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Not thinking straight: how sexual orientation and gender display shape inequality in task groups

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NOT THINKING STRAIGHT:
HOW SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND GENDER DISPLAY SHAPE INEQUALITY IN TASK GROUPS

by

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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has been approved by the Examining Committee
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses the question of whether sexual orientation, like gender, will lead to status differentiation during group interaction. First, I propose that sexual orientation, like gender, is a diffuse status characteristic that shapes the production of status hierarchies. Second, I emphasize the importance of decoupling gender from sexual orientation so that we can see the influence of sexuality on its own, as well as how it works with gender to inform group behavior. To test these propositions I will use theories from the Expectation States tradition, to formalize these claims about sexual orientation and gender, and lay out a research design for testing them. This is an eight-condition experimental study that will allow us to manipulate both gender display and sexual orientation. The experimental design uses the standardized experimental situation, which involves a stay response protocol during a task we refer to as the "contrast sensitivity test." I expect that non-normative gender performance and homosexuality will both negatively affect the amount of influence an individual gains during interaction, which will ultimately affect their overall status. This research is new and integral to the fields of gender and sexuality studies because it works to incorporate expectation states research (Wagner and Berger 1985) with feminist research on sexuality and "doing gender, doing difference" (West and Zimmerman 1987). Taking a more interdisciplinary approach and initiating a dialogue between these two research perspectives will allow us to better understand the production of social inequality, providing new opportunities to interrupt and challenge it.

First, this dissertation will summarize the historical and current sociological understandings of sexual orientation, gender, and stigma. Chapter 2 will outline the broad significance and importance of this research project for expanding our understanding of gender and sexual orientation in interaction. Next, it will provide an analysis of how we can use theories

of intersectionality to understand how gender display and sexuality combine to shape influence and the development of social hierarchy during interaction. Chapter 3 provides a summary of the Expectation States Research program, status characteristics theory, and status cue theory to unpack the major assumptions of each theory and provide a discussion of what this research seeks to add to them. Chapter 4 In addition to providing a behavioral measure of influence, as a proxy for group member's status position, this research will also use various measures of stigma to assess whether sexual orientation is also a stigmatized identity. Chapter 5 of the dissertation will provide a description of the methodological approach and the experimental design used to generate and test several hypotheses. Chapter 6 provides a detailed analysis of the experimental results that test the outlined hypotheses. Finally, Chapter 7 is the discussion and conclusion section will discuss the significance of the results and directions for future research.

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

With the recent Supreme Court ruling overturning the Defense of Marriage Act and the plethora of institutionalized legal changes supporting LGBTQ rights, one might argue that American society is well on its way towards equality for LGBTQ individuals, thus negating the need for research in this area. Unfortunately, history has shown that despite profound changes in the codification of legal standards, which eliminates de jure prejudice, inequality in the informal and interactional experiences of individuals, or de facto prejudice, often remains. My long-term research goal is to study, at the level of interaction, the basic processes and mechanisms that produce social inequality experienced by LGBTQ individuals. I have adapted theories from the Expectation States research program (Wagner and Berger 2002), specifically status characteristics theory (Berger, Fişek, Norman, and Zelditch 1977) and status cue theory (Fişek, Berger and Norman 2005) to motivate my hypotheses concerning sexual orientation and group encounters. Then, I designed an experiment using the computerized standardized experimental setting (Foshi, Lai and Sigerson 1994) to test my hypotheses. The central research question is: will homosexuality act as a negatively valued status characteristic leading to gay and lesbian individuals having lower performance expectations, less opportunities to perform in a group, and ultimately lower status as compared to straight group members. My rationale is that a deeper understanding of the mechanisms that work to produce this form of inequality in groups will ultimately provide important opportunities for interventions to these processes of discrimination.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

This research explores the assumption that sexuality, similar to gender, will lead to status differentiation within group interaction. More specifically, I am interested in exploring the effect of sexual orientation on performance expectations during interaction and how these expectations ultimately affect behavior. A few researchers have suggested the possibility that sexuality, similar to gender, functions as a status characteristic (Johnson 1995; Webster and Hysom 1995; Webster et al. 1998). However no one, as of yet, has tested this proposition with an experiment. By using Expectation States Theory we can explore the distinct effects of sex category, gender, and sexuality on influence processes. Expectation States Theory is unique because in no other theory are we allowed to clarify the potential differential effects of gender and sexuality. Some theorists claim that the inequality we observe around homosexuality is actually a product of stigma rather than status. Therefore, built into the experimental design and post experimental procedures are several tests of stigma. This will help us to clarify to the best of our ability whether this is indeed status or stigma.

With the recent Supreme Court ruling overturning the Defense of Marriage Act and the plethora of institutionalized legal changes supporting LGBTQ rights, one might argue that American society is well on its way towards equality for LGBTQ individuals, thus negating the need for research in this area. Unfortunately, history has shown that despite profound changes in the codification of legal standards, which eliminates de jure prejudice, inequality in the informal and interactional experiences of individuals, or de facto prejudice, often remains. For example, a recent study found that about two thirds of LGB adults (61.3%) reported discrimination as a result of their sexual orientation during the past year (McCabe et al. 2010). Despite this example,

studies of prejudice against lesbian and gay individuals are few, and fewer still are theories that posit the mechanisms behind this prejudice. Furthermore, to the best of our knowledge there are no published experimental tests of how sexual orientation shapes interaction. Therefore, there is a critical need for such a study. Without a better understanding of how sexual orientation affects structural dynamics of groups, we not only lack research and theoretical understanding of these processes, but we restrict our ability to eliminate the detrimental effects of the social inequality that results from them.

My long-term research goal is to study, at the level of interaction, the basic processes and mechanisms that produce social inequality experienced by LGBTQ individuals. To begin this career-long quest, I currently propose a research project to test rigorously the impact of sexual orientation on group structure. I will adapt theories from the Expectation States research program (Wagner and Berger 2002), specifically status characteristics theory (Berger, Fişek, Norman, and Zelditch 1977) and status cue theory (Fişek, Berger and Norman 2005) to motivate our hypotheses concerning sexual orientation and group encounters. Then, I will design an experiment using the computerized standardized experimental setting ((Foshi, Lai and Sigerson 1994) to test our hypotheses. Our central research question is: will homosexuality act as a negatively valued state of a status characteristic (defined below) leading to gay and lesbian individuals having lower performance expectations, less opportunities to perform in a group, and ultimately lower status as compared to straight group members. Our rational is that a deeper understanding of the mechanisms that work to produce this form of inequality in groups will ultimately provide important opportunities for interventions to these processes of discrimination. I propose three central research objectives for this project:

Objective #1: Identify the mechanisms by which sexual orientation affects status processes. I will explore the assertion that an individual's sexual orientation is an important factor in determining their overall status in a group setting. Consistent with recent research, I expect that homosexuality is negatively valued in American society and will, in turn, be negatively associated with acquired status during task group interaction.

Objective #2: Isolate the potentially differential impact of sexual orientation as either an agent of a stigma process or an agent of a status process. Some research suggests that homosexuality is a stigmatized social identity in the modern American context (Herek 2004; Herek 2007). In addition to providing a behavioral measure of influence, as a proxy for group member's status position, this research will also use various measures of stigma to assess the notion that sexual orientation is also a stigmatized identity. In either case, we know that in general, non-heteronormative sexual orientation can be socially detrimental to individuals, but whether it is either part of a status or stigma process, or both, is important to know for future research and policy interventions.

Objective #3: Identify the mechanisms by which gender display and sexual orientation affects status processes. Some suggest that in day-to-day interaction gender and sexual orientation are inevitably conflated making it impossible to truly observe their singular effects on interactional outcomes (Valdez 2013). However, one of the most impressive aspects of experimental research is that we may be able to isolate gender display from sexual orientation to tease out the differential impacts of each of these related, but ultimately separate characteristics. Gender display in this setting will be measured by verbal, aesthetic, and interactional cues that connote hyper-masculine, hyper-feminine, or a more normative feminine and/or masculine gender performance. By isolating these individual characteristics, I will explore the capacity of hyper-

masculine, hyper-feminine, or normative gender displays to predict attainment of status during interaction. This process of isolation will allow us to evaluate both gender display and sexual orientation to assess whether they are distinct or intersecting factors working to create status stratification in group settings. New research is needed to explore whether sexual orientation acts as a status characteristic and/or a stigmatized identity, and how it operates in isolation and in league with gender display to produce social hierarchy. This dissertation project addresses the question of whether sexuality, similar to gender, will lead to status differentiation within task group interaction.

This research is creative and original because it uncovers the motivating factors behind the persistent and profound inequality LGBTQ Americans face on a daily basis. In recent years, academic, legal, and legislative pursuits have successfully revealed and worked to challenge basic patterns of discrimination that we observe in social and occupational arenas. However, simply calling attention to this detrimental social problem lacks the impact needed to disrupt and change it. Increasing awareness of discrimination is not enough to challenge the problem; rather, the scientific community must travel beyond our typical superficial approaches, to begin to understand the basic processes and mechanisms behind this prejudice. By understanding how unequal treatment gets produced during interaction, we can better understand how this form of discrimination is the same or perhaps different from other types of discrimination. Once we understand what factors lead to the production of discrimination against queer communities, we can develop effective strategies to intervene, thus preventing its emergence.

The Dissertation is broken down into several sections. The first section is the literature review, which summarizes several of the traditional theoretical perspectives of gender, including those developed around masculinity and gender non-conformity. Next, there is a discussion of

several theories of sexuality and how sexuality might shape stratification within interaction. After the discussion of sexuality is a brief review of the research on sexual orientation as stigma. Next, is a brief description of Expectations States Theory, Status Characteristics Theory, and Cue Theory to formalize these claims about sexuality and lay out a framework for testing them. After the literature review is a discussion of the experimental design and methods. First, the eight conditions are described, next is a discussion of the procedures for the experiment, and lastly the method for training the confederates is described. I will begin with a discussion of traditional theories of gender and sexuality.

Research on Gender and Sexuality

Traditional perspectives of gender and sexual difference

Any discussion of gender and interaction should begin with a review of traditional theoretical perspectives of gender and sexuality. Once these theories are specified, I will discuss their meaning for interaction and behavior. While more recent work on gender has problematized these "classic" theories of gender difference and inequality, they still play an important role in conceptions of gender difference. To summarize the evolution of theory on gender difference briefly, I will discuss the development of the biological, functionalist, gender role, and social constructionist perspectives on gender difference. I begin with a discussion of biological explanations of gender difference, as they were the first to emerge. The biological perspective proposes that the differences in behavior between men and women can be explained through the physically observable differences between the two genders. Understandings of male and female difference since the middle of the 19th century turned away from religious explanations of gender difference and towards a language of science to legitimate the structure of gender difference.

The early 20th century was a time of immense social change. Spurred by changing racial dynamics in the US, feminists like Elizabeth Stanton and Susan B. Anthony participated in the first US women's rights movement, which worked toward challenging social and legal gender inequalities in the US. This movement worked towards a variety of reforms such as the right to vote, marriage reforms, the right to education, the right to speak in public, and own property. These immense social changes and challenges waged by women during this time lead to deep social anxiety about social stability. It is no coincidence that during this time biological theories about the difference between men and women also began to emerge. It has been argued that the focus on solidifying the oppositeness of men and women was in part a social backlash against changing gender roles in work, family, and society (Katz 1990, Pp. 73).

Biological theories advanced in the early 19th century proclaimed that women who participated in non-traditional gendered activities such as work voting or education were working against their biological inclinations. It was predicted that if women participated in education they would run the risk of damaging reproductive organs or go insane (Clark, 1873). Clark asserted that the body had a fixed amount of energy and if energy was spent in one area of the nervous system this would decrease the amount of energy available for other parts of the body.

Herbert Spencer (1852, 1873, and 1876) also used biological theories to justify social inequality. For example, he used Darwin's theory of evolution to explain the integral role biology played in the formation and maintenance of social organization. Social division based on sex was biologically predestined, according to Spencer, and was an example of a social survival of the fittest. Social roles in society were considered a reflection of biological ability, therefore men where more competitive and women were more nurturing. Social Darwinist explanations of gender difference have been used to rationalize gender hierarchy and gender roles in society.

The use of biology to understand culture continues in more resent scholarly work. For example, one of the most popular uses of biology to understand and explain social behavior is that of the sociobiology's (Wilson 1975, 1978). Sociobiologists use research on animals to explain the relationship between evolutionary processes and human behavior. Based on early theories of evolution, sociobiologists propose that much of human behavior is motivated by the desire to see their human line of genes survive. According to Wilson, all creatures obey natural rules of biology that then result in the social and political formations we see in modern society.

We also find biological arguments about gender in the study of human brains. In the late 19th century brain size was used to explain the difference between whites and blacks, Jews and non-Jews, criminals and non-criminals. The use of brain research has continued in more recent years to explain social differences between men and women. Looking towards innate biologically fixed differences in the brain has been used to justify beliefs about difference in personality and ability between men and women. For example *Newsweek* published an article that asserted that, "The male brain is not so easily distracted by superfluous information," whereas the female brain is, "less able to separate emotion from reason" (Begley 1995).

Researchers like Steven Goldberg have also looked at hormones to explain he differences between men and women. Goldberg writes, "Since men and women differ in their hormonal systems and every society demonstrates patriarchy, male dominance and male attainment, then we can make a logical link between hormones and social structure." According to these biologically based theories gender inequality is fixed because it is biological rooted. Michael Kimmel argues that these biological explanations have a certain "conceptual tidiness" (Kimmel, 2000; p.22) because the inequality that we observe can be attributed to natural differences between the anatomical sexes.

The biological perspective has important implications for group behavior. For example, if gender difference is in fact biologically rooted, and therefore unchanging, then group level structural inequalities based on gender will also be determined by biology and immutable. In other words, men will be socially advantaged over women in groups, either by resource allocation or behavioral indicators, as they are physically the "stronger sex." If gender is indeed biologically innate then the hierarchies that develop in groups will be static. This perspective would assume that men are in the highest positions in-group structure because they are biologically predestined to be there. This process may seem "natural" however scholars on gender have shown that sorting individuals into sex categories is a social process. The process itself has been shown to rely on cues of appearance and behavior that have culturally determined meanings that stand as proxies for actual sex difference (Kessler McKenna 1978, West and Zimmerman 1987; Smith Lovin and Ridgeway 1999). This really is a simplification of the biological perspective however this perspective is a popularized conception of 'biological difference' that drives a lot of the legitimacy behind gender stereotypes, difference, and inequality. It is for this reason that this aspect of the biological perspective is important to address and understand.

I now turn to functionalist explanations of gender difference. Functionalism emerged in the early 20th century to explain why the division of labor between men and women both in public and private spheres was so pervasive. Functionalist explanations of gender difference further extend theories based on biological difference. Functionalism is a sociological perspective based on the idea that society is made up of multiple parts that work interdependently for the functioning of larger society. Functionalists examine individual parts to see how they contribute to larger social balance and stability. They also argued that social

stratification, and inequality more specifically, is essential to society because it provides motivation for individuals to fill functionally important positions. Those who were stronger and more capable should have the socially advantaged positions. Functionalists propose that having consensus around particular social values, like those surrounding gender roles, marriage, and family, are integral to maintaining equilibrium in society. Murdock (1949) researched 250 societies from the Human Relations Area Files, a collection of ethnographic research on a variety of cultures, he concluded that the family was a universal social institution, and that it was universal precisely because it plays a functional role in society.

The Functionalist perspective asserts that there will be the most harmony and least disruption when partners in a family structure maintain specialized, non-overlapping roles within the family structure (Parsons Bales 1955). It is most efficient and functional when women are channeled into the more expressive, submissive, and emotionally supportive roles, and men are guided into instrumental roles that are more dominant, active, and protective. Any breakdown of these traditional gender roles would cause strain in the American family, and would ultimately lead to problems in the larger society. Critics have challenged this Functionalist perspective, arguing that framing gender difference and the sexual division of labor as natural obscures the power differences and inequality embedded in these seemingly "neutral" gender roles (Hartman 1976, Rubin 1984).

Robert Merton tries to repair some of the weakness of Functionalist theory. For example, he disregarded the idea that all aspects of the social structure were highly functional, allowing for the idea of dysfunction. He asserted that function could in a sense be a matter of perspective. For some the structure would appear functional and for others it would appear dysfunctional (Merton 1957). While there are a variety of critiques of the Functionalist perspective, a great deal

of the family literature still uses aspects of it. For example, there are researchers that argue that an intact family structure plays an integral role in raising healthy children (Wallerstein and Blakeslee 1989; and Popenoe 1996).

An analysis of what this perspective means for group interaction reveals critiques echoed by other theorists (Hartman 1976; Rubin 1984). Gender roles, as defined by the functionalists, are not neutral but are infused with hierarchy, power, and inequality. By allowing women to behave in only an expressive and submissive way, men are sure to be advantaged during group encounters. And, by not allowing women full participation during interaction, how can this situation be considered efficient. If only one gender can lead while others are left out, how can group work be done with any speed, accountability, or effectiveness?

As understandings of sexuality and gender have developed, sociologists have developed new ways to explain the differences between men and women. For example, sex role theory moves beyond the idea that gender difference and the division of labor are only products of biological difference. Instead, sex role theory takes into account how social and cultural factors shape differences between men and women. This perspective was supported by assumptions developed in the functionalist perspective. For example, Talcott Parsons described sex roles as functional divisions in behavior between men and women that ultimately worked to maintain the social system (Parson 1954). Parson and Bales (1955) suggested, for example, that men performed instrumental productive social roles and women performed expressive and emotional social roles and any diversion from this was considered dysfunctional. More recent research on sex roles allowed for the idea that expectations of role behavior would in fact vary culturally and historically and that men and women play a more agentic role in the creation of sex roles then was previously thought (Connell 1987). This perspective took into account ideas of

socialization and outlined the social processes by which men learn masculinity and women learn femininity, leading to a division of labor between the sexes. This division of labor then becomes the bases for the construction of gender roles later in life (Eagly et al. 2004).

While Sex Role Theory began to shift the conversation around gender to allow for the influence of social contextual factors it was not completely exempt from relying essentialist notions about unchanging biological difference. For example, gender role theory (Bem 1993) and social role theory (Eagly 1987) both propose an explanation for differentiation of gender roles that still relies on assumptions about innate differences between men and women. Physical differences between men and women are said to be the main cause of differentiation in gender roles throughout men and women's lifetimes (Eagly et al. 2002). Men's physical advantage in strength and size encouraged behaviors like hunting and warfare, whereas women's ability to give birth encouraged other social activities. Once these roles are set up due to actual physical difference, they lead to expectations about men and women's capabilities and ultimately expectations that men and women would occupy different areas within the social world (Gilbert 1998). In other words, stereotypes and prejudice about women and men's difference is related to the roles that they occupy in society. We define social roles as group expectations of individuals in certain social categories (Biddle 1979 and Sarbin and Allen 1968). Gender roles are therefore beliefs about men and women. However, Eagly describes that these roles are more than just beliefs, but expectations that are, "normative in the sense that they describe qualities or behavioral tendencies believed to be desirable for each sex" (Eagly 1987:13).

This theory assumes that there is a direct relationship between behavior and inborn characteristics. Therefore, men's participation in higher earning or higher status positions and women's position in lower status and domestic positions reveals underlying innate personal

qualities of men and women (Eagly et al. 2000). These social roles have important consequences. For example, scholars have found that compared with race, age and occupation, sex is the most important characteristic used to categorize people (A. P. Fiske, Haslam, and Fiske, 1991; Stangor, Lynch, Duan, and Glass, 1992; van Knippenberg, van Twuyver, and Pepels, 1994).

Similar to critiques of functionalism, this theory has been criticized for treating separate roles of men and women as complementary and integral rather than explaining how sex roles support underlying power difference between men and women. For example, Carrigan et al. (1985) challenged sex role theory for its insistence that difference was not related to power. Carrigan notes that masculinity was not a universal innate quality, but rather a set of practices used to enforce the subordination of women, and "hegemonic masculinity" over other men. Michael Kimmel suggest that, "perhaps the most significant problem in sex role theory is that is depoliticizes gender, making gender a set of individual attributes and not an aspect of social structure (Kimmel 2004, p. 97)." By understanding gender as a set of traits we ignore the power dynamics involved in separating the categories of male and female and the dynamics of oppression and privilege involved in this separation and categorization. This is important because it challenges social assumptions that gender is natural and therefore has no impact on power, privilege, and status.

Next, I will explore the development of the social constructionist perspective, which marks an important change in how we understand gender during interaction. Unlike the biologically essentialist perspective that argues that gender hierarchy in group interaction is a product of innate difference, the social constructionist perspective argues that meanings around gender are created in society through interaction. This insight opens up the possibility that gender hierarchies that develop during interaction need not be fixed. The social constructionist

perspective still assumes that social and familial practices play a role in gender and sex difference, however, it moves away from explanations of gender difference as simply a result of socialization. Rather, it asserts that individual behavior and identity are shaped by historical, contextual, and most importantly, interactional processes (Pleck et al. 1994a.). This research orientation asserts that what we see as reality, what we often take for granted as true unchanging experience, is in fact socially situated. Unlike the biologically essentialist perspective that argues that gender hierarchy during group interaction is a product of innate difference, the social constructionist perspective argues that gender is created meaning, and so there is potential for resistance to and subversion of gender norms.

The social constructionist theory moves beyond just modeling gender as something learned during the process of socialization or a product of biological difference, and instead explores how gender is learned from the larger culture within which we are embedded (Deustch, 2007). Social constructionists suggest that gender is a set of relationships created and maintained through individual's behavior (Gerson and Peiss, 1985,: 327). Importantly, gender cannot be held by any one person, but is a social relation that can be found within social dynamics and interactions (Crawford 1995); however, gender does not have to be done in a mixed gendered setting or a setting that is particularly gendered for it to occur. Gender performance also occurs when individuals are alone and not engaged in interaction. This happens because once we learn about and are socialized into the gender system, expectations are internalized and perpetuated through the development of an individual's understanding of the social world. The segregation of activities for young children shapes the assumption for both children and adults that differing behaviors of boys and girls are natural (Fenstermaker and West 2002). Judith Butler notes that

gender is only perceived as natural because everyone repeatedly performs it over time. These performances then work to maintain traditional gender categories.

West and Zimmerman (1987) further developed this idea of gender as a social construction. They argued that gender is a series of social practices continuously being constructed in everyday interactions between people. This is an important conceptual change in how research approached gender differences because West and Zimmerman were the first to de-couple the relationship between biology and behavior. Not only do West and Zimmerman challenge the natural relationship between biology and behavior, but also they offer a new framework for understanding the interplay between behavior in social interaction and the larger social structure. For West and Zimmerman, gender is a master identity that, while accomplished continually in interaction, becomes important in situations beyond the interactional level. The way that this master identity works is that cultural rules and expectations get developed during interaction and then become part of the normative expectation about gender appropriate behavior. These expectations then get carried into situations that may not specifically be gendered (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999). For this perspective, gender both structures interaction and is structured by interaction.

West and Zimmerman articulate a new process of gender construction by creating a new conception of sex, sex category, and gender. *Sex* is defined by a set of biological criteria like genitalia, chromosomes or hormones. While the criteria may shift across social setting, each society has a set of criteria they use to distinguish between sexes. *Sex category*, on the other hand, is the classification an individual gets placed in depending on their visible sex difference. However, "in everyday life, categorization is established and sustained by the socially required identificatory displays that proclaim one's membership in one or the other category" (West and

Zimmerman, 1987,:127). In other words, because we do not have visible access to information about genitalia, chromosomes, and hormones during daily interaction, our sex category reflects the "socially required identificatory displays" of norms associated with sex difference. It is in this way that performance comes to stand in for sex. *Gender* is the process of managing ones behavior according to these normative understandings of appropriate gendered behavior. Gender is not necessarily a simple reflection of one's sex category, but rather activity used to associate oneself or make claims to a particular sex category. Therefore, we perform, or "do", our gender during interaction continuously over time and across context, and that performance is then assessed by those with whom we are interacting. While neither gender nor sex, according to this theory, is innate within individuals, the continual performance and assessment of gender and sex lead to perceptions of gender difference as natural.

West and Zimmerman use Ervine Goffman's account of the construction of sex as natural from his book the "Arrangement of the Sexes" (1977) to describe how sex difference is produced. Goffman explores a variety of aspects in social life that work to produce difference between men and women and make that difference appear as natural. One way that Goffman suggests that the naturalness of sex is achieved is through the setting in which interaction takes place. The example provided is the ways in which men and women's bathrooms produce differences that appear as natural although the behavior in the bathroom, elimination of waste, is the same for both men and women. Another example is public social occasions like sports events where men and women are actually separated into separate spaces (on the field and in the stands), and how this distance calls for different types of behavior that reinforces the expectation that behavior is in fact natural while in reality it is a product of the social structure. Goffman suggests that while certain situations, like a women waiting for help to change a flat tire may seem like an

expression of a certain inborn gendered trait, every social interactional situation could be described with masculine or feminine qualities. Goffman therefore suggests that while situations appear to be showing a natural trait difference, those situations are in reality producing that difference in a way that appears natural.

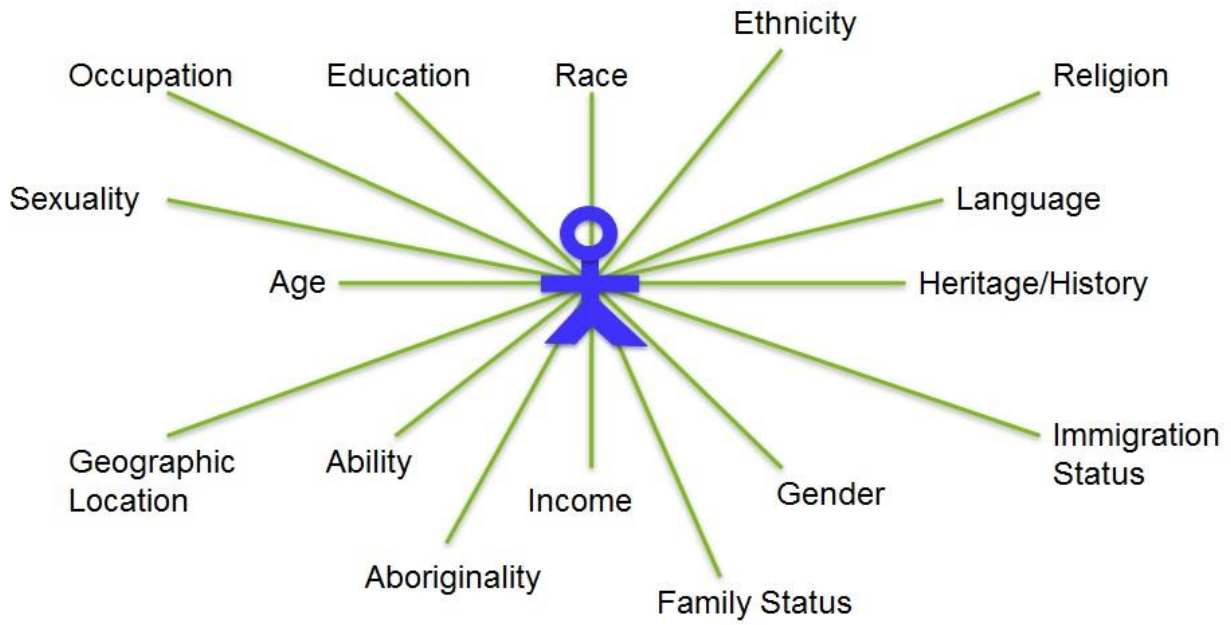
For group interaction, the social construction of gender opens up new possibilities for examining behavior. If gender is constructed by interactants, then gender hierarchies will be less static. That is, it may be possible to construct hierarchies based on sex, sex category, and gender, versus just sex, which is what the other perspectives on gender argued. Perhaps there are other mechanisms at work besides sex category and gender that can create meaning for gender during interaction. I propose that sexuality might also shape interaction and behavior in the development of group hierarchies. Next I will discuss how this research can inform our understanding of sexuality and gender performance through the use of feminist perspectives on intersectionality.

Intersectionality

This research relies on previous feminist perspectives that have revealed the interactional nature of multiple categories of identity. Feminists have suggested that we must be careful to not isolate categories like race, class, and gender because they shape and define individuals experience in complicated ways. By isolating these groups and studying them separately we severely obscured the ways that these categories combine to provide multiple oppressions and also multiple privileges. In this research project I propose a study design and theoretical perspective that will allow us to study gender display, sexual orientation, and sex category from an intersectional perspective. First, let me provide some of theoretical background and assumptions that the theory of intersectionality rests upon.

The theory of intersectionality proposes that when we look at different categories oppression that have led to social inequality we should look at them not as independent or additive categories but rather as intersectional (King 1989) During the 1960-and 70's women of color critiqued the feminist movement for its white middle class concerns and proposed that looking at gender as the primary category that shaped women's experience systematically ignored race, ethnic, classed, and sexual dimensions that shape women's experience. Black feminist theory proposed that neither theories of race nor theories of gender addressed the unique experience of race and gender as simultaneous and linked social identities (Brown and Misra 2003). This goes beyond simply adding race to research on gender or adding gender to research on race but how race is gendered and how gender is racialized (Amott and Matthaei 1991). What is so important about intersectionality research is that these categories have inherent power differences and have an important influence on identity, interaction, economic and political organization (Collins 1999)

Figure 1. Pictorial Representation of Intersectionality Theory



Feminist theorists have proposed that race and gender are socially constructed in ways that influence identity but also shape larger organization of the social system (Collins 1999). Collins refers to the intersection of race class and gender as a matrix of domination. Meaning that these categories combine disadvantage and advantage together to shape individuals experiences (Baca Zinn and Thorton Dill 1996). Researchers have proposed that gender is constructed in a way that maintains status privilege and social hierarchy and that gender is simultaneously defined through the social construction of race (Brown and Misra 2003). Therefore cultural definitions of femininity that rely on ideas of weakness, passivity are defined against dominant conceptions of black women. The popular images of black women as an asexual mammy, promiscuous jezebel, and welfare queen reinforce divisions of black female sexuality and white female sexuality (Collins 1999). Similarly these dominant stereotypes are used to oppress men of color. For example popular tropes of black men as hyper sexualized and violent have led to issues with discrimination and incarceration and images of Asian men as feminized are asexual has led to occupational segregation (Misra and Broan 2003). We can see how categorization of difference defined in opposition don't just disadvantage some groups but also advantage other groups through the process of social closure (Weber 1968).

If we agree that various categories of identity and experience are intersecting in complicated ways then we also must explore new avenues of research that will allow us to understand how multiple oppressions and perhaps multiple privileges might be influencing the creation and maintenance of structural inequality. Quantitative methods have struggled to study intersectional for a few difference reasons. First, it is difficult to study racial inequality because of the small sample sizes of minority groups, even in large data sets. Furthermore, quantitative research typically studies gender, race, or class oppression by holding all of the categories

constant except for one, this of course is problematic according to the theories of intersectionality because it obscures the interrelated and contingent nature of each of these categories of experience. Because of these quantitative shortcomings a majority of the feminist research on intersectionality has relied on qualitative and ethnographic methods. In this research I propose a way to use an experimental quantitative methodology that allows us to take a truly intersectional approach to the study of gender and sexuality. This experimental design will allow us to look at the isolated effect of gender display, sexual orientation, and sex category as well as to observe the behavioral differences and interactional inequality that develops when these categories combine. Once the data on these three aspects of experience are captured we can add in other more complex layers of identity like race or educational level to observe other types of effects. Before we discuss sexuality let us quickly evaluate some of the more recent research on masculinity and gender non-conformity. I propose that women and men can perform both masculinity and femininity and that how one decides to perform gender can important consequences for how interactional hierarchy develops and levels of influence of particular individuals that are interacting.

Hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity

In order to better understand the enactment of various forms of gender display in this experiment I need to first document the theoretical work that has been developed on masculinity and femininity. By unpacking and exploring the research in this area we can better understand and develop hypotheses about how the diversity of gender display enacted by our confederates will shape interaction and ultimately the influence process in our task groups. I would first like to unpack some of the foundational research on masculinity particularly theories about

hegemonic masculinity. Then I want to discuss the ways that this research can be helpful for understanding both female and male gender performance and interaction. It might be possible that either hegemonic masculinity is appropriated by females in interaction, or that there is a form of hegemonic femininity that has not yet been formulated. This is important to explore because most of the research on masculinity ignores how women perform masculinity and femininity in ways that are not dependent on men. Furthermore, it might be possible that men in interaction appropriate femininity. In the first study, in this research, I will examine the gender performance and sexual orientation of women who are only interacting with other women. The next study I will examine the gender display and sexual orientation of men interacting with women. In this way we can see how gender becomes salient in interaction and how it works with sexuality, to shape status hierarchies. I will begin with a summary of the emergence of research on masculinity and the idea of hegemonic masculinity, then I will discuss the research on femininity.

During the middle of the 20th century feminist theorists and activists began to call into question the lack of racial diversity and attention to racial difference within the feminist movement (Hooks 1984). Questions about racial diversity allowed an opening for questions about masculinity and assumptions about a universal male sex category (Connell and Messerschmitt 2005). Questions about race allowed for questions about masculinity because the feminist literature could no longer solely focus on the experiences of upper middle class white women, rather it had to negotiate with other forms of gender, class, race, and sexual differences. Research on masculinity has been growing over the past 40 years and recently this area of research has allowed for the idea that masculinity is a performance category that can be held by people with assigned male bodies as well as those without assigned male bodies. Furthermore,

sociologists agree that there are many forms of masculinity, but argue that one form tends to be the most dominant. The dominant form is referred to as "hegemonic masculinity." Messner (1992) argues that we should not think of "hegemonic masculinity" as something that an individual has or doesn't have (e.g., lots of money, muscles, and fancy cars), but as a symbol of manhood. Hegemonic masculinity is the behavior and practices (not just roles and identities) that created men's dominance over women (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Connel 1995; Connell 1997).

Therefore, hegemonic masculinity works in opposition, to subordinate masculinity as a normative ideal that men have to position themselves with or against. The ideas is that not all men are equal agents of oppression but rather that men engage in different types of masculinity depending on where they are within the social hierarchy. Even though hegemonic masculinity functions as an ideal type that most men do not fit into, the structure of hegemonic masculinity provides the possibility for all men to benefit from the subordination of women. Connell suggests that this form of masculinity has three major aspects integral to its definition. First, masculinity can be thought of as a social position that both men and women can occupy. Secondly, it consists of a set of behaviors and characteristics that fit into social understandings of masculinity. Lastly, when an individual embodies this type of masculinity their behaviors take on a larger cultural meaning then those behaviors might have initially taken on if practiced in isolation of each other (Connell, 1995, 71).

Let us turn to some of the critiques that have already been waged against the research on masculinity. Some analyses criticize studies of masculinity for essentializing men or assuming a universal unity within masculinity that does not fit with the fluid nature of the category (Peterson 2003). The argument is that this theory tries to simply fit types of men into categories. Rather

than using these categories as ideal types they get used as overly simplistic categories that are not useful for analysis.

Furthermore, some masculinity research relies on the assumption that male bodies can only enact masculinity. Looking at masculinity as performed by men simply reifies essentialist categories by making them appear as discrete and immutable (Pascoe 1974). More recent research on masculinity and performance has looked at the use of masculinity by female bodies (Califie 1994, Halberstam 1998; Paechter 2006). This research has been important because it has allowed us to uncouple our definition of masculinity from the male body, and instead to look at masculinity as both a process and a field in which power gets articulated (Bederman 1995; Scott 1999).

Connell (2005) proposes that there is no hegemonic form of femininity that is comparable to hegemonic masculinity. Instead, there is an "emphasized femininity" that revolves around subordination to men and is based on accommodating the interests of men. Muscular women are viewed to be threatening and are considered unfeminine because this non-normative appearance undermines hegemonic masculinity (Lorber 1994). Similarly feminine men are considered un-masculine and threatening because of their non-normative performance of masculinity. Importantly, larger social categories of masculinity exist in our cultural consciousness beyond the bodies of actual men and women. Therefore regardless of the gender of the individual with whom one is interacting ideas and expectations around gender are still at work.

While there is no hegemonic femininity, Connell suggests that "emphasized femininity" is an expression of femininity that defers to men and accepts established gender inequality. Connell argues that looking at emphasized femininity in relationship to masculinity is important because masculinity is always defined with and against femininity. Furthermore, only discussing

the practices and behaviors of men we importantly silence the ways in which women participate in the construction of masculinity through aspects of social life like socialization, peer interactions, and intimate relationships (Messershimt and Connell 2005, 848). Connell (1987) discusses emphasized femininity as a response to men's need for reassurance of their masculine status and power claiming that it is a, "compliance with men's desires for titillation and ego stroking in office relationships, acceptance of marriage and child care as a response to labor market discrimination against women (Connell 1987, 183, 188)." This type of femininity is discussed as a response to women's increased social and occupational visibility and participation. Because this type of participation might be threatening to men's previous social status, women enact gender in way that placates the anxiety about women's social gains.

Understandings of masculinity and femininity are fundamental to understanding how women engage with each other in interaction. Contrary to popular belief that women perform gender in ways that are oriented toward the maintenance of male privilege and inequality it may be possible that women perform gender in ways entirely outside of concerns about men and male hierarchy. Women may also perform gender and produce gender norms and expectations with and for other women that play an important role in hierarchy and inequality among women. Because I will be looking at the performance of masculinity and femininity among women and men who are only interacting with other women it is important not only to look at how women can perform masculinity and/or femininity and men can perform masculinity and/or femininity but also how social hierarchy forms around these expectations.

The next section will explore the research on gender non-conformity. I examine questions about how gender non-conformity, also discussed as female masculinity, shapes social hierarchy and expectations for women. Some previous studies have argued that masculinity is

always a positive state in interaction, whether men or women perform it, and that it will provide status and influence in group interaction. I am interested in looking at whether gender non-conformity among women might also lead to certain negative social sanctions for women in interaction particularly if it is paired with a non-normative sexuality. For example, will masculine homosexual women be sanctioned or stigmatized in interaction for not accepting normative expectations of gender and sexuality? Will feminine homosexual men be sanctioned or stigmatized in interaction for not accepting normative expectations of gender and sexuality?

Gender non-conformity: perceived competence of female masculinity

This section will discuss the current theories about gender non-conformity. I will examine the ways in which women who reject feminine expectations might be both advantaged and disadvantaged by this behavior, whereas, men who reject masculinity might only be disadvantaged. Because masculinity is more highly valued then femininity, even when women step outside their expected roles, they might gain status from behaviors associated with men. However, because they are rejecting normative expectations around their assigned gender they may also receive negative social sanctions for not conforming to social expectations of gender. This is in contrast to men who will only be disadvantaged because they are both stepping outside of normative expectations as well as rejecting the more highly valued state of masculinity. Below is a summary of research focused on the effects of gender non-conformity for men and women.

