

UNDERSTANDING WOMEN'S SELF-PROMOTION DETRIMENTS: THE
BACKLASH AVOIDANCE MODEL

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Understanding Women's Self-Promotion Detriments: The Backlash Avoidance Model.

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Although self-promotion is necessary for career success, women experience backlash (i.e., social and economic penalties) for this behavior because it violates female gender stereotypes (Rudman, 1998). Moreover, women who fear backlash have difficulty with self-promotion, relative to men (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). The goal of this dissertation was to test the author's backlash avoidance model (BAM), with the expectation that women's beliefs that self-promotion violates female gender stereotypes lead them to fear backlash for this behavior, which in turn undermines their self-promotion abilities. Moreover, it was expected that the relationship between fear of backlash and self-promotion success would be at least partially mediated by self-regulatory focus (Crowe & Higgins, 1997) and perceived entitlement (Babcock & Laschever, 2003). To examine these ideas, Study 1 ($N = 300$) compared male and female participants' performance on an essay-writing self-promotion task. As expected, women reported higher levels of fear of backlash and lower levels of self-promotion success than

men. Gender differences were also observed for the mediator variables, such that women experienced less promotion focus and entitlement and more prevention focus than men. Additionally, results of structural equation modeling (SEM) supported a modified BAM, whereby gender was found to predict fear of backlash (replacing the perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion). As expected, fear of backlash then interrupted women's self-promotion success, via reduced promotion focus and entitlement, and enhanced prevention focus. Study 2 examined the consequences of this process by testing self-promoting women's propensity to enact backlash against other female self-promoters. Female participants ($N = 115$) self-promoted during a videotaped mock job interview before making judgments of other self-promoters. Results were not supportive of predictions that women who self-promoted well would not penalize another self-promoting woman. Moreover, in contrast to extensive previous research (see Rudman & Phelan, 2008, for a summary), there was no evidence of backlash against female self-promoting targets (both among participants who completed the self-promotion task and those in a control condition who simply rated the self-promoting targets). Possible explanations for these null results, as well as implications of the BAM for women's professional advancement, are discussed.

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I. Introduction

The anecdotal comments of two undergraduate participants in a recent experiment on self-promotion underscore gender differences in the ability to comfortably speak well of oneself (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). After recording an interview during which they were asked to self-promote, one female student declared, “I did such a bad job, because I just kept thinking how much people would dislike me if they heard me going on like that.” In contrast, after a male participant told the researcher that it had been his “favorite experiment,” he explained: “Well I mean, what’s better than getting to talk yourself up?” These divergent reactions, emblematic of many participants, reflect persistent gender differences surrounding self-promotion.

Indeed, consistent with this female participant’s suspicions, previous research has demonstrated that women risk negative reactions for self-promotion, despite its necessity for career success (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999, 2001; see Rudman & Phelan, 2008, for a review). In the face of a persistent gap in workplace gender equity (e.g., women make up only 14.4% of Fortune 500 Executive Officers and 7.6% of its top earners; Catalyst, 2010), it is essential to gain a better understanding of the processes threatening women’s self-promotion success.

To address this demand, recent research (serving as the inspiration for the proposed studies) was the first to provide both an empirical examination of gender differences in self-promotion behavior, and also to test a possible process by which they unfold (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). The current studies build upon this research by testing an expanded version of the backlash avoidance model, with the broader aim of shedding light on women’s self-promotion detriments.

Gender Differences in Self-Promotion and Related Behaviors

The present research focuses on self-promotion, a critical component of professional success that predicts perceptions of competence (Jones & Pittman, 1982) and thereby contributes to hiring and promotion decisions (e.g., Janoff-Bulman & Wade, 1996; Kacmar, Delery, & Ferris, 1992; Rudman & Glick, 2001). As a primary form of impression management (Jones & Pittman, 1982), self-promotion includes “pointing with pride to one’s accomplishments, speaking directly about one’s strengths and talents, and making internal rather than external attributions for achievements” (Rudman, 1998, p. 629). From informal conversations with supervisors to hiring and promotion interviews, employees must often emphasize their strengths and assertively pursue their goals in order to move up the ranks (Babcock & Laschever, 2003). Indeed, without exercising this ability to “sell oneself,” individuals are likely to languish behind their self-promoting peers (Janoff-Bulman & Wade, 1996; Kacmar et al., 1992; Stevens & Kristof, 1995; Wade, 2001; Wiley & Eskilson, 1985).

And yet, previous research has uncovered gender differences on a range of related behaviors. For example, women demonstrate a pattern of downplaying their achievements and abilities, and this “female modesty” effect has been documented across a wide variety of domains. For example, Heatherington and colleagues have investigated students’ predictions regarding their future academic success (Daubman, Heatherington, & Ahn, 1992; Heatherington, Burns, & Gustafson, 1998; Heatherington, Daubman, Bates, Ahn, Brown, & Preston, 1993). They found that female college students either consistently underestimated their future GPAs or were fairly accurate, while men tended

to significantly overestimate their performance (Daubmen et al., 1992). The argument that this effect was due at least in part to external demands for feminine modesty was supported by the finding that women were particularly prone to underestimation when they knew that their guesses would be given publicly (Daubmen et al., 1992; Heatherington et al., 1993).

These findings are consistent with a large body of literature indicating that women are likely to underrate their abilities relative to men (Beyer, 1990; Carr, Thomas, & Mednick, 1985; Crandall, 1969; Lenney, 1977). For example, women are less likely to take credit for their successes, and more likely to accept blame for their failures than men (Berg, Stephan, & Dodson, 1981; Feather & Simon, 1973; Levine, Gillman, & Reis, 1982). Additionally, women estimate their general intelligence to be less than men do (e.g., Beloff, 1992; Bennett, 1996, 1997; Furnham, Hosoe, & Tang, 2001). Relatedly, women expect to receive more blame for dyadic workplace failures (and less credit for group successes) than do men, regardless of the gender of their work partner (Heilman & Kram, 1983). In sum, men often display a self-enhancing bias, while women are more likely to be self-effacing (Bar-Tal & Frieze, 1977; Berg et al., 1981; Heilman & Kram, 1978). These results suggest that relative to men, women are likely to be more modest about their successes and are more prone to underestimating their skills and abilities.

Even more pertinent to the present research, gender differences in the initiation and success of salary negotiations have been demonstrated consistently. For example, results of a meta-analysis showed that women consistently arrive at less favorable negotiation outcomes than men (Stulmacher & Walters, 1999). More specifically, Babcock and Laschever (2003) found that only 7% of female professional school

graduates made attempts to negotiate increases in their first salary offer, in contrast to 57% of their male classmates. Not surprisingly, male MBAs routinely obtain higher starting salaries than female MBAs (Bowles, Babcock, & McGinn, 2005; Gerhart & Rynes, 1991; Stevens, Bavetta, & Gist, 1993). Thus, poor negotiation outcomes have important economic consequences for employed women.

Although there is a large body of literature on gender differences in negotiation, scant research has examined gender differences in self-promotion. While negotiation and self-promotion skills are likely to overlap, I argue that self-promotion merits its own additional examination for two main reasons. First, negotiations typically take place only during initial hiring or advancement occasions, whereas self-promotion is likely to occur more frequently over the course of an individual's career. Second, as outlined below, the ability to self-promote is necessary for women to overcome negative stereotypes about their competence and leadership skills relative to men's, yet the double standard for self-promotion renders it more acceptable as a strategy for men. This difference suggests that self-promotion poses unique challenges for women that are likely to have implications for their professional success.

In research that serves as the antecedent for this thesis, gender differences in self-promotion during a job interview were uniquely demonstrated. Moss-Racusin and Rudman (2010, Study 1) asked male and female participants to film a mock job interview, which would ostensibly be critiqued by Rutgers' Career Services Office and used as a model in undergraduate "interview skills" workshops. Specifically, participants were instructed to self-promote freely, and responded to a set of questions designed to elicit self-promotion. As predicted, female participants rated themselves as significantly

worse at self-promoting than did their male counterparts. To rule out the possibility that women were merely behaving modestly in their ability estimations (Heatherington et al., 1993), in a second study, the researchers asked women to either self-promote or promote for a peer using graduate school admissions essays as the behavior. Following this, naïve judges who rated the essays supported female participants' assessment that they had self-promoted poorly. Specifically, the judges rated peer-promoting women as significantly more successful than self-promoting women, suggesting that women in the first study were not simply responding modestly. Additionally, in both studies, self-promoting women were viewed as less competent and less qualified than the comparison groups (male self-promoters in Study 1 and females promoting a peer in Study 2), highlighting both the difficulty women experience with self-promotion demands, and the importance of this behavior for perceptions of capability.

However, the reasons for women's self-promotion difficulties remain under-examined. Although Moss-Racusin and Rudman (2010) began to investigate mediators responsible for the link between women's fear of backlash and self-promotion success, a comprehensive model of women's self-promotion difficulties remained forthcoming. Thus, the present research addressed this gap by testing the backlash avoidance model, designed to shed light on the antecedents, processes, and consequences associated with women's self-promotion detriments.

Backlash for Women's Self-Promotion

A possible explanation for gender differences in self-promotion behaviors may be found in research suggesting that women who self-promote are viewed unfavorably. Specifically, when women engage in self-promoting behavior, they risk *backlash effects*

from evaluators (i.e., social and economic penalties for behaving counter-stereotypically; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs & Tamkins, 2004; Rudman, 1998). In a series of studies, Rudman (1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999; 2001) demonstrated that self-promotion is particularly important for women vying for leadership positions, because they must overcome lowered expectations of competence relative to male competitors. However, women who engage in self-promoting behavior are typically liked significantly less than identically behaving men, and this dislike accounts for hiring discrimination, underscoring the negative effect of backlash on women's careers (Phelan, Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2008; Rudman & Glick 1999; 2001). Thus, when women engage in self-promotion, they are perceived as highly competent, but risk incurring backlash for their (necessarily) assertive behavior (Rudman, 1998).

In contrast, men in these situations do not encounter negative reactions for self-promotion, indicating that women experience a unique handicap that could greatly hamper their chances of being hired for leadership positions. More generally, the double standard for self-promotion likely serves as a critical barrier to women's equitable professional treatment, in that self-promotion is necessary for career advancement, yet only women risk penalties for it. For example, women who communicate in an opinionated, assertive manner in a professional setting are perceived as competent, but are often judged to be less likeable—and in turn, less influential and persuasive—than men who communicated in this manner and than women who speak in a more passive, stereotypically feminine way (Carli, LaFleur & Loeber, 1995). Additionally, women who used an assertive strategy on a job interview were less likely to be hired than identically aggressive men (Buttner & McEnally, 1996). Taken together, these results support the

idea that women suffer interpersonally when they communicate assertively, and particularly when they self-promote.

Negotiation research has also uncovered backlash against women. For example, using a hiring paradigm, Bowles, Babcock, and Lai (2007) found that male managers were more inclined to work with “nice” women who accepted their initial compensation offers, compared with women who attempted to negotiate for more money. By contrast, negotiating for a higher salary had no effect on managers’ willingness to work with male candidates. These findings suggest that women “do not ask” (e.g., for higher pay, more responsibility, or greater recognition; Babcock & Laschever, 2003) and do not self-promote because they may (accurately) fear negative reactions from others.

Fear of Backlash for Perceived Stereotype Violations

Women are aware of penalties for counterstereotypical behavior (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004), and as a result, women who fear backlash may (understandably) behave defensively to avoid it. For example, Amanatullah and Morris (2010) found that women’s fear of being judged too “pushy” and “demanding” accounted for gender differences in negotiating an entry-level salary (see also Bowles et al., 2007). Similarly, women who feared backlash for scoring well on a masculine knowledge test concealed their success from others and increased their conformity to gender norms, compared with counterparts who did not fear backlash (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). The identical pattern occurred for men who feared backlash for having performed well on a feminine knowledge test, suggesting that, not surprisingly, both genders will protect themselves from social rejection when they behave in ways that violate gender norms. Thus, when people fear “jeer pressure” for perceived violations of gender stereotypes, it likely impinges on their

gender identity – a central identity for both women and men – thus constituting a severe threat (Archer & Coyne, 2005; Fagot, Rodgers, & Leinbach, 2000; for a review, see Rudman & Glick, 2008). As a result, fear of backlash for behaving counter-stereotypically may undermine women's subsequent abilities to successfully self-promote.

Preliminary research supported this idea (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). Specifically, when women feared backlash, their self-promotion skills were undermined. However, contrary to predictions, women did not report fearing backlash for self-promotion more so than men. The present research sought to improve upon this finding by providing a fear of backlash measure that is more specific to the gender-violating nature of self-promotion.

Mediator Variables

Elucidating the processes responsible for undermining women's self-promotion should lay the groundwork for interventions designed to lift these constraints, thereby reducing gender difference in self-promotion and addressing persistent workplace inequality. Thus, identifying the most important mediators responsible for undermining women's self-promotion is a critical task. Below, I discuss the three potential mediating variables that were examined in the current research.

Promotion and prevention self-regulatory foci. Preliminary research has supported the concept that self-regulation (i.e., the ability to maintain motivation and focus throughout a task) plays an important role in limiting women's ability to perform well under self-promotion demand (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). Regulatory focus theory (Crowe & Higgins, 1997) distinguishes two major types of self-regulatory styles. A

promotion focus involves an emphasis on goal attainment and accomplishment (e.g., striving to get a promotion or land a better job), while a *prevention* focus involves a more conservative approach centered on risk-aversion (e.g., attempting to avoid making a mistake or getting fired; Crowe & Higgins, 1997). Notably, promotion-focused individuals are more successful and creative, and quit less readily than those employing a prevention focus, suggesting that the use of a promotion focus (relative to prevention focus) is associated with better performance (Appelt & Higgins, 2007; Crowe & Higgins, 1997; Higgins, Shah & Friedman, 1997).

