The impact of networking and global mobility on diversity in organizations

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I, Swati Thampan, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the work.

Abstract

This thesis explores the impact of networking and multicultural experience on diversity in organizations. First, I examine the advantages for women of networking with high-performing executives. Second, I explore the impact multicultural experiences can have on an individual's intention to be an ally to minorities within the workplace. Knowing the right people provides advantage according to social network research and theory. A perceived tie with a high performing executive within an organization provides not only resource-based benefits, but also boosts the individual's performance reputation. However, there is limited research concerning how gender distorts the cognitive evaluation of individuals who form these ties. Therefore, in the first essay, I compare the differences in the way male and female coworkers are evaluated with connections to an average vs a high-performing senior. The results provide insight concerning how networking empowers women in organizations and provides opportunities for promotion. Members of advantaged groups who take action to help members of less advantaged groups are said to engage in "allyship." The allyship literature has focused on fixed categories of majority and minority demographic groups. However, due to global mobility, these categories are no longer fixed. There is a need to understand how a change in context can change an individual's understanding of allyship. Therefore, my second essay aims to understand how a change in context can alter individuals' perceived sense of social status and how this distortion can impact their intention to be an ally. The thesis aims to gain an in-depth understanding of how social networks and multicultural experiences are viewed through the lens of diversity in organizations. It seeks to establish the way in which people in organizations can use social interactions to improve gender diversity and encourage allyship.

Impact Statement

How can employee behavior impact diversity in organizations? By exploring two specific employee behaviors – networking with stars and cross-cultural assimilation, this thesis attempts to advance academic research in diversity. Specifically, this thesis asks two questions. First, can women leverage star connections to counter the disadvantages of gender stereotypes? Second, does a multicultural experience change an employee's intention to be an ally to minorities? Both these lines of investigation focus on specific diversity outcomes for organizations by finding that i) merely attaching oneself to star employees does not particularly help women employees counter gender stereotypes at work and ii) awareness of change in social status when moving across cultures could impact an employee's intention to be an ally.

From an academic standpoint, the two essays in this thesis contribute to two distinct theoretical concepts. The investigation on the outcomes of star connections for women advances the current understanding of networks as prisms. So far, the positive benefits of having connections with a high-performing other due to the signals of competence have been largely focused on men. By investigating whether these cognitive signals are distorted by other cognitive judgements like gender stereotypes, we can better understand the components of cognitive evaluations of social networks. Through the findings of the study and by developing recommendations of future research, this thesis contributes to literature on cognitive social structures. The second essay about intention allyship problematizes the current assumptions when investigating the antecedents of allyship behavior. By questioning the assumption that members of the dominant or minority groups continue to remain static in the social hierarchy, the essay proposes a new way of understanding allyship behavior. The essay draws from the literature on social class transitions, contextual changes to understand

whether individual behavior can change positively when a change in context takes away a privilege, they were previously unaware of.

From a practitioner standpoint, both these projects contribute to the understanding of how organizations can improve their diversity and inclusion activities. Both the essays presented in this thesis shed light on specific parts of the diversity and inclusion strategies of organizations. The study of star connections helps us understand the effects of specific networking trainings on gender diversity. The essay on multicultural experiences in relation to allyship behavior has implications for organizations' global mobility policy. Finally, both essays focus on how the individual behavior of members of dominant and minority groups can have a larger impact on organizational level diversity.

Preface

The study in this dissertation (Chapter 2) is based on work conducted with my advisors Dr. Martin Kilduff and Dr Sun Young (Sunny) Lee. We identified and designed the study and I collected, analyzed, and theorized around the primary data as part of the PhD program. I subsequently conducted the study for the sole purpose of this thesis. This is the study reported in this dissertation. The theoretical hypothesis proposed in Chapter 3 was worked on in collaboration with my co-author on the paper Dr Clarissa Cortland. The study reported in the papers of this dissertation were approved by UCL School of Management's behavioural ethics board: UCLSOM-2022-012.

Acknowledgements

I started this journey with the intention of seeing it through till the end with the dream of completing a PhD. Somewhere along the way, the dream morphed into a vision of a different future. At the same time, I wished to acknowledge the work I have done over the past two years under the inspiring guidance of my supervisors – Prof Martin Kilduff, Dr Sunny Lee and my co-author for the allyship essay – Dr Clarissa Cortland. I did this because the questions raised within this thesis are, in my opinion, important directions research in gender, stereotypes and networks need to take. This thesis is a result of that intention to record our work.

I would, therefore, like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Martin Kilduff. His insightful guidance throughout this research journey have been truly invaluable. His expertise, and constructive feedback have greatly enriched the quality of this work. I wish to especially, thank him for his feedback on my writing. I daresay at the end of this course, I find myself a better writer than I was thanks to him. I am particularly grateful for his willingness to always lend a sound ear to my research ideas, turning them into fruitful avenues of exploration.

I am also immensely grateful to Dr. Sunny Lee for her extraordinary support, particularly during my initial year in the program. Everything I know about experimental research; I owe to her. Her mentorship and guidance were instrumental in helping me navigate the challenges and opportunities that come with entering academia. Her willingness to share her knowledge and insights have been invaluable in shaping the direction of this research. Her thoughtful feedback and encouragement have been a constant source of inspiration. Furthermore, I would like to extend my appreciation to Dr. Clarissa Cortland for her generous support and expertise. Her passion for exploring multicultural experiences resonated deeply with me and inspired me to work alongside her.

On a personal note, I want to extend my profound gratitude to my parents, my sister and my partner. Making the decision to step away from the PhD path was a difficult one, but their unwavering support, understanding, and belief in me made it more manageable. They stood by me in that decision and helped me work through my anxieties. Their love and encouragement have been my steadfast anchor throughout this journey.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In today's increasingly globalized and interconnected world, organizations face the challenge of embracing diversity and creating inclusive environments. Recognizing the value of diversity, many companies are actively seeking ways to foster a multicultural workforce that represents a wide range of perspectives, backgrounds, and experiences. This thesis focuses on two employee behaviors that impact diversity in organizations – networking and allyship.

1.1 Networking as a way to improve gender diversity

Social network research has shown that "knowing the right people" can help individuals in their career progression. Indeed, having "friends in high places" has been known to help with salary negotiations (Seidel et al., 2000) and receiving high-status jobs (Lin et al., 1981). In addition, a perceived tie with a high performing senior within an organization provides not only resource-based benefits, but also boost individual's performance reputations (Kilduff & Krackhardt, 1994). The "basking in reflected glory" research suggests similar advantages are particularly pronounced for junior members who manage to become acolytes for famous and respected seniors within an organization (Cialdini et al., 1976; Kilduff et al., 2016). The mechanism behind this phenomenon finds its roots in the idea that an individual perceived to be associating with a high-performing senior benefits from the signals such ties send out to a third-party observer. Such network ties, therefore, form a prism through which an individual is cognitively evaluated by others (Podolny, 2001).

However, a key aspect that has remained ignored so far in this literature about ties with high-performing seniors, is the way gender can distort these cognitive evaluations. For example, a study of male and female leaders showed that gender norms affected evaluations of leadership ability. The female leader was seen as more charismatic than the male leader when she was portrayed as consistent with gender norms in terms of being embedded in a

cohesive closed network of advisers; whereas the male leader was seen as more charismatic when he was portrayed as consistent with male gender norms in terms of being at the center of an open network (Brands et al., 2015). The study relied on gender stereotype research, drawing on key traits that are used by people to evaluate others - communality (e.g., friendliness, kindness, empathy, and cohesion), which is signaled by being embedded in a cohesive network in which the individual has many close contacts; and agency which is signaled by having multiple disjointed contacts. In addition, the same stereotypes that affect such evaluations of female leaders also impact the progression of women early in their career (Heilman & Parks-Stamm, 2007), attributions of skill and hard work within their team (Heilman & Haynes, 2005) and their performance potential (Landau, 1995).

Drawing on the concept of network ties as prisms through which individuals are cognitively evaluated (Podolny, 2001) as well as signals that are sent by connections with high-performing stars within an organization (Kilduff et al., 2016), this thesis predict and find that connections with high-performing seniors (referred to as star connections) allows signals of quality to accumulate and, therefore, improves the observer's evaluation of the individual. I also posit that these signals of quality would be distorted by stereotypical expectations of specific behavior from men and women. A key attribute of star connections is the fact that these are perceived to be outgoing and hence, are likely to be perceived as agentic. I predict that the expectations of competence from men help them benefit from star connections, at the same time, such women can be penalized for these ties due to a perceived communality deficit (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007).

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addition, the same stereotypes that affect such evaluations of female leaders also impact the progression of women early in their career (Heilman & Parks-Stamm, 2007), attributions of skill and hard work within their team (Heilman & Haynes, 2005) and their performance potential (Landau, 1995).

Drawing on the concept of network ties as prisms through which individuals are cognitively evaluated (Podolny, 2001) as well as signals that are sent by connections with high-performing stars within an organization (Kilduff et al., 2016), I predicted and found that connections with high-performing seniors (referred to as star connections) allows signals of quality to accumulate and, therefore, improves the observer's evaluation of the individual. A key attribute of star connections is the fact that these are perceived to be outgoing and hence, are likely to be perceived as agentic.

To test the hypothesis, I ran an online experimental study to compare the differences in the way peers evaluated a male or a female coworker with connections to an average vs a star senior. The results make two key theoretical contributions. First, they contribute to the burgeoning literature on cognitive effects of connections with high-performing seniors (Kilduff et al., 2016). So far, research in this paradigm has primarily focused on the impact connections with a single high-performing senior has on the career growth of junior male acolytes. This thesis adds to this research paradigm by proposing that signals sent by such ties not only benefit junior men, but these signals are also distorted by gender stereotypes when being cognitively evaluated by peers. Second, the thesis adds to the understanding of unequal effects of similar network ties for men and women (Woehler et al., 2021). The existing research on impact of gender stereotypes on peer evaluations of men and women are limited to friendship ties (Brands & Kilduff, 2014). This thesis extends this research by concluding how men and women are evaluated at the workplace by team members based on number of high-performing seniors they are associating with. From a practical perspective, the results of

this thesis can help guide men and women to form strategic network ties with high performing senior management and help foster gender diversity in organizations.

1.2 Impact of shared stigma experiences on allyship behaviors

Allyship has its roots in understanding positive intergroup relations across status hierarchies (Ostrove et al., 2009). Allies are members of dominant groups who build relationships with and defend the rights of members of nondominant groups (Wijeyesinghe et al., 1997). The concept of allyship has often been researched within intergroup contexts where the status of the dominant and nondominant groups are static. For instance, research on predictors of allyship behavior by heterosexuals towards their lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) peers has shown that intergroup contact, educational background and positive attitudes towards LGBT groups are key predictors of allyship (Fingerhut, 2011). At the same time, another research has shown that attitudes of dominant group peers towards a specific nondominant group can also impact whether or not an individual chooses to be an ally (L. De Souza & Schmader, 2022).