In general attitudes toward gender non-conformity tend to be negative as is shown in studies of early childhood non-conformity (Thorne 1993). However, researchers argue that the stigma for men and boys who do not conform to gender roles tends to be greater and more

punitive than the stigma for girls who do not conform (Haldeman 2000; Gosschalk 2004; Garnets Kimmel 1993). Studies have repeatedly documented preferences for masculine gender performance, activities, and interests even when a female-bodied individual performs this masculinity. The argument is that because masculinity is the higher status gender, women are freer to transgress gender than men (Connell 1987, 1995; Messner and Sabo 1994; Gosschalk 2004). Many early childhood development studies find that non-conformity for girls is widely accepted as a normal phase that young girls go through, whereas boys who pick up traditionally female gendered behaviors or activities are seen as problematic or showing symptoms of non-normative sexuality. Even when we turn to examine the derogatory names that get attached to non-normative gender behavior in young children, for example "sissy" and "tomboy," we see that they have very different connotations. There is a cultural script around tomboy behavior in young women that simply does not exist for young men. In contrast to women if men engage in non-normative behaviors they often attract negative labels like "pansy", "wuss" or "fag" which indicates a lack of suitable masculine qualities or heterosexuality (Peplau 1998).

This privileging of masculine behavior in both men and women transcends expectations of children. For example in previous research on men and women who perform masculinity in interactions has found that both men and women are preferred by their peers when they are in the masculine role, moreover both men and women liked women and men better when they had masculine interests (Seyfried and Hendricks 1973). Spence Helmreich 1972: 44) This cultural standard seems to follow into arenas of sexuality where researchers have found that not only are attitudes toward gay men more negative than they are for lesbians, but in general, men tend to have greater dislike for homosexuality than do women (Kite 1994, Here 19888; Whitley 1988, Garnets and Kimmel 1993, Herek and Glunt 1993). These negative perceptions of gay men have

real world consequences. For example, Black and Colleagues (2001) found that gay men earned 12% less then straight men, but lesbians earn 9% more than straight women. In general the research indicates that when women engage in masculine behavior, whether it is roles they play, activities they engage in, or even sexual behavior typically associated with men, they are not socially sanctioned in the same way, as men are who engage in similar non-normative gender behavior.

While it seems that men seem to face more negative reactions for not conforming to gender norms, women are not immune from this negative reaction to non-normative gendered behavior. For example, when we examine women who reject certain feminine norms and expectations we see that they do in fact receive some negative reactions to their behavior. Researchers have found that counter normative behavior is likely to create social disapproval and penalties for women (Cialdini and Trost 1998). Research also finds that others see women who do not conform to expectations of femininity as less socially appealing (Carli, 1990; Carli, LaFleur, and Loeber, 1995; Rudman, 1998; Heilman 2004). Heilman argues that part of the problem is that stereotypes are descriptive and prescriptive in that they not only describe how men and women are different but designate particular behaviors suitable for each. While women may not be penalized in some areas, like amount of pay, for appropriating masculine behavior they seem to still be sanctioned in other ways. For example, Heilman (2004) describes the various research findings related to other types of negative sanctions of women challenging prescribed gender norms.

> "There is some indication in the literature that success can be costly for women in terms of social approval. Competent women as compared with competent men have been depicted as cold (Porter and Geis, 1981; Wiley and Eskilson, 1985) and undesirable as fellow group members (Hagen and Kahn, 1975) and have been found to elicit visible cues of negative affect (Butler and Geis, 1990). Also, successful female managers have been described as severely wanting interpersonally (e.g., bitter, quarrelsome, selfish, deceitful, and devious) as compared with similarly successful male managers (Heilman, Block, and Martell, 1995; Heilman, Block, Martell, and Simon, 1989)." (Heilman 2004, pp. 418).

Heilman's findings support previous claims that women, who are perceived as successful or highly competent at their jobs, were also looked at as much less likable and hostile to others in the work place. Heilman also found that this perceived hostility was only present in work places where the work was seen as traditionally masculine. It seems that the negative reactions to women's success are not so much about women being successful per se as it is about women being successful in male space. The threat comes not so much from women who are competent and successful as it is from women who are these things at the expense of male privilege and power.

It might seem that as long as these non-conforming women are being perceived as competent and paid well, being disliked is simply the price of admission in successful careers. However research has also found that perception of social skills as well as likability have important consequences for women. For example Heilman et al found that this social sanction of being seen as 'less likable' can have deleterious consequences for these women's future career. They show that being disliked, "strongly affects competent individuals' overall evaluations and recommended organizational rewards, including salary and special job opportunities" (Heilman 2004). Furthermore, Phelan (2008) found that social skills predicted likelihood of being hired more than competence for agentic (confident, competent, ambitious) women. Thus employers shifted hiring and salary criteria away from competence and towards social skills for agentic women. The problem is that if women enact agency it can help them be perceived as competent

and disconfirm negative stereotypes of women but when they portray competence, confidence and ambition they risk backlash in the form of social and economic sanctions (Rudman and Fairchild 1998).

Understanding gender non conformity is important for interaction because an examination of how gender performance shapes expectations about competence and overall influence is important for group hierarchy and inequality within groups. If masculinity is in fact providing a status boost for women but having a negative effect on how likeable she is then how does this play out in terms of influence in groups. If men gain status from being in the sex category male but are losing status when they perform femininity what effect might this have in terms of influence in groups? Understanding how these processes work in interaction can be useful when we are trying to unpack the experiences of women in larger society. Status allocation and social punishment for gender performance has important implications for resource allocation, access to networks and jobs, and overall social success. Some of the gender and sexual orientation inequality that we see is reflective of larger macro and institutional structure but much of the larger structural inequality is also a ramification of interactional processes. Therefore we must understand how inequality around gender works at the level of interaction in order understands how larger social inequality gets reproduced and maintained. This gets even more complicated when we try to add in sexuality. How do gender performance and sexuality inform each other in interaction for example? The next section will summarize developing ideas around sexuality and its association with gender.

Sexuality in interaction

This section will discuss some of the historical roots of theories of sexuality in the US as well as how we understand sexuality in the modern context. I will begin with a discussion of the ways in which gender and sexuality have been framed as inextricably linked social phenomena. Next I will discuss the ways in which sexuality, similar to gender, is socially constructed. Then I will explore the ways in which non-normative gender and sexuality are integral to maintaining normative sexuality and gender. I will discuss how sexuality has become important to individual identity and inequality in larger social systems. Finally I will unpack what all of this means for group interaction.

Let's start with how gender and sexuality have been historically framed. Early 20th century understandings of sexuality and gender understood gender and sexuality as two sides of the same coin. Non-normative gender performance was labeled "gender inversion", and seen not only as a sign of homosexuality, but also the cause of homosexuality. Non-conformity was considered the outward reflection of an internal sexual disorder. For example, early work on sexuality linked masculinity with heterosexual male bodies or lesbian female bodies, and femininity with heterosexual female bodies or gay men. This idea that gender confusion and homosexuality were linked is present throughout literature in this field (Ellis and Symonds, 1897; von Krafft-Ebing, 1906; Bloch, 1908), as well as more recent research on sexuality (Bailey and Pillard, 1991; and LeVay, 1993, 1996). The assumption that gender and sexuality are inextricably linked is problematic because it is based on normative essentialist notions of male and female difference. In other words assuming that these two are the same also assumes that there is only one correct biologically based way to be male or female and to express sexuality.

Furthermore, essentialist notions work in ways that maintain male privilege and dominance, and enforce compulsory heterosexuality (Kitzinger 1987).

What we now know is that there is no natural connection between gender non-conformity and homosexuality, but false assumptions about their connection remain pervasive. Catherine Johnson argues that because sexuality is not always presented in interaction, gender performance stands in for sexual difference. According to Johnson, this process is driven by stereotypes that associate lesbians with masculinity and gay men with effeminacy (for a review, see Johnson 1995). The assumptions about gender and sexuality being connected can work in the reverse as well. For example, research has found that individuals will actually rate individuals they know to be lesbian as more masculine and individuals they know to be gay as more feminine (Taylor 1983). Even though there is no biological relationship between gender non-conformity and homosexuality, the two are inextricably linked in our social and cultural consciousness. Gay men are associated with stereotypes of being feminine, such as passivity, sensitivity, dependence, emotional and artistic, and lesbians get associated with stereotypes of being aggressive, comparative, assertive, independent and mechanical (Broverman, Vogel 1972).

It is possible that this conflation of gender and sexuality has important ramifications for group interaction. We know that gender performance is important for how hierarchy develops in group interaction, but research has yet to explore how sexuality interacts with this process. It is possible that gender cues signal assumptions about sexuality and vice versa, but the research has not disentangled gender from sexuality to explore how they might work together and separately. Cathryn Johnson proposes one possibility. She argues that knowledge of homosexuality leads to assumptions and expectations about gender. She asserts that, it is precisely this association between non-conformity and homosexuality that leads to unusually strong interactional

disadvantages for non-gender conforming or homosexual individuals, however Johnson has not tested this theory. There has been some research on how attributions of sexuality might affect prestige orders in group interaction. For example, sexuality attributions made from an individual's appearance, hobbies, gestures, styles and posture might play a role in expectations of that individual's competence and ultimately on status hierarchies of groups (Berger, Rauzi, and Simins 1987; Herek 1994). This research is interested in further exploring exactly how gender and sexuality work together and separately to shape hierarchies in group interaction.

Beyond looking at gender and sexuality as two synonymous processes the research on sexuality has also been problematic because it has looked at sexuality as biologically rooted. More recent research has proposed that not only gender, but also sexuality, is a social construction. This means that rather than heterosexuality and homosexuality being natural or biologically rooted, they are shaped by society and change over time and across context. I am not arguing that sexuality is not natural, but rather that sexual orientation (heterosexuality and homosexuality) are socially determined and shaped by the larger structural and social expectations (Gosschalk 2003).

When we talk about sexuality as being social constructed we mean that how we understand sexuality and the meanings we attach to different types of sexuality change over time and across context. For example, the emergence of gay and lesbian identities has been a relatively recent development in the course of human history; while same sex interaction has been present throughout history, the meaning and the identity that we attach to it is relatively recent (Papula 2000). Michael Foucault asserts that homosexuality as an identity was developed in the 18th century, and before that same sex sexuality was simply categorized by particular acts that, while non-normative or even punishable by law like sodomy, they did not signify

membership in a particular sexual category. Foucault asserts that in fact, "Sexuality is an invention of the modern state, the industrial revolution, and capitalism (Foucault, 1979)." By indicating a social context and point of origin for modern conceptions of sexuality, Foucault is calling our attention to the ways in which our current cultural and political influences ultimately shape and define our understandings of sexuality.

Understanding sexuality as a socially constructed category has important ramifications for group interaction. Similar to looking at gender as socially constructed when we understand sexuality from this perspective we can see new ways in which interaction gets structured. For example, it may be possible that categories of gay, straight, bisexual, and transgender have important meaning in group interaction beyond or in conjunction to the gender performance present in interaction. It is possible that there are other mechanisms besides gender and sex category, like sexuality, at work in interaction.

We now know that sexuality is distinct from gender and that it is socially constructed, but how does this process of social construction work? I will now examine how the normative expectations set up during the social construction process actually develop assumptions and expectations about normative and non-normative sexualities. In other words the development of normative expectations about sexuality are the standards by which other expressions of gender and sexuality get compared and measured. Judith Butler understands this normative and non-normative comparison as integral to understandings of gender and sexuality.

Judith Butler asserts that what is important is not just that gender and sexuality get accomplished through continual repeated acts, but that these acts produce a regulatory framework that appears natural (Butler 1999, 43). Butler argues that both sexuality and gender get produced through the denial of what is not normative or what Butler refers to as the "abject."

We define abject as the space between the object and the subject that stands outside but always also inside the symbolic order. For example, we can only know what being a man is by also knowing what a woman is. For example, negative space in a photograph makes the image in that picture visible. In other words we can only see and understand an image or a concept through the contrast of the negative space around it. The way that gender and sexuality get accomplished in interaction is through both asserting and denying the abject identity. We therefore know what normative, expected gender performance is by continually repudiating the failed, unrecognizable, non-normative gender. Similar to West and Zimmerman, Butler provides ways to challenge gender order. For example, individuals who deliberately engage in practices at odds with normative sex categories, practices that render them culturally intelligible, challenge the naturalness and inevitability of the gender order. Even though challenges to the normative order through interaction do not address larger structural inequalities these practices are still an important component of social change.

This theory about the use of the abject identity is used by C.J. Pascoe in her work on fag discourse within youth culture. Pascoe proposes that fag is an abject identity, positioned outside masculinity while also always constituted within the definition of masculinity. "Thus, masculinity in part becomes the daily interactional work of repudiating the 'threatened specter' of the fag (Pascoe 2011, 342)." She argues that Fag discourse is not necessarily about claiming or defining an individual's sexual orientation but rather is being used in the daily work of defining masculinity. According to Pascoe, homophobic insults are a regulatory and disciplinary mechanism used by young men and women to determine gender difference and mainlining masculine privilege. Therefore what Pascoe really found is that homophobia itself is reinforcing both normative sexualities as well as normative gender performances. This is important for this

research because it says that norms about gender are very hard to disentangle from norms about sexuality. My project is to look at sexuality and gender separately and together to see if we can understand how both gender and sexuality work to shape hierarchy in group interactions.

Next I will look at how sexuality influences identities and larger social categories. This is important because while sexuality is socially constructed it still has very real consequences at both the individual and macro level. Today, we understand sexuality not just as a series of isolated acts but also as an important aspect in the construction of identity. Sexual identity is "an individual's enduring sense of self as a sexual being that fits a culturally created category and accounts for one's sexual fantasies, attractions, and behavior" (Peplau 2000, Savin-Williams, 1995, p. 166). While sexuality plays an important role in individual identities it has important meanings within larger social systems. It has, therefore, become a symbolic category that exists outside of any one individual identity. It confers social privilege and power as well as rights and benefits in larger society. For example, heterosexuality is not just a private matter but links individuals to state rights and benefits (Stein and Plummer 1994). In the modern world sexuality has become more than just disconnected practices among individuals, but has become part of larger categories that take on important meanings. Sexuality not only influences and regulates social relationships but larger social structures as well (Epstein 1994 and Warner 1993). Mahay and colleagues go as far as to suggest that, "Institutions, identities, and discourses interact with and produce sexual meanings and identities. These meanings vary by social class, location and gender identity (Mahay, Laumann and Michales 2005, 10)."

In conclusion, I believe that both sexuality and gender play an important role in processes of stratification during interaction. First, I emphasize the importance of decoupling gender from sexuality so that we can see the influence of sexuality on its own. Second, I discuss

new assertions that sexuality, like gender, is socially constructed and done so in a way that maintains and reinforces normative categories of sexuality. Then I discuss how sexuality, while socially constructed, still has important implications for individual identity and larger social processes. I also discuss the ways in which gender display while not synonymous with sexually, is still linked to sexuality in our cultural consciousness and therefore has an effect on how sexuality works in group interaction. Lastly, while performance of masculinity has been shown to increase influence of women in interaction (Bianchi 2010), women may get a social penalty for this gender non-conformity through a process of stigmatization. This is a great deal of information about both sexuality and gender. Much of the previous research has looked at only how gender shapes influence in groups and has yet to examine how gender and sexuality are distinct but mutually influential categories that play an important role in group stratification. Furthermore, none of the research has formalized and tested the claims made here about sexuality. The next section with use Expectations States Theory to formalize these claims about sexuality and lay out a framework for testing them.

CHAPTER 2: UNDERSTANDING AND USING EXPECTATION STATES THEORY

This chapter summarizes the Expectation States Research program, along with two of its theories, entitled Status Characteristics Theory and Status Cue Theory. I will summarize each of these perspectives and then describe the mathematical formulations used to calculate profiles of expectation advantage and disadvantage.

Basics of EST and SCT

Expectation States Theory (EST) is actually a set of theories that investigate how particular socially recognized characteristics take on meaning during interaction; they used to shape inequality within groups (Berger and Wagner 1998). The immediate goal of this family of theories is to demonstrate how people use observable differences to differentiate themselves and others, and ultimately how these differences produce and maintain social hierarchy (Ridgeway 2001). Although this theoretical framework has been used for explaining social differentiation for a variety of characteristics (E.g., race, attractiveness, age, and occupation), it has most often been used to describe social inequality by gender.

In this section, I will describe the basics of one of EST's leading theories, Status Characteristics Theory (SCT). I will then use SCT as the foundational theory to explain how sexuality creates social hierarchy as does gender.

SCT is a popular social psychological theory that focuses on social hierarchy and inequality within task groups. In this section I will describe the scope conditions that delimit its fundamental process, and the 5 assumptions used to explain the inner workings of *status generalization*, the process delineated by SCT. I will begin with a general description of SCT, using gender as the status characteristic driving status generalization. I will then move on to an explication of hypotheses that posit how sexuality might operate as the status characteristic

gender does. Lastly, I will unpack what all of this means for behavior, and how I plan to test hypotheses derived from SCT with an experimental design.

SCT grew out of research done in the 1950's by Bales and colleagues. They proposed that social order was a reflection of chances to perform, attempts to solve problems, communication of attempts to solve problems, and changes of opinion when confronted with disagreement (Bales et al. 1951). What SCT contributes to these observations is that status characteristics, such as gender, race, age, education, beauty, and income, are associated with those behaviors that produce social order (Berger et al. 1977).

The main purpose of SCT is to describe the process of *status generalization.* The status generalization process works through a series of steps. Essentially, there are individuals in groups that have certain constellations of socially recognized attributes that provide them higher social prestige than other individuals in a group. Higher prestige, or social status, allows those individuals to participate and guide the group's task more than those with lower status. Once the social attributes are salient, they then come to be associated with expectations, of who can and cannot perform, or who has or does not have the competence to perform. The linkage between attributes and beliefs about competence is translated into different behaviors between the high and low status members of the group. The differences in status lead to differences in behavior because high status group members are associated with higher expectations to perform then low status group members.

The families of theories that are part of the EST research program, such as SCT, power and prestige theories, reward and behavior states theories, are all focused on understanding how we stratify in groups. There are two unifying ideas that connect all of these theories. The first is

how expectation states come to inform group interaction, and second that these processes only work in groups that meet the scope conditions of the theory.

An expectation state is an out-of-awareness, auto process, or what I will refer to as a non-conscious anticipation of others capacity in a group setting compared to self (Walker and Kidgaray 1985). Importantly, the expectation state is relational, meaning that it is only meaningful or made salient during a process of comparison. An expectation state is a theoretical construct. It is not directly measurable, but it is assumed to be in operation when disparities in behavior are observed. SCT provides an explanation for how hierarchies develop in groups based on social status. In the group processes tradition there is a great deal of interest in what exactly constitutes a group and what types of groups exist. For example, there are friendship groups, task groups, social groups; each of these groups has a different mode of interaction. We cannot claim that the processes of social stratification based on social status works the same in all groups. This is why SCT focuses on a very specific kind of group that is limited by two scope conditions.

First, groups must be collectively oriented, meaning that interactants believe that to succeed they must take all of their partners' suggestions into consideration when working on the group task. The second scope condition is that the groups must be task-oriented, meaning that interactants are primarily motivated to succeed at the task, because they perceive and understand what "success" and "failure" for the task means. In other words, if a group is task-motivated, group members are inclined to get something done, and they understand that they can fail or succeed at the task at hand. Task-orientation provides a hidden, but important aspect of urgency to get the task done and get it done right.

Figure 2. Task Oriented Group has the Possibility of Success and Failure

Under these specific circumstances, status generalization flourishes. This is because under the pressure to do it right we begin to evaluate each other socially and to use both the specific information about skills that our partners have as well as relying on cultural beliefs we hold that are associated with socially recognized attributes, like race and gender. However, just because these processes are located and limited to groups that adhere to these scope conditions does not mean that that the theory does not have important implications for larger social structural processes. For example, Bianchi and Lancianese (2007) argue,

> "Both of these processes have serious sociological implications: status hierarchies that are enacted in collective, goal-oriented groups mirror the macro-level social inequalities of the society in which these groups are embedded. For example, in the United States today, men have higher salaries than women, on average. And, on average, men have more social prestige than women, and thus tend to be the informal leaders of groups more than women (it is no accident that most jury forepersons are male!)" (Bianchi and Lancianese 2007).

During interaction status gets associated with competence and perceptions of an individuals' capacity to help the group succeed. Even though social status is not the same thing as being competent at a task, individuals are motivated to succeed in an efficient way and

therefore use external cues to determine who will best lead the group to a successful outcome. Of course, this is problematic because our assumptions about the cues we perceive are based on cultural biases and stereotypes for social categories like gender and race. This is why this process of social stratification based on expectation states is so important to explore because once we better understand the mechanisms behind social stratification, we can develop interventions to eradicate it.

Within task and collectively oriented groups, immediate distinctions made on the basis of social characteristics affect the expectations for actors within a group. Bianchi and Lancianese (2007: 5) define a status characteristic as, "any recognized social distinction that has attached to it widely shared beliefs about at least two categories, or states, of the distinction. For example, gender is a status characteristic, and its states are 'male' and 'female.'" Once status characteristics are salient in a group setting, they get attached to performance expectations, meaning that those possessing the positively valued state are perceived as more competent and therefore become more influential in a group compared to a person that possesses the social attribute that represents the negatively valued category (Correll and Ridgeway 2003).

There are two types of socially recognized attributes specified in SCT, diffuse and specific status characteristics. *Specific status characteristics* have two or more states that are differently evaluated and each state carries specific performance expectations. Specific status characteristics connote an ability to perform specifically defined tasks, for example, individuals' SAT math scores, or being a master Mercedes mechanic. A status characteristic is *diffuse* if it involves two or more states, (man or woman for example) that are differentially valued. Similar to the specific characteristic, each state is associated with a level of performance expectation. However, in the case of a diffuse characteristic each state is also associated with a general

performance expectation. So, for example, having a particular social attribute like being a doctor means that you probably have specific medical knowledge, but it also is associated with a certain level of general competence. We expect that doctors can help sick people, but also assume that they will be more competent, in general, than others. Gender is a social attribute that has been identified as a diffuse status characteristic as well. For example, when an individual is identified as a man, assumptions get made about specific as well as general levels of competence. In other words, a man might be expected to lift more weight than a woman or have more knowledge about sports, activities that are stereotypically gendered masculine, but they might also be expected to be better than women at tasks that are not stereotypically gendered in anyway. The assumption is that this man will not only be good at fixing cars, but he will also be more competent at variety of gendered and non-gendered tasks.

Figure 3. Specific Status Characteristic of Mechanic Leads to Assumptions of Specific Competence

Figure 4. Diffuse Status Characteristic of "Man" Leads to Assumptions of Specific and General Competence

This theory suggests that specific and diffuse status characteristics not only get attached to performance expectations within a particular situation, but they also get carried into new situations where they shape the social hierarchy. For example, controlling for other status characteristics, a doctor might be expected to perform well in the examination room as well as in other situations like being a jury foreman. A doctor on a jury might have more opportunities to participate, have more influence than others on the outcome of the jury, have influence and sway in disagreements on the jury because of the expectations attached to his or her occupational characteristic.

SCT proposes that status characteristics like race, gender, or physical attractiveness carry general expectations for performance across a variety of situations. (Berger, Conner, and Fişek 1974; Berger, Fişek, Noman, and Zelditch 1977; Berger, Rosenholtz, and Zelditch 1980; Ridgeway, Berger, and Smith 1985). A performance expectation can be defined as an assumption about an individual's potential for making contributions to the task as compared to self. SCT explores the sources and consequences of those expectations. The expectation can become activated if a member is differentiated by a status characteristic or if that status characteristic is related to a task.

Expectations of performance have important implications for group behavior. For example, if an individual is a member of a group that has high expectations, then that individual will have more opportunities to contribute, receive more positive evaluations, and be more influential in group decisions.

The status generalization process

There are five assumptions used in SCT to account for how status characteristics are associated with performance expectations and ultimately with behaviors. These assumptions define the status generalization process. The first assumption of **salience** asserts that all status characteristics of individuals become salient during interaction if the status characteristic discriminates between two group members or if it is shown to be relevant to the task. The status characteristic remains relevant, if it is salient and is specifically not disassociated with the task. This relevance is also referred to as the burden of proof principle, the second assumption of SCT. **The burden of proof** principle asserts that for the status characteristic to have no effect on the group it must be shown that it is indeed not related to success or performance in the group in any way. For burden of proof to be established group members must show that the status characteristics are not related to the capacity to perform the group task. The third assumption is **sequencing**, which states that the status hierarchy will restructure as individuals leave and enter the group. In most cases status expectations are generalized from one situation to the next unless they are proved to be irrelevant to the task. If new interactants enter the group with new status information, then the group will restructure itself according to the salience and burden of proof principle.

The fourth assumption is the **principle of organized subsets**, which asserts that observable behavioral inequalities are determined by aggregating expectation states. By using the principle of organized subsets, first used by Berger, Fişek, Norman, and Zelditch (1977), we can assess all salient social attributes to determine the structural formation of status hierarchies in task groups. The organized subsets principle allows social scientists to understand how

consistent, as well as inconsistent, status information combines to determine the rank order of the prestige hierarchy of a group.

This assumption has two parts: attenuation and augmentation. Attenuation means that with the addition of like signed state of characteristics each addition has less of an effect on the overall expectation. Augmentation is the opposite principle: addition of a differently signed states of status characteristic has an increasing effect on expectations. Given the attenuation and augmentation principles, positive and negative information about actors, in the form of states of salient status characteristics, are separated into two categories, the negative and positive information is separately combined, and then added together to determine ones overall performance expectation. Lastly, the **basic expectation assumption** states that once performance expectations are established with the expectation advantage or disadvantage of the actors, this status hierarchy will produce observable differences in behavior that reflect this advantage/disadvantage.

Status generalization is a process by which individuals affect cognitive and behavioral outcomes during interaction. This theory creates a link between social structure and individual behavior. What is so interesting about this theory is that status generalization occurs without evidence and logic. Furthermore, outcomes are often undesirable because it is inefficient, for instance, to ignore good ideas of women and accept poor ideas of men because it is not good for group productivity. Therefore, these processes do not work to support fair or even functional social arrangements.

Privileged and oppressed groups are complicit in the system of disadvantage. For example, it is not only men that reinforce gender inequality, but women, who also act in ways that reinforce their own disadvantage. Importantly, most aspects of these processes occur

outside of conscious thought. Therefore, it can affect even the most egalitarian-minded men and women who will often deny that there are distinctions between people in society. This process imports status characteristics from larger society and uses them to make status distinctions during local interaction. High states of status characteristics, like male or white skin, provide a variety of different advantages just as low states of status characteristics, such as female and nonwhite skin, also lead to a variety of different types of subordination. Status information triggers expectations for those who possess them. Positive states lead to high expectations and vice versa.

We also know that disadvantaged individuals may participate in the maintenance of their own disadvantage based on what we know about first and second order expectations. We know, for example, that the emergence of social hierarchy is dependent on the development of expectations that actors of themselves and others. First order expectations refer to the expectations that actor p has of themselves and others in the group. Second order expectations refer to an actor's belief that expectations held by others in the group are important and that these beliefs will play a role in the development of social hierarchy (Correll and Ridgeway; 2003). For example, a female actor can believe that she is the smartest and most competent, but as a woman, she knows that others in the group buy into the belief that women are less competent. It is this belief about others expectations that will ultimately play a role in the stratification of that group.

In sum, there are several steps upon which status characteristics come to be associated with performance expectations. First, a status characteristic, as long as it is either associated with performance or differentiating group members, will inform expectations about performance. Unless the characteristic is proven to be unrelated to the task, through the burden of proof principle, the characteristic is related to one's ability to perform. Previous work has identified

the potential for multi-characteristic status situations, where actors activate more than one status characteristic. If their states are inconsistent, like being a black man (which has both high and low states working in combination), then the characteristics get combined through a process of aggregation and attenuation to determine an overall expectation for performance. In this case the African American man, if working with a white woman, has no status advantage or disadvantage.

In the next section I will explain the graph theoretical formulation for the principle of organized subsets and how it can be used to describe a basic path model for gender.

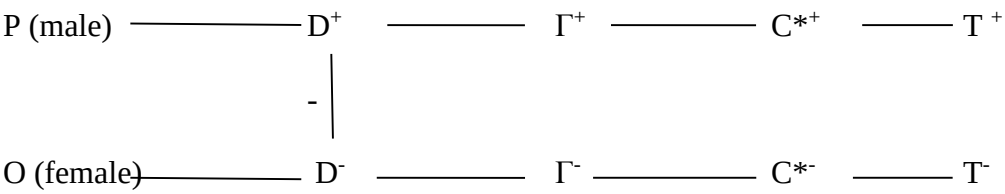
Path models

The principle of combining organized subsets is used to create logical theoretical statements of rank order with a numerical determination of rank through the use of a graph and path relevance analysis. To accomplish this goal I summarize the graph theoretical version of this theory.

A graph represents the heuristic for how the status generalization process is activated in actors' minds. To summarize this fairly complex process I will first explain how to graph an elementary status situation where there is just one salient status characteristic. An elementary status situation is a status situation during which there is only one object of orientation (the other), only one task, and only one (in this case external) status characteristic. There are two actors' o and p who make assumptions and attributions based on external status characteristics. P is the focal actor and O is the other person in the dyad with which p is doing a pair wise comparison. We assume that the 5 assumptions hold and that the actors are interacting within a situation where the scope conditions of the theory are met.

In our graph we have one diffuse status characteristic that has two differentially valued states according to our definition of a diffuse status characteristic (labeled "D"). Each state has a symbol of "-" or "+" attached after it to indicate whether it is negative or positive state. In the case of gender, male equals positive and female equals negative, on average. In a model using a diffuse status characteristic, the characteristic is associated with a generalized expectation state that involves assumptions about superiority, inferiority, capacity, etc. This generalized expectation state is symbolized by the Greek letter Tao (Γ). Furthermore, actors assume that there is a task ability C*, related to each diffuse status characteristic, that is important for success. The symbol T is used to stand in for perceived success and failure of the task group, where there is only one T for each task. Each category (o, p, D, C* Γ) just described is an element in the graph and each element translates into points on a graph. Relations exist among them, which are translated into lines. The lines are valenced negative or positive, and thus have signs next to them. Once we can represent the structure, through points and lines, we try to trace paths that link the actor with the task outcomes, and then we try to make predictions about power and prestige orders based on these paths. An overall path model for a salient diffuse status characteristic such as gender is shown below:

Figure 5. One Diffuse Status Characteristic Path Diagram



The connection between the actor in a group and an outcome state, success or failure, is referred to as *paths of relevance*. The longer a path is from an actor to an outcome state, the weaker the impact on the actor's performance expectations. "The number, length, and

consistency of the paths of task relevance linking actors with task outcomes all directly affect the degree of differentiation in power and prestige that results" (Berger et al. 1977: 102). The length of the path is the number of its links between the actor and the outcome state for task (T). The number of paths is simply the total number of different ways to connect each actor to T+ or T- to p and o.

To compute aggregate performance expectations, the theory first assigns strength, f (L) to a path length L, and of course this strength is a function of length. The paths are combined and assessed using a combined strength formula {1- [1-F (L1)] [1- F (L2)]….} where a path of length 3 has the strength of .3175, path of length 4 has the strength of .1358, and a path of strength 5 as the strength of .0542 (Fişek, Berger, and Norman 1992[1]). With this formula the performance expectation is created for each individual actor. This is referred to as e_p and e_o, where p is the focal actor and O is the other actor in the paired relationship. The notation $e_p - e_o$ is the notation used to define the expectational advantage of P over O.

Gender as a status characteristic

Gender is an important status characteristic. SCT can help us to mathematically compute the amount of influence individuals will have as it relates to gender. Gender is one of the most obvious characteristics for a few reasons. First, unlike other axes of inequality, like race or income category, men and women have to interact across a variety of contexts, like families, households, work places, sexual and reproductive interactions, etc. (Ridgeway and Smith Lovin 1999). Another reason why status hierarchies develop during gendered interaction is that

[1] We use the calculations for path lengths in Fişek , Berger, and Norman (1992) because they are based on the population parameter m, the propensity to reject influence in general, being .62. In experiments recently conducted at Iowa, this has been the average m. This will be discussed latter on in the chapter.

interaction itself requires there to be a distinction between self and other. Sex categorization is a quick and common way to distinguish between people, and research shows that individuals distinguish between people across gender lines even when there are other categories of identity available (Brewer and Lui 1987; Ridgeway and Smith Lovin 1999). Furthermore, the extensive historical formulations of gender difference based on theories about biological difference, while problematic, strongly inform our contemporary understandings and expectations around gender. The fact that men and women are in constant contact and that we have profound cultural assumptions about the difference between men and women leads us to question how gender gets constructed during interaction in ways that might reinforce or perhaps challenge current beliefs about gender. Currently, because there are different expectations of performance for men and women, on average, both men and women have different levels of influence in a group (Berger, Rosenholtz, and Zelditch 1980; Berger et al. 1985).

Let's explore how gender can be understood using path model analysis. In a very simple interaction that has no other status characteristics that are salient except for gender we will have a particular expectation states profile. The actor P in our profile is a man and the actor O in our profile is a woman. Once gender is activated in the interaction as a difference between the man and the woman, the characteristic of gender becomes salient. The characteristic of gender is diffuse because it has two differentially valued states and each state is associated with a general performance expectation within the task situation. Therefore, in the graph model we have the letter of each actor connected by a line to his or her specific diffuse status characteristic. The diffuse status characteristic "D" is labeled with either a "+" or a "-" sign, which designates whether that characteristic is positively or negatively valued. The male will be labeled as positive and the female will be labeled with a negative sign.

Once the diffuse status characteristic has become salient it gets attached to a generalized expectation state. This means that one's gender gets associated with assumptions and ideas about superiority, ability, and capacity of that particular gendered state; this is signified by the letter Tao (Γ). Again the diffuse status characteristic is connected to the Tao by a line, which is either negatively or positively signed according to the sign of the original diffuse characteristic. Once the generalized expectation state has been developed and associated with the diffuse status characteristic, we find that the generalized expectation state gets attached to a specific expectation about the task ability (C*), which is associated with task success or failure. Similarly the line connecting the Tao and the C* is either positively or negatively signed according to the sign of the diffuse status characteristic to which it is attached. This shows that general expectations about competence in this case, men are more competent then women in general, get associated with task ability. Finally, the task ability is attached to the final task outcome (T), which again is either positively or negatively signed according to the diffuse characteristic's sign to which it is attached. The sign of (T) is important because it also plays a role in the overall sign of the path. If actor p or o's path is attached to a (T^-) then they will have a negatively signed path and vice versa.

Once the structure of the path model for gender is established, then we can trace the lines between the elements in the graph that link the actor to the task outcome. We will refer to these connections as paths of relevance. We will use these paths of relevance to compute the aggregate performance expectations for both the man and woman in our model.

For example, if we count the paths between our female actor (o) and her task outcome, we find that she has a -4 path and a -5 path, whereas the male actor (p) has a +4 path and a +5 path. The paths are then aggregated and assessed using a combined strength formula. Berger et

al. (1992) find that a positive path of length 5, is equal to f(5) = .0542. Similarly, a negative path with a length of 5 will lead to a performance expectation profile of f (-5) = -.0542. In addition a positive path of length 4 is equal to f (4) =.1358, where a negative path of four is equal to f (-4) = .1358. Overall we find that when there is one diffuse status characteristic like gender, according to Fiske, Berger and Norman (1992), p's expectation profile will equal .1826, the o's expectation profile will equal -.1826. Thus, the male's performance expectation is higher in value then the females, and so he will be at the top of the status hierarchy, and all that this entails.

Sexuality as a status characteristic

Some research has explored the possibility that sexual orientation, like gender, acts as a status characteristic (Johnson 1995; Webster and Hysom 1995; Webster et al. 1998). However, as of yet this proposition has not been tested with an experiment. Webster and Hysom (1995) were able to test it with a vignette study and found evidence that supports the claim that it does indeed function as a status characteristic. Similarly, Catherine Johnson (1995) proposed that sexuality could be modeled and understood as a diffuse status characteristic. Following Catherine Johnson, I am interested in exploring the effect of sexual orientation on performance expectations during interaction and how these expectations ultimately affect behavior. This section will briefly examine the evidence that sexuality can operate as a diffuse status characteristic, the unique aspects of sexuality and its intricate relationship to gender, and lastly how sexuality is activated in interaction through a path analysis.

To be considered as a diffuse status characteristic, sexuality must have two differentially valued states. Each state must have specific performance expectations (an individual will be good at a specific task) and general expectations, such that people in on one category are thought

to have greater ability on most tasks (Wagner and Berger 1993). Johnson summarizes the evidence that there is a negative stereotype toward GLBTQ individuals, and that there is persistent institutional and interactional discrimination against these individuals. This persistence of mistreatment is evidence that sexual orientation might function similarly to other characteristics, like gender, that have two states that are differentially valued. Sexual orientation has two states (homosexual and heterosexual) and by taking into account the historical precedence of mistreatment of non-hetero-normative individuals, it is clear that, at least in American culture, one state is more valued than the other.

For example, a majority of GLBTQ individuals experience some kind of violent abuse or persecution for not being straight at some time in their lifetime. Gay, lesbian, and bisexual youth are 4 times more likely to be victimized than straight youth (Comstock 1991). Furthermore, the *FBI* reported that 15.6% of *hate crimes* reported to police in 2004 were "because of a sexual-orientation bias" (Crime in the United States 2004: Hate Crime" FBI Retrieved 2007-05-04).

GLBTQ individuals have also been shown to experience institutional discrimination. For example, GLBTQ individuals have been historically excluded from legal protection for employment, housing, or services. These individuals have risked loss of job, denial of promotion, and awkward interactions because of their sexual orientation (Rubin 1984; Woods 1993). Furthermore, gays and lesbians have been historically denied the right to marry, adopt children, or visit and make decisions for sick partners. Evidence of sexuality being differentially valued in American culture is well substantiated by a variety of research (Herek 1991; Johnson 1995; Plummer 1975; Preston and Stanely 1987).

Not only is sexual orientation differentially valued, meeting the first requirement of a diffuse status characteristic, but also I argue that it is linked to general performance expectations.

These general expectations connect superior ability and competence to the high state of the characteristic and low ability and competence to the low state of the status characteristic. There are only a few studies that actually examine how sexual orientation might be linked to expectations of competence. Hysom (1994) tested sexual orientation using SCT. This study provided participants with information about their partner's sexual orientation and their partner's occupation. Results from this study suggest that sexual orientation is indeed related to general expectations states. Webster, Hysom and Fullmer (1998) also find evidence that sexuality acts as a status characteristic though the use of two vignette studies. Similar to the original Hysom study, they examined the relationship between sexual orientation and occupation and overall expectations for performance. They found that homosexuality for both men and women is associated with performance expectations.

