society. Besides, the public debate that used to be centred on confirming the existence of gender inequality has now progressed to also focus on appropriate actions to prevent and mitigate discrimination. Public debate, social pressure and the realization that equality between genders is beneficial also in financial terms (e.g. PA Consulting Group, 2014; Credit Suisse, 2014) has led to gender discrimination being legislated against in politics, counteracted within companies, and highlighted in culture.

In late 2012, the European Commission proposed a legislation of reaching a target of 40 per cent women in non-executive board-member positions in larger publicly listed companies, admitting there exists a glass ceiling preventing women from reaching top positions in Europe's largest companies (European Commission, 2012). Similarly, The United Nations General Assembly created its UN Women entity in 2010 with the aim of accelerating the United Nation's goals on gender equality (UNROL, 2010). In its recent "HeForShe" campaign, emphasis was on the importance of both genders working together for equality, and the benefits it could bring for both women and men. The campaign's launching speech by UN Women Goodwill Ambassador Emma Watson in September 2014 became an immediate viral success (Burdon, 2014), proving that gender inequality attracts people's attention globally.

Indeed, 2014 seems to be the year of feminism. Not only the actress Emma Watson is taking on a role as a feminist spokesperson. Celebrities including Jennifer Lawrence, Lena Dunham and Miley Cyrus are also openly claiming feminism (Gay, 2014). Meanwhile, global corporations such as Google are actively working on making their culture more accepting of diversity (Manjoo, 2014). Undoubtedly, feminism and the issue of gender equality are highly current in society, pushing politicians, companies, and celebrities to take action. Still, gender discrimination remains an unsolved problem. In the public world, women are yet underrepresented in high-level positions, accounting for less than 5 per cent of Fortune 500 CEOs and less than 15 per cent of executive officers (Gino, 2014). This is outmost a global issue, prevalent even in high-developed countries such as Sweden. Although considered as the fourth most gender-equal country in the world (World Economic Forum, 2014), Swedish women account for 76 per cent of the parental leave days and earn 7 per cent less than men. 68 per cent of women work full-time while the corresponding figure for men is 90 per cent (SCB, 2014). So, despite all the attention it has gained, gender discrimination persists to be a severe problem around the world, and it seems like the solution is yet to be found beyond rules and legislations.

### 1.2 UNDERSTANDING GENDER DISCRIMINATION THROUGH RESEARCH

An extensive amount of research has been occupied with understanding the underlying mechanisms behind gender discrimination. One stream of research within social psychology has investigated gender stereotypes' role in sub-conscious gender biases. By definition, gender stereotypes are widespread beliefs about women and men as social groups (Jost \& Banaji, 1994), which give rise to different expectations on appropriate female and male characteristics (Eagly, 1987). Gender stereotypes are created when people make observations of the unequal distribution of women and men in different social roles (Eagly \& Steffen, 1984). Women, who have historically taken on a homemaker role (Eagly et al., 2000), are therefore mainly associated with communal traits (e.g. sensitive, kind, gentle), while typical male characteristics are e.g. competitive, dominant, and courageous (Cejka \& Eagly, 1999). Many have concluded that stereotypical feminine characteristics seem to be evaluated less favourably than stereotypical masculine characteristics (e.g. Broverman et al., 1972). In fact, women
have been stated to possess lower status than men (Carli, 1990), and are also considered less competent than men (Lockheed \& Hall, 1976; Meeker \& Weitzel-O'Neill, 1977; Chiao et al., 2008).

In his study on interpersonal communication, Hedberg (2012) found women to be discriminated against in communication on public world related topics (in contrast to private world). Neither women nor men allow women to influence their perception of the communicated topic because they are considered to be a less trustworthy source of epistemic (i.e. cognitive) knowledge, at least regarding topics of the public world. In an attempt to counteract this discrimination, Azadi and Torstensson (2013) investigated non-objectification as a way to increase women's perceived competence level. The authors exposed people to images that portrayed women as active subjects rather than de-humanized objects, and found that this non-objectification of women helped women discriminate other women less, while the same treatment lacked any effect on men.

### 1.3 RESEARCH GAP

The study by Azadi and Torstensson (2013) opens up for a very important discussion around the difference between the gender groups in their discrimination against women. Is it that women can more easily relate to other women as in-group members, while men as out-group members are not as easily affected by non-objectification due to their more complex intergroup relationship to women?

Furthermore, their study results trigger a relevant discussion around perceived competence's role behind gender discrimination. Surely, many have been able to prove objectification to affect women's perceived competence level (e.g. Heflick \& Goldenberg, 2009; Heflick et al., 2011), but it remains unknown whether the nondiscriminatory results between women in Azadi and Torstensson (2013) can be attributed to non-objectification. The absence of manipulation checks fails to ensure that study subjects registered the non-objectification at all. As a matter of fact, research on gender discrimination oftentimes assumes that low perceived competence leads to discrimination, but to our knowledge, no or few studies to date has linked the female stereotype with low perceived competence, and in turn gender discrimination.

Figure 1. Conclusions of previous research and identified research gap


### 1.4 PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this thesis is two-fold, with the aim of further investigating the underlying mechanisms behind gender discrimination as found in previous research. Firstly, in an attempt to counteract also men's discrimination against women as an out-group, this thesis reviews the intergroup contact theory that has successfully counteracted discrimination across other social groups. More specifically, this study examines perspective-taking and increased empathy's effect on gender discrimination against women. Secondly, this study examines stereotypicality and perceived competence's presumed role in gender discrimination. In particular, the aim is to investigate the link between female stereotypicality and low perceived competence (in public world topics), and its effect on discrimination against women.

The research questions read as follows:

RQ1: Can perspective-taking and increased feelings of empathy counteract discrimination against women?

RQ2: Does perceived competence constitute an explanatory factor behind gender discrimination?

### 1.5 EXPECTED KNOWLEDGE CONTRIBUTION

The results of this study will provide further explanation for the results found in Hedberg (2012), where both women and men discriminate against women by not letting them influence their opinion on a public world topic. This implies that half of the population are not allowed to take part in influencing people's mutual perception of reality. Women's opinions are being disregarded, both on a micro- and macro level, and it is crucial to understand the reasons behind it, to be able to counteract it.

The study by Azadi and Torstensson (2013) revealed a difference between women and men in non-objectification's effect on their discrimination against women. Rather than focusing on increasing women's perceived competence level, this study applies intergroup contact theory on genders as social groups to investigate its potential in counteracting gender discrimination. To our knowledge, this is the first study of its kind that investigates intergroup contact theory's effect on prejudice among genders. Moreover, this thesis aims at establishing perceived competence's role in gender discrimination. Although commonly assumed to be connected, few studies to date have researched the feminine stereotype's perceived (low) competence level and its effect on discrimination against women.

### 1.6 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

This first chapter has anchored the thesis in previous research as well as explained why the topic of counteracting gender discrimination is relevant and worth researching. The previous research mentioned here is part of the theoretical framework that is presented more thoroughly in the next chapter. The theoretical framework in chapter two also forms the basis for the hypotheses of this study. The choice of scientific approach and research method are described in the third chapter. Chapter four presents the results from the conducted study, which are analysed in chapter five using theories from the theoretical framework. Concluding, this thesis provides a self-critical discussion on the study as well as practical implications for marketers, media, and society at large.

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the theories and previous research that constitute the theoretical framework of this thesis. It introduces research on the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm, and intergroup contact theory, with focus on perspective-taking, as well as theory on social roles and gender stereotypes. Our hypotheses, which are derived from the theoretical framework, are also presented in this section.

### 2.1 DISCRIMINATION IN INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION

People of today's society live in a social context in which they are heavily dependent on, and influenced by, other people. In such a world, people need to continuously make themselves understood and liked by others. In order to do so, people adapt their interpersonal communication to suit the characteristics, or attitude, of the one they are communicating with (see Manis, Cornell \& Moore, 1974; Higgins \& Rholes, 1978; Krauss \& Fussell, 1991; Higgins, 1992; Echterhoff et al., 2005). The importance of interpersonal communication in everyday life has given rise to a large amount of research. Among others, Higgins and Rholes (1978) proved that people are not only influenced by the opinions of others in the moment of communication, but also in the longer term. In fact, people adapt their communicated messages to suit their communicating partner, and later have a tendency to subconsciously remember the communicated message in that way (Higgins \& Rholes, 1978). Hence, people's interpersonal communication, to the extent it takes others into account, is one kind of social action that influences cognition (Higgins, 1992). If a group in society is continuously excluded from this process, i.e. not allowed to influence people's cognition of various topics, it could be described as a form of structural discrimination. This effect is measured through experiments based on the so-called Saying-/s-Believing paradigm.

### 2.1.1 The Saying-Is-Believing paradigm

The Saying-Is-Believing (SIB) paradigm was first introduced by Higgins and Rholes in a study from 1978. It is based upon an experiment known as the Communication Game, in which experiment subjects (i.e. senders) communicate through written messages
with another person (i.e. receivers) about a third person (i.e. target). The outspoken goal is for the sender to describe the target, without mentioning its name, in a way so that the receiver can identify the communicated target. The authors found that the senders adapt their description of the target to suit the attitude of the receiver, known as a tuning effect. Whenever a receiver expressed liking of the target, the sender chose to describe the target in a more positive manner and vice versa, i.e. the message valence could be either positively or negatively charged.

In a second step, Higgins and Rholes (1978) also found a memory modification effect among experiment subjects. When asked to re-collect the original target description, senders seemed to remember it in a modified way. Simply, when receivers were positively attuned to the target, senders would show a positive post-experiment attitude towards the target (i.e. a positive recall valence). The sender, having tuned to the receiver's attitude in a first stage, remembers (believes) the target in the way she/he described it (says), instead of what was originally disclosed about the target. This memory modification effect is called the Saying-/s-Believing effect (Higgins \& Rholes, 1978).

The above described study by Higgins and Rholes (1978) shows how a social action (i.e. the tuning) is able to create meaning in the longer term (i.e. through a memory modification effect). When asked to re-collect the original target description, people do not take their own audience-tuning effect into account. In fact, it is almost impossible for people to estimate the extent to which their communicated message reflects the disclosed information, and to what degree it has been adapted to suit the audience. Therefore, it is likely that people overestimate the extent to which a message is consisted of original information, meaning that the social action of tuning is likely to generate memory distortions (Higgins, 1992).

### 2.1.2 Shared reality - A prerequisite for the Saying-Is-Believing effect

The presence of a memory modification through the Saying-Is-Believing effect has engaged many researchers since it was first introduced by Higgins and Rholes (1978). For example, Echterhoff et al. (2005) chose to look deeper into the prerequisites of a

Saying-Is-Believing effect. The authors examined the social interaction between the sender and receiver, focusing on any necessary qualities of the receiver in order for the biased (i.e. tuned) message to be considered "reliable, valid or real" by the sender - a prerequisite for the Saying-Is-Believing effect to appear (p. 258). They found that memory modification through the Saying-Is-Believing effect does not always occur. Rather, the sender's tuning of a message and subsequent memory modification seems to depend on whom the sender communicates with, and whether the receiver belongs to the sender's in-group or out-group.

Humans constantly, consciously and sub-consciously, divide each other into in-groups and out-groups. Out-group members are people we cannot relate to and therefore distance ourselves from. This distance creates prejudice against those people considered to be part of the out-group. This prejudice inevitably leads to discrimination, which could be both positive and negative (e.g. Tajfel, 1970). An in-group member is someone the sender can relate to, and trusts. Thus, senders are more prone to adapt their memory to the attitude of a member of their own in-group, which is explained by the concept of shared reality (Echterhoff et al., 2005).

A dominant objective of social interaction in general is to establish a common social reality (see e.g. Asch, 1952; Sherif, 1936.). Higgins (1992) writes: "the reality of our subjective meanings is anchored in the fact that others share the reality" (p. 118). A shared reality therefore becomes a subjective reality consisting of social consensus and norms. When a shared reality is established between people, they trust each other's view of matters and allow each other to build their own judgement and action, at least partially, on the other's judgement. In this sense, a socially shared reality not only serves to replace uncertain representations with reliable and valid representations of the world, but also generate interpersonal trust and reliance between those participating in shared reality. Shared reality is created with someone that is a source of reliable information, which is a quality usually exhibited by a person's in-group (Echterhoff et al, 2005; Shah et al. 1998; Festinger, 1950).

In the case of communicating with someone from an out-group, the receiver lacks the necessary trust that is required for the receiver to be perceived as a reliable source of information. Shared reality is consequently not established in such kind of interpersonal communication. While audience tuning seems to be present in all settings, the Saying-Is-Believing effect is only significant if the receiver belongs to the sender's in-group (Echterhoff et al, 2005).

Thus, there exists a structural discrimination towards out-group members, who are not allowed to affect the sender's post-experiment attitude towards a communicated topic. The lack of trustworthiness regarding certain topics of out-group member excludes them from contributing to the formation of social constructions and norms (Hedberg, 2012; Echterhoff et al., 2005). Whenever this exclusion is directed towards a certain group in society (e.g. women), that group could be considered discriminated against.

### 2.1.3 Structural discrimination of women in interpersonal communication

In a study based on the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm, Hedberg (2012) builds upon the notion of shared reality in order to investigate potential structural gender discrimination. The study uses topics related to the public world, i.e. the world outside of the home that is traditionally and stereotypically more associated with men, and topics related to the private world, typically more related to the traditional female homemaker role (e.g. Eagly et al., 2000). In his study, Hedberg (2012) found that female receivers were not equally capable (compared to the male receivers) of producing a memory modification effect among their senders (both male and female), based on the argument that women are perceived as less competent in matters of the public world, and thus constitute a less trusted source of epistemic knowledge in this area (lbid). At large, this means that women are less influential in on-going social-construction processes. Women are thereby discriminated in an in-direct manner, in that her voice is not represented in the social beliefs and institutions that are continuously produced and re-produced collectively (Ibid).

Our first hypothesis serves to confirm the results found in Hedberg (2012), which showed that women are being discriminated against in interpersonal communication on public world topics.

H1: When communicating about a public world topic, the recall valence is affected by the message valence for male receivers but not for female receivers.

Azadi and Torstensson (2013) further developed Hedberg's (2012) study by adding a preceding stage to the Communication Game. By priming the experiment subjects with non-objectifying images of women (i.e. images with women as agentic subjects rather than de-humanized objects), the authors aimed to increase the perceived competence of women in matters related to the public world. Exposing people to images of nonobjectified and agentic women served to mitigate the structural gender discrimination found in Hedberg (2012) - but it only had an effect in the communication between females. In other words, this first stage of priming did not seem to have any affect on men, in that male senders still showed less inclination to allow women to influence their memory.

### 2.2 INTERGROUP CONTACT THEORY

Allport (1954) was first to introduce the intergroup contact hypothesis as a way to reduce prejudice and intergroup conflict. In this theory, contact between members of different groups in society helps improving social relations. Over the years, the role of intergroup contact in reducing prejudice has been sufficiently researched in order for it to be referred to now as intergroup contact theory (Hewstone \& Swart, 2011).

### 2.2.1 Reducing prejudice with intergroup contact

Since the introduction of the intergroup contact hypothesis, much research has served to confirm the importance of intergroup contact with the aim of reducing prejudice (Pettigrew et al., 2011). Among others, this theory has proved fruitful in reducing selfreported prejudice towards homosexual men, people with AIDS, the disabled, the elderly and black neighbours (Vonofako, Hewstone, \& Voci, 2007; Batson et al. 1997;

Yuker \& Hurley, 1987; Caspi, 1984; Works, 1961). However, as with most research, this theory has also been criticized among researchers claiming that increased contact between groups rather creates more tension and conflict instead (for examples and review, see Pettigrew et al., 2011; Galinsky et al., 2005). Still, Pettigrew et al. (2011) showed in a meta-analysis of 515 studies that intergroup contact typically reduces prejudice, and that cases with negative outcomes occurs when the contact is nonvoluntary and threatening.

Researchers in the field of social psychology have also been looking into the mechanisms that underlie the positive effects of intergroup contact. Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) performed meta-analyses on the three most studied mediating mechanisms (i.e. processes necessary to achieve effect) of reduced prejudice: increased knowledge of the out-group (cognitive), anxiety reduction (affective) and enhanced empathy (affective). Results showed that increased knowledge is a minor mediator, whereas the two affective mediators are more important. Simply, intergroup contact seems to be reducing prejudice by lowering negative emotions such as anxiety and threat, while generating positive emotions such as empathy (Tausch \& Hewstone, 2010).

Convincingly, intergroup contact theory seems to induce positive effects on improved intergroup relations. However, to date, none or very limited research have applied the intergroup contact theory upon gender groups, despite genders being one of the most fundamental groups to which humans belong (Nosek et al., 2002). It is commonly argued that objectively verifiable attributes of a person (e.g. gender) are used to mentally represent that person (Rothbart and John, 1985).

One reason for the lack of research on contact between gender groups may be the fact that men and women of today's society to a large extent socialize with each other on a daily basis. In comparison to e.g. ethnic and religious groups, who are more likely to coexist in segregation, gender groups are not as likely viewed as conflicting groups of people. As will be explained more in detail in section 2.4, both women and men evaluate women more favourably than men (Eagly et al., 1991), and no negative feelings
such as anxiety have been found to exist between gender groups. Although positive intergroup contact serves to reduce anxiety (Blascovich et al., 2001; Page-Gould et al., 2008), which in turn relates to decreased prejudice (Pettigrew \& Tropp, 2008), increased feelings of empathy seems to be the most important aspect to focus on when trying to overcome prejudice against women.

### 2.2.2 Perspective-taking to generate empathy

Empathy can be defined as an emotion that is congruent with other people's perceived well-being. It is an other-focused emotion that includes feelings such as sympathy, compassion, and tenderness (Batson et al., 1997). Perspective-taking has been shown to inspire affective mechanisms, such as empathy arousal, that provide a direct path to improved intergroup attitudes (Vescio et al., 2003; Batson et al., 1997; Pettigrew, 1997). For example, Batson et al. (1997) manipulated the degree to which experiment subjects empathized with a member of a stigmatized out-group (in this case, a woman with AIDS), through perspective-taking instructions. They found that subjects encouraged to adopt the perspective of the out-group individual reported more empathy arousal and expressed more favourable attitudes toward the out-group, compared to those asked to remain detached and objective.

According to Vorauer and Sasaki (2009), a variety of processes that pave the way for more favourable intergroup evaluations are set in motion when individuals adopt an outgroup member's perspective. Empathy can lead to a cognitive merging of an out-group with the self (Galinsky and Moskowitz, 2000), stronger perceptions of injustice (Dovidio et al., 2004), and increased helping behaviour (Coke, Batson, \& McDavis, 1978) - all of which in turn contribute to more positive attitudes towards the out-group as a whole. Hence, the theory of intergroup contact is important also in the way it serves to generalize beyond the immediate out-group members in a specific situation to the whole out-group and other out-groups not involved in the contact. Even indirect contact reduces prejudice, like vicarious contact through mass media (Pettigrew et al., 2011). Increased empathy towards women through perspective-taking is thus expected to generate a generalizable effect that goes beyond one particular situation.

As perspective-taking is proven to foster social bonds through increasing self-other overlap among individuals (Galinsky et al., 2005), it should be effective in reducing any existing prejudice also among in-group members. Encouraging people to take the perspective of women should therefore result in less discrimination against female receivers in the Saying-Is-Believing experiment, from both female and male senders, which leads to the following hypothesis:

H2: When communicating about a public world topic, recall valence for female receivers is affected by the interaction effect of perspective-taking and message valence.

### 2.3 GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES

The cognitive component of prejudice consists of group stereotypes (Brown, 1995). In turn, stereotypes are psychological representations of characteristics that are ascribed to members of particular groups (McGarty et al., 2002). The subject of stereotypes has given rise to extensive amounts of research. Discussing gender stereotypes in particular, the social role theory is judged especially useful in understanding why some characteristics are more commonly associated with women. In this view, stereotypes reflect perceivers' observations of what different people are doing in their daily life (Eagly and Steffen, 1984).

### 2.3.1 Social roles determine the cognitive beliefs about women

The social role theory highlights how people's differing social behaviours stem from occupying different social roles. These social roles are formed when collective norms are applied to groups of people with distinctive social positions. In this view, social roles affect people's social behaviour to a larger extent than factors related to socialization or biology (Eagly, 1987).

Gender roles are an example of such social roles. As defined by Eagly and Wood (1991), gender roles are shared expectations about appropriate qualities and behaviour that apply to individuals based on their socially identified gender. The collective and
shared expectations that people have in relation to women constitute the female gender role. In the same way, expectations about men constitute the male gender role (Eagly, 1987).

Building upon the social role theory, gender roles are formed through people's observations of women and men's role performances. This in turn reflects the labour distribution, and both gender's status in society. Gender roles reflect our society's categorization of men and women into breadwinner and homemaker roles. Women and men conform to these roles by gaining skills and resources that are associated with successful role performance, and by adjusting their behaviour to fit the role requirements (Eagly et al., 2000).

### 2.3.2 The female stereotype and its changeability

In line with the social role theory developed by Eagly and Steffen (1984), gender stereotypes are acquired and sustained through people's observations of the unequal distribution of women and men in different social roles, which leads to people having different expectations on female and male characteristics. Often, these expectations depict the qualities or behaviours that are perceived as desirable for each gender, and thus function in a normative way (Eagly, 1987).

