EFFECT OF EXPOSURE TO IMAGES ON WOMEN'S INTEREST IN

LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

An Undergraduate Research Scholars Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

Effect of Exposure to Images on Women's Interest in Leadership Positions. (May 2015)

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Though women make up 50% of the United States population, they hold very few of the top leadership positions in the world. Media images portraying women in submissive in subservient roles may reduce women's interest in pursuing leadership positions perceived as dominant. In order to investigate this claim, women's desire to pursue leadership positions was evaluated after exposure to dominant or submissive images of women. Female undergraduates ($N = 53$) viewed media images portraying women in submissive or dominant poses. They then imagined themselves in several leadership positions, described their roles, and rated their desire to pursue those leadership positions. Participants' self-esteem and levels of communion and agency were also measured. It was predicted that those viewing the dominant poses would report higher levels of desire to pursue leadership positions than those who viewed the submissive poses. The results revealed that women with lower self-esteem perceived more self-threats in a leadership role when exposed to the dominant images, and this pattern was reversed for women with higher self-esteem. Women with lower agency perceived a leadership role to have greater positivity when exposed to dominant images, and this pattern was reversed for women with higher agency. Future research must be conducted to gain a greater understanding of how individual differences moderate the relationship between media images and desire to pursue leadership positions.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

While women make up more than 50% of the population, they hold very few of the top

leadership positions in the world. Though women make up more than 47% of the workforce, a

gender gap remains in not only the positions women are able to attain, but also the amount of pay

women receive compared to men (Catalyst, 2013). As a result, men hold the majority of the

power and are responsible for representing women and their interests. This includes the messages

women receive about what they should look like, how they should behave, and what they can

achieve. Many media images portray women in submissive or subservient roles, potentially

reducing women's interest in pursuing leadership positions that might be perceived as dominant.

To begin to address this possibility, I will investigate how media portrayals of women in

submissive and dominant positions affect women's desire to pursue leadership positions.

Media Exposure

Mass media often portrays stereotypical images of men and women, and exposure to these

images can change how people perceive themselves. Women are generally perceived as

communal creatures. They are thought of as affectionate, helpful, kind, and sensitive, while men

are thought to be more agentic, ambitious, aggressive, and dominant (Eagly, 1987).

Unfortunately, due to a perceived mismatch of agentic traits stereotypical of leaders and

communal traits stereotypical of women, there is a prejudice against female leaders (Simon &

Hoyt, 2013). This stereotype can have detrimental effects on women's well-being, self-

perceptions and behavior when placed in leadership situations (Hoyt & Blascovich, 2007; Hoyt, Johnson, Murphy, & Skinnell, 2010; Hoyt & Simon, 2011).

To investigate this stereotype that femininity and leadership do not "go together," Lips (2000) asked men and women to imagine themselves in three different positions: a CEO of a company, a political leader, and a director of a scientific research center. Students then rated how likely they were to hold these positions, how positive these self-images were, and if they foresaw any problems with holding these positions. Lips found that women were less optimistic than men about holding powerful leadership positions and more likely to rate the leadership roles as less possible and positive. Women were also more likely than men to anticipate relationship problems associated with the role. This provides evidence that this stereotype negatively affects women's self-perceptions of their abilities in leadership roles.

From young ages, women are bombarded with ideas about what women should look like and how they should behave. These ideas are spread in several different ways; one of the most common in our society is through media images. Girls, ages 11 to 14, view over 500 advertisements a day on average (Representation Project, 2013). Over the course of a year, Americans will view approximately 37,000 television commercials—not including print advertisements, billboards and internet advertisements (Stankiewiez & Roselli, 2008). In today's culture, the mass media is extremely pervasive. Magazine images, movies, and television commercials have the power to affect how we think, and as a result, how we behave.