The research focused on the concept of allyship has been based on a static perception of dominant group membership thus far. Indeed, it is the awareness of being white, the corresponding privilege and the stereotypes against people of color that is shown to engender anti-racism sentiments and allyship among women (Case, 2012). However, what is not understood is, whether there is a difference in the intent of allyship when individuals lose social status due to a change in context. Researchers have recently made calls to understand the impact on stereotypes when the social class of the dominant and nondominant groups are undergoing transitions (Fiske et al., 2016). The impact of status and social class transitions on individual have rarely been studied. Nonetheless, it has been shown that groups that have recently acquired a majority status and have low perceived control over said status tend to abuse their power more than established majority groups (Prislin et al., 2011). By studying

allyship behaviors within these transitioning contexts, we can improve our understanding of the antecedents of collective action. Migration of skilled workers often leads to such transitions within the social class. At the time of this thesis, 184 million people reside in a country other than that of their birth, with a large majority moving in search of economic opportunities (World Bank, 2023).

At the same time, migration from a lower income country to a higher income country as a skilled worker can often lead to a "down-grade" to a lower skill occupation (Mattoo et al., 2008). I posit that an awareness of this loss of social status and the negative stereotypes relating to an individual's immigrant identity could present itself in one of two ways. On the one hand, it is likely that skilled migrants would identify more with other stigmatized entities within the new context and support other non-dominant demographic groups around them (Cortland et al., 2017). On the other, they could find their dominant positions threatened when they internalize the stigmatized identity and avoid explicit allyship to tether themselves to the social norms of the dominant group in the new context (L. De Souza & Schmader, 2022).

This thesis, therefore, explores the two employee behaviors of allyship and networking and its implications for diversity in organisations. In chapter two, I will explain the theoretical arguments concerning the impact of star connections for early career men and women. I also present the results of an online study that explored the impact on likelihood of promotion for men and women when they are perceived to be connected with a high-performing star in the organization. As a break away from the hypothesized direction, the study found that men benefitted from having a star connection through higher perceptions of agency and subsequently higher likelihood of promotion. Women, on the other hand, were not significantly impacted when they were perceived to be connected to a high-performing star. Chapter three of the thesis presents the theoretical arguments concerning allyship

behavior and presents an alternative theoretical direction that can be explored when considering the antecedents of the behavior. Chapter four concludes the thesis to discuss the general implications of the findings as well as what the theoretical arguments presented in the previous chapters can mean for practitioners.

Chapter 2: Gender and Star Connections

This thesis explores the impact on diversity of two specific employee behaviors – strategic networking with high-performing seniors and being an ally to non-dominant demographic groups.

2.1 Theoretical Background

Human resource scholars have, in past research, found that certain employees hold greater value than their peers (Hausknecht et al., 2009). For the purpose of this thesis, I use the prior conceptualization of a star as someone who not only perform at exceptionally higher levels compared to their peers, but their high performance is also visible across the organizations such that others can perceive it and expect their job outcomes to be superior (Groysberg et al., 2008; Groysberg & Lee, 2009). In network literature, this visibility often translates to accumulated benefits that these stars accrue through their networks. The theoretical basis of such advantages has been derived from decades of research about the various career benefits from networking ties in the social network research program (for reviews see Burt et al., 2013; Labianca & Brass, 2006). Informal ties have been known to shape an individual's career trajectory often through advantageous information exchange or through career sponsorship (Seibert et al., 2001). Indeed, past research has found that centrality in an individual's network is associated with status attainment (Lin, 1999), job performance (Sparrowe et al., 2001) and promotion prospects (Baldwin et al., 1997). In particular, connections with senior management provide resources like information and career sponsorship (Podolny & Baron, 1997).

At the same time, connections with high-performing others also provide a reputational halo effect that ensures the individual is judged positively compared to those lacking these ties (Podolny, 1994). The reputational advantage from a high-performing other and informational advantage from someone with high formal status is rooted in the two different

ways in which networks are conceptualized – as pipes and as prisms (Podolny, 2001). Therefore, connections with stars help both as pipes through which resources (like information, sponsorship, and advice) flow and as prisms that allow others to evaluate the individual based on their connections with the star. Although the prism perspective has been rarely addressed in social network research when it comes to ties with stars, it has been found that being associated with a high-performing senior individual improves the individual's own performance reputation (Kilduff & Krackhardt, 1994).

Connections that stars form in an organization have been shown to have implications on the organizations' creativity (Li et al., 2020), performance (Groysberg & Lee, 2009) and information exchange (Oldroyd & Morris, 2012). The aforementioned findings of reputational signals from star connections draws on the theoretical premise that people prefer balanced cognitions over imbalanced cognitions (Heider, 1958). That is, it is easier for observers to presume that an individual, seen to be friends with someone who they evaluate positively, will have the same positive characteristics. Indeed, the basking-in-the-reflected-glory (Cialdini et al., 1976) research suggests that people form such ties because they are aware that association with stars can help ensure they are evaluated positively as well.

At the same time, cognitive evaluations of individuals are subjective in nature. Therefore, observers often look for signals of quality before making their evaluations about individuals (Spence, 1978). It is these signals of quality that are conveyed through working connections with a single high-performing industry leader, that help the progression of early-career men (Kilduff et al., 2016). Further, Burt (1992) made the argument of legitimacy where early career individuals (both men and women) need a connection with a strategic senior other to help legitimize their presence in the organization. In this case, connection with a single high-status other allows early career men and women to "borrow" the network of the strategic partner.

Although theoretically having star connections seems to be beneficial, there have been limited understanding of different cognitive evaluations by observers on the basis of strategically formed star connections. So far, research on network cognition has focused on the observer's accuracy when perceiving an individual's network or how an individual's own cognition of their social environment affects their networking behavior (Brands, 2013). Indeed, social network researchers have called for more investigations into how and when external observer's cognitive evaluations of their social network can impact individual level outcomes (Burt et al., 2013b). Therefore, the old adage, "you are known by the company you keep," needs more exploration.

Further, given these theories are rooted in cognitive evaluations of individuals based on the signals conveyed by connections with stars, I also propose that other cognitive biases namely, gender stereotypes could distort the said signals.

2.1.1 Gender Differences in Networks

Social role theory (SRT) argues that the norms and expectations from people based on their gender is rooted in the division of labor both at home (men as breadwinner and women as homemakers) and at work (women in administrative roles vs men in decision making roles) (Eagly, 1987). As a result, some of the earliest studies in the field have found that competence, ambition and self-confidence are work behaviors expected from men whereas tactfulness, being considerate and aware of others' feelings are work behaviors expected from women (Broverman et al., 1972). When women and men behave as they are expected to, based on their social roles, they are valued more. For example, when women exhibit communal traits, they are valued more than men (Eagly et al., 1991). These gender normative expectations of behavior are further reinforced by gender status hierarchies where women possess less power, status and resources than men (Berger et al., 1972). This, typically

translates to the workplace when women are only hired for roles that fit their prescribed behaviors of communality (Heilman, 1983). At the same time, men are rewarded when they take up roles that require agency and assertiveness (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Therefore, according to SRT, both men and women are rewarded for gender-normative behavior respectively.

This rewarding of stereotypically consistent behavior also extends to networking. For instance, female leaders are evaluated favorably when their network structures are perceived to be decentralized due to the stereotypical expectations of cohesion from women (Brands et al., 2015). Men are also considered more competent and rated higher on their performance than women in brokerage roles because embodying such roles is perceived to be agentic – a behavior expected from men (Brands & Kilduff, 2014). However, few studies investigating differing cognitive evaluations of social networks of men and women have touched upon the impact specific star connections have on such evaluations.

Although examinations specifically looking at differences in networks of men and women have been rare, the consensus among them is clear. Even when men and women have similar networks, they do not reap the same benefits from them (for the latest review on gender differences in outcomes from social network connections see Woehler et al., 2021). A study on career progression for men and women has found that women tend to have better career advantages than men when they work with an individual who is higher in the organizational hierarchy (Ding et al., 2013). At the same time, prior research on career success from networking behaviors has shown that women are unable to effectively utilize their network connections which adversely impacts their career progression (Forret & Dougherty, 2004). This has been attributed to lack of access to senior members of the organization to be able to form high-status ties (Ibarra, 1993; Ragins & Cotton, 1991). Indeed, researchers have suggested training women to understand these gender differences in

networking behavior, effectively form such ties and chart their path towards leadership positions (Ely et al., 2011). This implies that if women can build contacts with stars, they are likely to bridge the gap in network utilization and achieve career success. However, this conclusion does not consider the cognitive mechanisms that can impact career progressions. I argue that cognitive evaluations become particularly relevant when the connections we form with others are sending out signals of our own competence and these signals are viewed through the lens of gender normative roles prescribed to men and women.

2.1.2 Cognitive Evaluations of Star Connections

There is little research investigating whether gender moderates the individual level outcomes of star connections. A recent study found that women (but not men) incur a drop in status when they are perceived to be embedded in a high-status network (Yu, 2020). The study also found that this status drop can be attributed to the agentic behavior associated with being part of a high-status network which results in a drop in communality perceptions. At the same time, the lack of benefit women have from stars within their network has so far been attributed to lack of access (Rua-Gomez et al., 2022). This argument presumes that individuals can not only borrow the social capital from these stars (Lin, 2002), but also the aforementioned visibility to garner up information and resources for their career (Allison et al., 1982). Therefore, research so far seems to suggest it is merely access to these stars that is limiting women's growth in organizational hierarchy and the more strategic they are in terms of connecting with stars, the better their chances of success.

However, studies on different career outcomes from similar networks of men and women suggest that existing stereotypes continue to impact the way men and women are evaluated based on their network ties (Fang et al., 2015; Khattab et al., 2020). Stereotype content model (SCM) suggests people wish to understand two things they are evaluating others – whether their intent is self-serving or for others (communality) and how they will

achieve this intent (agency) (Conway et al., 1996; Fiske et al., 2002). For the same agentic behavior, men are evaluated on the basis of their competence and women on the basis of their warmth (Phelan et al., 2008). Therefore, women, given their low social status, may benefit in terms of perceptions of communality when they have multiple high-status ties. Men, on the other hand, are likely to be penalized when they are seen as exhibiting communality through multiple high-status ties (Rudman & Glick, 2001).

So far, studies of these cognitive evaluative differences have been limited to friendship networks (Brands & Kilduff, 2014) or towards understanding how such stereotype threats influence women's networking behaviors (Brands & Mehra, 2019). Therefore, we do not yet know whether men and women with the same star connections are cognitively evaluated differently due to these gender stereotypes.

2.1.3 Agency and communality in star connections - Hypotheses

Bakan (1966) described agency and communality as the two fundamental contents in the existence of living forms – "agency, for the existence of the organism as an individual and communion for the participation of the individual in some larger organism of which the individual is a part." Subsequently, it has been shown that these two fundamental dimensions are key factors by which individuals are evaluated (Cuddy et al., 2004). Agency has been understood as promotion of self-interest, a drive for achievement and dominance (Abele & Wojciszke, 2014; Nier et al., 2013). Communality, on the other hand, is conceptualized as the drive for affiliation, sociability and interdependence (Wojciszke et al., 2009). Research on SCM has established that for most non-dominant demographic groups, these dual contents compete – that is, if an individual is perceived to be agentic, they are considered low on communality and vice versa (Klysing et al., 2021).

Studies have established that having a high-status tie can signal agency in two ways. First, it signals competence due to connections with those who are high-performing in

organizational hierarchy (Kilduff et al., 2016; Kilduff & Krackhardt, 1994; Podolny, 2001) and second, it implies the dominant and assertive behavior of the individual (Yu, 2020). Therefore, I propose when known to be working with a star, an individual would be perceived as agentic irrespective of gender.