In a study by Cejka and Eagly (1999), the gender-stereotypic attributes perceived necessary for occupational success was categorized into personality, cognitive, and physical attributes. In this thesis, only the personality characteristics are studied (see Table 1), as compilation of previous research on gender stereotypes reveals that a great part of the beliefs that exist about differences between men and women can be categorized into the two personality dimensions of agency and communal (Eagly, 1987). Both dimensions are defined to be positive personal attributes. The communal dimension, i.e. a concern with the welfare of other people, is believed to be more commonly found among women. The agentic dimension mainly relates to being assertive and controlling, and is believed to be present among men to a larger extent (Eagly, 1987).

Table 1. Masculine and feminine personality characteristics (Cejka \& Eagly, 1999)

| Masculine personality | Feminine personality |
| :---: | :---: |
| Competitive | Affectionate |
| Daring | Sympathetic |
| Unexcitable | Gentle |
| Dominant | Sensitive |
| Adventurous | Nurturing |
| Stands up under pressure | Sentimental |
| Aggressive | Warm in relations with others |
| Courageous | Helpful to others |
|  | Sociable |
|  | Understanding of others |
|  | Cooperative |
|  | Kind |
|  | Supportive |
|  | Outgoing |

Worth noting with the female stereotype is its dynamic ability, in the way it reflects observations of women in their social roles. Diekman and Eagly (2000) found that people perceive the stereotypical female characteristics to change in line with a change in social roles. Since the actual social role of women increasingly incorporates paid employment (Hayghe, 1990), people thus believe that female attributes also include the characteristics identified with employees (Diekman \& Eagly, 2000). As pointed out by Eagly and Steffen (1984; 1986), these attributes are more agentic (e.g., competitive) and less communal (e.g. nurturing) than the attributes that are associated with the domestic role.

Other studies have also focused on the changing female stereotype. In their study, Elsesser and Lever (2011) suggest that exposure to female managers reduces bias against female leaders in general, and that over time, the traits required for successful leadership will become gender neutral rather than being seen as incongruous with females. Similarly, a study by Dasgupta and Ansgari (2003) showed that women's stereotypic beliefs about their in-group is reduced in environments in which women frequently occupy counter-stereotypic leadership roles. They also identified the mediating mechanism behind changes in automatic beliefs about gender to be the frequency of how often people were exposed to women in leadership roles. Meanwhile, little change has occurred when it comes to the male stereotype (Diekman and Eagly,
2000), implying that the female stereotype is increasingly encompassing male traits while the male stereotype is not approaching the female gender role to the same degree.

### 2.3.3 Ambivalent emotions towards women

Early studies by psychologists and psychiatrics showed that both genders consistently value men higher than women. Repeatedly, research proved that characteristics associated with women were not as praised as those associated with men (Goldberg, 1968). For example, Sherriffs and McKee (1957) found that women were connected with traits such as snobbery, irrationality, and "unpleasant emotionality". In fact, it has been argued that women who wish to pursue intellectual accomplishments need to reject the role of the woman, as intellect is viewed as a male characteristic (French \& Lesser, 1964). However, individuals who act in ways that are incongruent with their gender role tend to be evaluated negatively (Eagly \& Karau, 2002). This creates problem for e.g. female leaders, since characteristics deemed necessary to be a successful leader are more frequently associated with the male gender role (Schein, 1975). Thus, female leaders often find themselves in a so-called double bind, where conformity to their traditional gender role (i.e. exhibiting communal traits), may lead to criticism for lack of agency. On the other hand, women who are highly agentic risk being criticized for a lack of communion, and for behaving in an unfeminine manner (Eagly \& Carli, 2008; Eagly \& Karau, 2002; Rudman \& Glick, 2001; Elsesser \& Lever, 2011). This phenomenon has also been demonstrated in e.g. negotiation studies, where evaluators have been seen to penalize tough female negotiators due to perceptions of demandingness and lack of niceness (Bowles et al. 2007).

Findings that stereotypical feminine characteristics are evaluated less favourably than stereotypical masculine characteristics (e.g. Broverman et al., 1972) have lead many to reason that women have lower status than men (Carli, 1990), and even that women are considered less competent than men (Lockheed \& Hall, 1976; Meeker \& Weitzel-O'Neill, 1977, Chiao et al., 2008). In a review of social scientific research on gender stereotypes, Ruble and Ruble (1982) simply stated "males and maleness become preferred with increasing age" (p. 225). Even women themselves tend to assess their
gender as inferior. In particular, women seem to undervalue the competence of women in professional and intellectual contexts (Goldberg, 1968). Pelham and Hetts (2001) state that members of disadvantaged groups, such as women in this case, possess a depressed sense of entitlement in comparison to members of advantaged groups. As an example, Jost (1997) found that women in an explicitly feminist environment (Yale College in the 1990s) would "pay themselves" on average $18 \%$ less than men did. Jost and Kay (2005) found that exposure to benevolent complementary gender stereotypes (in which women are positively seen as communal but not agentic, thereby complementing men's agentic traits) increases this depressed entitlement and outgroup preference among women, in comparison to being exposed to neutral or noncomplementary stereotypes.

The amount of previous research that points at a less favourable evaluation of women compared to men is extensive. Eagly et al. (1991) even expressed that a "nearly universal assumption in these discussions is that women are evaluated less favourably than men" (p. 4). In turn, this has lead to many discussions around prejudice towards women relying on indirect evidence (Eagly \& Mladinic, 1994). Many studies simply conclude that people evaluate men in a more advantageous way compared to women, and proceeds by concluding that gender discrimination and women's disadvantaged position in society is a result of that negative evaluation (e.g. Greenglass, 1982; Matlin, 1987). Although these negative evaluations of women contribute to the disadvantaged social position of women, it should not be assumed that discrimination or disadvantage necessarily is based solely upon negative attitudes or stereotypes (Stroebe \& Insko, 1989).

Previous research on evaluations of women is primarily based upon gender stereotype studies (Eagly et al., 1991). It implies that study results are dependent on the researchers' selection of female and male traits. Among others, studies by Broverman, Rosenkrantz and their colleagues, instead investigate what traits people assign to women and men. In contrast to earlier beliefs, they found that traits associated with women were equally valued as those being ascribed to men, i.e. no difference in desirability of traits considered feminine versus masculine (Broverman et al., 1972;

Rosenkrantz et al., 1968). In a study by Der-Karabetian and Smith (1977), it was also found that a higher amount of descriptive adjectives ascribed to females were considered as positive than adjectives ascribed to males. Other research has shown that people consider the ideal person to hold more feminine than masculine traits (Silvern and Ryan, 1983). It seems like although prejudice prevails against women, more people feel positively toward women than men (Perrett, 1998), and that both women and men evaluate women more favourably than men (Eagly et al., 1991).

The largely contradictory findings of people evaluating women both negatively and positively can be due to people being ambivalent about women. Simply, some of the reactions towards women might be positive while others are negative. Then, people's overall evaluation of women can be both favourable and unfavourable, all depending on whether mainly positive or negative reactions are triggered (Eagly et al., 1991). Therefore, there is reason to believe that the role of stereotypes in discrimination is more ambivalent than commonly assumed. In order to explore this under-researched area, this thesis departs from existing literature that assumes female stereotypicality to be linked with lower perceived competence, which in turn results in discrimination. This is investigated against the background of a study by Vescio et al. (2003), who found that people who are exposed to a stereotype confirming representation chooses to endorse a stereotypical perception of the social group it represents, while people exposed to stereotype disconfirming depictions endorse a less stereotypical perception.

In line with this, we expect men and women being exposed to a stereotype disconfirming depiction of women in a counter-stereotypical breadwinner role to endorse a perception of women as more competent, thereby being more inclined to allow women to influence their worldview.

H3: When communicating about a public world topic, recall valence for female receivers is affected by the interaction effect of exposure to counterstereotypical women and message valence.

### 2.4 SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES

The study at hand aims at further investigating the underlying reasons behind the discrimination against women in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm, starting with an attempt to confirm the previous findings of a discriminatory behaviour towards women (H1). Intergroup contact theory, and perspective-taking in particular, is frequently used to reduce prejudice and intergroup conflict, and is therefore explored as a means to counteract discrimination against women for both men and women (H2). Lastly, research on the female stereotype reveals rather contradictory findings on how people actually evaluate women, which prompts studying whether perceived competence actually effects discrimination against women (H3).

Figure 2. Hypotheses model


Table 2. Summary of hypotheses
H1: When communicating about a public world topic, the recall valence is affected by the message valence for male receivers but not for female receivers.

H2: When communicating about a public world topic, recall valence for female receivers is affected by the interaction effect of perspective-taking and message valence.

H3: When communicating about a public world topic, recall valence for female receivers is affected by the interaction effect of exposure to counter-stereotypical women and message valence.

## 3. METHODOLOGY


#### Abstract

The following chapter provides an explanation of the research method used in this thesis. It starts by presenting the initial work and the chosen scientific approach. The research process, consisting of pre-studies and a main study, is then presented, followed by a discussion on the validity and reliability of this study. This chapter concludes with a discussion on relevant ethical considerations.


### 3.1 INITIAL WORK

The initial effort was spent on reviewing current material to find an interesting and relevant perspective for this thesis. Both national and international media was scanned to generate an overall understanding of the public discussion and opinion on gender discrimination, to ensure that the selected thesis subject would be highly relevant, interesting and value adding to the general public. A comprehensive mapping was done of existing research within the fields of gender discrimination, intergroup theory and social role theory, to identify any potential research gaps.

During this initial process, parallel consultation with Per Hedberg, researcher at Stockholm School of Economics (SSE) at the department of Marketing and Strategy, was made to arrive at a suitable thesis subject. Hedberg was approached as a majority of his previous publications lies within the field of social psychology, touching upon gender discrimination. It was decided that this study would build upon previous research done by Hedberg (2012). More specifically, this study aims at finding explanatory factors behind the results of Hedberg (2012), where he found a discriminatory effect for men and women communicating with women, and further build on the results presented by Azadi and Torstensson (2013). Furthermore, it was decided that this study should build upon the Communication Game and the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm. This naturally leads this study towards a hypothesis-deductive scientific approach.

### 3.2 SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

Deductive theory is the most common perspective on the nature of the relationship between theory and research. It is applied when already existing knowledge about a particular domain, and the theoretical considerations related to that domain, is used to deduce hypotheses that are then subjected to empirical testing (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). Following the deductive research approach, the hypotheses in this study are derived from existing academic theory within the fields of gender discrimination, intergroup contact theory and social role theory. The developed hypotheses are then tested in an empirical study. Empirical data collection has been done through a quantitative data collection method since our intention is to generate generalizable findings through statistical analysis (Bryman \& Bell, 2011).

The quantitative research strategy evolves around the quantification of data collection and analysis, in which social reality is regarded as an external and objective reality (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). As the topic of this thesis lies in close connection to the field of social psychology, the choice of conducting experimental research was largely influenced by the scientific approach of studies in this area. In general, theses within the field of social psychology aim at collecting empirical evidence as close to real-life conditions as possible. Rather than creating a laboratory environment in which human behaviours are tested, they aim at capturing natural, real-life behaviours (Söderlund, 2010). This study aims at being a field experiment, but is better described as a field experiment with a constructed situation rather than a complete real-life setting (Bryman \& Bell, 2011).

### 3.3 EXPERIMENT DESIGN

In order to test the hypotheses presented in section 2.5, the experiment of this study evolves around the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm as used in studies by Hedberg (2012) and Azadi and Torstensson (2013). Similar to these studies, the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm is applied here to investigate the level of discrimination against women in interpersonal communication. The aim has been to replicate the processes related to the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm in the studies done by Hedberg (2012) and Azadi and Torstensson (2013) in order to generate comparable and relevant results. In contrast to
the two mentioned studies, the experiment of this study includes an additional part preceding the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm that aims to link perspective-taking with non-discrimination. The intention with this first part is to make experiment subjects take the perspective of another person through reading self-disclosing articles about, and looking at images of, these women.

An experiment includes allocating individuals on a random basis to different group that receives different treatments, followed by a comparison of the different groups' reactions after the treatment (Söderlund, 2010). In this thesis, the random assignment of reading material to the experiment subjects decided the allocation of all subjects into four different groups. More specifically, the first group was instructed to read material on stereotypical women. The second group received material on counter-stereotypical women, and the control groups read about a neutral topic and were not instructed to take perspective, thereby constituting the control group of the experiment. The purpose of having a control group is to eliminate the chance of any other explanations of a causal finding. Only then can a study be regarded as internally valid (Bryman \& Bell, 2011).

In this study, the items of manipulation are the reading material and the receiver gender (in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm). For the first two groups the receiver gender is exclusively female, while the control group was exposed to both female and male receivers. In total, this gives four groups of data (see Table 3).

Table 3. Overview of experiment groups

|  | Group 1 | Group 2 | Group 3 | Group 4 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Stimuli | Perspective-taking | Perspective-taking | Control | Control |
| Material | Stereotypical | Counter-stereotypical | Neutral | Neutral |
| Receiver | Female | Female | Female | Male |
| Sender | Mixed | Mixed | Mixed | Mixed |
| N | 36 | 34 | 20 | 20 |

### 3.4 EXPERIMENT SUBJECTS

The experiment subjects consisted of high school students in the ages of 16-19 from two different Swedish high schools located in the inner city of Stockholm. This specific sample was chosen in order to be able to generate comparable results with the studies by Hedberg (2012) and Azadi and Torstensson (2013). In the initial study on Saying-IsBelieving and gender discrimination, Hedberg (2012) motivated the sample choice by stating that high school students were expected to be less acculturated in a society with structural gender discrimination compared to e.g. adults in a working environment. Also, as mentioned earlier, Ruble and Ruble (1982) stated that "males and maleness become preferred with increasing age" (p. 225), which also indicates that high school students should be less prone to discriminate women, compared to an older sample.

In total, five experiment occasions took place between the time period of April $22^{\text {nd }}$ and April $28^{\text {th }}$, 2014. All experiments took place in facilities at each respective school, and were carried out during normal class hours in order to ensure high participation rate. However, the experiment subjects could decide not to participate in the study and were then given another assignment to do by the teacher of the class. The final number of subjects amounted to a total of 122, whereof 110 answers were complete and valid (43 male and 67 female).

### 3.5 PRE-STUDY

The main purpose of the pre-study was to perform a manipulation check on the experiment material. More specifically, the pre-study served to find out whether the prestudy convenience sample ( $\mathrm{N}=10$ ) perceived the selected material on (counter-) stereotypical women to score high on the (masculine) feminine characteristics, as intended, as well as if the depicted (counter-) stereotypical women were perceived to score (high) low on the characteristics related to competence. A second motive behind the pre-study was to find out whether the instructions on perspective-taking were easy to comprehend, as well as to ensure that the convenience sample had actually taken the perspective of the depicted women. A final reason for performing the pre-study was to investigate whether there was something else in the material that was perceived as unclear, while also checking what the convenience sample believed to be the purpose
of the study. The pre-study was timed in order to assure that the material for the different groups were equally time-consuming to fill out.

The results from the pre-study showed that the instructions were clear and easy to follow. The manipulation check revealed that those from the convenience sample who read about (counter-) stereotypical women ranked these women higher on (masculine) feminine characteristics, and (higher) lower on perceived competence. The convenience sample managed to take perspective in the dimension of empathy, but did not always manage to take perspective in the dimension of attribution. As a consequence, the third question in the reading material was exchanged for another one following the pre-study. No one from the convenience sample figured out the purpose of the study.

As a measure to control for any unforeseen explanatory variables in the study results, a convenience sample of both women and men $(\mathrm{N}=8)$ were asked to rank all the depicted women and the specific images on attractiveness. This was done in order to ensure that varying attractiveness would not be a dependent variable in examining the experiment subjects' recall valence. The average score on attractiveness from the pretest study result showed that the convenience sample perceived all six women and images to be comparably attractive (see Appendix G), which indicates, but does not statistically prove, that difference in attractiveness between the women depicted in the materials should not be an explanatory variable.

### 3.6 EXPERIMENT PROCEDURE: OVERVIEW

The entire experiment was divided into the following four parts:

- The experiment subjects were informed that they would take part in two separate studies conducted by two different experimenters.
- Experiment part 1 was conducted by Experimenter A, and was described to be part of a Master thesis in Marketing and Media Management called "Effective Communication in Media". The real purpose of this part of the experiment (Experiment part 1) was to make the subjects take the perspective of either stereotypical or counter-stereotypical women before the second part of the experiment was carried through.
- Experiment part 2, conducted by Experimenter B, was communicated as being part of a Master thesis in Management called "How People Communicate and Understand Each Other". The real purpose of the second part of the experiment was to conduct the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm.
- Following both parts of the study, the experiment subjects were asked to answer control and personal questions.


### 3.6.1 Introduction to the experiment

The first part of the experiment consisted of an introduction of both experimenters and the (false) purpose of the study. The main purpose of this introduction was to deliberately mislead the subjects into believing that they would take part in two separate studies. The experimenters presented themselves as Master students at the Stockholm School of Economics, enrolled in two different programs. Experimenter A was introduced as a Marketing and Media Management student, while Experimenter B was introduced as a Management student. It was explained that both experimenters combined two experiment occasions to save time and energy, and also to help each other out. The subjects were made aware that they would first participate in a study by Experimenter A (Experiment part 1). Following, they would then help Experimenter B with a second experiment (Experiment part 2).

### 3.6.2 Experiment part 1: Stimuli priming ${ }^{1}$

The purpose of this part of the study was to expose the subjects to experiment material with either stimuli or neutral content. The stimuli groups were instructed to take the perspective of the depicted women while reading about them. The stimuli group was further divided into Group 1 that was exposed to stereotypical depictions of women, and Group 2 that was exposed to counter-stereotypical depictions of women. The two control groups (Group 3 and Group 4) received neutral material on travel destinations and were not instructed to take perspective.

Following the general introduction to the two studies described above, Experimenter A continued with a more detailed introduction to the first part of the study (Experiment

[^0]part 1). The subjects were told that this experiment investigated how to communicate efficiently in media.

The experiment subjects were seated in their classrooms randomly. The reading material was handed out to all subjects, and all four groups did the experiments at the same time.

The material on stereotypical women consisted of three shorter articles with related images depicting the person mentioned in each respective article. The selected material consisted of interviews with women who were housewives by their own choice. These women represent a complementary stereotypical image, taking on women's historical social role as homemakers and being content with it. According to Jost et al. (2004), a complementary stereotypical representation of women serves to justify the system where women are considered to be less competent than men in matters of the public world. The interviews were shortened to varying extent to better suit the purpose of the study. The aim was to keep the texts short but as succinct as possible. Original text that did not relate to the women's social role as homemaker was removed.

The equivalent material on counter-stereotypical women consisted of three shorter articles with related images depicting competent female leaders in the business world. In addition to portraying the women taking on a traditional breadwinner role, all three articles also covered some comments or perspective on how these women have been struggling with discrimination throughout their careers. Also these articles were shortened to varying extent to make the article as concise as possible.

The purpose of the images that were shown together with the articles in both stimuli groups was to further strengthen the (counter-) stereotypical aspect of the portrayed women. Hence, the images of the stereotypical women depicted them in family situations in a home setting, whereas the counter-stereotypical women were depicted alone and in a professional setting, e.g. an office (in line with Coltrane \& Adams, 1997; Good et al. 2010).

The articles for both groups were also selected based on their high degree of selfdisclosure. Studies by Turner et al. (2007) and Ensari and Miller (2002) have shown that self-disclosure is one of the most efficient ways to elicit empathy in an out-group member. Therefore, it was important to use personal and revealing articles, in which the portrayed women's feelings are described as detailed as possible.

The subjects were instructed to read through each article carefully and study the images. In line with the purpose of this study, they were further instructed to read through the material while trying to take the perspective of the women depicted in respective article. Following each article, the subjects were asked three questions related to each article respectively.

The first question required the subjects to reflect over how well the women represented different characteristics. In total, 14 characteristics were listed (see Appendix B). These characteristics included five characteristics traditionally perceived as representing the feminine personality and five characteristics traditionally perceived to represent a masculine personality - all chosen from Cejka and Eagly (1999). The purpose of asking the subjects to rank (scale 1-7) the selected women in terms of these 10 characteristics was to perform a manipulation check. The (counter-) stereotypical women, depicted as (competent leaders) satisfied homemakers, should thus be perceived to possess the characteristics associated with a (masculine) feminine personality more than a (feminine) masculine personality. Additionally, four characteristics associated with competence were included in order to investigate any differences in perceived competence between stereotypical and counter-stereotypical depictions of women.

The second question was related to perspective-taking and empathy. The subjects were asked about their feelings on a scale of 1-7 after finished reading each article. In total, six feelings commonly related to empathy (see Appendix B), as used in Vescio et al. (2003) and based on Batson and Shaw (1991), were applied to investigate whether the subjects managed to take the depicted women's perspective.

The third question was related to perspective-taking and attribution. Following each article, subjects were asked to consider six statements individually and rate the importance of these statements for the (counter-) stereotypical women's choice of being (breadwinners) housewives. Each article was followed by six tailored statements, including three situational causal factors, i.e. factors beyond the portrayed woman's control, and three dispositional factors, i.e. personality and characteristic-related (Vescio et al., 2003), which were ranked on a scale of 1-7.

The control group, which received different reading material, was not asked to take perspective and was asked other questions following the articles. The material for the control group consisted of three articles on travel destinations. The articles were aimed to be of equal length as for the other two groups so that experiment time would be equally long for all three groups. To make sure that none of the groups were exposed to lengthier nor shorter articles, its was ensured that the total word count ( 900 words +/$10 \%$ ) of all articles corresponded relatively well across all groups (see Appendix G).

Travel destinations were considered to be neutral enough to not prime the control group with any gender stereotype related material and it was ensured that the articles and images were gender neutral and did not describe any persons. The first question following each article asked the subjects to rank the articles according to a number of general characteristics. The second question related to the subjects feelings after reading the articles, relating to general feelings rather than to empathy.