In the context of self-promotion, people employing a prevention focus may be less likely to “sell themselves” effectively than individuals utilizing a more successful promotion focus. As outlined in the backlash avoidance model shown in Figure 1, I propose that for women faced with a self-promotion demand, fear of impending backlash suppresses utilization of a promotion focus and activates a protective prevention-focused regulatory style, to the detriment of self-promotion ability. Thus, the effect of fear of backlash on self-promotion success should be partially accounted for by women’s (heightened) prevention and (suppressed) promotion foci.

Previous research has assessed trait regulatory focus, rather than state regulatory focus (e.g., Crowe & Higgins, 1997; Higgins et al., 1997; Lockwood, Jordan & Kunda, 2002). Because I am interested in measuring the type of self-regulatory focus (SRF) employed as a result of fear of backlash, it is necessary to utilize a measurement strategy that assesses acute rather than chronic SRF. Thus, it was necessary to develop a scale measuring state regulatory focus for the purposes of the present research. Indeed, preliminary research by Moss-Racusin and Rudman (2010) utilized the primary existing

measure of chronic regulatory focus, the Regulatory Focus Questionnaire (RFQ; Higgins, Friedman, Harlow, Idson, Ayduk, & Taylor, 2001). Problematically, the prevention focus subscale taps early developmental events (especially parental criticism) because in theory, children learn to become cautious and risk-averse when they are criticized by their parents. As a result, this subscale is particularly insensitive to situational effects (a major pitfall for use in assessing the BAM). Highlighting this limitation, results from preliminary research indicated that the promotion variable performed as expected (i.e., it was positively related to self-promotion success and negatively related to fear of backlash for women), whereas prevention focus was unrelated to other variables (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). This null finding highlighted the need to develop and test an acute measure of SRF for use in the proposed studies. Utilizing this appropriate measure, I predicted that both promotion and prevention focus would mediate the relationship between women's fear of backlash and self-promotion success. Specifically, fearing backlash for gender stereotype violation should impede women's ability to utilize a goal-directed promotion focus and trigger their reliance on a risk-averse prevention focus, to the detriment of their self-promotion success (see Figure 1).

To be thorough, as discussed in greater detail below, I also assessed chronic regulatory focus in a prescreening session. However, I sought to address some of the known problems associated with the RFQ by using a different measure of chronic promotion and prevention focus that has higher face validity than the RFQ, and has been used successfully in past research (Lockwood et al., 2002).

Perceived entitlement. Prior research has shown that women do not feel as "entitled" to (i.e., deserving of) financial rewards as men (Babcock & Laschever, 2003;

Major, 1993). For example, college students were instructed to write a series of essays, and determined how much they should be paid for this task. Although women paid themselves 19% less than men, there were no gender differences in ability estimations, indicating that women believed they had performed as well as men, but did not feel they were entitled to the same level of reward (Callahan-Levy & Messe, 1979). Similarly, Major, McFarlin and Gagnon (1984) asked participants to predict the future success of incoming college freshman, and then pay themselves for their time completing this task. They found that men paid themselves 63% percent more than women, despite a lack of gender differences in ability estimation. Additionally, on a separate task, women worked 22% longer than men for the same pay (even when their privacy was assured), and yet were equally satisfied. Finally, after a mock salary negotiation, only 30% of participants who reported feeling entitled to a *larger* salary than other job candidates were women, although women comprised 71% of the group who felt entitled to the *same* as others (Barron, 2003).

Taken together, these results suggest gender differences in perceived entitlement that might be extended to fear of backlash for self-promotion. That is, concerns about impending penalties may undermine women's ability to view themselves as justified in self-promoting. Indeed, preliminary findings indicated that women's sense of perceived entitlement reliably mediated the relationship between their fear of backlash and self-promotion behavior (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). However, in this study, a promotion-focused self-regulatory style significantly mediated the relationship between women's perceived entitlement and self-promotion success, whereas the reverse pattern was not supported (i.e., a comparison of the two mediators suggested that promotion

focus was the stronger mediator). These results suggest that, although entitlement may not be as strong a mediator as self-regulatory variables, it is theoretically and empirically worthy of inclusion in a model seeking to shed light on women's self-promotion difficulties. Therefore, the present Study 1 assessed perceived entitlement to self-promote.

Consequences for Women's Self-Promotion Detriments

In addition to undermining performance, fear of backlash contributes to the maintenance of the gender status quo. For example, as discussed above, Rudman & Fairchild (2004) found that gender deviants engaged in defensive strategies designed to avoid backlash (e.g., hiding, deception and heightened gender conformity). In turn, deviants who hid their atypicality reported high estimates of future stereotyping on the part of perceivers. That is, fear of backlash may lead to gender-conforming behavior, which reinforces cultural stereotypes and the existing gender hierarchy. As a result, gaining a better understanding of the ways in which fear of backlash interrupts women's self-promotion abilities may address existing stereotypic norms regarding self-promotion and workplace power.

Although the implications of fear of backlash for cultural stereotype maintenance have been investigated, no research has directly examined the impact of gender atypical task demands on perceivers' willingness to subsequently engage in backlash toward an atypical target. That is, when actors face fear of backlash by behaving counter-normatively, does their own deviant behavior affect their judgments of other stereotype violators? This is particularly compelling because gender differences in backlash directed toward self-promoting women are seldom found, and when they are, women can be more

penalizing than men (for a review, see Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Thus, a question of interest is whether women who successfully self-promote might then be less likely to subsequently penalize a self-promoting female target, compared with women who do not self-promote as successfully.

Research by Parks-Stamm, Heilman, & Hearn (2008) suggests some support for this hypothesis. The authors found that women who were told that they performed well on a leadership aptitude test subsequently refrained from penalizing a successful female executive, relative to participants who were told that they performed poorly or were given no information about their score. The findings were interpreted as removing the threat of upward social comparison, but it is also plausible that in addition, women refrained from penalizing a target who was perceived to be similar to themselves. Similarity-attraction is a well-established principle (Byrne, 1961; 1969) that might be effective in the present domain.

However, Parks-Stamm et al. (2008) manipulated perceived similarity by providing women with bogus feedback about their own leadership potential. In the current Study 2, I instead used women's *actual* success at self-promotion as a predictor of backlash. It was expected that women who performed well on a self-promotion task would view another female self-promoter as similar to themselves, and therefore would be less likely to enact backlash against her. By contrast, women who feared backlash to the point where they self-promoted poorly were expected to especially penalize a female self-promoter. This supposition highlights the ways in which fear of backlash-induced performance detriments may actually reinforce backlash, perpetuating cultural norms and the gender status quo. It is thus all the more important to shed light on the processes

responsible for women's self-promotion performance detriments by testing the backlash avoidance model.

The Backlash Avoidance Model (BAM)

The primary aim of the current research is to test the novel backlash avoidance model, as a means of clarifying the causes, mechanisms, and consequences of women's self-promotion difficulties (see Figure 1). Specifically, I proposed that the first step in this process is that women must view self-promotion as a stereotype violation (i.e., male gender-typed). Fear of backlash, by definition, stems from *counter-normative* behavior (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004); thus, women's fear of backlash should only be predicted by a self-promotion demand if this task is viewed as male gender stereotypic (Path A). Including the gender typicality of self-promotion addressed shortcomings in previous research, which failed to uncover the predicted gender difference in fear of backlash (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). In addition, I added items to the fear of backlash measure to distinguish it from generalized social anxiety (see Methods).

At the heart of the BAM are three variables predicted to mediate the relationship between women's fear of backlash and self-promotion behavior. As discussed above, the current research included an appropriate test of acute self-regulatory foci (promotion and prevention), which have been measured as individual difference variables in the past (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). I expected acute prevention focus to perform well as a mediator in the BAM (whereas chronic prevention focus did not), and that acute promotion focus would follow suit. Additionally, the BAM includes women's perceived entitlement to self-promote, which has received some preliminary support as a mediator. Specifically, although fear of backlash was expected to have a direct negative effect on

women's self-promotion (Path B), it is also predicted to reduce women's acute promotion focus (Path C) and perceived entitlement (Path D), while heightening their acute prevention focus (Path E). In turn, these mediator variables were expected to have a direct effect on task performance, such that promotion focus (Path F) and perceived entitlement (Path G) would improve women's self-promotion, whereas prevention focus (Path H) would undermine it. Finally, women's self-promotion behavior was predicted to impact their propensity to enact subsequent backlash (Path I), such that women who self-promote well would be unwilling to engage in backlash against other self-promoting women. Finally, results for men are not shown in Figure 1. Because self-promotion is not a stereotype violation for men, they should not be subject to fluctuations in self-regulation or entitlement stemming from fear of backlash.

Overview of the Current Research

In summary, the BAM was designed to help explain women's self-promotion detriments. Study 1 tested the antecedent (A) and mediational (B-H) paths by comparing male and female participants' ability to self-promote using written essays. Study 2 tested the consequences of women's self-promotion detriments (Path I) by examining the effects of women's ability to self-promote during a videotaped job interview on their subsequent judgments of another female (and male) self-promoter. The central goal of the proposed research was to test the utility of the BAM in illuminating women's self-promotion behavior.

II. Study 1

The aim of this study was to test the BAM by measuring the effect of the perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion on fear of backlash, in order to examine the mediational impact of intervening variables on subsequent self-promotion success. All paths except Path I were investigated. In a pre-test session at the beginning of the semester, male and female participants were asked to indicate whether they viewed self-promotion to be a stereotype violation for women (i.e., how male gender stereotypic they perceived this task to be). In a subsequent lab session, they wrote a self-promoting personal statement as if they were applying for a prestigious graduate school fellowship before completing the dependent measures. Results were expected to support the BAM for female (but not male) participants.

In addition, I assessed the possibility that chronic levels of the self-regulatory foci interact with fear of backlash to moderate acute SRF. In other words, high levels of chronic SRF may compound the effect of FOB on the acute level of SRF. In this way, high chronic SRF combined with fear of backlash may predispose women to experience this focus acutely, and also depress acute levels of the opposite focus. For example, if women are high on chronic prevention focus *and* fear backlash, they may experience heightened acute prevention focus (and diminished promotion focus) relative to those low on chronic prevention focus. Similarly, women low on chronic promotion focus who fear backlash may show depressed levels of acute promotion focus relative to those who are chronically high on this variable. This possibility is consistent with the classic idea that behavior is a function of both the person and the surrounding environment (Lewin, 1936),

and suggests that a self-promotion demand may result in acute SRF as a result of both individual women's chronic SRF and their situational fear of backlash. To address this possibility, I measured chronic SRF in the pre-test session using an established measure with high face validity (Lockwood et al., 2002) to investigate whether chronic SRF would interact with fear of backlash to produce acute SRF.

Specific predictions were as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Women will report more fear of backlash than men, but only among participants who view self-promotion to be highly gender stereotypic. When they view self-promotion to be low gender stereotypic, this gender difference will be diminished or nonexistent.

Hypothesis 2: Women will be less successful at self-promotion than men only when they view self-promotion to be highly male gender stereotypic.

Hypothesis 3: Results of separate path analyses by gender will support paths A-H of the BAM for women, but not men. Specifically, as shown in Figure 1, perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion will positively predict fear of backlash for women. The relationship between fear of backlash and women's self-promotion success will be mediated by promotion focus and perceived entitlement (such that fearing backlash decreases promotion and perceived entitlement, which in turn diminishes women's self-promotion success) and also by prevention focus (such that fear of backlash heightens prevention focus, to the detriment of women's self-promotion behavior).

Hypothesis 4: Women's chronic self-regulatory focus will interact with fear of backlash to moderate acute self-regulatory focus. Specifically, high levels of a chronic

focus will compound the effect of fear of backlash on the same acute regulatory focus, and suppress the effect of the opposite focus.

Method

Participants. Participants were 300 Rutgers undergraduates (197 female), who were recruited from the subject pool in exchange for course credit. Of these, 130 (43%) were White, 64 (21%) were East-Asian, 42 (14%) were South-Asian, 26 (9%) were Hispanic, 13 (5%) were Black, 9 (3%) were multiracial, and the remaining 16 participants (5%) reported another ethnic identity. Participants ranged from 18-23 years old, with an average age of 18.63 years ($SD = 1.11$).

Materials.

Perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion. Participants completed this scale at a pre-test session held at the beginning of the semester (see Appendix A for all measures used in Study 1). Because participants were unaware that this scale was related to the current study, this method allowed for measurement of chronic, stable perceptions of the gender-typing of self-promotion, unaffected by the demands of the current study. This scale included eight items reflecting the prescriptive stereotyping of self-promotion as male or female. These included “Putting aside your own feelings, please indicate how acceptable or desirable it is in American society for a woman [man] to: self-promote/speak assertively about their accomplishments/exhibit self-confidence/show pride in their achievements,” on a scale from 1 (*not at all desirable*) to 7 (*very desirable*). Additionally, I included items reflecting descriptive stereotyping. These were, “Indicate how common or typical you think self-promotion is for women [men] in American society,” on a scale from 1 (*not at all typical*) to 5 (*very typical*). Finally, participants

responded to forced-choice items, selecting either 1 (*men/a man*) or 2 (*women/a woman*). These items included, “Self-promotion means speaking assertively about one's accomplishments, strengths, and talents. Who do you think is more likely to self-promote; men or women?”; and “Who do you think would be more likely to say the sentence, ‘In groups, I enjoy being the leader and am usually the best person to take charge.’”

I intended to average items to form the male and female stereotypicality indices, and then compute a difference score (such that higher scores would indicate that self-promotion is stereotypically more common and desirable for men than women). However, no combination of items resulted in alphas of acceptable levels for both the male and female indices. Indeed, results of a factor analysis indicated that only one item (“Who do you think would be more likely to say the sentence, ‘I enjoy working collaboratively with others, because anything we accomplish, we accomplish together as a team’”) loaded above .50 on either factor. Additionally, no two items were correlated above $r(285) = .38$, casting serious doubt on the efficacy of using two-item scales. Thus, due to its poor psychometric properties, the perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion index had to be dropped from the current research. Below, I discuss results testing a slightly modified version of the BAM.