To investigate the effect media portrayals have on men and women's career goals, Davies, Spencer, Quinn and Gerhardstein (2002) exposed male and female participants to gender–stereotypic or counter-stereotypic television commercials to make these stereotypes salient. For example, one of the commercials they used portrayed a woman drooling over a new brownie mix, while a counter-stereotypic commercial illustrated a woman speaking intelligently about her health concerns. Interestingly, women who were exposed to these stereotypical commercials indicated less interest in education fields in which they might be negatively stereotyped and instead indicated more interest in fields that are not associated with a stereotype about sex-based ability.

Stereotype Threat

A serious consequence of the use of stereotypes is stereotype threat, which is defined as worry that one's actions may be seen as reflecting a negative stereotype about one's group (Shapiro & Williams, 2012). Shapiro and Neuberg (2007) discuss a Multi-Threat Framework which identifies six unique stereotype threats that differ based on the juncture of the target and the source of the stereotype. For the present investigation, I focused on one target (self) and three sources (self, in-group, and out-group). When both the target and the source are the self, this is referred to as Self-Concept Threat. Self-Concept Threat arises when there is fear that an individual's behavior will confirm, in his or her own mind, the negative stereotypes of his or her group are also true of that individual. When the self is the target and the in-group is the source, this is referred to as In-group Own Reputation Threat. This arises when there is fear that an individual's behavior will confirm, in the minds of the in-group members, that the negative stereotypes held of his or her group are true of that individual, and thus, the in-group will judge

that individual. Finally, when the self is the target and the out-group is the source, this is referred to as Out-group Own Reputation Threat. This arises when there is fear that an individual's behavior will confirm, in the minds of the out-group members, that the negative stereotypes held of his or her group are true of that individual, and thus, the out-group will judge that individual. These distinctions are important because they have unique causes and thus, different methods are required to overcome them (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007).

Stereotype threat is an extremely dangerous phenomenon. When a stereotype about one's group is made salient, it can inhibit performance for fear of confirming the negative stereotype about that group. For example, if a woman is aware of a mismatch between feminine characteristic and leadership qualities, she may become concerned about confirming that idea and in turn, underperform. As the Multi-threat Framework suggested, both the target and the source of the threat matter. For example, Gunderson et al. (2011) found that teachers' and parents' beliefs about gender and math can actually transfer to girls and influence the development of their interests. This shows that the individual's behavior can be influenced by the beliefs of his or her outgroup.

Another possible consequence of stereotyping is the "backlash effect," which is described as a condition in which a successful other provokes social upward comparison causing women to doubt their perceived confidence rather than inspire them to achieve (Rudman, 1998, as cited in Rudman & Phelan, 2010) For example, if women witness other successful women achieving, rather than being empowered to achieve themselves, they may doubt their own abilities. To investigate this phenomenon, Rudman and Phelan (2010) attempted to activate stereotyping by

exposing women to roles considered to be "traditional" or "non-traditional." Shockingly, the researchers found that women's desires to pursue leadership positions decreased in both instances, thus producing the backlash effect. Unfortunately, both the stereotype threat and backlash effect can have serious detrimental effects on women's interest in pursuing leadership roles especially in traditionally male-dominated fields.

Through the mass media's use of objectification and stereotyping, women often feel as if they are inferior to men and thus do not belong. This is especially true for specific domains. Research conducted by Cheryan, Plaut, Handron and Hudson (2013) assessed current stereotypes of computer sciences and found that computer scientists were thought to be "technology-oriented, singularly focused on computers, lacking interpersonal skills, intelligent, masculine, and more likely to be an unattractive, underweight, glasses-wearing male." They asked female and male college students to describe computer scientists, and all named at least one of these stereotypes. In their second study, participants were presented with print media representations manipulating stereotypes of computer scientists. Women, but not men, who read the article claiming computer science majors no longer fit the stereotypes, were more interested in majoring in computer science than when they read an article claiming that the field of computer scientist was full of people who met this stereotype or those who read no article at all (Cheryan et al., 2013). This study is particularly important because it addresses the idea that women often do not feel that they belong in male dominated fields, and thus, they do not express interest in these fields because they do not feel that there is a place for them. Due to the preexisting notion that scientific fields are male-dominated, the consequences of stereotype threat and the backlash effect might be particularly pronounced in leadership positions involving a scientific domain.