Hypothesis 1: Connections with a star (vs average) senior increases the perceptions of agency irrespective of gender of the individual.

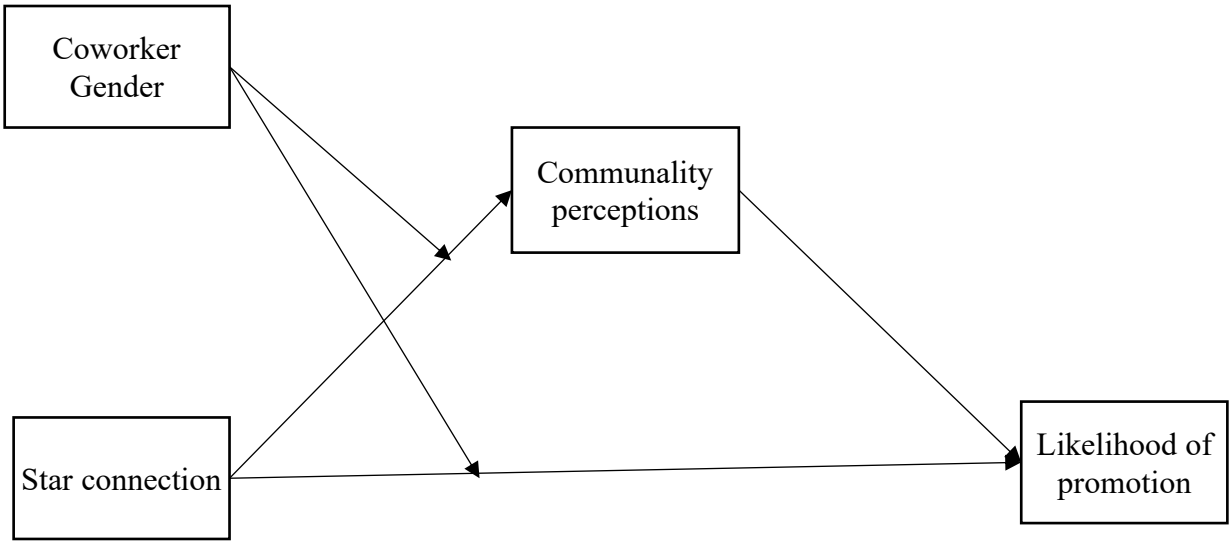
Communality perceptions due to star connections, on the other hand, are likely to be impacted by gender stereotypes. Prior research has shown that women, when perceived to be agentic are considered to be lower in communality (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Women suffer a *backlash effect* when they enact agentic behavior and are considered socially deficient (Rudman & Glick, 1999). These stereotypes have existed implicitly and have been found to have persisted over the years and continue to impact the communality perceptions of women perceived to be agentic irrespective of the gender of those conducting such cognitive evaluations (Hentschel et al., 2019). Research on gender and networks has also suggested when the network position held by women is agentic, they are perceived to be less warm and communal (Brands & Kilduff, 2014). At the same time, if the structure of a woman leader's network is cohesive and, hence, perceived to be communal, she benefits from increased perceptions of charisma (Brands et al., 2015). Therefore, it can be concluded that gender stereotypes inform the communality perceptions of network ties of men and women differently. Given the agentic nature of forming star connections, it is likely that women who are known to have connections with stars would be penalized with lower perceptions of communality.

Hypothesis 2: Connections with a star (vs average) senior decreases the perceptions of communality for women (not men).

Past research has found that tasks that are associated with morality identified faster than those that relate to competence (Ybarra et al., 2001).Similarly, morality based evaluations also dominate when individuals are evaluated by others (Wojciszke et al., 1998). This understanding was further extended for career outcomes when it was found that communality perceptions dominate the evaluations of individuals particularly when the evaluators are not dependent on the individual for daily tasks (Wojciszke & Abele, 2008). This has specific outcomes for star connections when evaluators are faced with making decisions about individuals early in their careers.

Signaling theory as well as the concept of networks as prisms has confirmed that evaluators often rely on signals sent by ties with others to inform their decisions on performance of individuals they are uncertain about (Podolny, 2001; Spence, 1978). It has also been found that working under a leader with high-reputation benefits individuals early in their career as it sends signals of performance to others who have not witnessed their task outcomes firsthand (Kilduff et al., 2016; Kilduff & Krackhardt, 1994). However, these studies have so far focused on early career men. Men, as has been established previously by gender stereotype research, do not suffer from the same communality penalties that women do when their actions signal high levels of agency (Heilman et al., 2004). Given the primacy of communality perceptions in the overall evaluations of the individual particularly when there is lack of interpersonal interaction between the evaluator and the individual, it is likely that the communality penalties faced by women would extend to career outcomes early in their career. Figure 2.1 presents the theoretical model being hypothesized here.

Figure 2.1
Role of Communality in the likelihood of promotion: Moderated Mediation Model



Hypothesis 3: Early career men (not women) will be more likely to be promoted when they have connections with star (vs. average) senior.

Hypothesis 4: Early career women (not men) with star (vs average) connections will be perceived to have lower perceptions of communality which, in turn, will lead to a lower likelihood of promotion for them.

2.2 Methods and Results

I conducted an experiment[1] to test my hypotheses that having star connections improved perceived performance potential for early career individuals, but these improvements were moderated by their gender and mediated by changes in perceptions of communality for these individuals.

[1] [1] *In total, we ran 3 separate studies in connection to this project, two were run along with my co-authors Sunny Lee and Martin Kilduff where we manipulated the vignettes to reduce the agency of the candidate in the way these star connections are formed. However, the study mentioned here has been run by me for the sole purpose of this thesis.*

Given that our scenarios included workplace situations, for mundane realism (E. Aronson et al., 1998), we invited only participants who had work experience in organizations, having been involved in hiring roles.

2.2.1 Participants and Design

Using G*Power (Erdfelder et al., 1996), we calculated the sample size to be 210 to detect a medium size effect with $\beta = 0.95$. Two hundred and ten adults (64% Male; M_{age} = 45.3; SD_{age} = 12.4, 67% under 50 years of age, 99% currently employed, 76% White), recruited through Prolific (Palan & Schitter, 2018), participated in this study in exchange of $0.95. Online recruitment platforms like Prolific and CloudResearch have additional tools to avoid multiple responses from the same geolocations (Douglas et al., 2023). Participants were randomly assigned to the conditions of a 2 (coworker gender: male vs. female) x 2 (type of tie: star vs average) between-subjects design.

2.2.2 Procedure and Measures

Participants were told that they would take part in a workplace simulation. Participants imagined themselves to be working in the marketing department of a global IT company. The scenarios provided them with the profile about one coworker in the same team who is applying for a promotion. I developed the profiles and visual materials, adapting the materials used in Brands and colleagues (2015) (see Appendix 1 for the full materials).

Following prior research (Brands et al., 2015; S. Y. Lee et al., 2015), I manipulated the coworker's *gender* using the name on the profile (Jonathan or Julie) as well as repeated use of pronouns (he/she). I manipulated the number of the coworker's *star connections* by changing the description of the person who the candidate interacted with at work. For example, in the *star connection* condition, participants read: "… (the coworker) works very closely with Aaron during his/her daily activities. Aaron is a high-performing star director in

the company. Aaron's work has been greatly recognized in the company and in the field". This description satisfies both the conditions of high performance and visibility that makes someone a star (Groysberg et al., 2008). Participants in the *average connection* condition read: "… (the coworker) works very closely with Aaron during his/her daily activities. Aaron is an average performing director in the company. Aaron's work has received little recognition either in the company or in the field" (see Appendix for details).

After reading the profiles, participants first answered the following two manipulation check items on the gender and the type of connections based on the coworker's profile they reviewed. To check effectiveness of gender manipulation, I asked "what is the gender of (the coworker)?" (1=male, 2=female). To check for the effective manipulation of star connections, I asked "(the coworker) has a work connection with a high performing director" (1=yes, 2 = no). Also, to immerse participants in the scenario (for prior studies using a similar method, see Casciaro et al., 2014; Galinsky et al., 2003), the participants were also asked to write what they thought about the coworker (minimum 50 words).

Agency and *Communality* have been measured differently across the stereotype literature (Broverman et al., 1972; Diekman & Eagly, 2000; Heilman et al., 1995). However, more recently there have been calls to broaden these two measures to include multiple dimensions of each of the construct. For example, Yu (2020) has suggested that dominance is an often ignored dimension of agency that is relevant when looking into high-status ties. Therefore, for this study, *agency* and *communality* were measured using a broad 26 – point scale developed by Hentschel and colleagues (2019). The scale consists of 15 items that measured *agency* ($\alpha = 0.96$) and 11 items that measured *communality* ($\alpha = 0.92$). The participants were asked to rate the extent to which the coworker had the said attributes. The *agency* items consisted of four dimensions namely instrumental competence (competent, effective, productive and task-oriented), leadership (capable of being a leader, achievement-

oriented, skilled in business matters), assertiveness (dominant, bold, assertive, competitive) and independence (independent, desires responsibility, emotionally stable, self-reliant). The *communality* items consisted of three dimensions namely concern for others (understanding, kind, compassionate, sympathetic), sociability (communicative, collaborative, relationship-oriented, likeable) and emotional sensitivity (emotional, intuitive, sentimental). These dimensions allow a better understanding of the results. Table 2.1 shows the reliability results as well as item-scale correlations for each of these dimensions.

Table 2.1
Dimension scale-items and reliability information

Agency dimensions	Item-scale Correlation**	Communality dimensions	Item-scale Correlation**
Instrumental competence (α = 0.93)		**Concern for others (α = 0.94)**	
Competent	0.79	Understanding	0.85
Effective	0.83	Kind	0.86
Productive	0.79	Compassionate	0.87
Task-oriented	0.74	Sympathetic	0.86
Leadership competence (α = 0.90)		**Sociability (α = 0.83)**	
Capable of being a leader	0.85	Communicative	0.73
Achievement-oriented	0.81	Collaborative	0.62
Skilled in business matters	0.83	Relationship-oriented	0.69
Assertiveness (α = 0.93)		Likeable	0.82
Dominant	0.76	**Emotional sensitivity (α = 0.81)**	
Bold	0.81	Emotional	0.62
Assertive	0.82	Intuitive	0.74
Competitive	0.80	Sentimental	0.68
Independence (α = 0.85)			
Independent	0.83		
Desires responsibility	0.76		
Emotionally stable	0.64		
Self-reliant	0.80		

** *Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)*

Finally, participants responded to one question that measured the *likelihood of promotion*: "How willing would you be to recommend the coworker's promotion?" (1=not willing at all to 7 = very willing). To immerse participants in the scenario (for prior studies using a similar method, see Casciaro et al., 2014; Galinsky et al., 2003), we also asked the participants to write what they thought about the coworker (minimum 50 words). To understand the participants' thoughts when they evaluate the candidate, I also analyzed the qualitative feedback about the candidates using different Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) dictionaries (Boyd et al., 2022). First, I tried to identify key words using the "achieves"(e.g. ability, success, progress) , "power" (e.g. own, order, allow) and "social" (e.g. care, help) dictionary (Pennebaker et al., 2015). Second, I also used the "agency" (achieve, aspire, keen etc.) and "communion" (allies, care, honest etc.) dictionary to analyze the qualitative responses (Pietraszkiewicz et al., 2019). This was done to try and capture any additional insights on evaluations of the candidates that may not have been recorded using the aforementioned agency and communality measures.