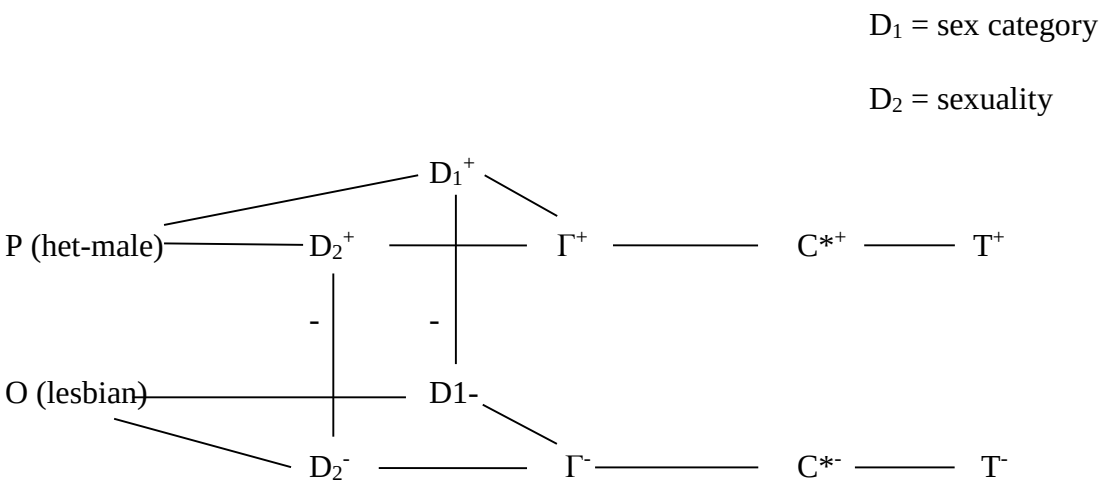
I argue that sexuality, similar to gender, will lead to status differentiation within group interaction. If sexuality does function as a diffuse status characteristic, then we should be able to use path models to assess the aggregate performance expectations for heterosexual and homosexual individuals during interaction. Similar to gender, the status characteristic of sexuality will be represented in the path model as a D^+ for heterosexual and a D^- for homosexual. If the characteristic becomes salient in the interaction by differentiating two actors, then the assumption of our theory is that it will become associated with a generalized expectation state symbolized by (Γ). The generalized expectation state is then attached to a specific expectation for task ability (C*), meaning that the positive state of sexuality is associated with assumptions about overall competence and ability that, then gets associated with specific assumptions about competence during the group task. Finally, the specific expectation is connected to the task outcome.

Similar to gender, each task element is connected by a line and each line has a signed valence determined by the sign of the diffuse status characteristic to which it is connected and to the connection to T. Again we count the paths of relevance and find that in a task group where there is only one diffuse status characteristic of sexuality that there is a -4 path and a -5 path for our other (o), who is homosexual, and there is a +4 path and a +5 path for the focal actor (p) who is heterosexual. Similar to the situation where gender was the only diffuse status characteristic, in this situation e_p equals .1826, the e_o equals -.1826.

It is also important to note that gender and sexuality are separate and singular status elements. That is, each is a diffuse status characteristic with distinct potential impact on performance expectations. These two status characteristics could combine to have an overall stronger effect on expectation states. This is where we are going to combine the work by West and Zimmerman (1987) on doing gender and path modeling developed in the expectation states research tradition. The path modeling process will allow us to understand the different but intersecting effects of sex, sex category, and gender. Research from Expectation States Theory (EST) has yet to incorporate the insights developed by West and Zimmerman about how gender is a series of social practices constructed in everyday interaction. This perspective is important to EST because it provides a new framework for understanding the interplay between behavior in social interaction and the development of gendered inequalities. This research project will allows us to use both the doing gender perspective and EST to fully model the intersection of gender, sex, and sex category during interaction.

For example, consider an interaction between a heterosexual man and a lesbian. If no other status characteristics are salient, then path model that would represent this task-and collectively oriented dyad would be:

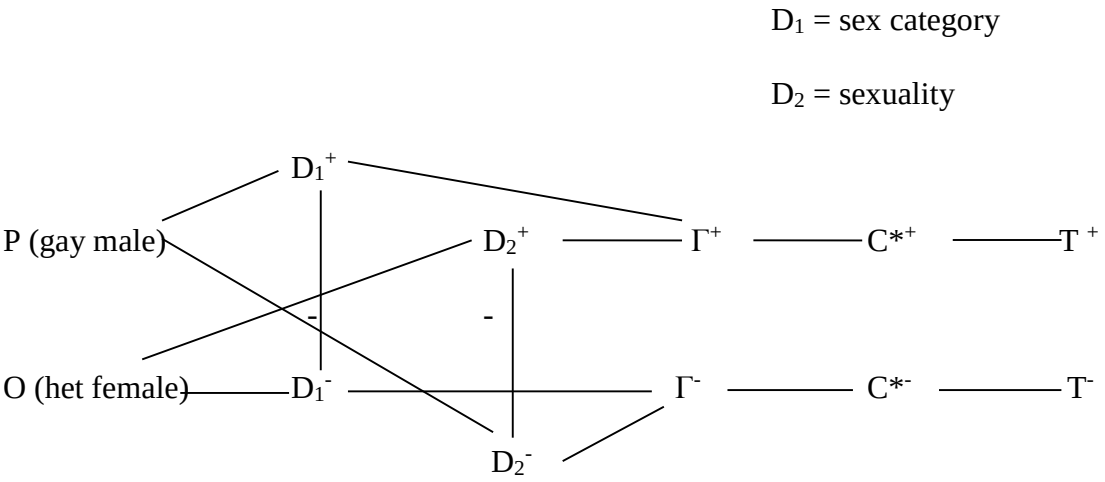
Figure 6. Two Diffuse Status Characteristics Path Diagram



In this situation, p is connected to T by 2 paths of 4+ and 2 paths of 5-; o is connected by 2 paths of 4- and 5+, respectively. In this case, the expectation state advantage is more stark than with just one, salient diffuse status characteristic; p's expectation profile is .3319 and o's is -.3319.

Interestingly, if in fact gender and sexuality are discrete, different status characteristics, they should have the potential to cancel out each other's effects. For instance, consider the interaction between a gay man and a heterosexual female. In this situation both gender and sexuality are salient, controlling for other status characteristics. However, the expectation state profile for each actor is 0. In other words, no status hierarchy is formed.

Figure 7. Two Diffuse Status Characteristics Path Diagram



The reason why there is no status difference is because p has a one 4+ and one 4- path connection to T, as well as one 5+ and one 5- path connection. O has the same connections.

In no other theory are we allowed to clarify the potential differential effects of gender, sex category, and sexuality. To explore masculinity and femininity, the "doing gender" part of gender, we can use another theory from EST called Status Cue Theory. I will introduce this theory in the next section.

Status Cue Theory

Status Cue Theory posits that observable aspects of appearance, behavior, or surrounding possessions lead to inferences about status. These cues give us clues about status elements that impact performance expectations, but in ways that are different from status characteristics (Norman, Berger and Fişek 2005). Status cues are not status characteristics, but *indicators* of status characteristics. Furthermore, they do not operate individually but rather in sets, defined as *cue gestalts*. There are different types of cue gestalts identified by status cue theory. For example, strong cue gestalts are a set of status cues demonstrating that the actor possesses a

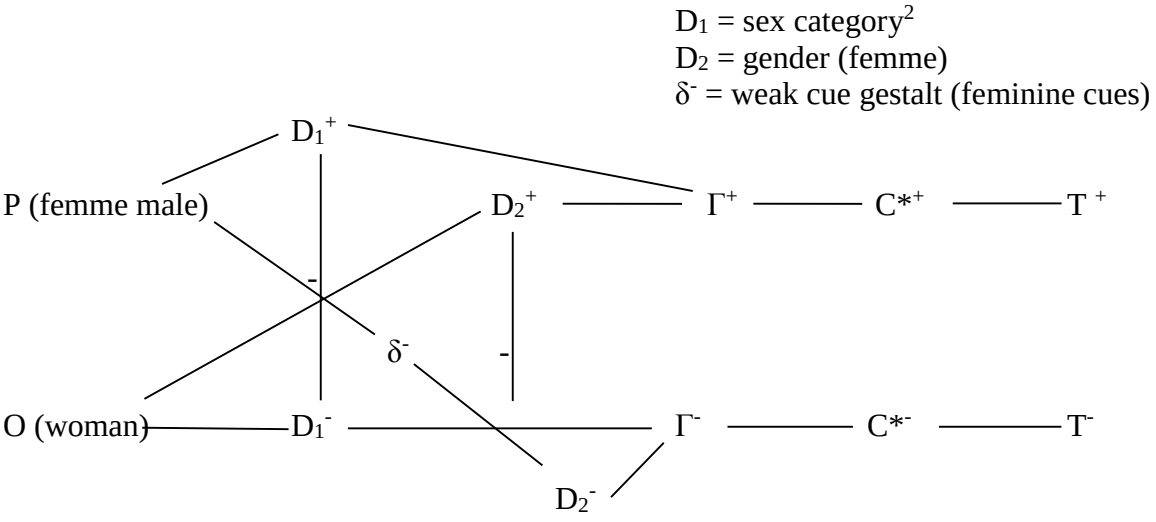
relevant status element. Weak cue gestalts, on the other hand, are defined as a set of status cues demonstrating that the actor has a status element, but are weaker because the cues do not convey consistent status information. Also, a weak cue gestalts' impact on performance expectations are weaker than strong cue gestalts'.

There are two types of status cues, task cues and categorical cues. Task cues are nonverbal or verbal behavior that gives information about behavior during interaction. Group members use this information to infer how well the others will perform (examples elements of interaction are response latency, eye gaze, verbal loudness, fluency, body posture, or statements that refer to one's ability). Categorical cues are aspects of a person's appearance, behavior, or possessions that give information about the social groups that an individual belongs to in larger society, such as skin color, word usage, diplomas on the wall, and declarations of social position outside of the group. There are also two different types of behavior, indicative and expressive behaviors that influence these cues. Indicative behavior is when individuals make direct claims about status or status class, or abilities, or competence. For example, "I am a Harvard PHD" or "I don't know anything about this". Expressive behavior or signs given off during interaction can include accent, dress style, speech, body movement's eye contact, speech speed, speech fluency and hesitancy.

Fişek, Berger, and Norman (2005) provide a complete mathematical formulation of the status organizing processes, which now include cue processes, status characteristics processes, behavior expectation processes, and communication evaluation processes. There are different types of cue gestalts identified by this theory. Strong cue gestalts are a set of status cues that show that the actor possesses a relevant status element. Weak cue gestalts, on the other hand, are defined as a set of status cues that the actor emits that show that the actor has a status element,

but are weaker because the cue displays some inconsistencies. In other words, the impact is weaker than a strong cue because the path between status cue and the developed expectation is longer. For example, if a man is interacting on a task, but he is displaying feminine cues, the expectation of masculine behavior for a male is inconsistent with his performance of femininity. In this path model the δ^- symbol stands for a weak cue gestalt attached to a status characteristic. Importantly the weak cue gestalt (δ^-) creates an indication of a status characteristic in the path model.

Figure 8. Two Diffuse Status Characteristics with a Weak Cue Gestalt Path Diagram



This is one way that an EST researcher would translate the "doing gender" perspective. If a man is performing femininity in a group with a woman, masculinity /femininity becomes salient. Given the assumption of attenuation, if a man is behaving in a normative, masculine way, then this information would not add to the expectation profiles. However, as in the case in our example, an overly feminine man would invoke a weak cue gestalt, one that is inconsistent with

[2] Bianchi et al. (2010) have shown that masculinity and femininity are weak cue gestalts that represent "doing gender". Henceforth, we refer to sex category as a status characteristic and gender as the weak cue gestalt.

our expectations for the sex category "male". This would lower his expectation profile from .1826 with just "male" and "female" paths to .1084, since he now has an additional -5 and -6 path. Weak cue gestalts, such as masculinity and femininity, have an impact on performance expectations. How I model sex category, gender and sexuality in path models for each condition will be discussed in the methods section.

This theory is useful for our research on sexuality and gender because it can allow us to explore the distinct effects of sex category, gender, and sexuality on influence processes. In SCT, through the principle of organized subsets, we would simply aggregate the salient effects of sex category and sexuality. With the addition of status cue theory we can understand how sets of cues that have some inconsistencies work together to shape status processes. For example, in this experiment I plan to have two conditions in which there are inconsistent cues that will form weak cue gestalts. These conditions will be the "feminine lesbian" condition and the "butch gay guy" condition.

For this study, I must make clear my strategy for examining sexual orientation, gender, and gender display. First, I will be exploring gender for cis-gendered individuals (Schilt and Westbrook 2009), meaning that I am examining gender for individuals whose biology, gender identity and gender display follow the hegemonic gender belief system (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). In this study confederates and participants self-identify as "male" or "female", and display their gender within a range in which this binary would not be challenged or confused. When the participants or confederates, both males and females, display their gender as a typical person at The University of Iowa, I call these individuals "gender normative". When confederates display gender with high levels of masculinity, I call this gender display "hyper-masculine"; similarly for a gender display with higher than typical femininity, I call this "hyper-

femininity". And following gender norms, I assume that masculinity is more valued socially than femininity, and masculinity and femininity are *indicators* of the status characteristic *gender*. Again, this is a research strategy, and certainly not what I believe represents the legitimate range of gender identity and expression.

The current experiment has two conditions, the hyper-feminine lesbian condition and the hyper- masculine gay male condition, during which I posit that a weak cue gestalt is used to construct the expectation profile of these conditions' confederate actors. In both conditions the information provided by the gender display of the confederate is inconsistent with cultural stereotypes associated with the gender displays of gay men and lesbian women – gay men are expected to be either gender normative or hyper-feminine, and lesbians are expected to be gender normative or hyper-masculine. And so when these confederates present their gender displays, they exhibit status cues that are inconsistent with what is expected, and thus are presenting weak cue gestalts as gender display.

These cue gestalts will be activated with positive or negative states, as they will differentiate the confederates from their dyadic partners' normative gender displays (the normative gender displays of the subjects), and will produce notions of social advantage and disadvantage vis-à-vis their group members who display cues expected for their gender. For the hyper-masculine gay man, the weak cue gestalt would create a salient positive status advantage; for the hyper-feminine lesbian, the weak cue gestalt would create a salient negative status disadvantage. In the other two conditions, the gay male and lesbian confederates will exhibit cues that present gender displays as dictated by cultural stereotypes; since gender displays will be normative for all actors within the groups, weak cue gestalts will not emerge. This is how I will attempt to distinguish sexual orientation from gender display – I argue that when sexual

orientation and gender display are present during interaction, gender display evokes status generalization only when it is non-normative, and thus creates social advantage or disadvantage.

I argue that sexual orientation and gender display will lead to status differentiation during group interaction. To make predictions concerning who may have higher and lower social status during interaction, I then use path models and their concomitant mathematical formula to determine the aggregate performance expectations for gay and lesbian individuals who interact with straight persons. To examine the status differentiation process in the standardized experimental setting, I observe dyads where there are two actors, p and o, who make assumptions and attributions based on external status characteristics; consider the case during which p is a heterosexual female and o is a lesbian, controlling for other factors, such as race/ethnicity.

To construct a path model, a status characteristic (in this case sexual orientation) is represented as a D^+ for the heterosexual woman and a D^- for the lesbian woman. P and o are connected to their state of D by lines of possession; the states of D^+ and D^- are connected by one path of dimensionality. If there is a weak cue gestalt associated with a particular status element, then that weak cue gestalt will be connected to the associated D^+ by a δ^+ or D^- by a δ^-. If the characteristic becomes salient in the interaction by differentiating two actors, then the assumption of our theory is that it will become associated with a generalized expectation state symbolized by (Γ). The generalized expectation state is then attached to a specific expectation (C*), meaning that the positive state of sexuality is associated with assumptions about overall competence and ability, which then gets associated with specific assumptions about competence in the group task. Finally, the specific expectation is connected to perceptions of the task outcome (T).

In the path model, each component described above is connected by a positive line, unless the line conveys dimensionality. I then count all paths, as well as their lengths and mathematical sign, and then use this information with the mathematical formula to determine ps and o's expectation advantage or disadvantage. In the case of this dyad, the actor with the highest expectation profile value (or state) will be predicted to garner the most influence, and thus have higher social status, than the actor with the lower value. In the case of the heterosexual and lesbian women, the mathematical formula would predict that the expectation profile value of the heterosexual woman would be higher than that of the lesbian. Hence, if sexual orientation was acting as a status characteristic, the heterosexual woman would garner more influence than the lesbian woman, all else equal. And, if we recreate this entire process for a straight woman (with normative gender display) and a hyper-feminine lesbian woman, the hyper-feminine lesbian woman would have even less influence vis-à-vis the heterosexual woman than her gender-normative lesbian counterpart. For the male confederates, gender as a status characteristic would emerge with a male-female dyad during which both actors are displaying gender normativity; I hypothesize that gender display activates weak cue gestalts when gender non-normativity obtains.

CHAPTER 3: STIGMA AND SEXUALITY

To this point, I have argued that both gender and sexuality, when salient, can invoke the status generalization process. While this might be the case, research also suggests that sexual orientation is not just a diffuse status characteristic, but also a stigma. In either case, we know that in general, non hetero-normative sexuality is detrimental to individuals, but whether it is either part of a status or stigma process, or both, is important to know for future research and policy interventions. This section will briefly summarize the research that has been done on stigma, as well as the research that has been done on stigma with respect to sexuality. I will first discuss the history of research on stigma, and then I will summarize the evidence that sexual orientation might function as stigma, and lastly I will discuss the implications of the research on stigma for this particular project.

Research on stigma has become increasing popular in the past 30 years. In general stigma is a characteristic or social attribute that marks someone as "non-normal." Particularly relevant to sociological research on stigma is the work of Erving Goffman, (1963). Goffman described stigma as "The phenomenon whereby an individual with an attribute is deeply discredited by his/her society is rejected as a result of the attribute. Stigma is a process by which the reaction of others spoils normal identity (1963, Pg. 3)." Goffman also suggests that there are three unique categories of stigma: (1) abominations of the body (e.g. physical deformities or disabilities); (2) blemishes of moral character (e.g. unnatural passions, dishonesty, mental illness, or drug addiction); and (3) tribal stigmas (e.g. particular association with an ethnic group, nationality, or religion).

While there are these three consistent categories of stigma the forms that particular stigmas take will vary across context, time, and culture. There are those stigmas that are

discredited, meaning that the stigma is already known or visible on the body, and there are stigmas that are discredible, where the stigma is concealed or not readily visible on the body. Goffman called them discreditable because those who possess the stigma may have to fear the possibility that they will be devalued if their stigma is known.

Thus, stigma can be related to group membership, it can be a physical attribute, or even a deviant behavior that gets categorized negatively and associated with a lower status of the stigmatized group. Goffman suggests that stigma is a negative characteristic that works to devalue a person within a particular context. It is a mark that makes an individual ineligible for interaction within the dominant group. One interesting characteristic of stigma is that once an individual has been labeled, the label itself gets associated with all of the other characteristics and aspects of that individuals identity, leading others to see them only through that particular stigma prism. For example, a gay man's gayness begins to overshadow and inform other characteristics that he possesses.

Another important aspect of stigma is that it is situationally contingent. That is, stigma does not reside in the person, but is specific to the social context. For example, being gay man might not be stigmatized in a fashion design, contest but it might be stigmatized at a football game.

In the social psychological tradition of stigma research there has been a focus on the process through which stigma develops a particular social meaning in a particular context (Goffman, 1963; see also Crocker, Major, and Steele, 1998; Herek 2007; Jones et al. 1984). Researchers have explored the ways in which in-groups and out-groups form and the process by which stigma gets attached to these groups. For example, Bruce Link and Jo Phelan suggest that stigma occurs when 4 parts of the stigmatizing process exist at once. First individuals

distinguish between and provide labels for groups. Second, we associate negative stereotypes or cultural beliefs to groups that have been labeled. Third, those who have been labeled are set into specific groups that serve to establish a sense of dissociation between "us" and "them." Lastly, those who have been labeled experience a loss of status and this loss of status ultimately leads to inequality. Stigma exists when people differentiate between specific human characteristics and label certain groups with particular labels. The dominant cultural belief links some of these labeled groups with undesirable characteristics or negative stereotypes (Link Phelan 2001).

Now that I have presented a brief outline of the theoretical background as it relates to stigma, I now discuss the ways in which sexual orientation might function as a stigma process rather than a status process.

A large body of research supports the claim that homosexuality is a stigmatized social identity in the modern American context. For example, Rubin (1984) discussed erotic stigma as it referred to male homosexuality, as well as variety of behaviors that were non-heterosexual, non-procreative, or promiscuous. In more recent research Herek (2004, 2007) has discussed the idea of sexual stigma as it relates to non-heterosexual behavior, identity, relationship or community (Herek 2004). Herek proposes that in the United States there is a dominant cultural discourse that not everyone agrees with but that all acknowledge; in this discourse homosexual identity, behavior, and desires are bad, immoral, and less then heterosexual (Herek 2004). Interestingly, it seems that all people tend to have some prejudice towards homosexual individuals, but studies have shown that heterosexual men tend to express more sexual prejudice than do heterosexual women (Herek and Capitanio, 1999; Kite and Whitley, 1998; Yang, 1998). Furthermore, stigmatized groups tend to be stereotyped as less competent and/or warm (Fiske 1998).

This stigmatization of non-heterosexual individuals is problematic because it associates perceptions of disgust, disapproval, and discrimination with homosexuality and ultimately leads to power differentials between heterosexual and homosexual individuals. Bruce Link and Jo Phelan define stigma as "…the co-occurrence of its components–labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination–and further indicate that for stigmatization to occur, power must be exercised" (Link and Phelan 2001, Pg. 363). This definition is important not only because it calls attention to the various aspects of the stigmatizing process, but also because it calls attention to the importance of power differentials between stigmatized and non-stigmatized groups. For example, as with other types of stigmas, power relations between heterosexuals and homosexuals have led to less access to resources, less social influence, and less personal agency (Herek 2007). This is interesting, with respect to my research, because stigma theory suggests that not only are there power differentials between heterosexual and homosexual individuals, but there may be differences in status as a result of the labeling process.

Stigma research suggests that once these labels and groups have been established, the negatively labeled group experiences losses in status and unequal outcomes. Therefore, stigma and status appear to be connected because once an individual has been associated or linked with a negative label or stigma, they experience downward movement in the social hierarchy. Part of the reason that these individuals experience status loss is because they are being distanced from the perceiver (Link Phelan 2001). Perhaps the question is not whether it is stigma or status that leads to social inequality related to homosexuality, but rather which way the causal arrow points. Is it that individuals are stigmatized and then experience status loss or whether they experience status loss and then become stigmatized? Perhaps there is a multidirectional relationship between stigma and status.

This research is essential not just for understanding inequality within interaction, but because stigma can impact other areas of gay and lesbian lives, such as their occupational, educational, housing, and earnings opportunities, to name but a few. For example, researchers have found that being associated with a particular stigmatized identity can lead to poor mental health, physical illness, lower academic achievement, infant mortality, lowering of social status, poverty, and less access to housing, education, and jobs (Major and Obrien 2004, Allison 1998, Braddock and McPartland 1987, Clark et al. 1999, Yinger 1994). Because of the importance of stigma, both at the interactional and at the structural level of society, I suggest the importance of using the research on stigma to explain some of the factors involved in the interactional disadvantage faced by homosexuals.

Research on stigma, and the post-session stigma measures I plan to use in this experiment, are essential for helping us to better understand the social and interactional processes involved in the development of inequality between individuals.

The general theoretical foundation of this research is that sexuality functions as a diffuse status characteristic that shapes interaction and the development of social hierarchy. It is possible however that sexual orientation, rather than a status characteristic, operates more in line with how we understand stigma processes. This research is invaluable in helping us decipher whether it is stigma or status. Again this is very important because the theoretical approach and understanding of a particular social processes can be very important when it comes to choosing particular policy interventions to combat the particular social inequality in question.

In this literature review I have discussed traditional and current perspectives on gender and sexuality, the theoretical foundations of expectation states theory and status characteristics theory, as well as the classic and current research on stigma. In the next section I will discuss the

methodological and data collection process, which will include a description of conditions, procedure, experimental design, and hypotheses.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Before outlining the methodological approach and experimental design, let us first summarize what we have discussed thus far. Once the previous sections have been summarized, I will describe the structure of the following sections. The first few chapters summarize previous research on gender and sexuality. Chapter 2 outlines the most relevant and recent literature on gender, gender display, and sexual orientation. Chapter 3 summarizes The Expectations States Research Program, Status Characteristics Theory, and Status Cue Theory as they relate to this research. SCT asserts that within certain types of task groups, immediate distinctions made on the basis of social characteristics affect the expectations for actors within a group. The theory refers to these distinctions as *status characteristics*. The task groups examined by SCT are task- and collectively oriented ones; that is, those groups who members are primarily motivated to complete a task that they perceive can be completed successfully or done unsuccessfully, and all group members must take other group members' behaviors, opinions and contributions into consideration.

Next, Chapter 3 describes the status generalization process so that we can better understand the structural development of interaction when gender display and sexual orientation are salient characteristics during interaction. The status generalization process begins with individuals in groups that have certain constellations of states of status characteristics that convey higher social status than other individuals who have different constellations. Once those status characteristics are activated, they are associated with performance expectations, which are out-of-awareness anticipations of who has competence to complete the task at hand. In the case of one activated diffuse status characteristic, controlling for all other status processes, individuals who possess the advantaged state will be perceived as having higher status and more competence

than those possessing the disadvantaged state; i.e., the advantaged individuals will have higher levels of performance expectations. This difference in performance expectations translates into behavioral inequalities, such that those perceived as having higher performance expectations have more influence than those with lower levels.

For this study, I must make clear my strategy for examining sexual orientation, gender, and gender display. First, I will be exploring gender for normatively gendered individuals (Schilt and Westbrook 2009), meaning that we are examining gender for individuals whose biology, gender identity and gender display follow the hegemonic and binary gender belief system (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). In this study participants must identify as "male" or "female", and display their gender within a range in which this binary would not be challenged or confused.

When our participants or confederates, display their gender as a typical person at The University of Iowa, we call these individuals "gender normative". When confederates display gender with high levels of masculinity, we call this gender display "hyper-masculine"; similarly for a gender display with higher than typical femininity, we call this "hyper-femininity". And following gender norms, we assume that masculinity is more valued socially than femininity, and masculinity and femininity are *indicators* of the status cues associated with gender display. Again, this is a research strategy, and certainly not what we believe represents the true range of gender identity and expression. In the next section, I will discuss the methodological and data collection process. I will describe the experimental conditions, the predicted performance expectation profiles, the procedural and experimental design, and the research hypotheses.

Methods

Assumptions and modeling techniques from the Expectation States research program, including path diagrams and aggregation techniques for performance expectations, are used to formulate hypothesis about expected advantage and influence. Following the description of how to aggregate performance expectations is a discussion of each condition, including the path diagram associated with it, as well as the calculated performance expectation. Each condition is either present as a control or as an experimental manipulation of cues associated with gender or sexuality orientation.

Chapter 3 describes the basic path model formulate. In this description the experimental participant is symbolized by a "p" and the partner in the diagram is symbolized by an "o". In this section each condition will first be shown in a path diagram; next, the paths for each actor will be counted and tallied; and finally, the expectation advantage based on the combined strength formula will be calculated.

The lengths of the paths provide the information necessary to develop performance expectations for each condition. To develop performance expectations we first calculate actor p's performance expectation (e_p) and actor o's performance expectation (e_o) by aggregating the relative strength of the positive and negative path lengths in each path diagram. The four formulas below developed by Berger et al. (1977), allow us to calculate performance expectations from path diagrams. Line 1 calculates the strength of a path length within the path diagram. Line two calculates the positive status information and line 3 calculates the negative status information. Finally line 4 calculates performance expectations for actor p over o.

(1.) $f(i) = 1 - e\text{-}2.618^{(2-i)}$

(2.) $e_p+ = [1 - ((1 - f(ip+)) \ldots (1 - f(np+)))]$

(3.) $e_p- = -[1 - ((1 - f(ip+)) \ldots (1 - f(np+)))]$

(4.) $e_p = e_p+ + e_p-$

We use the path diagrams to represent the status generalization process. In our path diagram we can count the paths that connect each actor to the task outcome, allowing us to determine which actor is likely to be advantaged in the group. We can calculate p's expectation advantage relative to o, through the combined strengths formulate, an algebraic formal one uses to generate performance expectations from the path models to determine expected advantage.

The expectation advantage that results ranges from -1 to 1. If there were no advantage or disadvantage of actor p over o, the expectation advantage would be 0. The next section will outline each condition, the path diagram associated, and the expectation advantage calculated.

Conditions

This research consists of two main studies similar in manipulation, but varying by gender. The first study has four conditions varying in gender display and sexual orientation with a female confederate, and the second study has four conditions varying in gender display and sexual orientation with a male confederate. The main manipulation is sexual orientation, which has only two levels: homosexual[3] and heterosexual. (The possibility of varying other sexual orientation identities in this experimental design is disused later as a future variation of this project.)

[3] I recognize that this language is outdated, however I use it here to represent activation or not of a status difference within a dyad.

The second experimental manipulation is gender display, which varies between overtly masculine versus overtly feminine versus every day masculine/feminine. The manipulation of gender display is instituted during the introduction process with the partner the subject believes with whom they are working. This introduction is actually a pre-recorded confederate introduced to the participant who believes the introduction is happening in real time. The pre-recorded video includes interactional cues about gender display including voice, mannerisms, non-verbal body language, and dress. The variation of gender display and sexual orientation is repeated for four female confederates and four male confederates providing a total of 8 experimental conditions. This study design will allow us to identify the influence of sexual orientation on performance expectations, as well as the interaction between gender display and sexual orientation on such expectations.

Table 1. Female and Male Experimental Conditions 1-8

Female Conditions			
(1) Female Confederate "Plain Jane" 	(2) Female Confederate "Plain Jane Lesbian" 	(3) Female Confederate "Femme Lesbian" 	(4) Female Confederate "Butch Lesbian" 

Male Condition			
(5) Male Confederate "Plain Joe 	(6) Male Confederate "Plain Gay Joe" 	(7) Male Confederate "Masculine Gay Man" 	(8) Male Confederate "Feminine Gay Man" 

Table 2. Gender Display and Sexual Orientation in Each Condition

Condition	Gender Display	Sexual Orientation
Condition 1	"Normative" Feminine Gender Display	Heterosexual Orientation
Condition 2	"Normative" Feminine Gender Display	Homosexual Orientation
Condition 3	Hyper Masculine Gender Display	Homosexual Orientation
Condition 4	Hyper Feminine Gender Display	Homosexual Orientation
Condition 5	"Normative" Masculine Gender Display	Heterosexual Orientation
Condition 6	"Normative" Masculine Gender Display	Homosexual Orientation
Condition 7	Hyper Masculine Gender Display	Homosexual Orientation
Condition 8	Hyper Feminine Gender Display	Homosexual Orientation

Condition 1 is the baseline control condition that we will use for comparison for the results in all the other female conditions. In this condition plain Jane will interact with a plain Jane subject. This condition has no associated path model because there should be no status difference between the subject and the partner (both the partner and the confederate identify as female heterosexuals and have a "normative gender presentation"[4].) There is no associated path model, and there is also no expected advantage of one actor over another in this experimental condition.

[4] When our participants or confederates, both males and females, display their gender as a typical person at The University of Iowa, we call these individuals "gender normative". Initial processing of participants by the research assistants observed and coded gender display and gendered cues on a 0-7 scale of extremely masculine to extremely feminine. Participants who displayed any hyper feminine, hyper masculine, or "non-normative" gender presentations were run, but not included in the final analysis.

The calculations of this condition are:

$e_p = e_{p+} - e_{p-}$

$e_{p+} = [1 – ((1 – f(ip+)) ... (1 – f(np+)))]$
$= [1 – ((1 – f(4))(1 – f(5)))]$
$= [1 – ((1 –.1358)(1 –.0542))]$
$= [1-.81736]$]
$= .1826$

$e_{p-} = - [1 – ((1 – f(ip+)) ... (1 – f(np+)))]$
$= - [1 – ((1 – f(4))(1 – f(5)))]$
$= - [1 – ((1 –.1358)(1 –.0542))]$
$= - [1-.81736]$
$= -.1826$

$e_p = .1826 + (-.1826)$

$=.1826 – .1826 = 0$

Figure 9. Script in Condition 1

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name? **Person #2:** "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Mary Taylor." **Dr. Gordon:** What school are you attending? **Person #2:** "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa." **Dr. Gordon:** What are your hobbies? **Person #2:** "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends." **Dr. Gordon:** What extracurricular activities are you involved in? **Person #2:** "I volunteer for dance marathon, we do fundraising and community events" **Dr. Gordon:** What do you like to do at night or on the weekend? **Person #2:** "I usually just hang out at home with my boyfriend."	

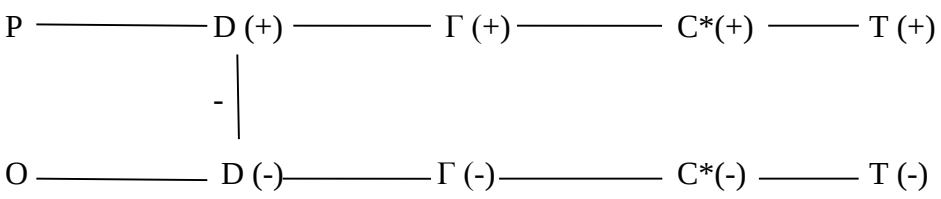
In Condition 2 the subject will be a straight plain Jane and the confederate will be a plain Jane lesbian. In this condition both p and o are female and normatively gendered, however o is heterosexual and p is homosexual, creating only one salient status characteristic of sexual orientation. Based on assumptions discussed in Chapter 3 the devalued or negative state is homosexuality and the valued or positive state is heterosexuality.

Figure 10. Script in Condition 2

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name? **Person #2:** "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Mary Taylor." **Dr. Gordon:** What school are you attending? **Person #2:** "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa." **Dr. Gordon:** What are your hobbies? **Person #2:** "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends." **Dr. Gordon:** What extracurricular activities are you involved in? **Person #2:** "I volunteer for the gay and lesbian alliance on campus, we do fundraising and community events." **Dr. Gordon:** What do you like to do at night or on the weekend? **Person #2:** "I usually just hang out at home with my girlfriend."	

The path diagram is modeled as follows:

Figure 11. Situational Graph Structure: Lesbian Actor and Heterosexual Actor



In Figure 11 p is the subject and o is "other" or the confederate. Both p and o are female actors in a dyadic group. D is the diffuse status characteristic of sexual orientation being activated, more specifically D+ is heterosexuality and D- is homosexuality. The diffuse status characteristics are connected to the Γ states, which stand in for the general differences in expected competence. This general ability is then linked to specific ability C* to succeed at a particular task by a path of length one. Lastly, this specific ability gets attached to the group's perception of a successful T+ or unsuccessful T- task outcome. The assumption here is that sexual orientation is a status characteristic and will function similarly to other diffuse status characteristics, such as gender or race.

In this situation actor p has one +4 and a +5 path, whereas actor o has one -4 and one -5. Overall, we find that when there is one diffuse status characteristic like sexual orientation, according to Fişek, Berger and Norman (1992), the performance expectation for p is positive (e_p = .1826) and o's expectation for performance is (e_o = -.1826). When we put the performance expectation into the combined strengths formula we can estimate the expected advantage. Thus, the heterosexual plain Jane's performance expectation is higher in value than the homosexual plain Jane's, and so, according to our theory, the heterosexual plain Jane will be at the top of the status hierarchy.

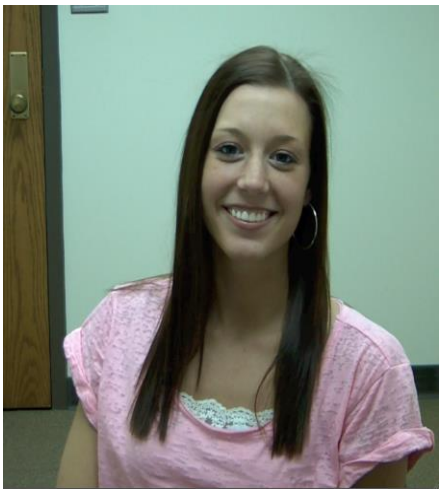
$$\begin{aligned} \text{Expectation advantage} &= e_p - e_o \\ &= .1826 - (-.1826) \\ &= .1826 + .1826 \\ &= .3653 \end{aligned}$$

Table 3. Condition 2 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Gender of Subject	Gender Display	Sexual Orientation	Positive Path Length	Negative Path Length	Expectation Advantage
Female (p)	"Normative"	Heterosexual	4,5	___	.3653
Female (o)	"Normative"	Homosexual	___	4,5	

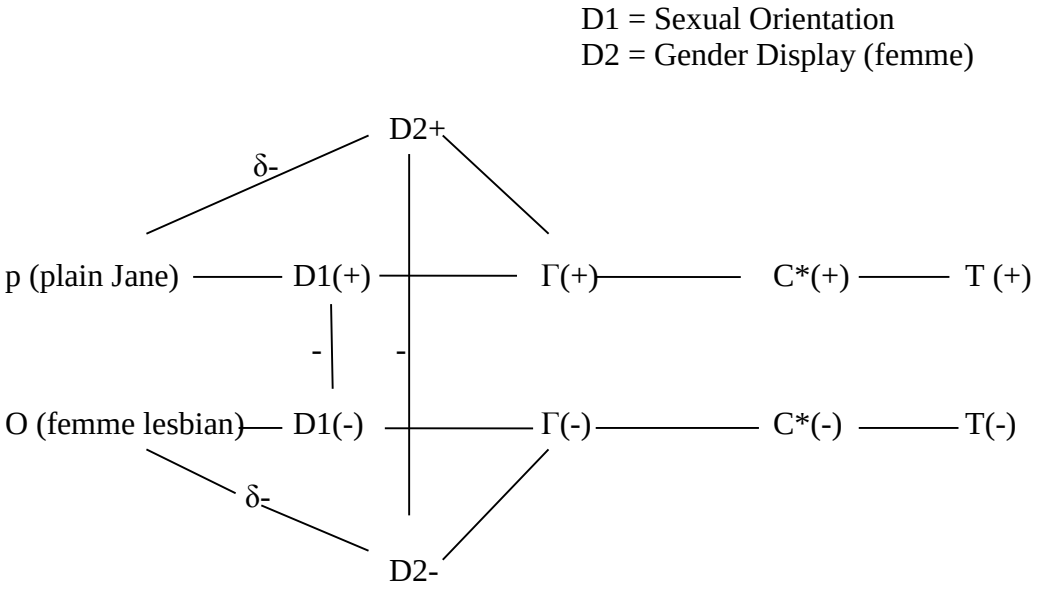
In Condition 3 the subject again will be plain Jane and the confederate will be a femme lesbian. In this condition inconsistent information is presented to the subject. First, the status characteristic of homosexuality is activated and then information cueing a feminine gender performance is presented, which leads to a dissonance around the expected pairing of lesbian with masculinity and heterosexuality with femininity. In this situation we expect that the confederate will lose status both from their sexual orientation and from their gender performance.