Submission versus Dominance

Conley and Ramsey (2011) looked at how women are portrayed as inferior or subordinate to men and how these different media portrayals can impact women. In Jean Kilbourne's *Killing Us Softly* film series, she makes several assertions about how women are portrayed in print advertisements. She asserts that women are portrayed more passively than men and in subordinate roles. To test these assertions, Conley and Ramsey (2011) performed a content analysis of 790 full-page advertisements, 450 from women's magazines, 204 from women's home magazines and 136 from men's magazines. This revealed that women are, in fact, portrayed as more passive, less active and more submissive than are men. They also found that content of the advertisements varied by the type of magazine analyzed. For example, men's magazines illustrated women as more passive and included images silencing women, as well as images trivializing violence towards women. Women's magazines were more likely to feature ads portraying women as active and flawless, and women's home magazines typically portrayed women more positively but in more traditional work roles. Thus, despite the type of magazine, women are largely portrayed one-dimensionally in the media.

Past research has investigated how submissive and dominant body stances are linked to power. Carney, Cuddy, and Yap (2010) argue that power can be embodied. By engaging in power-posing, in which men or women take on dominant stances, men and women exhibit elevated testosterone levels, reduction in cortisol, increases in risk tolerance and feelings of power. I believe that the exposure to, over a lifetime, thousands of media images depicting women in submissive and men in dominant poses can result in people internalizing and expressing these stereotyped power positions.

The Present Investigation

In the current study, participants were asked to imagine themselves in three leadership positions: chief executive officer, president of a non-profit organization, and director of an important scientific research center. The three roles were included to try to account for individual differences in preference. They were asked to describe the possibility, positivity, and desirability of each of these roles. They were also asked to identify which of these roles they found the hardest to imagine.

Past research has investigated how the media portrays women in stereotypical fashions and how these stereotypical portrayals impact women's desires to pursue leadership positions. The present investigation specifically investigates the effects of exposure to media portrayals of dominance in print advertising on women's interest in leadership positions. Women were exposed to either a set of images of women in submissive or dominant poses. Submissive poses were defined as those conveying a "meekly obedient or passive" stance (Submissive) while dominant poses were defined as those conveying a "occupying or being in a commanding or elevated position" (Dominant). Participants then rated their desire to pursue various leadership positions and described their reactions to those positions. To account for potential individual differences, participants also completed measures of self-esteem and agency versus communion. I hypothesized that participants who viewed women in dominant poses would indicate higher desire to pursue leadership positions and describe the leadership roles more positively than those who viewed the submissive poses.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

Participants and Design

Participants ($N = 53$) were female undergraduate students from Texas A&M University who participated for credit in an introductory psychology class.

Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 x 3 mixed-model design. The between-subjects variable measured was image type (submissive or dominant); the within-subjects variable was domain type (chief executive officer, president of a non-profit organization, or director of an important scientific research center). 52.8% of participants were assigned to the submissive condition ($N = 28$), and the remaining were assigned to the dominant condition ($N = 25$). The primary dependent variables were perceived possibility, positivity, and desirability of leadership roles.

Procedure and Measures

Participants were run in groups of five and seated at the computer.

Media images manipulation

Participants were randomly assigned to view either a set of ten dominant or ten submissive images. These images were compiled from lookbooks of one fashion line (Kooples), and were determined to be either dominant or submissive based on the stance, head position, eye contact, and shoulder position of the model. Each image featured one female model. In the dominant

condition, the images featured a model with her feet shoulder-width apart, facing forward, with her head and eyes forward, and her shoulders and back erect. In the submissive condition, the images featured a model with her feet bowed in, her face titled downwards, not making eye contact, and her shoulders are hunched (Aguinis & Henley, 2001). Each image was shown for 10 seconds, and each set of images was shown 3 times.