During the course of the experiment, the subjects were on several occasions reminded to not speak or compare answers with each other. When all subjects were finished reading and answering the questions, all material was gathered and Experimenter $A$ thanked the subjects for taking part of the study.

### 3.6.3 Experiment part 2: The Saying-Is-Believing paradigm ${ }^{2}$

Following the first part of the experiment, Experimenter B introduced the second part of the study. Experiment part 2 was said to investigate how people communicate and understand each other. During the introduction, the experiment subjects were informed that a number of students from their school had already learned about some industrial companies (i.e. public world topic) as a first part of the study and that Experimenter B was aware of their attitude towards the companies. The subjects were made aware that they would communicate with one of these students around a specific company, and that these students were seated in another room during the experiment.

The first sequence of the experiment consisted of three shorter parts. Firstly, subjects were informed through a hand-written message about the company they would read about (same for everyone), and information about the receiver of their message in terms of gender (either "Emma" or "Johan") and their receiver's attitude towards the topic (positive in all cases). Simultaneously, they were given a text about the public world related topic that they were instructed to read during four minutes. This text is deemed neutral, with equal amounts of positive and negative weighted words. The texts were then removed and the subjects were asked to write a descriptive message to the person they were to communicate with (i.e. the receivers) on the topic that they had just read. The instructions were to write the message using their own words with the purpose of enabling the receivers identifying the company without actually disclosing it in the written message.

In the second sequence, the written messages were gathered and officially taken to the receivers for identification. Meanwhile, the subjects were occupied with an unrelated fillin task. After 8-10 minutes (depending on the number of subjects), the subjects were notified whether the receiver had successfully identified the topic or not. At the same time, the subjects were once again instructed to write a message about the company this time by trying to recall the original text they read in the very beginning of the experiment in order to write a message as identical to the original text as possible.

[^1]As a last part of Experiment part 2, subjects were asked to answer some questions. These questions covered their liking towards the public world related topic and the receiver of their message, the subjects' mood during the day of the experiment, and some personal questions regarding gender, age, school and family. As a manipulation check, the subjects also answered questions on whether they had perceived the receiver to like the public world related topic or not, and also whether the receiver had managed to identify the topic or not. Finally, the subjects were asked about their thoughts on the experiment purpose. This was to detect if any of the subjects suspected that the two experiments (Experiment part 1 and II) were interrelated.

After finishing Experiment part 2, Experimenter B thanked all the experiment subjects for taking their time and avoided answering any questions related to the purpose of the study. Both Experimenter A and B announced that they would be returning at a later stage to talk about both studies.

Figure 3. Overview of the experiment procedure

## EXPERIMENT PART 1



### 3.6.4 Practical experiment preparations

Before each experiment, all the material for Experiment part 1 was printed and collated into booklets. The front pages were identical across all groups, while the articles and following questions differed between the groups. In order to be able to link responses from Experiment part 1 with those in Experiment part 2, all booklets for Experiment part 1 were first put in a random order to mix the material for all groups, and then discretely numbered. The booklets consisted of some reusable pages, i.e. pages with the articles and images, and some participant-specific pages, i.e. pages containing questions that were answered by subjects. By using brads, all booklets could be disassembled after each experiment session, and collated with new pages with questions before the next experiment. The participant-specific pages were discretely numbered on the back with the brads covering the numbers, in order to eliminate any suspicion of Experiment part 1 being linked with Experiment part 2.

The material for Experiment part 2 was numbered beforehand as well to enable linking the material from Experiment part 1 and 2. However, the numbers were visible in Experiment part 2, which was motivated by the need to keep track of all the separate sheets within Experiment part 2. The material was divided into the following sections:

- Instruction sheet (with handwritten text describing receiver and receiver attitude), text on public world related topic, lined sheet with short instruction on top and handwritten receiver name
- Fill-in tasks
- Feedback notes with hand-written receiver name and result, lined sheet with short instruction on top, questions on liking, mood and perceived purpose of the study
- Personal questions and manipulation check

Before each experiment session, the material for both Experiment part 1 and 2 was reviewed to eliminate any damaged material that looked used in order to assure subjects perceiving receiving exclusive experiment material.

### 3.6.5 Experiment de-briefing

After conducting all experiments, both experimenters returned to the classes that had participated in the study to carry out a de-briefing session. The actual purpose of the study was disclosed, and it was revealed that the two experiments were in fact interrelated. Furthermore, the mechanisms behind the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm were explained, and a discussion was carried out with the students about their thoughts on structural gender discrimination. The students were also encouraged to ask any question that they might have had.

### 3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Following the experiments, data from Experiment part 1 was entered into an Excel-file. All written messages from Experiment part 2 were reviewed by both authors together, and assigned a score based on the positively and/or negatively weighted words included in the message, in line with the coding template (see Appendix F). To further strive after objectivity, the messages were also reviewed by an independent coder. Finally, the two versions of coding formed an equally weighted mean value for the two variables of message valence and recall valence for each participant. All other data from Experiment part 2, e.g. demographics, were also added to the same Excel-file.

For those subjects that had failed to answer any of the questions in either experiment, or only participated in one part of the experiment due to various reasons, listwise deletion of data was performed. This resulted in 12 subjects being excluded from further data analysis. Listwise deletion is sometimes questioned since it may yield biased parameter estimates, especially in longitudinal studies (Graham, 2009). As this study is not a longitudinal, listwise deletion was used here to ensure that each computed statistic is based on the same subset of cases, which is of high importance since this study is constituted by two highly interdependent parts. Thus, this was deemed the best method of handling missing data.

The data from our final sample ( $\mathrm{N}=110$ ) was analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics Software to calculate mean values, Cronbach's alpha, independent sample t-tests and

OLS regressions with interaction effects, with the aim of testing our hypotheses and answering our research questions.

### 3.8 DATA QUALITY

The two interrelated concepts of reliability and validity are of high importance when discussing the data quality. The accuracy of the findings and results depend on whether a study examines what it sets out to study, i.e. the level of validity, and whether the study is performed in a reliable way (Patel \& Davidsson, 2010).

### 3.8.1 Reliability

The term reliability is concerned with the consistency of measures, and is of particular importance in relation to quantitative studies. In short, it refers to whether the study would generate the same results if being repeated (Denscombe, 2004). The concept of reliability can be evaluated in terms of stability over time, internal reliability, and interobserver consistency (Bryman \& Bell, 2011).

Stability over time refers to whether a measure gives little variations over time in the research results. Stability can be dealt with by using the test-retest method where a test or measure on one occasion is re-administered to the same sample on another occasion (Björkqvist, 2012). Most research do not carry out tests of stability (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). In order to ensure stability over time in this thesis, the experiment has been standardized in each aspect possible. Firstly, all experiment materials for Experiment part 1 (i.e. articles and images) have been taken from the internet, and all sources can be easily found online. Secondly, the experiment followed a planned procedure (see section 3.6) with both experimenters following a detailed manuscript (see Appendix E) during all experiment occasions. This was of high importance to the study's reliability since the experiments could not take place during the exact same occasion and thus not under the exactly same conditions. However, the experiments were conducted during the time period of one week, which served to limit the variances in uncontrollable factors.

Another aspect is the internal reliability, which refers to whether the multiple indicators for each participant generate an overall value that is consistent and reliable. It is concerned with multiple-indicator measures where the subjects' answers are aggregated into an overall score. Then, there is a risk of the indicators not relating to the same thing, i.e. lacking coherence (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). Internal reliability is tested for using Cronbach's alpha, where a value of $a>0.90$ is considered a more or less perfect level of internal reliability (Björkqvist, 2012). All manipulation variables in this study (i.e. female stereotypicality, counter-stereotypicality, and competence) exhibit high internal reliability with Cronbach's alpha exceeding 0.90 . Further strengthening the internal reliability is the fact that previous research was explored to find proved and established multi-item measurements for the variables of (counter-) stereotypicality, competence and empathy that was used in the thesis. This increases the likelihood of the used items for one variable correlating with each other (Söderlund, 2005).

The third and last aspect of internal reliability is inter-observer consistency. Lack of reliability in this area might occur when subjective judgement is used in the research process. In the case of multiple researchers, it is possible that there is a lack of consistency in their decisions (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). This has been accounted for in the coding process, where both authors were involved in determining the coding template, as well as performing the coding process together.

### 3.8.2 Validity

Validity refers to the integrity of the results and conclusions that are generated from the research, i.e. whether this study actually measures what it sets out to measure (Patel \& Davidsson, 2010). It is generally discussed in terms of construct validity, internal validity, external validity and ecological validity (Bryman \& Bell, 2011).

Construct validity, or measurement validity, refers to whether a measurement presumed to measure a concept, actually serves to reflect that concept (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). In the case of this thesis, this would mainly relate to if structural gender discrimination in communication can be measured through the difference in message valence and recall valence of the experiment subjects. Measuring discrimination in interpersonal
communication by using the Communication Game and the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm is a widely recognized experiment method in the field of social psychology and has been used in this regard by various researchers during the past 40 years (see for example Higgins \& Rholes, 1978; Higgins, 1992; Echterhoff et al., 2005; Hedberg, 2012). Measurement validity is therefore assumed to be high.

Internal validity evaluates to what extent the examined effects are caused by the intended independent variables, and not by other external factors (Malhotra \& Birks, 2007). Here, internal validity refers to what extent the differences in recall valence are actually caused by the stimuli treatments. When conducting an experiment, one of the most important tools to increase internal validity is to use a control group, which purpose is to control for the possible effects of rival explanations of a causal finding. If there is a control group, differences between control and experimental groups can be more confidently attributed to manipulation of the independent variable (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). The control group was included in this study to increase the internal validity by ensuring that the potential results could be clearly derived from our experimental stimuli for our experimental groups. The internal validity is further strengthened by the random assignment of subjects to the experimental and control groups, and the experimenters' being unknowing regarding the subjects' group belonging.

To further minimize potential external factors influencing the experiment subjects, the experiment followed a standardized procedure and manuscript during all five experiment occasions. All subjects were treated the same, independent of group.

Lastly, control questions were also included following Experiment part 2 to ensure that the subjects took part in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm as intended, understood the information that was given to them and to detect whether the subjects understood the interrelatedness between the two experiments. These questions showed that the subjects had not apprehended the real purpose of the study, nor that there was a link between Experiment part 1 and 2.

Despite taking above-mentioned actions, there are some issues that may have affected the internal validity. In spite of a standardized process, it was unavoidable that subjects during different sessions posed different questions, and that other unforeseen things occurred. The importance of the subjects not communicating with each other, both during and in between, Experiment part 1 and 2 was regularly emphasized. Still, it was difficult to keep the subjects completely silent. It was also noticed that the subjects had short attention spans, and access to smartphones, tablets and laptops, which they used as soon as they had completed a task, despite being repeatedly told not use them and just wait quietly. All these things may have interfered with the priming, and thereby lowering the internal validity. However, experimental research is generally considered to generate high robustness and trustworthiness of causal findings, and thus a high degree of internal validity (Bryman \& Bell, 2011), and with the precautionary actions mentioned above, it could be concluded that this study should benefit from a high degree of internal validity.

The concept of external validity relates to whether the findings in the experiment can be generalized beyond the context of this thesis (Malhotra \& Birks, 2007). Although quantitative studies are argued to be more suitable for generalizable results, some issues should still be discussed. In particular, there is a possibility that the findings of this study reflect the behaviour of one specific social group (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). In this case, that is students from high schools in Stockholm generally considered as highachievers. However, this is motivated by the aim to generate comparable results to earlier studies. It is not claimed that this sample is representative of the Swedish population at large, but rather that the results serve as an indication of the attitudes of ambitious students in a progressive environment, who are less likely to have been fully exposed to the normative values of gender stereotyping. As Sweden is considered to be one of the world's most gender equal countries, this may impede applying the findings to less gender equal, or conservative, environments.

The final validity concept to be discussed is ecological validity, which refers to the extent to which the behaviours observed in this research reflects real-life behaviours and may be generalized to real-life settings (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). The ecological validity of this
study is debateable. The study was done in a partially experimental setting, and did not reflect a completely natural setting for the subjects. One may also question the use of written messages to measure subconscious discrimination in interpersonal communication, as this may be considered an unnatural and staged way to communicate. However, the research method aimed to capture subconscious psychological behaviours, which required some kind of measurement. Most of the results that this study "caught on paper" usually occur subconsciously. Thus it is hard, if not impossible, to measure these complex mechanisms without doing it in a not-sonatural setting.

### 3.9 ETHICS

This section highlights the ethical concerns that arise in the context of collecting and analysing data. One of the major ethical concerns in this study relates to the possible harm that the experiment caused the subjects. Throughout the research process, the subjects' identity and records have been kept anonymous, which is a means to minimize any harm to the subjects (Denscombe, 2004). The subjects were informed about their anonymity throughout the entire experiment, and were also made aware that the data and results would not be stored or used in any way outside of the scope of the study. It was clarified that the numbering of the material in Experiment part 2 was exclusively for keeping track of loose sheets within the study and not for identification purposes.

Another issue is the principle of lack of informed consent, meaning that prospective subjects should be informed about the research purpose to that extent that they are able to make a decision to participate or not (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). In this case, the real research purpose could not be disclosed, as that would have potentially influenced the subjects' behaviour, and thus, the results. But as explained earlier, subjects were presented with the choice of doing another task during class instead of the experiment.

A third area of ethical concern is the subjects' right to privacy. Although some topics are sensitive by nature, it is often difficult for the researcher to know beforehand what each individual subject perceives as private (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). The issue of privacy
is closely linked to both the issue of confidentiality and informed consent. In this study, this relates to the invasion of privacy in asking personal and demographic questions. The aim with these questions was to enable identification of any other independent variables that could be explanatory variables behind structural gender discrimination in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm.

Lastly, there is the ethical issue that relates to the deceptive nature of the experiment. Deception occurs whenever a study is presented with a false purpose (Bryman \& Bell, 2011). The motivation behind deception in this study is to limit subjects' understanding of the true purpose of the study and thus ensure validity. This ethical issue was addressed by de-briefing sessions with the involved subjects, where the actual purpose was disclosed and discussed (as suggested in Denscombe, 2004).

## 4. RESULTS

This section of the thesis covers the empirical findings from the conducted experiments. We start by presenting the results of the manipulation checks that ensure the intended effect of our manipulation of the independent variables. Following, we present the results from the regressions that have been run to test our hypotheses.

### 4.1 MANIPULATION CHECKS

As explained in section 3.6.2, the purpose of the first part of this study was to expose all experiment subjects to experiment material (either with or without stimuli) consisting of three shorter articles. Each article was followed by questions related to the articles, especially to the main woman depicted in each article. The first set of questions served to disclose the respondents' ranking of each woman regarding their (female) stereotypicality, (female) counter-stereotypicality, and competence.

These three manipulation checks serve to assure that the respondents perceived the women as intended, and thus that our manipulation of the independent variables had its intended effect on our stimuli groups.

### 4.1.1 Female stereotypicality

The aspect of female stereotypicality, i.e. to what degree the women were perceived to hold stereotypical female traits, was measured by five different characteristics. On a scale from 1-7, the total average score of the stereotypical women (Group 1) on female stereotypicality was 5.89. The total average score of the counter-stereotypical women (Group 2) on female stereotypicality was 4.61. An independent samples t-test on the difference in mean values between the two groups shows a statistically significant result ( $p<0.01$ ). Thus, the chosen stereotypical women were perceived to hold stereotypical female traits to a larger extent than the counter-stereotypical women. The stereotypicality index showed a Cronbach's alpha of $a=0.91$, which indicates a high internal consistency for the variable.

### 4.1.2 Female counter-stereotypicality

Similar to the aspect of female stereotypicality, female counter-stereotypicality (or male stereotypicality) was measured using five characteristics. Female counterstereotypicality serves to measure to what degree the depicted women were perceived to have counter-stereotypical female traits. On a scale from 1-7, the total average score of the group of stereotypical women (Group 1) on female counter-stereotypicality was 3.69. Meanwhile, the total average score of the counter-stereotypical women (Group 2) on female counter-stereotypicality was 5.32 . The difference in mean values between the two groups is statistically significant ( $p<0.01$ ). Hence, the counter-stereotypical women were perceived to hold counter-stereotypical female traits to a larger extent than the stereotypical women A Cronbach's alpha of $a=0.90$ was found for the counterstereotypicality index.

### 4.1.3 Competence

As explained in section 2.4, low perceived competence is oftentimes associated with the female stereotype, and assumed to be an explanatory factor behind discrimination. In this study, competence is measured through four representative characteristics. Using a scale of 1-7, the stereotypical women (Group 1) scored in average 3.99 on competence. The counter-stereotypical women (Group 2) scored in average 5.81 on competence. The group of counter-stereotypical women scored higher on competence compared to the stereotypical women at a statistically significant level ( $p<0.01$ ). The competence index showed a Cronbach's alpha of $a=0.91$.

Table 4. Overview of manipulation checks

|  | Mean <br> Group 1 | Mean <br> Group 2 | Mean <br> Difference | $\mathbf{t}^{\mathbf{3}}$ | a |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Stereotypicality | 5.89 | 4.61 | 1.28 | $8.56^{\star * *}$ | 0.91 |
| Counter-stereotypicality | 3.69 | 5.32 | -1.63 | $-9.86^{\star \star *}$ | 0.90 |
| Competence | 3.99 | 5.81 | -1.82 | $-10.76^{\star * *}$ | 0.91 |

$N=$ Total: 110, Group 1: 36, Group 2: 34
${ }^{* * *} p<0.01,{ }^{* *} p<0.05,{ }^{*} p<0.1$

[^2]
### 4.2 THE SAYING-IS-BELIEVING EFFECT

The second part of this study, referred to as Experiment part 2, is based upon the Saying-is-Believing paradigm. As explained in section 2.1, a Saying-Is-Believing effect exists when experiment subjects tune their messages to better suit the receivers of the message and consequently let these receivers affect their recall of the original message.

Our control questions in the end of Experiment part 2 asked the subjects whether they had understood that their receiver had (i) a positive attitude towards the public world topic, and (ii) identified the public world topic, in order to ensure that they had participated in the experiment correctly. All subjects included in the analysis ( $\mathrm{N}=110$ ) had understood the above points. Also, an open-ended question on the purpose of Experiment part 2 showed that none of the subjects suspected that the two experiments were connected.

### 4.2.1 Confirming the Saying-Is-Believing effect

The following OLS regression (a) is used to examine the existence of a Saying-IsBelieving effect for the full sample group, irrespective of experiment group belonging:
(a) Recall $=\beta_{0}+\beta_{1}$ Message $+\mu$
where Recall (i.e. recall valence) is the dependent variable that is affected by the independent variable of Message (i.e. message valence), $\beta_{0}$ is the constant, and $\mu$ represents the residual in the regression.

As defined in section 2.1.1, recall valence is a measure of what information the experiment subjects have memorized based upon how they initially formulated a message in order to suit the receiver of the message. Analysing the entire sample shows that the messages from the first stage of Saying-Is-Believing paradigm, i.e. message valence, affected the recall valence in the second stage of the paradigm at a statistically significant level ( $p<0.01$ ) (see Table 5). In line with the positive attitude of the imaginary receivers towards the public world topic, the beta coefficient for message
valence is positive, with a standard error of 0.094 . The $R$ square value is 0.243 , which means that this linear regression explains the data to the level of 24.3\%.

Table 5. Message valence's effect on Recall valence (Saying-Is-Believing effect) ${ }^{4}$

|  | Full Sample <br> (Group 1-4) |
| :---: | :---: |
| VARIABLES | Recall |
| Constant | -0.487 |
| Message | $0.552^{* * *}$ |
|  | $(0.094)$ |
|  | $R^{2}=0.243$ |
|  | $\mathrm{~N}=110$ |
| ${ }^{* * *} \mathrm{p}<0.01,{ }^{* *} \mathrm{p}<0.05,{ }^{*} \mathrm{p}<0.1$ |  |

Controlling for 14 variables, message valence still affects recall valence at a statistically significant level ( $p<0.01$ ), while the value of $R$ square increases to 0.354 (see Appendix H).

### 4.2.2 Discrimination in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm

In this thesis, the purpose of including a control group is simply to ensure that the normal state of things is that women are being discriminated against in the Saying-IsBelieving paradigm (as shown in Hedberg, 2012; Azadi \& Torstensson, 2013).

Experiment subjects from the control group communicated with both female and male receivers. They were exposed to gender-neutral experiment material without perspective-taking stimuli during Experiment part 1. In line with the results shown in Table 5, a positive Saying-Is-Believing effect is found among the control group as well ( $p<0.1$ ). However, further analysis to reveal any gender discrimination shows that statistically significant results can only be found among those in the control group communicating with a female receiver ( $\mathrm{p}<0.1$ ) (see Table 6), contrary to earlier studies.

[^3]Table 6. Message valence's effect on Recall valence for the Control Group

|  | 1. Control Group <br> (Group 3-4) | 2. Female Receiver <br> (Group 3) | 3. Male Receiver <br> (Group 4) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VARIABLES | Recall | Recall | Recall |
| Constant | -0.248 | -0.248 | -0.089 |
| Message | $0.292^{*}$ | $0.388^{*}$ | 0.174 |
|  | $(0.163)$ | $(0.208)$ | $(0.278)$ |
|  | $R^{2}=0.078$ | $R^{2}=0.162$ | $R^{2}=0.021$ |
|  | $N=40$ | $N=20$ | $N=20$ |
| ${ }^{* * * p<0.01,{ }^{* *} p<0.05,{ }^{*} p<0.1}$ |  |  |  |

In an attempt to increase the low explanatory power of the model, control variables are added to the regression. Doing this still shows a statistically significant Saying-IsBelieving effect in the entire control group ( $p<0.1$ ) and increases the value of $R$ square to 0.467 . At the same time, the statistical significance of message valence's effect on recall valence is eliminated for those in the control group communicating with female receivers (see Appendix H).