Chronic self-regulatory focus. As discussed above, the Lockwood et al. (2002) Promotion/Prevention Scale is a validated measure designed to assess chronic levels of self-regulatory focus (see Appendix A). The promotion subscale includes nine items rated on a 1 (*not at all true of me*) to 9 (*very true of me*) scale. Items include, “My major goal in school right now is to achieve my academic ambitions,” and “In general, I am focused

on achieving positive outcomes in my life.” Using the same scale, the prevention focus subscale also has nine items, including “My major goal in school right now is to avoid becoming an academic failure,” and “In general, I am focused on preventing negative events in my life.” Participants completed this scale in the pre-test, before coming to the laboratory. Items were averaged separately to form indices of both chronic promotion ($\alpha = .91$) and chronic prevention focus ($\alpha = .84$).

Self-promotion task. Following Moss-Racusin and Rudman (2010), participants were instructed to write a personal statement as if they were applying for a prestigious “National Graduate Fellowship.” All participants were told that their essay would be read by others, and that they would be videotaped reading their essay letter aloud so that it could be critiqued in a workshop for undergraduate peers. Specific instructions for the essay-writing tasks were modified from previous research and read as follows:

Now, you will write a personal statement as if you were applying for a National Graduate Fellowship. This program is one of the world's most prestigious scholarship programs, and provides a full scholarship for graduate work in the student's choice of discipline and institution. In addition, awardees receive an annual stipend of \$30,000, complimentary travel to academic conferences, and full health benefits. Your job is to imagine that you are applying for the National Graduate Fellowship, and convince an award selection committee that you are worthy of the award, and that they should offer you one. Remember, the fellowship award committee is extremely selective, and the competition is fierce. Try to really put yourself in the mindset of someone applying for a competitive award, and find a way to

"sell yourself" to the selection committee. Previous award winners have not only been passionate about continuing their education and their future career success, but have also found a way to successfully communicate their accomplishments by self-promoting. Remember that you will be videotaped reading your essay out loud after you write it, and that it will be analyzed by a staff member in the Rutgers Career Services Office to determine how well you have communicated your strengths and skills.

Fear of backlash. Participants completed a modified version of the fear of backlash index, which has successfully been used in previous research (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). They were asked to “imagine a group of people watching the videotape of you reading your essay,” and then responded to four items using a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). These items included, “Would you worry that people might think you were odd?”; and “Would you be concerned that you might be disliked?” Also, three items specifically addressed self-promotion. These included, “Would you worry that people thought you were too confident?” and “Would you worry about being called vain?” Finally, three new items specifically addressed gender stereotype violation. These were included to focus on measurement of fear of *backlash* specifically, rather than general concerns about social sanctions. These items were, “Would you worry that someone of your gender should not be self-promoting?”; “Would you worry that others might think you had acted out of character for someone of your gender?” and “Would you be concerned that people wouldn’t like you because you acted out of character for someone of your gender?”

Scores were averaged to form the fear of backlash index, with higher scores indicating greater perceived threat ($\alpha = .86$).

Additionally, I conducted a factor analysis to ensure that the new scale still represented one cohesive construct (rather than two distinct constructs, after adding the novel items). As expected, each item loaded onto one factor, with each factor loading greater than .60. Thus, evidence suggested that the new version of the fear of backlash scale still measured the intended single construct.

Acute regulatory focus. Due to the fact that no scales assessing acute self-regulatory mode exist, I developed a novel measure appropriate for the current research needs (see Appendix A). Items creation was guided by theory, and was intended to reflect the goal-approach and risk-avoidant nature of promotion and prevention focus, respectively. The ten promotion focus items included “Right at this minute, I’m feeling...free to pursue my goals/that I’m eager to get what I want/focused on what I will achieve.” Ten prevention focus items included “Right at this minute, I’m feeling...as though I need to avoid risks/like I don’t want to make any mistakes/like I want to make sure nothing bad happens.” Responses were indicated on a 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*) scale. Items reflecting promotion and prevention focus were averaged separately to form the acute promotion ($\alpha = .90$) and prevention focus ($\alpha = .87$) indices, with higher numbers reflecting greater levels of acute promotion or prevention focus¹.

Perceived entitlement. Participants responded to three items previously used to assess the BAM, on scales ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*; Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). These included: “I feel that I have the right to praise myself publicly,” “I am justified when I speak about myself positively,” and “I am comfortable talking about

myself in positive terms.” These items were created to mimic those used in previous research measuring women’s sense of entitlement to fair monetary compensation for their work (Major, McFarlin, & Gagnon, 1984). Additionally, using the same scale, participants responded to two items from previous research designed to assess general feelings of entitlement (Babcock, Gelfand, Small, & Stayn, 2002). These items were “I believe that situations should be changed to fit my desires,” and “I have earned the right to have things go my way.” Participants also responded to one additional item on the same scale, measuring relative perceived entitlement (“I feel that I am more entitled to be awarded a National Graduate Fellowship than other applicants;” Barron, 2003). Responses were averaged to form the perceived entitlement index, with high scores representing greater levels of perceived entitlement ($\alpha = .78$).

Perceived self-promotion success. Following Moss-Racusin and Rudman, (2010), I assessed perceived self-promotion success using both subjective and objective items². Participants responded to 10 subjective items on a scale of 1 (*not at all/not very much*) to 5 (*very well/very much*). Sample items included, “Overall, how well do you think you promoted yourself in your essay-writing task today?”; “Overall, how well do you think you advocated for yourself during your essay-writing task today?”; and “When others watch the video of you reading your essay, how qualified do you think they will rate you?”

Participants were also asked to imagine that an award selection committee member had read their essay before they responded to two objective indicators of perceived promotion success. These items were, “Given a range between \$30,000 - \$50,000, what dollar amount would they recommend as a yearly academic fellowship?”

and “Given a range between 1-5 years, how many years would they recommend that the fellowship be received?” Responses to all questions were standardized, and then averaged to form the self-promotion success index, with higher values representing more perceived self-promotion success ($\alpha = .76$).

Procedure. Participants were recruited for a study ostensibly on “communication skills.” Once in the lab, they were told that we had partnered with Career Services to conduct research on the ways in which communicating one’s strengths (i.e., self-promotion) impacts academic success. After being escorted to individual cubicles, the experimenter informed each participant that the project entailed obtaining writing samples from many students, and analyzing these writing samples for self-promotion success. To heighten the public nature of the behavior, participants were told that they would be videotaped reading their essay aloud, and that their video will be critiqued by a member of the Career Services staff and then used as a model in workshops for their undergraduate peers. A camera and professional stage lights were set up to bolster the cover story (in reality, no participant was taped).

Experimenters then started a computer program, which administered the measures (items within all measures were randomly presented, for both studies). Participants first completed a short, guided brainstorming session to generate ideas and help structure their essay. Participants were told that, “Before writing your essay, we will ask you to do a bit of brainstorming. First, type in your best qualities and why you think you possess them.” Next, participants were told to “type in some of your personal accomplishments and why you think they are important.” The purpose of the brainstorming session was to model a genuine writing assignment and encourage participants to produce a polished essay, and

has been used successfully in previous research (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). Participants then wrote their essay and completed the fear of backlash index (in that order: the preliminary research found no effects associated with varying the order of administration of the FOB measure, suggesting that it does not simply function as a measure of retroactive justification for participants' self-promotion behavior and rendering continued counterbalancing of this scale administration unnecessary).

In order to rule out any unintended order effects, participants then completed the mediator scales in a counterbalanced order. Although counterbalancing the order of measures did not previously impact support for the BAM (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010), it is critical to vary the order of mediator scale administration because the current research compares mediators. All participants then completed the self-promotion success index and reported their race, gender and age. They were then fully debriefed and awarded experimental credit.

Results and Discussion

Preliminary Analyses and Descriptive Statistics. In keeping with past research on backlash and self-promotion, I expected that participants' age and race would not meaningfully affect results (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010; Rudman, 1998). Results supported these predictions, in that none of the variables in the BAM were affected by participant race (all F s < 1.87, *ns*) or age (all r s < .13, *ns*). Additionally, mediation scale counterbalancing order had no effect on results (in keeping with past research: Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). Specifically, scores on all variables in the model did not differ as a function of counterbalancing order, all t s < 1.26, *ns*. Thus, results were

collapsed across participant age, race, and counterbalancing order for all remaining analyses.

Gender Differences in Fear of Backlash and Self-Promotion (Hypothesis 1 and 2).

Because the perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion variable could not be used, I was unable to test its interactive relationships with fear of backlash and self-promotion success as outlined in Hypotheses 1 and 2. Instead, I proceeded to determine whether women reported more fear of backlash and less self-promotion success than men regardless of how stereotypically-masculine they viewed self-promotion to be. To do so, I submitted all of the variables in the BAM to independent samples *t*-tests and computed Cohen's *d* scores for the effect size of the gender differences (see Table 1). Consistent with Hypotheses 1 and 2, women reported higher levels of fear of backlash and lower levels of self-promotion success than men. Results also revealed gender differences on the mediator variables. Specifically, women reported less acute promotion focus and entitlement than men, and greater levels of acute prevention focus. Although not specifically predicted, these results are also in keeping with the BAM. Thus, although it was impossible to evaluate the moderating role of the perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion, results suggested that this variable may not be necessary. That is, women experienced more fear of backlash and reported less self-promotion success than men, and this was not dependent upon the belief that self-promotion is male gender stereotypic.

The Modified Backlash Avoidance Model. Results of zero-order correlations among variables in the BAM are presented in Table 2. Unexpectedly, the relationships between variables appeared similar for men and women. That is, although the mediator variables were related to fear of backlash and perceived self-promotion success for

women as expected, these relationships were also present for men. The one non-significant relationship for men was between prevention focus and entitlement, $r(103) = .02$, *ns*. However, this relationship was not explicitly predicted in the BAM, and was only weakly positive for women, $r(197) = -.14$, $p < .05$.

Thus far, results have demonstrated mean gender differences on focal variables, as well as similar correlational patterns between variables for both genders. Additionally, the perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion index was not usable, due to unacceptable scale reliabilities³. These findings suggested testing a modified version of the BAM, in which the perceived stereotypicality of self-promotion is replaced by participant gender (see Figure 2). In support of this idea, fear of backlash was significantly correlated with participant gender, $r(300) = .18$, $p < .01$. Thus, the modified BAM posits that the processes leading to successful self-promotion are similar for men and women, and that gender differences in self-promotion success are attributable to differences in mean levels of fear of backlash and the mediator variables. An advantage of the modified model is that it may account for the experiences of both male and female self-promoters, thus shedding light on the processes generally underlying successful self-promotion as well as gender differences in the expression of this behavior.

Results of Structural Equation Modeling (Hypothesis 3). To address the primary aim of Study 1, I tested the modified BAM for all participants by conducting structural equation modeling with EQS 6.1 software, utilizing a maximum likelihood estimation strategy. To do so, parcels were created to serve as multiple indicators of each latent factor other than gender (Coffman & MacCallum, 2005). In order to reduce measurement error, a domain-representative parceling approach (in which each parcel consisted of

items tapping multiple aspects of each construct) was employed (Coffman & MacCallum, 2005; Hau & Marsh, 2004; Kishton & Widaman, 1994).

Based on recommendations generated by past research, good model fit is indicated by a non-significant chi-square value, comparative fit index (CFI), non-normed fit index (NNFI) and incremental fit index (IFI) values at or above .95, and a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) value at or below .06, with the upper bound of the 90% confidence interval not exceeding .06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). To compare the fit between nested models, chi-square differences tests are presented. In cases of nonhierarchical models, fit comparisons can be made using the Akaike information criterion (AIC; Kline, 2005). For a set of models, the model with the lowest AIC value can be said to be preferable over the others.

Measurement model. Before assessing the hypothesized structural model including latent variables, it is critical to demonstrate a good-fitting measurement model by determining how well the various indicators relate to the latent variables. To do so, the measurement model tests a confirmatory factor analysis including all latent variables and their covariances, omitting the direct paths between factors (Kline, 2005). Tables 3-5 present maximum likelihood estimates for the measurement model, and Table 6 presents all model fit statistics. As shown in Table 6's model 1, the measurement model provided an excellent fit to the data, with all fit indices falling well within the range of accepted values.

Structural model. Next, I went on to test the structural modified BAM by specifying all hypothesized paths shown in Figure 2. Additionally, the disturbances of the three mediators were allowed to covary, because I expected there may be residual overlap

between these conceptually-related variables. The structural model provided an excellent fit to the data (see Table 6's model 2). Additionally, an examination of the Wald and LaGrange multiplier test modification indices indicated that no paths should be added or deleted (Kline, 2005).

All hypothesized paths (A-H) were significant, indicating that results supported the modified BAM (see Figure 3 for results). More specifically, participant gender (coded such that 0 = male and 1 = female) was positively related to fear of backlash. Next, fear of backlash negatively predicted promotion focus and perceived entitlement, and positively predicted prevention focus. In turn, these mediators predicted self-promotion success, as expected. Additionally, the direct path from fear of backlash to self-promotion success was small yet significant, suggesting that the self-regulatory variables and perceived entitlement partially mediate the relationship between fear of backlash and self-promotion success⁴. These results supported the modified model, suggesting that the processes leading to successful self-promotion are similar for men and women, but that women's self-promotion success is interrupted by predicted high levels of fear of backlash (and subsequent fluctuations in the mediator variables).

Nested gender model. To further determine whether the modified BAM fit the data equally well for both men and women, I removed gender from the model and tested the remaining paths separately for male and female participants. I first tested the measurement model nested by gender, with all factor loadings and covariances between factors constrained to be equal for men and women. This model demonstrated good fit, $\chi^2(65) = 73.66, p = .22, CFI = 1.00, IFI = .97, NNFI = .99, RMSEA = .03$ (with a range of .00-.06), and the modification indices did not suggest that any parameters should be

unconstrained. This pattern suggests that as expected, the measurement of the latent variables functions similarly for men and women.