Leadership questionnaire

Each participant then completed a leadership questionnaire adapted from Lips (2000). It first defined power, "the capacity to have an influence, or an impact, on other people" and requested that the participant imagine herself in a position of power. The participant was then asked to imagine what she would be like if she were that person. "What would you be like? What would you do? How would you look? How would you feel? How would you act?" Participants were asked to imagine themselves in three powerful roles (chief executive officer, president of a non-profit organization, and director of an important scientific research center) and to write about what they would be like in such a position for 2 minutes each. They were also asked to rate the possibility that they would become that person and the desirability of that position on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (not at all desirable) to 5 (very desirable). Participants were asked to state what they would like and what they would dislike about the position. Finally, they were asked which of the three positions they had found the most difficult to imagine and why. The order of presentation of the three roles was counterbalanced.

Individual differences measures

Participants completed the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), comprised of 10 items, rated on a scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 4 (strongly disagree). Higher scores indicate higher levels of self-esteem. An example of an included item is, "I take a positive attitude toward myself."

The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) was also used. This questionnaire is composed of 24 semantic differential items rated on 5-pont scales ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very). This questionnaire measures individual differences in motivations towards agency and communion. Participants were given five minutes to complete these tasks.

Coding

Based on the Multi-threat Framework that differentiates sources and targets of potential stereotype threats, I coded for one target (self) and three sources (self, in-group, and out-group). To determine whether concerns about stereotypes affected young women's interest in leadership positions, I used a 0 to 5 scale to code for the presence of perceived threats to the self (e.g., pressure to succeed), in-group (e.g. "can help women advance in male-dominated world") and out-group (e.g. "others might be afraid of me or dislike me") (Shapiro, 2011). A zero indicates the absence of a threat, a 1 indicates a very low intensity level of the perceived threat and a 5 indicates a very high intensity level of the perceived threat. I also rated the respondents' descriptions of the three leadership roles according to perceived positivity on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 very low and 5 very high. I also coded for the presence of 5 variables in each description of the three leadership roles: feminine dress, increasing niceness, responsibility, mention of

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family and threat of exposure. A zero indicates the absence and a 1 indicates the presence of each variable.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Effects of Exposure to Images

The dominant versus submissive condition had no overall effect on the self-reported likelihood of attaining and the desirability of leadership positions. The dominant versus submissive condition also had no overall effect on self-reported agency. Furthermore, the dominant versus submissive condition had no overall effect on self-reported self-esteem. There was a marginally significant difference such that those in the dominant condition reported higher levels of communion ($M = 3.49$, $SD = .41$) than those in the submissive condition ($M = 3.22$, $SD = .57$), $t(43) = -1.86$, $p = .07$. Descriptive statistics are reported in Table 1 (Appendix A).

To examine the impact of the submissive versus dominant images on each outcome variable, I conducted independent samples t-tests with condition (submissive, dominant) as the between-subjects factor. Each of the outcome variables was found not to significantly differ due to condition. These results are reported in Tables 2, 3 and 4 (Appendix A).

Interactions with Individual Differences

Even though there was no main effect of exposure to images, it was possible that women reacted differently to the images based on their personal characteristics. To determine if individual

differences influenced how women reacted to exposure to submissive versus dominant media images, I conducted a series of linear regressions. For each analysis, the individual difference characteristic and condition (submissive, dominant) were entered on Step 1, and the interaction between them was entered on Step 2.

The first analysis examined the relationship of the individual difference characteristic of self-esteem and condition on the coded intensity of perceived threats to the self as a director of a scientific research center, $R^2 = .11$, $F(3, 50) = 1.87$, $p = .148$. The results revealed a main effect of condition on intensity of perceived self-threats as director of a scientific research center, such that those in the dominant condition reported a higher intensity of perceived self-threats than those in the submissive condition, $\beta = 1.60$, $t = 2.22$, $p = .031$. There was no main effect self-esteem on intensity of perceived self-threats, $\beta = .20$, $t = 0.97$, $p = .335$. There was also an interaction between self-esteem and condition, $\beta = -1.59$, $t = -2.13$, $p = .039$. As shown in Figure 1 (Appendix B), participants with lower self-esteem perceived more intense threats to the self when they were exposed to the dominant versus submissive images; this pattern was reversed for participants with higher self-esteem, who perceived less intense threats to the self when they were exposed to the dominant versus submissive images.