2.2.3 Results

Manipulation check. For male coworkers, all participants correctly recalled the gender of the coworker. 93.2% of participants accurately recalled the gender of the female coworker. Therefore, gender was effectively manipulated in the study. 99% the participants who were presented with the coworker profile with star connections accurately recalled the same. 77% of the participants who were presented with the coworker profile with an average connection accurately recalled the same.

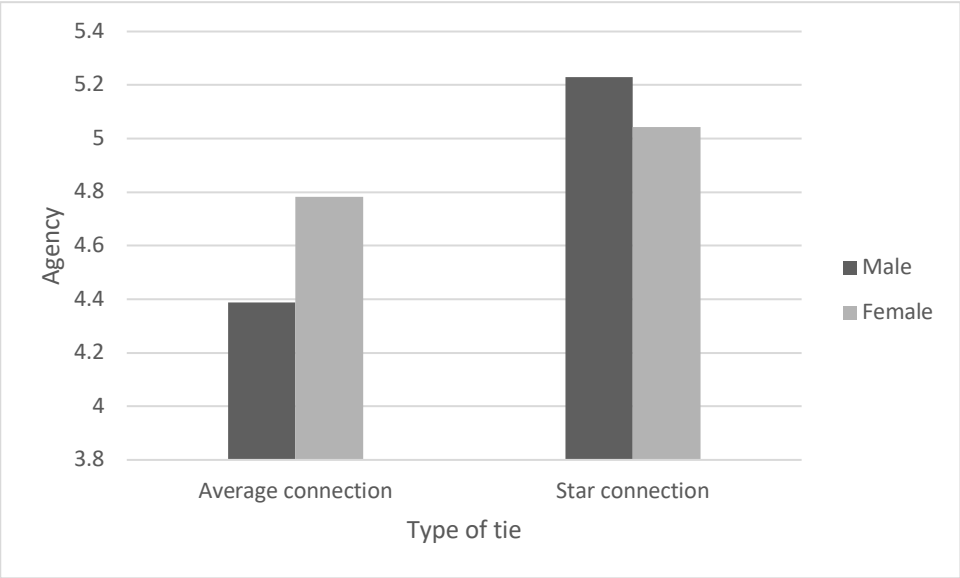
Further, the qualitative feedback obtained from the participants also shows that the coworker was accurately perceived as being an early career individual and their network ties were accurately identified as stars. Therefore, the coworker profiles were effectively manipulated for this study.

Agency Perceptions. Hypotheses 1 predicted that connection with a star will increase the perception of agency of the candidate. To test this hypothesis, I ran an independent 2-tailed t-test to compare the average ratings of Agency across Average and Star connections. The participants under the star connection condition (M=5.14, SD=4.58) rated the candidate significantly higher in Agency than those under the average connection condition (M=4.58, SD=1.10), $t(208)$=4.08, $p<0.001$. Additionally, a one-way ANOVA on the composite Agency measure establishes that a star connection increases perceptions of agency irrespective of gender. Therefore, hypothesis 1 was supported.

However, men were found to benefit more from the star connection in terms of the perceptions of agency than women (M=5.2, SD = 0.13), F (1, 209) = 4.63, p=.03, η_p^2= .02. Appendix 2 shows the detailed pairwise comparisons as well as the descriptive statistics of the dependent variables. Figure 2.2 presents the means of the agency perceptions of men and women across the different tie conditions.

Figure 2.2

Mean Agency scores for male and female candidates for average vs star condition



As an additional analysis, I also ran a one-way ANOVA on the individual four components of the agency measure. Male candidates were rated higher than women in the instrumental competence perceptions when they associated with star connections (M=5.70, SD = 0.75), F (1, 209) = 4.22, p=.04, η_p^2= .02. Although, there was no significant interaction of gender in the leadership competence and independence, male candidates saw a higher jump in perceptions when associating with a star. Table 2.2 shows the full breakdown of all four subitems' ANOVA results. Figure 2.3 shows the means of each of the four subitems for men and women under the average vs star condition.

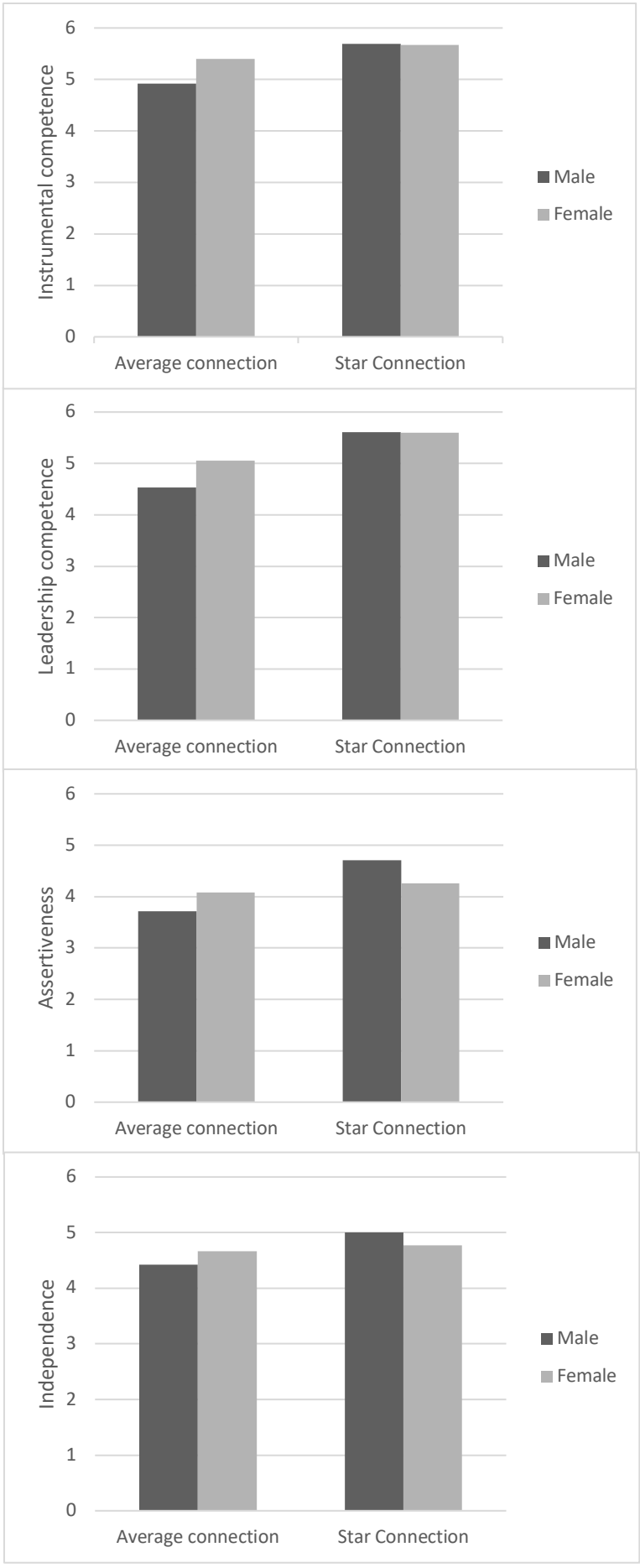
Table 2.2
One-way ANOVA test of between-subjects effects for Agency measures

Measure	*F (1,209)*	*p*	η_p^2
Agency*			
Gender	0.59	0.44	0.00
Type of tie	16.61	<0.00	0.08
Gender X Type of tie	4.63	0.03	0.02
Instrumental competence*			
Gender	3.58	0.06	0.02
Type of tie	18.32	<0.00	0.08
Gender X Type of tie	4.22	0.04	0.02
Leadership competence**			
Gender	3.06	0.08	0.02
Type of tie	30.8	<0.00	0.13
Gender X Type of tie	3.23	0.07	0.02
Assertiveness*			
Gender	0.05	0.83	0.00
Type of tie	10.01	0.00	0.05
Gender X Type of tie	4.95	0.03	0.02
Independence			
Gender	0.00	1.00	0.00
Type of tie	4.85	0.03	0.02
Gender X Type of tie	2.26	0.14	0.01

** Group interactions significant at the 0.05 level*
*** Group interactions significant at the 0.1 level*

Figure 2.3

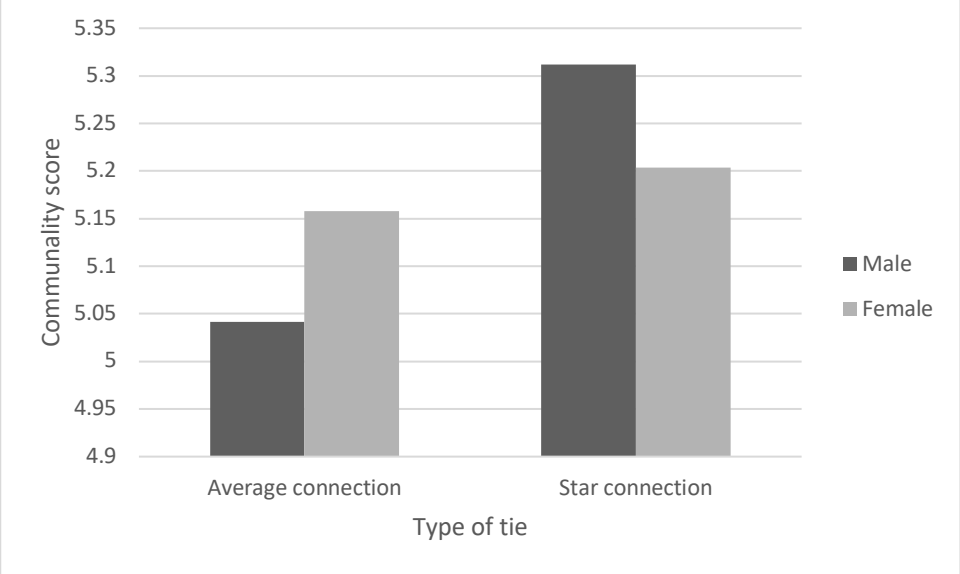
Mean Agency subitem scores for male and female candidates for average vs star condition



Communality Perceptions. Hypotheses 2 predicted that connection with a star will decrease the perception of communality for the female candidate but not male. To test this hypothesis, I ran a one-way ANOVA to compare the average ratings of communality for men and women when they have an average or star connection. Although there was an increase in perceptions of communality, there were no significant interactive effects of gender and star connections on the perceptions of communality, F (1, 209) = 1.06, p=0.31, η_p^2= .01. Therefore, hypothesis 2 is not supported. Appendix 2 shows the detailed pairwise comparisons. Figure 2.4 presents the means of the communality perceptions of men and women across the two different connection conditions.

Figure 2.4

Mean Communality scores for male and female candidates for average vs star condition



As an additional analysis, I also ran a one-way ANOVA on the individual three dimensions of the communality measure. Notably, neither the type of connection (average vs star) nor the gender of the candidate had an impact on the "concern for others" and the emotional sensitivity dimension, F (1, 209) = 0.05, p=0.82, η_p^2= .00. Notably, participants rated candidates with star connections higher on sociability than those who had average connections, F (1, 209) = 10.38, p=0.00, η_p^2= .05. To reconfirm this finding, I also ran an

independent 2-tailed t-test and it showed that the mean rating for sociability for candidates star connection was significantly different than that of those with average connections (M=5.78, SD=0.74), t(208)=3.24, $p<0.00$.Table 2.3 shows the full breakdown of all three subitems' ANOVA results. Figure 2.5 also shows the means of sociability subitem for men and women under the average vs star condition.