Figure 12. Condition 3 Path length and Expectation advantage

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name? **Person #2:** "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Mary Taylor." **Dr. Gordon:** What school are you attending? **Person #2:** "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa." **Dr. Gordon:** What are your hobbies? **Person #2:** "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends." **Dr. Gordon:** What extracurricular activities are you involved in? **Person #2:** "I volunteer for the gay and lesbian alliance on campus, we do fundraising and community events." **Dr. Gordon:** What do you like to do at night or on the weekend? **Person #2:** "I usually just hang out at home with my girlfriend."	

The path model should appear as follows:

Figure 13. Situational Graph Structure: Lesbian Actor Possessing a Weak Gestalt for "Feminine" and Heterosexual Plain Jane
Condition 3. Femme Lesbian



In Figure 13, p is linked to non-feminine gender cues D_2 along with heterosexual category cues D_1+. O is displaying feminine cues D_2 and is connected to homosexual category cues D_1-, which means that gender and sexual orientation are differentiating the actors in this path model. The effect of gender is symbolized by a negative signed dimensionality path that connects D_2+ and D_2-. In this model the femme lesbian is connected to D_2- by a line that is separated by a δ+ and δ-, which symbolizes the weak gender cue gestalt created by the inconsistent characteristics of lesbian and feminine. The rest of the path model is the same as Figure 1.

In this situation p is connected to T+ by 1 path of +4, 2 paths of +5, and 1 path of +6; o is connected by one path of -4, 2 paths of -5, and one path of -6 respectively. In this case, the

expectation state advantage is stronger than with just one salient diffuse status characteristic; p's expectation profile is .2433 and o's is -.2433.

expectation advantage = $e_p - e_o$
= .2433 – (-.2433)
= .4865

Table 4. Condition 3 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Gender of Subject	Gender Display	Sexual Orientation	Positive Path Length	Negative Path Length	Expectation Advantage
Female (p)	"Normative"	Heterosexual	4, 5, 5,6	____	.4865
Female (o)	Feminine	Homosexual	_____	4, 5, 5,6	

In Condition 4 the subject will again be a plain Jane and the confederate will be a masculine lesbian. In this condition, as the theory states, gender does not add information to the already activated status characteristic, so it will not be salient. In Figure 3 p is linked to T+ by a +4 and to T- by a +5, o is linked to T- through a -4 path and T+ through a -5 path. Overall, we find that when there is one diffuse status characteristic like sexual orientation according to Fişek, Berger and Norman (1992), and the positive subset will equal .1826 and the negative subset will equal -.1826. Thus, the heterosexual plain Jane's performance expectation is higher in value than the masculine lesbians', and so, according to our theory, the heterosexual plain Jane will be predicted to be at the top of the status hierarchy.

expectation advantage = $e_p - e_o$
= .1826 – (-.1826)
= 1826 + .1826
= .3653

Figure 14. Condition 4 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name? **Person #2:** "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Mary Taylor." **Dr. Gordon:** What school are you attending? **Person #2:** "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa." **Dr. Gordon:** What are your hobbies? **Person #2:** "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends." **Dr. Gordon:** What extracurricular activities are you involved in? **Person #2:** "I volunteer for the gay and lesbian alliance on campus, we do fundraising and community events." **Dr. Gordon:** What do you like to do at night or on the weekend? **Person #2:** "I usually just hang out at home with my girlfriend."	

This path model will appear as follows:

Figure 15. Condition 4 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Condition 4 :

D1 = sexual orientation

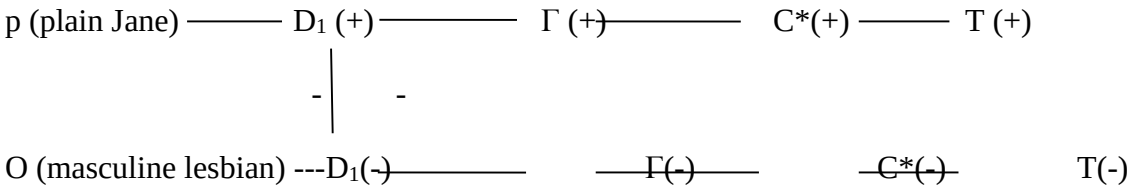


Table 5. Condition 4 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Gender of Subject	Gender Display	Sexual Orientation	Positive Path Length	Negative Path Length	Expectation Advantage
Female (p)	"Normative"	Heterosexual	4,5	_____	.3653
Female (o)	Masculine	Homosexual	_____	4,5	

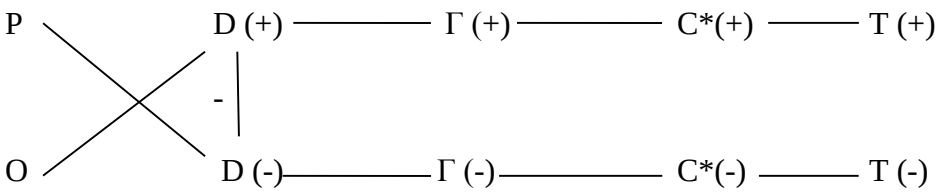
Conditions 5 through 8 are conditions with male confederates and female subjects. The structure of the conditions will be very similar, as will the particular path models to the previous four conditions. Condition 5, the first of the male confederate conditions, is the baseline control condition that we will use for comparison for the results in all the other conditions. In this condition we will interact plain Jane with a plain Joe. Unlike Condition 1, Condition 5 does have an associated path model because gender is activated as a diffuse status characteristic. Being male is the positive state of a diffuse status characteristic and being female is the negative state of a diffuse status characteristic. P is linked to the negative state, and o is associated with the positive state.

Figure 16. Condition 5 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name? **Person #2:** "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Joe Taylor." **Dr. Gordon:** What school are you attending? **Person #2:** "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa." **Dr. Gordon:** What are your hobbies? **Person #2:** "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends." **Dr. Gordon:** What extracurricular activities are you involved in? **Person #2:** "I volunteer for dance marathon, we do fundraising and community events" **Dr. Gordon:** What do you like to do at night or on the weekend? **Person #2:** "I usually just hang out at home with my girlfriend."	

The path model is displayed below:

Figure 17. Situational Graph Structure: Male Actor with a Partner Who Possesses the Negative Diffuse Status Characteristic of Female
Condition 5:



If we count the paths between our female actor (p) and her task outcome we find that she has a -4 path and a -5 path, whereas the male actor (o) has a +4 path and a +5 path. Overall we find that when there is one diffuse status characteristic like gender, according to Fişek, Berger

and Norman (1992), the positive subset will equal .1826 and the negative subset will equal -.1826. Thus, the male's performance expectation is higher in value than the females, and so he will be predicted to be at the top of the status hierarchy.

expectation advantage = $e_p - e_o$
= -.1826 – (.1826)
= -.1826 - .1826
= -.3653

Table 6. Condition 5 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Gender of Subject	Gender Display	Sexual Orientation	Positive Path Length	Negative Path Length	Expectation Advantage
Female (p)	"Normative"	Heterosexual	_____	4,5	-.3653
Male (o)	"Normative"	Heterosexual	4,5	_____	

In Condition 6 the subject will be a plain Jane and the confederate will be gay plain Joe. In other words, this confederate will be just like the initial plain Joe confederate except that we will vary sexual orientation.

Figure 18. Condition 6 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name? **Person #2:** "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Joe Taylor." **Dr. Gordon:** What school are you attending? **Person #2:** "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa." **Dr. Gordon:** What are your hobbies? **Person #2:** "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends." **Dr. Gordon:** What extracurricular activities are you involved in? **Person #2:** "I volunteer for the gay and lesbian alliance on campus, we do fundraising and community events. **Dr. Gordon:** What do you like to do at night or on the weekend? **Person #2:** "I usually just hang out at home with my boyfriend."	

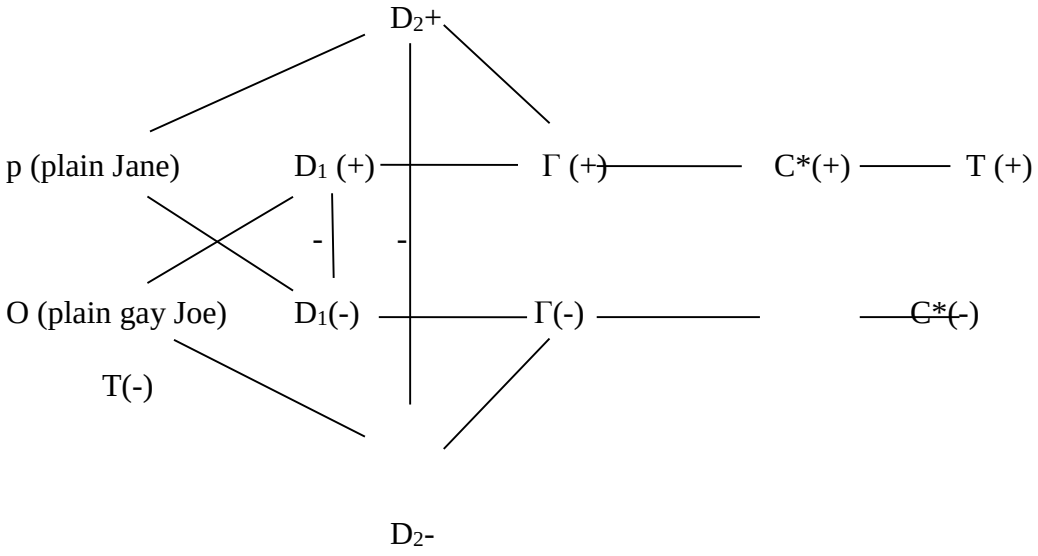
The path model will read as follows:

Figure 19. Situational Graph Structure: Male Actor Who is Homosexual with a Partner Who Possesses the Negative Diffuse Status Characteristic of Female, but is Heterosexual

Condition 6 :

D_1 = sex category

D_2 = sexual orientation



In Figure 19, p is a female actor and o is a male actor in a dyadic group. D_1 is the diffuse status characteristic of gender being activated. P is connected to D_1- because she is female and o is connected to D_1+ because he is male. D_2 is the diffuse status characteristic of sexual orientation being activated, more specifically D+ is heterosexuality and D- is homosexuality. P is connected to D_2+ because she is a heterosexual female and o is connected to D_2- because he is a homosexual male. The diffuse status characteristics are connected to the Γ states, which represent general differences in expected competence. This general ability is then linked to specific ability C* to succeed at a particular task by a path of length one. Lastly this specific ability gets attached to the group's perception of a successful T+ or unsuccessful T- task outcome. If we count the paths between our female actor (p) and her task outcome we find that she has a -4 path and a -5 path as well as a +4 path and a +5 path, whereas the male actor (o) he has a -4 path and a -5 path as well as a +4 path and a +5 path. The assumption here is that sexual orientation is a status characteristic and will combine function similarly to other diffuse status. Here both profiles equal 0.

expectation advantage $= e_p - e_o$
$= 0 - 0$
$= 0$

Table 7. Condition 6 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Gender of Subject	Gender Display	Sexual Orientation	Positive Path Length	Negative Path Length	Expectation Advantage
Female (p)	"Normative"	Heterosexual	4,5	4,5	0
Male (o)	"Normative"	Homosexual	4,5	4,5	

In Condition 7 the subject will again be a plain Jane and the confederate will be masculine gay Joe. This condition consists of three diffuse status characteristics, gender (male or female), sexual orientation (homosexual and heterosexual) and gender display (masculine and feminine). In this condition inconsistent information is presented, to the subject. First the status characteristic of male homosexuality is presented and then information cueing a masculine gender performance is presented, which leads to a dissonance around the expected pairing of gay man with femininity and heterosexuality with masculinity. In this situation we expect that the confederate will lose status from their sexual orientation, but gain status from their gender display. The path model should appear as follows:

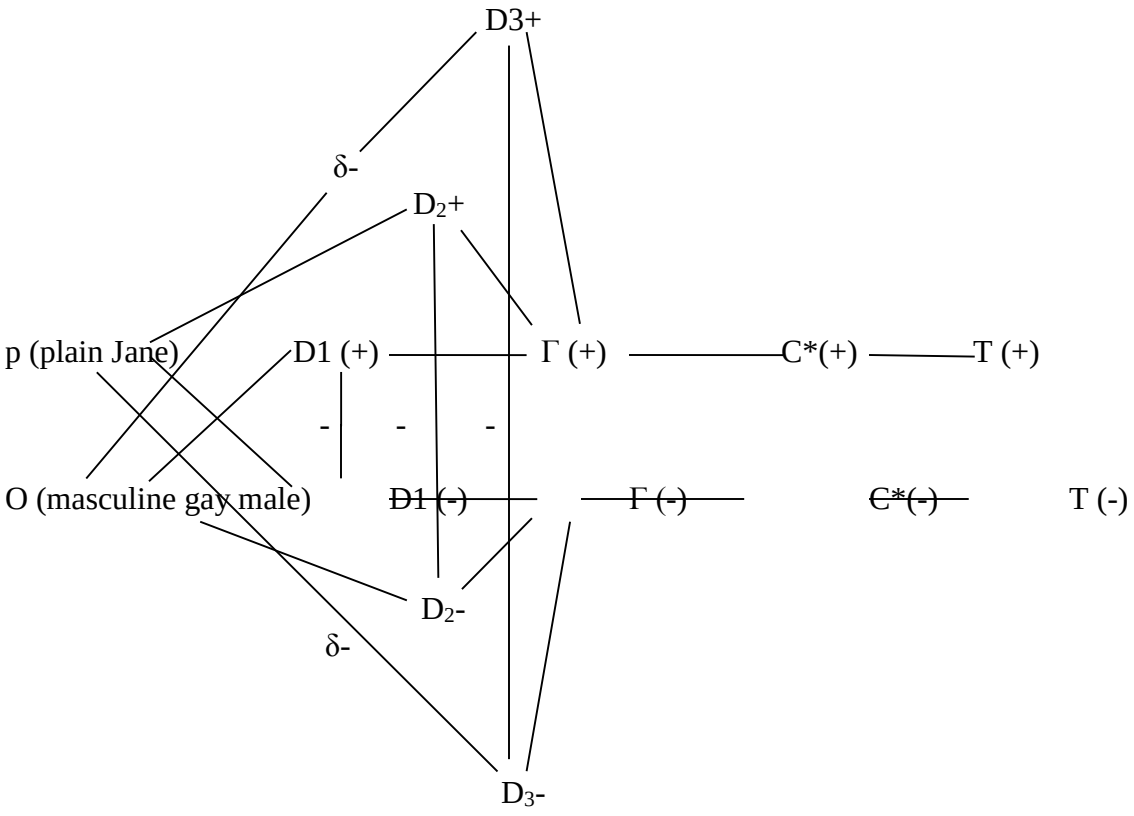
Figure 20. Condition 6 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name? **Person #2:** "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Joe Taylor." **Dr. Gordon:** What school are you attending? **Person #2:** "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa." **Dr. Gordon:** What are your hobbies? **Person #2:** "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends." **Dr. Gordon:** What extracurricular activities are you involved in? **Person #2:** "I volunteer for the gay and lesbian alliance on campus, we do fundraising and community events. **Dr. Gordon:** What do you like to do at night or on the weekend? **Person #2:** "I usually just hang out at home with my boyfriend."	

Figure 21. Situational Graph Structure: Homosexual Actor Who Possesses Masculine Task Cues and Heterosexual Plain Jane

Condition 7 :

D1 = sex category
D2 = sexual orientation
D3 = gender



In the path diagram above p is connected to two - 4 paths, and one -5 path along with two +5 paths and one +4. O is connected to one +4 and one -4 path as well as one -5, two +5 and one -6. In this condition actor p will have a score of -.0742 and actor o will have a score of .0742. Thus, the masculine gay male's performance expectation is slightly higher in value then plain Jane, and so he is predicted to be at the top of the status hierarchy.

Expectation advantage = $e_p - e_o$
= -.0742 – (.0742)
= -.1483

Table 8. Condition 7 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Gender of Subject	Gender Display	Sexual Orientation	Positive Path Length	Negative Path Length	Expectation Advantage
Female (p)	"Normative"	Heterosexual	_____	-5, -6	-.1483
Male (o)	Masculine	Homosexual	5,6	_____	

In Condition 8 the subject again will be plain Jane and the confederate will be a feminine gay guy. In this condition consistent information is presented to the subject. First the status characteristic of gender is presented, and then information cueing sexual orientation is presented. The gender performance of femininity is consistent with social expectations linking femininity and male homosexuality, and therefore does not change the status structure. In other words, in this condition, as the theory states, gender display and not add information to the already activated status characteristic of homosexuality, so it will not be salient. If we count the paths between our female actor (p) and her task outcome we find that she has a -4 path and a -5 path as well as a +4 path and a +5 path, whereas the male actor (o) he has a -4 path and a -5 path as well as a +4 path and a +5 path. In this situation we expect that the confederate will lose status from his sexual orientation and gain status from his association with the masculine sex category.

Figure 22. Condition 8 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

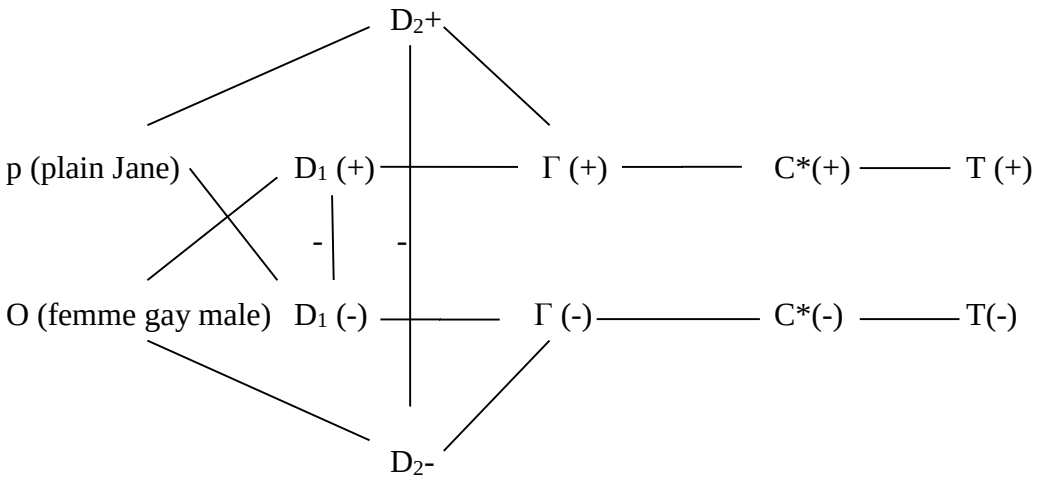
Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name? **Person #2:** "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Joe Taylor." **Dr. Gordon:** What school are you attending? **Person #2:** "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa." **Dr. Gordon:** What are your hobbies? **Person #2:** "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends." **Dr. Gordon:** What extracurricular activities are you involved in? **Person #2:** "I volunteer for the gay and lesbian alliance on campus, we do fundraising and community events. **Dr. Gordon:** What do you like to do at night or on the weekend? **Person #2:** "I usually just hang out at home with my boyfriend."	

The path model should appear as follows:

Figure 23. A Situational Graph Structure: Homosexual Actor Possessing a Weak Gestalt for "Feminine"

Condition 8:

D_1 = sex category
D_2 = sexual orientation



Expectation advantage = $e_p - e_o$
= 0 – 0
= 0

Table 9. Condition 8 Path Length and Expectation Advantage

Gender of Subject	Gender Display	Sexual Orientation	Positive Path Length	Negative Path Length	Expectation Advantage
Female (p)	"Normative"	Heterosexual	4,5	4,5	0
Male (o)	Feminine	Homosexual	4,5	4,5	

The last table of this section discusses the overall expectation advantages calculated with the combined strengths formula for each condition. In general when we look at the pattern of expected advantage we expect that homosexuality and being the female gender decrease advantage of actors in this experiment relative to their heterosexual and male counterparts. Furthermore, masculine gender display advantages both men and women during interaction. Normative gender display for men and women has a lower expectation advantage than their masculinity-gendered counterparts, and the hyper-feminine men and women are expected to be the least advantaged.

Table 10. Expectation of Advantage across Condition

Condition (Confederate)	e_p (Performance Expectation for p)	e_o (Performance expectation for o)	$e_p - e_o$- (Expectation Advantage)	Advantaged Actor
Condition 1: Plane Jane	0	0	0	Neither
Condition 2: Plane Jane Lesbian	.1826	-.1826	.3653	p
Condition 3: Masculine Lesbian	.2433	-.2433	.4865	p
Condition 4: Feminine Lesbian	.1826	-.1826	.3653	p
Condition 5: Plane Joe	-.1826	.1826	-.3653	o
Condition 6: Plane Joe Gay	0	0	0	Neither
Condition 7: Masculine Gay Joe	.0742	-.0742	-.1483	o
Condition 4: Feminine Gay Joe	0	0	0	Neither

Hypotheses

The formal hypotheses for this experiment will be guided by the path model graphs. The following is my hypotheses.

Given all-female task- and collectively oriented groups:

H_{1a}: Lesbian women who display normative gender cues will not have as much influence as heterosexual women who display normative gender cues.

H_{1b}: Lesbian women who display hyper-masculine gender cues will not have as much influence as the heterosexual women who display normative gender cues.

H_{1c}: Lesbian women who display hyper-feminine gender cues will have less influence than the heterosexual women, gender-normative lesbian women, and hyper-masculine lesbian women.

Given mixed-gender task- and collectively oriented groups:

H_{2a}: Gender normative heterosexual men will have more influence than gender normative heterosexual women.

H_{2b}: Gender normative gay men will have the same amount of influence as gender normative heterosexual women.

H_{2c}: Hyper-masculine gay men will have more influence than gender normative heterosexual women.

H_{2d}: Hyper-feminine gay men will have less influence than gender normative heterosexual women.

These hypotheses can also be written using the measure for influence, the proportion of stay response or P(s) scores. We would, of course, use average P(s) scores by condition. Accordingly, for the all-female conditions, we expect higher status to be attributed to and therefore more influence given to, the plain Jane heterosexual who will have more influence than the masculine homosexual, who will have equal influence with the plain Jane homosexual, who will have more influence than the feminine homosexual. Therefore: the average P(s) in condition 1 (or P1) > average P(s) in Condition 2 (or P2) = average P(s) in Condition 3 (or P3) > average P(s) in Condition 1 (or P1). Furthermore, for the male-female condition, we expect higher status to be attributed to and therefore more influence given to the plain Joe heterosexual who will have more influence than the masculine homosexual who will have equal influence to the plain Joe homosexual, who will have more influence than the

feminine homosexual. Therefore: the average P(s) in Condition 5 (or P5) > average P(s) in Condition 6 (or P6) > average P(s) in Condition 8 (or P8) > average P(s) in Condition 7 (or P7).

We have also developed two hypotheses for the stigma measures:

H_{3a}: In the all-female task- and collectively oriented groups, participants will be more likely to choose to work with the heterosexual woman than the hyper-feminine lesbian; participants will be more likely to choose to work with the hyper-feminine lesbian than the gender normative lesbian; and participants will be more likely to choose to work with the gender normative lesbian than the hyper-masculine lesbian.

H_{3b}: In mixed-gender task- and collectively oriented groups, participants will be more likely to choose to work with the gender normative heterosexual man than the hyper-masculine gay man; participants will be more likely to choose to work with the hyper-masculine gay man than the gender normative gay man; and participants will be more likely to choose to work with the gender normative gay man than the hyper-feminine gay man.

Procedure

Female participants[5] will come to the lab individually, and will be told that they are participating in a study about group behavior and interaction involving "Contrast Sensitivity" ability. When the research participants arrive in the waiting room, they will be greeted by a research assistant who will ask them to fill out and sign a consent form.[6] In the consent form they are informed that their participation is voluntary and that they are free to terminate their

[5] I used female participants because they are the most available to participate in experimental studies. Men are much harder to get into the lab. However, this will be an important next step for future research.

[6] The specific wording and directions used by the research assistant is included as Appendix 5.

participation in the study at any time. Once the consent form is signed and completed, the participants will be taken through the lab to one of the research rooms. The research assistant will take careful notes on the appearance, style of dress, and non-verbal behavior for strong feminine or masculine social cues. If the participants are extremely masculine or feminine they will not be included in the analysis. This is because individuals who are extreme on either end of the gender spectrum might have a different reaction/ perception of participants who are extreme on either end of the gender spectrum. Similarly, the participants will be asked to fill out a form that asks them to disclose their sexual orientation, and for similar reasons, participants that do not identify as heterosexual will not be used in the analyses.

Next the participants will be seated in front of a computer that is set up to appear as if it is connected to a computer in a nearby room. It is set up in this way to appear as if the participant will be interacting with another participant who is seated in another room. In reality the participants will be interacting with a computer programmed to simulate pre-programmed responses to the choices made by the participant. The experiment will use a double-blind protocol, meaning that the computer will randomly assign each participant to one of the 8 various conditions upon arrival. The research assistants will not be told to which condition the participant is assigned.

Once the participant has filled out all of the consent forms and has been assigned to a condition, they will be asked to fill out a pre-session questionnaire. Once they have completed all of the requirements, they will be shown a prerecorded video with Dr. Gordon that gives the participant information about the upcoming task.[7] The participant is lead to believe that the researcher in the recording is actually a researcher in the control room of the laboratory

[7] The exact wording and directions included in the video are attached in Appendix 1.

providing live directions to all of the participants. During the recording the researcher will give participants directions that assure they are cued into the scope conditions of expectations states theory. This means that the participants are both task-and collectively oriented.

The directions also convey information about the task itself. They will be told that they will be participating in a "Team Contrast Sensitivity Task". This is a standard task used in experimental settings for Expectation States research (Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch 1972; Berger 2007). The participants are lead to believe that this task tests a particular ability called "Contrast Sensitivity". This is not a real ability but rather made up for the purposes of studying how individuals influence each other during interaction. Participants are informed that this task does not measure other types of ability like mathematical ability or artistic ability.

Participants are informed that this is a team effort and that research provides evidence that working with another individual will significantly increase their chances of success. They are informed that they will be looking at a space filled with black and white rectangular boxes and that they, as a group, will be asked to determine whether that space is composed of more black or white boxes. (Moore (1968) determined that 505/50 black and white actually favored the black area.) This black/white area split is perceived as 50/50 to the human eye. While participants are lead to believe that there is a difference in black and white space, the areas are composed of about 52% black rectangular boxes and 48% white rectangular boxes.

Next, the gender/sexual orientation manipulation will be introduced. The participants will be asked to introduce themselves to their partner through the Webcam on the top of the computer. Participants will be randomly assigned to be introduced to one of the confederates. The confederate will be a Plain Jane (plainly dressed), a Plain Jane Lesbian (also plainly dressed), a Femme Lesbian (a lesbian who acts and dresses in a feminine fashion), a Butch Lesbian (a

lesbian who dresses and acts in a masculine fashion), a Plain Joe (dresses plainly), a Gay Plain Joe (also dresses in a plain fashion), a Feminine Gay Man (a gay man who dresses and acts in a feminine fashion), and a Masculine Gay Man (a gay man who dresses and acts in a masculine fashion). Subjects will be asked to provide information including their name, the school they attend, the hobbies they participate in, what activities they like to participate in on the weekends, and what extra-curricular activities they are involved. The hobbies, weekend activities, and extracurricular activities they participate in will reflect social cues for gender and sexual orientation. For example, the plain Jane lesbian will express that she is involved in the GLBTUA (the Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Union Alliance on campus) and that she enjoys going to Studio 13[8] with her girlfriend on the weekends.

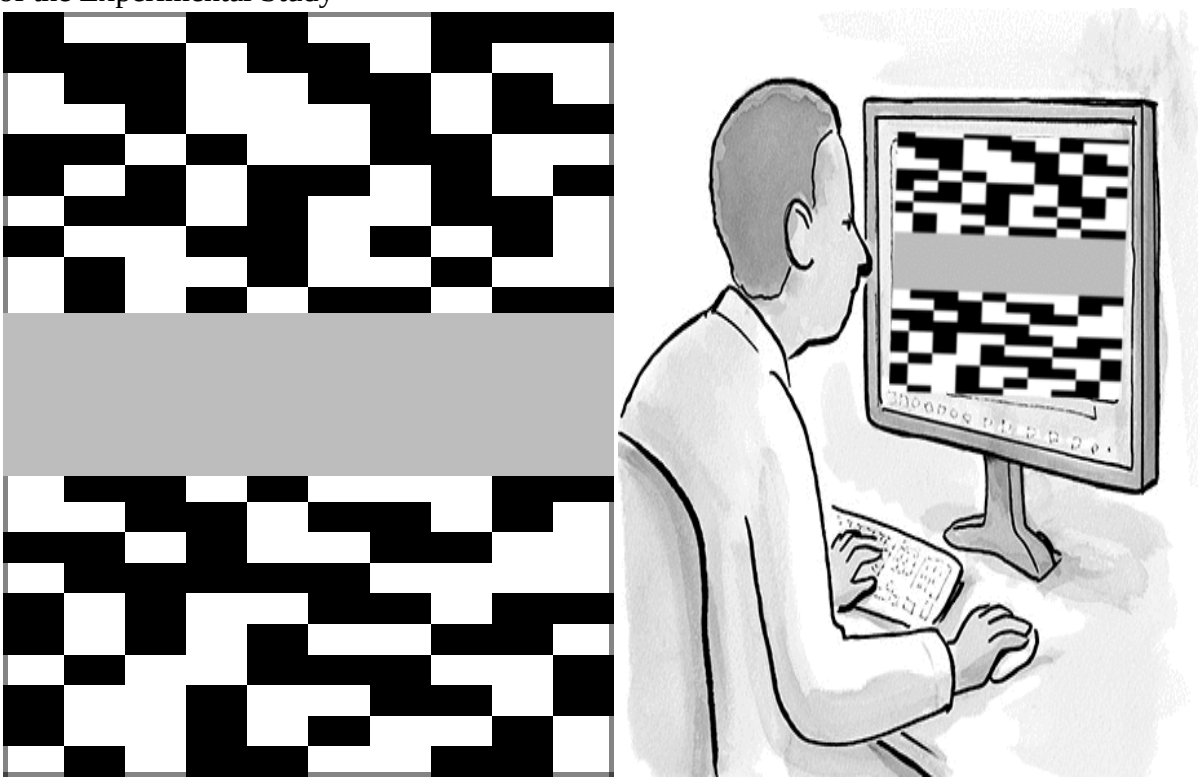
The participants will be given a few minutes to prepare their answers, and then will be recorded telling their answers. They will be informed that this recording will be shown to their partner while they watch their partners' recording. Again, they are randomly assigned to one of the conditions so they will be shown a recording of one of the eight possible conditions. In the recording the women will provide answers to all of the same questions that the participant answered, but the gender and sexual orientation of the participant will vary in each condition. This manipulation works to make gender or sexual orientation salient in the situation, and therefore relevant to task performance. Once the participants have been introduced to their partner, they will be asked for their responses to the same questions. During the time that they are responding, the computer screen will be black to provide the illusion that their response is being transmitted to the other room.

[8] The only gay and lesbian bar in Iowa City.

Figure 24. Pictorial Representation of Computer Style Interaction during the Test Portion of the Experimental Study

Once the participants have been introduced the researcher will guide the participant though the practice Contrast Sensitivity test and the actual Contrast Sensitivity test. The Contrast Sensitivity test is a commonly used test in social psychology for measuring influence in paired groups. Participants will complete 20-item rounds of the computer administered Contrast Sensitivity test. In this test subjects will have 5 seconds to decide whether black or white dominates a particular rectangle (Troyer 2001). In the Contrast Sensitivity test there are no wrong or right answers, and since the perceptual proportion of black and white is the same, participants are not able to actually choose right and wrong answers. Below is a sample of the type of slides participants will view during their participation in the experiment.

Figure 25. Example of Contrast Sensitivity Slides Participants Will View During the Test Portion of the Experimental Study



In each condition the confederate will be programmed to agree and disagree the same number of times. In this study we are looking at the amount of influence the confederate will have on the participants' choices. In the Contrast Sensitivity test the participants will be shown two slides. They will be asked to make an initial choice as to which slide has more white. They are then allowed to see the choice of their partner, and then allowed to either stay with their original choice or change their choice. The number of times the participant stays with their original choice rather than changing their choice will reflect the amount of influence that the subject rejected from the confederate. For example, if the participant changes their response to reflect what their partners' response was, this means that they have been influenced. In this study the dependent variable is the P(s) score, which refers to the number of times the participants stay with their original answer compared to the number of times they change their

answer. This score can be calculated by dividing the number of stay responses by the number of changed responses.

Once the task has been completed by the participant they will be asked to fill out a computerized survey, which will request demographic information, information about whether the experimental manipulations were successful, information about whether the participants actually met the scope conditions of the study, and lastly about the participants perceptions of their partners' competence and ability. Finally, participants will be given an EPA questionnaire designed to test for stigmatizing processes toward lesbian and gay individuals. The last three questions are another standard measure of stigma that asks participants if they would like to get to know their partner outside of the experimental setting. Participants will then be given another post session oral interview to make sure they met the scope conditions. Participants will then be debriefed and paid. [9]

Training of the confederates

Once the participants have completed the personal information sheets they will be introduced to their partner through a webcam. The videos that the participants will be watching are in fact pre-recorded videos with a European American confederate who is posing as a female or male undergraduate student at the University of Iowa. Before I go into the details of how each confederate was trained to display gender for each specific condition let us briefly review the literature on status cue theory as well as how this particular formulation of cues inform our overall project of training confederates to present specific gender displays.

[9] The Post-Session Survey, Post-Session Interview, and Debriefing Script are included in the Appendix section of this document.

A good deal of research has worked to explain the ways in which status cues informed by non verbal behaviors and possessions work to inform the status differentiation process in task groups (Dovidio and Ellyson, 1982; Berger et al., 1986; Ridgeway, 1987). Berger et al., 1986 describe statues cues as falling into two categories task-categorical cues and indicative-expressive cues. For a more detailed description of this theory please see the Status Cue Theory sub section of Chapter 2. In this section I only briefly describe the assumptions of status cue theory and the types of cues that inform the project of determining out to train the confederates to display a specific gender display for each condition. Below is a table presenting the types of cues and their dimensions described by Berger et al., in 1986.

Figure 26: Status Cue Dimensions Created by Berger et al. (1986).

	Task	Categorical
Indicative	"I just happen to know how to do this." "I am confident of my abilities here." "I have had a great deal of experience with this kind of problem." "I have the ability in general to solve problems."	Diploma, licence and certificates Obvious symbols of wealth. Poverty. Educational attainment, status position "I have a Harvard Ph.D." "I am a mathematician" "I am a Chicano"
Expressive	Eye contact and duration Speech speed Speech loudness Speech fluency or hesitancy Rapid. Sure movements (in sports) Graceful posture (in sports) Choice of head of table Maintaining minority position	Ethnic or regional dialect Grammar word usage, phonology Speech styles which are race, gender, or ethnic specific Skin color or facial features which are race, gender, or ethnic specific

In this experiment several cues are enacted in each condition. In some cases both task and categorical cues are being enacted. Below is a figure that describes the cues chosen for each confederate to display? While traditional Status Cue Theory would suggest that cues cannot by mixed from both dimensions in one cue gestalt. This is where we depart from the original theory and suggest that feminist and gender scholars might be correct in their assumption that working to separate task and categorical cues in terms of gender display does not accurately represent how gender is enacted in real world settings. Rather than indicative expressive, task, and categorical cues working in isolation as presented in the Figure 26. these cues have more intersection and overlap then might have been previously allowed for. For example, 'masculine' expressive task cues like lower voice pitch and eye contact convey meanings similar to indicative task cues. I suggest that rather than deconstructing gender display into these 4 specific cue dimensions we should allow for the idea that we can look at these cue gestalts as whole cue sets. These whole cue sets provide categorical, task, indicative, and expressive information but not in isolated dimensions as previously assumed.

Figure 27: Specific Cues Enacted in Female Experimental Conditions

Condition 1: Straight Plain Jane		
	Task	Categorical
Indicative		University of Iowa student status, participation in Dance Marathon, heterosexual, social and academic person, University of Iowa t-shirt
Expressive	Some eye contact but not excessive, typical speech speed, slightly lower speech volume, some hesitancy in speech	Speech styles with race and geographic location, female gender, European American ethnicity
Condition 2. Lesbian Plain Jane		
	Task	Categorical
Indicative		University of Iowa student status, participation in Gay Straight Alliance, lesbian, social and academic person, University of Iowa t-shirt
Expressive	Some eye contact but not excessive, typical speech speed, slightly lower speech volume, some hesitancy in speech	Speech styles with race and geographic location, female gender, European American ethnicity
Condition 3: Masculine Lesbian		
	Task	Categorical
Indicative		University of Iowa student status, participation in Gay Straight Alliance, lesbian, social and academic person
Expressive	Strong eye contact, slow speech speed, louder speech volume, lower tonal pitch in speech, no upward inflection, taking up space in seated position, strong assertive speech style, masculine dress and baseball hat	Speech styles with race and geographic location, female gender, European American ethnicity
Condition 4: Feminine Lesbian		
	Task	Categorical
Indicative		University of Iowa student status, participation in Gay Straight Alliance, lesbian, social and academic person
Expressive	Less eye contact, faster speech speed, hesitancy in speech, higher tonal pitch, more smiling, more laughing, touching/flipping hair, wearing shades of pink in clothing, wearing makeup, wearing necklace and earrings	Speech styles with race and geographic location, female gender, European American ethnicity

Figure 28. Specific Cues Enacted in Male Experimental Conditions

Condition 1: Straight Plain Joe		
	Task	Categorical
Indicative		University of Iowa student status, participation in Dance Marathon, heterosexual, social and academic person, University of Iowa t-shirt
Expressive	Some eye contact but not excessive, typical speech speed, slightly lower speech volume, some hesitancy in speech	Speech styles with race and geographic location, male gender, European American ethnicity
Condition 2. Lesbian Plain Joe		
	Task	Categorical
Indicative		University of Iowa student status, participation in Gay Straight Alliance, gay man, social and academic person, University of Iowa t-shirt
Expressive	Some eye contact but not excessive, typical speech speed, slightly lower speech volume, some hesitancy in speech	Speech styles with race and geographic location, male gender, European American ethnicity
Condition 3: Masculine Gay Joe		
	Task	Categorical
Indicative		University of Iowa student status, participation in Gay Straight Alliance, gay man, social and academic person
Expressive	Strong eye contact, slow speech speed, louder speech volume, lower tonal pitch in speech, no upward inflection, taking up space in seated position, strong assertive speech style, not closely shaved, masculine dress and baseball hat	Speech styles with race and geographic location, male gender, European American ethnicity
Condition 4: Feminine Gay Joe		
	Task	Categorical
Indicative		University of Iowa student status, participation in Gay Straight Alliance, gay man, social and academic person
Expressive	Less eye contact, faster speech speed, hesitancy in speech, higher tonal pitch, more smiling, more laughing, wearing sweater and button up shirt, hair is combed	Speech styles with race and geographic location, male gender, European American ethnicity

The confederate will be dressed and coached to perform gender in a way that is required for with that particular condition. For example, in the condition with the hyper-feminine homosexual women, the confederate will be coached to perform gender in ways that are consistent with feminine behavior for women during interaction. Information from the literature on gender and interaction as well as information from our specific subject pool, the undergraduate population at a large Midwestern public university, will be used to coach both the male and female confederate on voice, mannerisms, speaking style, style of dress, and nonverbal behavior.