The second analysis examined the relationship of the individual difference characteristic of self-esteem and condition on the coded intensity of perceived threats to the in-group as a president of a non-profit organization, $R^2 = .15$, $F(3, 50) = 2.66$, $p = .059$. The results revealed a main effect of condition on intensity of perceived in-group threats as president of a non-profit organization, such that those in the dominant condition reported lower intensity of perceived in-group threats

than those in the submissive condition, $\beta = 1.44$, $t = 2.04$, $p = .047$. The results also revealed a main effect of self-esteem on intensity of perceived in-group threats as president of a non-profit organization, such that those with higher self-esteem reported lower intensity of in-group threats than those with lower self-esteem, $\beta = .54$, $t = 2.73$, $p = .009$. There was also an interaction between self-esteem and condition, $\beta = -1.64$, $t = -2.23$, $p = .030$. As shown in Figure 2 (Appendix B), for participants with low self-esteem, condition had little effect. For participants with high self-esteem, condition had a greater effect, with those in the dominant condition perceiving fewer threats to the in-group than those in the submissive condition.

The third analysis examined the relationship of the individual difference characteristic of agency and condition on the coded intensity of perceived positivity of director of a scientific research center, $R^2 = .17$, $F(3, 45) = 2.88$, $p = .047$. The results revealed a main effect of condition on intensity of perceived positivity of director of a scientific research center, such that those in the dominant condition reported higher intensity of perceived positivity than those in the submissive condition, $\beta = 2.44$, $t = 2.80$, $p = .008$. The results also reveal a main effect of agency on intensity of perceived positivity of director of a scientific research center, such that those with higher levels of agency conveyed less positivity than those with lower levels of agency, $\beta = .60$, $t = 2.68$, $p = .01$. There was also an interaction between condition and agency, $\beta = -2.29$, $t = -2.69$, $p = .010$. As shown in Figure 3 (Appendix B), participants with lower agency conveyed greater positivity when they were exposed to the dominant versus submissive images; this pattern was reversed for participants with higher agency, who conveyed greater positivity when they were exposed to the submissive versus dominant images.

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The fourth analysis examined the relationship of the individual difference characteristic communion and condition on the coded intensity of perceived threats to the out-group as a director of a scientific research center, $R^2 = .11$, $F(3, 50) = 1.87$, $p = .148$. The results revealed a main effect of condition on intensity of perceived threats to the out-group as a director of a scientific research center, such that those in the dominant condition conveyed higher intensity of perceived out-group threats than those in the submissive condition, $\beta = 2.32$, $t = 2.15$, $p = .038$. The results also revealed a main effect of communion on intensity of perceived threats to the out-group as a director of a scientific research center, such that those who reported higher levels of communion conveyed higher intensity of out-group threats than those who reported lower levels of communion, $\beta = .39$, $t = 2.02$, $p = .050$. There was also an interaction between condition and communion, $\beta = -2.42$, $t = -2.16$, $p = .036$. As shown in Figure 4 (Appendix B), participants with lower communion conveyed more intense threats from the out-group when they were exposed to the dominant versus submissive images; this pattern was reversed, but very slight, for participants with higher communion, who conveyed slightly more intense threats to the out-group when they were exposed to the submissive versus dominant images.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

Contrary to my hypothesis, the desirability and possibility for each leadership role did not differ based on whether women were exposed to submissive versus dominant images. Instead, the impact of the type of image depended on individual differences in self-esteem and motivation towards communion or agency.

The experiment showed that women with lower self-esteem perceived more self-threats for the director role when exposed to the dominant images, and this pattern was reversed for women with higher self-esteem. This suggests that while exposure to dominant images may be helpful to some women, it can actually be harmful to others, discouraging them from pursuing leadership roles. This phenomenon describes the "backlash effect" which occurs when a successful other provokes social upward comparison causing women to doubt their perceived confidence rather than inspire them to achieve.