Next, I tested the modified BAM structural model nested within gender, with all paths again constrained to be equal. The fully constrained gender model demonstrated good model fit, $\chi^2(60) = 70.27, p = .17$, CFI = 1.00, IFI = 1.00, NNFI = .99, RMSEA = .04 (with a range of .00-.06). Additionally, modification indices did not suggest unconstraining any parameters, indicating that the structural model fit the data in the same way for both men and women and further supporting the idea that the processes outlined in the modified BAM are generalizeable across gender.

Comparing mediators. Previous research suggested that promotion focus would likely emerge as the strongest mediator (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). However, the path from perceived entitlement to perceived self-promotion success was larger than the paths from either regulatory focus to perceived self-promotion success. In order to further examine the relative contribution of each mediator, I tested a series of hierarchical models in which I added the paths from each dependent variable to the outcome variable sequentially, and then performed a chi-square difference test to examine whether the models provided a better fit to the data each time a mediational path was added. A significant chi-square difference test for each sequential model would indicate that each mediator explains unique variance in the outcome variable (Yuan & Bentler, 2004). To evaluate this idea, I tested three single-mediator models with the path from only one mediator to the dependent variable included (see Table 6's models 3-5). I then tested three dual-mediator models, each with the paths from two mediators to the outcome included (see Table 6's models 6-8). It is important to note that in order to arrive at

accurate comparisons, I retained the paths from fear of backlash to each mediator (Kline, 2005). That is, I did not exclude mediators entirely in the trimmed models; rather, I simply removed their mediational paths.

As expected, in each of the trimmed models, all paths remained significant, and LaGrange modification indices suggested adding the paths that had been removed. As expected, the promotion-only model (model 3; $\chi^2 \Delta = 30.88, p < .001$), prevention-only model (model 4: $\chi^2 \Delta = 52.80, p < .001$) and entitlement-only model (model 5: $\chi^2 \Delta = 15.96, p < .001$) each provided a significantly worse fit to the data than the modified BAM. This suggested that no single mediator did a better job accounting for the data than the modified BAM. Although the single-mediator models were non-hierarchical and thus could not be directly compared using chi-square difference tests, an examination of the AIC values indicated that the entitlement model provided the best fit to the data. This finding supports the unexpected idea that entitlement may be the strongest single mediator.

Next, I examined the results of the three dual mediator models. As expected, the promotion and prevention model (model 7: $\chi^2 \Delta = 183.36, p < .001$) and prevention and entitlement models (model 8: $\chi^2 \Delta = 173.28, p < .001$) each provided a significantly worse fit to the data than the modified BAM. However, although the promotion and entitlement dual mediator model also provided a significantly worse fit than the modified BAM (model 6 $\chi^2 \Delta = 3.86, p < .05$), its close proximity to the fit of the modified BAM warranted a closer investigation. Because the more parsimonious model should be favored above a more complex model when model fit is similar, it was necessary to examine the AIC indices in order to determine whether the promotion/entitlement model

might be preferable relative to the modified BAM (Akaike, 1987; Yuan & Bentler, 2004). As expected, results revealed that the modified BAM maintained the lower AIC value, suggesting its superiority relative to the dual-mediator model. Additionally, as noted above, an examination of the Wald test statistics for the modified BAM did not suggest removing the path between prevention focus and perceived self-promotion success. Instead, the LaGrange statistics associated with the dual-mediator model suggested re-inserting the path from prevention focus to self-promotion success. These results suggest that although prevention focus may be less impactful than the other mediators, it should still be retained in the model.

Chronic SRF Moderation (Hypothesis 4). An examination of the zero-order correlations between chronic and acute levels of self-regulatory foci revealed that unsurprisingly, these variables were moderately related. That is, acute promotion was positively correlated with chronic promotion, $r(285) = .39, p < .001$. Similarly, acute prevention was positively correlated with chronic promotion, $r(285) = .33, p < .001$. To determine whether women's chronic levels of self-regulatory focus interact with fear of backlash to moderate acute SRF, I first standardized all variables and then conducted a series of hierarchical linear regression analyses for female participants only. To examine the effect of chronic prevention focus on acute prevention focus, I regressed the acute prevention index onto the chronic prevention index, followed by the fear of backlash, and their interaction. Not surprisingly, there were significant main effects of both chronic prevention focus ($\beta = .27, p < .001$) and fear of backlash ($\beta = .44, p < .001$). However, contrary to expectations, there was no significant interaction. Thus, results indicated that although chronic prevention focus and fear of backlash were both individually linked to

acute prevention focus, these effects were additive rather than interactive. Similarly, to test the effect of chronic prevention focus on acute promotion focus, I regressed the acute promotion index onto the chronic prevention index, the fear of backlash index, and their interaction. Results revealed a significant main effect of fear of backlash ($\beta = -.36, p < .001$), but no significant main effect of chronic prevention focus ($\beta = -.02, ns$) or interaction ($\beta = .06, ns$). In this case, results indicated that only fear of backlash was linked to acute promotion focus. Thus, results examining the effect of chronic prevention focus on acute promotion and prevention focus did not support Hypothesis 4.

Following the same pattern, identical analyses examining the effect of chronic promotion focus on acute promotion focus revealed significant main effects of chronic promotion focus ($\beta = .26, p < .001$) and fear of backlash ($\beta = -.32, p < .001$), but no interaction. Similarly, when examining the effect of chronic promotion focus on acute prevention focus, results indicated that there was a significant main effect of fear of backlash ($\beta = .49, p < .001$), but no main effect of chronic promotion focus ($\beta = .07, ns$) or interaction ($\beta = -.04, ns$). Thus, results examining the effect of chronic promotion focus on acute promotion focus mimicked those for prevention focus above, and did not support Hypothesis 4⁵. This suggests that fear of backlash is dependably linked to acute promotion and prevention focus (as predicted by the BAM), and that chronic levels of each regulatory focus are related to their acute level (but not the acute level of the opposite focus). However, a chronic disposition toward one focus or another did not appear to interact with fear of backlash to lay the groundwork for experiencing each focus on the acute level.

In sum, results from Study 1 offered mixed support for hypotheses. Specifically, results demonstrated gender differences in fear of backlash for the first time, suggesting that women (more so than men) anticipate penalties for self-promotion. Additionally, results revealed the predicted gender differences in self-promotion behavior, replicating past work and supporting the idea that women experience disruptions in their self-promotion abilities (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010).

Although it was impossible to test the originally-proposed BAM due to the non-reliable perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion index, results of structural equation modeling were supportive of the slightly modified BAM. This model offered more generality than the original, in that it accounted for the processes underlying successful self-promotion for both men and women. Support for this model highlighted the importance of anticipated penalties in undermining women's self-promotion behavior, via the proposed mediators.

III. Study 2

This study assessed the downstream consequences of the processes in the BAM (i.e., Path I). Specifically, I investigated the impact of women's own self-promotion performance on their propensity to enact backlash against another self-promoting woman. Female participants self-promoted while taping a mock job interview, and then reported their perceived self-promotion success. Afterwards, they read the transcript of either a male or female self-promoting target interviewee, who ostensibly was a previous participant in the project at another local University. Both the transcript content and applicant gender were varied, such that the design was a 2 (transcript content: transcript A, transcript B) x 2 (target gender: male, female) between-subjects design. To assess backlash, participants evaluated the target's competence, perceived similarity to themselves, likeability, and hireability (traditionally used in backlash research, with the exception of perceived similarity; for a review, see Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Unique to Study 2, women who perceived themselves to have succeeded at self-promotion were expected to be less likely to enact backlash against a similar self-promoting woman than women who "held back" and weakly self-promoted. Specifically, I predicted that:

Hypothesis 1a: Among women who do not self-promote well, target gender should not be associated with target competence. However, target gender should negatively predict target likeability and hireability. This is the typical pattern found in backlash research (see Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

Hypothesis 1b: For women who do self-promote well, target gender will be unrelated to target competence, likeability, and hireability. For all women, fear of backlash should be negatively linked to self-promotion success.

Hypothesis 2a: Women's own self-promotion success will positively predict (at least) female target similarity, likeability and hireability.

Hypothesis 2b: For the female target, the relationship between women's own self-promotion success and target likeability should be mediated by perceived similarity (see Figure 4). In turn, target hireability should be mediated by target likeability (see Figure 5). That is, women who successfully self-promoted will like another, similarly self-promoting woman, and liking her will account for greater willingness to hire her.

Hypothesis 3: For the male target, women's own self-promotion success should be unrelated to both target likeability and hireability. In other words, women should like a male self-promoter (and be willing to hire him) regardless of their own level of self-promotion.

Method

Participants. Participants were 115 female Rutgers undergraduates who were recruited from the subject pool in exchange for course credit. Of these, 46 (40%) were White, 18 (16%) were South-Asian, 15 (13%) were Black, 14 (12%) were East-Asian, 8 (7%) were Middle-Eastern, 7 (6%) were Hispanic, 5 (4%) were multiracial, and the remaining 2 participants (2%) reported another ethnic identity. Participants ranged from 18-24 years old, with an average age of 18.49 years ($SD = .96$).

Materials.

Self-promotion task. Following Moss-Racusin and Rudman (2010), participants were videotaped while responding to six interview questions designed to elicit self-promotion. The questions were, “What would you say are your best qualities or strengths?”; “What are some of your accomplishments, and why do you think they are important?”; “Tell me about one specific time when you felt successful and proud of yourself?”; “What is one example of a time when you showed leadership?” “Can you tell me about one specific time when you felt ambitious, and what you did to pursue those ambitions?”; and “To sum up, why should someone hire *you* as opposed to another candidate?”

Fear of backlash. The same fear of backlash index from Study 1 was again utilized in Study 2 ($\alpha = .86$).

Participants' self-promotion success. The promotion success index used in study 1 was modified to fit an interview context (please see Appendix B for all measures added or modified in Study 2). Specifically, the subjective items were reworded to address self-promotion in the interview (rather than an essay). Additionally, 6 objective items read, “Based on your interview today, given a range between \$20,000 - \$60,000, what dollar amount do you think you should receive as a yearly starting salary?”; “Given a range between 6 months to more than 2 years, how soon do you think you should be considered for promotion? (reverse-coded)”; “Given a range of 1-10, how many people do you think you would be capable of being in charge of (i.e., as a supervisor)?”; “What level position do you think you should be offered” (options included *entry level*, *mid-level*, *low-level*

manager, and upper-level manager); “Did you sell yourself well enough in your interview to confidently negotiate a higher salary than the starting salary being offered?”; and “Did you sell yourself well enough in your interview to ask for a higher position than the initial one being offered?” Responses to the last two questions were indicated on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Responses to all questions were standardized and averaged to form the perceived self-promotion success index, with higher scores indicating greater levels of perceived self-promotion success ($\alpha = .73$).

Target interview transcripts. Two interview transcript excerpts were created in order to examine reactions to a strong male or female self-promoter (see Appendix C). Interview content was counterbalanced in order to ensure that effects were not simply associated with the specific interview content. The transcript excerpt included the target’s response to the first three questions actually asked of participants during their taped interview, to enhance the realism of the cover story that the interview transcripts were drawn from past study participants (see procedure, below).

Thus, two interview transcripts were designed to appear realistically self-promoting, yet similar on all critical variables (e.g., extent of self-promotion, competence, likeability, etc.). To ensure that this was done successfully, the interview transcripts (without any information about the interviewees) were pilot-tested on a group of 60 undergraduate students. Using a 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*) scale, participants were asked to indicate how competent, likeable, self-promoting, credible, and similar to the participant each interviewee was. The order of interview presentation was counterbalanced. Results of paired samples *t*-tests revealed that the targets were not

perceived to differ on any variable (all t s < 1.00 , *ns*), suggesting that the transcripts were viewed as equivalent in the absence of applicant gender.

Next, the transcripts were evaluated for their ability to initiate backlash among a group of 19 Psychology graduate students, each of whom read one of the transcripts and were told that the applicant was either male or female. Results indicated that participants viewed the male ($M = 4.50$, $SD = .46$) and female applicants ($M = 4.10$, $SD = .32$) to be equally competent, $t(17) = 1.87$, *ns*. However, backlash ensued, in that the female applicants ($M = 2.67$, $SD = .79$) were viewed as less likeable than the male applicants ($M = 3.72$, $SD = .74$), $t(17) = 2.46$, $p < .05$. Additionally, the female applicants ($M = 3.43$, $SD = .76$) were viewed as less hireable than the male applicants ($M = 4.39$, $SD = .49$), $t(17) = 2.64$, $p < .05$. Thus, pilot results appeared to indicate that the interview transcripts were designed successfully.

Target competence. Participants responded to 4 items assessing target competence using a 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*) scale. Items included, “How qualified did the applicant seem to be?”; “How well did the applicant communicate their strengths?”; “How well did the applicant ‘sell themselves?’”; and “How much do you think a potential employee would be impressed by this applicant if they watched the video of their interview?” Items were averaged to form the target competence index, on which high scores indicated greater perceived competence ($\alpha = .81$).

Perceived target similarity. The target’s perceived similarity to participants was assessed with 4 items using the same scale. These were, “How much did you think that the applicant was similar to you?”; “How much did you feel that you could identify with the applicant?”; “How much did the applicant remind you of yourself?”; and “How much

do you feel that you and the applicant performed similarly on your interviews?” Items were averaged to form the perceived similarity index, with higher scores indicating greater perceived similarity to the target ($\alpha = .87$).

Target likeability. Using the same scale, participants responded to 4 items (“How much did you like the applicant?”; “Would you characterize this person as someone you want to get to know better?”; “Would the applicant be popular with colleagues?” and “How much did you think the applicant was friendly?”). These items were averaged to form the target likeability index, on which high scores indicated greater liking ($\alpha = .86$).

Target hireability. Using the same scale, target hireability was assessed with 4 items, on which participants indicated their likelihood of choosing to ask the applicant back for a second interview, that they would hire the applicant for the job, and that the applicant would be asked back for a second interview and would be hired for the job. Responses were combined to form the target hireability index, with higher scores indicating great hireability ($\alpha = .83$).