As a further step, studying participant (i.e. sender) genders in separate regressions revealed no significant results for male-to-male, male-to-female, and female-to-male communication. However, message valence affects recall valence for the group of female subjects communicating with female senders at a statistically significant level ( $p<0.05$ ) (see Table 7).

Table 7. Message valence's effect on Recall valence for the Control Group (Female Receiver)

|  | 2a. Male Sender | 2b. Female Sender |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VARIABLES | Recall | Recall |
| Constant | -0.559 | 0.216 |
| Message | 0.306 | $0.625^{\star \star}$ |
|  | $(0.399)$ | $(0.260)$ |
|  | $R^{2}=0.077$ | $R^{2}=0.392$ |
|  | $N=9$ | $N=11$ |
| ${ }^{* * * p<0.01,{ }^{* *} p<0.05,{ }^{*} p<0.1}$ |  |  |
|  |  |  |

Thus, so far, the results show that the Saying-Is-Believing effect that is found for the full sample also exists in the control group. Decomposing the control group based on gender reveals that the statistically significant results are derived to female subjects communicating with a female receiver. We therefore reject H 1 by stating that the recall valence is affected by the message valence for female receivers communicating with female senders, but not for male receivers as hypothesized.

### 4.3 PERSPECTIVE-TAKING

The results from the previous section did not show the baseline of discrimination against women as hypothesized, since a Saying-Is-Believing effect was unexpectedly found to exist between female senders and the female receivers in the control group. Hence, the conditions for our following hypothesis (H2) have shifted. While perspectivetaking is still investigated as a non-discriminatory means for male senders, for female senders, it is studied as a factor that enhances the already present Saying-Is-Believing effect. This is investigated using the following OLS regression (b):
(b) Recall $=\beta_{0}+\beta_{1}$ Message $+\beta_{2}$ Perspective $+\beta_{3}$ (Message*Perspective $)+\mu$,
where the independent variable Perspective is coded as a dummy variable that shows the effect of going from $0=$ objectiveness (i.e. the control group) to $1=$ perspectivetaking (i.e. the stimuli groups), and where Message*Perspective shows the interaction effect between message valence and perspective-taking.

Analysing the results for people communicating with a female receiver shows that there is a statistically significant Saying-Is-Believing effect ( $p<0.01$ ), but that perspectivetaking has no impact on recall valence, neither directly nor through an interaction effect (see Table 8).

Table 8. Perspective-taking's effect (Female Receivers)

|  | Female Receiver <br> (Group 1-3) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VARIABLES | Recall | Recall |
| Constant | -0.218 | -0.311 |
| Message | $0.607^{* * *}$ | 0.297 |
|  | $(0.101)$ | $(0.251)$ |
| Perspective | -0.368 | -0.199 |
|  | $(0.568)$ | $(0.579)$ |
| Message_Perspective |  | 0.364 |
|  |  | $(0.270)$ |
|  | $R^{2}=0.295$ | $R^{2}=0.310$ |
|  | $\mathrm{~N}=90$ | $\mathrm{~N}=90$ |
| ${ }^{* * *} \mathrm{p}<0.01,{ }^{* *} \mathrm{p}<0.05,{ }^{*} \mathrm{p}<0.1$ |  |  |

Decomposing the sample into participant gender still shows a statistically significant Saying-Is-Believing effect ( $p<0.05$ ), also for male senders, but does not reveal any statistically significant results for perspective-taking's effect (see Table 9).

Table 9. Perspective-taking's effect separated on gender (Female Receivers)

|  | Male Sender | Female Sender |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VARIABLES | Recall | Recall | Recall | Recall |
| Constant | -0.696 | -0.563 | 0.247 | 0.000 |
| Message | $0.553^{* *}$ | 0.314 | $0.656^{* * *}$ | 0.409 |
|  | $(0.153)$ | $(0.360)$ | $(0.137)$ | $(0.413)$ |
| Perspective | 0.406 | 0.306 | -0.995 | -0.680 |
|  | $(0.801)$ | $(0.818)$ | $(0.805)$ | $(0.949)$ |
| Message_Perspective |  | 0.299 |  | 0.271 |
|  |  | $(0.406)$ |  | $(0,427)$ |
|  | $R^{2}=0.292$ | $R^{2}=0.304$ | $R^{2}=0.308$ | $R^{2}=0.313$ |
|  | $N=35$ | $N=35$ | $N=55$ | $N=55$ |
| ${ }^{* * * \mathrm{p}<0.01,{ }^{* *} \mathrm{p}<0.05,{ }^{*} \mathrm{p}<0.1} \mathrm{~N}$ |  |  |  |  |

Thus, comparing subjects who were instructed to take perspective with those in the control group shows that perspective-taking has no significant effect on recall valence for subjects communicating with female receivers, neither directly nor through message
valence as an interaction effect. We therefore reject H 2 by stating that perspectivetaking does not cause a Saying-Is-Believing effect for female receivers.

As explained in section 2.2.2, the variable of perspective-taking is oftentimes associated with increased empathy levels. Although perspective-taking in this experiment is only externalized through instructions, it is interesting to analyse perspective-taking subjects that have reported high levels of empathy in the study. This way, the variable of empathy serves as a manipulation check for perspective-taking, where subjects who have been asked to take perspective, but report low levels of empathy, are excluded from the study. The variable of empathy was measured using six factors that together form an empathy index ${ }^{5}$.

In order to ensure a high internal reliability, the second measure of perspective-taking, attribution, is not included in the data analysis due to a low value on Cronbach's alpha ( $a<0.70$ ).

Excluding subjects who reported a low empathy level (i.e. empathy < 4) gives statistically significant results for the interaction effect between message valence and perspective-taking (see Table 10).

Table 10. Perspective-taking's effect (Female Receivers)

|  | Empathy $\geq \mathbf{4}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VARIABLES | Recall | Recall |
| Constant | -0.199 | -0.308 |
| Message | $0.669^{* * *}$ | 0.306 |
|  | $(0.168)$ | $(0.271)$ |
| Perspective | -0.574 | -0.323 |
|  | $(0.704)$ | $(0.706)$ |
| Message_Perspective |  | $0.588^{*}$ |
|  |  | $(0.348)$ |
|  | $R^{2}=0.264$ | $R^{2}=0.309$ |
|  | $N=48$ | $N=48$ |
| ${ }^{* * *}<0.01,{ }^{* * p<0.05,{ }^{*} p<0.1}$ |  |  |

[^4]Interestingly, using the same OLS regression (b) as before, our study results show a statistically significant result for perspective-taking affecting recall through message valence for subjects who are middle children in their families ( $\mathrm{p}<0.05$ ) (see Table 12).

Table 11. Perspective-taking's effect (Female Receivers)

|  | Middle Children |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VARIABLES | Recall | Recall |
| Constant | -0.002 | -1.423 |
| Message | $0.998^{* * \star}$ | $-1.033^{\star}$ |
|  | $(0.208)$ | $(0.523)$ |
| Perspective | 0.300 | $2.156^{\star \star}$ |
|  | $(1.002)$ | $(0.867)$ |
| Message_Perspective |  | $2.161^{* *}$ |
|  |  | $(0.542)$ |

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
R^{2}=0.577 & R^{2}=0.788 \\
N=20 & N=20
\end{array}
$$

${ }^{* * *} p<0.01,{ }^{* *} p<0.05,{ }^{*} p<0.1$

### 4.4 FEMALE COUNTER-STEREOTYPICALITY

Among the subjects in our stimuli groups, we further investigate whether exposure to counter-stereotypical women serves to enhance the Saying-Is-Believing effect for female receivers. The following OLS regression (c) is used:
(c) Recall $=\beta_{0}+\beta_{1}$ Message $+\beta_{2}$ Counterstereo $+\beta_{3}$ (Message ${ }^{*}$ Counterstereo) $+\mu$,
where the independent variable Counterstereo is coded as a dummy variable that shows the effect of going from $0=$ stereotypical stimuli (Group 1) to $1=$ counterstereotypical stimuli (Group 2), and Message*Counterstereo represents the interaction effect between message valence and the dummy variable.

Study results show that message valence affects recall valence at a statistically significant level ( $\mathrm{p}<0.01$ ). However, female counter-stereotypicality has no significant effect on recall valence (see Table 12).

Table 12. Counter-stereotypicality's effect (Female Receivers)

|  | Stimuli groups <br> (Group 1-2) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VARIABLES | Recall |  |
| Constant | -0.516 | Recall |
| Message | $0.642^{* * *}$ | -0.519 |
| Counterstereo | $(0.116)$ | $0.652^{* * *}$ |
|  | -0.144 | $-0.164)$ |
| Message_Counterstereo | $(0.569)$ | -0.149 |
|  |  | $-0.576)$ |
|  |  | -0.021 |
|  | $R^{2}=0.319$ | $R^{2}=0.319$ |
| ${ }^{* * *} \mathrm{p}<0.01,{ }^{* *} \mathrm{p}<0.05,{ }^{*} \mathrm{p}<0.1$ | $\mathrm{~N}=70$ |  |

Analysing counter-stereotypicality's effect on female receiver for separated gender populations does not generate any statistically significant results. However, there is a negative tendency for male senders, while the tendency is positive for the female senders (see Table 13).

Table 13. Counter-stereotypicality's effect separated on gender (Female Receivers)

|  | Male Sender | Female Sender |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VARIABLES | Recall |  | Recall |  |
| Constant | -0.286 | -0.450 | -0.617 | -0.612 |
| Message | $0.604^{* *}$ | $0.822^{* *}$ | $0.654^{* * *}$ | $0.590^{* *}$ |
|  | $(0.172)$ | $(0.288)$ | $(0.158)$ | $(0.208)$ |
| Counterstereotypical | -0.027 | 0.044 | -0.288 | -0.222 |
|  | $(0.834)$ | $(0.839)$ | $(0.781)$ | $(0.800)$ |
| Message_counterstereotypical |  | -0.343 |  | 0.152 |
|  |  | $(0.363)$ |  | $(0.317)$ |
|  | $R^{2}=0.359$ | $R^{2}=0.384$ | $R^{2}=0.301$ | $R^{2}=0.305$ |
|  | $N=26$ | $N=26$ | $N=44$ | $N=44$ |

[^5]
### 4.5 SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESIS TESTING

In conclusion, we reject H 1 by stating that recall valence affects message valence only for female senders communicating with female receivers in normal state. Perspectivetaking does not cause message valence to affect recall valence, not for male nor female senders, which means that H 2 is rejected. Lastly, our H 3 is rejected on the basis that exposing people to counter-stereotypical women does not affect recall valence through the interaction with message valence.

Table 14. Summary of the hypothesis testing
H1: When communicating about a public world topic, the recall valence is affected by the message valence for male receivers but not for female receivers.

H2: When communicating about a public world topic, recall valence for female receivers is affected by the interaction effect of perspectivetaking and message valence.

H3: When communicating about a public world topic, recall valence for female receivers is affected by the interaction effect of exposure to

Not
empirically
supported

Not empirically supported counter-stereotypical women and message valence.

## 5. ANALYSIS

The experiment results presented in the previous chapter are analysed here, in the light of the theoretical framework. The findings are discussed in the specific context of our study, while a more general discussion will follow in the next, concluding chapter.

### 5.1 A NEW BASELINE OF THE SAYING-IS-BELIEVING PARADIGM

This study evolves around the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm, as introduced by Higgins and Rholes (1978), and serves to confirm the Saying-Is-Believing effect as a social phenomenon. Namely, across all our experiment groups, message valence affected recall valence. Thus, people adapted their messages to the receiver of their message, and what they chose to write in their initial messages, i.e. the message valence, seems to have affected their memories, i.e. the recall valence, causing a memory modification effect. However, further analysis of the Saying-Is-Believing effect within the different experiment groups reveals interesting and unanticipated findings.

A control group was included in this study, where people communicated with both female and male receivers, in order to establish normal state when it comes to gender discrimination. The control group results reveal that the Saying-Is-Believing effect is present, but only marginal, among people in the control group, who received neutral stimuli. Further analysis of the control group shows that this marginal significance is derived from a strong significance for female senders communicating with female receivers. Thus, in normal state where people are primed with neutral stimuli, the Saying-Is-Believing effect is most salient among the female in-group, which, in line with Echterhoff et al. (2005), is an indication of an in-group bias.

Due to a relatively small sample size ( $\mathrm{N}=20$ ), we cannot conclude that the lack of statistically significant results of a Saying-Is-Believing effect for male receivers implies that people discriminate against men, nor that men discriminate against female receivers as an out-group effect $(\mathrm{N}=9)$. However, low R square values in both cases
indicate that the recall valence is not explained by the message valence, which can be interpreted as a lack of Saying-Is-Believing effect.

Hence, we fail to confirm the results in Hedberg (2012) where a statistically significant Saying-Is-Believing effect is found only for male receivers and not for female receivers. Our first hypothesis $(\mathrm{H} 1)$ is thus rejected. If anything, our study shows a baseline of (i) a strong in-group effect among women, (ii) discriminatory tendencies by male senders against female receivers, and (iii) discriminatory tendencies against male receivers.

In the light of the study by Echterhoff et al. (2005), the strong female in-group effect means that females in our sample perceived the female receiver to possess necessary qualities for the biased, or tuned, message to be considered reliable and valid to a larger extent than the male receiver. In line with Echterhoff et al. (2005), this proves that people are more prone to establish a shared reality with in-group members, and it furthermore strengthens the argument that a Saying-Is-Believing effect requires a shared reality between the communicators. However, analysing the female in-group effect solely in terms of shared reality seems to be too simplifying. Especially in the view of how the study by Azadi and Torstensson (2013) only found the same in-group effect after exposing people to images of non-objectified women.

Thus, a Saying-Is-Believing effect seems not to be automatically generated within an ingroup. While female senders in our study show a steady willingness to establish a shared reality with their in-group members, the female senders in the study by Azadi and Torstensson (2013) showed willingness to do the same only after being exposed to images non-objectified women.

Speculating around the reasons behind this finding, we want to explore the environmental context of this study and its potential role in explaining the strong ingroup effect among women in normal state. As presented in section 3.4, our study was conducted on high school students in the inner city of Stockholm, Sweden, aged between 16 and 19. The purpose of this sample choice was to generate comparable results with the studies by Hedberg (2012) and Azadi and Torstensson (2013), but also
because younger people are less likely to have been exposed to gender discriminatory norms. Any outcome could thus be deemed as structural issues (Hedberg, 2012).

The participating high schools are characterized as high achieving study environments, with a majority of the students being female, although this was not an intentional choice. This is well represented in our sample, where $61 \%$ of the subjects were female. This is also the case for the faculty, where 100\% of the teachers we encountered during the experiments were female. Lastly, it is also worth noting that we, as experimenters in authoritarian positions, are both female. Hence, the experimental environment can be described as a female-dominated context, in which the students have high exposure to authoritarian and ambitious females.

Having said that, we reflect upon the possibility that the strong, baseline, female ingroup effect in our study could be explained by the females' frequent encounters with counter-stereotypical women, which according to Dasgupta and Ansgari (2003) makes them endorse a less stereotypical image of women in general. In line with Eagly and Steffen's (1984) definition of social role theory, stereotypes reflect people's observations of what they see others doing in their daily life. Then, by repeatedly seeing females in a high-achieving study environment, people change their perceptions of the female stereotype and what it entails, at least in this specific environment. This supports previous research that has found exposure to female counter-stereotypes to reduce bias against women in general (Diekman \& Eagly, 2000; Dasgupta \& Asgari, 2003; Elsesser \& Lever, 2011). Although manifested in different ways, the essence of this field of research seems to point to the dynamic abilities of the female stereotype, and the undergoing changes that it is experiencing, as society and the social roles changes.

In this view, we suggest that the environmental context of our study is more femaledominated compared to e.g. the study by Azadi and Torstensson (2013), which leads to differences in the amount of exposure to counter-stereotypical women in the subjects' daily lives, and how much they perceive the female receiver as a reliable and trustworthy source of knowledge in public world topics.

The second major difference between this study and previous research is that the Saying-Is-Believing effect for male receivers in both Hedberg (2012) and Azadi and Torstensson (2013) has not been confirmed in our study. Instead, experiment results consistently show lower R square values for our regressions when applied on male receivers, meaning that our model has low explanatory power for our data on male receivers. Simply, other factors than message valence better explains recall valence for senders who communicate with men. Although the sample is too small to draw any conclusions upon, this points to people (both men and women) showcasing a somewhat varying extent of trust towards men, which in turn affects people's willingness to allow men to cause a memory modification. In other words, the traditionally assumed belief that men constitute a source of epistemic knowledge in public word topics is not as self-evident anymore, and should no longer be taken for granted. In contrast to the view of Eagly et al. (2000), the public world does not seem to be more associated with men, at least not for our sample.

Notably, similar to the findings in Azadi and Torstensson (2013), we do not find any Saying-Is-Believing effect for male senders communicating with female receivers in our control group, which confirms male sender's discriminatory behaviour against women. Although based on a small sample, this demonstrates the inability of out-group members to establish a shared reality with in-group members as suggested by Echterhoff et al. (2005), despite the female-dominated environment, and further supports the importance of investigating perspective-taking as an intergroup method to counteract this gender discrimination.

### 5.2 PERSPECTIVE-TAKING AS AN ENHANCING FACTOR

Intergroup contact theory, and especially perspective-taking as a non-discriminatory tool, is a well-established method for reducing prejudice and intergroup conflict (see e.g. Pettigrew et al., 2011). However, in our study, results show that perspective-taking does not have any impact on recall valence, neither direct nor through message valence. A positive tendency can be seen, but people who are encouraged to take the perspective of the depicted women do not show a stronger Saying-Is-Believing effect compared to those who have remained objective, at a statistically significant level.

Examining perspective-taking only as an intergroup treatment, i.e. for male senders communicating with female receivers, also shows a positive tendency but still not at a statistically significant level. This same positive tendency is also seen when applying perspective-taking as an in-group treatment, i.e. female senders communicating with female receivers. These positive tendencies are however not statistically significant and our second hypothesis $(\mathrm{H} 2)$ is therefore rejected. Perspective-taking does not significantly affect recall valence through an interaction effect with message valence, neither for male senders nor for the female senders.

With these results in hand we open up to the possibility that genders are not afflicted by intergroup conflict to the same extent as other kinds of social groups, where this method has been proven effective. Therefore, the lack of statistically significant results of perspective-taking as a mediating variable in this Saying-Is-Believing experiment might indicate that the mediating mechanisms of reduced prejudice as defined by Pettigrew and Tropp (2008); knowledge of the out-group, anxiety reduction, and empathy, already exist among people in our sample. As addressed above, the experiments have been conducted in a female-dominated environment, which should imply plenty of opportunities to engage in intergroup contact between genders. This, together with the fact that both women and men evaluate women more favourably than men (Eagly et al., 1991), explains how there could already be high knowledge, no or low levels of anxiety, and high levels of empathy towards women in this sample.

However, the stimuli of perspective-taking in this study is externalized through perspective-taking instructions in the beginning of the experiment. While this is a proven stimuli in earlier studies (e.g. Vescio et al., 2003), only perspective-taking instructions is no guarantee that (i) the stimuli groups have actually taken more perspective compared to the control group, and that (ii) this has any substantial effect on the stimuli group's attitudes. Thus, a more interesting discussion would also include the variable of empathy as an indicator of the extent of perspective-taking among the experiment subjects. Empathy, as defined by Batson et al., (1997), is an other-focused emotion congruent with other people's perceived well-being, and thus constitute a fair measure of perspective-taking (Pettigrew et al., 2011). As presented in section 4.3, only including
those with high self-reported empathy level (i.e. empathy $\geq 4$ ) shows a statistically significant interaction effect for perspective-taking's effect on recall valence. Simply, there is a positive effect of perspective-taking on message valence, and in turn on recall valence, when comparing the people that have remained objective (i.e. the control group) with people that have been instructed to take perspective and that report high empathy levels.

Interestingly, we also notice that perspective-taking has a statistically significant interaction effect on recall valence for people who are middle children in their families. A high $R$ square value indicates a high explanatory power in the regression for this group of experiment subjects. Thus, middle children seem to be more receptive to perspective-taking instructions, and it also has a relatively larger impact on them. Although not recognized in the theoretical framework, this leads us to review birth order psychology, which have claimed that middle children are raised to be understanding and conciliatory. On a speculative note, the way that middle children are raised seem to make them register the perspective-taking instructions to a higher extent than others.

Concluding, this means that perspective-taking lacks effect as an intergroup method to counteract discrimination against female receivers, and as an in-group method to enhance the Saying-Is-Believing effect for female receivers. Simply, we do not detect any statistically significant difference in the Saying-Is-Believing effect when comparing people who have been instructed to take perspective with those who did not receive this treatment. Nonetheless, perspective-taking is effective when we deviate from any separation of genders, to look at the people in our stimuli groups who have reported high levels of empathy following the perspective-taking instructions. This finding emphasizes the importance of perspective-taking as an empathy-arousing method, rather as a plain instruction.