Confederates will be dressed and coached in ways that should stand out in terms of gender performance. For example, the feminine confederates will be asked to dress and act in accordance with obvious stereotypes of femininity and the masculine confederates will be asked to take on obvious characteristics, mannerisms, and stereotypes of masculinity. The outward gender cues, such as speech, style of dress, hairstyle, and non-verbal cues will be made as obvious and recognizable as possible. One of the main reasons why this is important is because the introduction of the confederate and the participant will only last 30 seconds which is a short time to establish an impression and ensure that both gender and sexual orientation have been established as salient features of the interaction. Of course, previous literature and research has made it clear that there are multiple forms of femininity and masculinity (Connell 1995) and that men and women perform gender differently in different situations (Larson et al. 2004). However, for the purposes of this short introduction between confederate and participant, it is essential that we can evoke a strong perception of gender and sexual orientation of the confederate to achieve the intended effect on the interaction.

Condition 1, which I will refer to as Plain Jane, is our control condition. In this condition the Confederate will be dressed in casual feminine attire in the undergraduate gendered dress culture of this institution. Her dress will consist of a university t-shirt, flare jeans, and flip-flops. Her hair will be worn in a ponytail with an elastic band. She will be carrying a backpack. She will wear minimal make-up, consisting of mascara, light foundation, and clear Chap Stick. She will be instructed to read the instructions in a normal tone of voice and speed and to have a relaxed posture. This style of dress and performance of gender is typical and standard for young women between ages 18 and 24 on this campus.

Condition 2 will have a confederate who is a Plain Jane, but she is homosexual. In this condition she will be given the same directions as were given to the confederate in Condition 1 except during the time that the confederate in Condition 1 was talking about her boyfriend and what they like to do together, this confederate will be talking about her girlfriend, how she spends time with the gay straight alliance, and spends time at the local gay bar.

Condition 3 will have a confederate who presents herself as a feminine homosexual person; I will refer to her as the "Feminine Lesbian". This confederate will be dressed in ways that are consistent with feminine stereotypes (Allen 2009). This confederate will be dressed in a pink and purple sundress with large hoop earrings, a beaded bracelet, and painted fingernails. Her hair will be curled. She will be wearing makeup that is obvious, including mascara, blush, eyeliner, eye shadow, and red lipstick. Along with style of dress and make-up, the confederate will also be given a variety of instructions about speech style and non-verbal cues. For example, research shows that women tend to be more collaborative, supportive, and warm in their communication (Carli 2002). While we will not be having the confederates actually interacting with the participants, we will ask that during the introduction, the feminine confederate smile

several times, which is in line with evidence that women smile more than men (LaFrance et al. 2003). Research also finds that women tend to be more tentative and deferential in their speech and they made more hedges and disclaimers (Carli, 1989, 1990; Carli, LaFleur, and Loeber, 1995; see also Henley and Kramarae, 1991; Lakoff, 1975, 1990; Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999); therefore, the feminine acting confederates will be asked to pause in certain places in their script, and to inflect several of their sentences. This upper inflection provides the illusion that the confederate is asking a question rather than stating a fact, signaling that they are unsure or timid about talking about themselves. Lakoff (1975) found that women used more adjectives (like adorable and divine) in their descriptions of events, something that we easily added into the script read by the confederate.

Research also finds that women and men tend to talk about different topics and that most individuals have stereotypical notions about what topics are feminine and what topics are masculine (Bischoping 1993; Haas and Sherman 1982; Hills 2000; Martin 1997). Researcher also finds that women tend to be more emotionally expressive than men in their speech style (Brody and Hall 1993; Broverman et al. 1972; Zuckerman and Larrance 1979). Both topic choices and emotional expression can be built right into the script that the confederate is asked to read. Furthermore, research has found that women tend to be more expressive with their hands and face when trying to articulate ideas (Kramer 1977). Opportunities for both hand and facial expressions will be located in the script and the confederate will be coached to insert these expressions into their performance. Research also found that there are gender differences in terms of how people take up space in their social world (Argyle 1988; Aries, Gold, and Weigel, 1983; Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1989; Gifford 1991; Mehrabian 1972; Spiegel and Machotka 1974; Weisfeld and Beresford 1982; Tiedens and Fragale 2003). We will convey this difference by

having the feminine confederates sit with their legs crossed, hands in their lap, taking up as little space as possible.

Furthermore, we find that women tend to laugh more during interaction than do men (Dovidio et al. 1988); therefore, the confederates will be asked to give a quiet giggle at some point during their introduction of themselves. Lastly, research finds that women tend to be more polite by avoiding intrusion and interruption, and expressing connectedness and appreciation (Brown and Levinson 1978; Holmes 1995; Hannah and Murachver 1999), which again can be expressed in the script that the confederate is asked to read. Condition 3 the only difference in training the confederate will receive in this condition is that they will answer the questions about sexual orientation in a way that reveals them to be homosexual rather than heterosexual. During the time that the confederate in Condition 1 I will be talking about her boyfriend, this confederate will spend a few sentences discussing their girlfriend and how they like to spend time at studio the local gay bar.

In Condition 4 the confederate will be presented as masculine with a homosexual orientation; we will refer to her as a "Butch Lesbian". This confederate will be coached on dress, speech style, and non-verbal interaction that mimics masculine cues (Kimmel and Messner 2010). Because previous research has documented a variety of ways that men and women interact and perform gender differently, we will turn to this literature to develop a variety of criteria and performance ideas to coach the masculine confederates.

A summary of the research on masculine gender display reveals that 'male interaction styles tend to boost status, dominance, and negative communications whereas women tend to be more collaborative, supportive and warm in their communication (Carli 2001). Furthermore, Hannah and Murachver (1999), provide a nice summary of a variety of ways in which men differ

from women during interaction in other ways besides just asserting dominance. They assert that men, "tend to use language to establish status and to gain or convey information (Aries and Johnson 1983; Tannen 1990). Their conversations are organized around mutual activities rather than relationships (Aries and Johnson 1983), and compared to women's conversations, they are more likely to involve bragging, verbal jousting, and mutual insults (Holmes 1995). They show delayed and minimal responses (Zimmerman and West 1975) and have increased eye contact with the conversational partner when they are listening (Dovidio, Brown, Heltman, Ellyson, and Keating 1988). Compared to women, men tend to use less polite forms of speech, do not apologize as readily, and overall are experienced as being less facilitative conversational partners. (Hannah and Murachver 1999).

In order to take advantage of this research to create a more accurate profile, we use these findings during the training of our confederate. During the introduction process the confederate displaying masculine gender cues will make direct eye contact and speak in the lowest most assertive tone possible. We will ask that the confederate speak loudly and slowly and that they take up a lot of space where they are sitting because this has been shown as a characteristic of dominant actors in groups (Argyle 1988; Aries, Gold, and Weigel, 1983; Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1989; Gifford 1991; Mehrabian 1972; Spiegel and Machotka, 1974; Weisfeld and Beresford 1982; Tiedens and Fragale 2003). For the female confederate displaying hyper masculine cues we will ask her to dress in masculine clothing (including a button down shirt, baseball hat, as well as a short haired wig).

Condition 5, which I will refer to, as "Plain Joe" is our control condition. In this condition the Confederate will be dressed in casual masculine attire in the undergraduate gendered dress culture at this institution. His dress will consist of a university t-shirt, cargo pants,

and flip-flops. His hair will be short with a small amount of product. He will be carrying a backpack. He will be instructed to read the instructions in a normal tone of voice and speed and to have a relaxed posture. This style of dress and performance of gender is typical and standard for young men between ages 18-and 24 on this campus. Condition 6 will have a confederate who is exactly the same as the confederate in Condition 5 except he will be gay. At the same time during the introduction in Condition 5, when plain Joe was talking about his girlfriend this confederate will talk about his boyfriend, how he spends his time at the gay straight alliance on campus, and hangs out at the local gay bar.

In Condition 7, the confederate will be presented as masculine with a homosexual orientation, we will refer to him as a "Masculine Gay Man". This confederate will be coached on dress, speech style, and non-verbal interaction that mimics masculine cues. (Kimmel and Messner 2010). Similar to the confederate who was coached in standard stereotypical feminine performance this confederate will be coached to mimic or perform more standard stereotypical masculine performance. Because previous research has documented a variety of ways that men and women interact and perform gender differently we will turn to this literature to develop a variety of criteria and performance ideas to coach the masculine confederates. The directions that this confederate receives will be similar to those received by the masculine lesbian in Condition 4. At the same time during the introduction in Condition 4, when plain Joe was talking about his girlfriend this confederate will talk about his boyfriend, how he spends his time at the gay straight alliance on campus, and hangs out at the local gay bar. Condition 8 will have a confederate we refer as "Feminine Gay Man" who will have similar directions as those given to the feminine women in Condition 3 and they will discuss the same sexual orientation cues as was

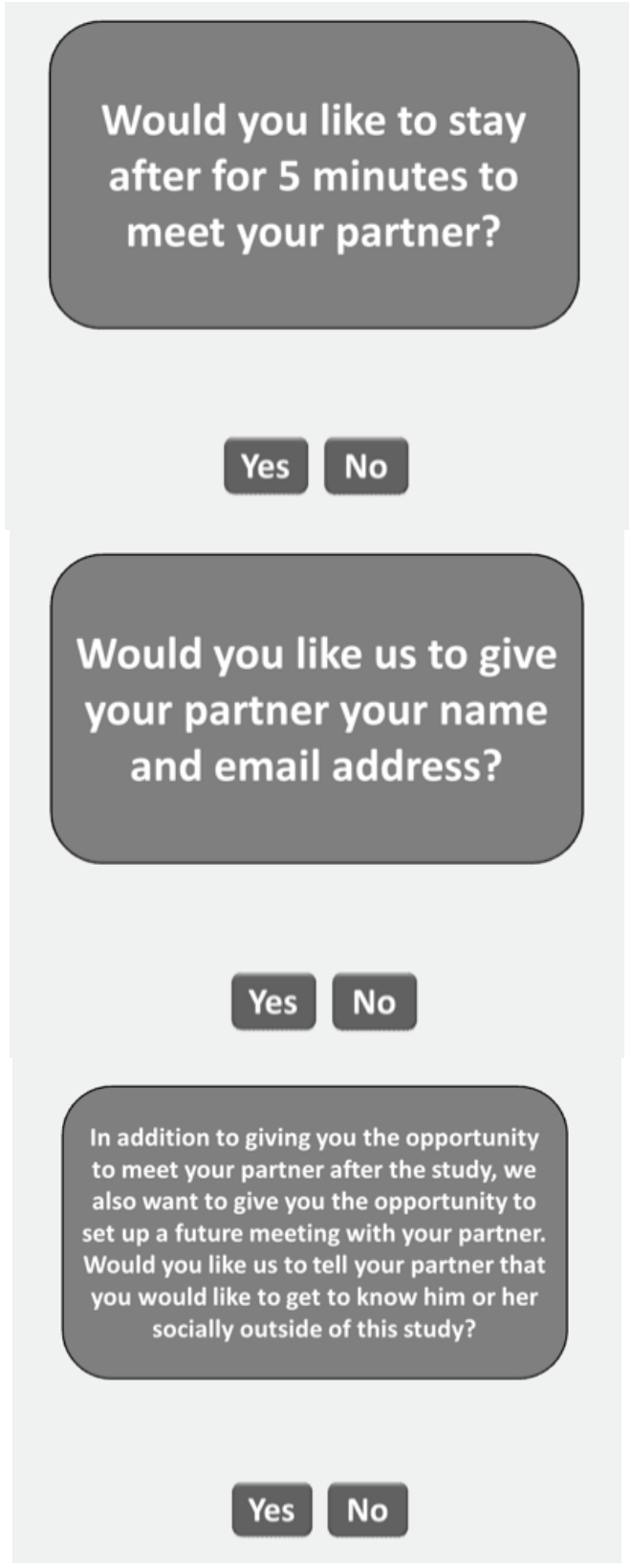
given by the last confederate in Condition 7. Next I will discuss how stigma is measured in the study.

Stigma and EPA Measures

After the Team Contrast Sensitivity test and post session questionnaire were completed, participants were tested on whether they stigmatized the homosexual confederate. Two measures of stigma were used, a Social Distance Questionnaire, as well as EPA profiles used in Affect Control Theory (Heise 2007).

Social distance questionnaires are often used to test to what extent a participant would be willing to interact with a person outside of the experimental stetting. Bogardus (1925) was the first to develop a scale that measured social distance, it has been used in a variety of different ways by a variety of researchers particularly to through the use of vignettes (for a summary see Link et al. 2004). The Social Distance Questionnaire used in this research consists of three questions from this line of research. Below is a picture of how the participant was introduced to these three questions.

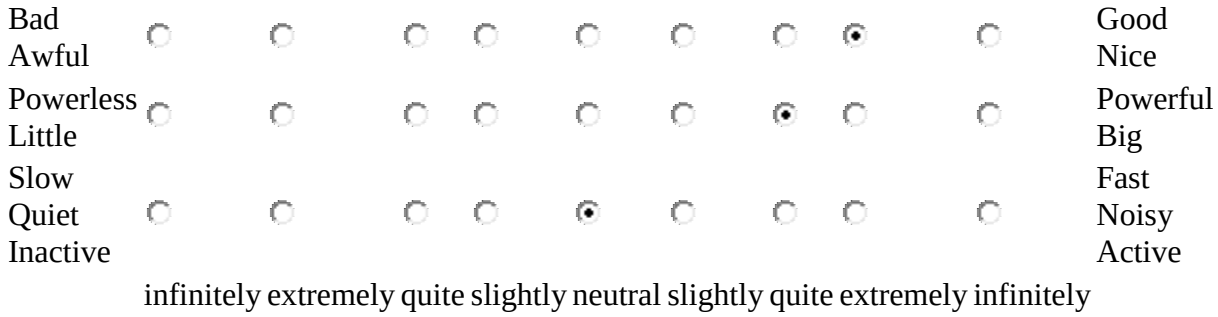
Figure 29. Example of Stigma Questions Participants Will View During the Test Portion of the Experimental Study


Would you like to stay after for 5 minutes to meet your partner?
Yes
No
Would you like us to give your partner your name and email address?
Yes
No
In addition to giving you the opportunity to meet your partner after the study, we also want to give you the opportunity to set up a future meeting with your partner. Would you like us to tell your partner that you would like to get to know him or her socially outside of this study?
Yes
No

The EPA profiles developed by Osgood and his colleagues (Osgood, May, and Miron 1975) measure the three universal dimensions of meaning evaluation (good versus bad), potency (powerful versus weak), and activity (fast, noisy versus slow, quite). The three dimensions are measured on a nine-point semantic differential scale anchored by the adjective pairs. The nine – point scale ranges from infinitely, extremely, quite, slightly, neutral, slightly, quite, extremely, infinitely. The measure is coded from 1-9 where one is infinitely bad/powerless/quiet and nine is good/powerful/fast. When subjects begin the EPA profile test, the directions read:

In this section of the survey, you are asked to report your understanding of different types of cultural identities, groups, and events. Each row of circles is like a ruler for measuring how you feel. Select a circle that indicates how close something is to the description at one end of the ruler or the other. If something is not close to either description, select the middle circle. For example, if you were rating "a grandfather," you might rate it like this:

a grandfather is



In this example, a grandfather is rated as extremely good and nice, quite powerful and big, and neutral in activity. Take note of two features of this survey. First, the direction of each scale changes from item to item. For example, sometimes "good, nice" is on the right, and sometimes it is on the left. Second, the order of the scales changes from item to item. For example, sometimes the scale that ranges from "bad, awful" to "good, nice" is first, sometimes it is second, and sometimes it is third. Given the changing direction and order of the scales, it is important that you carefully read each scale on the survey.

Once these measures are completed the subjects are given an exit interview, and then are debriefed and paid. In this chapter, I use modeling techniques from the Expectation States research program to develop path diagrams and aggregation techniques for performance expectations for each of the eight experimental conditions. The beginning of the chapter

includes a description of how to aggregate perform expectations based on the path model for each condition, including the path diagram associated with each condition, as well as the calculated performance expectation. Each condition is included as either a control or as an experimental manipulation of cues associated with gender or sexual orientation. Next, the hypotheses for expected advantage in each condition are summarized. Finally, the chapter is concluded with a discussion of how each confederate was trained to display their gender and sexual orientation. The next chapter will summarize the results from the Contrast Sensitivity test, the post session survey, and the EPA stigma survey.

CHAPTER 5: BEHAVIOR IN INTERACTION

Results

Two hundred and thirty-two European American female volunteers were recruited from various undergraduate classes at The University of Iowa, as well as through a mass email. Thirty-two participants were excluded from analyses for suspicions concerning the task and procedures, because they displayed masculinity or hyper-femininity, were nonwhite, or did not identify as heterosexual. Two hundred female participants were included in the final analyses.

Participants were randomly assigned to conditions by a random number generator. Furthermore, through our scheduling program, Sona Systems, participants were randomly shown the variety of experiments in which they could participate in, so as not to have unforeseen selection effects at the front end of the experiment.

Before moving on to a discussion of the results of the study, it is first important to discuss that the male confederate study and the female confederate study must be considered and analyzed as separate blocks. Because the male and female confederates are different people we cannot consider the studies to be holding gender constant (Stockburger 1998). In this case we cannot assign gender to one person, where they would be a male in one study and a female in another. Therefore, gender in this situation is not a controlled factor of the experiment, but rather has meaning specifically for one study.

This section will discuss the average P(S) score results, the model fit statistics[10], and findings from the post-session survey results. In each case statistical techniques used by Expectation States researchers to test data collected in the standardized experimental setting will be discussed and the data will be described.

[10] An estimation technique used by Expectation States researchers to test whether the experimental results found fit the estimates expected by the theoretical model (Balkwell 1991a; Fişek, Berger and Moore 2002).

Table 11. Descriptive Statistics for Dependent Variable – Proportion of Stay Responses P(s) by Condition

Condition	Average P(s) Score	Standard Deviation	N	Minimum	Maximum
Condition 1: Plain Jane	.62	.148	25	.42	.85
Condition 2: Plain Jane Lesbian	.68	.162	25	.31	.88
Condition 3: Masculine Lesbian	.67	.162	25	.40	.77
Condition 4: Feminine Lesbian	.70	.139	25	.27	.90
Condition 5: Plain Joe	.60	.101	24	.26	.86
Condition 6: Plain Joe Gay	.63	.180	25	.42	.95
Condition 7: Masculine Gay Joe	.58	.137	25	.11	.84
Condition 8: Feminine Gay Joe	.62	.144	25	.30	.95

Source: 199 Undergraduates Students, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed t-test)

P(s) score results

This section will summarize the main findings related to our behavioral measure of influence, the P(s) score. The female confederate study will be discussed first, and then the findings from the male confederate study will be discussed.

In the female confederate study, three main hypotheses were tested. The first hypothesis (H_{1a}) was that lesbian women who display normative gender cues would not have as much influence as heterosexual women who display normative gender cues. The second hypothesis (H_{1b}) was that lesbian women who display hyper-masculine gender cues will not have as much influence as the heterosexual women who display normative gender cues, but will have the same amount of influence as gender-normative lesbian women. The final hypothesis (H_{1c}) was that lesbian women who display hyper-feminine gender cues would have less influence than the heterosexual women, gender-normative lesbian women, and hyper-masculine lesbian women.

These hypotheses can also be written using our measure for influence, the proportion of stay response, or P(s) score. We would, of course, use average P(s) scores by condition. Accordingly, for the all-female conditions, we expect higher status to be attributed to and therefore more influence given to, the plain Jane heterosexual who will have more influence than the masculine homosexual, who will have the same influence as the plain Jane homosexual, who will have more influence than the feminine homosexual. Therefore: the average P(s) in condition 1 (or P1) > average P(s) in Condition 4 (or P4) = average P(s) in Condition 2 (or P2) > average P(s) in Condition 3 (or P3).

The average P(s) scores follow the predicted pattern. Table 11 shows that participants working with the heterosexual plain Jane stayed with her own answers 62% of the time. Participants working with the plain Jane lesbian stayed with their own answers 68% of the time.

Participants working with the masculine lesbian stayed with their own answers 67% of the time. Finally, participants working with the feminine lesbian stayed with their own answer 70% of the time. This shows that participants were less likely to change their answer (be influenced) by the homosexual partner, and they were also least influenced by the hyper feminine lesbian, and the plane Jane homosexual, followed by the masculine homosexual, and finally the plane Jane heterosexual.

We conducted independent sample, one-way t-tests between pairs of conditions to determine if there were differences among the average P(s) scores across conditions. We found a significant difference between Conditions 1 and 2 (t=-1.48 p = .03), between 1 and 3 (t=1.44 p = 03) and between 1 and 4 (t=-1.88 p = .01). These findings indicate that there are differences in influence between those who are lesbian and those who are straight. There is some variation in terms of gender display and the trends are in the right direction according to our hypothesis (for example the feminine lesbian was less influential then the plain Jane lesbian). Also, as predicted, differences between 2 and 4 are not significant.

In the male confederate study, four hypotheses were tested. (1.) H_{2a}: Gender normative heterosexual men will have more influence than the hyper masculine homosexual man. (2.) H_{2b}: The hyper masculine homosexual man will have more influence than the gender normative homosexual man (3.) H_{2c}: The gender normative homosexual man will have more influence than the hyper feminine homosexual man. Again we can write these hypotheses using our measure for influence, the proportion of stay response, or P(s) scores. In the male-female condition, we expect higher status to be attributed to and therefore more influence given to the plain Joe heterosexual who will have more influence than both the hyper feminine and the plain Joe homosexual, who will have less influence than the feminine homosexual. Therefore: the average

P(s) in Condition 5 (or P5) > average P(s) in Condition 8 (or P8) > average P(s) in Condition 6 (or P6) > average P(s) in Condition 7 (or P7).

Tables 12 and 13 represent the means tests between conditions. In this case, one tailed means t-tests were conducted between conditions assuming unequal variances. In Table 12 the data support hypothesis H_{1a} through $H_{1c.}$ Again, the P(s) score for Condition 1 was significantly different from the P(s) scores in Conditions 2, 3, and 4. This finding suggests that sexual orientation is indeed functioning as a status characteristic in the female confederate study, because participants engage in significantly different behavior in the heterosexual conditions when compared to the homosexual conditions. On the other hand, upon first glance, the manipulation of gender display here does not seem to have a significant effect on influence in these groups. However, this might be further informed when examining the post session interview results. It is important to note that a one tailed test was conducted in this analysis. It is typically acceptable to use a one tailed test when the research does not require one to distinguish between no effect and an effect in the opposite direction. Therefore they are acceptable when we are, as in this case, testing a directional hypothesis (Zar 1999).

Table 12. One-Tailed Two Sample t-test of Average P(s) Score by Conditions for Female Subjects

Study Condition	N	Mean	1	2	3	4
(1) Straight Plain Jane	25	.62		1.48*	1.43*	1.88**
(2) Plain Jane Lesbian	25	.68	1.48**		-.13	.26
(3) Masculine Lesbian	25	.67	1.43**	-.13		.41
(4) Feminine Lesbian	25	.70	1.88**	.26	.41	

Note: Numbers in the body of the table reflect t-statistics from one-tailed, two sample t tests with equal variances between each condition. The level of significance is indicated by a * based on a one tailed t-test.
* $p < .05$ **, $p < .025$.

In the male confederate study I found that participants working with the plane Joe heterosexual stayed own answers 60% of the time, participants working with the plain Joe homosexual stayed with her own answers 63% of the time, participants working with the masculine gay Joe stayed with her own answer 58% of the time, and finally participants working with the feminine gay Joe stayed with her own answer 62% of the time.

In study two we first conducted a one-way ANOVA to determine if there were differences among the average P(s) scores across conditions. The test was positive for differences between the masculine Joe and the plain Joe homosexual. (F (1,2)=-1.01, p=. 08)). As well as between the masculine Joe and the feminine gay homosexual. (F (1,2)=-1.01, p=. 08)).

The independent sample t-tests between pairs of conditions that were conducted show that there are significant differences between Conditions 6 and 7 as well as between conditions 7 and 8. This indicates that there are differences in influence between gay men who are more masculine and gay men that are more normatively gendered, as well as between the more feminine gendered gay men and the masculine gendered gay men. (The next study will be the

same conditions with male participants in order to explore whether this relationship will be even stronger when men are working with other straight and gay men.)

In Table 13 the data do support the original Hypotheses $H_{2a\ through}$ $H_{2d.}$ This finding suggests that sexual orientation is acting as a status characteristic in this situation. This status situation is complicated by the salience of gender, sexual orientation, and gender display and therefore might need more exploration than the more straightforward status dynamic present in Study I.

Table 13. One-Tailed Two Sample t-test of Average P(s) Score by Condition for Male Subjects

Study Condition	N	mean	5	6	7	8
(5) Straight Plain Joe	25	0.60		.58	.62	.53
(6) Gay Plain Joe	25	0.63	.58		-1.01*	-.12
(7) Masculine Gay Joe	25	0.58	.62	-1.01*		1.02*
(8) Feminine Gay Joe	25	0.62	.53	-.12	1.02*	

Note: Numbers in the body of the table reflect t-statistics from two sample t tests with equal variances between each condition. The level of significance is indicated by a * based on a one tailed t-test.
* p < .10.** p < .05

Model fit statistics

Once the data on influence are collected and analyzed, the next step is to test how well these data fit the models' predictions about expected advantage of p over o. To test how far the data deviates from the model predictions, I use goodness of fit measures developed by Expectation States researchers (Balkwell 1991a; Balkwell 1991b; Fişek and Balkwell 1991a; Fişek, Berger and Moore 2002; Fox and Moore 1979; Fişek and Barlas 2013). Using Pearson χ^2 Goodness of Fit measures it is possible to test whether the data actually matches what we expected for each condition. I will use a modification of the Chi-Square test statistic developed by Fişek and Barlas (2013). Expectation States researchers frequently use the χ^2 to determine test whether the observed data fits the predicted data.[11]

When using the Pearson χ^2 we find that if it is significant the observed data does not fit the predicted model very well. To assess the χ^2, we use an equation that allows for the prediction of average P(s) by condition. (Again, the P(s) is the probability that actors will stay with their own choice if they are presented with a disagreement with another actor.)

In the equation m represents the baseline influence when individuals are interacting with other individuals like themselves. At the University of Iowa, this is approximately .62. In the same equation, q is an empirical constant that represents situational constraints, like the degree of collective orientation. These are calculated by regressing the observed values on the expected values (Fişek, Berger and Moore 2002). The equation for calculating the m and q is: $P(s) = m + q(e_p - e_o)$. To calculate the chi-square test statistic we can use the formula below in Figure 27. To assess model fit we can compare the actual observed P(S) with the expected χ^2 ,

[11] Goodness of fit measures have evolved as the field of Expectation States research has grown. Berger et al. (1977) began the comparison of observed and expected values. The evaluation of goodness of fit changed with the addition of OLS regression techniques for evaluating goodness of fit by Fox and Moore (1979). Finally, the use of the χ^2 test to assess model fit became commonplace in the mid 1990's (Balkwell 1995).

and if the difference is not significantly different, then we can claim that there is good model fit. Another measure used to assess model fit is the G^2, Which assesses the dispersion of data (Fişek, Berger and Moore 2002). This measure stands for the amount of reduction in chi-square where the comparison value is the overall general rate of response for all the conditions. This measure varies from 0 to 1, with the numbers that are closer to 1 being good model fit.

Figure 30. Formula for Predicting Pearson χ2

$$\chi^2 = t\sum_{i=1}^{c} n_i \left\{ \frac{(p_i - \pi_i)^2}{\pi_i(1 - \pi_i)} \right\}$$

- t = number of critical trials (20)
- i = experimental condition
- c = summation over experimental conditions
- n_i = number of subjects in condition
- p_i = observed P(s) value
- π_i =predicted P(s) value

Figure 31. Formula for Predicting G2

$$G^2 = \frac{\chi^2 \, of \, average \; - \chi^2 \, of \, data}{\chi^2 \, of \, average}$$

According to the model fit statistics, in the female confederate study the predicted P(s) scores fit the observed P(s) scores quite closely. The χ^2 statistic is not significant (χ^2 = .47) providing a model fit of .94. A .9 is good and a .95 is extremely good (Fişek, Berger and Moore 2002), which means that our observed model fits our predicted model quite well.

In the male confederate study I tried two separate models. The first model I tried was based on the expectation advantages developed in the design of the study. This model is based on the assumption that sexual orientation is going to act as status characteristic and gender display will act as a weak cue gestalt. Once the data was collected and analyzed I thought about a second option for how to model this interaction. I will describe the results for the male

confederate study with the original model first and I will follow this discussion with an alternative modeling option.

When we test the model fit based on the assumption that sexual orientation is a status characteristic and gender display is a cue gestalt we find that the χ^2 statistic is not significant (χ^2 = 1.94) providing a model fit of .93. Considering again the finding that a .9 is good considered a good model fit, a .93 is a good enough model fit to consider the model to be working well (Fişek, Berger and Moore 2002).

However, upon further exploration of the data and the P(s) scores there is a possibility that rather than gender display working as a weak cue gestalt for me that it is actually working as a strong cue gestalt. According to the theory when gender display is inconsistent with expectations of the sexual orientation it is paired with it will become activated. (When it is consistent as in the case of a feminine gender display and gay sexual orientation it simply reinforces expectations about gay men.) In this case the effect of a hyper masculine gender display is very powerful, and it is possible that it is acting as a strong cue gestalt. Strong cue gestalts are a set of status cues that show that the actor possesses a relevant status element. In this case the gestalt is almost as powerful as another status characteristic in the interaction.

Table 14. Model Fit Statistics for the Male and Female Experimental Studies

Condition	N	e	Predicted P(s) Score	Observed P(s) Score	Difference
Condition 1: Plane Jane	25	0	.62	.620	-.004
Condition 2: Plane Jane Lesbian	25	-.3652	.68	.684	+.009
Condition 3: Masculine Lesbian	25	-.3652	.68	.679	+.004
Condition 4: Feminine Lesbian	25	-.5752	.70	.695	-.009
	P(s)= m and q df = 2 p = for chi square			$\chi 2 = .470$	$G^2 = .941$
Gender Display Modeled as a Weak Cue Gestalt					
Condition 5: Plane Joe	25	-.3653	.59	.60	.01
Condition 6: Plane Joe Gay	24	0	.61	.63	.01
Condition 7: Masculine Gay Joe	25	-.1483	.60	.58	-.02
Condition 8: Feminine Gay Joe	25	0	.61	.62	.003
	P(s)= m and q df = 2 p = for chi square			$\chi 2 = 1.94$	$G^2 = .93$

Source: 199 Undergraduates Students, University of Iowa

Table 15. The Fit of the Model to the Data: Gender Display Modeled as a Strong Cue Gestalt

Condition	N	e	Predicted P(s) Score	Observed P(s) Score	Difference
Condition 5: Plane Joe	25	-.3653	.59	.60	.01
Condition 6: Plane Joe Gay	24	0	.62	.63	.01
Condition 7: Masculine Gay Joe	25	-.3653	.60	.58	-.02
Condition 8: Feminine Gay Joe	25	0	.62	.62	.003
	P(s)= m and q df = 2 p = for chi square			$\chi 2 = .49$ $G^2 = .98$	

Source: 99 Male Undergraduates, University of Iowa

When we test the model fit based on the assumption that sexual orientation is a status characteristic and gender display is a strong cue gestalt we find that the χ^2 statistic is not significant (χ^2 = .49) providing a model fit of .98. Considering again the finding that a .95 is an excellent model fit, a .98 means that this is the best fit for this particular data (Fişek, Berger and Moore 2002).
In the results section I will discuss the overall meaning of this finding, as well as to extrapolate on some reasons why gender display might act as a strong cue gestalt for men and a weak cue gestalt for women.

Post session interview results

Observed data from the experimental results confirmed hypothesis for study one when women were working with gay and straight women, however hypothesizing who would have more advantage was more complicated when women worked with gay and straight men. Exploring data from the post session survey will allow for a more complicated picture of the perceptions and feelings that participants had about the partners with whom they were working. In the Post session Survey (Appendix 1) questions are asked of participants about their perceptions of interaction with their partner. The questions are based on several semantic differentials that range from 1 through 7. These questions address the participants' perception of their partner's performance and their own performance in the task. The following tables highlight the most interesting and important findings that emerged from the post session results.[12] In general, the post session results support the original hypothesis about student's responses to various confederates.

In exit interviews participants often expressed an interest in convincing me that homosexuality did not bother them. When participants were debriefed and told that the study was aimed at exploring questions of sexual orientation and gender display, they often said "I am pro-gay rights" and "I have gay friends" to explain that the way they interacted and discussed their partner was not about sexual orientation. The post session results reveal two interesting points about this common claim. First, we find that when asked questions about their partner, subjects responded differently on average between the heterosexual and homosexual conditions. Secondly, the responses to the homosexual partners were overwhelmingly more negative than they were towards the heterosexual partners. This is consistent with what we know from the social psychological literature on social desirability bias. In general these data support the claim

[12] All tables documenting findings from the post session interview results are including in Appendix 1.

that how people say they feel and how they act are not always consistent. For example, in the female confederate conditions we find that participants report more positive reactions to the straight plain Jane confederate, and are more uncomfortable and frustrated with the lesbian plain Jane and masculine lesbian. Similarly, with the men we found that participants responded most negatively to the plain gay Joe and feminine gay Joe. The following four tables show a more in-depth description of the particular questions at hand and how they vary across condition.

In Table 16 we see the standard deviation and the means for the post experimental questionnaire responses in the first four female confederate conditions. The parenthesis on the far left-hand column show the conditions that are significantly different from each other for that specific question. The answers here are the evaluations of confederates by female decision makers. These questions are on a 7-point scale between two adjective pairs. These adjective pairs are specifically focused on the subject's feelings about their partner. They were asked, "When making decision for the set of patters during the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test, I felt:" and then were given a series of questions. The respondents felt in general more positive feelings toward the straight plain Jane than the other confederates. For example, when asked to rate how they felt about their partner on a scale from unconvincing to convincing, respondents felt that the straight plain Jane was significantly more convincing then the lesbian plain Jane (t = -1.3349, P<.01) and the masculine plain Jane (t = -1.5614, P<.001). Respondents felt that the heterosexual plain Jane was significantly more fair then the homosexual plain Jane (t = 1.5488, p<.01). Respondents felt that the plain Jane was more trustworthy than the lesbian plain Jane (t=1.3282, p<.01) and the feminine lesbian Jane (t = 1.2819, P<.05). we see that the respondents rate the straight plain Jane as more convincing, fair, trustworthy, important, and believes in delayed gratification more than the 3 other lesbian conditions. When respondents

were asked to rate how they felt about their partner on a scale from important to unimportant, respondents felt that the straight plain Jane was significantly more important than the lesbian plain Jane (t = 1.6047, P<.01) and the masculine plain Jane (t = 1.7212, P<.01). Finally, we see that respondents even made judgments about the confederates' character and personality. For example when asked to rate their partner on a scale of how much they were able to delay gratification, they reported that the heterosexual plain Jane delayed gratification significantly more than the lesbian plain Jane (t = 1.6843, P<.01), the masculine lesbian (t = 1.6183, P<.01), and the feminine lesbian (t = 3.0264, P<.001). In general female experiment participants assigned many positive sentiments to the heterosexual plain Jane and rated the lesbian confederates more negatively.

Table 16. Means and Standard Deviations of Post Experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Female Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)
	Straight Plain Jane		Lesbian Plain Jane		Masculine Lesbian		Feminine Lesbian	
Responses to ***Feelings about Partner:*** "In reference to feelings about my partner, I feel my partner was:"								
Convincing-Unconvincing (1:2** t = -1.3349 1:3***t = -1.5614)	2.13	(1.51)	2.67	(1.15)	2.76	(1.33)	2.48	(1.12)
Fair-Unfair (1:2**t = 1.5488)	1.95	(2.52)	2.52	(1.20)	2.44	(1.12)	2.36	(.99)
Trustworthy-Untrustworthy (1:2** 1.3282 1:4* t = 1.2819)	2.66	(1.20)	3.14	(1.19)	2.96	(1.24)	3.12	(1.26)
Important-Unimportant (1:2**t = 1.6047 1:3**t = 1.7212)	3.33	(1.27)	3.9	(1.02)	3.96	(1.27)	3.72	(1.13)
No Delayed-Delayed (1:2** t = 1.6843 1:3** t = 1.6183 1:4**** t = 3.0264 3:4**t = 1.6496)	3.59	(1.24)	2.95	(1.23)	3.08	(.90)	2.68	(.80)

Source: 100 Female Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)

In Table 17 participants were asked to answer questions about how they felt when they were making decisions. In this section we see that participants felt a great deal more concerned with the straight confederate than the lesbian plain Jane (t = -0.7404, P<.01), and the feminine lesbian (t = 0.9710, P<.001). When in general these undergraduate students are resistant to expressing anger (as you can see the scores for the angry measure are all in general quite low), they are interestingly significantly less angry at the heterosexual plain Jane than they are with the plain Jane lesbian (t = -1.4669, P<.01). Interestingly, even when we ask about ability and competence of confederates, rather than just feelings, we find that they rate the heterosexual plain Jane as more component. In Table VII we see that respondents rate the lesbian plain Jane as less competent than the heterosexual plain Jane (t = 1.2156, P<.01) the masculine Jane (t = -1.3914, P<.01) and the feminine lesbian Jane (t = -1.3191, P<.01). While the heterosexual plain Jane was often very positively rated, the masculine lesbian sometimes stood out as highly negatively rated. For example when asked to rate the pattern on a scale of pleasant to unpleasant, respondents rate the masculine lesbian as significantly more unpleasant than the heterosexual plain Jane (t = 1.1921, P<.01), the lesbian plain Jane (t = 1.5595, P<.01), and the feminine lesbian (t = -1.8610, P<.01). Respondents also reported that they felt the masculine lesbian was trying to please the least. The masculine lesbian was rated as not trying to please when compared to the heterosexual plain Jane (t = 2.6746, P<.001), the lesbian plain Jane (t = 1.3977, P<.01), and the feminine lesbian (t = -1.3494, P<.01).