Control variables. In order to address self-selection issues, I measured several individual difference variables in the pretest session that could potentially impact participants’ perceptions of their self-promotion success as well as their responses to self-promoting targets. That is, the correlational design of this study left open the possibility that participants who reported high levels of self-promotion success were fundamentally different from those who reported low self-promotion success, and that these pre-existing differences could account for their reactions to the self-promoting targets. To control for this possibility, I assessed several variables that could potentially relate to perceived self-promotion success. Thus, participants reported their high school GPA, their total SAT

score, whether they planned to have a career outside of the home after college (on a scale ranging from 1—*not at all*—to 5—*very much*), how many years of higher education they expected to receive (including their undergraduate years), and their highest yearly anticipated salary (in thousands of dollars).

Procedure. Participants were recruited for a study ostensibly conducted in partnership with the Office of Career Services, “investigating ways to improve students’ interview skills.” Participants were told that we had partnered with the Career Services departments at several local Universities to investigate ways to improve students’ performance on job interviews. Participants were asked to videotape a simulated job interview, which would allegedly be critiqued by the Career Services staff and then used as a model in workshops for their undergraduate peers. The experimenter then conducted and videotaped participants’ job interview, using the questions described above (asked in a random order). Next, participants were escorted to a private cubicle, where all remaining measures were administered by a computer program; items within each measure were randomly presented.

Participants were then asked to assist the project by rating the transcript excerpts of a randomly-selected interview that was previously recorded for the project. They were told that one of the project’s goals was to examine how self-promoting students are perceived on interviews. Thus, they could help the project by giving their opinions of a previous participant. They were also told that a transcript would be used instead of a videotape ostensibly to protect the privacy of the previous participant. Similarly, they would be reading a transcript of an interview conducted with a student at another local University (rather than Rutgers) in order to further ensure students’ anonymity. In reality,

this detail guarded against suspicions that the transcripts were not obtained from actual interviews, because participants were less familiar with the accomplishments, self-promotion abilities and communication styles of students from outside of the Rutgers community.

Participants then read the interview transcript, with both the applicant gender and interview content counterbalanced between subjects. They then completed the competence, perceived similarity, likeability, and hireability indices, and reported their race and age. Finally, they were fully debriefed and awarded research credit.

Results and Discussion

Preliminary Analyses and Descriptive Statistics. Consistent with past research on backlash and self-promotion, I again expected that participants' age and race would not meaningfully affect results (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010; Rudman, 1998). Results supported these predictions, in that none of the dependent variables were affected by participant race (all F s < 1.13, *ns*) or age (all r s < .17, *ns*). Additionally, as expected, interview transcript content had no affect on results. Specifically, scores on all dependent variables did not differ as a function of transcript content, all t s < 1.90, *ns*. Thus, results were collapsed across participant age, race, and transcript content for all remaining analyses.

Additionally, I investigated the potential impact of the control variables in determining both participants' perceived self-promotion success and their responses to the self-promoting targets. Of the five control variables, only anticipated salary was significantly related to perceived self-promotion success, $r(112) = .22, p < .05$. However, anticipated salary was unrelated to target competence, likeability and hireability, for both

the male target (all r s < .14, *ns*) and the female target (all r s < .22, *ns*). These results suggest that the control variables are likely not alternate explanations for the impact of participants' own self-promotion success on their propensity to enact backlash against other self-promoting women. Rather, because salary anticipations were modestly related to perceived self-promotion success but unrelated to the backlash variables, results suggest that reporting high levels of self promotion may be linked to pre-existing salary aspirations. However, these expectations do not appear to be related to judgments of other self-promoters. As a result, I did not control for anticipated salary in subsequent analyses.

Replicating Backlash Among Unsuccessful Self-Promoters (Hypothesis 1a).

Consistent with expectations and underscoring the link between anticipated penalties and women's self-promotion behavior, fear of backlash was again negatively linked to perceived self-promotion success for all women, $r(115) = -.28, p < .01$. It was expected that among women who did not self-promote well, backlash against the female target would emerge. To examine this expectation, I standardized all variables and conducted a series of hierarchical linear regression analyses, separately regressing each dependent variable (target competence, likeability and hireability) onto the self-promotion success index, followed by target gender (coded such that 0 = male, 1 = female), and their interaction. No main effects or interactions emerged for target competence (all β s < .15, *ns*), in keeping with predictions and past research (see Rudman & Phelan, 2008, for a summary). However, contrary to expectations, there were also no main effects or interactions associated with target likeability or competence (all β s < .14, *ns*). Indeed, collapsing across perceived self-promotion success, results of independent samples *t*-tests

indicated that target competence, likeability, and hireability did not differ as a function of target gender (all t s < 1.6 , *ns*). This suggests that contrary to expectations and previous research, the female target did not encounter backlash for self-promotion. Moreover, participants' own self-promotion success was unrelated to each of the dependent variables in both the male target condition (all r s $< .03$, *ns*) and the female target condition (all r s $< .18$, *ns*). That is, reactions to the self-promoting targets appeared to be unaffected by participants' own perceived self-promotion success.

Eliminating Backlash Among Successful Self-Promoters (Hypotheses 1b). As stated above, the relationship between target gender and perceived target competence, likeability and hireability was unaffected by participants' own levels of self-promotion success. That is, there was no evidence of backlash against the female target among participants at all levels of perceived self-promotion success.

Testing the Consequence of the BAM (Hypotheses 2a and 2b). Although there was no evidence of backlash against female targets, it was still possible that women's own self-promotion success would positively predict (at least) female target similarity, likeability and hireability (Hypothesis 2a). Table 7 shows the correlations among Study 2's variables for female and male targets, revealing similar patterns for both conditions. As can be seen, the only variable significantly related to self-promotion success was perceived similarity to the target. This was true for both male targets, $r(59) = .35$, $p < .01$, and female targets, $r(56) = .59$, $p < .001$. Additionally, perceived similarity was related to both likeability and hireability for both male and female targets. These results highlight the well-established link between perceived similarity and target attractiveness (Byrne 1961; 1969). Moreover, they suggest that participants who reported that they had self-

promoted well viewed themselves as similar to *any* self-promoting target (irrespective of the target's gender), which in turn was linked to liking and willingness to hire that target.

Finally, because perceived self-promotion success was unrelated to both target likeability and hireability, it was not feasible to test the mediational relationships outlined in Hypothesis 2b (Baron & Kenny, 1986). That is, there was no evidence of the expected relationships between self-promotion success and target likeability or hireability that could be explained by perceived target similarity. Additionally, because there were no significant relationships between the independent variable (target gender) and proposed mediators (similarity and likeability) or the proposed mediators and the outcome variables (likeability and hireability), results also did not meet the requirements for alternate methods of testing for mediation, such as examining the magnitude and significance of the indirect effect (MacKinnon, Fritz, Williams & Lockwood, 2007; MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West & Sheets, 2002). Thus, Hypothesis 2b was not supported.

Results for the Male Target (Hypothesis 3). As noted above, responses to targets did not differ as a function of target gender. Thus, although results supported Hypothesis 3's prediction that women's own perceived self-promotion success was unrelated to how much they liked and wanted to hire a male target, this was also true for female targets.

Additional Analyses. The null results from Study 2 left open the possibility that simply performing a stereotype-violating behavior would eliminate women's backlash against female targets who subsequently engaged in the same behavior. That is, completing a self-promotion task might have led participants to view themselves as similar to *all* self-promoting targets, regardless of how well they themselves self-

promoted. Thus, it was feasible that merely enacting a stereotype-violating behavior might remove penalties against atypical targets. However, the lack of a control condition in which participants simply responded to male and female self-promoters (without self-promoting themselves) made it impossible to evaluate this idea. That is, the interview transcripts used in Study 2 simply may not have been sufficient to initiate backlash, or they may not have initiated backlash *after participants self-promoted*.

To test these possibilities, I collected additional data from 62 participants (26 women, M age = 18.69, SD = 1.21) in an online control condition. As in the previous studies, participants were Introductory Psychology students who participated for partial course credit. The sample was 53% White, 21% East-Asian, 10% South-Asian, 10% Hispanic, 2% Middle-Eastern, 2% multiracial, and 2% reported another ethnic background. The design was again a 2 (transcript content: transcript A, transcript B) x 2 (target gender: male, female) between-subjects design. Participants read one of the four interview transcripts, and then completed the target competence, similarity, likeability, and hireability indices. They were then debriefed and awarded credit.

Results, shown in Table 8, suggested that the materials were insufficient for initiating backlash. That is, there were no significant target gender differences on any variable (see Table 8). Additionally, results of 2 (target gender) X 2 (participant gender) ANOVAs showed no significant main effects or interactions associated with participant gender (all F s < 1.60, ns), suggesting that neither male nor female participants exhibited backlash against female self-promoters. In contrast, as shown in Table 8, both male and female targets were rated as highly competent, likeable, and hireable. They were also rated as above the midpoint of the scale for similarity, indicating that participants viewed

themselves as similar to self-promoting students irrespective of their own gender or the targets' gender (and in the absence of their own self-promotion behavior).

Thus, results from the control condition suggest that previous participants were not simply holding back from penalizing the female target because they empathized with *all* self-promoters after engaging in the behavior themselves. Rather, despite the promising pilot results, I did not find any evidence of backlash against self-promoting female targets using these written interview transcripts, even in the absence of participants' own self-promotion behavior. In general, results from Study 2 were not supportive of predictions, in that there was no evidence for the BAM's Path I or penalties against female self-promoters.

IV. General Discussion

The present research was designed to demonstrate gender differences in self-promotion and related variables, in order to illuminate the processes responsible for undermining women's self-promotion success. Results from Study 1 replicated gender differences in self-promotion (using personal statements written for graduate fellowships; see also Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010), and provided the first evidence of gender differences in fear of backlash for self-promotion. Additionally, women also showed lower levels of acute promotion focus and higher levels of acute prevention focus, compared with men. Further, their perceived entitlement was lower than that of men's.

Unexpectedly, I could not test the BAM exactly as shown in Figure 1, because measures of self-promotion as a male-typed task failed to converge. Moreover, examination of the correlations among Study 1's variables revealed a similar pattern for both genders. Therefore, I proceeded to test a modified BAM to illuminate the processes underlying successful self-promotion for both women and men, for which Study 1 generated support. In the modified BAM, gender is linked to fear of backlash, which subsequently informs intervening variables that directly inform self-promotion success. As predicted, I found support for three mediator variables: (reduced) promotion focus, (enhanced) prevention focus and (enhanced) perceived entitlement, all of which help to explain why fear of backlash undermines women's self-promotion skills. In other words, although the processes that disrupt self-promotion are similar for both genders, Study 1 showed that women are particularly at risk for fear of backlash, detrimental regulatory foci, and low perceived entitlement. Because self-promotion is required for professional

success, gender differences in this behavior have troubling implications for women's professional advancement and the attainment of organizational gender parity. Thus, Study 1 demonstrated a critical impediment to professional equity, and also shed light on the processes responsible for this obstacle.

In contrast, Study 2 failed to support my hypotheses. Consistent with Parks-Stamm et al. (2008), I predicted that women who perceived themselves to be similar to a self-promoting female target would eschew backlash. However, using author-designed stimulus materials, I found no evidence for backlash effects (i.e., male and female self-promoters were rated similarly), no matter participants' perceived self-promotion success.

Limitations and Future Directions. Although I was unable to test the original model, Study 1's results suggested that perceived stereotypicality of self-promotion may not play the critical role that was expected. That is, it was not necessary for participants to explicitly view self-promotion as male-typed in order for gender differences in fear of backlash and perceived self-promotion success to occur. Additionally, the modified BAM accounted for the data well, even without including this variable. Thus, although future research should seek to develop a reliable measure of the perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion in order to determine how it may impact self-promotion success, omitting this variable did not appear to constitute a fatal flaw.

Study 1's results did not support my expectation that the self-regulatory variables would emerge as the key mediators. Instead, results of structural equation models comparing mediators suggested that entitlement may play the key role. Whether this is due to the fact that I used novel measures of *acute* self-regulatory focus (as opposed to

well-established measures of chronic SRF; cf. Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010) is unknown. If the importance of perceived entitlement is replicated, future intervention attempts should focus on boosting women's sense of deservingness or "right" to self-promote at levels equal to men.

Additionally, there was no evidence that chronic self-regulation tendencies interact with fear of backlash to set the stage for acute self-regulation. For example, it was not the case that those chronically high in prevention focus and who feared backlash for self-promotion were particularly likely to utilize an acute prevention focus. Instead, although measures of chronic self-regulation were positively correlated with my novel measures of acute self-regulation, it was not the case that this relationship fluctuated as a function of fear of backlash. Again, whether this was due to the novelty of my measures of acute self-regulatory focus is unknown. Although the scales performed as expected and pilot results on their psychometric properties were promising (see Footnote 1), more scale validation work is necessary to determine their validity.

As noted, results from Study 2 were not supportive of the BAM's path I, indicating that the downstream consequences of women's self-promotion detriments remain unclear. That is, there was no evidence that women's own self-promotion success had an impact on their propensity to enact backlash against other self-promoting women. In contrast, Parks-Stamm et al. (2008) found that women who were told that they had performed well on a leadership task were less likely to exhibit backlash against another successful woman. In order to resolve this discrepancy, future work is needed that utilizes stimulus materials known to elicit backlash effects. Results of a post-test revealed that Study 2's materials were deficient in this regard. Specifically, participants rated male and

female self-promoters as equally competent, likeable, and hireable—and this was true whether participants completed their own self-promotion task or not (and for participants of both genders).

This lack of evidence for backlash against stereotype-violating women is inconsistent with a large body of existing literature on penalties for gender deviance (see Rudman & Phelan, 2008, for a review). Thus, future research is needed in order to determine why the current materials did not elicit backlash. It is possible that with written materials (as opposed to videotapes), participants were able to interpret targets' behavior as relatively in keeping with their pre-existing gendered expectations. That is, without a clear visual, participants may have “read” the female targets as somehow less self-promoting, or failed to fully notice their gender-atypical behavior. This would be consistent with past work showing that stereotype violations must be unambiguous to yield backlash effects (Heilman et al., 2004). Following past procedures (e.g., Moss-Racusin, Phelan & Rudman, 2010; Rudman & Glick, 1999; 2001), future research should use trained actors and videotape the contents of the current interview transcripts. If backlash ensues after participants view these videotapes, it will suggest that written materials may allow for observers to downplay counternormative behavior, thus alleviating backlash.