### 5.3 DISCONFIRMING COMPETENCE AS AN EXPLANATORY FACTOR

Our manipulation checks from Experiment part 1 serve to confirm that the traditional gender roles and their associated stereotypes still prevail in today's society. When exposed to a woman in a traditional homemaker role, people associate this woman with
personality traits representative for the female stereotype to a larger extent than with traits characteristic for the male stereotype. In contrast, a woman depicted in a counterstereotypical breadwinner role is ascribed personality traits commonly associated with the male stereotype to a larger extent than female stereotypical traits. Also, in line with previous research (Lockheed and Hall, 1976; Meeker and Weitzel-O’Neill, 1977, Chiao et al., 2008), the manipulation checks reveal that the women depicted in a stereotypically feminine way is associated with a lower perceived competence level compared to the women depicted in a counter-stereotypically, more traditionally masculine, way. In short, this means that there is still a belief that (i) different social roles require differing personality traits, (ii) the personality traits appropriate for a stereotypical homemaker role are feminine while a counter-stereotypical breadwinner role is more associated with the masculine personality traits, and (iii) the female stereotype is linked with a lower perceived competence level in comparison to the male stereotype.

In contrast to assumptions made in previous research (e.g. Hedberg, 2012), the variable of competence, here manifested through stereotypicality, cannot be established as a mediating variable in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm. In other words, exposing people to counter-stereotypical women (who were perceived as more competent) did not show a statistically significant positive effect as hypothesized. Perceived competence can thus be disconfirmed as a mediating variable in this Saying-Is-Believing experiment, and we reject our third hypothesis (H3).

This finding can also be interpreted in the light of Diekman and Eagly (2000), and the notion of the female stereotype as a dynamic concept. Namely, we find that the counter-stereotypical women are not only perceived to possess traditionally masculine traits to a higher extent compared to the stereotypical women, but that this increase takes place on the expense of female traits (see Table 4). This trade-off demonstrates the so-called double bind phenomenon (as explained by Eagly \& Carli, 2008; Eagly \& Karau, 2002; Rudman \& Glick, 2001), in which women who adopt a more masculine approach to gain public world authority, become evaluated less positively in other, more traditionally feminine areas. On a speculative note, this phenomenon might explain the lack of any effect for people being exposed to stereotypical and counter-stereotypical
women in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm, with the first being considered less competent and the latter being considered less sympathetic, which cancels out any differences in people's willingness to allow them to influence their worldview.

Interestingly, we see a discriminatory tendency amongst male senders against the counter-stereotypical women. Although not statistically significant, it seems like exposure to counter-stereotypical women (in comparison to stereotypical women) instigate a negative Saying-Is-Believing effect, despite them being considered more competent, which could be interpreted as a manifestation of the above-mentioned double-bind phenomena. The opposite tendency is observed among female senders, who showed a tendency to exhibit a stronger Saying-Is-Believing effect when exposed to counter-stereotypical women. This tendency gives further support to our previous discussion around the in-group bias experienced by the female senders in the femaledominated environment of this study.

## 6. CONCLUDING DISCUSSIONS

This concluding chapter includes a discussion on our study results and their implications for both marketers and society at large, as well as reflections from a selfcritical perspective. Finally, we present suggestions for further research that we consider worth investigating.

### 6.1 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis is two-fold. Firstly, it sets out to investigate perspectivetaking's effect on discrimination against women by linking empathy with nondiscriminatory behaviour (RQ1). Secondly, it examines perceived competence level's impact on discrimination against women (RQ2). Our two research questions are investigated in experiments that are based upon the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm, where discrimination is manifested through message valence's lack of effect on recall valence.

Interestingly, we failed to replicate the findings from Hedberg (2012) and Azadi and Torstensson (2013), which revealed that people (i.e. women and men) discriminate against women in interpersonal communication about public world topics. Instead, we find a strong Saying-Is-Believing in-group effect among females, meaning that women in our sample perceive women as a reliable source of epistemic knowledge in topics related to the public world. In contrast, men in our control group sample still show a tendency of discriminatory behaviour against women, in that they do not seem to allow women to influence their recall on public world related topics.

In studying our first research question (RQ1), we find that perspective-taking does not cause a Saying-Is-Believing effect, neither for male nor female senders. This means that perspective-taking has no effect as a method to counteract men's discrimination against women, nor that it is a factor that enhances the already existing Saying-IsBelieving effect for females. However, disregarding any gender separation, our experiment results show that perspective-taking interacts with message valence to
cause recall valence for people with high self-reported empathy levels. Simply, people who are instructed to take the perspective of women, through reading self-disclosing articles and looking at images of them, and who also claim to feel empathic towards them, exhibit a stronger Saying-Is-Believing effect than people who remain objective. This highlights the importance of perspective-taking's ability to arouse empathy, which in turn seems to make people more willing to allow women to influence their memory on public world topics.

In the process of investigating our second research question (RQ2), we find that the traditional gender roles are still endorsed by people in our sample. Namely, a stereotypically depicted woman in a homemaker role is ascribed feminine traits and lower perceived competence, while a counter-stereotypically depicted woman in a breadwinner role is ascribed masculine traits and higher perceived competence. Having said that, we do not find that exposing people to counter-stereotypical (i.e. more competent) women causes a Saying-Is-Believing effect. This implies that there is no difference in willingness to allow women to influence their memory on public world topics between people who have been exposed to counter-stereotypical, and thus more competently perceived, women, and those who have been exposed to stereotypical women. Hence, we conclude that competence, as measured here, does not have any impact on discrimination against women.

### 6.2 GENERAL DISCUSSION

The choice of thesis subject originates in both authors' interest in studying the underlying mechanisms behind structural gender discrimination. This interest stems from an increasingly intense debate in today's society, in which the aim of counteracting gender discrimination now lies in the interest of many actors other than only those being discriminated against. Thus, the main motivation behind this thesis has been to investigate if and how structural gender discrimination can be counteracted.

Further on, discrimination in interpersonal communication was found to be an interesting way of exploring a largely subconscious form of gender discrimination that cannot be legislated against, nor consciously controlled. The importance of
interpersonal communication lies in the fact that it is a social act, influencing not only people's action, but also how people perceive the world. Discrimination in interpersonal communication thus arises when people (subconsciously) prevent a particular social group from influencing their understanding of the world. Although subtle, this form of discrimination has far-reaching consequences in that these social groups are gradually excluded from the on-going processes of constructing the social reality we live in. The opinions of these social groups end up being unrepresented in the social beliefs and institutions that are continuously collectively produced and re-produced.

The point of departure for this study was to counteract the previously confirmed gender discrimination in interpersonal communication against women. Surprisingly, our sample did not only show a strong female-to-female Saying-Is-Believing effect, but also a discriminatory tendency against men. This is a new finding compared to earlier studies, and we can only speculate around the reason for this. For example, Diekman and Eagly (2000) stated that the male stereotype is less dynamic in the way that it is not moving towards the female stereotype, while the female stereotype increasingly encompasses a wider range of traits to include both stereotypically female and male characteristics. This may lead people to perceive women as being more multi-facetted, whereas men are perceived as more one-dimensional. Following the on-going discussion on modern and efficient leadership, it is hard to ignore the increasing emphasis on relationships and "people-skills". The desired personality traits of a leader today are no longer exclusively the stereotypical male traits of dominance, assertiveness and competiveness. Instead, an increasing focus lay on people's ability to handle relationships (e.g. Cohn, 2014), which corresponds better with the traditionally feminine personality. The movement of women towards a stereotype that encompasses both traditionally male traits and female traits might then lead to women being considered a more reliable source of epistemic knowledge in the modern society, compared to men.

Meanwhile, our study results show a strong Saying-Is-Believing effect for male senders communicating with female receivers in our stimuli groups. As a matter of fact, except for the male senders in our control group, the Saying-Is-Believing effect is present throughout the study for female receivers, meaning that people consider women as a
reliable source of epistemic knowledge. Although perspective-taking has been dismissed as an explanatory factor for this difference between male senders in our control and stimuli groups, some other aspect of the stimuli has had an effect on the male senders, which however lies outside the scope of this thesis to study.

These results do not imply that gender discrimination against women should not be researched anymore. On the contrary, it stresses the importance of exploring the environmental context's role in gender discrimination, which we have argued as an explanatory factor for our study results. Thus, we open up for the possibility of finding other results when studying samples in other age groups, nationalities, and environments.

Our findings related to perspective-taking are of great interest in several aspects. Firstly, it means that people who exhibit high levels of empathy, as an implication of perspective-taking, are more prone to allow women to influence their worldview. If structural discrimination of women means that they are denied being part of shared reality establishment, it seems like perspective-taking and increased empathy might be a means to counteract this structural discrimination through instigating a self-other overlap between the sender and the receiver. Our results indicate that empathyarousing perspective-taking leads to increased reliance and thus facilitates shared reality establishment, which is a prerequisite for the Saying-Is-Believing effect. Secondly, it seems to be a generalizable method, since perspective-taking, through high selfreported empathy, with a few specific women (in Experiment part 1) affected the trustworthiness of another, unknown, woman (in Experiment part 2). This supports, and further strengthens, previous studies by Pettigrew et al. (2011) that claimed the positive effects of intergroup contact being generalizable beyond the immediate out-group members in a specific situation, to other situations and the whole out-group. Lastly, we argue that perspective-taking is not only applicable on intergroup relationships, but also on in-group relationships, based on the fact that we see an effect of perspective-taking for people with high self-reported empathy levels, which includes both women and men.

Lastly, our results show that the traditional gender roles still prevail. We open up for the possibility that gender roles still exist in society, but that female-dominated contexts mitigate the harm caused by prevailing gender roles and stereotypes, at least for females. For males on the other hand, we found a tendency that male senders let their message influence their recall to a lower degree, when having been exposed to counter-stereotypical women. This tendency was not statistically significant, but indicates the potential prevalence of the so-called double bind among the male senders, where women adopting masculine traits to be accepted in the public world, are "punished" for this by being liked less in other, more feminine areas.

This would explain (i) why our sample confirmed the existing gender roles in our experiments, (ii) why there is no discrimination against women by females in our population, and (iii) why there is still (presumed) discrimination in other parts of the public world, e.g. boards and top-level management, which still, to a large extent, are male-dominated contexts.

As a matter of fact, Sweden, although ranked as one of the world's most gender-equal countries, seems to be lagging behind in terms of gender equality in the public world. Women constitute an astonishingly small minority in leading positions in Sweden (Schumpeter, 2014). Our study highlights the importance of environmental factors, and strong, female role models as a potential key to change. In the light of perspectivetaking, it is intuitively impossible to take the perspective of, understand, or identify oneself with someone that one cannot see. Hence, it is of great importance that women, and female role models, are allowed to be more visible in society. This conclusion is not only relevant for Sweden, but for all societies striving to achieve a more gender equal state.

### 6.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR MARKETERS AND SOCIETY AT LARGE

In this study we found that perspective-taking, through high self-reported empathy, mediated the Saying-Is-Believing effect for both genders. According to Pettigrew et al. (2011), even indirect contact reduces prejudice, such as vicarious contact through mass media. This thus emphasizes the importance of media, and other forms of
representations of women, to make room for self-disclosing, empathy arousing, portrayals, to facilitate evoking feelings of empathy, especially in men.

In line with this, we also emphasize the importance of allowing women to occupy more space in the public world in order to become more visible, as our study has shown the potential importance of being exposed to women in authoritarian positions. On a practical level, this means that more female role models need to be visible for the public in general, which could for example be achieved by imposing quotas, thereby promoting women into higher positions, board rooms, and male-dominated contexts in general.

Last but definitely not least, there are critical implications regarding the female stereotype. Although oftentimes assumed, we have proved that people perceive women who are depicted in line with the feminine stereotype as less competent, compared to women who are represented consistent with a male stereotype. For marketers and media, this should serve as a reminder of the importance of refraining from representing competent women in a stereotypically feminine way, in both text and imagery, by e.g. focusing on clothing, appearance and family situations, since this may undermine their competence. In effect of this, media and marketers also bear a great responsibility in increasing women's perceived competence level by presenting women's stereotypically male traits to a higher extent, to give a fair representation of the modern woman.

### 6.4 CRITICAL REFLECTIONS

The scope of this study is limited due to time and resource limitations. To start with, there are many ways in how one can study gender discrimination, whereof the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm relates to discrimination in interpersonal communication. This experimental research design was chosen to build upon previous studies by Hedberg (2012) and Azadi and Torstensson (2013), which both revealed discrimination against women, but did not investigate the underlying reasons for this discriminatory behaviour. Thus, the starting point of this thesis was to stay close to the aforementioned studies in order to generate comparable results.

The Saying-Is-Believing paradigm as introduced by Higgins and Rholes (1978) highlights an important social action, but a few issues should be addressed when using it. First, there is a risk that our subjects saw through the experiment, not by guessing the actual purpose of the study, but rather that they doubted the existence of a receiver. Second, the first part of the study, i.e. Experiment part 1, might have made some realize that the study was centred on the topic of gender. However, as explained in section 4.2, control questions ensure that people did not comprehend that Experiment part 1 and 2 were related to each other, and this should therefore not have influenced our study to a significant extent.

Another concern with the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm is its rather subjective nature of coding people's written messages. Although a coding template has been used to ensure consistency across subjects, the template itself is subjectively created; e.g. a word or sentence might be considered neutral for an adult, but perceived as positively charged for a high school student. However, the importance in the coding process lies in being consistent for each participant, in order to deduce the correlation between message and recall valence for each participant.

Although the aim of this thesis has been to strive for external validity in the findings, some natural limitations exist due to (i) our choice of sample and (ii) the sample size. As discussed already in section 3.8.2, high school students in the age of 16-19 in the inner city of Stockholm is a specific context that does not reflect the entire population. Above all, it is characterized as a particularly female-dominated environment, in which females are the ones who distinguishes themselves as the majority and prevailing norm. Adding to this is the fact that we, as experimenters, are two females in authoritarian positions. These are indications that a different population, or different experimenters, could generate different study results. As already argued, this sample choice was chosen to generate comparable findings with earlier studies, and that younger study subjects are deemed to be least likely to exhibit discriminatory behaviour. We therefore believe that our study results reveal the status of gender discrimination in the most gender equal context possible (i.e. young, Swedish subjects in a female-dominated context). Another
factor that limits the generalizability of the findings is the sample size. Although large efforts have been made to include as many experiment subjects as possible in the study, the sample size of $\mathrm{N}=110$ serves to give indications and tendencies, but is still too small to draw any definite conclusions upon.

### 6.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In an attempt to study the underlying reasons of gender discrimination in interpersonal communication against women, we failed to confirm the discriminatory behaviour among female senders towards female receivers. One of the most certain contributions of this study is thus that when it comes to gender discrimination, nothing is certain. We have argued that the environmental context plays a large role in the extent of gender discrimination against women. Thus, a natural further step in gender discrimination research is to study the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm in other contexts: in maledominated environments, within, and across, different age groups, public world contexts (e.g. working environment), and cultures. Doing this could potentially lead to greater understanding of the environment's impact on gender discrimination. Also, other contexts might be constituted of gender groups that are characterized by a higher degree of intergroup tension, and less understanding of each other, which might generate stronger effects for perspective-taking as a method to counteract gender discrimination.

Surely, more efforts are required to counteract men's discrimination against women. In this study, the sample is too small $(\mathrm{N}=9)$ in order to draw any conclusions, but in line with previous research, we see at least a tendency in this study for male's discriminatory behaviour against women. Although perspective-taking did not have any effect as an intergroup effect for male senders, it did have an effect for both male and female senders when controlled for high (self-reported) empathy levels. This suggests that perspective-taking as a method needs to not only contain instructions to take someone else's perspective, but that it is the result of perspective-taking in terms of empathy, which is worth investigating.

Finally, we cannot completely rule out competence as a mediating variable in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm. In this study, we have exposed the experiment subjects to depictions of women, which they rated on perceived competence, but we have not manipulated receiver competence in a direct manner. A more straightforward method to study competence's role in the Saying-Is-Believing paradigm would be to assign different competence levels to the receiver, and we urge future studies to investigate that.

## 7. REFERENCES

## BOOKS

Allport, G. W. (1954). The nature of prejudice. Cambridge/Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
Asch, S. E. (1952). Social psychology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
Björkqvist, K. (2012). Introduktion till vetenskapsteori och forskningsmetodik för beteendevetenskaper. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Brown, R. (1995). Prejudice: Its social psychology. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
Bryman, A. \& Bell, E. (2011). Business Research Methods, 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Denscombe, M. (2004). Forskningens Grundregler: Samhällsforskarens handbok i tio punkter. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Greenglass, E. R. (1982). A world of difference: Gender roles in perspective. Toronto: Wiley.
Malhotra, N. K. (2010). Marketing Research: An Applied Orientation, 6th edition. Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall International.

Malhotra, N. K. \& Birks, D. F. (2007). Marketing Research: An Applied Approach, 7th edition. Harlow: Prentice-Hall Financial Times.

Matlin, M. W. (1987). The Psychology of Women. New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston.
Patel, R. \& Davidson, B. (2010). Forskningsmetodikens grunder: Att planera, genomföra och rapportera en undersökning. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Sherif, M. (1936). The psychology of social norms. Oxford, England: Harper.
Söderlund, M. (2005). Mätningar och mått. Malmö: Liber.
Söderlund, M. (2010). Experiment med människor. Malmö: Liber.

## JOURNALS \& PUBLICATIONS

Aberson, C. L. \& Haag, S. C. (2007). Contact, perspective taking, and anxiety as predictors of stereotype endorsement, explicit attitudes, and implicit attitudes. Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, Vol. 10, pp. 179-201.

Azadi, A. \& Torstensson, E. (2013). Marketing equality: Counteracting structural gender discrimination using non-objectifying portrayals of women. Bachelor Thesis in Marketing, Stockholm School of Economics, Department of Marketing and Strategy.

Batson, D. C., Polycarpou, M. P., Harmon-Jones, E., Imhoff, H. J., Mitchener, E. C., Bednar, L. L., Klein, T. R., \& Highberger, L. (1997). Empathy and attitudes: Can feeling for a member of a stigmatized group improve feelings toward the group? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 72(1), pp. 105-118.

Batson, D. C, \& Shaw, L. L. (1991). Evidence for altruism: Toward a pluralism of prosocial motives. Psychological Inquiry, Vol. 2(2), pp. 107-122.

Blascovich, J., Berry Mendes, W., Hunter, S. B., Lickel, B. \& Kowai-Bell, N. (2001). Perceiver threat in social interactions with stigmatized others. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 80(2), pp. 253-267.

Bowles, H. R., Babcock, L. \& Lai, L. (2007). Social incentives for gender differences in the propensity to initiate negotiations: Sometimes it does hurt to ask. Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, Vol. 103(1), pp. 84-103.

Broverman, I. K., Vogel, S. R., Broverman, D. M., Clarkson, F. E., \& Rosenkrantz, P. S. (1972). Sex-role stereotypes: A current appraisal. Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 28(2), pp. 59-78.

Carli, L. (1990). Gender, language, and influence. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 39(3), pp. 941-951.

Caspi, A. (1984). Contact hypothesis and inter-age attitudes: A field study of cross-age contact. Social Psychology Quarterly, pp. 74-80.

Chiao, J. Y., Bowman, N. E., \& Gill, H. (2008). The political gender gap: Gender bias in facial inferences that predict voting behavior. PLoS ONE, Vol. 3(10).

Coke, J. S., Batson, D. C. \& McDavis, K. (1978). Empathic mediation of helping: A two-stage model. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 36(7), pp. 752-766.

Coltrane, S. \& Adams, M. (1997). Work-family imagery and gender stereotypes: Television and the reproduction of difference. Journal of Vocational behaviour, Vol. 50, pp. 323-347.

Cejka, M. A. \& Eagly, A. H. (1999). Gender-stereotypic images of occupations correspond to the sex segregation of employment. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, Vol. 25, pp. 413-423.

Dasgupta, N. \& Asgari, S. (2004). Seeing is believing: Exposure to counterstereotypic women leaders and its effect on the malleability of automatic gender stereotyping. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 40, pp. 642-658.

Der-Karabetian, A. \& Smith, A. J. (1977). Sex-role stereotyping in the United States: Is it changing? Sex Roles, Vol. 3, pp. 193-198.

Diekman, A. B. \& Eagly, A. H. (2000). Stereotypes as dynamic constructs: Women and men of the past, present, and future. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, Vol. 26(10), pp. 11711188.

Dovidio, J. F., ten Vergert, M., Stewart, T. L., Gaertner, S. L., Johnson, J. D., Esses, V. M.,

Riek, B. M. \& Pearson, A. R. (2004). Perspective and prejudice: Antecedents and mediating mechanisms. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, Vol. 30(12), pp. 1537-1549.

Eagly, A. H. (1987). The analysis of sex differences in social behavior: A new theory and a new method; In: Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Eagly, A. H. \& Carli, L. L. (2007). Women and the labyrinth of leadership. Harvard Business Review. September 2007.

Eagly, A. H. \& Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. Psychological Review, Vol. 109(3), pp. 573-598.

Eagly, A. H. \& Mladinic, A. (1994). Are people prejudiced against women? Some answers from research on attitudes, gender stereotypes, and judgments of competence. European Review of Social Psychology, Vol. 5(1), pp. 1-35.

Eagly, A. H., Mladinic, A. \& Otto, S. (1991). Are women evaluated more favorably than men? An analysis of attitudes, beliefs, and emotions. Psychology of Women Quarterly, Vol. 15, pp. 203216.

Eagly, A. H. \& Steffen, V. J. (1984). Gender stereotypes stem from the distribution of women and men into social roles. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 46, pp. 735-754.

Eagly, A. H. \& Steffen, V. J. (1986). Gender stereotypes, occupational roles, and beliefs about part-time employees. Psychology of Women Quarterly, Vol. 10, pp. 252-262.

Eagly, A. H., Wood, W. \& Diekman, A. B. (2000). Social role theory of sex differences and similarities: A current appraisal; In: The developmental social psychology of gender. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Eagly, A. H. \& Wood, W. (1991). Explaining sex differences in social behavior: A meta-analytic perspective. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association.