Figure 2.5

Mean Sociability scores for male and female candidates for average vs star condition

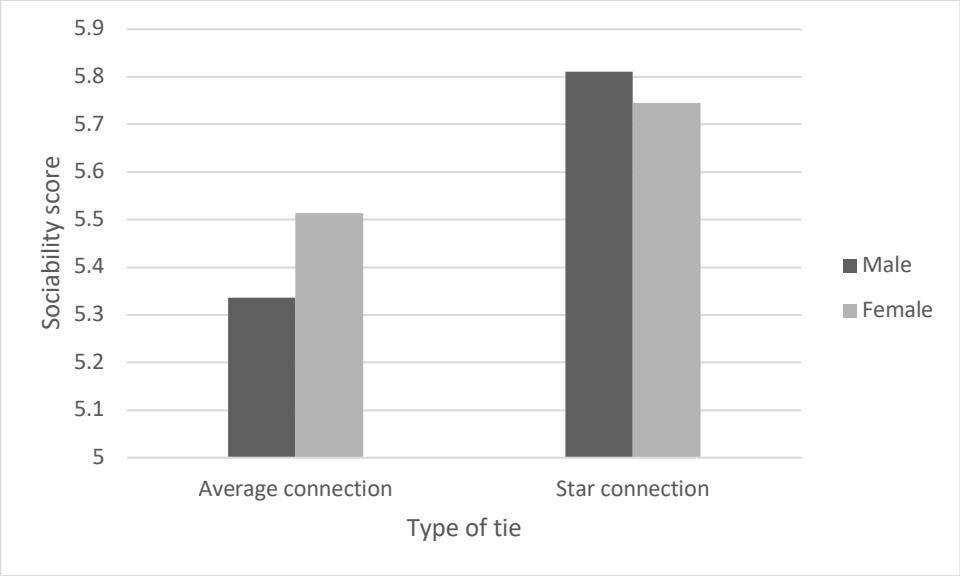


Table 2.3

One-way ANOVA test of between-subjects effects for Communality measures

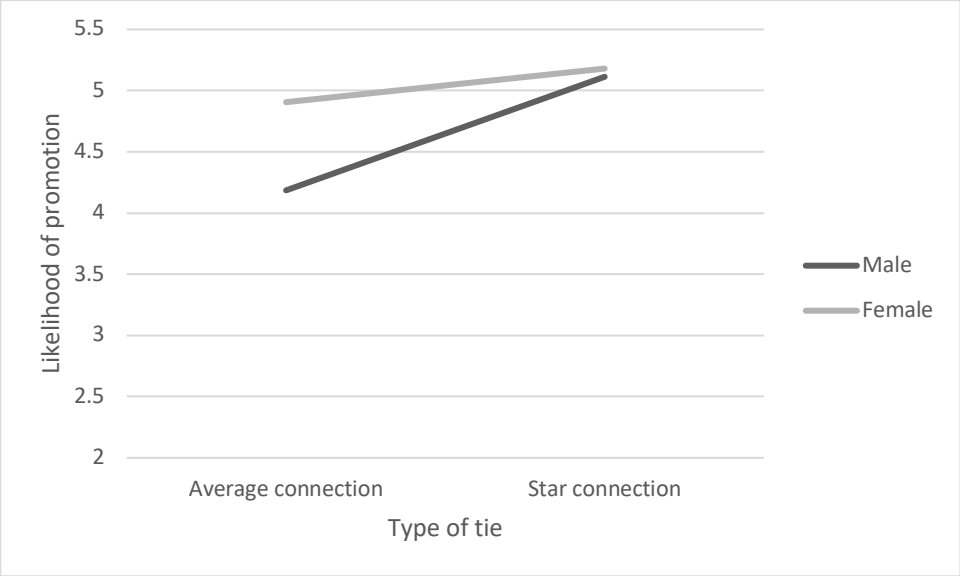
Measure	*F (1,209)*	*p*	η_p^2
Communality			
Gender	0.00	0.97	0.00
Type of tie	2.10	0.15	0.01
Gender X Type of tie	1.06	0.31	0.01
Concern for others			
Gender	0.38	0.54	0.00
Type of tie	0.22	0.64	0.00
Gender X Type of tie	1.54	0.22	0.01
Sociability			
Gender	0.26	0.61	0.00
Type of tie	10.38	0.00	0.05
Gender X Type of tie	1.24	0.27	0.01
Emotional Sensitivity			
Gender	1.58	0.21	0.01
Type of tie	0.04	0.84	0.00
Gender X Type of tie	0.05	0.82	0.00

Likelihood of promotion. Hypotheses 3 predicted that star connections would lead to an increase in likelihood of promotion for early career men (not women). To test this hypothesis, I ran one-way ANOVA on the *likelihood of promotion* item. The results of the analysis showed interaction effects of gender and type of connection at a 10% level of confidence, F (1, 209) = 2.81, p=0.09, η_p^2= .05. Notably, these effects were not as predicted as the mean

ratings of likelihood of promotion is higher for women than men across both the conditions. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is not supported. However, a closer look at the univariate tests show that, although star connections don't seem to provide a significant benefit to women (that is, they generally have high likelihood of promotion irrespective of connections) (*M*=5.04, *SD*=1.33), male candidates receive a significant boost to the likelihood of promotion ratings when they are perceived to be relying on a star (*M*=4.64, *SD*=1.55), F (1, 209) = 11.53, p<0.00, η_p^2= .05. Figure 2.6 presents the means of likelihood of promotion for men and women under both average and star connection conditions.

Figure 2.6

Mean Likelihood of promotion scores for male and female candidates for average vs star condition



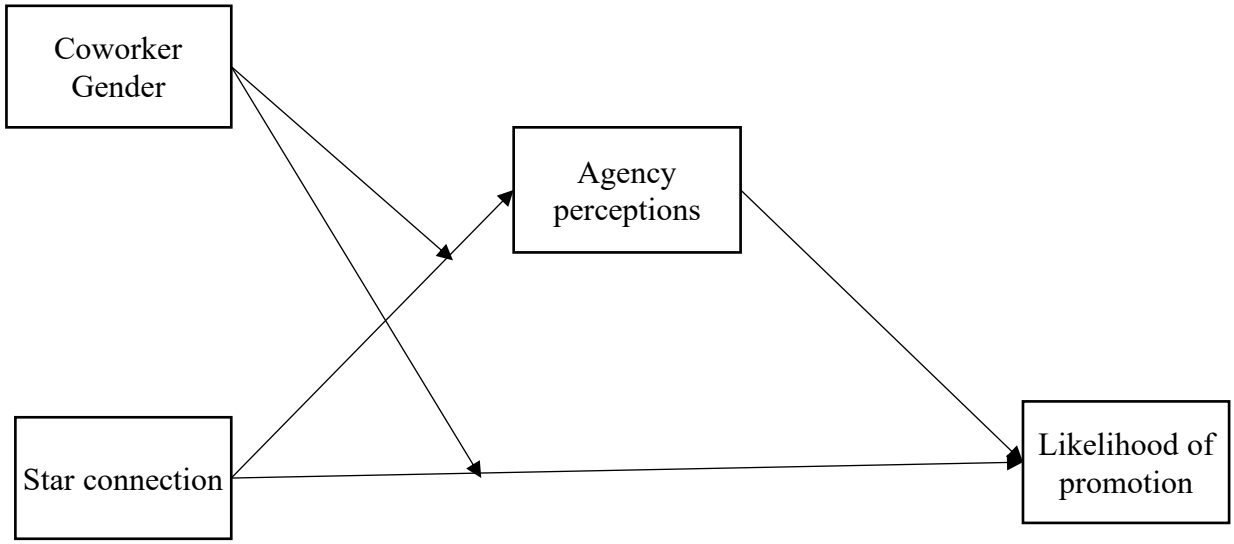
Moderated mediation. I tested for hypothesis 4 that predicted communality perceptions mediated perceived performance potential, by running a first stage moderated mediation analysis (Hayes, 2018). To test the moderated mediation model depicted in Figure 2.1, I tested for significance of indirect effects of the communality measure and direct effects of the type of tie (star vs average connection) on the likelihood of promotion using the bootstrap method with 5,000 resamples (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). Results do not show any significant

impact of moderation by gender on communality and likelihood of promotion (*CI*: -0.62,0.19). Neither do they show any mediation effect by the communality measure (*CI*: -0.04,0.36). However, the mediation analysis does show a total effect (b = 0.61, SE = 0.20, p = .00), and a direct effect of the type of tie on likelihood of promotion (b = 0.46, SE = 0.17, p = .01).

Further, I also tested for significance of indirect effects of the agency measure and direct effects of the type of tie (star vs average connection) on the perceived performance potential using the bootstrap method with 5,000 resamples (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). Results show that participants rated only the male coworker (not the female coworker) as having higher agency when he had a star connection (b = 0.84, SE = 0.19, p = .00) and this, in turn, has an indirect effect on the likelihood of promotion (*CI*: 0.94,1.03).

Additionally, I also calculated the mediation effects of each subdimensions of agency and communality. As expected, I found no significant mediation and moderation effects for the communality subdimensions – concern for others (*CI*: -0.59,0.13), emotional stability (*CI*: -0.40,0.31) and sociability (*CI*: -0.54,0.14). Further, participants rated only the male coworker with star connections as having higher leadership competence (b = 0.62, SE = 0.20, p = .00) and this, in turn, has an indirect effect on the likelihood of promotion (*CI*: 0.07,0.47). Participants also rated the male coworker as having higher assertiveness when he had a star connection (b = 0.24, SE = 0.10, p = .00) and this, in turn, has an indirect effect on the likelihood of promotion (*CI*: -0.46,-0.02). Figure 2.7 shows the change in the hypothesized model based on the findings of the mediated moderation analysis.

Figure 2.7
Corrected Moderated Mediation Model based on the Gender and Networks study



Therefore, to summarize the findings, mediated moderation effects were only significant for the agency measure of the male coworker. That is, the boost in agency perceptions for men when they have star connections help them with an increased likelihood of promotion. This effect is statistically insignificant for women.

LIWC Results. After analyzing the qualitative feedback for the candidate using the LIWC dictionaries for "achieve", "power", "social", "agency" and "communion" words (Boyd et al., 2022; Pietraszkiewicz et al., 2019), there was no significant interaction found between average vs star and male vs female conditions. It is likely this lack of significance can be attributed to the shorter length of responses from the participants given the shorter duration of the study. The details of ANOVA analysis for each of the set of dictionary words are presented in Appendix 2.

Discussion and qualitative feedback. Our results suggest that individuals benefit with a higher perception of agency when they are perceived to be well connected with a star in the organization. Therefore, hypothesis 1 was supported. However, this benefit from connection with a star is higher for men than women. Hypothesis 2 was not supported as a connection

with a star did not significantly impact women with a star connection. The results do suggest a benefit to men when they have a star connection through an increased perception of agency which in turn led to an increase in likelihood of promotion. However, contrary to the expectation of hypothesis 3, women were generally rated higher in terms of likelihood of promotion.

Upon analyzing the qualitative feedback from participants on all coworkers, we found that all early career individuals irrespective of their gender were seen to be connecting with a high-performing star under the star condition. However, a number of participants sought more information than mere connections when deciding on promotion decisions. The participants insisted on receiving more information about the candidate's "individual accomplishments and skills" and about the "quality of" the candidate's work.