Women with lower self-esteem did not perceive more in-group threats (i.e., threats to women generally) for the president role based on exposure to dominant or submissive images. In women with higher self-esteem, condition had a greater effect, with those in the dominant condition perceiving fewer threats to the in-group when exposed to the dominant images than those exposed to the submissive images. This indicates that self-esteem plays an important role in moderating the effects of exposure to submissive and dominant images and perception of in-group threats. Therefore, interventions to increase women's desire to pursue leadership positions must consider participant's self-esteem in order to be successful.

I also found that women with lower agency perceived the director role to have greater positivity when exposed to dominant images versus submissive images, and this pattern was reversed for women with higher agency. This suggests that the dominant images were not particularly helpful to women, but women with low agency who viewed the submissive images were less interested in a leadership position. Recent research has found that self-esteem is determined by agency independent of culture. It is possible that these women, rather than being empowered to achieve and pursue leadership positions, began to doubt their own abilities.

Finally, women with lower communion perceived more intense out-group threats for the director of a scientific research center when were exposed to the dominant images, and this pattern was somewhat reversed for women with higher communion. These results are interesting as they are contrary to what we may intuitively think. The interpretation of these findings is currently unclear and warrants further investigation of the role of communion and agency in interest in leadership.

Women were presented with three powerful leadership roles: chief executive officer, director of an important scientific research center, and president of a non-profit organization. Interestingly, they perceived the director of a scientific research center role as most difficult to imagine and self-esteem was particularly relevant to their interest in these roles. The field of science has long been male-dominated. When women subscribe to these stereotypes, they often feel inferior and as if they do not belong. Therefore, they are less likely to express interest in these fields because they do not feel there is a place for them.

Unfortunately, there are limitations to the generalizability of these results. This study was conducted with a population of 54 undergraduate women from Texas A&M University. It is possible that the small sample size resulted in low statistical power, affecting the results of the study. Furthermore, Texas A&M University is largely a conservative university. Therefore, women's beliefs about their ability to pursue leadership positions may have reflected largely one view. Additionally, demographic information was not collected from participants. If this study were repeated, it should include a larger sample size and demographic information from all participants. With this information, it will be possible to determine if factors such as political affiliation, ethnicity, and educational attainment impact women's desire to pursue leadership positions.

These results suggest that media matters. Women view millions of media images that tell them how to look, think and act throughout their lifetime, and they are impacted by the media images they consume, although their reactions differ, based on self-esteem and agency. Therefore, unfortunately, there is not a one-size-fits-all method to address the current gender gap in leadership. In order to reduce this gender gap, interventions must be targeted based on individual differences, meaning what inspires one individual to pursue leadership positions may diminish another's leadership aspirations. Future research must be conducted to gain a greater understanding of how individual differences moderate the relationship between media images and desire to pursue leadership positions. By doing so, interventions, such as a media literacy curriculum, can be developed in order to better help women understand and process the media they are consuming.

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APPENDIX A

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics Means

	Submissive	Dominant
Overall Possibility	3.37 (.85)	3.09 (.79)
Overall Desirability	3.69 (.86)	3.49 (.76)
Agency	3.00 (.46)	2.79 (.53)
Self-Esteem	2.23(.43)	2.32 (.48)
Communion	3.22 (.57)	3.49 (.41)

Note. Standard Deviations are in parentheses.

Table 2: T-tests for CEO Leadership Position

Group	Submissive	Dominant	t	p
Positivity	3.68 (.86)	3.88 (.67)	-.96	.343
In-group Threat	1.36 (1.66)	1.04 (1.59)	.71	.482
Out-group Threat	.68 (1.36)	.56 (1.33)	.32	.750
Self Threat	1.21 (1.62)	.72 (1.24)	1.25	.216
Dress	.18 (.39)	.24 (.44)	-.54	.593
Niceness	.14 (.36)	.24 (.44)	-.88	.382
Responsibility	.68 (.48)	.84 (.37)	-1.38	.174
Family	.04 (.19)	.12 (.33)	-1.12	.270
Exposure	.50 (.51)	.52 (.51)	-.14	.887

Note. Standard Deviations are in parentheses.