Echterhoff, G., Higgins, T. E. \& Groll, S. (2005). Audience-tuning effects on memory: The role of shared reality. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 89(3), pp. 257-276.

Elsesser, K. M. \& Lever, J. (2011). Does gender bias against female leaders persist?
Quantitative and qualitative data from a large-scale survey. Human Relations, Vol. 64(12), pp. 1555-1578.

Ensari, N. \& Miller, N. (2002). The out-group must not be so bad after all: The effects of disclosure, typicality, and salience on intergroup bias. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol 83(2), pp. 313-329.

Festinger, L. (1950). Informal Social Communication. Psychological Review, Vol. 57, pp. 271282.

French, El. \& Lesser, G. S. (1964). Some characteristics of the achievement motive in women. The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 68(2), pp. 119-128.

Galinsky, A. D., Ku, G. \& Wang, C. S. (2005). Perspective-taking and self-other overlap: Fostering social bonds and facilitating social coordination. Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, Vol. 8(2), pp. 109-124.

Galinsky, A. D. \& Moskowitz, G. B. (2000). Perspective-taking: Decreasing stereotype expression, stereotype accessibility, and in-group favoritism. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 78(4), pp. 708-724.

Goldberg, P. (1968). Are women prejudiced against women? In: Trans-action, Vol. 5(5), pp.2830.

Good, J. J., Woodzicka, J. A. \& Wingfield, L. C. (2010). The effects of gender stereotypic and counter-stereotypic textbook images on science performance. The Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 150(2), pp. 132-147.

Graham, J. W. (2009). Missing data analysis: Making it work in the real world. Annual Review of Psychology, Vol. 60, pp. 549-576.

Hayghe, H. (1990). Family members in the work force. Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 113(3), pp.14-19.

Hedberg. P. H. (2012). Negative Discrimination by Memory Trace: Biased Recall and Liking of Conversation Topics after Communication with Females vs Males. In: Hedberg, P. H. (ed.), Interpersonal Society: Essays on shared beliefs, trust, mnemonic oppression, distributive fairness, and value creation. Stockholm, Stockholm School of Economics.

Heflick N. A. \& Goldenberg, J. L. (2009). Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence that objectification causes women to be perceived as less competent and less fully human. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 45, pp. 598-601.

Heflick, N. A., Goldenberg, J. L., Cooper, D. P. \& Puvia, E. (2011). From women to objects: Appearance focus, target gender, and perceptions of warmth, morality and competence. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Vol, 47, pp. 572-581.

Hewstone, M. \& Swart, H. (2011). Fifty-odd years of inter-group contact: From hypothesis to integrated theory. British Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 50(3), pp. 374-386.
Higgins, E. T. \& Rholes, W. S. (1978). "Saying is believing": Effects of message modification on memory and liking for the person described. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 14, pp. 363-378.

Higgins, E. T. (1992). Achieving "shared reality" in the communication game: A social action that creates meaning. Journal of Language and Social Psychology, Vol. 11, pp. 107-131.

Jackman, M. R., \& Senter, M. S. (1983). Different, therefore unequal: Beliefs about trait differences between groups of unequal status. Research in Social Stratification and Mobility, Vol. 2, pp. 309-335.

Jost, J. T. (1997). An experimental replication of the depressed entitlement effect among women. Psychology of Women Quarterly, Vol. 21, pp. 387-393.

Jost, J. T. \& Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. British Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 33, pp. 1-27.

Jost, J. T., Banaji, M. R. \& Nosek, B. A. (2004). A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo. Political Psychology, Vol. 25(6).

Jost, J. T. \& Kay, A. C. (2005). Exposure to benevolent sexism and complementary gender stereotypes: Consequences for specific and diffuse forms of system justification. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 88(3), pp. 498-509.

Krauss, R. M. \& Fussell, S. R. (1991). Perspective-taking in communication: Representations of others' knowledge in reference. Social Cognition, Vol. 9(1), pp. 2-24.

Lockheed, M. E., \& Hall, K. R. (1976). Conceptualizing sex as a status characteristic: Applications to leadership training strategies. Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 32, pp. 111-124.

Manis, M., Cornell, S. D., \& Moore, J. C. (1974). Transmission of attitude-relevant information through a communication chain. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 30, pp. 8194.

McGarty, C., Yzerbyt, V. Y. \& Spears, Russel. (2002). Social, cultural and cognitive factors in stereotype formation. In: Stereotypes as explanations: The formation of meaningful beliefs about social groups, pp. 1-15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meeker, B. F. \& Weitzel-O'Neill, P. A. (1977). Sex role and interpersonal behavior in taskoriented groups. American Sociological Review, Vol. 42, pp. 91-105.

Nosek, B. A., Greenwald, A. G. \& Banaji, M. R. (2002). Harvesting implicit group attitudes and beliefs from a demonstration web site. Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice, Vol. 6(1), pp. 101-115.

Page-Gould, E., Mendoza-Denton, R. \& Tropp, L. R. (2008). With a little help from my crossgroup friend: reducing anxiety in intergroup contexts through cross-group friendship. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 95(5), pp. 1080-1094.

Palmer, M. T. (1995). Interpersonal communication and virtual reality: Mediating interpersonal relationships. In: Communication in the age of Virtual Reality, pp. 277-302. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers.

Pelham, B. W. \& Hetts, J. J. (2001). Under worked and over paid: Elevated entitlement in men's self- pay. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 37, pp. 93-103.

Perrett, D. I., Lee, K. J., Penton-Voak, I., Rowland, D., Yoshikawa, S., Burt, D. M., Henzi, S. P., Castles, D. L. \& Akamatsu, S. (1998). Effects of sexual dimorphism on facial attractiveness. Nature, Vol. 394(6696), pp. 884-887.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1997). Generalized intergroup contact effects on prejudice. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, Vol. 23, pp. 173-185.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. Annual Review of Psychology, Vol. 49 (1), pp. 65-85.

Pettigrew, T. F. \& Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 90(5), pp. 751-783.

Pettigrew, T. F. \& Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Metaanalytic tests of three mediators. European Journal of Social Psychology European Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 38, pp. 922-934.

Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U. \& Christ, O. (2011). Recent advances in intergroup contact theory. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, Vol. 35, pp. 271-280.

Richeson, J. A. \& Ambady, N. (2001). Who's in charge? Effects of situational roles on automatic gender bias. Sex Roles: A Journal of Research, Vol. 44(9-10), pp. 493-512.

Rosenkrantz, P. S., Vogel, S. R., Bee, H., Broverman, I. K. \& Broverman, D. M. (1968). Sex role stereotypes and self-concepts in college students. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, Vol. 32, pp. 287-295.

Rothbart, M. \& John, O. P. (1985). Social categorization and behavioral episodes: A cognitive analysis of the effects of intergroup contact. Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 41(3), pp. 81-104.

Ruble, D. N. \& Ruble, T. L. (1982). Sex stereotypes. In Miller, A. G. (Eds.), In the eye of the beholder: contemporary issues in stereotyping. New York: Praeger.

Rudman, L. A. \& Glick, P. (2001). Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women. Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 57(4), pp. 743-762.

SCB. (2014). Statistisk årsbok för Sverige 2014. Statistiska Centralbyrån. Stockholm.
Schein, V. E. (1975). Relationships between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics among female managers. Journal of Applied Psychology, Vol. 60(3), pp. 340344.

Shah, J. Y., Kruglanski, A. W. \& Thompson, E. P. (1998). Membership has its (epistemic) rewards: Need for closure effects on in-group bias. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 75(2), pp. 383-393.

Sherriffs, A. C. \& McKee, J. P. (1957). Qualitative aspects of beliefs about men and women. Journal of Personality, Vol. 25(4), pp. 451-464.

Silvern, L. E. \& Ryan, V. L. (1983). A re examination of masculine and feminine sex-role ideals and conflicts among ideals for the man, woman and person. Sex Roles, Vol. 9, pp. 1223-1248.

Stroebe, W. \& Insko, C. A. (1989). Stereotype, prejudice and discrimination: Changing perceptions in theory and research In D. Bar-Tal, C. F. Graumann, A. W. Kruglanski, \& W. Stroebe (Eds), Stereotyping and Prejudice: Changing conceptions (pp. 3-34). New York: Springer-Verlag.

Tajfel, H. (1970). Experiments in intergroup discrimination. Scientific American, pp. 96-102.
Tausch, N. \& Hewstone, M. (2010). Intergroup contact and prejudice. In: J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, \& V. M. Esses (Eds.), The Sage handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination (pp. 544-560). Newburg Park, CA: Sage.

Turner, R. N., Hewstone, M. \& Voci, A. (2007). Reducing explicit and implicit outgroup prejudice via direct and extended contact: The mediating role of self-disclosure and intergroup anxiety. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 93(3), pp. 369-388

Vescio, T. K., Sechrist, G. B. \& Paolucci, M. P. (2003). Perspective taking and prejudice reduction: the mediational role of empathy arousal and situational attributions. European Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 33, pp. 455-472.

Vonofakou, C., Hewstone, M., \& Voci, A. (2007). Contact with outgroup friends as a predictor of meta-attitudinal strength and accessibility of attitudes towards gay men. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 92, pp. 804-820.

Vorauer, J. D. \& Sasaki, S. J. (2009). Helpful only in the abstract? Ironic effects of empathy in intergroup interaction. Psychological Science, Vol. 20(2), pp. 191-197.

Works, E. (1961). The prejudice-interaction hypothesis from the point of view of the negro minority group. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 67, pp. 47-52.

Yuker, H. E. \& Hurley, M. K. (1987). Contact with and attitudes toward persons with disabilities: The measurement of intergroup contact. Rehabilitation Psychology, Vol. 32(3).

## ELECTRONIC SOURCES

Burdon, J. (2014). Why Emma Watson's words to the UN on feminism weren't game changing. Huffington Post. Viewed 2014-10-20 from URL: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jessica-burdon/why-emma-watsons-words-to-the-un-on-feminism-werent-gamechanging_b_5882852.html

Cohn, J. M. (2014). Leadership qualities that matter the most. Huffington Post. Viewed 2014-11-29 from URL: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jeffrey-m-cohn/leadership-qualities-that-matter-the-most_b_4726694.html

Credit Suisse. (2014). The CS Gender 3000: Women in senior management. Credit Suisse Research Institute. Viewed 2014-11-03 from URL: https://publications.credit-
suisse.com/tasks/render/file/index.cfm?fileid=8128F3C0-99BC-22E6-838E2A5B1E4366DF
European Commission. (2012). Women on Boards: Commission proposes 40\% objective. Viewed 2014-10-06 from URL: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/newsroom/genderequality/news/121114_en.htm

Gay, R. (2014). Emma Watson? Jennifer Lawrence? These aren't the feminists you're looking for. The Guardian. Viewed 2014-10-20 from URL:
http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/oct/10/-sp-jennifer-lawrence-emma-watson-feminists-celebrity

Gino, F. (2014). Ending Gender Discrimination Requires More Than a Training Program. Harvard Business Review. Viewed 2014-11-03 from URL: https://hbr.org/2014/10/ending-gender-discrimination-requires-more-than-a-training-program/

World Economic Forum. (2014). Global Gender Gap Report 2014. Viewed 2014-10-06 from URL: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GGGR14/GGGR_CompleteReport_2014.pdf

Manjoo, F. (2014). Exposing Hidden Biases at Google. The New York Times. Viewed 2014-1103 from URL: http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/25/technology/exposing-hidden-biases-at-google-to-improve-
diversity.html?module=Search\&mabReward=relbias\%3Ar\%2C\%7B\%221\%22\%3A\%22RI\%3A6 \%22\%7D\&_r=0

PA Consulting Group. (2014). Girls Allowed: How a renewed focus on culture can break the diversity stalemate. PA Knowledge Limited. Viewed 2014-11-03 from URL: http://www.paconsulting.com/our-thinking/jmstllda-fretag-nr-bttre-resultat/

Schumpeter. (2014). A Nordic Mystery: In the world's most female-friendly workplaces, executive suites are still male-dominated. The Economist. Viewed 2014-12-01 form URL: http://www.economist.com/news/business/21632512-worlds-most-female-friendly-workplaces-executive-suites-are-still-male-dominated

UNROL. (2010). United Nations Rule Of Law: The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). Viewed 2014-11-20 from URL: http://www.unrol.org/article.aspx?article_id=16

UN Women. (n. d.) About us: About UN Women. Viewed 2014-11-20 from URL:
http://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/about-un-women

## EXPERIMENT MATERIAL

## Articles

Arogén, J. (2009). Linda Gällentoft: "Jag har massor av livskyx". LivingGreen. Viewed 2014-0406 from URL: http://livinggreen.se/intervju/intervju/2104-linda-gaellentoft-jag-har-massor-avlivslyxa

Beausang, K. (2013). Ljuvligt öliv på Koh Lipe i södra Thailand. Vagabond. Viewed 2014-04-06 from URL: http://www.vagabond.se/artiklar/resmal/20131010/ljuvligt-oliv-pa-koh-lipe-i-sodrathailand

Bergsten, F. (2013). Maria Montazami: "Är kul att vara hemmafru". Expressen. Viewed 2014.04.06 from URL: http://www.expressen.se/noje/maria-montazami-ar-kul-att-varahemmafru/

Egeland, M. (2009). Weekend i Budapest. Reseguiden. Viewed 2014-04-06 from URL: http://www.reseguiden.se/reseguider/weekend-i-budapest-518

Lundqvist, C. (2010). "Jag kan säga att jag känner mina barn utan och innan". Babyvärlden. Viewed 2014-04-06 from URL: http://www.babyvarlden.se/Nyhetsartiklar/Jag-kan-saga-att-jag-kanner-mina-barn-utan-och-innan/

Neurath, C. (2012). Prisad för sitt goda ledarskap. Svenska Dagbladet. Viewed 2014-03-31 from URL: http://www.svd.se/naringsliv/karriar/Portratt/prisad-for-sitt-godaledarskap_7782024.svd

Såthe, J. (2011). Chef har testat Stina Honkamaa. Chef. Viewed 2014-03-31 from URL: http://chef.se/chef-har-testat-stina-honkamaa/

Unknown. (2008). Alla dyrkar Ikea-Jeanette. Chef. Viewed 2014-03-31 from URL: http://chef.se/alla-dyrkar-ikea-jeanette/

Unknown. (2014). Årets 25 bästa resmål. Vagabond. Viewed 2014-04-06 from URL: http://www.vagabond.se/artiklar/resmal/20140219/arets-25-basta-resmal

## Images

Unknown (n.d.). Untitled. Viewed 2014-04-15 from URL: http://cdn.tv3.se/sites/tv3.se/files/styles/620px-article wide/public/org_321264_1200.jpg?itok=zZpixcdH

Unknown (2011). Untitled. Viewed 2014-04-06 from URL:
http://blogg.svt.se/debatt/files/MadeleineWallin_720.jpg
Unknown (n.d.). Untitled. Viewed 2014-03-31 from URL:
http://static0.therichestimages.com/wpcontent/uploads/2011/05/Cristina_Stenback.jpg
Wikström, L. (2011). Unknown. Viewed 2014-04-15 from URL:
http://img3.kuriren.nu/public/img/6055007/1123152426/mamma-linda-i-hostens-
forsta?bgcolor=
Wramén, M. (2013). Untitled. Viewed 2014-04-06 from URL: http://a.cdn-expressen.se/ImageHandler.axd?guid=2ada1fcb-0e55-4984-8e5556d3419cb933\&imageFormat=secondColumn

## APPENDIX A. LIST OF TERMINOLOGY

| Concept | Definition |
| :--- | :--- |
| Interpersonal communication | The exchange of information between two or more people <br> (Palmer, 1995). |
| Discrimination | Here: The (negative) treatment of people based on their <br> membership of a certain social group. |
| Public world | Context associated with the world away from home, i.e. at <br> work and in the public, traditionally more associated with <br> men (Eagly et al., 2000). |
| Tuning | The process of adapting communicated messages to suit <br> the receiver of the message (Higgins \& Rholes, 1978). |
| Message valence | The positive or negative emotional charge of a message. |
| Recall valence | The positive or negative emotional charge of a recalled <br> message. |
| Perspective-taking | The action of taking someone else's perspective. |
| Stereotypical woman | A woman depicted in line with the stereotypically feminine <br> personality (as defined by Cejka \& Eagly, 1999). |
| Counter-stereotypical woman | A woman depicted in line with the stereotypically masculine |
| personality (as defined by Cejka \& Eagly, 1999). |  |

## APPENDIX B. MANIPULATION CHECKS

| Stereotypical <br> characteristics | Counter- <br> stereotypical <br> characteristics | Competence <br> variables | Empathy <br> variables |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Loving | Adventurous | Competent | Understanding |
| Sympathetic | Competitive | Knowledgeable <br> within societal <br> matters | Compassionate |
| Kind | Dominant | Can handle stress | Sympathetic |
| Caring | Independent | Enterprising | Warm-hearted |
| Nice | Brave |  | Tender |
|  |  |  | Moved |

APPENDIX C. EXPERIMENT MATERIAL 1

## [FRONT PAGE - SAME FOR ALL GROUPS]

Marketing \& Media Management
Handelshögskolan i Stockholm

## Experimentmaterial

## [GROUP 1 MATERIAL]

## Instruktioner

Detta häfte innehåller tre stycken korta artiklar med tillhörande bild. Var vänlig titta på bilderna och läs igenom varje artikel noggrant. Försök att sätta Dig in i huvudpersonens situation genom att ta personens perspektiv. Föreställ Dig hur personen i artikeln känner kring de upplevelser och händelser som beskrivs och hur de har påverkat personens liv. Svara sedan på efterföljande frågor.

Du får ej prata med någon under tiden Du läser artiklarna.
När Du är klar, var vänlig lägg ihop häftet och räck upp handen. Dina svar kommer att behandlas anonymt.

## Artikel A.

## "Jag har massor av livslyx"



Linda Gällentoft har fyra barn och det femte i magen. Hon är hemmafru och trots sin unga ålder är hon nästintill veteran när det gäller att ta hand om hus och familj.

Du är hemmafru och har snart fem barn, och det är minst sagt fullt upp i ert hus. Hur får du ihop livet med två tonåringar och en bebis på väg? Vad har du för strategi och vad motiverar dig?

- Livet som snart fembarnsmamma är minst sagt lite galet! Struktur och rutiner hjälper. Min fyraåring Gabriel går 15 timmar på dagis och när han är där så blir det ofta storstädning, tvätt och egentid med vår minsting Elvina.
Vi hinner leka med dockor och läsa böcker ihop eller vad hon nu vill göra. På eftermiddagen är det hämtning på dagis, lek ute om det är bra väder och hjälpa de stora barnen med läxor och göra middag.

Ett bra tips är att planera alla månadens middagar en månad i förväg och sedan storhandla så man har allt hemma, så slipper man extra stress och rundor till affären. På kvällen blir det dusch, pyjamas och godnattsaga och sedan läggning. Det brukar fungera bra så länge vi håller oss till rutinerna. Nätterna är lite olika, men nästan varje natt är det någon liten som kryper ner i vår säng så det är verkligen ett dygnet runt-jobb att vara hemmafru!

Det bästa med att vara hemma är att vi själva bestämmer över vår tid, jag och barnen. De slipper stressas fram och tillbaka till dagis på morgonen. Vill Gabriel någon gång inte gå, så stannar han hemma med oss.

Vill vi bygga om hela vardagsrummet till en koja en dag så gör vi det, städning kan vänta en stund! Jag känner att jag är väldigt lyckligt lottad som kan vara hemma med mina barn och alltid finnas där. Jag har kanske inte mycket materiell lyx, men livslyxen är viktigare och den får jag gott om!

## Frågor till Artikel A.

Var vänlig svara på följande frågor genom att ringa in den siffra Du tycker passar bäst.

1. Hur väl tycker Du att följande egenskaper stämmer in på personen i artikeln? ( $1=$ stämmer inte in alls, $7=$ stämmer in väldigt väl)

Kärleksfull
1

2
3
4
5
6
Äventyrslysten
1

2
3
4
5
6
7
Kompetent
12

2
3
4
5
6
7

Sympatisk
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Vänlig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Tävlingsinriktad

$$
1
$$

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Dominant

1
2
3
4
5
6
Omhändertagande

1
2
3
4
5
6
Har bra koll på samhällsfrågor
1
2

3
4
5
6
7
Snäll

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Stresstålig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Företagsam
1
2
3
4
5
6
Modig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Självständig
1
2

3
4
5
6
7
2. Vilka känslor får Du gentemot huvudpersonen efter att ha läst artikeln?
(1 = känner inte alls, 7 = känner mycket)
Förståelse
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Medkänsla

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Sympati
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Varm i hjärtat
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Ömsint
1

Rörd
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
3. Artikeln beskriver att Linda Gällentoft tycker att hon är lyckligt lottad som kan vara hemmafru. Hur viktiga tror Du att följande faktorer var för hennes val att bli hemmafru? ( $1=$ inte alls viktig, $7=$ väldigt viktig)

Värderingar i samhället
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hennes personlighet
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hennes man förväntade sig det
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Hon värderar relationer

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon vill alltid finnas där för sina barn
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon fick inget jobb

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

## Artikel B.

## Maria Montazami: "Är kul att vara hemmafru"



Maria Montazami är aktuell i "Så blev vi svenska Hollywoodfruar". Och trots att hon har mängder av projekt på gång tänker hon aldrig sluta vara hemmafru.

- Jag har aldrig tröttnat på att vara hemma, säger hon till Expressen.

Maria är lika glad i verkligheten som hon är i tv-rutan. Hon tror att det är därför hon är så populär bland svenska folket, "för att jag är jag".