Finally, additional research should apply the BAM to real-world gender inequities. First, research should seek to replicate support for the BAM among working professionals to ensure that it generalizes beyond a student population. Second, because the BAM identifies the processes responsible for interrupting women's self-promotion, interventions could target several of the responsible variables. For instance, a social role

modeling intervention in which women watch videos of self-promoting women who encounter praise (rather than backlash) may reduce women's subsequent fear of backlash for self-promotion. Additionally, because entitlement emerged as a critical mediator, intervention strategies could seek to enhance women's sense of entitlement to self-promote by educating them on the importance of this behavior, highlighting its necessity for their career success and stressing why they should feel that they have the right to self-promote.

Conclusion. In sum, the current research sought to address organizational inequities by demonstrating gender differences in critical self-promotion behavior, and testing the backlash avoidance model designed to help explain these differences. Results indicated that women's fears of backlash were linked to fluctuations in their self-regulatory strategies and perceived entitlement to self-promote, which in turn decreased their self-promotion success. In these ways, pernicious gender stereotypes about the appropriate behavior for women and men do not only result in backlash against stereotype violators. Rather, they also undermine women's abilities to perform up to their full potential, to the detriment of organizational diversity and workplace gender parity.

Table 1

Participant Gender Differences for Variables Included in the BAM (Study 1)

	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>		<u>Gender Difference</u>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
Fear of Backlash	2.73	.83	3.19	.99	3.23**	-.48
Acute Promotion	4.14	.70	3.83	.68	3.72***	.40
Acute Prevention	2.93	.77	3.12	.80	2.00*	-.23
Entitlement	3.56	.77	3.33	.73	2.51*	.30
S-P Success	.17	.86	-.09	.78	2.65**	.32

Note. High scores indicate greater levels of each variable. Effect sizes (Cohen's *d*) represent participant gender differences. Positive effect sizes favor male participants; negative effect sizes favor female participants. Conventional small, medium, and large effect sizes for *d* are .20, .50, and .80, respectively (Cohen, 1988).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2

Zero-Order Correlations Among Variables in the BAM by Participant Gender (Study 1)

	<u>FOB</u>	<u>Promotion</u>	<u>Entitlement</u>	<u>Prevention</u>	<u>SPS</u>
Fear of Backlash (FOB)	---	-.39***	-.18*	.47***	-.26**
Promotion Focus	-.32***	---	.68***	-.23*	.58***
Entitlement	-.27***	.55***	---	.02	.63***
Prevention Focus	.47***	-.20**	-.14*	---	-.25*
Self-Promotion Success (SPS)	-.29***	.42***	.59***	-.16*	---

Note. Correlations below the diagonal are for women ($N = 197$); those above the diagonal are for men ($N = 103$).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3

Factor Loadings for the Measurement Model (Study 1)

<u>Parameter</u>	<u>Unstandardized</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>Standardized</u>
Fear of backlash→ FOB1	1.00 ^a	---	.97
Fear of backlash→ FOB2	.93	.06	.85
Promotion focus→ Promo1	1.00 ^a	---	.92
Promotion focus→ Promo2	1.00	.06	.87
Prevention focus→ Prev1	1.00 ^a	---	.95
Prevention focus→ Prev2	.86	.07	.84
Entitlement→ Entitle1	1.00 ^a	---	.74
Entitlement→ Entitle2	1.25	.09	.91
Self-Promotion Success→SPS1	1.00 ^a	---	.98
Self-Promotion Success→SPS2	.87	.04	.90

Note: ^aNot tested for statistical significance (i.e., constrained parameter).

All unstandardized estimates $p < .05$.

Table 4











Measurement Error Variances for the Measurement Model (Study 1)

<u>Parameter</u>	<u>Unstandardized</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>Standardized</u>
E_{FOB1}	.07 ^b	.06	.24
E_{FOB2}	.41	.06	.54
E_{PROMO1}	.08	.02	.40
E_{PROMO2}	.14	.02	.49
E_{PREV1}	.02 ^b	.04	.32
E_{PREV2}	.20	.04	.55
E_{ENTITLE1}	.36	.04	.48
E_{ENTITLE2}	.15	.04	.42
E_{SPS1}	.02 ^b	.02	.19
E_{SPS2}	.10	.02	.43

Note: Standardized estimates for measurement errors are proportions of unexplained variance. ^b $p > .05$, all other unstandardized estimates $p < .05$.

Table 5

Factor Variances and Covariances for the Measurement Model (Study 1)

<u>Parameter</u>	<u>Unstandardized</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>Standardized</u>
Fear of Backlash (FOB)	1.19	.12	1.00
Promotion Focus (Promo)	.43	.05	1.00
Prevention Focus (Prev)	.65	.07	1.00
Entitlement (Entitle)	.43	.06	1.00
Self-Promotion Success (SPS)	.57	.05	1.00
FOB  Promo	-.34	.05	-.47
FOB  Prev	.49	.06	.56
FOB  Entitle	-.31	.05	-.44
FOB  SPS	-.38	.05	-.46
Promo  Prev	-.51	.04	-.29
Promo  Entitle	.32	.04	.74
Promo  SPS	.30	.04	.60
Prev  Entitle	-.12	.04	-.23
Prev  SPS	-.18	.04	-.29
Entitle  SPS	.34	.04	.68

Note: All unstandardized estimates $p < .05$.

Table 6

Fit Statistics for Structural Equation Models (Study 1)

Model	χ^2	<i>p</i>	<i>df</i>	CFI	IFI	NNFI	RMSEA	AIC
1. Modified BAM Measurement Model	36.69	.19	30	1.00	1.00	.99	.03 (.00-.05)	-23.31
2. Modified BAM Structural Model	43.74	.12	34	1.00	.99	.99	.03 (.00-.06)	-25.40
3. Single Mediator (Promotion)	74.62	.00	36	.98	.98	.97	.06 (.04-.08)	5.98
4. Single Mediator (Prevention)	96.54	.00	36	.92	.92	.87	.12 (.10-.14)	122.54
5. Single Mediator (Entitlement)	59.70	.01	36	.99	.99	.98	.05 (.02-.07)	-14.30
6. Dual Mediator (Promo & Entitle)	47.60	.13	35	1.00	1.00	.99	.03 (.00-.05)	-24.26
7. Dual Mediator (Promo & Prev)	227.10	.00	35	.91	.91	.86	.13 (.12-.15)	155.10
8. Dual Mediator (Prev & Entitle)	217.02	.00	35	.91	.91	.87	.13 (.11-.15)	145.02

Note. (*N*=300). CFI = comparative fit index; IFI = incremental fit index; NNFI = non-normed fit index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; AIC = Akaike's information criterion.

Table 7

Zero-Order Correlations Among Focal Variables by Target Gender (Study 2)

	<u>Competence</u>	<u>Likeability</u>	<u>Hireability</u>	<u>Similarity</u>	<u>SPS</u>
Target Competence	---	.43**	.70***	.19	-.04
Target Likeability	.33*	---	.65***	.37**	.03
Target Hireability	.57***	.47***	---	.32*	-.02
Target Similarity	.26*	.46***	.46***	---	.35**
Self-Promotion Success (SPS)	-.02	.10	.18	.59***	---

Note. Correlations below the diagonal are for the female target ($N = 56$); those above the diagonal are for the male target ($N = 59$).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 8

Target Gender Differences for Control Condition Focal Variables (Study 2)

	<u>Male Target</u>		<u>Female Target</u>		<u>Gender Difference</u>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
Competence	4.35	.69	4.11	.79	1.26	.32
Likeable	3.04	.75	3.02	.90	.10	.02
Hireable	3.91	.82	3.93	.88	.12	-.02
Similar	2.89	.69	2.79	1.01	.45	.11

Note. Effect sizes (Cohen's *d*) represent participant gender differences. Positive effect sizes favor the male target ($N = 29$); negative effect sizes favor the female target ($N = 33$). Conventional small, medium, and large effect sizes for *d* are .20, .50, and .80, respectively (Cohen, 1988). * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

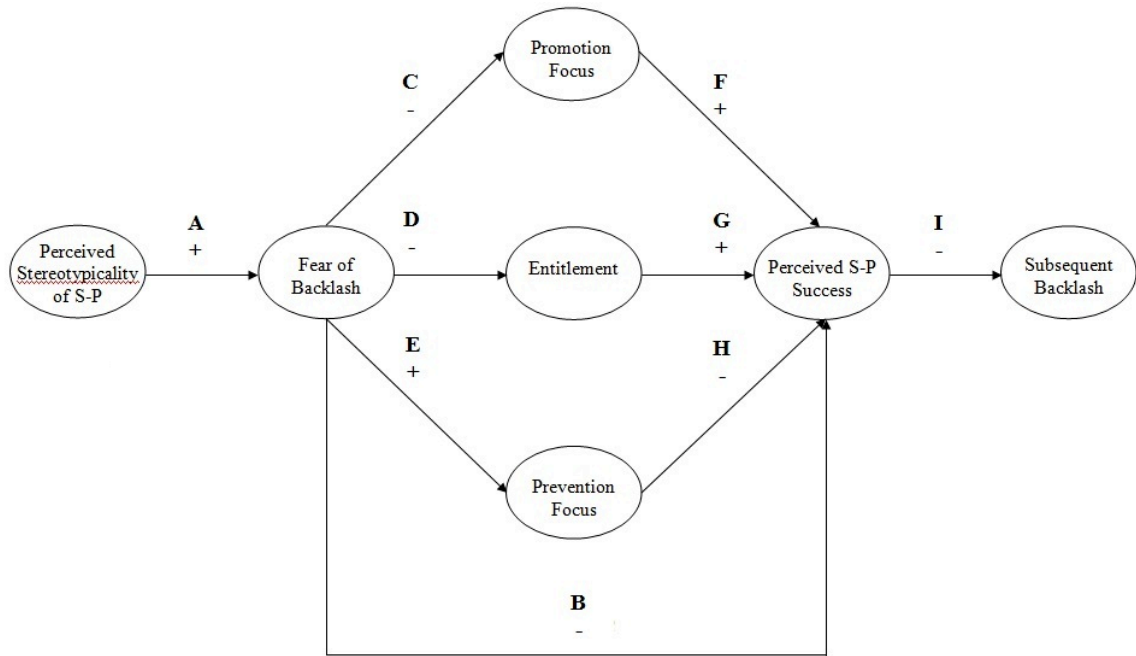


Figure 1. The proposed backlash avoidance model for female self-promoters. S-P = self-promotion.

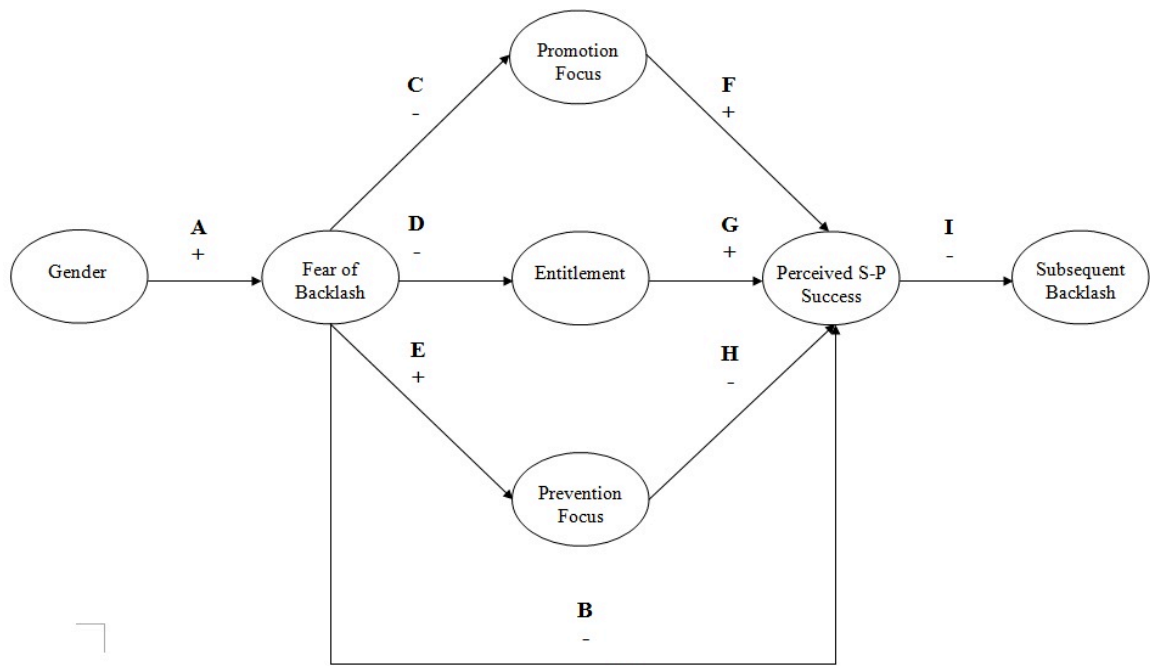


Figure 2. The modified model for all self-promoters. S-P = self-promotion.