Table 17. Means and Standard Deviations of Post Experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Female Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)
	Straight Plain Jane		Lesbian Plain Jane		Masculine Lesbian		Feminine Lesbian	
Evaluation Performance Items:								
Responses to "When making the decision for the set of patters during the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test, *I felt:*"								
Not Concerned --- Concerned	3.44	(1.45)	3.08	(1.55)	3.28	(1.65)	2.52	(1.76)
(1:2**t = -0.7404 1:4*** t = 0.9710)								
Not Angry --- Angry	.48	(1.26)	1.05	(1.35)	.84	(1.31)	.72	(1.17)
(1:2**t = -1.4669)								
Responses to ***Partners Performance*** Items: "I would evaluate my partner's performance on the Contrast Sensitivity Task as:"								
Competent --- Incompetent	2.80	(1.66)	3.33	(1.24)	2.88	(.97)	2.88**	(1.09)
(1:2** t = 1.2156 2:3** t = -1.3914 2:4 **t = -1.3191)								
Responses ***to Feelings about Partner***: "In reference to feelings about my partner, I feel my partner was:"								
Pleasant---Unpleasant	2.16	(1.51)	2.00	(1.22)	2.72	(1.79)	1.92	(1.9)
(3:1 t = 1.1921,2 t = 1.5595, 4 t = -1.8610**)								
Tried to Please-Did not Try to Please	3.41	(1.41)	3.95	(.92)	4.36	(1.03)	3.96	(1.05)
(3:1t = 2.6746*** 3:2 t = 1.3977,4 t = -1.3494**)								

Source: 100 Female Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)
Note: The Lesbian Plain Jane is the Baseline Comparison

Next, when exploring the post session results in the last four conditions (Table 18) with the male confederates, it was clear that the gay plain Joe was assessed most negatively. Subjects were asked to respond to how they felt about their partner, "In reference to feelings about my partner, I feel I was:" and then they were asked to respond to several questions about how they felt. For example, when asked to rate how they felt about their partner on a scale from pleasant to unpleasant respondents felt that the gay plain Joe was more unpleasant than all the confederates but only significantly different from the masculine gay Joe (t = -1.3757, P<.01). They also rate gay plain Joe as the most submissive of the confederates, and significantly more submissive than the heterosexual plain Joe (t = 1.5495, P<.01) and the masculine gay Joe (t = -1.5779, P<.01). In a pretty striking difference, the gay plain Joe was rated as significantly more unlikable compared to the heterosexual plain Joe, the masculine gay Joe, and the feminine gay Joe. This suggests that when gay men perform gender either as masculine or feminine, this is preferable to gay man performing a normative gender display. When respondents feel that gay men are normative and undetectable, this is when their "gayness" becomes more problematic.

Another interesting finding was that the respondents felt the plain gay Joe as the most advantaged. This might not necessarily be a positive attribution to make about this respondent. The rating of them as more advantaged seems to cause more resentment rather than positive feelings. The respondents rate the plain gay Joe as significantly more advantaged than heterosexual plain Joe (t = 1.2999, P<.01) and the feminine gay Joe (t = 1.5255, P<.01). Respondents rate the plain gay Joe as significantly less trustworthy than the heterosexual plain Joe (t =-1.933, P<.001) and the feminine gay Joe (t = -2.1396, P<.001). The respondents rate the plain gay Joe as significantly more uncomfortable than the heterosexual plain Joe (t = 1.6738, P<.01). The respondents rate the plain gay Joe as significantly less important than the masculine

gay Joe (t = -1.3055, P<.01) and the feminine gay Joe (t = -2.1689, P<.001). The respondents rate the plain gay Joe as significantly less of a leader than the masculine gay Joe (t = -2.0820, P<.01). Each of these descriptions shows that Joe is not very well liked on a variety of indicators compared to his peers.

Table 18. Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Samples T-Tests of Post experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Male Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)
	Straight Plain Joe		Gay Plain Joe		Masculine Gay Joe		Feminine Gay Joe	
Responses to ***Feelings about Partner:*** "In reference to feelings about my partner, I feel I was:"								
Pleasant---Unpleasant (6:7**t = -1.3757)	2.08	(1.21)	2.29	(1.45)	1.79	(1.02)	1.86	(1.17)
Dominant---Submissive (5:6**t = 1.5495 6:8***t = -2.2247 7:8**t = -1.5779)	3.37	(1.21)	3.91	(1.21)	3.71	(1.23)	3.18	(1.01)
Likable---Unlikeable (5:6** 6:7**)	2.08	(1.10)	2.54	(1.35)	2.08	(1.02)	2.18	(1.26)
Advantaged---Disadvantaged (5:6**t = 1.2999 5:8**t = 1.5255)	3.91	(.25)	3.41	(.28)	3.7	(.23)	3.95	(.19)
Trustworthy---Untrustworthy (6:7***t = -1.9330 6:8***t = -2.1396)	3.04	(1.13)	3.52	(1.56)	2.75	(1.15)	2.68	(.99)
Comfortable---Uncomfortable (5:6**t = 1.6738)	2.77	(1.15)	3.34	(1.15)	2.95	(1.45)	3.09	(1.47)
Important ---Unimportant (6:7**t = -1.3055 6:8***t = -2.1689)	3.68	(1.24)	4.00	(.79)	3.58	(1.31)	3.27	(1.38)
Good Leader---Not a Good Leader (5:7**t = -1.6237 6:7***t = -2.0820)	3.68	(1.04)	3.82	(1.02)	3.12	(1.26)	3.54	(1.26)

Source: 99 Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)

Table 19 shows a similar dynamic. When participants discussed how they felt when they were working with the confederates, they said that when working with gay Joe they felt most resentful. Respondents were only significantly more resentful when they working with the gay plain Joe compared to the feminine gay Joe. The respondents rate the plain gay Joe as significantly more advantaged than heterosexual plain Joe (t = 1.6854, P<.01). They also felt like gay plain Joe was the least helpful compared to heterosexual plain Joe (t = 1.7089, P<.01), masculine Joe (t = -1.3644, P<.01), and feminine Joe (t = -1.2465, P<.01). They also felt like gay plain Joe was the least sure of himself compared to heterosexual plain Joe (t = -1.1110, P<.001), masculine Joe (t = 1.3646, P<.001). He was also rated as significantly more incompetent than the feminine (t = -0.9945, P<.001) and masculine gay Joe (t = -1.6161, P<.001). Furthermore, in Table IX, the gay plain Joe was rates as the most unassertive of the group and significantly less assertive than the feminine gay Joe (t = -1.3663, P<.001).

Participants felt the most burdened by the feminine gay Joe and significantly less burdened by the masculine gay Joe (t = 2.2076, P<.001). They also felt significantly more anxious about the feminine gay Joe than the masculine gay Joe (t = -0.9590, P<.001). In a very striking pattern, when respondents were asked how they felt on a scale from worried to not worried, they were significantly less worried about the masculine gay Joe than the heterosexual gay Joe (t = 1.2732, P<.001) the homosexual plain Joe (t = 1.4147 , P<.001) and the feminine gay Joe (t = -1.5036, P<.001). Similarly, participants were significantly more angry with the feminine gay Joe than the heterosexual gay Joe (t = -1.5786, P<.001), the homosexual plain Joe (t = -1.6928, P<.001) and the masculine gay Joe (t = -1.6125, P<.001). Finally, respondents felt significantly more certain when they were working with the feminine gay Joe compared with the gay plain Joe (t = -1.4643, P<.001) and the masculine gay Joe (t = -0.8694, P<.001).

Table 19. Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Samples T-Tests of Post experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Male Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)
	Straight Plain Joe		Gay Plain Joe		Masculine Gay Joe		Feminine Gay Joe	
Evaluation Performance Items:								
Responses: "When making decision for the set of patters during the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test, I felt my partner was:"								
Helpful --- Unhelpful	2.75	(1.25)	3.29	(.91)	2.83	(1.37)	2.86	(1.39)
(6:5 t = 1.7089.7 t = -1.3644, 8** t = -1.2465)								
Sure of Self ---Unsure of Self	2.89	(1.35)	3.71	(.95)	2.67	(1.20)	2.95	(1.36)
(6:5, t = -1.1110 7, t = 1.3646)								
Competent – Incompetent	3.13	(1.36)	3.29	(1.23)	2.71	(1.27)	2.86	(1.67)
(6:7 t = -1.6161, 8 t = -0.9945**)								
Responses: "When making decision for the set of patters during the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test, I felt:"								
Resentful---Not Resentful	5.64	(1.55)	5.28	(1.67)	5.52	(1.42)	6.04	(1.51)
(6:8***t = 1.6854)								
Assertive---Unassertive	3.92	(1.38)	4.12	(1.38)	3.84	(1.40)	3.56**	(1.26)
(6:8 t = -1.3663***)								
Burdened ---Not Burdened	3.76**	(1.76)	4.28	(1.81)	4.76	(1.42)	3.48**	(2.00)
(5:6 t = 1.0277.7, t = 2.2076 8:6 t = -1.4801, 7 t = -2.6056***)								
Anxious --- Not Anxious	3.44	(1.71)	3.24	(1.61)	3.88*	(1.76)	3.36**	(2.06)
(7:8 t = -0.9590**)								
Worried --- Not Worried	3.72	(1.59)	3.64	(1.68)	4.28**	(1.51)	3.52**	(2.02)
(7:5 t = 1.2732, 6, t = 1.4147 8 t = -1.5036***)								
Angry --- Not Angry	6.25	(1.39)	6.29	(1.33)	6.20	(1.10)	5.50**	(1.82)
(8:5 t = -1.5786, 6 t = -1.6928, 7 t = -1.6125**)								
Certain ---Uncertain	4.29	(1.89)	4.75	(1.36)	4.50	(1.50)	4.09**	(1.69)
(8:6 t = -1.4643, 7 t = -0.8694***)								

Source: 99 Male Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)

The post session results reveal a more dynamic picture of gender display and its impact on participants' interaction. For example, what these results suggest is that while participants might report that they are supportive of gay individuals and have no negative feelings associated with homosexuality, in practice we find they do indeed have different responses both in our behavioral measure, as well as our post session response averages.

EPA and stigma results

After the Contrast Sensitivity test and post-session questionnaire were completed, participants were tested on whether they stigmatized the homosexual confederates compared to the heterosexual confederate. Two measures of stigma were used: a Social Distance Questionnaire and EPA profiles as used in Affect Control theory (Heise 2007). First, I will discuss the results of the social distance questionnaire, and then I will summarize the findings from the EPA profiles. The significance and meaning behind these results will be further explored in the Discussion Section.

To analyze the results from the Social Distance Questionnaire, independent t-tests were run between conditions within experimental blocks. For the male confederate condition block, there were no significant differences. In the second question on the Social Distance Questionnaire, "Would you like to give your partner your name and email address?" the plain Joe homosexual and the masculine Joe homosexual, are close to being significantly different from the plain Joe Heterosexual but are not (p=white). This was the first clue that there was not a stigma process occurring during this interaction. In this college sample it seems that subjects are not stigmatizing gay partners, but do have different expectations about competence. Below is a table of the t-tests between the gay and straight confederates in the male confederate experimental block.

Table 20. Descriptive Statistics of Stigma Measures for the Male Condition

Condition	Mean	t	Degrees of Freedom	P
Would you like to stay after for 5 minutes to meet your partner?				
Plain Joe Heterosexual	.73			
Plain Joe Homosexual	.85	.83	33	.20
Feminine Joe Homosexual	.77	.28	31	.38
Masculine Joe Homosexual	.68	-.30	32	.38
Would you like us to give your partner your name and email address?				
Plain Joe Heterosexual	.13			
Plain Joe Homosexual	.35	1.4	33	.07
Feminine Joe Homosexual	.27	.99	31	.16
Masculine Joe Homosexual	.36	1.55	32	.06
Would you like to get to know your partner socially outside of this study?				
Plain Joe Heterosexual	.2			
Plain Joe Homosexual	.2	.00	33	.5
Feminine Joe Homosexual	.22	.15	31	.44
Masculine Joe Homosexual	.31	.74	32	.23

Note: Comparison is between baseline Plain Joe Heterosexual and other conditions.
Measure is a yes or no answer, where no = 0 and yes =1
p>.05 =** and p>.01 = ***

Similarly to the male confederate experimental block, in order to analyze the results from the social distance questionnaire, two by 2 independent t-tests were run between conditions within the female experimental block. Again in this block there were no significant differences. In the third question on the social distance questionnaire, "Would you like to get to know your partner socially outside of the experimental setting", the masculine lesbian was close to being

significantly different from the plain Jane Heterosexual but was not. Again this provides more evidence that within this college sample these participants are not stigmatizing their gay and lesbian partners but do have different expectations about competence. Below is a table of the t-tests between the lesbian and straight confederates in the female experimental block.

Table 21. Descriptive Statistics of Stigma Measures for the Female Condition

Condition	Mean	t	Degrees of Freedom	P
Would you like to stay after for 5 minutes to meet your partner?				
Plain Jane Heterosexual	.75			
Plain Jane Lesbian	.76	.10	35	.46
Feminine Lesbian Jane	.65	.67	38	.25
Masculine Lesbian Jane	.61	-.88	39	.19
Would you like us to give your partner your name and email address?				
Plain Jane Heterosexual	.25			
Plain Jane Lesbian	.11	-1.01	35	.15
Feminine Lesbian Jane	.4	1.00	38	.16
Masculine Lesbian Jane	.19	-.45	39	.32
Would you like to get to know your partner socially outside of this study?				
Plain Jane Heterosexual	.15			
Plain Jane Lesbian	.11	-.27	35	.39
Feminine Lesbian Jane	.30	1.12	38	.13
Masculine Lesbian Jane	.33	1.36	39	.09

Note: Comparison is between baseline Plain Jane Heterosexual and other conditions. Measure is a yes or no answer, where no = 0 and yes =1

Next, I will summarize the results from the EPA profiles. In this portion of the study we did find that subjects rated the words about non-heterosexual categories of people differently between conditions. For example, in the table below, subjects were asked to rate the word "homosexual" on an EPA scale that ranged from 1 to 9. The E (evaluation) category was the only measure that provided significant differences. In the table below, study participants rated the word "homosexual" lower in the baseline condition when working with a straight plain Jane. In this case the participants that worked with both the masculine and feminine lesbian were significantly different from the participants who worked with the plain Jane heterosexual, and the plain Jane lesbian was almost significantly different.

There could be several different reasons why participants rate non-heterosexual words higher when they have worked with a gay or lesbian person. These reasons will be discussed further in the Discussion Section of this paper.

Table 22. Descriptive Statistics of Affect Control Theory Ratings for the Female Condition – Evaluation Rating of EPA

EPA Ratings	Condition	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum CI	Maximum CI	N	P
Homosexual	Plain Jane Heterosexual	5.36	1.76	4.58	6.14	22	
Homosexual	Plain Jane Lesbian	6.2	1.79	5.36	7.03	20	.06
Homosexual	Masculine Lesbian	6.66	1.46	6.04	7.28	24	.00***
Homosexual	Feminine Lesbian	6.52	1.56	5.84	7.19	23	.01**

Note: Measure is a scale from 9 pt. scale ranging from bad/awful to good/nice
Significance Comparison is between Plain Jane Heterosexual and Plain Jane Lesbian/Masculine Lesbian/Feminine Lesbian
p<.05 =** and p<.01 = ***

In the next table subjects in the male confederate experimental block were asked to rate the word "homosexual" on an EPA scale that ranged from 1 to 9. The E (evaluation) category

was the only measure that provided significant differences. In the table below, study participants rated the word "homosexual" lower in the baseline condition when working with a straight plain Joe. In this case the participants that worked with both the masculine and feminine gay Joe were significantly different from the participants who worked with the plain gay Joe, and the plain gay Joe was almost significantly different.

Table 23. Descriptive Statistics of Affect Control Theory Ratings for the Male Condition

EPA Ratings	Condition	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum CI	Maximum CI	N	P
Homosexual	Plain Joe Heterosexual	5.52	1.17	4.92	6.13	17	
Homosexual	Plain Gay Joe	6.31	1.78	5.52	7.10	22	.06
Homosexual	Masculine Gay Joe	6.90	1.48	6.23	7.57	21	.00***
Homosexual	Feminine Gay Joe	6.65	1.96	5.80	7.50	23	.02**

Note: Measure is a scale from 9 pt. scale ranging from bad/awful to good/nice
Significance Comparison is between Plain Joe Heterosexual and Plain Gay Joe/Masculine Gay Joe/Feminine Gay Joe
p<.05 =** and p<.01 = ***

In the next table subjects in the female confederate experimental block were asked to rate the word "gay man" on an EPA scale that ranged from 1 to 9. The E (evaluation) category was the only measure that provided significant differences. In the table below study participants rated the word "gay man" lower in the baseline condition when they were working with a straight plain Jane. In this case the participants that worked with the plain, masculine, and feminine lesbian were significantly different from the participants who worked with the plain Jane lesbian.

Table 24. Descriptive Statistics of Affect Control Theory Ratings for the Female Condition

			Standard

EPA Ratings	Condition	Mean	Deviation	Minimum CI	Maximum CI	N	P
Gay Man	Plain Jane Heterosexual	4.95	1.70	4.19	5.70	22	
Gay Man	Plain Jane Lesbian	6.3	1.49	5.60	6.99	20	.00***
Gay Man	Masculine Lesbian	6.45	1.71	5.73	7.18	24	.00***
Gay Man	Feminine Lesbian	6.39	1.55	5.71	7.06	23	.00***

Note: Measure is a scale from 9 pt. scale ranging from bad/awful to good/nice
Significance Comparison is between Plain Jane Heterosexual and Plain Jane Lesbian/Masculine Lesbian/Feminine Lesbian
p<.05 =** and p<.01 = ***

In the next table subjects in the male confederate experimental block were asked to rate the word "gay man" on an EPA scale that ranged from 1 to 9. The E (evaluation) category was the only measure that provided significant differences. In the table below, study participants rated the word "gay man" lower in the baseline condition when they were working with a straight plain Joe. In this case only the participants that worked with the plain gay Joe were significantly different from the participants who worked with the plain gay Joe.

Table 25. Descriptive Statistics of Affect Control Theory Ratings for the Male Condition

EPA Ratings	Condition	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum CI	Maximum CI	N	P
Gay Man	Plain Joe Heterosexual	5.70	1.31	5.03	6.38	17	
Gay Man	Plain Gay Joe	6.31	1.64	5.58	7.04	22	.10
Gay Man	Masculine Gay Joe	6.61	1.77	5.81	7.42	21	.04**
Gay Man	Feminine Gay Joe	6.17	1.87	5.36	6.98	23	.19

Note: Measure is a scale from 9 pt. scale ranging from bad/awful to good/nice
Significance Comparison is between Plain Joe Heterosexual and Plain Gay Joe/Masculine Gay Joe/Feminine Gay Joe
p<.05 =** and p<.01 = ***

In the next table subjects in the female confederate experimental block were asked to rate the word "lesbian" on an EPA scale that ranged from 1 to 9. The E (evaluation) category was the only measure that provided significant differences. In the table below, study participants rated the word lesbian lower in the baseline condition when they were working with a straight plain Jane. In this case only the participants that worked with the masculine lesbian were significantly different from the participants who worked with the plain lesbian Jane.

Table 26. Descriptive Statistics of Affect Control Theory Ratings for the Female Condition

EPA Ratings	Condition	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum CI	Maximum CI	N	P
Lesbian	Plain Jane Heterosexual	5.77	1.92	4.91	6.62	22	
Lesbian	Plain Jane Lesbian	6.15	2.05	5.18	7.11	20	.27
Lesbian	Masculine Lesbian	6.62	1.46	6.00	7.24	24	.04**
Lesbian	Feminine Lesbian	6.26	1.60	5.56	6.95	23	.17

Note: Measure is a scale from 9 pt. scale ranging from bad/awful to good/nice
Significance Comparison is between Plain Jane Heterosexual and Plain Jane Lesbian/Masculine Lesbian/Feminine Lesbian
p<.05 =** and p<.01 = ***

The next section summarizes the differences in evaluation of non-heterosexual terms and more positively valued terms. The comparison is between these terms only in the baseline condition.

The next tables measure how subjects rated the non-heterosexual terms compared to the more positively evaluated terms in the EPA profile. For example, the table below measures participants working with the plain Jane lesbian in the female confederate experimental block and measures whether there are significant differences between how they rated the word homosexual compared to the words “friend”, “hero”, “doctor”, and “professor”. In the table below participants did rate the positive words significantly different from the word “homosexual”.

Table 27. Descriptive Statistics of Affect Control Theory Ratings for the Female Condition between Measure of Homosexual and Friend

EPA Ratings	Condition	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum CI	Maximum CI	N	P
Homosexual	Plain Jane Heterosexual	5.14	1.64	4.50	5.78	28	
Friend	Plain Jane Heterosexual	6.39	2.04	5.60	7.18	28	.00***
Hero	Plain Jane Heterosexual	7.39	2.07	6.58	8.19	28	.00***
Doctor	Plain Jane Heterosexual	6.64	1.90	5.90	7.38	28	.00***
Professor	Plain Jane Heterosexual	6.74	1.50	6.14	7.33	27	.00***

Note: Measure is a scale from 9 pt. scale ranging from bad/awful to good/nice
Significance Comparison is between Homosexual and the other categories Friend/Hero/Doctor/Professor at baseline
p<.05 =** and p<.01 = ***

The table below measures participants working with the plain gay Joe in the male confederate experimental block and measures whether there are significant differences between how they rated the word homosexual compared to the words “friend”, “hero”, “doctor”, and “professor”. In the table below participants did rate the positive words significantly different from the word “homosexual”.

Table 28. Descriptive Statistics of Affect Control Theory Ratings for the Male Condition between Measure of Homosexual and Friend

EPA Ratings	Condition	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum CI	Maximum CI	N	P
Homosexual	Plain Joe Heterosexual	5.29	1.32	4.77	5.82	27	
Friend	Plain Joe Heterosexual	6.77	1.84	6.04	7.50	27	.00***
Hero	Plain Joe Heterosexual	7.37	1.86	6.63	8.10	27	.00***
Doctor	Plain Joe Heterosexual	6.74	1.50	6.14	7.33	27	.00***
Professor	Plain Joe Heterosexual	6.48	1.22	5.99	6.96	27	.00***

Note: Measure is a scale from 9 pt. scale ranging from bad/awful to good/nice
Significance Comparison is between Homosexual and the other categories Hero/Doctor/Professor at baseline
p<.05 =** and p<.01 = ***

The table below measures participants working with the plain Jane lesbian in the female confederate experimental block and measures whether there are significant differences between how they rated the word "gay man" compared to the words "friend", "hero", "doctor", and "professor". In the table below participants did rate the positive words significantly different from the word "gay man".

Table 29. Descriptive Statistics of Affect Control Theory Ratings for the Female Condition between Measure of Gay Man and Friend

EPA Ratings	Condition	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum CI	Maximum CI	N	P
Gay Man	Plain Jane Heterosexual	4.82	1.61	4.19	5.44	28	
Friend	Plain Jane Heterosexual	6.39	2.04	5.60	7.18	28	.00***
Hero	Plain Jane Heterosexual	7.39	2.07	6.58	8.19	28	.00***
Doctor	Plain Jane Heterosexual	6.64	1.90	5.90	7.38	28	.00***
Professor	Plain Jane Heterosexual	6.32	1.88	5.58	7.05	28	.00***

Note: Measure is a scale from 9 pt. scale ranging from bad/awful to good/nice
Significance Comparison is between Gay Man and the other categories Friend/Hero/Doctor/Professor at baseline.
p<.05 =** and p<.01 = ***

The table below measures participants working with the plain gay Joe in the male confederate experimental block and measures whether there are significant differences between how they rated the word "gay man" compared to the words "friend", "hero", "doctor", and "professor". In the table below participants did rate the positive words significantly different from the word "gay man".

Table 30. Descriptive Statistics of Affect Control Theory Ratings for the Male Condition between Measure of Gay Man and Friend

EPA Ratings	Condition	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum CI	Maximum CI	N	P
Gay Man	Plain Joe Heterosexual	5.37	1.59	4.73	6.00	27	
Friend	Plain Joe Heterosexual	6.77	1.84	6.04	7.50	27	.00***
Hero	Plain Joe Heterosexual	7.37	1.86	6.63	8.10	27	.00***
Doctor	Plain Joe Heterosexual	6.74	1.50	6.14	7.33	27	.00***
Professor	Plain Joe Heterosexual	6.48	1.22	5.99	6.96	27	.00***

Note: Measure is a scale from 9 pt. scale ranging from bad/awful to good/nice
Significance Comparison is between Gay Man and the other categories Hero/Doctor/Professor at baseline
p<.05 =** and p<.01 = ***

The table below measures participants working with the plain Jane lesbian in the female confederate experimental block, and measures whether there are significant differences between how they rated the word "lesbian" compared to the words "friend", "hero", "doctor", and "professor". In the table below participants did rate the positive words significantly different from the word "lesbian".

Table 31. Descriptive Statistics of Affect Control Theory Ratings for the Female Condition between Measure of Lesbian and Friend

EPA Ratings	Condition	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum CI	Maximum CI	N	P
Lesbian	Plain Jane Heterosexual	5.60	1.79	4.91	6.30	28	
Friend	Plain Jane Heterosexual	6.39	2.04	5.60	7.18	28	.01**
Hero	Plain Jane Heterosexual	7.39	2.07	6.58	8.19	28	.00***
Doctor	Plain Jane Heterosexual	6.64	1.90	5.90	7.38	28	.01**
Professor	Plain Jane Heterosexual	6.32	1.88	5.58	7.05	28	.00***

Note: Measure is a scale from 9 pt. scale ranging from bad/awful to good/nice
Significance Comparison is between Lesbian and the other categories Friend/Hero/Doctor/Professor at baseline.
p<.05 =** and p<.01 = ***

The table below measures participants working with the plain gay Joe in the male confederate experimental block, and measures whether there are significant differences between how they rated the word "lesbian" compared to the words "friend", "hero", "doctor", and "professor". In the table below participants did rate the positive words significantly different from the word "lesbian".

Table 32. Descriptive Statistics of Affect Control Theory Ratings for the Male Condition between Measure of Gay Man and Friend

EPA Ratings	Condition	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum CI	Maximum CI	N	P
Lesbian	Plain Joe Heterosexual	5.59	1.64	4.94	6.24	27	
Friend	Plain Joe Heterosexual	6.77	1.84	6.04	7.50	27	.01**
Hero	Plain Joe Heterosexual	7.37	1.86	6.63	8.10	27	.00***
Doctor	Plain Joe Heterosexual	6.74	1.50	6.14	7.33	27	.00***
Professor	Plain Joe Heterosexual	6.48	1.22	5.99	6.96	27	.00***

Note: Measure is a scale from 9 pt. scale ranging from bad/awful to good/nice
Significance Comparison is between Lesbian and the other categories Hero/Doctor/Professor at baseline
p<.05 =** and p<.01 = ***

It is possible that the gay and lesbian words rated in the EPA profile might hang together and be better measured and evaluated as a composite score. Therefore, I completed a factor analysis on the variables gay man, lesbian, and homosexual. The three variables where deconstructed into their three EPA rated sections. In other words gay man, lesbian, and homosexual were run on evaluation, potency, and activity questions separately for all three words. A principal components analysis was run for exploratory purposes and a maximum likelihood was run as it is the most reliable and confirmatory analysis.

The principal components analysis confirmed a factor loading of above .8o For all three measures (evaluation, potency, and activity measures for the three words). A maximum likelihood revealed factor loads of above .60 for all three measures. Next ANNOVA's were run between conditions by experimental block. There was no significant differences between conditions when the composite measure was used for either the male or female experimental

block. This suggests that the previous analysis of EPA ratings with each gay or lesbian word measured separately is the best way to look and understand this data.

The next chapter is a discussion of each portion of the data collected in the experiment. First, I will review the data collected in the standardized experimental setting during the Contrast Sensitivity test. Next, I will discuss the findings and analysis of the post-session survey data. Finally, I will review the findings collected in the Social Distance Questionnaire and the EPA profiles.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Social psychologists have spent a good deal of time researching status characteristics and expectations about competence during group interaction. Furthermore, gender and feminist scholars have worked to understand how social inequality based on gender and sexuality develops and impacts the lives of individuals. The integration of research on sexual orientation and gender display into the expectation states research paradigm has not been explored as much. In Chapter 3 I discuss the potential for understanding sexual orientation as a status characteristic and gender display as a cue gestalt. I provide theoretical evidence that these social characteristics act in ways consistent with requirements established by status characteristics and status cue theory. In Chapters 5 and 6 I describe the experimental design using same sex and mixed sex dyads, used to test the notion that sexual orientation is a status characteristic and gender display is acting as a cue gestalt.

This chapter will explore and define the findings from this study and their wider meaning for both status characteristic research and for gender and feminist scholars. This first section will describe the major findings related to sexual orientation and status in group interaction; the next section will describe how the gender display of the confederates complicates this story. The third section will describe the post session interview results as they relate to participants' reaction to various sexual orientations and gender displays of the confederates with whom they interacted. Finally, the results of the EPA ratings survey will be discussed as they relate to the stigmatizing process enacted by the participants in this study.

Sexual Orientation as a Status Characteristic

The first and major objective of this research is to identify the mechanisms by which sexual orientation affects status processes. This research explores the assertion that an individual's sexual orientation is an important factor in determining their overall status within a group setting. My hypothesis, based on previous research and themes, was that homosexuality is negatively valued in American society as compared to heterosexuality and will, in turn, be negatively associated with acquired status during task group interaction. Status Characteristics Theory has been used to explain a variety of social characteristics and their impact on the development of status hierarchies during group interaction. This study adds to this research tradition by exploring two new characteristics that are understudied in the Status Characteristics research field: sexual orientation and gender display.

In Chapter 3 we discussed the idea that for sexual orientation to be a status characteristic it would need to meet two qualifications. First, it must have two differentially valued states; homosexual and heterosexual. According to a review of the literature, the historical precedence of mistreatment of non-hetero-normative individuals provides a good deal of evidence that at least in American culture, one state of sexual orientation is more valued than the other. The second requirement that must be met for sexual orientation to be considered a diffuse status characteristic is that the characteristic itself must be connected to general expectations for performance during interaction. These general expectations connect superior ability and competence to the high state of the characteristic and low ability and competence to the low state of the status characteristic. As previously stated there are few studies that have tested whether this link exists. Based on the findings in this study it appears that participants are indeed

attaching higher expectations of competence to heterosexual individuals than homosexual individuals.

To understand how and why sexual orientation might be attaching to expectations about competence, let's review the basic tenants of the status belief process. Central to status characteristics theory and the expectation states research program is the idea that status beliefs develop around particular social characteristics. The idea is that there are social understandings and expectations about particular social categories and that these beliefs ultimately work to attach competence to certain social categories over other social categories. These beliefs are thought to be reproduced during multiple interactions over time and ultimately create status beliefs that provide advantage to certain groups over other groups. Previous research has found that characteristics like gender or race operate in ways that influence status beliefs. This research addresses the question of whether sexual orientation might operate similarly.

The main question is why does sexual orientation attach itself to competence? One reason may be that because of the social changes around sexual orientation that have led to more social acceptance of non-heterosexual individuals and much higher rates of coming out, the dynamics of sexual orientation in contemporary society might be changing. For example, similar to gender, gay and straight individuals are being forced to interact in a variety of contexts like families, workplaces, and educational environments. Unlike other social categories (like class or racial categories) where there might be less cross-categorical interaction, gay and straight individuals are being forced to interact with each other. Another reason is that similar to gender, sexual orientation is an important and common way to categorize people. Importantly, the process of social categorization into gay and straight is informed by deeply embedded historical understandings of normality, identity, and culture. Because of the new visibility of gay

individuals in American culture and the historically rooted stereotypes and assumptions about gay and lesbian individuals sexual orientation is becoming linked with beliefs about status and these beliefs are conferring advantage to some and disadvantage to others.

While gender and feminist scholars are often quick to point out that characteristics like gender and sexual orientation are socially constructed and thus contextually dependent aspects of identity and culture, they also contend that these social constructs are intersecting and multiplicative in ways that make them difficult to tease apart. In other words, one aspect of an individuals' identity cannot be understood in isolation from the power relations inherent in other aspects of their identity (Collins, 1990; 2000; Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996). One of the major criticisms individuals had about the research plan and design was that, while theoretically and substantively interesting, this project of isolating gender display and sexual orientation was problematic because in the lived experience they are mutually informing social processes that are dependent on each other for meaning-making occurring during interaction. The basic critique is that in the "real world" these cannot be explored in isolation because they interact together to produce meaning.

It is important to take into account the ways that social location is important, however, this focus on location and context is not inconsistent with my research design nor overall project. In fact to the contrary, my research design creates an interactive experience that examines specifically located gendered and sexually-oriented individuals. While we are in a sense controlling for gender display by providing a "plain Jane" who varies in her sexual orientation, for example, our plain Jane is not a genderless being. She is still embedded in a gender system, however "normative", and still deeply gendered.

Once it was determined that the research design addressed the problems posed by intersectionality, the next step was to move forward with the project of testing whether sexual orientation was a status characteristic. When the previous literature and research in social psychology is summarized, we find that in fact researchers have explored the possibility that sexual orientation, like gender, acts as a status characteristic (Johnson 1995; Webster and Hysom 1995; Webster et al. 1998). However, as of yet, this proposition has not been tested using experimental methodology. Webster and Hysom (1995) were able to test it with a vignette study and found evidence that supports the claim that sexual orientation does indeed act as a status characteristic. Similarly, Johnson (1995) theorized that sexuality could be modeled and understood as a diffuse status characteristic, but did not empirically test this notion. To amend this, my research has conducted an 8 condition experimental study isolating the status impact of sexual orientation and gender display on status organization in task groups.

Study 1: female confederate conditions

Once the data were collected and analyzed, I found that in fact sexual orientation was acting as a status characteristic. This assertion is based on data collected during the standard experimental setting with a P(s) score standing as a behavioral measure of influence. First, I will discuss the findings and analysis of the female confederate study, and then I will discuss the findings from the male confederate study.

As discussed in the Results Section, the average P(s) scores by condition follow the predicted pattern. Participants working with the heterosexual plain Jane stayed with their own answers 62% of the time. Participants working with the plain Jane lesbian stayed with their own answers 68% of the time. Participants working with the masculine lesbian stayed with their own

answer 67% of the time. Finally, participants working with the feminine lesbian stayed with their own answer 70% of the time. The findings here are fairly straight forward. Subjects are giving more influence to the straight plain Jane and less influence to the lesbian Jane's. These findings provide evidence that in this study, sexuality is a as status characteristic. The P(s) scores between the heterosexual and homosexual confederates in the female study are significantly different in a way that is consistent with what we would expect with other types of status characteristics studied in Status Characteristics Theory. What this tells us is that in task -and collectively oriented groups, female sexual orientation is going to play an important role in status differentiation among group members. According to those data, lesbian women will garner less status, controlling for other states of status characteristics.

It is interesting to examine the differences between the confederates based on gender display in this study. While the differences between these groups are not statistically significant between the plain Jane lesbian and the feminine lesbian, there are slight variations in the P(s) between these groups. We see that hyper feminine gender display is leading to a decrease in status for the confederate, and normative gender display for the plain Jane is also leading to a decrease in status while, just a bit less than for the feminine lesbian. The masculine lesbian is getting slightly more status than both the plain Jane and the feminine Jane. This is in line with our expectations, and literature on masculinity performance for both men and women. So while the status differences around gender display are consistent with our expectations because they are not significantly different from each other, the only conclusions we can really draw here is about sexual orientation and that it is acting as a status characteristic in this study. This is important because if status inequality is developing around sexual orientation for women in the

laboratory setting we can apply this theory to other groups outside the laboratory to confirm the status disadvantage suffered by lesbians in groups, all else equal.

Study 2: male confederate conditions

Next, I will discuss the findings from the male study, which are slightly more complicated, but are consistent with our initial hypotheses. Study two found that participants working with the plane Joe heterosexual stayed with their own answers 60% of the time, participants working with the plain Joe homosexual stayed with their own answers 63% of the time, participants working with the masculine gay Joe stayed with their own answer 58% of the time, and finally participants working with the feminine gay Joe stayed with their own answer 62% of the time. In this study, the meaning of the P(s) scores is slightly less straightforward than it was in the first study because we have three aspects of identity impacting the status hierarchy, sex category of male and female, gender display, and sexual orientation. This section will explain why the findings here are consistent with our hypothesis that sexual orientation is acting as a status characteristic. Because in this study we have female participants working with male confederate's sex category (typically referred to as gender) is acting as a status characteristic. If, as we hypothesize, sexual orientation is a status characteristic, then when sexual orientation and sex category are salient they will cancel each other out leaving only gender display as a salient cue gestalt to influence the status hierarchy.

In condition 5 the only salient characteristic is sex category. In this case the confederate has status advantage of being male. In condition 6 where the confederate as an advantage of being male and a disadvantage of being gay those negative and positively valued status traits cancel each other out and we don't really expect a status advantage. In the 7th condition however

the confederate has one extra positively valued trait. Again in this case there is a negatively valued trait of sexual orientation and a positively valued trait of sex category male, as well as a positively valued cue gestalt of hyper masculinity. In this case we see a powerful impact on the p(s) score for the hyper masculine gay man. He is both benefiting from a gender performance as well as from his sex category of being male. Finally in the last condition, we expect that the confederate will experience similar status development as in condition 6. According to cue gestalt theoretical assumptions if the cue gestalt is consistent with the associated status characteristic, in this case hyper feminine gender display and male homosexuality then the cue gestalt is not enacted. Instead the cue gestalt only changes the status generalization process when it is inconsistent with the associated status characteristic. In other words our major finding here is that sexual orientation is acting as a status characteristic because it is being cancelled out by gender. The only case that it is not being cancelled out by gender is when there is a third status cue gestalt of masculine gender display.