- Jag spelar absolut ingen roll, det kan man inte göra i en "reality", och det hade dessutom varit rätt jobbigt att göra det. Folk gillar ödmjukhet. Men jag är långt ifrån perfekt, varje dag försöker jag bli en bättre person. Men jag är väldigt ödmjuk och har ett otroligt känsligt hjärta, jag skulle inte kunna vara elak mot någon, säger Maria och tillägger fort.
Trots att Montazami har flera nya projekt på gång, som hon säger att hon inte kan avslöja, vägrar hon sluta att vara hemmafru.
- Jag var stolt för att jag var hemma med mina barn. Jag har sagt att mannen kan stå och snickra medan kvinnan lagar mat, så är det. Folk tappade hakan när jag sa det, men jag står fast vid allt jag har sagt. Om man kan vara hemma med sina barn så ska man det, i mitt fall fungerar det. Jag har aldrig tröttnat på att vara hemma, det är väldigt kul, jag har aldrig blivit uttråkad.


## Frågor till Artikel B.

Var vänlig svara på följande frågor genom att ringa in den siffra Du tycker passar bäst.

1. Hur väl tycker Du att följande egenskaper stämmer in på personen i artikeln? ( $1=$ stämmer inte in alls, $7=$ stämmer in väldigt väl)

Kärleksfull
1

2
3
4
5
6
7
Äventyrslysten
1
2

Kompetent

1
2
Sympatisk

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Vänlig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Tävlingsinriktad
1

2
3
4
5
6
7

Dominant

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Omhändertagande

3
4
5
6
7

Har bra koll på samhällsfrågor
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Snäll
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Stresstålig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Företagsam

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Modig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Självständig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
2. Vilka känslor får Du gentemot huvudpersonen efter att ha läst artikeln?
(1 = känner inte alls, 7 = känner mycket)
Förståelse

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Medkänsla |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Sympati |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Varm i hjärtat
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Ömsint

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Rörd |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

3. Artikeln beskriver att Maria Montazami aldrig vill sluta vara hemmafru. Hur viktiga tror Du att följande faktorer var för hennes val att bli hemmafru? ( $1=$ inte alls viktig, 7 = väldigt viktig)

Värderingar i samhället
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hennes personlighet
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hennes man förväntade sig det

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Hon värderar relationer |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Hon vill alltid finnas där för sina barn
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon fick inget jobb
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

## Artikel C.

## "Jag kan säga att jag känner mina barn utan och innan"



Med fem barn behöver man inget jobb för att hålla sig sysselsatt. Madeleine Wallin bestämde sig för att hoppa av ekorrhjulet och stanna hemma med sina barn - fyra pojkar och en flicka. När Madeleine Wallin väntade sitt fjärde barn bestämde hon sig för att inte återvända till jobbet.

- Jag vaknade upp och kände: Vad håller vi på med? Varför ska man jobba för att man måste och lämna på dagis för att man måste. Familjen mådde inte bra, säger Madeleine.

Hon lämnade jobbet som personlig assistent för att bli hemmamamma och få tid för barnen. Madeleines man var till en början inte överens med henne. Ekonomiskt blev det betydligt tuffare för familjen. Men själv har hon aldrig tvivlat på sitt beslut.

- Det går före ekonomin. Vi har varit tvungna att låna pengar av våra föräldrar flera gånger för att få det att gå inop, säger Madeleine.

Vad de förlorat i levnadsstandard känner hon att de tar igen i sina relationer.

- Jag kan säga att jag känner mina barn utan och innan, säger Madeleine.

För dem har det inneburit en stor trygghet att alltid ha en vuxen hemma. Men till en början tyckte de att det var lite konstigt:

- Det tyckte att jag skulle jobba för att passa in bland de andra mammorna.

Madeleine tycker inte att det är någon lyxtillvaro att ta hand om hushållet. Att ta ansvar för fem barn kan vara "urjobbigt".

- Man kan bli helt frustrerad om man inte får utvecklas. På en arbetsplats gör man det men hemma måste man ta tag i det själv.

Till föräldrar som funderar på att stanna hemma säger Madeleine:

- Tveka inte. Man ska leva så som man själv känner är rätt.


## Frågor till Artikel C.

Var vänlig svara på följande frågor genom att ringa in den siffra Du tycker passar bäst.

1. Hur väl tycker Du att följande egenskaper stämmer in på personen i artikeln? ( $1=$ stämmer inte in alls, $7=$ stämmer in väldigt väl)

Kärleksfull
1

2
3
4
5
6
7

Äventyrslysten
1
2

Kompetent
1
2
Sympatisk

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Vänlig
1
2

3
4
5
6
7

Tävlingsinriktad
1

2
3
4
5
6
7
Dominant
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Omhändertagande

4
5
6
7
Har bra koll på samhällsfrågor
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Snäll

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Stresstålig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Företagsam

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Modig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Självständig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
2. Vilka känslor får Du gentemot huvudpersonen efter att ha läst artikeln?
(1 = känner inte alls, 7 = känner mycket)
Förståelse

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Medkänsla |  |  |  |  |  |  |

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Sympati
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Varm i hjärtat
$1 \quad 2$

3
4
5
6
7
Ömsint
1

2
3
4
5
6
7

Rörd

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

3. Artikeln beskriver att Madeleine Wallin valde att "hoppa av ekorrhjulet" för att vara hemma med sina barn. Hur viktiga tror Du att följande faktorer var för hennes val att bli hemmafru? (1 = inte alls viktig, $7=$ väldigt viktig)

Värderingar i samhället
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hennes personlighet
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hennes man förväntade sig det
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon värderar relationer
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon vill alltid finnas där för sina barn
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon fick inget jobb

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

## [GROUP 2 MATERIAL]

## Instruktioner

Detta häfte innehåller tre stycken korta artiklar med tillhörande bild. Var vänlig titta på bilderna och läs igenom varje artikel noggrant. Försök att sätta Dig in i huvudpersonens situation genom att ta personens perspektiv. Föreställ Dig hur personen i artikeln känner kring de upplevelser och händelser som beskrivs och hur de har påverkat personens liv. Svara sedan på efterföljande frågor.

Du får ej prata med någon under tiden Du läser artiklarna.
När Du är klar, var vänlig lägg ihop häftet och räck upp handen. Dina svar kommer att behandlas anonymt.

## Artikel A.

## Prisad för sitt goda ledarskap



Hon är 35 år och har axlat rollen som Stenbeckssfärens familjeöverhuvud i tio år. Som ordförande för maktbolaget Kinnevik mottog Cristina Stenbeck nyligen utmärkelsen Årets Guldklubba för sitt "starka engagemang, integritet och kompetens."

År 2002 skulle hon precis fylla 25 när pappan Jan Stenbeck hastigt gick bort i en hjärtinfarkt. Då kastades Cristina Stenbeck in i hans ställe och valdes året därpå in i styrelsen i de flesta av Stenbecksfamiljens bolag.

Sedan år 2007 är hon ordförande för Kinnevik. Målet var att bygga ett större, mer transparent och värdefullt Kinnevik.

Som mäktig affärskvinna, och trebarnsmamma, får Cristina Stenbeck i intervjuer tampas med frågor om hur hon får ihop livspusslet.

Senast i en intervju för några veckor sedan i radiokanalen RIX FM - där inledningen på intervju handlade om hennes tre barn och om "hon hade dåligt samvete?".

Den gången, när hon besökte företagssfärens egna radiokanal, måste hon ha bitit ihop. Hon svarade kort och artigt att hon inte hade dåligt samvete.

När hon däremot fick frågan i februari 2010 på en presskonferens när hon väntade tvillingar, gav hon ett roligare svar som rev ner applåder:

- Jag tycker du ska ställa den frågan till MTG:s vd Hans Holger Albrecht. Han har sju barn.


## Frågor till Artikel A.

Var vänlig svara på följande frågor genom att ringa in den siffra Du tycker passar bäst.
4. Hur väl tycker Du att följande egenskaper stämmer in på personen i artikeln? ( $1=$ stämmer inte in alls, $7=$ stämmer in väldigt väl)

## Kärleksfull

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Äventyrslysten
1

2
3
4
5
6
Kompetent

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Sympatisk
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Vänlig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Tävlingsinriktad
1

2
3
4
5
6
Dominant

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Omhändertagande

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Har bra koll på samhällsfrågor

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Snäll |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Stresstålig |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Företagsam |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |  |
| Modig | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |  |
| 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |  |

5. Vilka känslor får Du gentemot huvudpersonen efter att ha läst artikeln?
(1 = känner inte alls, 7 = känner mycket)

Förståelse
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Medkänsla
1

2
3
4
5
6
7
Sympati

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Varm i hjärtat
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Ömsint
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Rörd

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
6. Artikeln beskriver att Cristina Stenbeck är en mäktig affärskvinna och att hon har blivit prisad för sitt goda ledarskap. Hur viktiga tror Du att följande faktorer har varit för hennes framgång? (1 = inte alls viktig, $7=$ väldigt viktig)

Hennes kompetens
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon har haft tur
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hennes personlighet
12

2
3
4
5
6
7

Egna ambitioner
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon har fått hjälp av andra
1
2

3
4
5
6
7
Hon var på rätt plats vid rätt tidpunkt
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

## Artikel B.

## Alfahonan Honkamaa



Hon har gjort raketkarriär i mediebranschen och bossar över Google i Sverige. Hon beskrivs som en alfahona, överreklamerad, hänsynslös - och världens bästa chef. Stina Honkamaa lämnar ingen oberörd.

Alla som träffat Stina Honkamaa är överens om en sak: Det händer något när hon kommer in i ett rum. Karriären tog fart den dag hon klev in genom dörren till TV3 1999. Hennes chefer insåg snart att hon var för duktig för att sälja annonser till text-tv. Hon flyttades därför raskt över till avdelningen för tv-reklam där hon snabbt visade mycket fina försäljningsresultat.
"Jag tyckte direkt att hon hade 'star quality', det tog inte lång tid att inse att hon var överkvalificerad för att jobba med text-tv«, minns en av hennes första chefer.

Första steget blev ett projektledarjobb på mediebyrån OMD. De som jobbade nära henne på den tiden berättar att hon jobbade extremt hårt och var tydligt inställd på att bli chef och göra karriär.
"Stina har ett makalöst driv och är grymt målfokuserad«, säger en av hennes chefer från den här tiden.
Han tycker att hennes största tillgång är att hon är en oerhört bra säljare.
»Det tror jag är grunden till ett modernt ledarskap. Man måste kunna sälja bolaget, personalen och inte minst sig själv."

Stina Honkamaa är inte lika populär i alla läger. I kometkarriärens spår finns även besvikna, sårade och bittra kolleger, chefer och medarbetare. Bland mediemännen finns det många som ser på hennes karriär med ett snett leende.
"Visst, hon är en duktig säljare. Hon är en duktig projektledare. Men det finns många som egentligen är minst lika bra. Stina Honkamaas succé beror på att det råkade finnas en plats i medierna för en charmig tjej som sa rätt klyschor «, är en sammanfattning av vad flera (män) tycker när de försäkrat sig om anonymitet.
En av hennes chefer och kolleger vet hur Stina Honkamaa reagerar på slängarna om att hon kommit dit hon är tack vare att hon är ung och snygg: Hon blir ursinnig.
»Jag förstår att hon blir förbannad, för det är ju helt fel. Det råder ingen som helst tvekan om att hon levererar vad hon ska och att det inte har något att göra med hur hon ser ut«, säger den tidigare chefen.

En annan tidigare kollega konstaterar att det finns siffror, svart på vitt, på vilka toppresultat Stina Honkamaa faktiskt levererade. Under Honkamaas ledning togs det marknadsandelar.
"Det handlar om avundsjuka, det är bara att läsa kommentarerna på Dagens Medias sajt för att förstå vilken sandlådenivå det kan handla om«, säger en tidigare kollega.

## Frågor till Artikel B.

Var vänlig svara på följande frågor genom att ringa in den siffra Du tycker passar bäst.

1. Hur väl tycker Du att följande egenskaper stämmer in på personen i artikeln? ( $1=$ stämmer inte in alls, $7=$ stämmer in väldigt väl)

## Kärleksfull

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Äventyrslysten
1

2
3
4
5
6
Kompetent

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Sympatisk
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Vänlig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Tävlingsinriktad
1

2
3
4
5
6
Dominant

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Omhändertagande

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Har bra koll på samhällsfrågor

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Snäll |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Stresstålig |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Företagsam |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |  |
| Modig | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |  |
| 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |  |

2. Vilka känslor får Du gentemot huvudpersonen efter att ha läst artikeln?
(1 = känner inte alls, 7 = känner mycket)
Förståelse
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Medkänsla
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Sympati

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Varm i hjärtat
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Ömsint
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Rörd
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
3. Artikeln beskriver hur Stina Honkamaa har gjort raketkarriär i mediebranschen. Hur viktiga tror Du att följande faktorer har varit för hennes framgång? (1 = inte alls viktig, $7=$ väldigt viktig)

Hennes kompetens
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon har haft tur
1

2
3
4
5
6
7
Hennes personlighet
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Egna ambitioner

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Hon har fått hjälp av andra
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon var på rätt plats vid rätt tidpunkt
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

## Artikel C.

## Alla dyrkar Ikea-Jeanette



Jeanette Söderberg har präglats in i lkea. Hennes resa från tjejen i kassan till chef för lkea Sverige har bara ökat antalet beundrare bland medarbetarna.

Jeanette Söderberg har nu varit chef för Ikea i Sverige i dryga tre år. Det som började som ett sommarjobb i kassan på Ikea i Kungens Kurva 1983 har slutat på vd-stolen för Ikeas verksamhet i hela Sverige. Hon ansågs tidigt vara en »pigg tjej«, men det måste ha funnits betydligt mer än så att bygga karriären på, för med åren avancerade hon till säljchef för möbler på Ikea Kungens Kurva. Senare blev hon varuhuschef på Ikea i Uppsala och Ikea i Barkarby.
»Hon står personligen väldigt starkt för Ikeas värderingar och ledarskap. Det gör att hon upplevs som ärlig, tydlig, rak, modig men också ödmjuk. Hon lyckas verkligen kombinera hjärta med hjärna«, säger en medarbetare.
"Hon har ett extremt tydligt och inspirerande ledarskap. Jeanette är engagerad och motiverad och har ett stort hjärta. Därför smittar hennes engagemang«, instämmer en annan.

Utan att ha behövt sätta sin fot på Handelshögskolan har Jeanette Söderberg blivit vd för Sveriges kanske mest kända handelsföretag. Och hittills har det gått synnerligen bra. De två första åren visade hon kanonresultat. Ikea är normalt mycket förtegna om sina resultat, men det var tydligt att Jeanette Söderberg hade mycket svårt att hålla masken när rekordåren 2006 och 2007 kom på tal. Bredare leende får man leta efter.

Visst finns det rykten om att vissa i organisationen har haft svårt att acceptera att en relativt ung kvinna är chef för lkea Sverige. Även om ingen vill medge att de själva skulle vara en av dem.
"Hon kan nog upplevas som auktoritär, i synnerhet av dem som har svårt att acceptera henne som chef. Där måste hon sätta ner foten och det ordentligt. «
»Jag tror att hon har lätt att få med sig gänget som finns närmast henne. Däremot tror jag att hon kan ha lite problem med manliga medarbetare som har varit med längre än hon. Det finns ett stort gäng karlar kvar från den tiden och en del har svårt att hantera henne som chef«, resonerar en.

## Frågor till Artikel C.

Var vänlig svara på följande frågor genom att ringa in den siffra Du tycker passar bäst.

1. Hur väl tycker Du att följande egenskaper stämmer in på personen i artikeln? ( 1 = stämmer inte in alls, $7=$ stämmer in väldigt väl)

Kärleksfull
1
2

Äventyrslysten
1

2
3
4
5
6
7

Kompetent

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Sympatisk

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Vänlig
1
2
3
4
5
6
Tävlingsinriktad
12
3
4
5
6
7
Dominant

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Omhändertagande
1
2

3
4
5
6
7
Har bra koll på samhällsfrågor
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Snäll
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Stresstålig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Företagsam
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Modig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Självständig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
2. Vilka känslor får Du gentemot huvudpersonen efter att ha läst artikeln?
(1 = känner inte alls, 7 = känner mycket)

Förståelse
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Medkänsla
2

3
4
5
6
7
Sympati

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Varm i hjärtat
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Ömsint
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Rörd
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
3. Artikeln beskriver hur Jeanette Söderberg har avancerat från att stå i kassan till att bli chef för IKEAs verksamhet i Sverige. Hur viktiga tror Du att följande faktorer har varit för hennes framgång? (1 = inte alls viktig, $7=$ väldigt viktig)

Hennes kompetens
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon har haft tur
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hennes personlighet
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Egna ambitioner
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon har fått hjälp av andra
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hon var på rätt plats vid rätt tidpunkt
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

## [GROUP 3 \& 4 MATERIAL]

## Instruktioner

Detta häfte innehåller tre stycken artiklar med tillhörande bild. Var vänlig titta på bilderna och läs igenom varje artikel noggrant. Svara sedan på efterföljande frågor.

Du får ej prata med någon under tiden Du läser artiklarna.
När Du är klar, var vänlig lägg ihop häftet och räck upp handen. Dina svar kommer att behandlas anonymt.

## Artikel A.

## USA på riktigt



Chicago är mellanvästerns metropol, porten till USA:s hjärtland. En stad som kallats den mest amerikanska av alla städer. Här möter du ett USA utan fernissa och förställning.
Chicago är industristaden och invandrarstaden som byggdes på rekordtid. Idag satsar Chicago på förnyelse och ekotänk. Stora parker har anlagts kring centrum och Michigansjön kantas av fina stränder och långa cykelbanor. Inte många tänker på Chicago som en strandstad. Men Lake Michigan är så stor att den känns som ett hav och sommartid när temperaturerna peakar är det på favoriter som Oak Street Beach och North Avenue Beach som folk hänger.

Kring skyskrapstäta The Loop finns upplevelser som håller besökaren sysselsatt i dagar: arkitektur, shopping, museum i världsklass. För att utforska resten av staden - hyr en cykel eller hoppa på "The L", det slamriga höghöjdståget som är så typiskt för Chicago, och upptäck sköna stadsdelar som burgna Lincoln Park, ungdomliga Wicker Park och intellektuella Hyde Park.

## Frågor till Artikel A.

Var vänlig svara på följande frågor genom att ringa in den siffra Du tycker passar bäst.

1. Hur väl tycker Du att följande ord stämmer in på artikeln? ( 1 = stämmer inte in alls, $7=$ stämmer in väldigt väl)

Gillar
1
2
3
4
5
6

Långtråkig
$1 \quad 2$
2
3
4
5
6
Trovärdig

$$
1
$$

2
3
4
5
6
7
Pålitlig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Intresseväckande
1
2
3
4
5
6

Övertygande
12

3
4
5
6
7
Inspirerande
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Överflödig
$1 \quad 2$
2
3
4
5
6
7
Tråkig
1
2
Välskriven

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Nytänkande
1

2
3
4
5
6
7
Personlig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Opartisk
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Ointressant
12
3
4
5
6
7
2. Vad känner Du efter att ha läst artikeln?
(1 = känner inte alls, 7 = känner mycket)
Ressugen
1
2
3

4
5
6
7

## Glädje

1
2

3
4
5
6
7

Lugn
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Inspirerad
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Entusiastisk
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

## Artikel B.

## Ljuvligt öliv på Koh Lipe i södra Thailand



Den pyttelilla ön Koh Lipe ligger så långt söderut i Thailand som man kan komma. Men att ta sig hit har länge varit lättare sagt än gjort. Tack vare dess otillgänglighet har ön kvar charmen och känslan av att vara ett orört paradis.

Det allra mest slående när båten glider in mot Koh Lipe är vattnets genomskinlighet mot den kritvita sandstranden. Ön har ingen hamn, utan man får snällt hoppa ner i det knädjupa vattnet när man anländer. Det är knappast någon uppoffring. Koh Lipe kallas ibland för Thailands svar på Maldiverna. Koh Lipe är en pytteliten ö som känns som den ligger vid världens ände, vilket nästan stämmer - åtminstone vid Thailands ände. Mycket mer söderut i Thailand än så här kan du inte komma.

Närmaste granne är inte det thailändska fastlandet utan den malaysiska ön Langkawi. Koh Lipe har tack vare sin otillgängliga position lyckats bevara den där oförstörda genuina känslan som vi förknippade med Thailand för 20 år sedan. Det är egentligen bara under de senaste fem åren som ön har fått någon riktig turism att tala om. Nu finns här en hel del resorter och hotellkomplex kring öns tre stränder, Pattaya Beach, Sunrise Beach och Sunset Beach. Men tack och lov är inte exploateringen i närheten av den man finner i till exempel Phuket. Hotellen är inte särskilt stora och består mest av små bungalower. På ön finns egentligen bara en enda gata, Walking Street, i övrigt består öns vägar mest av sandstigar. Koh Lipe är bara fyra kvadratkilometer stor och man kan promenera runt hela ön på två timmar om man har lite tempo i benen.

Koh Lipe ligger i provinsen Satun och tillhör Tarutao nationalpark, som innefattar cirka 70 öar varav 10 stycken ligger i samma kluster som Koh Lipe. Lipe är en av de allra minsta öarna i nationalparken, men den med mest befolkning och bebyggelse. Förklaringen är enkel - Koh Lipe har de finaste stränderna och är relativt platt i jämförelse med sina större och mer dramatiska grannar. Den mesta kommersen, restaurangerna och utelivet är koncentrerat till Walking Street och delvis längs Pattaya Beach där det finns en radda med barer och små restauranger med bord och stolar nedstuckna i sanden. Under högsäsongen hålls de typiska thailändska eldshowerna här och det är ofta grillkväll på någon servering. Därmed inte sagt att Koh Lipe har något hålligång och nattliv att tala om. Ön upplevs fortfarande som sömnig och lugn. Särskilt under lågsäsong, då många restauranger, barer och butiker stänger.