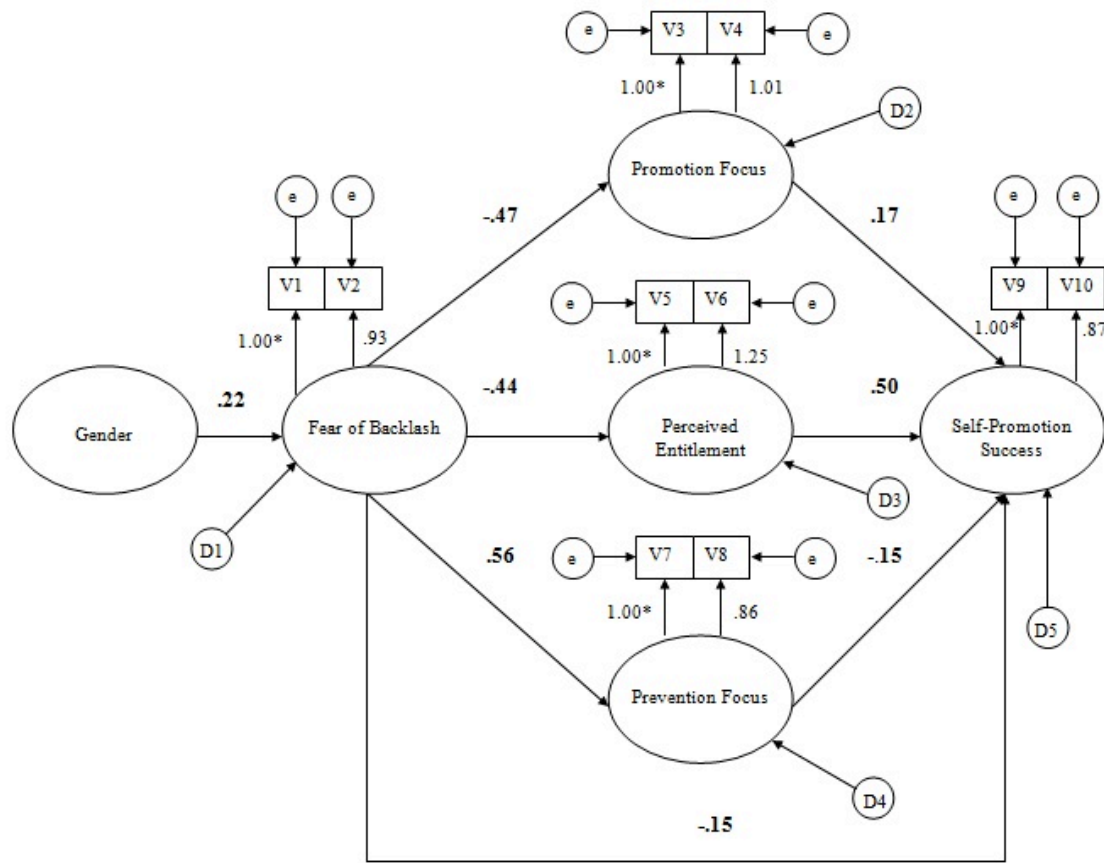


Figure 3. Results for the modified model (Study 1). Participant gender is coded such that 0 = male, and 1 = female. High scores on other variables indicate greater levels of those variables. All β values are significant at $p < .05$. Asterisks represent factor loadings that were set to 1. Unstandardized factor loadings are presented.

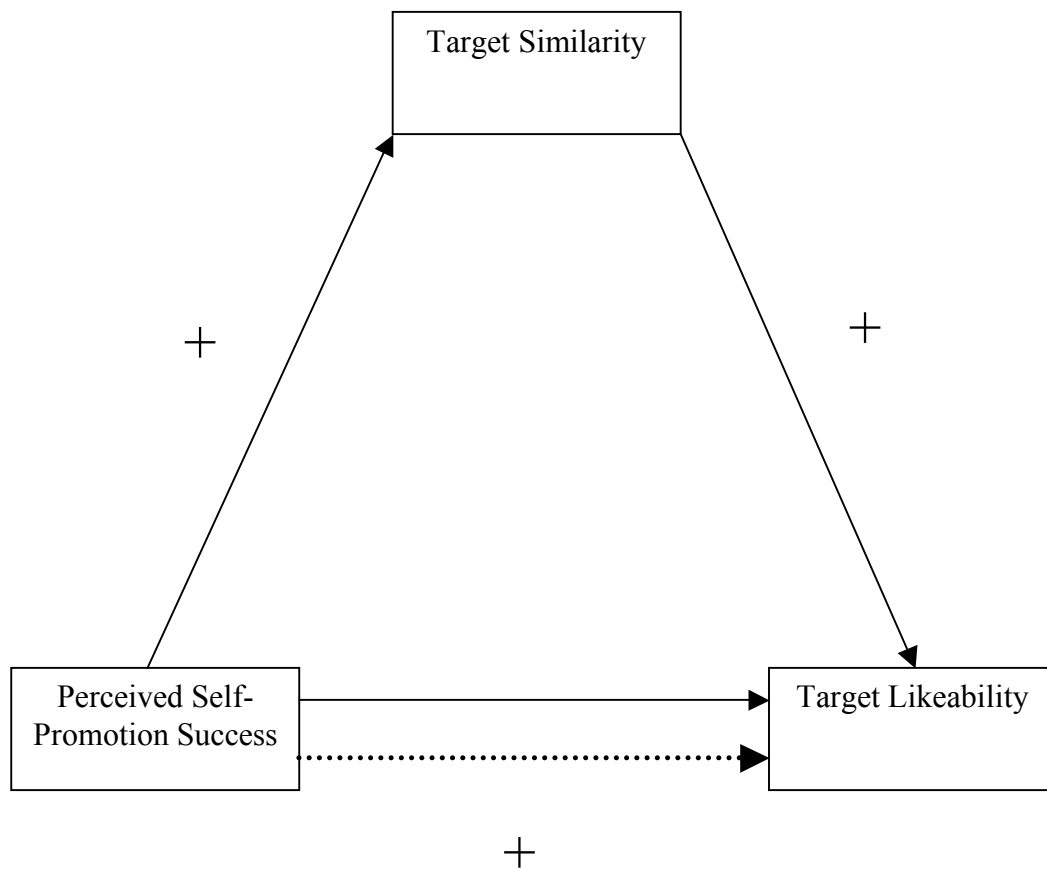


Figure 4. The hypothesized indirect effect of women's self-promotion success on the female self-promoting target's likeability (via heightened perceived target similarity; Study 2). The dashed line represents the mediated path.

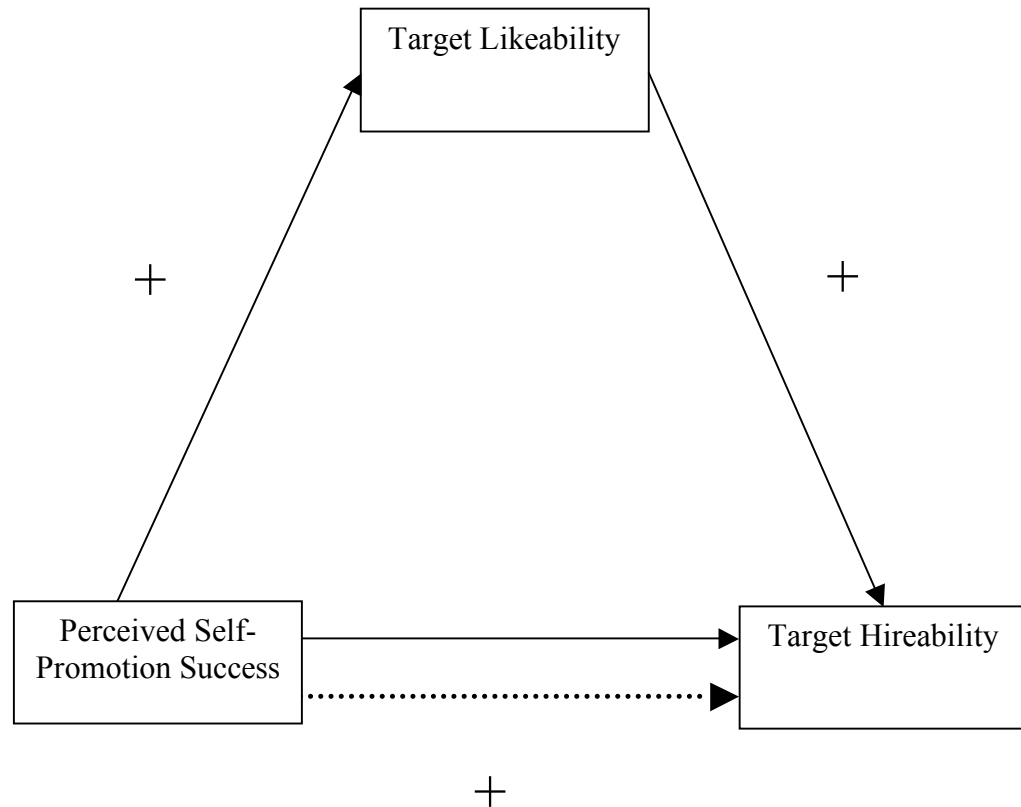


Figure 5. The hypothesized indirect effect of women's self-promotion success on the female self-promoting target's hireability (via heightened target likeability; Study 2). The dashed line represents the mediated path.

Appendix A

Measures Used in Study 1

Perceived Gender Stereotypicality of Self-Promotion (administered in the prescreen)

We are interested in your perceptions of different workplace behaviors. The following questions refer to self-promotion, which is defined as “pointing with pride to one’s accomplishments, speaking directly about one’s strengths and talents, and making internal rather than external attributions for achievements.” Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers, and we are only interested in your opinions.

1. Please estimate the percentage of *men* in the U.S. population who are good at self-promotion.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81-90%	91-100%

2. Please estimate the percentage of *women* in the U.S. population who are good at self-promotion.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81-90%	91-100%

3. How common or typical do you think self-promotion is for *men* in American society?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Not at all typical</i>						<i>Very typical</i>

4. How common or typical do you think self-promotion is for *women* in American society?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Not at all typical</i>						<i>Very typical</i>

Putting aside your own feelings, please indicate how acceptable or desirable it is in American society for a *man* to:

1 = Not at all Desirable, 5 = Very Desirable

5) ...self-promote

6) ...speak assertively about their accomplishments

7) ...exhibit self-confidence

8) ...show pride in their achievements

Putting aside your own feelings, please indicate how acceptable or desirable it is in American society for a *woman* to:

1 = Not at all Desirable, 5 = Very Desirable

9) ...self-promote

10) ...speak assertively about their accomplishments

11) ...exhibit self-confidence

12) ...show pride in their achievement

13. Self-promotion means speaking assertively about one's accomplishments, strengths, and talents. Who do you think is more likely to self-promote; men or women?

1 (men) or 2 (women)

14. Who do you think is better at self-promotion; men or women?

1 (men) or 2 (women)

15. Who do you think is more likely to be liked by others when they self-promote; men or women?

1 (men) or 2 (women)

16. Who do you think is more likely to be hired by others when they self-promote; men or women?

1 (men) or 2 (women)

17. Men may self-promote more than women because it's more expected of (and accepted for) men.

1 (disagree), or 2 (agree)

18. Who do you think would be more likely to say the sentence, "In groups, I enjoy being the leader and am usually the best person to take charge."

1 (a man) 2 (a woman)

19. Who do you think would be more likely to say the sentence, "I enjoy working collaboratively with others, because anything we accomplish, we accomplish together as a team."

1 (a man) 2 (a woman)

20. Who do you think would be more likely to say the sentence, "I am confident in my abilities, and know that I will be a great asset to any company that is able to hire me."

1 (a man) 2 (a woman)

21. Who do you think would be more likely to say the sentence, “I know that I have a lot to learn, and will work hard to improve my skills at any company that hires me.”

1 (a man) 2 (a woman)

Note: items were randomly administered.

Chronic Promotion/Prevention Scale (administered in the prescreen: Lockwood et al., 2002)

Using the scale below, please write the appropriate number in the blank beside each item.

1 = Not at all true of me, 9 = Very true of me

1. In general, I am focused on preventing negative events in my life.
2. I am anxious that I will fall short of my responsibilities and obligations.
3. I frequently imagine how I will achieve my hopes and aspirations.
4. I often think about the person I am afraid I might become in the future.
5. I often think about the person I would ideally like to be in the future.
6. I typically focus on the success I hope to achieve in the future.
7. I often worry that I will fail to accomplish my academic goals.
8. I often think about how I will achieve academic success.
9. I often imagine myself experiencing bad things that I fear might happen to me.
10. I frequently think about how I can prevent failures in my life.
11. I am more oriented toward preventing losses than I am toward achieving gains.
12. My major goal in school right now is to achieve my academic ambitions.

13. My major goal in school right now is to avoid becoming an academic failure.
14. I see myself as someone who is primarily striving to reach my “ideal self”—to fulfill my hopes, wishes, and aspirations.
15. I see myself as someone who is primarily striving to become the self I “ought” to be—to fulfill my duties, responsibilities, and obligations.
16. In general, I am focused on achieving positive outcomes in my life.
17. I often imagine myself experiencing good things that I hope will happen to me.
18. Overall, I am more oriented toward achieving success than preventing failure.

Note. Items 3, 5, 6, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17, and 18 tap promotion focus. Items 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 15 tap prevention focus. Items were administered in a random order.

Fear of Backlash Index

Imagine a group of people watching the videotape of you reading your essay. Please respond to the questions using the following scale:

1 = Not at All, 5 = Very Much

- 1) Would you worry that people might think you were odd?
- 2) Would you be concerned that you might be disliked?
- 3) Do you think you would feel proud?

- 4) Do you think you would feel embarrassed?
- 5) Would you worry that people thought you were too confident?
- 6) Would you worry that people thought you were too assertive?
- 7) Would you worry about being called vain?
- 8) Would you worry that someone of your gender should not be self-promoting?
- 9) Would you worry that others might think you had acted out of character for someone of your gender?
- 10) Would you be concerned that people wouldn't like you because you had acted out of character for someone of your gender?

Note. Item 3 is reverse-scored. Items were administered in a random order.

Acute Self-Regulatory Focus Index

Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers, and we are only interested in your opinion. Please answer on a scale of:

1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree somewhat, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree somewhat,

5 = Strongly agree

RIGHT AT THIS MINUTE, I'm feeling...