Cue Gestalts in Interaction:

To briefly review, cue gestalts are aspects of appearance or behavior that produce assumptions about status. Fişek (2009) defines strong cue gestalts as relevant when an actor posses' relevant status information and a weak cue gestalt as one where an actor is expected to possess status information. Fişek suggests that these gestalts should be modeled differently, for example, a weak cue gestalt is linked to other status elements by one more path than are strong cue gestalts. In this case a strong cue gestalt would have an impact on the status structure that is similar to an actual status characteristic. Initial hypotheses assumed that the cue gestalts made salient in both male confederate study and the female confederate study were weak and were

working in ways consistent with the theory and developed hypotheses. For example, hypotheses suggested that in the female confederate study when the lesbian displays hyper-femininity (an inconsistent display considering normative stereotypically assumptions about lesbian culture), or when the gay male confederate displays hyper-masculinity (again an inconsistent display considering normative stereotypically assumptions about gay male culture), these characteristics would act as weak cue gestalts to impact the developing status order. Hypotheses suggest that male gay confederates displaying hyper-masculine gender display gain status in a way that the hyper-feminine and plain (normatively) gendered gay men do not. Similarly, the lesbian confederates displaying hyper-feminine gender display loose status in a way that the masculine and plain (normatively) gendered lesbians men do not.

The results of this study suggest that in the female confederate study gender display was indeed acting as a weak cue gestalt. The major impact in the female confederate study comes from the sexual orientation as status characteristic. In this situation there is a major difference between the lesbian and straight confederates and gender display has a small impact on status differentiation during the interaction. On the other hand, in the male confederate study we find that when we model gender display as strong cue gestalt we have a model fit of .98. In this case we see that sexual orientation is a status characteristic and gender display is a strong cue gestalt. In other words, gender display really matters for men when interacting with women. If they perform a hyper masculine expression this can counter other status elements during that interaction.

One important question to answer is why masculine gender display in the gay male condition has a better model fit when we treat it as a strong cue gestalt? In this setting the male confederate is disadvantaged by being gay, advantaged by being male, and advantaged by gender

display of masculinity. In this case we can really gain perspective from intersectionality theorists who suggest that aspects of identity and personal characteristics intersect in interesting ways. Therefore it is important not to treat any one characteristic in isolation as it is informed and impacted by other characteristics salient in the interaction. In this case understandings of being a man are impacted by expectations around masculinity. When a man performs masculinity this has a powerful impact on his ability to conform to normative hegemony masculinity. By subscribing to this expectation this confederate is able to counteract this negative impact of being gay on his overall status accumulation. In this case I suggest that masculinity is very important and really matters for status accumulation for men, more so then it does for women to perform femininity. One reason why masculinity might matter so much is because it is the privileged category in the gender binary of man/woman, however this claim would need more research to be substantiated.

What is substantively interesting about this finding, particularly in reference to the feminist critiques of this work, is that we are observing the ways in which gender display and sexual orientation can work with and against each other during interaction. In this study, the findings suggest that inconsistent weak and strong gender cue gestalts have important impacts on sexual orientation as a status characteristic during interaction. As previously discussed, the gender and feminist scholars have suggested that it is impossible to disentangle the impact of gender display on sexual orientation during interaction because they are inextricably linked. What these data clarify for us is that gender display does indeed work in tandem with sexual orientation, however as gender display varies so does its impact on our expectations of competence related to sexual orientation. Gender and feminist scholars rarely systematically

vary gender display; by doing so, we can add to the literature in group processes as well as gender and sexuality studies.

In conclusion, in both the male and female confederate studies we find that sex category and sexual orientation are acting as status characteristics, and that feminine gender display is a cue gestalt for the lesbian confederates and masculine gender display is a cue gestalt for the gay male confederates. Women lose status for being lesbian and for feminine gender displays, whereas men loose status from being gay and gain status for being more masculine. While these findings are indeed unfortunate, by providing evidence that sexual orientation and gender are both factors in status production in groups, we can better understand how they work, if they can be isolated, which can in turn provide some clues as to how to address this inequality.

Next I will discuss the findings from the post session interview that help us to observe, not how participants are behaving in interaction, but what their feelings and reactions are after the fact.

Post session Interview Data: Feelings in Interaction

After participants finished the Contrast Sensitivity team task of the standard experimental setting, they were asked to fill out a series of questions in a post session survey. Again, in the Post Session Survey, questions were asked of participants about their perceptions of interaction with partners. The questions were based on several semantic differentials that range from 1 through 7. These questions addressed the participants' perception of their partners' performance and their own performance during the task. In the Results Section of Chapter 6, I discussed the two major findings in the post session interview results. First, when asked questions about their partner, subjects responded differently, on average, for the heterosexual and homosexual conditions. Secondly, the responses to the homosexual partners were overwhelmingly more

negative than they were towards the heterosexual partners. This is consistent with what we know from the social psychological literature on social desirability bias. As previously discussed, the study participants consistently asserted in the post session interviews that they were supportive of LGBT individuals and not homophobic, however the data show that the participants felt that the gay and lesbian confederates were less competent and rated them less desirably than their straight counterparts. In general these data support the claim that how people say they feel and how they act are not always consistent. For example, in the female confederate conditions we find that participants report more positive reactions to the straight plain Jane confederate, and are more uncomfortable and frustrated with the lesbian plain Jane and masculine lesbian. Similarly, with the male confederate we found that participants responded most negatively to the plain gay Joe and feminine gay Joe.

When participants rated their plain Jane heterosexual partner, they rated her as more convincing, fair, trustworthy, important, and not delayed in her decision-making. These reports are consistent with the behavioral measure of status in the first part of the study. Furthermore, participants reported that they felt less concerned and less angry when they were working with the straight plain Jane. They also reported they felt the masculine lesbian was less pleasant and tried to please less than her more normatively gendered counterparts. In other words, the participants not only gave less influence to the lesbian confederates, but they also felt less positively as shown in these post session results. They generally felt less positive about the lesbian confederates and particularly less positive towards the masculine lesbian.

In the second study with male confederates, a similar trend emerged where participants ranked their response and feelings toward the gay men in the study as compared to the heterosexual man. However, what was most striking about the post interview results for the

male study was that the participants reacted the most negatively to the gay plain Joe. They often ranked the heterosexual plain Joe the most positively, but what really emerged as a trend is that they consistently reacted negatively to the gay plain Joe. For example, they rated the gay plain Joe as more unpleasant, more submissive, more unlikable, more advantaged, less trustworthy, more uncomfortable, less important, and not a good leader. Furthermore, they felt more resentful when they were working with the gay plain Joe; they felt he was unhelpful, and that he was unsure and incompetent. These findings suggest there is some resistance to working with gay men over straight men, however, the thing these subjects react the most negatively to is a gay man who looks pretty normative gender-wise. If the gay man performs a hyper-masculine gender display this seems to counteract some of the anti-gay sentiment expressed, and if the gay man performs hyper-femininity, it is in line with expectations for his sexual orientation and therefore less threatening.

It is interesting to think about the relationship between the male confederate study and the female confederate study when it comes to gender display. In general what we find is that men seem to be allotted more room to vary their gender display during interaction. When the men perform the non-normative gender display of hyper-femininity, in most cases they do not receive a negative repercussion for that behavior. Furthermore, when they present a hyper –masculine display they are rewarded. They are perceived as more competent and more likable in general. It is also acceptable if the male confederate performs normatively. It is only the condition where he performs normatively and is gay that he receives negative feedback from the study participants.

What is really compelling about this finding is that in general when we read about masculinity in the gender literature, researchers suggest that there is one form of masculinity and

that men are confined to that specific performance or they must face social consequences for challenging those expectations. Hegemonic masculinity is a rigidly defined category of possible performance and behavior that resists the possible variety of gender display and gender identity that is available to men. The gender literature has consistently asserted that masculinity is the most rigid and confined gender, whereas femininity, as the subordinate, category is more flexible in the possible and allowable gender displays available to women. What these results suggest is that while participants might report that they are supportive of gay individuals and have no negative feelings associated with homosexuality, in practice we find they do indeed have different responses both in our behavioral measure as well as our post-session response averages.

Stigma versus Status

Two tests of stigma were run to explore the idea that participants were not only influenced less by non-heterosexual people, but also that they stigmatized them. The first test was a Social Distance Questionnaire consisting of three questions asked of the participants at the end of the study, and the second was an EPA profile questionnaire. I will discuss the findings from these two tests in order. The results from the social distance questionnaire are presented in the Results Section of this dissertation but I will summarize the main findings and discuss the meaning of these results in this section.

In the Social Distance Questionnaire for the male confederate condition block there were no significant differences. In the second question on the social distance questionnaire, "Would you like to give your partner your name and email address?" the plain Joe homosexual and the masculine Joe homosexual are close to being significantly different from the plain Joe

Heterosexual, but are not. In other words what we found in this study was that there were no significant differences across condition for the three questions. This provided evidence that perhaps study participants were not stigmatizing their gay and lesbian partners. It is possible that subjects did not experience feelings of stigmatization toward confederates but rather had different expectations about competence. [13]

Similarly to the male confederate block, no significant differences were found across conditions in the female confederate block. In the third question on the Social Distance Questionnaire, "Would you like to get to know your partner socially outside of the experimental setting?" the masculine lesbian was close to being significantly different from the plain Jane Heterosexual, but was not. [14] Again, this provides more evidence that within this college sample, these participants are not stigmatizing their lesbian partners in this experimental block.

Overall, in terms of findings from the Social Distance Questionnaire, the evidence suggests that with this young college sample, arguably a more progressive or liberal sample than we might find with a nationally representative sample, participants are not stigmatizing these gay and lesbian confederates. Rather, the difference in treatment of these individuals appears to be a result of a status process. In the standardized experimental setting we found that participants were affording less influence to their gay and lesbian partners than to their heterosexual partners, a process tempered by the gender display of those partners.

If we were to extrapolate the importance of this finding to the larger social world, we might suggest that in a work setting, for example, coworkers and employers would be willing to accept gay and lesbian individuals without a great deal of aversion or stigma, but when it comes to completing work tasks, taking on responsibility, and achieving upward mobility in the

[13] Please see Table 6.1 and 6.2 for a presentation of these results.
[14] Please see Table 6.1 for a presentation of these results.

workplace, this will be frustrated by a non-conscious belief that they are in some way inherently less competent.

Next, I will discuss the results collected from the EPA profiles. In the Results Section, I summarized the findings from participant responses towards all the words about non-heterosexual people collected in the EPA profiles. There were two main findings from the APA profiles. The first was that subjects consistently rate words about non heterosexual people (i.e. gay, lesbian, and homosexual) lower when they are working with a straight confederate. They also constantly rate these words lower then pore 'positively' evaluated words like professor or friend. The next sections will discuss these findings.

The words that are about non-heterosexual people in the EPA profile questionnaire are "homosexual", "gay man", and "lesbian". In the female confederate experimental participants rated the word gay man, lesbian, and homosexual lower in the baseline condition when they were working with a straight plain Jane. In the male confederate experimental block, rated the words gay man, lesbian, and homosexual lower in the baseline condition where they were working with a straight plain Joe. In this case only the participants that worked with the plain gay Joe were significantly different from the participants who worked with the plain gay Joe.

These findings are interesting and could be evidence for a few different explanations. What we are seeing is that participants are rating the words "homosexual", "gay man", and "lesbian' higher when they are working with a gay or lesbian confederate compared to when they are working with a straight confederate. Rating non-heterosexual words higher when they are working with a gay or lesbian means that when they have been cued consciously or non-consciously about working with a gay or lesbian person, they rate them higher on an evaluation scale. The first possibility is that working with a gay or lesbian person makes participants

friendlier to gay and lesbian individuals. This is a very interesting finding, and could signal a lot of hope about changing attitudes toward gay and lesbian people in US culture. Because of the larger cultural change in attitudes toward gay and lesbian people in the past ten years, more people are coming out. If this explanation is correct, as people come out, the individuals they interact with will in turn become more open and accepting of gay and lesbian people.

Another explanation is that because we are finding a difference in behavior during interaction with gay and lesbian people, but a higher ranking of gay and lesbian people when we ask them to report how they feel, this might be process similar to what is described as aversive racism by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986). Aversive racism is a process whereby instead of expressing explicitly racist beliefs individuals have subtle and often subconscious negative attitudes and behaviors towards racial and ethnic minorities. This process often consists of individuals professing non-racist beliefs, but acting in ways that are aversive, resistant to, or negatively affect non-white individuals. It is thought that even though political and social movements have challenged overt and socially acceptable forms of racism, negative attitudes toward minority individuals have persisted as a non-conscious, subtle from of prejudice.

The findings from the EPA profiles might be indicating a similar type of non-conscious process enacted by these participants. To coin a phrase, we might be observing an "aversive homophobia" being expressed through the actions and attitudes of these participants. During the exit interviews several participants wanted to specifically express that they liked gay people, they had gay friends, and that they were not in any way homophobic. Interestingly, in the data collected from the EPA profiles as well as from the post session survey data, we find that they do in fact rate gay and lesbian confederates lower on several different types of scales. It is possible that we are tapping into a subtle aversive homophobia that the participants themselves are not

even aware that they have. The subjects report that gay and lesbians are "good", but do not afford them the level of competence that they give to straight confederates.

In the last section of the EPA profile analysis, I used independent sample t-tests between the non-heterosexual terms and other more positively evaluated terms EPAs. For example, I tested the difference between the words "homosexual", "gay man", and "lesbian", and the words "friend", "hero", "doctor", and "professor". The results are presented and summarized in the Results Section of this paper, so here I will just discuss the overall findings and what they might mean. In both the male and female confederate experimental blocks each non-heterosexual term was tested to see if they were significantly different from the more positively evaluated words, and for each word in each block there was a significant difference. While these are significantly different, it is unclear whether these differences indicate a stigma process or are rather simply a reflection of the status difference observed in the Contrast Sensitivity test. More exploration of stigmatizing against LGBTQ individuals is needed to help us to fully understand the difference between stigma and status for these social groups.

In summary, in this study, it is possible that subjects have different beliefs about competence of gay and lesbian people as well as being stigmatizing towards them. However, with the lack of consistent data from the Social Distance Questionnaire and the EPA profiles more data on stigma against LGBTQ people will need to be collected to confidently assert that this is a true stigma process and not just a reflection of beliefs about status. In either case understanding that sexual orientation is connected to status beliefs and expectations about competence is an important finding. For example it can have some really profound consequences in social settings outside of the laboratory. For example, in work or educational settings, if people have lower expectations of competence of non-heterosexual individuals,

leading to less overall status for those individuals this can affect amount and type of educational attainment or something as important as salary and upward career mobility in the work world. Because of this potential for inequality for LGBTQ folks, the next section addresses the potential for interventions.

Interventions and Status Inequality

While substantively interesting, the policy maker or social activist might ask, "why is it important to understand the differential effects of gender and sexual orientation on status development? What does understanding that sexual orientation is a status characteristic and gender display is a cue gestalt actually help us to do when we are interested in fighting social inequality for LGBTQ and gender non-normative individuals?" Beyond simply adding to feminist and social psychological literatures on sexuality and gender, this section aims to explain how by understanding the mechanisms behind the development of this type of inequality we can actually better understand how to fight it.

What is truly empowering about Expectations States Research is that once a particular pattern of status inequality is found there are several types of intervention strategies that can be used to adjust potentially problematic status dynamics. A status intervention is an attempt to create equality between two individuals by asserting that competence and task success is in no way tied to the status characteristics they may hold. What is so profound about these intervention strategies is that researchers have found that once an intervention has taken place, the effects of that intervention will continue in following interactions where there has been no intervention (Pugh and Wahrman 1983; Markovsky, Smith, and Berger 1984).

Elizabeth Cohen and her colleagues have been at the forefront of research on interventions used to produce equality during interaction. The initial focus of her work was using Status Characteristic Theory to craft intervention strategies that disrupt processes of inequality experienced by students of color in middle school settings. In Cohen's research, she describes 4 major potential intervention strategies. The first is a setting where inconsistent characteristics are introduced to counter status effects of the diffuse status characteristic. The second intervention suggests that an individual in the interaction can work to offset the expectations of the low status individual. The third suggests that a high status actor in the interaction can challenge the expectations of competence for low status actors. The last intervention suggests that we can introduce new norms and expectations to a group that will challenge expectations related to individuals in a mixed status interaction (Cohen 1982). These interventions all introduce new information that challenges expectations for competence that lead to unequal status hierarchies.

Since we know that sexual orientation and gender display, while often functioning simultaneously have separate effects, what previous studies on intervention suggest is that we need to create two separate interventions for gender display and for sexual orientation to offset the exceptions about competence related to each of these characteristics. So again, despite what feminists say about the "lived experience", what we know about interventions is that having two separate status processes requires two separate interventions, not one for the "lived experience."

Limitations

There are some limitations of this research project that should be discussed. The first limitation that is typically addressed with the use of experimental research is that we cannot

generalize the findings to larger populations because we are not working with a representative sample. Instead, because we are working with university students our sample is limited by age (18-24), geographic location (Midwest), social class (mostly middle class), and racial diversity (mostly white). This limited sample makes it difficult to generalize findings from the experimental data because our sample is very specific. However, we use experiments to test theory, and that is what is needed for generalization (Lucus 2003).

Another limitation was that we were unable to run the experiment with male participants due to lack of time and monetary funding. Experimental research is time consuming and costly making it difficult to run all the variations of the experimental procedure that would be ideal. Because women naturally come to the laboratory more often it was more realistic to run the 8 conditions with female participants. If we could have had men participate in the experiment, we could see how men interacted with non-heterosexual men and women. As it is we can only observe how women interact with non-heterosexual men and women, which provides only the perspective of women.

Similarly, due to time and monetary constraints, we had to choose the most important conditions to run, if we could run more conditions it would be important to run the study with heterosexual feminine and masculine men and women. As it is, the only conditions that presented hyper feminine and hyper masculine gender displays were the homosexual conditions. By providing information about heterosexual hyper feminine and hyper masculine individuals we could provide a true cross of gender and sexual orientation allowing us to observe the intersection of these identities on all potential levels.

Future Directions

There are several possible directions to take this research. First, I would like to extend the same study with male participants. By running male participants with the current design, I could observe whether sexual orientation of men and women is acting as a status characteristic for men. The results for the male confederate study might be clearer if the participants were male. Currently, in the male study female participants are interacting with gay and straight men who vary in their gender display. This introduces three salient status cues into the interaction (gender, gender display, and sexual orientation). With a male participant we could simplify the status interaction, with gender display and sexual orientation as the only salient characteristics. This simplification could help to clarify some of the results.

I would also like to use a similar theoretical foundation and study design to extend the current discussion of gender display and sexual orientation towards a truly intersectional approach. For example, it would be fascinating to explore how race and ethnicity might shape this dynamic. This study design would allow us to explore how race, gender display, and sexual orientation interact to shape social hierarchies. Furthermore, extending the diversity in gender display and sexual orientation would by obvious next steps for this research. For example, testing other types of gender display and sexual orientation like androgyny, bisexuality, and transgendered identities and how they shape status hierarchies would be extremely interesting and important for furthering our understanding of inequality that faces these types of communities.

Lastly, I am interested in expanding this study to a population outside the undergraduate university student pool. Studying only university undergraduates is an obvious limitation of this research, as it limits our knowledge of the status impact of sexual orientation and gender display.

This subject pool is in some ways fairly homogenous, meaning that it is limited in terms of racial, class, geographical, gender expression, sexual orientation, and age diversity. The larger social world has a much more dynamic and diverse cross group interaction and therefore it is important to explore how these status dynamics unfold in other social spaces. For example, if we were to examine various age cohorts in a similar study we might find that individuals of different ages have different beliefs about sexuality and gender. In general it seems that younger generations seem to be less resistant to LGBTQ and non-normatively gendered individuals then older generations. A similar study run on participants between 50 and 60 years of age might find very different results than this study.

Conclusions: Sexuality, Gender Display, and Inequality

What we find here is that sexual orientation when divided into two categories, gay and straight, is impacting status differentiation in these task groups. In other words, sexual orientation is a status characteristic for men and women in collectively oriented task groups. While gender display may moderate and interact with sexual orientation is important ways, what this research suggests is that for women, sexual orientation seems to be taking most of the status impact during interaction. In the male confederate study however, gender display does impact status differentiation. In the male confederate study sexual orientation is acting as a status characteristic, but it is counteracted by the salience of gender as a status characteristic. Therefore the only salient status cue that effects the differentiation is masculine gender display of the confederate. In this case it gives him more status than any of the other gay confederates.

Sexual orientation acts as a status characteristic in similar ways to other status characteristics like gender and race. Sexual orientation and gender display are indeed complicated aspects of identity that in reality function on a continuum of possible expression rather than in discrete dichotomous categories. However, while there is more diversity in this categories, similar to gender and race, in the social world there is some important meaning that gets attached to categories when they get divided into a binary. To take gender as an example, gender scholars acknowledge the deeply complicated and diverse expressions of gender in our social world but they also acknowledge that individuals in many cases attach profound meaning and concrete resources to the very troubled categories of male and female and man and woman. This is also true for sexual orientation and gender display. We acknowledge that they are more diverse than a social binary will allow, however because the social world tends to divide categories into two we are compelled to study the social impact of this division, despite the problematic and socially constructed nature of these divisions.

This research is new and integral to the fields of gender and sexuality studies because it works to incorporate expectation states research (Wagner and Berger 1985) with feminist research on sexuality and "doing gender, doing difference" (West and Zimmerman 1987; Schilt and Westbrook 2009). Taking a more interdisciplinary approach and initiating a dialogue between these two research perspectives will allow us to better understand the production of social inequality providing new opportunities to interrupt and challenge it. This research is significant because finding that behavioral inequalities do exist with sexual orientation in the laboratory setting then we might expect that these types of inequalities may also be developing in natural settings, such as occupational or educational arenas. In other words, once we

understanding how sexuality shapes stratification and inequality in a laboratory setting, we can better understand how to intervene in these processes in the larger social world.

Increasing awareness of discrimination is not enough to challenge the problem; rather, the scientific community must travel beyond our typical superficial approaches, to begin to understand the basic processes and mechanisms behind this prejudice. By understanding how unequal treatment gets produced during interaction, we can better understand how this form of discrimination is the same or perhaps different from other types of discrimination. Once we understand what factors lead to the production of discrimination against queer communities, we can develop effective strategies to intervene, thus preventing its emergence. If mechanisms underlying the inequalities experienced by LGBTQ individuals are revealed, then the practical impact of this study will be on informing intervention strategies to help alleviate the inequality directed toward queer communities.

APPENDIX A: ADDITIONAL TABLES FOR CHAPTER 6

Table A1. Means and Standard Deviations of Post Experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Female Decision Maker

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)
	Lesbian Plain Jane		Straight Plain Jane		Masculine Lesbian		Feminine Lesbian	
Evaluation Performance Items:								
Responses to ***Initial Decision***: "When making the initial decision for the set of patters during the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test, *I felt :*"								
Assertive---Unassertive	3.56	(1.76)	2.92**	(1.68)	2.84**	(1.07)	2.96**	(1.39)
Sure of Self ---Unsure of Self	4.48	(1.61)	4.00	(2.00)	3.12***	(1.51)	4.76	(1.56)
Not Concerned --- Concerned	3.08	(1.55)	3.44	(1.45)	3.28**	(1.65)	2.52***	(1.76)
Confident – Unconfident	4.20	(1.68)	3.68***	(1.84)	3.08***	(1.35)	4.20	(1.78)
Certain --- Uncertain	4.84	(1.52)	4.28**	(1.67)	3.88***	(1.88)	4.84	(1.40)
Responses to ***Final Decision*** Items: "When making the final decision for the set of patters during the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test, I felt I was:"								
Not Angry --- Angry	1.05	(1.35)	.48**	(1.26)	.84	(1.31)	.72	(1.17)
Not Anxious --- Anxious	3.32	(1.89)	3.76	(1.59)	3.56	(1.85)	2.64**	(1.98)
Sure of Self --- Unsure of Self	5.14	(1.68)	3.96***	(1.93)	3.96***	(1.59)	4.32**	(1.41)
Highly Responsible --- Not Responsible	3.20	(1.48)	2.64**	(1.47)	2.80*	(1.15)	3.60	(1.41)
Not Concerned ---Concerned	3.81	(1.50)	3.48	(1.50)	3.60	(1.58)	3.04**	(1.70)
Confident --- Unconfident	5.10	(1.67)	3.96***	(2.03)	3.88***	(1.51)	4.48**	(1.58)
Certain ---Uncertain	5.10	(1.87)	4.20**	(1.76)	3.96***	(1.51)	4.68*	(1.44)

Source: 100 Female Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)
Note: The Lesbian Plain Jane is the Baseline Comparison

Table A2. Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Samples T-Tests of Post experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Male Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)
	Gay Plain Joe		Straight Plain Joe		Masculine Gay Joe		Feminine Gay Joe	
Evaluation Performance Items:								
Responses to ***Initial Decision***: "When making the initial decision for the set of patters during the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test, *I felt:*"								
Assertive---Unassertive	3.80	(1.29)	3.24 **	(1.30)	3.52	(1.39)	3.20**	(1.61)
Sure of Self ---Unsure of Self	3.80	(1.55)	4.32	(1.75)	4.40**	(1.55)	4.00**	(1.71)
Not Concerned --- Concerned	3.20	(1.55)	3.68*	(1.18)	3.08**	(1.60)	3.28	(1.62)
Responses to ***Final Decision*** Items: "When making the final decision for the set of patters during the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test, I felt I was:"								
Resentful---Not Resentful	5.28	(1.67)	5.64	(1.55)	5.52	(1.42)	6.04**	(1.51)
Assertive---Unassertive	4.12	(1.38)	3.92	(1.38)	3.84	(1.40)	3.56**	(1.26)
Burdened ---Not Burdened	4.28	(1.81)	3.76**	(1.76)	4.76	(1.42)	3.48**	(2.00)
Anxious --- Not Anxious	3.24	(1.61)	3.44	(1.71)	3.88*	(1.76)	3.36**	(2.06)
Worried --- Not Worried	3.64	(1.68)	3.72	(1.59)	4.28**	(1.51)	3.52**	(2.02)
Angry --- Not Angry	6.29	(1.33)	6.21	(1.39)	6.20	(1.10)	5.50**	(1.82)
Certain ---Uncertain	4.75	(1.36)	4.29	(1.89)	4.50	(1.50)	4.09**	(1.69)

Source: 100 Male Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)
Note: The Gay Plain Joe is the Baseline Comparison

Table A3. Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Samples T-Tests of Post experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Lesbian Plain Jane Mean (S.D.)	Straight Plain Jane Mean (S.D.)	Masculine Lesbian Mean (S.D.)	Feminine Lesbian Mean (S.D.)
Evaluation Performance Items:				
Responses to ***My Performance***: "I would evaluate my performance on the Contrast Sensitivity Task as:"				
Competent – Incompetent	3.76 (1.55)	3.36 (1.91)	2.96** (1.37)	3.24 (1.45)
Confident – Unconfident	3.52 (1.72)	2.84** (1.75)	2.60** (1.35)	3.32 (1.52)
Helpful --- Unhelpful	3.48 (1.66)	3.20 (1.87)	2.96** (1.13)	3.52 (1.53)
Sure of Self ---Unsure of Self	4.47 (1.53)	4.08 (1.87)	3.44*** (1.47)	4.12** (1.51)
Skillful ---Lacking in Skill	3.43 (1.43)	3.96 (1.86)	4.04** (1.21)	3.44 (1.56)
Responses to ***Partners Performance*** Items: "I would evaluate my partner's performance on the Contrast Sensitivity Task as:"				
Competent --- Incompetent	3.33 (1.24)	2.80** (1.66)	2.88** (.97)	2.88** (1.09)
Sure of Self ---Unsure of Self	2.81 (1.36)	3.04 (1.72)	2.96 (1.14)	3.72*** (1.54)

Source: 100 Female Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)
Note: The Lesbian Plain Jane is the Baseline Comparison

Table A4. Means and Standard Deviations of Post Experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Female Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Gay Plain Joe Mean	(S.D.)	Straight Plain Joe Mean	(S.D.)	Masculine Gay Joe Mean	(S.D.)	Feminine Gay Joe Mean	(S.D.)
Evaluation Performance Items:								
Responses to ***My Performance***: "I would evaluate my performance on the Contrast Sensitivity Task as:"								
Helpful --- Unhelpful	3.29	(.91)	2.75**	(1.25)	2.83**	(1.37) **	2.86	(1.39)*
Responses to ***Partners Performance*** Items: "I would evaluate my partner's performance on the Contrast Sensitivity Task as:"								
Competent – Incompetent	3.29	(1.23)	3.13	(1.36)	2.71**	(1.27)	2.86**	(1.67)
Helpful --- Unhelpful	3.29	(1.43) **	2.96	(1.36)	2.87*	(1.48)	3.18	(1.26)
Sure of Self ---Unsure of Self	3.71	(.95)	2.892	(1.35) ***	2.67***	(1.20)	2.95***	(1.36)
Skillful ---Lacking in Skill	4.25	(1.07)	4.41	(1.31)	5.08***	(1.38)	5.05***	(1.50)

Source: 100 Male Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)
Notes: The Gay Plain Joe is the Baseline Comparison.

Table A5. Means and Standard Deviations of Post Experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Female Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Straight Plain Jane Mean (S.D.)	Lesbian Plain Jane Mean (S.D.)	Masculine Lesbian Mean (S.D.)	Feminine Lesbian Mean (S.D.)
Responses to ***Feelings about Partner:*** "In reference to feelings about my partner, I feel my partner was:"				
Pleasant---Unpleasant (2:3** 3:4***)	2.16 (1.51)	2.00 (1.22)	2.72 (1.79)	1.92 (1.9)
Tried to Please---Did not Try to Please	3.41 (1.41)	3.95 (.92)	4.36 (1.03)	3.96 (1.05)
(1:2**, 1:3***, 1:4**, 2:3**, 3:4**)				

Source: 100 Female Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)

Table A6. Means and Standard Deviations of Post Experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Female Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	
	Straight Plain Jane		Lesbian Plain Jane		Masculine Lesbian		Feminine Lesbian		
Responses to ***Feelings about Partner:*** "In reference to feelings about my partner, I feel my partner was:"									
Convincing---Unconvincing	2.13	(1.51)	2.67	(1.15)	2.76	(1.33)	2.48	(1.12)	(1:2** 1:3***)
Fair--- Unfair	1.95	(2.52)	2.52	(1.20)	2.44	(1.12)	2.36	(.99)	(1:2**)
Trustworthy---Untrustworthy	2.66	(1.20)	3.14	(1.19)	2.96	(1.24)	3.12	(1.26)	(1:2** 1:4*)
Dependent ---Independent (1:2** 1:3*** 1:4**)	3.70	(2.05)	4.71	(1.82)	4.72	(1.40)	4.56	(1.63)	
Important ---Unimportant	3.33	(1.27)	3.9	(1.02)	3.96	(1.27)	3.72	(1.13)	(1:2** 1:3**)

Source: 100 Female Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)

Table A7. Means and Standard Deviations of Post Experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Female Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	
	Straight Plain Jane		Lesbian Plain Jane		Masculine Lesbian		Feminine Lesbian		
Responses to ***Feelings about Partner:*** "In reference to feelings about my partner, I feel my partner was:"									
Submissive---Dominant	3.6	(1.12)	4.24	(1.12)	3.68	(.99)	3.84	(1.28)	(1:2*** 2:3**)
Unintelligent ---Intelligent	4.75	(1.77)	5.33	(1.49)	5.20	(1.68)	4.76	(1.42)	(2:4**)
Not a Good Leader---Good Leader	3.84	(1.04)	4.10	(1.79)	3.44	(1.32)	3.40	(1.38)	(2:3** 2:4***)

Source: 100 Female Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)

Table A8. Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Samples T-Tests of Post experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Male Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	
	Straight Plain Joe		Gay Plain Joe		Masculine Gay Joe		Feminine Gay Joe		
Responses to ***Feelings about Partner:*** "In reference to feelings about my partner, I feel I was:"									
Pleasant---Unpleasant	2.08	(1.21)	2.29	(1.45)	1.79	(1.02)	1.86	(1.17)	(6:7**)
Dominant---Submissive	3.37	(1.21)	3.91	(1.21)	3.71	(1.23)	3.18	(1.01)	(5:6** 6:8*** 7:8**)
Likable---Unlikeable	2.08	(1.10)	2.54	(1.35)	2.08	(1.02)	2.18	(1.26)	(5:6** 6:7**)
Advantaged---Disadvantaged	3.91	(.25)	3.41	(.28)	3.7	(.23)	3.95	(.19)	(5:6** 5:8**)
Trustworthy---Untrustworthy	3.04	(1.13)	3.52	(1.56)	2.75	(1.15)	2.68	(.99)	(6:7*** 6:8***)
Comfortable---Uncomfortable	2.77	(1.15)	3.34	(1.15)	2.95	(1.45)	3.09	(1.47)	(5:6**)
Important ---Unimportant	3.68	(1.24)	4.00	(.79)	3.58	(1.31)	3.27	(1.38)	(6:7** 6:8***)

Source: 100 Male Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)

Table A9. Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Samples T-Tests of Post experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Male Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	
	Straight Plain Joe		Gay Plain Joe		Masculine Gay Joe		Feminine Gay Joe		
Responses to ***Feelings about Partner:*** "In reference to feelings about my partner, I feel I was:"									
Reasonable---Unreasonable	2.62	(1.58)	2.52	(1.16)	2.29	(1.48)	2.00	(.97)	(5:8** 6:8**)
Intelligent---Unintelligent	2.18	(.31)	2.14	(.26)	1.63	(.29)	1.60	(.38)	(5:7** 6:7**)

Source: 100 Male Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)

Table A10. Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Samples T-Tests of Post experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Male Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	
	Straight Plain Joe		Gay Plain Joe		Masculine Gay Joe		Feminine Gay Joe		
Responses to ***Feelings about Partner:*** "In reference to feelings about my partner, I feel I was:"									
Intimidating---Not Intimidating	3.81	(.85)	3.82	(1.07)	4.25	(.94)	4.04	(1.09)	(5:7** 6:7**)
Good Leader---Not a Good Leader	3.68	(1.04)	3.82	(1.02)	3.12	(1.26)	3.54	(1.26)	(5:7** 6:7***)

Source: 100 Male Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)

Table A11. Means and Standard Deviations of Post Experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Female Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	
	Straight Plain Jane		Lesbian Plain Jane		Masculine Lesbian		Feminine Lesbian		
In reference to my partner's beliefs, I feel he/she believes in the following: "To what extent does your partner believe in hard work?"									
Not at all--- Very Strongly	4.91	(1.93)	5.20	(1.28)	4.60	(1.35)	4.92	(1.11)	(2:3**)
In reference to my partner's beliefs, I feel he/she believes in the following: "To what extent does your partner believe in delayed gratification?"									
Not at all--- Very Strongly (1:2** 1:3** 1:4**** 3:4**)	3.59	(1.24)	2.95	(1.23)	3.08	(.90)	2.68	(.80)	
If I had to make an educated guess about my partner's life circumstances, I would answer the following questions as follows: "How likely is it that others would want to work on a project with your partner?"									
Not Likely ---Very Likely (1:3*** 2:3*** 3:4***)	5.58	(1.41)	5.35	(1.18)	4.32	(1.31)	5.08	(1.52)	
If I had to make an educated guess about my partner's life circumstances, I would answer the following questions as follows: "How warm and likeable is your partner?"									
Not warm/likable---Very warm/likable	5.08	(1.47)	5.45	(1.35)	4.68	(1.28)	5.20	(1.60)	(2:3*** 3:4**)

Source: 100 Female Undergraduates, University of Iowa *p<0.5; **p<. 01; ***p<. 001 (one tailed test)

Table A12. Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Samples T-Tests of Post experiment Questionnaire Responses to Evaluation Items about Partners by Male Decision Makers

End Points of 7-Point Scales	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	
	Straight Plain Joe		Gay Plain Joe		Masculine Gay Joe		Feminine Gay Joe		
In reference to my partner's beliefs, I feel he/she believes in the following: "To what extent does your partner believe in hard work?"									
Not at all--- Very Strongly	4.90	(1.15)	4.95	(1.26)	5.08	(1.50)	5.45	(1.10)	(5:8** 6:8**)
In reference to my partner's beliefs, I feel he/she believes in the following: "To what extent does your partner believe in delayed gratification?"									
Not at all--- Very Strongly	3.00	(.20)	3.18	(.23)	3.30	(.25)	3.73	(.20)	(5:8*** 6:8** 7:8**)
If I had to make an educated guess about my partner's life circumstances, I would answer the following questions as follows: "How likely is it that others would want to work on a project with your partner?"									
Not Likely ---Very Likely	5.13	(1.16)	4.78	(1.65)	4.70	(1.51)	5.54	(1.40)	(6:8** 7:8**)
If I had to make an educated guess about my partner's life circumstances, I would answer the following questions as follows: "How warm and likeable is your partner?"									
Not warm/likable---Very warm/likable	4.81	(1.33)	4.91	(1.47)	5.16	(1.34)	5.95	(1.17)	(5:8*** 6:8*** 7:8***)
If I had to make an educated guess about my partner's life circumstances, I would answer the following questions as follows: "How likely would you be to hang out with your partner as a friend?"									
Not Likely ---Very Likely	3.40	(1.53)	3.43	(1.72)	4.37	(1.40)	4.54	(1.43)	(5:7*** 6:7*** 6:8***)

Source: 100 Male Undergraduates, University of Iowa

*p<0.5;**p<.01;***p<.001

APPENDIX B: RA PROTOCOL

Protocol for "Teamwork in Task Groups"
Miriam Verploegh

Phone number to call if an emergency arises and you cannot make it to the lab for your scheduled time:
Miriam Cell: 505-350-1374
Sociology office: 319-335-2502 (If you can only reach the sociology office, ask them if they can have someone put a sign on the lab door saying that the sessions are cancelled.)