## Frågor till Artikel B.

Var vänlig svara på följande frågor genom att ringa in den siffra Du tycker passar bäst.

1. Hur väl tycker Du att följande ord stämmer in på artikeln? ( 1 = stämmer inte in alls, $7=$ stämmer in väldigt väl)

Gillar
1
2
3
4
5
6

Långtråkig
$1 \quad 2$
2
3
4
5
6
Trovärdig

$$
1
$$

2
3
4
5
6
7
Pålitlig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Intresseväckande
1
2
3
4
5
6

Övertygande
12

3
4
5
6
7
Inspirerande
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Överflödig
$1 \quad 2$
2
3
4
5
6
7
Tråkig
1
2
Välskriven

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Nytänkande
1

2
3
4
5
6
7
Personlig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Opartisk
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Ointressant
12
3
4
5
6
7
2. Vad känner Du efter att ha läst artikeln?
(1 = känner inte alls, $7=$ känner mycket)
Ressugen
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Glädje

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Lugn

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Inspirerad |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Entusiastisk
2
3
4
5
6
7

## Artikel C.

## Guide till gulaschsoppans hemland



## Budapest lockar med heta gulaschsoppor, mäktiga byggnader från svunna tider och musikrestauranger.

Flygtiden till Budapest från Sverige är ungefär två och en halv timme. Precis lagom för en storstadsweekend. Fylld av förväntningar kliver jag ombord på Malev-flyplanet som ska ta mig till Ungerns huvudstad och en av Europas vackraste städer.

Budapest ligger vid floden Donau och inte mindre än sex broar knyter ihop det som tidigare var två olika städer, Buda och Pest. Pest är stadens kommerciella centrum. Här ligger shoppinggator, restauranger, breda boulevarder, teater och museer. På andra sidan floden ligger Buda där man på Slottshöjden känner historiens vingslag i de gamla kullerstensgatorna kring slottet och Mattiaskyrkan som härstammar från 1200-talet.

Vyerna över staden är onekligen värt den relativt dyra taxiresa upp på höjden, och gulascsoppan på Café Miro i gamla stan är perfekt när man behöver en paus.

Budapest är känd för sina span och badhus där vattnet kommer från varma källor. På Budasidan, vid foten av Gellertberget, ligger ett av stadens äldsta och mest kända badhus, Gellertbadet. Här kan du, förutom att bada i det hälsobringande vattnet, även få olika skönhets-, relax-, och medicinska behandlingar.

Dock har Budapest mer att bjuda på än antika romerska badhus och historiska byggnader. Staden har sakta men säkert gjort sig av med resterna efter kommunisternas förtryck och moderna oaser dyker upp överallt. Den nedersta delen av huvudgatan Andrassy, som löper från Hero's Square och nästan hela vägen ner till Donau, ligger restauranger, klädaffärer, kaféer och barer. Ungefär på mitten korsar bargatan Liszt Ferenctér - här hittar du några av stadens allra trendigaste ställen där musiken är precis lagom svängig och drinkarna härligt fruktiga.

Missa inte att ta en promenad vid floden på Pest-sidan, men låt dig inte imponeras av turistgatorna Fashion Street och Vaci utca. Du hittar både mysiga kaféer och roliga gränder med små butiker på sidogatorna runtomkring. Är det shopping som gäller bör man emellertid sikta in sig på varuhusen West End City Centre Mall i Pest eller Mammut i Buda; jättelika shoppingeldoradon för äkta mall-maniacs.

## Frågor till Artikel C.

Var vänlig svara på följande frågor genom att ringa in den siffra Du tycker passar bäst.

1. Hur väl tycker Du att fäljande ord stämmer in på artikeln? ( $1=$ stämmer inte in alls, $7=$ stämmer in väldigt väl)

Gillar
1
2
3
4
5
6

Långtråkig
$1 \quad 2$

2
3
4
5
6
Trovärdig

$$
1
$$

2
3
4
5
6
7
Pålitlig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Intresseväckande
1
2
3
4
5
6

Övertygande
12

3
4
5
6
7
Inspirerande
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Överflödig
12
2
3
4
5
6
7
Tråkig
1
2
Välskriven

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Nytänkande
1

2
3
4
5
6
7
Personlig
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Opartisk
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Ointressant
12
3
4
5
6
7
2. Vad känner Du efter att ha läst artikeln?
(1 = känner inte alls, 7 = känner mycket)
Ressugen
1
2
3

4
5
6
7

## Glädje

1
2
3

4
5
6
7

Lugn
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Inspirerad
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Entusiastisk
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

## APPENDIX D. EXPERIMENT MATERIAL 2

## [INSTRUCTION SHEET]

Den här studien handlar om hur människor kommunicerar med och förstår varandra. Jag undersöker hur människor genom skriftliga meddelanden lyckas få andra att förstå vad de menar.

Som en första del i mitt experiment har ett tjugotal elever på er skola redan fått information om ett antal olika industriföretag. Tack vare detta vet jag även en del om vad dessa elever tycker om dessa företag.

Du kommer nu att få kommunicera med en av dessa elever om ett av dessa företag.
I Ditt fall kommer Du nu att få skicka ett meddelande om tillverkningsföretaget:
(Emma/Johan).

## [TEXT ON PUBLIC WORLD RELATED TOPIC]

## Tillverkningsföretaget MNN

MNN är en verkstadskoncern inom kraft- och automationsteknik. Företaget verkar i omkring hundra länder och har ungefär hundra tusen medarbetare. Huvudkontoret ligger i Europa och företaget finns framför allt i starkt industriellt präglade städer. MNN levererar lösningar som förbättrar prestanda och minimerar miljöpåverkan för energiföretag och industrier. Hållbarhet är integrerad i verksamheten. Företaget säger sig eftersträva balans mellan ekonomisk tillväxt, miljöansvar och samhällsutveckling. MNN har även nio forskningscenter med sextusen forskare anställda och cirka sjuttio universitetssamarbeten över hela världen. Många av företagets produkter har under den senaste tiden fått olika utmärkelser för att vara revolutionerande i sitt slag när det gäller nytänkande och kostnadseffektivisering.

MNN driver också ett populärt yrkesgymnasium med jobbgaranti för de elever som slutför sin utbildning. Lojalitet är viktigt för företaget och de anställda får skriva på en speciell klausul vilket innebär att de inte får rapportera till någon utanför företaget om information som kommer till anställdas kännedom i samband med arbete. De anställda måste dessutom informera ledningen om någon på företaget inte sköter sitt jobb.

MNN har fått kritik från facket då företaget börjat betygsätta sina anställda. Genom ett standardiserat formulär ska de anställda på företaget inte bara få sina prestationer utan även sina beteenden bedömda på en skala från ett till fem. Facket menar att det finns en risk att bedömningen av någons beteende blir mer godtycklig. Även många anställda är oroliga inför det nya betygssystemet. I övrigt visar personalundersökningar att majoriteten av de anställda är nöjda med sin arbetsplats och känner att de kan utvecklas inom företaget.

För några år sedan skakades företaget av en skandal. Företagets $f d V D$ hade ett pensionsavtal som fick stark kritik för sin storlek. Under tiden som personen var VD för företaget ökade nettovinsten sextio gånger och försäljningen trettio gånger. MNNs styrelse hade givit VD:n ett pensionspaket som baserat på detta resultat gav VD:n en engångsersättning på drygt en miljard kronor vid pensioneringen. VD:n fick senare genom ett domstolsbeslut återbetala en del av denna bonus.

## [LINED PAPER - SENDER’S MESSAGE]

Försök nu att beskriva det ämne Du precis läst om med Dina egna ord så att (Emma/Johan) kan identifiera ämnet. Meningen är att eleven Du kommunicerar med ska kunna identifiera vilket företag Du beskriver utan att Du nämner företagets namn i Ditt meddelande. Var vänlig skriv läsligt.
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$

## [FILL-IN TASK]

Rita av följande figurer:



## [HANDWRITTEN FEEDBACK NOTES]

(Emma/Johan) har lyckats/ ej lyckats identifiera företaget Du beskrev.

## [LINED PAPER - SENDER'S RECALL]

Försök nu att skriva ned originaltexten Du läste i början av experimentet så ordagrant som möjligt. Var vänlig skriv läsligt.
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$

## [CONTROL QUESTIONS]

Var vänlig svara på följande frågor genom att ringa in den siffra Du tycker passar bäst.

Vad tycker Du om företaget Du skrev om?

| Gillar inte <br> alls |  |  |  |  |  | Gillar <br> mycket |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

På vilket sätt skulle Du beskriva företaget?

| Mycket <br> negativt |  |  |  |  | Mycket <br> positivt |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Vad tycker Du om personen Du skrev till (mottagaren)?

| Gillar inte <br> alls |  |  |  |  | Gillar <br> mycket |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

På vilket sätt skulle Du beskriva mottagaren?

| Mycket <br> negativt |  |  |  |  | Mycket <br> positivt |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Hur är Ditt humör idag?

| Mycket <br> dåligt |  |  |  |  | Mycket <br> bra |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Beskriv med egna ord vad Du uppfattar som syftet med denna undersökning.
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$

## [PERSONAL QUESTIONS]

Var vänlig svara på följande frågor om Dig själv.
Jag är:
O Kvinna
O Man

Ålder: $\qquad$

Studieinriktning:
O Samhällsvetenskapliga programmet
O Naturvetenskapliga programmet
O Estetiska programmet

Vilken är Din mammas högsta utbildningsnivå?
$\bigcirc$ Ingen
O Grundskolan (år 1-9)
O Yrkesutbildning
O Gymnasial utbildning
O Universitetsutbildning

Vilken är Din pappas högsta utbildningsnivå?
$\bigcirc$ Ingen
O Grundskolan (år 1-9)
O Yrkesutbildning
O Gymnasial utbildning
O Universitetsutbildning

Hur många storasystrar har Du? $\qquad$
Hur många småsystrar har Du? $\qquad$
Hur många storebröder har Du? $\qquad$
Hur många småbröder har Du? $\qquad$

Vilken plats har Du i syskonskaran?
O Äldst
O Mellanbarn
O Yngst
O Ensambarn

Vad tyckte $\qquad$ (mottagaren av Ditt meddelande) om företaget?

O Mottagaren tyckte om företaget.
O Mottagaren tyckte inte om företaget
Vilken feedback fick Du?

O Mottagaren identifierade företaget.
O Mottagaren identifierade inte företaget

## APPENDIX E. EXPERIMENT MANUSCRIPT

## [INTRODUCTION]

Hej alla!
Vi är jätteglada över att få vara här idag och att ni vill hjälpa oss med våra experiment. Vi tänkte börja med att kort presentera oss och förklara varför vi är här. Vi är två stycken mastersstudenter från Handelshögskolan i Stockholm. Båda går andra och sista året på våra respektive masterutbildningar. Vi skriver som sagt just nu våra masteruppsatser, och båda två behöver hjälp från er för att kunna skriva klart. Jag (Experimenter A) skriver min masteruppsats inom Marknadsföring om att kommunicera effektivt i media, och jag (Experimenter B) skriver uppsats inom Management om hur människor kommunicerar med och förstår varandra. Eftersom båda två gör experiment kom vi på att vi kunde slå ihop två tillfällen och dessutom hjälpa varandra. Ni kommer alltså att göra två separata experiment idag, och vi börjar med mitt (Experimenter A) experiment.

## [EXPERIMENT PART 1]

Jag kommer nu att dela ut häften till er alla. Börja med att läs igenom instruktionerna. Därefter följer tre stycken kortare artiklar. Var vänliga och läs igenom artiklarna noggrant och svara sedan på efterföljande frågor genom att ringa in det svar ni tycker passar bäst.

Det är viktigt att ni inte pratar med varandra under tiden ni fyller i häftet. Ni har ungefär 15 minuter på er. När ni är klara kan ni stänga igen häftet och räcka upp handen så kommer jag och samlar in häftena. Sen får ni gärna sitta tysta tills alla är klara.

## [EXPERIMENTET UTFÖRS]

Tack så jättemycket för att ni deltog i min studie!

## [EXPERIMENT PART 2]

Hej!
Jag heter Jenny och jag skriver min masteruppsats på Handelshögskolan inom Management och jag undersöker hur människor kommunicerar med och förstår varandra. Mer specifikt tittar jag på hur människor genom skriftliga meddelanden lyckas få andra att förstå vad de menar.

Som en första del i mitt experiment har ett tjugotal elever på er skola, redan under förra veckan, arbetat tillsammans med en lärare där de har fått information om ett antal olika industriföretag. Tack vare detta vet jag även en del om vad dessa elever tycker om dessa företag.

Ni kommer nu att få kommunicera med en av dessa elever om ett av dessa företag.

Jag kommer att börja med att dela ut ett papper där det står vilken elev just du ska kommunicera med, och vilket företag ni ska kommunicera kring. Samtidigt får du även en beskrivande text om just "ditt" företag.

Du kommer att få ca 4 min på dig att läsa den här texten och sen kommer jag att samla in texterna igen. Du får samtidigt ett tomt papper där du ska beskriva företaget du precis läst om, på ett sätt så att mottagaren förstår vilket företag du menar utan att du nämner företagets namn.

Meningen med det här experimentet är som sagt att undersöka hur personer kommunicerar med och förstår varandra, så det är jätteviktigt att ni inte skriver namnet på företaget när ni beskriver det.

För att hålla reda på alla papper har jag numrerat dem i förväg, men ert deltagande är anonymt.

## [DEL 1 av EXPERIMENT 2 GENOMFÖRS]

Nu tar jag era meddelanden till de mottagande eleverna. De kommer försöka identifiera vilket företag ni har beskrivit, och ni kommer sedan att få reda på huruvida mottagaren har lyckats identifiera företaget eller inte. Under tiden som ni väntar på svar får ni en uppgift som ni kan hålla er sysselsatta med.

## [DEL 2 av EXPERIMENT 2 GENOMFÖRS]

Nu kommer jag att dela ut olika lappar till er beroende på om er mottagare har lyckats identifiera företaget eller ej. Det är viktigt att ni inte pratar med varandra medan jag delar ut svaren och att ni inte jämför era resultat.

Ni får även ett tomt papper, och nu vill jag att ni försöker komma ihåg originaltexten ni läste från början. Försök återberätta den så ordagrant ni bara kan. När ni är klara med att skriva, så finns det lite korta frågor om er själva som jag gärna vill att ni svarar på.

## [DEL 3 av EXPERIMENT 2 GENOMFÖRS]

Tack så mycket för att ni deltog i våra experiment!

## APPENDIX F. CODING TEMPLATE

## Tillverkningsföretaget MNN

MNN är en verkstadskoncern inom kraft- och automationsteknik. Företaget verkar i omkring hundra länder och har ungefär hundra tusen medarbetare. Huvudkontoret ligger i Europa och företaget finns framförallt i starkt industriellt präglade städer. MNN levererar lösningar som förbättrar prestanda (+1) och minimerar miljöpåverkan (+1) för energiföretag och industrier. Hållbarhet är integrerad i verksamheten. (+1) Företaget säger sig eftersträva balans (+1) mellan ekonomisk tillväxt, miljöansvar och samhällsutveckling. (+1) MNN har även nio forskningscenter med sex tusen forskare anställda och cirka sjuttio universitetssamarbeten över hela världen. Många av företagets produkter har under den senaste tiden fått olika utmärkelser (+1) för att vara revolutionerande (+1) i sitt slag när det gäller nytänkande och kostnadseffektivisering.

MNN driver också ett populärt (+1) yrkesgymnasium med jobbgaranti (+1) för de elever som slutför sin utbildning. Lojalitet är viktigt för företaget och de anställda får skriva på en speciell klausul vilket innebär att de inte får rapportera till någon utanför företaget om information som kommer till anställdas kännedom i samband med arbete. De anställda måste dessutom informera ledningen på företaget om någon inte sköter sitt jobb. (-1)

MNN har fått kritik (-1) från facket då företaget börjat betygsätta (-1) sina anställda. Genom ett standardiserat formulär ska de anställda på företaget inte bara få sina prestationer ( -1 ) utan även sina beteenden ( -1 ) bedömda på en skala från ett till fem. Facket menar att det finns en risk (-1) att bedömningen av någons beteende blir mer godtycklig (-1). Även många anställda är oroliga (-1) inför det nya betygssystemet. I övrigt visar personalundersökningar att majoriteten av de anställda är nöjda (+1) med sin arbetsplats och känner att de kan utvecklas (+1) inom företaget. För några år sedan skakades företaget av en skandal (-1). Företaget f d VD hade ett pensionsavtal som fick stark kritik (-1) för sin storlek. (-1) Under tiden som personen var VD för företaget ökade nettovinsten sextio gånger och försäljningen trettio gånger. (+1) MNNs styrelse hade givit VD:n ett pensionspaket som baserat på detta resultat gav VD:n en engångsersättning på drygt en miljard kronor vid pensioneringen. VD:n fick senare genom ett domstolsbeslut återbetala ( -1 ) en del av denna bonus.

## APPENDIX G. PRE-STUDY RESULTS

Table: Experiment material word count

| Control group material |  | 153 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Article 1 | 414 |  |
| Article 2 | 336 | Total: 903 |
| Article 3 |  |  |
| Stereotypical material | 324 |  |
| Article 1 | 231 |  |
| Article 2 | 281 | Total: 836 |
| Article 3 |  |  |
| Counter-stereotypical material | 324 |  |
| Article 1 | 231 |  |
| Article 2 | 281 | Total: 836 |
| Article 3 |  |  |

Table: Experiment material attractiveness ranking

|  | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | Average |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cristina Stenbeck | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5.0 |
| Linda Gällentoft | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5.4 |
| Stina Honkamaa | 5 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 5.5 |
| Jeanette Söderberg | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4.6 |
| Maria Montazami | 4 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 4.0 |
| Madeleine Wallin | 3 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 4.0 |

## APPENDIX H. REGRESSION RESULTS

Table. Message valence's effect on Recall valence

|  | Full Sample |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (Group 1-4) | (Group 3-4) | (Group 3) |
| VARIABLES | Recall | Recall | Recall |
| Constant | -0.336 | -6.366 | -0.325 |
| Message | $\begin{gathered} 0.559^{* *} \\ (0.102) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.414^{*} \\ & (0.204) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.706 \\ (0.349) \end{gathered}$ |
| Recipient | $\begin{gathered} 0.123 \\ (0.609) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.895 \\ (0.846) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Gender | $\begin{gathered} 0.064 \\ (0.486) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.108 \\ (1.054) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.317 \\ & (1.211) \end{aligned}$ |
| Education_Mother | $\begin{aligned} & -0.126 \\ & (0.339) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.632 \\ (0.640) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.793 \\ (1.146) \end{gathered}$ |
| Education_Father | $\begin{gathered} 0.172 \\ (0.335) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.710 \\ (0.624) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.361 \\ (1.547) \end{gathered}$ |
| Sister_Older | $\begin{aligned} & 0.785^{*} \\ & (0.397) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.520^{*} \\ & (0.768) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.581 \\ (1.110) \end{gathered}$ |
| Sister_Younger | $\begin{gathered} 0.199 \\ (0.409) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.019 \\ & (0.727) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.781 \\ (1.888) \end{gathered}$ |
| Brother_Older | $\begin{aligned} & -0.135 \\ & (0.304) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.195 \\ & (0.848) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.936 \\ & (3.538) \end{aligned}$ |
| Brother_Younger | $\begin{gathered} 0.419 \\ (0.432) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.131 \\ & (1.039) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.125 \\ & (3.272) \end{aligned}$ |
| Siblings_Order | $\begin{aligned} & -0.390 \\ & (0.371) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.021 \\ (0.678) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.111 \\ & (1.301) \end{aligned}$ |
| Liking_Company | $\begin{gathered} 0.007 \\ (0.281) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.950^{*} \\ & (0.515) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.125 \\ & (1.352) \end{aligned}$ |
| Evaluation_Company | $\begin{gathered} 0.154 \\ (0.345) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.032 \\ & (0.747) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.252 \\ (1.851) \end{gathered}$ |
| Liking_Recipient | $\begin{aligned} & 0.443^{*} \\ & (0.241) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.856^{*} \\ & (0.479) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.694 \\ (0.780) \end{gathered}$ |
| Evaluation_Recipient | $\begin{aligned} & -0.420 \\ & (0.287) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.646 \\ & (0.525) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.574 \\ & (0.635) \end{aligned}$ |
| Mood | $\begin{aligned} & -0.130 \\ & (0.171) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.158 \\ & (0.390) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.184 \\ & (1.062) \end{aligned}$ |
|  | $\begin{gathered} R^{2}=0.354 \\ N=110 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} R^{2}=0.467 \\ N=40 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} R^{2}=0.925 \\ N=20 \end{gathered}$ |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Appendix C for material related to Experiment part 1.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ See Appendix D for material related to Experiment part 2.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Levene's test for equality of variances shows that equal variances between the two independent samples can be assumed for the stereotypicality index, but not for the counter-stereotypicality and competence indices.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ All regression results in this thesis are presented with unstandardized $\beta$-coefficients, and standard errors in parenthesis.

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ Cronbach's alpha for the empathy index $\mathrm{a}=0.90$.

[^5]:    ${ }^{* * *} p<0.01,{ }^{* *} p<0.05,{ }^{*} p<0.1$