This uncertainty and importance of individual level performance information rather than focus on social ties was more pronounced for male candidates than female candidates. Notably, as shown by the below quotes, for female candidates, under both the average as well as star condition, the ability to seek help and being collaborative was observed more than the performance level of the manager with whom she had aligned herself.

"Julie appears to be a proactive and collaborative team member, as evidenced by her close working relationship with Aaron, a high-performing director in the company. Her reliance on Aaron for advice in press releases and social media updates suggests that she values input from experienced colleagues, which is a positive trait in a team-oriented environment. Julie's collaboration with Aaron on various work-related matters indicates her ability to work effectively within cross-functional teams. Overall, her willingness to seek guidance and work closely with a recognized star director like Aaron reflects her dedication to producing high-quality marketing and communication materials." – participant under star condition for the female candidate

"I think Julie would be a good fit for the promotion. The main reason is who she has worked with in the past. She has worked with an average performing director, not a high performer. With this in mind, you can assume she has had to learn the job on her own and perform at a much higher level to cover for an average performing director. She is ready to step into a leadership role." – participant under average condition for the female candidate.

Female candidates seem to benefit from being perceived as seeking help. Even when they seek help from an average manager, the participants observed that they were not a "clout chaser" and that makes them a reasonably good choice for promotion. Male candidates, on the other hand, were observed to be relying on a "mediocre performer" which made the participant question their "judgement and performance". However, when the male candidate had a star connection, they were perceived to be "capable" and making the "relationships he needs to be successful". Therefore, a key benefit women seem to be having based on the qualitative feedback is that they have been found to be seeking help irrespective of the performance level of their connection and hence, their subsequent agency and communality scores do not seem to have impacted their likelihood of promotion. In case of men, who they are connected to was assessed and their ability judged on the basis of the type of tie they had. The qualitative findings, therefore, move away from the hypothesized suggestions made using the extant theories.

2.3 General Discussion

The results of the study suggests that contrary to the hypothesized direction men seem to benefit from having a connection with a star but women do not. It should, however, be noted that the study had several limitations. One key limitation of the study is the focus on team member feedback where individuals providing the feedback were primarily White. Such a skewed participant pool can impact external validity of the inferences (Campbell & Cook, 1979), particularly given the various studies in the past that have established that racial and

gender stereotypes often intersect (Fiske, 2017; Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1993; Landau, 1995). Future research should examine how members of different ethnic groups cognitively evaluate coworkers when they have star connections. Given the propensity to anticipate help-seeking behavior from low status groups (Flynn et al., 2006; Nadler et al., 2003), it is likely that members of racial minority groups might assume individuals benefit from connections with a star. At the same time, in case of black women, the concept of "double standards" of competence (Foschi, 2000), might lead to them having a higher advantage than men from connections with a star. Notably, as found in prior research about the "acolyte effect", men did benefit from connections with a star (Kilduff et al., 2016).

Our research also assumed a situation where the high-performing senior whose support the coworker relied on was male. There has been little research that confirms whether support from male of female high-performing senior changes the way in which an individual is cognitively evaluated. However, the theoretical concept of homophily (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987) would imply that women are expected to for network ties with other women. Indeed, past research on gender and social networks suggests that the lack of women in senior positions is the reason why women tend to find forming high-status ties difficult (Ibarra, 1993). At the same time, research has also shown that a tie with a male senior can help women attain legitimacy in workplace networks (Burt, 2000).

This study, further, assumes that observers accurately identify high performing seniors who support and help their coworkers. Notably, in the study, the accuracy of identifying the star connection was at 99% for candidates of both genders. However, only 77% of the participants understood a non-star connection in the control condition. Research has shown that impact of high-status ties only accrues to the extent that the observer has noticed these ties (Halgin et al., 2020). In addition, network of men and women are perceived differently due to prescribed stereotypical behaviors from them. For instance, men are more

likely to be prescribed holding brokering positions in a friendship network than women (Brands & Kilduff, 2014). It could be likely that women would have been presumed to be collaborative and hence, a mere mention of social connections helped women rank higher in likelihood of promotion irrespective of whether or not it was a star connection. This does seem to be the case when we take into account the qualitative feedback about the candidates.

It is also likely that men and women are perceived to be exhibiting different networking behaviors. Prescribed networking behaviors of men and women can also be a result of the gender normative expectations from them (Brands & Mehra, 2019). However, the perceived intent behind networking becomes particularly important when individuals are being evaluated on the basis of their connections with a star. For men, any connection with a star might be presumed to be agentic. Women might benefit when the intent is perceived to be communal and not self-serving. Prior research on networking behavior seems to suggest that networking and creating self-serving, instrumental ties makes people feel dirty (Casciaro et al., 2014). There has been little further understanding of whether this judgement of the behavior extends to how observers evaluate individuals and whether gender moderates this perception of intent. Future research can help understand whether observers notice the intention behind individuals making different connections.

A key deviation from hypothesized understanding in the result is that agency and not communality was a significant mediator when predicting likelihood of promotion. This is an important finding that goes beyond the idea of primacy of communion in evalutive judgements (Wojciszke & Abele, 2008). Indeed, it is in line with previous concepts of networks signaling competence especially when little else is known about the individual (Podolny, 2001; Spence, 1978). However, it would be important to note how this would translate in practical organizational settings. Given the study has only conducted an online experiment, it would be relevant to understand how this theory stands in an organizational

setting. An interesting setting to understand this can be consulting firms where associates are often mapped to specific senior director and partners. The associates and senior associates' future trajectory in the firm often relies on how popular the director or partner is. Future research should try to find a practical setting where such a theory can be tested.

Practitioners have often suggested that network ties with senior management can be a strategy for breaking the glass ceiling (Chanland & Murphy, 2018). There have also been calls to include methods of strategic networking in the career trainings women receive (Ibarra et al., 2010). Practitioners have also called for providing opportunities to create such ties through formal networking events (Barsh & Yee, 2012). However, the study in this thesis shows that a mere connection with a star does not provide enough benefits to women in a team setting.

Chapter 3: Impact of shared stigma on allyship intentions

3.1 Theoretical background

Allyship was initially conceptualized as alliances that are forged by dominant members of demographic groups with minorities to ensure the betterment of the marginalized group (Ostrove et al., 2009). Since then, many attempts have been made to understand what allyship can look like within organizations (Sabat et al., 2013), how is the behavior understood by the minority groups (Brown & Ostrove, 2013) and what can motivate members of the dominant groups to engage in collective action in favor of minorities (Radke et al., 2020). Past literature has made calls to action for members of non-marginalized groups, often highlighting the benefits of such allyship and how it can lead to positive outcomes for the organization through reduction in workplace discrimination (Ashburn-Nardo, 2018).

However, there has been limited empirical evidence provided to ascertain what can lead to allyship behaviors. Some of the earliest theoretical explorations into what motivates someone to be an ally has hinted at morality being the primary motivation that decides whether or not a person becomes an ally (Washington & Evans, 1991). More recently, there has been an investigation that has found two additional motivations beyond mere moral reasons a) to genuinely improve the status of the disadvantaged group on the condition that their own status is maintained b) to meet their personal needs (Radke et al., 2020).

A recent study has found that privilege awareness can positively impact male allyship behaviors at work (Yoon et al., 2023). A similar study on collective action has shown that when men perceived gender discrimination as widespread, the feelings of sympathy towards the victims leading to collective action against said discrimination (Iyer & Ryan, 2009). Therefore, this line of thought suggests that it is the awareness of perceived high social status that often leads members of the advantaged groups to support those from the minority groups in the workplace. These recent studies as well as past conceptualizations of allyship,

however, assume the status of the dominant group member remains constant. It does not consider the impact of social class transitions and the subsequent loss (or gain) in privilege or perceived social status on allyship intentions.

3.1.1 Immigrant stereotypes, perceived social status change and stigma consciousness

The immigrant stereotypes are rooted in certain globally known features of the nations from which the immigrants travel like politics and economics (Poppe, 2001). The basis for these prevailing stereotypes can be explained through the stereotype content model (SCM) across warmth and competence dimensions (Fiske et al., 2002). SCM posits that individuals are evaluated on the basis of warmth and competence and that stereotypes are ambivalent where one group may score higher on one dimension and lower on another and they depend on the place a group has on the social hierarchy (Cuddy et al., 2008). Social status of the group an individual is part of, therefore, predicts the perceived evaluation of that individual by others (Cuddy et al., 2007). These perceptions then give rise to the individual's perceived threat based on prevailing stereotypes(Steele & Aronson, 1995). The degree to which an individual is aware of stereotypes attached to their demographic group has been defined as *stigma consciousness* (Pinel, 1999).

Indeed, stigma consciousness has been linked with individual differences in the reaction to prevailing stereotypes (Pinel, 2002). It has also been found, however, that an internalized stigmatized identity is not a necessary condition for stigma consciousness to present itself. When a group of math-proficient white males were exposed to a stereotype threat by invoking a comparison with Asian students stereotyped to be better at math, they performed worse than in a nonstereotyped-threatened condition (J. Aronson et al., 1999). Therefore, a mere change in context within which the individuals were made aware of a group better or higher placed than them in a specific domain, led to performance changes for the individuals.

Among immigrants, this change in context presents itself in the form of change in an individual's perceived social status or hierarchy when they move from their home country to a new country. Social status of the group an individual belongs to informs others' stereotypes of the groups in many ways. Firstly, people evaluate others by legitimizing unfair social structures which they believe are impossible to change (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Secondly, certain world-views like "just-world" thinking can lead people to presume that status of each group is deserved (Lerner & Miller, 1978). Finally, given the propensity of people to identify the hierarchical structures around them through upward tuning and end-anchoring (van Kreveld & Zajonc, 1966; Walker, 1976), it is inevitable for an individual to perceive whether they have undergone a drop or rise in social status when they move to a new country.

Immigrant groups present a unique lens through which we can understand how perceived social status can inform stigma consciousness. Individuals who move from their home country to a new country (where they might become lower than their previous position in the hierarchy) can undergo change in their perceived group social status. Here the change group status can be upward and downward depending on the perceived global status of their nationalities[2]. Indeed, a study of participants responding to an immigrant scenario found that demographic groups that were perceived to be high status in their country of origin were perceived to be more competent and groups that are perceived to be highly competitive in their country of origin were perceived to be less warm (Caprariello et al., 2009). Stereotype content model (SCM) proposes a social structural hypothesis: those high on social hierarchy are perceived to be more competent and those who are perceived to be harmless (in that they do not compete for the in-group's resources) are perceived to high on warmth (Cuddy et al.,

[2] It should be noted that research on the psychological processes involved in expatriate adjustment does not mention how prevailing stereotypes in the destination country can impact the process (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al., 2005).

2007). However, for immigrants, the SCM has posited a four-way framework where competence and warmth perceptions are based on perceived hierarchies at a group and individual level as well as the extent to which the group is considered to compete with in-group members (T. L. Lee & Fiske, 2006). A White American, for instance, who moves to a developing nation like India would incur a rise in social status vs upper caste Indians (at the top of their social hierarchy) who move to the United States might witness a drop in social status. Further, the content of positive and negative stereotypes in each case can differ. On the one hand, white expats from the west might suffer from a negative communality perception in Asia driven by the colonial past and an inherent lack of trust of outsiders. On the other, the same group may benefit from competence perception of a global perspective of western countries having a dominant position in the world (Poppe, 2001).