Table 3: T-tests for Director Leadership Position

Group	Submissive	Dominant	t	p
Positivity	3.50 (.92)	3.76 (.72)	-1.15	.257
In-group Threat	1.00 (1.54)	1.00 (1.53)	.00	1.00
Out-group Threat	.79 (1.55)	.60 (1.53)	.48	.632
Self Threat	1.18 (1.59)	1.28 (1.54)	-.24	.815
Dress	.04 (.19)	.12 (.33)	-1.12	.815
Niceness	.14 (.36)	.16 (.37)	-.17	.865
Responsibility	.68 (.48)	.72 (.46)	-.32	.748
Family	.04 (.19)	.00 (.00)	1.00	.326
Exposure	.57 (.50)	.60 (.50)	-.21	.837

Note. Standard Deviations are in parentheses.

Table 4: T-tests for President Leadership Position

Group	Submissive	Dominant	t	p
Positivity	3.89 (1.07)	3.92 (1.08)	-.09	.927
In-group Threat	1.07 (1.74)	0.80 (1.47)	.62	.541
Out-group Threat	1.07 (1.74)	.84 (1.55)	.51	.610
Self Threat	1.36 (1.70)	1.64 (1.68)	-.61	.546
Dress	.14 (.36)	.04 (.20)	1.31	.196
Niceness	.29 (.46)	.28 (.46)	.05	.964
Responsibility	.86 (.36)	.92 (.28)	-.72	.474
Family	.04 (.19)	.04 (.20)	-.080	.937
Exposure	.75 (.44)	.80 (.41)	-.429	.670

Note. Standard Deviations are in parentheses.
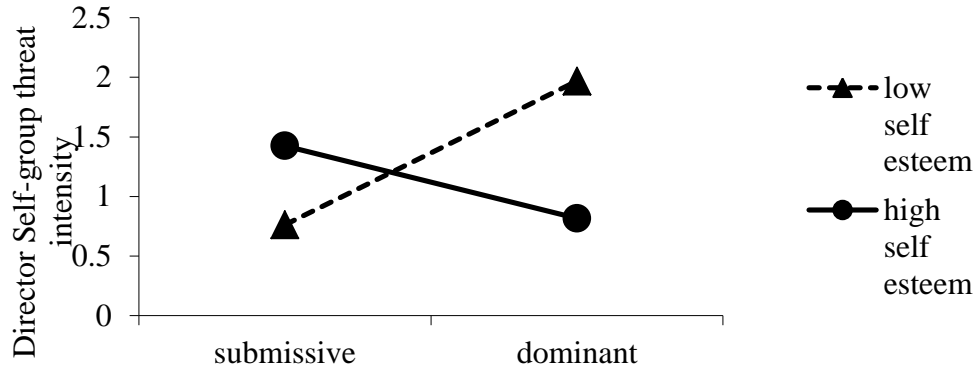
Figure 1. Participants with lower self-esteem perceived more intense threats to the self when they were exposed to the dominant versus submissive images.
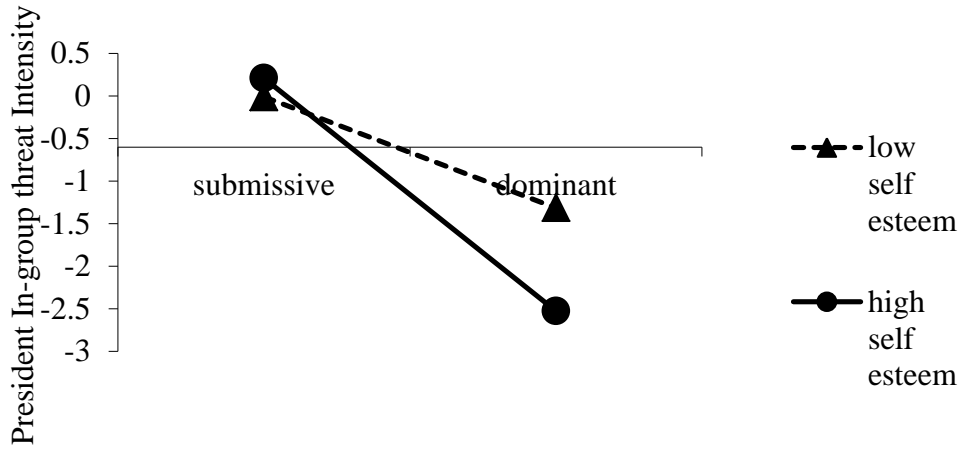