1) Arrive at the lab no later than 15 minutes prior to the first participant's schedule start time. Go to our study area in the lab. Open the Binder that says "Teamwork in Task Groups" and look at the random number chart on the first page to determine the condition for your participant. To determine the experiment/group number, add one to the last consecutive experimental session. Write that number next to the next available random number on the chart (which is the condition number for the current experimental run.
2) Get two consent forms from the experiment's file box labeled "Teamwork in Task Groups."
3) Go to the computer in the isolation room for your experiment. Make sure that the bottom bar (with all the icons) is minimized.
4) Start the computer program from the experiment icon, and type in the Group number (which is the experiment number), condition number (1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8), and the room number. Once you see the screen with the, "Welcome to the Center for the Study of Group Processes" label and UIowa logo, you are done.
5) Go back to the study area. In the Experimental Logbook, find the condition number that you are running in the boxes. Put your initials and the experiment number in the box corresponding to the condition you are running.
6) Also in the Experimental Log Book, fill out a separate sheet for this particular experimental session (located behind the random number chart in the beginning of the bog book). Fill out the experiment number, condition number, your name, and the date. You will complete this at the end of the experimental run and make a note if anything unusual happened.
7) Go out and check on your subject in the Alpha Waiting Room. Make a judgment about the physical attractiveness and gender presentation of the subject based on cultural stereotypes. Mark the judgment on the sheet in the Experimental Logbook that you have just filled out for this unique experimental test.
8) Follow your script on the note cards located in the logbook. Take the subject to the room you are using for their experiment and start the program.
9) When the subject is done, go to the experiment room with a clean Post Session Interview sheet for you to take notes. Write the experiment number on the post session interview sheet. Bring your audio recorder with you to tape the post session interview (see instructions for easy operation).
10) Place the completed Post Session Interview Sheet in the black experiment box labeled "Teamwork in Task groups" in the folder labeled Completed Post Session Interviews.
11) Write about any abnormalities that happened during the experiment in your logbook.

APPENDIX C: EXPERIMENTER SCRIPT

(1) Greeting

[At the start time, go to alpha waiting room.]

- Hi, are you here for the experiment Performance in Decision Making?
    - If NO: Sorry to disturb you. I'll notify the proper research assistant you are here.
    - If YES: And your name is?
- Hi_____. My name is _____, and I will be the experimenter assisting you during today's study. Please come into our research center.

[Escort subject down the hall to the appropriate study room.]

(2) Greeting Continued…

- You can place your things in the corner there. We do ask that you turn all electronic devices off or to a silent for the duration of the experiment please.
- Please be seated here (pull chair away from the table for the subject).
- I'd like to welcome you to the Center for the Study of Group Processes here at the University of Iowa and thank you for volunteering to help us today.
- I'll be back in a few minutes. Make yourself comfortable, but please do not touch the computer or any of the study equipment. I will knock on the door before I enter.

[Leave study room, "go get the partner". Spend as a few minutes getting the "partner" settled.]

(3) Introduction

[KNOCK ON DOOR FIRST!!! Come back into study room with **letter of consent.]**

- Thanks for waiting.

Throughout the study as you've probably already noticed I will be referring to these index cards. This is to make sure that every person participating in the study is given the same set of instructions and nothing important is left out. If you have any questions while I'm giving you these instructions, please don't hesitate to interrupt me.

(4) Introduction Continued…

- I'd like to tell you a little bit about what you will be doing today.

- Today's session will involve one task:

    - You will be working with a partner as a team to check your group level performance on a perceptual task. I will give you more details about the task in a moment.

- As you may have noticed, you are Participant #1 today [point to sign], and your partner is Participant #2.

(5) Introduction Continued… [for rooms W14G-I]

- You may have also noted that a webcam is set up on your computer. You will be asked to introduce yourself to your partner through this webcam. When asked to do so, please look into the camera. The microphone is connected to the camera.

- Please note, your name will not be recorded during this introduction, and your name will NOT be associated with any data. And your introduction over the webcam will be transmitted, but not recorded, and the computer will know you as Session # _____, Participant #1.

- During the study, you will work with your partner to choose correct answers. We ask that you try your best to work together as a team to determine the correct answers.

Do you have any questions at this point?

(6)Consent

- This is a letter of consent. It briefly outlines what I've just explained to you. It also states that your participation in this study is completely voluntary: at any time, for any reason, if you no longer feel comfortable with what you are doing, please notify me and I'll terminate the session with no penalty to you.

- If there is a particular question that you do not wish to answer for any reason please do not answer it.

- I'll stop now and let you read over the letter. Please read it carefully, and if you wish to continue, I will ask for verbal agreement when I return. I'm going to go administer this same letter to your partner. When you have read through the letter please press the alert assistant button. [Hand letter to participant.]

[Leave the room. Go to control room for

(7) Completing Consent

- Did you have enough time to read the letter of consent?
- I do need verbal confirmation of consent; so, do you consent to participate?
    - If YES: good! I'll give you a copy of the letter when we finish.
    - If NO: Thank you for your time. I'll update the Sona Systems so you receive credit for showing.

(8) Introduce Computer Protocol

- We'll be using the computer to administer the study. The study is done in the Center with Dr. Gordon, one of our research associates. He is seated in the control room, and will be able to communicate with you and your partner through our closed-circuit television system. He will be giving you both instruction, which you will be able to hear and view over the computer.
- When you work on the task all you will is your mouse – you will click through the task, but only when prompted.
- Okay, I need to step out of the room for a minute and obtain consent from your partner. Also, I need to inform Dr. Gordon that you're about to begin the study. When I come back, we will get started.

[Leave the room. Go to control room for the same amount of time spent with subject.]

(9) Computer Protocol Continued…

[KNOCK on subject's door and enter the room]

- Okay, both Dr. Gordon and your partner are ready to get started, so make yourself comfortable because we are about to begin the session.
- Before we have you start your session, we want you to know that there may be periods where the computer network is accessing the closed-circuit TV system and nothing is happening. **Don't be concerned the audio or visual will happen soon.**

(10) Computer Protocol Continued…

- Before I leave, I have two more instructions
    - Dr. Gordon will instruct you to slide the attention assistant card under the door to notify me that you are finished with the study.
    - **Also, only use the computer equipment, specifically the mouse, when instructed to do so by Dr. Gordon.**
- When you press the "join session button," it will connect you to Dr. Gordon, but there will be delay as your computer joins the closed-circuit television system.
- Okay, just take your time, relax, and join the session by clicking the gray button.

(11) Post Session Interview

[After you are alerted, KNOCK on subject's door and enter the room with Post-Session Interview, DVR, and Debriefing script.]

- All finished? Good! =)
- Well, I have couple of questions I'd like to ask you. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these questions. I do need to audio record your responses for verification purposes. And then I will go through the debriefing.

[Use script on Post-Session interview…]

APPENDIX D: CONSENT LETTER

We invite you to participate in a research study. The purpose of this research study is to explore how two persons interact over a computer network.

We are inviting you to participate in this research study because you are an undergraduate at The University of Iowa who expressed an interest in our study through your sign-up for the study on the Department of Sociology Web-based experiment scheduler.
Approximately 200 people will take part in this study at the University of Iowa.

If you agree to participate, you will be instructed to work on a team task that will require you to make decisions with your partner. You will be introduced to your partner after you have been instructed how the team task will work. Then, you will work on the team task together with your partner. You will then fill out a questionnaire independent of your partner; the questionnaire will ask you to rate your impressions about the task. We will interview you at the end of the study to ask about your experience in completing the study procedures. The interview will be audio recorded. The study will take place in this room of the Center for the Study of Group Processes in the Department of Sociology.

You have the right to refuse to answer any questions throughout this study!

We will keep the information you provide confidential, however federal regulatory agencies and the University of Iowa Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves research studies) may inspect and copy records pertaining to this research. To help protect your confidentiality, we will collect data from you by computer. A code number is then assigned to the data, and so your name is never associated with your data. The code number is not written on the consent forms, so there is no way to link your name to the data. Furthermore, the data collected are aggregated with other subjects' data, an action that further obscures the source of the data. The post session interview will be tape recorded, identifiable only by experiment number, and stored on a computer that only members of the research team have access to. After the completion of the study, all tape recordings will be deleted from the computer. Data for the post-session interview are hand-written on a form that is placed in an envelope with only the experiment number identifier. These envelopes are collected daily by the research assistant running the study, and are placed in a locked cabinet in the research assistant's advisor's office (i.e., a professor's office). This consent document will be stored in a separate location and will not be associated with your study data. If we write a report or article about this study or share the study data with others, we will do so in such a way that you cannot be directly identified.

There are no known risks from being in this study, and you will not benefit personally. However we hope that others may benefit in the future from what we learn as a result of this study.

You will not have any costs for being in this research study.

You will be given extra credit for being in this research study.

Taking part in this research study is completely voluntary. If you decide not to be in this study, or if you stop participating at any time, you won't be penalized or lose any benefits for which you otherwise qualify.

We encourage you to ask questions. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact: Alison Bianchi, W118 Seashore Hall, alison-bianchi@uiowa.edu or Miriam Verploegh, W13 Seashore Hall, miriam-verploegh@uiowa.edu If you experience a research-related injury, please contact:. Alison Bianchi, W118 Seashore Hall, alison-bianchi@uiowa.edu. If you have questions about the rights of research subjects, please contact the Human Subjects Office, 105 Hardin Library for the Health Sciences, 600 Newton Rd, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242-1098, (319) 335-6564, or e-mail irb@uiowa.edu. To offer input about your experiences as a research subject or to speak to someone other than the research staff, call the Human Subjects Office at the number above.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Sincerely,

Miriam Verploegh
PHD Candidate Sociology Department University of Iowa

APPENDIX E: DR. GORDON'S SCRIPT

Gordons Script For The Basic Contrast Sensitivity Test:

Dr. Gordon: Welcome to the Center for the Study of Group Processes. Thank you for participating in the study today. We think you'll find this to be an interesting as well as a rewarding experience. Please make yourselves comfortable. In today's group there will be two participants. Both of you are students here at The University of Iowa. You will introduce yourselves to each other after I read the instructions for your team task. **[PAUSE]**

I am Dr. Phillip Gordon and I'm speaking to you by short-circuit television from the control room in the Center. I will be your host for today's study.

I'm going to read the instructions for this study to be certain no details are omitted and that every participant has the same instructions. Please note that you have a red "Attention Research Assistant" card. When we have completed the short-circuit television presentation, you will be asked to slip this card under the study door to alert your research assistant that you have completed this part of the study.

We are members of a research team of social scientists studying differences in a certain kind of skill. The skill that we are studying is generally unlike any of the usual types of skills and aptitudes, such as personality traits or academic tasks. This makes it interesting because it is difficult to predict beforehand how people compare at them. Today we will be studying how people use this skill to solve problems.

Let us begin with detailed instructions about your team task. We are going to ask the two of you to work together to solve a set of problems. The problems are unlike any of the usual sorts of problems in school, such as mathematical problems or artistic projects. The problems you will be working on are from a newly discovered ability called Contrast Sensitivity. Let me explain what that is.

Within the past few years, social scientists have found in their studies that individuals differ in their ability to perceive contrasts between figures or objects. More simply, it has been found that when some individuals are presented with a set of figures or objects they are able to make accurate judgments

about contrasts, such as black and white differences, in them. Other people do not seem to have this ability to the same extent. This ability to make accurate judgments about contrasts, social scientists call Contrast Sensitivity. At this time we do not know all the answers as to why some people have this ability more than others. We have found, however, that this ability is not related to a person's mathematical abilities or artistic talent.

Now let me explain how to work on Contrast Sensitivity problems.

Today we are studying how group members use Contrast Sensitivity to solve problems. Therefore, the two of you will be working together as a team on set of Contrast Sensitivity problems. For many types of problems, results have shown that individuals working as teams perform more effectively than do individuals working alone.

The task you will be asked to work on consists of a series of 23 Contrast Sensitivity slides like the one now being presented on the computer monitor.

[DR GORDON: Turn to your laptop and make a motion as if to cue the CST DEMO slide.]

[Computer Protocol Presents DEMO SLIDE #1]

Each slide will contain two patterns, one above the other, as in this sample. One of these two patterns, either the top one or the bottom one, contains more small white rectangles than the other pattern. That is, one of these patterns contains more white area than the other pattern. Your task is to determine, in each case, which of the two patterns, the top one or the bottom one, contains the greater amount of white area.

You may find that some of these slides will seem difficult to judge, as the differences between the patterns are sometimes small. However, there is a right answer to each and every slide, and we have found that individuals with high Contrast Sensitivity consistently choose more correct answers than those with low Contrast Sensitivity.

We have also found that people with high Contrast Sensitivity may not be completely aware of how it is they choose the correct answer. They seem to be operating on the basis of very slight, almost

intuitive cues and feelings. However, be careful. Guesses based on first impressions may often be incorrect.

[Computer Protocol Removes DEMO SLIDE #1]

As I mentioned, we are interested in how individuals and groups use their Contrast Sensitivity to solve problems. Exchanging information with others can often lead to more correct decisions than a single individual could make alone. We have observed that in many situations, such as when a doctor diagnoses an illness, individuals are called upon to make decisions that must be correct. In these situations, where the person is concerned only with the correctness of the decision, that person will often gather all of the advice and information from others that he or she can get.

In this phase we are interested in studying these kinds of situations. Therefore, we are going to allow you to make an initial choice between top and bottom, and to exchange information with each other. Then, after a short period, you will be asked to make a final decision between top and bottom. Since we are only interested in your making the correct final decision, you should not hesitate to change your initial choice to make a correct final decision.

This is how it will work. First, I will present a slide on the screen. After you have studied the slide for 8 seconds, I will ask each of you to make an initial choice as to which pattern contains the greater area of white, top or bottom. That is to say, each of you will first make a preliminary choice between top and bottom. This is for the purpose of letting the other person know what you think is the correct choice. You will indicate this choice by using the mouse to position the cursor over the pattern you think contains a greater area of white, and clicking the left mouse button. When you make your initial choice, a green arrow will appear on the screen, pointing to the answer you chose.

When you make your initial choice, this choice will be communicated to your partner, and you will be able to see your partner's initial choice on your computer monitor. That is, a blue arrow will appear pointing to your partner's initial choice. However, you will not receive information on the other person's initial choice until after you have made your own initial choice.

[PAUSE]

Now please look at your computer monitors and let's try this out.

[DR GORDON: Turn to your laptop and make a motion as if to cue the CST DEMO slide.]

[Computer Protocol Presents DEMO SLIDE #2]

Person number two, will you select the top pattern by using the mouse to position the cursor over that answer and clicking the left mouse button?

[ALLOW TIME TO MAKE THE SELECTION]

Person number one, you will not see number two's choice until after you have made your own initial choice. Person number two, since you have already made your choice, you will see number one's choice as soon as it is made. So regardless of who makes an initial choice first, you can only find out the other person's choice after you have made your own initial choice.

Person number one, will you select the bottom pattern; that is, use the mouse to click on the bottom pattern.

[ALLOW TIME TO DO SO.]

Now you can see on your computer monitors, number one chose bottom and number two chose top. Do you see that, number one? Number two?

[WAIT WHILE SHE NODS.]

After both of you have made your initial choices and exchanged information, we will give you 8 seconds more before we ask you to make your final decision as to which pattern contains the greater area of white. At the end of that time, we will call for your final decision for the slide. When you make your final decision, a green border will appear around the answer you chose for your final decision. You will not see your partner's final decision on any of these slides.

Please note that if you do not make your final decision within a few seconds after we have called for you to do so, the computer will not record your choice for that slide. That means your final decision for that slide will not contribute to the team score. If you answer too late, you will see a message in red

telling you that your decision was not recorded. Please be sure to make your final decision promptly after we ask you to.

Just for practice, I now want both of you to make a final decision by clicking on either the top pattern or the bottom pattern.

[ALLOW TIME FOR THEM TO DO SO.]

After both of you have made your final decisions, we will present the next slide. The procedure for all of them will be as we have just demonstrated.

[Computer Protocol Removes DEMO SLIDE #2]

This is important: The only answer that counts on your team's Contrast Sensitivity Score is your final decision. Initial choices are only for the purpose of exchanging opinions on the correct answer before you make your final decision. Try to make as many correct final decisions as you can, and do not worry whether your initial choice and final decisions are the same. Let me caution you, however, to make your initial choice with care, so as to provide your partner with the best information you can.

Before we begin, I would like you two to introduce yourselves to each other. Let's begin with Participant number two. Participant number two, please look into the Web camera at the top of the computer, so that your partner can see you and hear your answers.

[ALLOW TIME FOR REPLY AFTER EACH QUESTION]

[SHOW OTHER TO PARTICIPANT]

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name?

Person #2: "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Joe Taylor/Mary Taylor."

Dr. Gordon: What school are you attending?

Person #2: "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa."

Dr. Gordon: What are your hobbies?

Person #2: "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends**"**

Dr. Gordon: What extracurricular activities are you involved in?

Person #2: "I volunteer for dance marathon, we do fundraising and community events"

or "I volunteer for the gay straight alliance on campus, we do fundraising and

Dr. Gordon: What do you like to do at night or on the weekend?

Person #2: "I usually just hang out at home with my girlfriend/boyfriend."

[SHOW SELF TO PARTICIPANT]

Now, Participant number one. Please look into the Web camera at the top of the computer, so that your partner can see you and hear your answers.

Dr. Gordon: Participant number 1, what is your name?

Participant: [SUBJECT RESPONSE INTO CAMERA.]

Dr. Gordon: What school are you attending?

Participant: [SUBJECT RESPONSE INTO CAMERA.]

Dr. Gordon: What are your hobbies?

Participant: [SUBJECT RESPONSE INTO CAMERA.]

Dr. Gordon: What extracurricular activities are you involved in?

Participant: [SUBJECT RESPONSE INTO CAMERA.]

Dr. Gordon: What do you like to do at night or on the weekend?

Participant: [SUBJECT RESPONSE INTO CAMERA.]

Thank you.

Now we are ready to begin the team work on Contrast Sensitivity. Let me summarize several important points before we begin:

- You two are about to work on a set of 23 Team Contrast Sensitivity problems.
- Before you make your final decision, you will be able to see your partner's initial choice for that slide. You will not see your partner's final decision. At the end of this phase, we will report your team score to both of you.
- Each time a person makes the correct final decision, the team will receive one point. If an individual makes the incorrect final decision, then that final decision adds nothing to the team

score for that trial. This means that both of you will have an equal opportunity to contribute to the team score, and both of you have equal responsibility for that score.

Is everything clear?

[DR GORDON: Turn to your laptop and make a motion as if to cue the first CST TEAM TASK slide.]

[SHOW THE 23 SLIDES]

This completes the series of slides. Now we would like you to fill out a questionnaire. In a minute, questions will appear on the computer monitor regarding your perceptions and experiences about the team Contrast Sensitivity task. When a question appears, read it carefully. There is no time limit for these questions. Please take your time and think about your answers before making your choices.

Your answers are completely confidential – your partner will not see your responses. The only persons who will see your responses are members of the research team, and even they will not know who made these responses, as your name will not be associated with them.

[DR GORDON: Turn to your laptop and make a motion as if to cue the questionnaire.]

[Computer Protocol Presents QUESTIONNAIRE] Thank you for completing the questionnaire. We would now like to discuss your scores from the Team Contrast Sensitivity task with you, and to talk with each of you individually to get a further elaboration of your feelings and opinions about the study. In a minute your research assistant will come into the room and speak with each of you. Please slip the red "Attention Research Assistant" card under your study room's door.**[STOP Computer Protocol]**

END [Start Post-Session Questionnaire and Then Debriefing

APPENDIX F: CONFEDERATE SCRIPTS

Scripts for Confederates:

Plain Jane heterosexual

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name?

Person #2: "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Mary Taylor."

Dr. Gordon: What school are you attending?

Person #2: "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa."

Dr. Gordon: What are your hobbies?

Person #2: "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends."

Dr. Gordon: What extracurricular activities are you involved in?

Person #2: "I volunteer for dance marathon, we do fundraising and community events"

Dr. Gordon: What do you like to do at night or on the weekend?

Person #2: "I usually just hang out at home with my boyfriend."

Plain Jane lesbian, femme lesbian, masculine lesbian

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name?

Person #2: "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Mary Taylor."

Dr. Gordon: What school are you attending?

Person #2: "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa."

Dr. Gordon: What are your hobbies?

Person #2: "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends."

Dr. Gordon: What extracurricular activities are you involved in?

Person #2: "I volunteer for the gay straight alliance on campus, we do fundraising and community events."

Dr. Gordon: What do you like to do at night or on the weekend?

Person #2: "I usually just hang out at home with my girlfriend."

Plain Joe heterosexual

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name?

Person #2: "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Joe Taylor."

Dr. Gordon: What school are you attending?

Person #2: "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa."

Dr. Gordon: What are your hobbies?

Person #2: "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends."

Dr. Gordon: What extracurricular activities are you involved in?

Person #2: "I volunteer for dance marathon, we do fundraising and community events"

Dr. Gordon: What do you like to do at night or on the weekend?

Person #2: "I usually just hang out at home with my girlfriend."

Plain Gay Joe, Feminine Gay Man, Masculine Gay Man

Dr. Gordon: Participant number two, what is your name?

Person #2: "Oh … here's the camera … um, I'm Joe Taylor."

Dr. Gordon: What school are you attending?

Person #2: "Um … I'm a student here at Iowa."

Dr. Gordon: What are your hobbies?

Person #2: "I like working out, reading, and hanging out with my friends."

Dr. Gordon: What extracurricular activities are you involved in?

Person #2: "I volunteer for the gay straight alliance on campus, we do fundraising and community events."

Dr. Gordon: What do you like to do at night or on the weekend?

Person #2: "I usually just hang out at home with my boyfriend."

APPENDIX G: POST SESSION SURVEY

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POST-SESSION SURVEY

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TWO-PERSON GROUPS: COMPUTERS AND SMALL GROUP INTERACTION

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF GROUP PROCESSES

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PART 1. This section of post-session questionnaire will review your personal impressions. Your first impressions are important to us. Please remember that your responses will be STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL. Your partner WILL NOT be told your answers. Please answer the questions according to how you feel at the moment.

Please select and circle the most appropriate number on the following rating scales.

For example,

How active was my interest during the experiment?

Active 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Inactive

1 means you think your interest was very active. 2 means you think your interest was moderately active. 7 means you think your interest was not active at all.

(1) Please check one of the following:

My partner's sexual orientation is:

___ Heterosexual ___ Homosexual

___ Other (Please specify, _____)

My sexual orientation is:

___ Heterosexual ___ Homosexual

___ Other (Please specify, _____)

(2) When making the decision for the **initial** set of patterns for the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test, I felt:

Assertive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unassertive
Burdened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Burdened by The Decision at all
Anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Anxious at all
Worried	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Worried at all
Aggressive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unaggressive

Resentful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Resentful at all
Sure of self	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unsure of self
Highly Responsible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Responsible at all
Concerned	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Concerned at all
Confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unconfident
Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Angry at all
Certain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Certain of my Response at all

(3) When making the decision for the **final** set of patterns for the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test, I felt:

Assertive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unassertive
Burdened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Burdened by The Decision at all
Anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Anxious at all
Worried	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Worried at all

Aggressive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unaggressive
Resentful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Resentful at all
Sure of self	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unsure of self
Highly Responsible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Responsible at all
Concerned	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Concerned at all
Confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unconfident
Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Angry at all
Certain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Certain of my Response at all

(4) I would evaluate my performance on the Contrast Sensitivity Task as:

Competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Incompetent
Helpful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Helpful at all
Sure of Self	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unsure of Self
Influential	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Influential at all
Lacking Skill	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Skillful

Unconfident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Confident

(5) I would evaluate my partner's performance on the Contrast Sensitivity Task as:

Competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Incompetent
Helpful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Helpful at all
Sure of Self	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unsure of Self
Influential	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Influential at all
Lacking Skill	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Skillful
Unconfident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Confident

(6) In reference to feelings about my partner, I feel my partner was:

Pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unpleasant
Dominant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Submissive
Likable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unlikable
Advantaged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Disadvantaged
Persuasive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unpersuasive
Modest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Egotistical
Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unfair
Reasonable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unreasonable

Unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Intelligent
Tried to Please	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Did not try to Please at all
Intimidating	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Fearful
Unconvincing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Convincing
Unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Reliable
Trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Untrustworthy
A good leader	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not a good leader
Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Independent

(7) Overall, working with my partner made me feel:

Very Comfortable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Uncomfortable
Important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unimportant

(8) In reference to my partner's beliefs, I feel she believes in the following:

To what extent does your partner believe in hard work?

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very strongly

To what extent does your partner believe in delayed gratification?

Very strongly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not at all

(9) If I had to make an educated guess about my partner's life circumstances, I would answer the following questions as follows:

How likely is it that others would want to work on a work project with your partner?

Not at all likely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very likely

How warm and likable is your partner?

Not warm and likable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Warm and Likable

How likely would you be to hang out with your partner as a friend?

Not at all likely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very likely

(10) Overall, who do you think has the most Contrast Sensitivity?

___ I think I have more Contrast Sensitivity than my partner.

___ I think my partner has more Contrast Sensitivity than I.

___ I think my partner and I have the same Contrast Sensitivity ability.

(11) How satisfied are you with how well you did on the Contrast Sensitivity panels?

- Extremely Satisfied
- Definitely Satisfied
- Somewhat Satisfied
- So-so
- Somewhat Dissatisfied
- Definitely Dissatisfied
- Extremely Dissatisfied

(12) How important to you were the following things in making your final choices on the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test Panels (be as accurate as you can):

Getting the correct answer:

- Extremely Important
- Definitely Important
- Somewhat Important
- Slightly Important
- Not at all Important

Sticking with your own decision when your partner disagreed with you:

- Extremely Important
- Definitely Important
- Somewhat Important
- Slightly Important
- Not at all Important

Changing your decision just to agree with your partner when your initial choices were different:

- Extremely Important
- Definitely Important
- Somewhat Important
- Slightly Important
- Not at all Important

(13) Even when I disagreed with my partner's initial choice, I always took my partner's initial choices into consideration when making my final choice.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- I'm not sure
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

(14) Even if I had trouble deciphering the right and wrong answer, there was a right answer and a wrong answer for each of the set of patterns we observed.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- I'm not sure
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

(15) If I had more practice rounds judging sets of patterns, I would have gotten better at deciphering the right and wrong answers for each set of patterns.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- I'm not sure
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

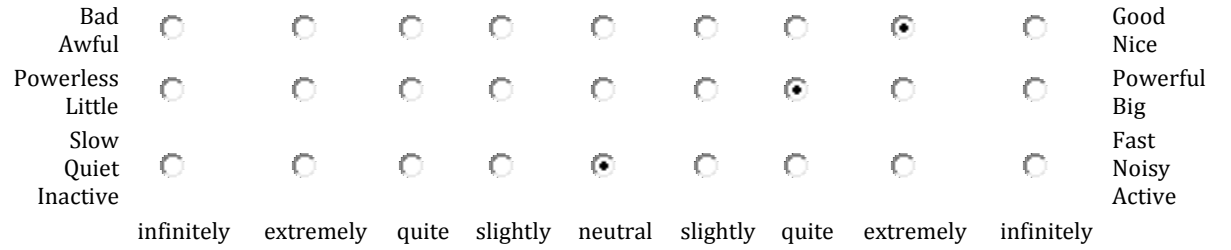
APPENDIX H: EPA PROFILE TEST

EPA Profile Test:

In this section of the survey, you are asked to report your understanding of different types of cultural identities, groups, and events.

Each row of circles is like a ruler for measuring how you feel. Select a circle that indicates how close something is to the description at one end of the ruler or the other. If something is not close to either description, select the middle circle. For example, if you were rating "a grandfather," you might rate it like this:

a grandfather is



In this example, a grandfather is rated as extremely good and nice, quite powerful and big, and neutral in activity.

Take note of two features of this survey. First, the direction of each scale changes from item to item. For example, sometimes "good, nice" is on the right, and sometimes it is on the left. Second, the order of the scales changes from item to item. For example, sometimes the scale that ranges from "bad, awful" to "good, nice" is first, sometimes it is second, and sometimes it is third. Given the changing direction and order of the scales, it is important that you carefully read each scale on the survey. In the example below, we show you the same identity rated with a set of scales that are arranged differently.

a grandfather is

[Note: this will show the scale above with the following order and direction: Powerful, big—Powerless, little; Slow, quiet, inactive—Fast, noisy, active; Bad, awful—Good, nice]

In this example, a grandfather is rated just as it was in the first example—as quite powerful and big, neutral in activity, and extremely good and nice.

Using the following scale, subjects will rate the concepts listed below:

1.) a friend is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

2.) a criminal is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

3.) a homosexual person is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

4.) an outcast is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

5.) a juvenile delinquent is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

6.) a hero is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

7.) a gay man is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

8.) a vegetarian is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

9.) a vegan is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

10.) a medical doctor is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

11.) a nurse is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

12.) a drinker is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

13.) a professor is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

14.) a college student is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

15.) a jock is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

16.) a geek is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

17.) a smoker is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

18.) a drug user is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

19.) a police officer is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

20.) a bachelor's degree is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

21.) a politician is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

22.) an unemployed person is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

23.) a deviant is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

24.) a woman is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

25.) a man is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

26.) a lesbian woman is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

27.) a high school dropout is:

Bad Awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good Nice
Powerless Little	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerful Big
Slow Quiet Inactive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast Noisy Active
	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	

APPENDIX I: SOCIAL DISTANCE QUESTIONNAIRE

The UI Department of Sociology encourages its researchers to give study participants who work on teams the opportunity to meet one another after the study is over. Therefore, if you have time, we want to give you the opportunity to meet your partner. The meeting will take about 5 minutes beyond the scheduled time for the experiment.

Would you like to:

1.) stay after for 5 minutes to meet your partner?

Yes, I have time to meet my partner after the experiment _____

No, I do not have time meet my partner after the experiment _____

If you both have time for the meeting, after the study, the research assistant will introduce you to each other and let you talk for 5 minutes.

2.) Would you like to give your partner your name and email address? If so, please provide that information below and we will give it to your partner after the study is over.

My name is: _____

My email address is: _____

3.) In addition to giving you the opportunity to meet your partner after the study, we also want to give you the opportunity to set up a future meeting with your partner. Indicate below if you would like us to tell your partner that you would like to get to know him or her socially outside of this study."

Yes_____

No_____

APPENDIX J: POST SESSION INTERVIEW

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POST-SESSION INTERVIEW

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TWO-PERSON GROUPS: COMPUTERS AND SMALL GROUP INTERACTION

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF GROUP PROCESSES

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

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(1) Well, _____ what did you think of the study?

(A) Have you ever done anything like this before?

(B) Have any of your friends participated in these studies?

(a) Did they tell you anything about it?

(b) What did they tell you about it?

(C) Before you came here, did you wonder what the study would be like?

(a) Did you come to any conclusions about the study before you came here?

(b) Did you think it might be like anything you had done before?

(2) Do you have any idea who your partner was today?

(IF YES)

(A) How certain are you that it was someone that you knew?

(B) Why? What made you think that it might be she?

(C) Does she usually do well at tests (in coursework), or not?

(D) Did you think that her ability at other tests might affect how well she would do here?

(E) Did knowing who it was make any difference in how you answered the Contrast Sensitivity panels?

(3) We told you the study today was designed to look at how groups work together to complete tasks. Did you think that there might be any other purpose of the study?

(IF YES)

(A) What other things did you think we might be looking at?

(4) One thing that we find in studies like this is that people often develop impressions of their partners, even when they don't meet face-to-face. What were your impressions of your partner? (Did he or she seem competent? Friendly? Motivated?) (Important: Ask the participant whether (s)he believed the partner was homosexual or heterosexual and note the answer in the lab book.

(5) How satisfied were you with your performance on the Team Contrast Sensitivity Test?

(A) How satisfied were you with your partner's performance on the team test?

(B) Overall, how satisfied were you with you and your partners' performance as a team on the two pattern test?

(C) How did you make use of the feedback you got from your partner?

[if dissatisfied with partner's performance]

(D) Why were you dissatisfied with your/your partners/your team's performance?

[if non-collective orientation is detected, try to determine consistency/severity.]

(E) Did you develop a pattern or strategy other than carefully examining the slides to answer your initial or final questions?

(F) For what portion of the test did you use this strategy?

(a) How did this help you make your decision on the slides?

(6) Now, let's turn to the set of Contrast Sensitivity panels.

(A) Can you tell me, in as much detail as you remember, how you got your initial choices to those panels?

(B) Did you change the method you used during the series of panels?

(C) Did the panels seem to get easier or harder as you went through the series?

(7) Can you tell me, in as much detail as you can remember, how you got your final choices to the panels?

(A) After you made your initial choice, then what did you do?

(a) Did you look at your partner's choice?

(b) Did you restudy the slide?

(c) Did you try to see how she got her answer?

(d) Did you find that it helped you to see your partner's choice?

(e) Do you think you would have done better at the panels if you had worked at them alone? Why?

(B) Was there ever a time when you made an initial choice ... and she disagreed with it ... and you thought that she was probably right ... but you kept the same final choice as your initial choice?

(a) How many times did you do that?

(b) Why did you do that?

(8) I noticed that the two of you seemed to disagree quite a bit in your initial choices ... do you have any idea why that happened?

(A) How many times did you disagree on the 20 slides?

(B) What did you do when you found your partner disagreeing with you so much?

(C) Did you come to think that one or the other of you was more likely to be right?

(D) Which one? Why? When did you begin to feel that way?

(E) Was that something that you thought of while you were actually working on the slides, or something you thought of after you finished?

(F) Can you remember as precisely as possible, just when you thought of this?

(G) Did you come to any conclusions about it?

(H) Do you think that affected the way you got your final decisions to the slides? How? Why?

(9) How many correct final decisions would you estimate you made?

(A) Suppose you had to pick a number: what would it be?

(B) And suppose you had to estimate how many correct final choices the other person made? What would it be?

(C) So you think you probably did a bit (better/worse) than the other person?

APPENDIX K: POST SESSION DEBRIEFING

Once again I'd like to thank you for participating in this study.

Well _____, I've been asking you a lot of questions. Do you have any that you would like to ask me at this point?

[PAUSE. TO GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE EXPERIMENT, REPLY THAT YOU THINK IT WILL BE COVERED IN WHAT FOLLOWS, BUT IF IT ISN'T, SHE SHOULD FEEL FREE TO ASK IT AGAIN.]

I'd like to explain our study more fully to you. As I go along, if there's anything that I don't make clear, I want you to interrupt and ask me about it. If you have any questions in the end, I want you to ask them, because I want you to be in full understanding of our study. First, our study is about how people get together to solve disagreements. We're interested in finding out, when people disagree, who's likely to be right, who's likely to be listened to, whether the right person is likely to be listened to, what factors affect that, and how they affect it. We are also interested in differences in interaction by sexual orientation.

Second, why is it that we use a laboratory to do this research? The reason we need to study this type of problem in a sociological laboratory is because it is practically impossible to study a single social science problem in a natural setting due to the complexity of human interaction. In a natural setting, it is very difficult to isolate the phenomenon of interest. For example, it would be difficult to study the resolution of disagreements on a street corner. We might have to wait for hours to find two people in disagreement. And, it might be very hard for us to determine exactly

how the disagreement was resolved and what factors influenced the way in which the final decision was made. Furthermore, each situation we observed might be completely different.

To solve these problems, we conduct our studies in a laboratory, where every group works under the same set of conditions. We can draw valid conclusions about our studies only if the groups we are studying are comparable. Using the laboratory helps us to make our groups comparable by putting each participant in a similar situation.

Third, since the resolution of disagreements is our primary focus, the measuring of Contrast Sensitivity is not very important to our study. In fact, there's no such thing as Contrast Sensitivity!! The panels of the test are there for a reason -- to provide people something to make judgments and resolve disagreements about. There is no right or wrong answer to any of these panels. All the patterns in every panel you viewed were exactly half white and half black. Since deciding which of the colors was dominant in each slide was impossible, we set up a situation where the outcome of the test was not important, but how you resolved the answers with you partner was. In other words, what we are interested in is solely the resolution of the disagreement, not the answer to the question "is this panel more black or more white?"

We use this test, for two reasons: (a) it's something that you've probably never seen before and (b) we set up a task that has nothing to do with your prior expectations of your ability. If we set up a test with math problems, for example, you would probably judge how you would fare on this test based on your past experiences with mathematics. However, if you have never heard of

Contrast Sensitivity, you have never had to assess your ability at such a task, and come at it with fresh expectations.

Fourth, your partner in the Team Contrast Sensitivity Tests was actually a computer generated person!! In other words, you were making decisions based on the random outputs of a computer program that told you that you were interfacing with a person. It is obvious that if we told you this before the experiment, you would have answered the questions in a different manner -- perhaps like you were playing a video game and not interacting with a person!!

Finally, One thing we are interested in determining in this study is whether the characteristics of someone's partner influence whether the person is likely to want to meet with the person at a later date. That was why we had you sign up for two phases of the study. Next week's phase actually does not take place, and as soon as we are done here, you are finished with this study.

What is important for you to know about these deceptions is that anyone exposed to them would respond the same way -- including me! You are not gullible for thinking a partner existed in the study, for example. This study was designed to manipulate your perceptions in order to study group tasks -- please do not feel badly for participating as effectively as you have!

I think that you can see the reason we wouldn't tell you all of these things before you judged the panels. Obviously, if you had known that there were no correct answers to the panels you may not have paid much attention to these tests or tried to get the right answers. Then the disagreements would not have meant anything to you, and you wouldn't have bothered with

resolving them. But as I've said before, that is what the whole study is about -- how people get together and resolve their disagreements based on the information given to them -- so it is important for the study that the people involved will take the task seriously, and really try to resolve the disagreements presented, just as you did today.

You have helped us a great deal in participating with this study, so we wanted to clear up any misconceptions about the study as soon as possible.

Now that you have seen the nature of the study, you can see how really important it is that people coming into the study NOT know anything about it. If the next subject knew about the ambiguity of the Contrast Sensitivity Test, they may not be that interested in trying as much as you did. This is why it is important that you keep the procedures and outcomes as CONFIDENTIAL as we plan to keep your results!! There is no big secret about the study -- as you know, when it is completed we fully reveal what it is that we do -- it's just that if others were told about the study, then our data would be spoiled and so would the other person's experience. Therefore, we would be very grateful if you did not share the nature and details of this study with others.

Good! Thank you so much for helping us out! I want to once again emphasize the importance of not telling anyone about the experiment -- you never know who may be the next subject, so your confidentiality is very much appreciated.

Now, I'd like to ask you once more if you have any questions about this study.

[ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS HERE.]

I'd also like to offer you this last chance to withdraw your participation in the study if you feel in anyway uncomfortable in how it was conducted. You will be paid either way.

[Give post-session release form, money, receipts, etc.] Here is the form that I will need you to fill out for compensation. Please fill this out – it will be given to the administrative assistant in the Sociology Department office. As soon as your check is mailed, it will be destroyed, so we have no permanent record of this information.

APPENDIX L: EXAMPLE LOG SESSION

Log Book

Experiment Session
Experimenter Name
Start Time of Session
Attractiveness of Subject (Scale 1-7)
Gender display of the subject (Scale 1-7 1=masuline/butch 7=Feminine.)
Session overview:

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