Therefore, this thesis aims to understand how the change in perceived social status can impact a skilled immigrant's stigma consciousness and the subsequent outcomes as a result of the same. A movement from being part of a high-to-low status, for example, can have a detrimental effect on the immigrant's threat perceptions. Past research has shown that when presented with minority representation cues (where they are aware of their out-group positions), African-American professionals felt their social identities were threatened and distrust their workplace settings (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). A study of stereotype threat shows that the activation of stereotype threat arises from the individual motivation to enhance or maintain one's status (Josephs et al., 2003). Therefore, any perceived change in status is likely to make individuals more aware of stereotypes about their group.

Proposed Baseline hypothesis: The perceived change in an individual's group status (from high to low and vice versa) can lead to a change in stigma consciousness.

3.1.2 Shared stigmatized identity and collective action

Past literature has shown that shared disadvantages among minority can often lead to collective actions across the various minority groups (Cortland et al., 2017). This line of research has shown that, in particular, making salient to one minority group the discrimination felt by other minority groups can lead to greater intergroup solidarity (Craig & Richeson, 2016). The conceptualization here relies on shared experiences that can lead to feelings of empathy (Hodges, Kiel, et al., 2010). In the positive psychology literature, the idea of shared experiences has presented itself in the form of perspective taking – that is attempting to see events through the perspective of others, and found that it can ensure intergroup cooperation (Hodges, Clark, et al., 2010). It is important to note here, however, that most of these studies have been run in North America, across individualistic cultures and has not considered what happens, for instance, if an individual were to move across these different cultures and how that would impact their perspective taking abilities. That is, what happens when an individual's context within which they are viewing others changes.

A review of perspective taking literature has found the activity to be a double-edged sword, in terms of individual behavior. On the one hand, perspective taking can mean finding common group between stereotyped and nonstereotyped groups and subsequently reduce bias (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). However, studies have also found that an individual who takes the perspective of a stereotyped self, is more likely to internalize the said stereotypes or stigmas and behave more stereotypically (Bargh et al., 1996; Dijksterhuis & Van Knippenberg, 1998). This presents two very divergent points of view and, therefore, presents an interesting dilemma towards what can or cannot make a person an ally to minority demographic groups. Therefore, becoming aware of one's privilege or the loss of privilege can lead immigrants to either internalize the shared disadvantages with other minorities and

reduce their bias or it could also lead to internalized stigma and the subsequent threat could reduce their likelihood to become an ally.

As mentioned before, allyship literature has found that awareness of privilege can lead to becoming a better ally at the workplace (Yoon et al., 2023). Indeed practitioners have suggested greater intergroup contact to generate social empathy and awareness of privilege as tools to develop allyship within organizations (Bergkamp et al., 2022; Warren & Warren, 2023). However, these studies remain limited to the fringes of psychological research and attempt merely to understand the genesis of what can prompt allyship development at an organizational level. They also assume that privilege due to a higher perceived social status of one's demographic group, remains constant.

This essay, therefore, intends to change key static conceptualizations of stigma consciousness and allyship by problematizing the underlying static nature of one's perceived social status. By bringing together, the allyship as well as shared solidarity literature, the thesis attempts to bridge the gap to understand how social class transitions can lead to different individual behaviors. By identifying this theoretical gap in both the allyship as well as stereotype literature, I attempt to address some of the key questions raised in a recent review of stereotype literature that clearly states that the importance understanding how stereotypes are changing with changing social classes (Fiske et al., 2016).

Chapter 4 Conclusion

This thesis has delved into the intricate dynamics of gender diversity and allyship behavior within the workplace, spanning across two comprehensive essays. The first essay hypothesized that women would benefit from having connections with a high-performing star. However, through empirical examination and subsequent analysis, it became evident that although men do benefit from connections with a high-performing star, this benefit does not necessarily extend to women. This is an important finding given the current literature on gender and networks that is keen in insisting that women tend to not benefit from their networks due to the lack of visibility of their alters (Ely et al., 2011). So far most of the research attempting to understand the "acolyte effect" has focused on men benefitting from connections with a high-performing senior early in their careers (Kilduff et al., 2016). Although the study in this thesis found no significant benefit for women with similar ties, it is important to observe and test this hypothesis within the organizational context. In particular, future research can help practitioners design their mentorship programs accordingly.

The second essay navigated the burgeoning literature on the antecedents of allyship behavior (De Souza & Schmader, 2022). In particular, the idea that the members of the "dominant" group might not always feel dominant and what that can mean for whether or not they chose to become an ally. The changing social status of various groups can mean that the understanding of common stereotypes about that group has also been changing. We have seen this with changing ideas of competence for women in certain organizations (Foschi, 2000) and in case of white American students during a math test (J. Aronson et al., 1999). The larger question here is whether these changes in context can lead to perspective-taking and empathy and ultimately allyship

The empirical findings and theoretical frameworks presented in this thesis across the two employee behaviors of networking and allyship provide a solid foundation for future research and practical applications in organizational contexts. It is my hope that this work serves as a catalyst for continued dialogue, action, and progress towards more equitable and inclusive workplaces.

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here is to present the outline of the signaling model and some of its conclusions. Generalizations of the numerical examples used for expositional purposes here are found in ibid, and elsewhere. In *Uncertainty in Economics* (pp. 281–306). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-214850-7.50025-5

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Participant Materials for Gender and Networks study

Imagine yourself working as a manager in a marketing team as described below, and immerse yourself in the situation.

1. **Male coworker with a star connection**

You (senior manager) are working in the marketing & communication department of a global company. The department is looking to hire someone from within the organization to the team. **Jonathan is a candidate from the product design team being considered for hiring, you have been asked to provide feedback on him.**

Jonathan has been involved with several projects within this organization. From discussions with your colleagues, you are made aware of who in the company he has closely worked with in the past, as described below.

Jonathan works very closely with Aaron during his daily activities. Aaron is a high-performing, star director in the company. Aarons' work has been greatly recognized in the company and in the field.

When writing press releases or updating social media, Jonathan relies on Aaron for advice. Jonathan usually consults with Aaron before responding to media inquiries. He often collaborates with Aaron on work related matters.

2. **Male coworker with average connection**

You (senior manager) are working in the marketing & communication department of a global company. The department is looking to hire someone from within the organization to the team. **Jonathan is a candidate from the product design team being considered for hiring, you have been asked to provide feedback on him.**

Jonathan has been involved with several projects within this organization. From discussions with your colleagues, you are made aware of who in the company he has closely worked with in the past, as described below.

Jonathan works very closely with Aaron during his daily activities. Aaron is an average performing director in the company. Aaron's work has received little recognition either in the company or in the field.

When writing press releases or updating social media, Jonathan relies on Aaron for advice. Jonathan usually consults with Aaron before responding to media inquiries. He often collaborates with Aaron on work related matters.

3. **Female coworker with star connection**

You (senior manager) are working in the marketing & communication department of a global company. The department is looking to hire someone from within the organization to the team. **Julie is a candidate from the product design team being considered for hiring, you have been asked to provide feedback on her.**

Julie has been involved with several projects within this organization. From discussions with your colleagues, you are made aware of who in the company she has closely worked with in the past, as described below.

Julie works very closely with Aaron during his daily activities. Aaron is a high-performing, star director in the company. Aarons' work has been greatly recognized in the company and in the field.

When writing press releases or updating social media, Julie relies on Aaron for advice. Julie usually consults with Aaron before responding to media inquiries. She often collaborates with Aaron on work related matters.

4. **Female coworker with average connection**

You (senior manager) are working in the marketing & communication department of a global company. The department is looking to hire someone from within the organization to the team. **Julie is a candidate from the product design team being considered for hiring, you have been asked to provide feedback on her.**

Julie has been involved with several projects within this organization. From discussions with your colleagues, you are made aware of who in the company she has closely worked with in the past, as described below.

Julie works very closely with Aaron during his daily activities. Aaron is an average performing director in the company. Aaron's work has received little recognition either in the company or in the field.

When writing press releases or updating social media, Julie relies on Aaron for advice. Julie usually consults with Aaron before responding to media inquiries. She often collaborates with Aaron on work related matters.

Appendix 2

Detailed statistical results for Gender and Networks study

Table A1

Dependent Variable: Agency

Descriptive Statistics

Candidate Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SD	N
Male	Average	4.39	1.14	54
	Star	5.23	0.93	53
	Total	4.80	1.12	107
Female	Average	4.78	1.02	53
	Star	5.04	0.78	50
	Total	4.91	0.92	103
Total	Average	4.58	1.10	107
	Star	5.14	0.86	103
	Total	4.86	1.02	210

Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	*p*
Gender	0.57	1	0.57	0.59	0.44
Type of tie	15.92	1	15.92	16.61	<0.00
Gender X Type of tie	4.44	1	4.44	4.63	0.03
Total	5168.86	210			
Corrected Total	218.74	209			

a R Squared = .097 (Adjusted R Squared = .084)

Gender X Type of tie: Estimates

Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	4.39	0.13	4.12	4.65
	Star	5.23	0.13	4.96	5.49
Female	Average	4.78	0.13	4.52	5.05
	Star	5.04	0.14	4.77	5.32

Pairwise comparisons

Candidate Gender	(I) Type of Tie	(J) Type of tie	Mean Difference(I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% CI for Difference	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	Star	-.84*	0.19	<0.00	-1.22	-0.47
	Star	Average	.84*	0.19	<0.00	0.47	1.22
Female	Average	Star	-0.26	0.19	0.18	-0.64	0.12
	Star	Average	0.26	0.19	0.18	-0.12	0.64

Based on estimated marginal means

*The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

[b] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

Table A2
Dependent Variable: Communality

Descriptive Statistics

Candidate Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SD	N
Male	Average	5.04	0.85	54
	Star	5.31	0.78	53
	Total	5.18	0.82	107
Female	Average	5.16	0.79	53
	Star	5.20	0.74	50
	Total	5.18	0.76	103
Total	Average	5.10	0.82	107
	Star	5.26	0.76	103
	Total	5.18	0.79	210

Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	*p*
Gender	0.00	1	0.001	0.00	0.97
Type of tie	1.31	1	1.31	2.10	0.15
Gender X Type of tie	0.66	1	0.66	1.06	0.31
Total	5760.93	210			
Corrected Total	130.98	209			

a R Squared = .015 (Adjusted R Squared = .001)

Gender X Type of tie: Estimates

Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	5.04	0.11	4.83	5.25
	Star	5.31	0.11	5.10	5.53
Female	Average	5.16	0.11	4.94	5.37
	Star	5.20	0.11	4.98	5.42

Pairwise comparisons

Candidate Gender	(I) Type of Tie	(J) Type of tie	Mean Difference(I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% CI for Difference	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	Star	-0.27	0.15	0.08	-0.57	0.03
	Star	Average	0.27	0.15	0.08	-0.03	0.57
Female	Average	Star	-0.05	0.16	0.77	-0.35	0.26
	Star	Average	0.05	0.16	0.77	-0.26	0.35