Figure 2. For participants with low self-esteem, condition had little effect. For participants with high self-esteem, condition had a greater effect, with those in the dominant condition perceiving fewer threats to the in-group than those in the submissive condition.
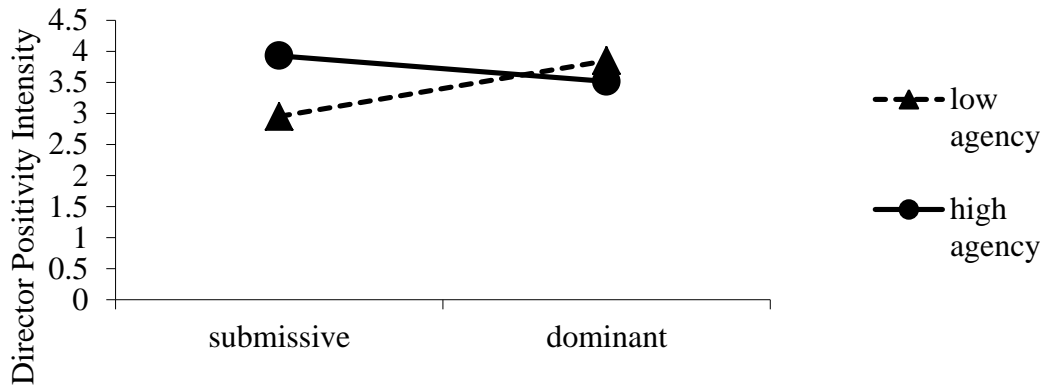
Figure 3. Participants with lower agency perceived greater positivity when exposed to the dominant versus submissive images.
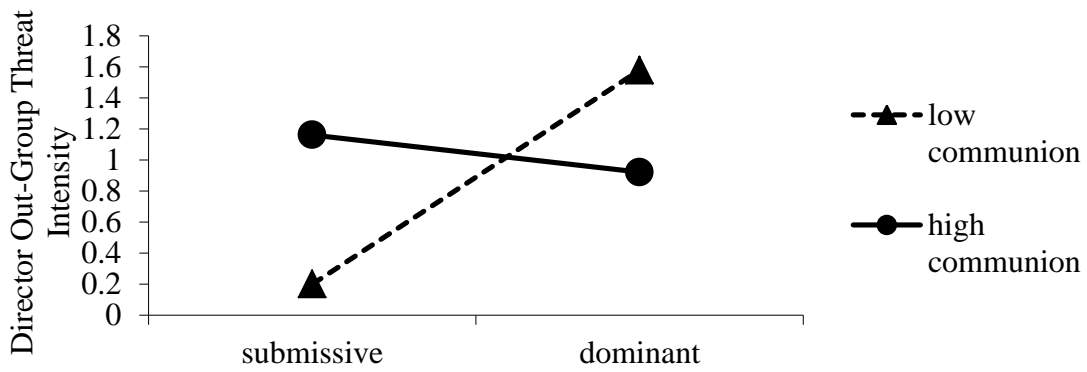

Figure 4. Participants with lower communion perceived more intense threats to the out-group when they were exposed to the dominant versus submissive images.