Based on estimated marginal means

[b] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

Table A3

Dependent Variable: Likelihood of promotion

Descriptive Statistics

Candidate Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SD	N
Male	Average	4.19	1.74	54
	Star	5.11	1.17	53
	Total	4.64	1.55	107
Female	Average	4.91	1.43	53
	Star	5.18	1.22	50
	Total	5.04	1.34	103
Total	Average	4.54	1.63	107
	Star	5.15	1.19	103
	Total	4.84	1.46	210

Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	*p*
Gender	8.13	1	8.13	4.07	0.05
Type of tie	18.96	1	18.96	9.49	0.00
Gender X Type of tie	5.60	1	5.60	2.81	0.10
Total	5360.00	210			
Corrected Total	444.50	209			

a R Squared = .075 (Adjusted R Squared = .061)

Gender X Type of tie: Estimates

Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	4.19	0.19	3.81	4.56
	Star	5.11	0.19	4.73	5.50
Female	Average	4.91	0.19	4.52	5.29
	Star	5.18	0.20	4.79	5.57

Pairwise comparisons

Candidate Gender	(I) Type of Tie	(J) Type of tie	Mean Difference(I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% CI for Difference	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	Star	-.93*	0.27	0.00	-1.47	-0.39
	Star	Average	.93*	0.27	0.00	0.39	1.47
Female	Average	Star	-0.27	0.28	0.33	-0.82	0.28
	Star	Average	0.27	0.28	0.33	-0.28	0.82

Based on estimated marginal means

*The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

[b] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

Table A4

Dependent Variable: Instrumental competence

Descriptive Statistics

Candidate Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SD	N
Male	Average	4.92	1.13	54
	Star	5.70	0.75	53
	Total	5.30	1.03	107
Female	Average	5.40	0.87	53
	Star	5.68	0.74	50
	Total	5.53	0.82	103
Total	Average	5.16	1.03	107
	Star	5.69	0.75	103
	Total	5.42	0.94	210

Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	*p*
Gender	2.85	1.00	2.85	3.58	0.06
Type of tie	14.57	1	14.57	18.32	<0.00
Gender X Type of tie	3.36	1	3.36	4.22	0.04
Total	6343.62	210			
Corrected Total	184.87	209			

a R Squared = .114 (Adjusted R Squared = .101)

Gender X Type of tie: Estimates

Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	4.92	0.12	4.68	5.15
	Star	5.70	0.12	5.45	5.94
Female	Average	5.40	0.12	5.16	5.64
	Star	5.68	0.13	5.43	5.92

Pairwise comparisons

Candidate Gender	(I) Type of Tie	(J) Type of tie	Mean Difference(I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% CI for Difference	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	Star	-.78*	0.17	0.00	-1.12	-0.44
	Star	Average	.78*	0.17	0.00	0.44	1.12
Female	Average	Star	-0.27	0.18	0.12	-0.62	0.07
	Star	Average	0.27	0.18	0.12	-0.07	0.62

Based on estimated marginal means

*The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

[b] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

Table A5

Dependent Variable: Leadership competence

Descriptive Statistics

Candidate Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SD	N
Male	Average	4.53	1.34	54
	Star	5.61	0.86	53
	Total	5.06	1.25	107
Female	Average	5.05	1.20	53
	Star	5.60	0.67	50
	Total	5.32	1.02	103
Total	Average	4.79	1.30	107
	Star	5.60	0.77	103
	Total	5.19	1.14	210

Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	*p*
Gender	3.45	1	3.45	3.06	0.08
Type of tie	34.66	1	34.66	30.80	<0.00
Gender X Type of tie	3.63	1	3.63	3.23	0.07
Total	5926.36	210			
Corrected Total	273.93	209			

a R Squared = .154 (Adjusted R Squared = .141)

Gender X Type of tie: Estimates

Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	4.53	0.14	4.25	4.82
	Star	5.61	0.15	5.32	5.89
Female	Average	5.05	0.15	4.76	5.34
	Star	5.60	0.15	5.30	5.90

Pairwise comparisons

Candidate Gender	(I) Type of Tie	(J) Type of tie	Mean Difference(I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% CI for Difference	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	Star	-1.08*	0.21	<0.00	-1.48	-0.67
	Star	Average	1.08*	0.21	<0.00	0.67	1.48
Female	Average	Star	-.55*	0.21	0.01	-0.96	-0.14
	Star	Average	.55*	0.21	0.01	0.14	0.96

Based on estimated marginal means

*The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

[b] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

Table A6

Dependent Variable: Assertiveness

Descriptive Statistics

Candidate Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SD	N
Male	Average	3.72	1.36	54
	Star	4.70	1.26	53
	Total	4.21	1.39	107
Female	Average	4.08	1.42	53
	Star	4.26	1.26	50
	Total	4.17	1.34	103
Total	Average	3.90	1.39	107
	Star	4.49	1.28	103
	Total	4.19	1.36	210

Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	*p*
Gender	0.09	1	0.09	0.05	0.83
Type of tie	17.60	1	17.60	10.01	<0.00
Gender X Type of tie	8.71	1	8.71	4.95	0.03
Total	4071.95	210			
Corrected Total	389.22	209			

a R Squared = .069 (Adjusted R Squared = .056)

Gender X Type of tie: Estimates

Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	3.72	0.18	3.36	4.07
	Star	4.70	0.18	4.35	5.06
Female	Average	4.09	0.18	3.73	4.44
	Star	4.26	0.19	3.89	4.63

Pairwise comparisons

Candidate Gender	(I) Type of Tie	(J) Type of tie	Mean Difference(I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% CI for Difference	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	Star	-.99*	0.26	<0.00	-1.49	-0.48
	Star	Average	.99*	0.26	<0.00	0.48	1.49
Female	Average	Star	-0.17	0.26	0.51	-0.69	0.34
	Star	Average	0.17	0.26	0.51	-0.34	0.69

Based on estimated marginal means

*The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

[b] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

Table A7

Dependent Variable: Independence

Descriptive Statistics

Candidate Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SD	N
Male	Average	4.43	1.23	54
	Star	5.00	1.15	53
	Total	4.71	1.22	107
Female	Average	4.66	1.16	53
	Star	4.77	0.96	50
	Total	4.71	1.06	103
Total	Average	4.54	1.20	107
	Star	4.89	1.06	103
	Total	4.71	1.14	210

Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	*p*
Gender	0.00	1	0.00	0.00	1.00
Type of tie	6.22	1	6.22	4.85	0.03
Gender X Type of tie	2.89	1	2.89	2.26	0.14
Total	4937.81	210			
Corrected Total	273.03	209			

a R Squared = .034 (Adjusted R Squared = .020)

Gender X Type of tie: Estimates

Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	4.43	0.15	4.12	4.73
	Star	5.01	0.16	4.70	5.31
Female	Average	4.66	0.16	4.35	4.97
	Star	4.77	0.16	4.46	5.09

Pairwise comparisons

Candidate Gender	(I) Type of Tie	(J) Type of tie	Mean Difference(I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% CI for Difference	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	Star	-.58*	0.22	0.01	-1.01	-0.15
	Star	Average	.58*	0.22	0.01	0.15	1.01
Female	Average	Star	-0.11	0.22	0.62	-0.55	0.33
	Star	Average	0.11	0.22	0.62	-0.33	0.55

Based on estimated marginal means

*The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

[b] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

Table A8

Dependent Variable: Sociability

Descriptive Statistics

Candidate Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SD	N
Male	Average	5.34	0.87	54
	Star	5.81	0.65	53
	Total	5.57	0.80	107
Female	Average	5.51	0.80	53
	Star	5.75	0.84	50
	Total	5.63	0.83	103
Total	Average	5.42	0.84	107
	Star	5.78	0.74	103
	Total	5.60	0.81	210

Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	*p*
Gender	0.16	1	0.16	0.26	0.61
Type of tie	6.53	1	6.53	10.38	0.00
Gender X Type of tie	0.78	1	0.78	1.24	0.27
Total	6719.11	210			
Corrected Total	137.24	209			

a R Squared = .055 (Adjusted R Squared = .041)

Gender X Type of tie: Estimates

Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	5.34	0.11	5.12	5.55
	Star	5.81	0.11	5.60	6.03
Female	Average	5.51	0.11	5.30	5.73
	Star	5.75	0.11	5.52	5.97

Pairwise comparisons

Candidate Gender	(I) Type of Tie	(J) Type of tie	Mean Difference(I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% CI for Difference	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	Star	-.48*	0.15	0.00	-0.78	-0.17
	Star	Average	.48*	0.15	0.00	0.17	0.78
Female	Average	Star	-0.23	0.16	0.14	-0.54	0.08
	Star	Average	0.23	0.16	0.14	-0.08	0.54

Based on estimated marginal means

*The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

[b] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

Table A9

Dependent Variable: Concern for others

Descriptive Statistics

Candidate Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SD	N
Male	Average	4.97	1.02	54
	Star	5.19	1.00	53
	Total	5.08	1.01	107
Female	Average	5.21	0.91	53
	Star	5.11	0.90	50
	Total	5.16	0.90	103
Total	Average	5.09	0.97	107
	Star	5.15	0.95	103
	Total	5.12	0.96	210

Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	*p*
Gender	0.35	1	0.35	0.38	0.54
Type of tie	0.21	1	0.21	0.22	0.64
Gender X Type of tie	1.43	1	1.43	1.54	0.22
Total	5697.35	210			
Corrected Total	192.67	209			

a R Squared = .010 (Adjusted R Squared = .004)

Gender X Type of tie: Estimates

Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	4.97	0.13	4.71	5.22
	Star	5.19	0.13	4.93	5.45
Female	Average	5.21	0.13	4.95	5.47
	Star	5.11	0.14	4.84	5.38

Pairwise comparisons

Candidate Gender	(I) Type of Tie	(J) Type of tie	Mean Difference(I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% CI for Difference	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	Star	-0.23	0.19	0.22	-0.59	0.14
	Star	Average	0.23	0.19	0.22	-0.14	0.59
Female	Average	Star	0.10	0.19	0.59	-0.27	0.48
	Star	Average	-0.10	0.19	0.59	-0.48	0.27

Based on estimated marginal means

[b] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

Table A10

Dependent Variable: Emotional Sensitivity

Descriptive Statistics

Candidate Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SD	N
Male	Average	4.75	0.96	54
	Star	4.81	0.98	53
	Total	4.78	0.97	107
Female	Average	4.61	1.09	53
	Star	4.61	0.80	50
	Total	4.61	0.96	103
Total	Average	4.68	1.03	107
	Star	4.71	0.90	103
	Total	4.69	0.96	210

Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	*p*
Gender	1.47	1	1.47	1.58	0.21
Type of tie	0.04	1	0.04	0.04	0.84
Gender X Type of tie	0.05	1	0.05	0.05	0.82
Total	4820.11	210			
Corrected Total	193.74	209			

a R Squared = .008 (Adjusted R Squared = .006)

Gender X Type of tie: Estimates

Gender	Type of tie	Mean	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	4.75	0.13	4.49	5.01
	Star	4.81	0.13	4.54	5.07
Female	Average	4.61	0.13	4.35	4.87
	Star	4.61	0.14	4.34	4.88

Pairwise comparisons

Candidate Gender	(I) Type of Tie	(J) Type of tie	Mean Difference(I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% CI for Difference	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	Average	Star	-0.06	0.19	0.76	-0.43	0.31
	Star	Average	0.06	0.19	0.76	-0.31	0.43
Female	Average	Star	0.00	0.19	0.99	-0.37	0.38
	Star	Average	0.00	0.19	0.99	-0.38	0.37

Based on estimated marginal means

[b] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).