- 1) ...free to pursue my goals
- 2) ...focused on what I want to achieve
- 3) ...that I am not restricted in what I'm able to do
- 4) ...able to go after what I want
- 5) ...focused on what I will achieve
- 6) ...that I want to make sure I get what I want
- 7) ...that I can make something good happen
- 8) ...confident that I can go after my goals
- 9) ...like I understand how I should be acting

- 10) ...that I'm eager to get what I want
- 11) ...somewhat inhibited
- 12) ...more cautious than normal
- 13) ...like maybe I should be careful
- 14) ...as though I need avoid risks
- 15) ...a bit uncertain about the best way to act
- 16) ...like I want to make sure nothing bad happens
- 17) ...that I have to avoid a negative outcome
- 18) ...as though I need to prevent something
- 19) ...vigilant (like I have to watch out and keep my guard up)
- 20) ...like I don't want to make any mistakes

Note. Items 1-10 tap promotion focus, and items 11-20 tap prevention focus. Items pertaining to prevention and promotion focus were randomly presented throughout the measure.

Perceived Entitlement

Please answer the following questions using the scale:

1 = Not at All, 5 = Very Much

Right at this minute, do you feel...

- 1) ...that you have the right to praise yourself publicly?
- 2) ...that you are justified when you speak about yourself positively?
- 3) ...that you are comfortable talking about yourself in positive terms?
- 4) ...situations should be changed to fit your desires?
- 5) ...that you've earned the right to have things go your way?

6) ... that you are more entitled to be awarded a National Graduate Fellowship than other applicants?

Note. Items were randomly administered.

Self-Promotion Success Index

Please answer the questions below using the following scale.

1 = not very well/not very much, 5 = very well/very much

- 1) Overall, how well do you think you performed on your essay-writing task today?
- 2) Overall, how hard did you try on your essay-writing task today?
- 3) Overall, how well do you think you advocated for yourself during your essay-writing task today?
- 4) Overall, how well do you think you promoted yourself during your essay-writing task today?
- 5) Overall, how much do you think you came across as likeable during your essay-writing task today?

6) When others watch the video of you reading your essay, how competent do you think they will rate you?

7) When others watch the video of you reading your essay, how much do you think they will like you?

8) When others watch the video of you reading your essay, how much do you think they will want to get to know you?

9) When others watch the video of you reading your essay, how qualified do you think they will rate you?

10) When others watch the video of your reading your essay, how warm do you think they will rate you?

Now, please imagine that a fellowship selection committee member has read your essay.

11. Given a range between \$30,000 and \$50,000, what dollar amount would they recommend as a yearly academic fellowship?

1	2	3	4	5
\$30,000	\$35,000	\$40,000	\$45,000	\$50,000

12. Given a range between 1-5 years, how many years would they recommend that you receive the fellowship for?

1	2	3	4	5
<i>1 year</i>	<i>2 years</i>	<i>3 years</i>	<i>4 years</i>	<i>5 years</i>

Note. Items were administered in a random order.

Appendix B

Additional or Modified Measures Used in Study 2

Control Variables (Administered in the Prescreen)

Thus, participants reported their high school GPA, their total SAT score, whether they planned to have a career outside of the home after college (on a scale ranging from 1—*not at all*—to 5—*very much*), how many years of higher education they expected to receive (including their undergraduate years), and their highest yearly anticipated salary (in thousands of dollars).

1. What was your GPA when you graduated from High School?

(free response)

2. What was your total SAT score?

(free response)

4. After college, I plan to have a career outside the home

1 = not at all, 5 = very much

5. How many years of college education (including undergrad) do you plan to achieve?

1 = less than 4; 2 = 4-5; 3 = 6-7; 4 = 8-9; 5 = 10-11; 6 = more than 11

6. In thousands of dollars, what is the most amount of money you expect to earn annually?

1 = less than 20; 2 = 21-30; 3 = 31-40; 4 = 41-50; 5 = 51-60; 6 = 61-70; 7 = 71-80; 8 = 81-90; 9 = 91-100; 10 = more than 100

Self-Promotion Success Index (Additional Quantitative Items)

11. Based on your interview today, given a range between \$20,000 and \$60,000, what dollar amount do you think you should receive as a yearly starting salary?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>\$20,000</i>	<i>\$25,000</i>	<i>\$30,000</i>	<i>\$35,000</i>	<i>\$40,000</i>	<i>\$45,000</i>	<i>\$50,000</i>	<i>\$55,000</i>	<i>\$60,000</i>

12. Given a range between 6 months to more than 2 years, how soon do you think you should be considered for promotion?

1	2	3	4
<i>After 6 months</i>	<i>After 1 year</i>	<i>After a year and a half</i>	<i>After 2 years</i>

13. Given a range of 1-10, how many people do you think you would be capable of being in charge of (i.e., as a supervisor?)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>

14. Did you sell yourself well enough in your interview to confidently negotiate for a higher salary than the starting salary being offered?

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Not at All</i>				<i>Very Much</i>

15. Did you sell yourself well enough in your interview to ask for a higher position than the initial one being offered?

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Not at All</i>				<i>Very Much</i>

Note. Item 12 is reverse-scored. Items were randomly administered.

Target Competence

Please answer the following questions using the scale:

1 = Not at All, 5 = Extremely

- 1) How qualified did the applicant seem to be?
- 2) How well did the applicant communicate their strengths?
- 3) How well did the applicant 'sell themselves' ?

Note. Items were randomly administered.

Perceived Target Similarity

Please answer the following questions using the scale:

1 = Not at All, 5 = Extremely

- 1) How much did you think that the applicant was similar to you?

2) How much did you feel that you could identify with the applicant?

3) How much did the applicant remind you of yourself?

Note. Items were randomly administered.

Target Likeability

Please answer the following questions using the scale:

1 = Not at All, 5 = Extremely

1) How much did you like the applicant?

2) Would you characterize this person as someone you want to get to know better?

3) Would the applicant be popular with colleagues?

Note. Items were randomly administered.

Target Hireability

Please answer the following questions using the scale:

1 = Not at All, 5 = Extremely

- 1) Would you likely ask the applicant back for a second interview?
- 2) Would you likely hire the applicant for the job?
- 3) How likely do you think it is that the applicant would be hired for the job?

Note. Items were randomly administered.

Appendix C

Self-Promoting Interview Transcript Excerpts (Study 2)

Interview A

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

NAME: Marissa G.

Gender: Female

Ethnicity: White, not Hispanic

[tape begins}

Interviewer: Testing. 1, 2, test. [pause]

[tape resumes]

Interviewer: This is the start of the videotaped interview for subject number 122.

So like I said, for today's study, we're going to tape an interview as if you were actually applying for a job. Remember, this tape will be sent with your profile to Career Services to be critiqued as a model in workshops for other undergrads who are trying to develop their interview skills. So, please do your best and act like this is a real interview for a real job. Just do your best to "sell yourself" and communicate your strengths without holding back. Any questions so far?

Marissa: Nope, no questions.

Interviewer: Alright. I'm going to ask you a set of questions, and you answer them as if you were on a real interview. Ready to start?

Marissa: Yep, ready.

Interviewer: Ok then, let's start. Here's the first question. What would you say are your best qualities or strengths?

Marissa: Ok, sure. Well, I'm skilled at multitasking a lot of different things that I care about, and I don't have a problem staying motivated. I'm confident even when I'm very busy and working on a bunch of things at once, which is not particularly hard for me. Basically, I'm able to get things done very quickly, so I can accomplish more than most other people. It feels good to know that I'm going to be able to do well at the things I care about even when it might seem overwhelming to someone else who just doesn't have the same skills. I think my record of success has not only established me as an intelligent person, but also given me the confidence to reach for more. And once I started achieving so much, I was able to develop my natural abilities even more. In the end I think my biggest strength is that I know how smart and competent I am, and I also have the confidence to challenge myself and exceed expectations.

Interviewer: Alright, next question. What are some of your accomplishments, and why do you think they are important?

Marissa: Well, I've known for a while that I want to be a lawyer, and my plan is to be a very competitive applicant for Yale law school when I finish college. I'm very proud of what I've accomplished on that track so far. In High School I focused on doing well on the mock trial team, because I knew that demonstrating my skills on that team would be essential to get in to law school one day. I accomplished that goal, because our mock trial team made it to the National competition, and then we won it. I also know that law schools are going to be looking at my academic record, and I'm proud that I've done so well in college. This semester, I'm taking my first pre-law class, which is supposed to be only for upperclassmen. I went to the instructor for special permission and submitted my resume, and because it was so strong I was accepted to the course.

Interviewer: Ok, next question. What's one specific time when you felt successful and proud of yourself?

Marissa: Well, I mentioned my Mock Trial team. I nominated myself to be the Captain of the team, because I felt that I could handle the additional level of responsibility a lot better than anyone else. It was up to me to prepare the initial briefs for our cases, which required a substantial amount of extra research, and then I would assign work for the other team members and decide what roles they should fill in the courtroom based on my evaluation of their strengths and weaknesses. I was able to take charge of that because I just knew what had to be done. That experience taught me that I have a strong natural leadership ability, because I really felt comfortable and did very well being in charge of

everyone else. I have no problem admitting when I think that I have more ability than someone else at a certain task, especially when it will help me to get ahead. Also, I would structure our practice sessions and give people feedback, and it was up to me to give our closing argument, which is the heart of the Mock Trial process. I was very successful doing that, especially when we won Nationals. That was a time when I really took charge of the situation, and lived up to my potential. The judge told me that I was the best competitor they had seen in the program. I know that my skills as Captain gave us the extra edge that made us win instead of coming in second or third.

[end of excerpted interview section]

Interview B

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

NAME: Tim R.

Gender: Male

Ethnicity: White, not Hispanic

[tape begins]

Interviewer: Test. Test. 1. 2. [tape stops.]

[tape resumes]

Interviewer: Ok, this is the beginning of the videotaped interview for subject number 170. So like I said, for today's study, we're going to tape an interview as if you were actually applying for a job. Remember, this tape will be sent with your profile to Career Services to be critiqued as a model in workshops for other undergrads who are trying to develop their interview skills. So, please do your best and act like this is a real interview for a real job. Just do your best to "sell yourself" and communicate your strengths without holding back. Any questions so far?

Tim: No, that makes sense.

Interviewer: Ok. I'm going to ask you a set of questions, and you answer them as if you were on a real interview. Ready to start?

Tim: Sure, ready.

Interviewer: Great, let's get started. Here is your first question. What would you say are your best qualities or strengths?

Tim: Let's see. Well, I'm very goal-oriented. I don't have any problems focusing or getting things done. In general, my work ethic is exceptionally strong, and I am very disciplined with myself to stay on task and pursue my goals. When I really focus on something and set my mind on something, I never doubt myself, because I just know I'm going to be able to get it done. That high level of confidence has really helped me in achieving my goals, and I know I can always count on myself to have the skills to follow through on whatever I decide to start. And I think that's what sets me apart from other people who aren't such high achievers. I've learned that you need to have both this kind of focus and drive, but also high natural intelligence. I think my best quality is that I know I have a lot of skills and strengths, but I also push myself to higher levels by being disciplined and absolutely sure of myself.

Interviewer: Ok. Next question. What are some of your accomplishments, and why do you think they are important?

Tim: I'd say that one of my greatest accomplishments is the full scholarship that I won to go to college. In high school I always focused on doing well academically, because I knew that with my goal of going to medical school one day, I'd need to have an amazing GPA and academic record. And I really succeeded at this, because when I graduated I was at the top of my class. I was very proud of that because I proved that I am extremely capable, and that I deserve my successes. The fact that I got accepted to college with a full scholarship for all four years shows that I typically achieve my goals. I know that accomplishment will look really good on my record, and will help me a lot when I apply to med school. I expect to be a top candidate for Harvard medical school after I graduate.

Interviewer: Alright, next question. What's one specific time when you felt successful and proud of yourself?

Tim: Well, one of the most important classes for the pre-Med track I'm on is Chemistry, and I just finished the midterm evaluation process. Part of it was this intensive group project, where we had to work in a lab group to conduct experiments, and then present to the class about what we had concluded and write it up in a formal lab report. Each group had to choose a leader, and in my group I suggested that it should be me, because I felt the most confident and understood what we were supposed to be doing a lot better than everyone else. So I divided up the work and told everyone what they were responsible for in the lab, on the basis of what they were skilled at or had trouble with. I also did the hardest parts of the experiments myself. Once they let me take over, things went very smoothly, and I was not surprised that I was able to be in charge and run things.

Honestly, I think that some people are just naturally leaders, and other people really aren't. I'm not afraid to say when I think I'm going to be better at something than the other people around me. We got an "A" on the project, and we were the only group that completed the experiments correctly, so that was very successful. I think my leadership was directly responsible for our success. The professor even told me that I was the strongest student in the class.

[end of excerpted interview section]

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Endnotes

¹ To further explore the psychometric properties of this novel scale, I conducted a pilot study in which I administered the Acute Self-Regulatory Focus scale along with several conceptually-related scales expected to correlate with the novel measure. These included the Chronic Self-Regulatory Focus scale (Lockwood et al., 2002), the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), the Positive and Negative Affect schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988), the autonomy subscale of the Basic Needs Satisfaction in General scale (Gagne, 2003) and the State Anxiety Scale (Spielberger, Gorsuch, & Lushene, 1970). Participants were 122 Psychology students, who participated in exchange for extra course credit. Results were supportive of the utility of my novel scale. Specifically, alphas for the acute promotion ($\alpha = .85$) and acute prevention ($\alpha = .81$) subscales were acceptable. As expected, the acute promotion subscale was moderately correlated with the chronic promotion subscale, $r(122) = .64, p < .01$. Similarly, the acute prevention subscale was moderately correlated with the chronic promotion subscale, $r(122) = .42, p < .01$. Additionally, results provided evidence of convergent validity, in that both subscales behaved as expected with respect to conceptually-related measures. Specifically, the acute promotion focus subscale was moderately positively correlated with self-esteem, positive affect, and autonomy (with r s ranging from .37 to .51, all p s $< .05$), and negatively correlated with anxiety, $r(122) = -.50, p < .01$. Similarly, the acute prevention focus subscale was negatively correlated with self-esteem and autonomy (r s = -.29 and -.35, respectively, both p s $< .01$), and positively correlated with negative affect and anxiety (r s = .34 and .50, respectively, both p s $< .05$). Thus, pilot results provided preliminary support for the psychometric properties of the novel Acute Self-Regulatory Focus scale, supporting its utility for the present research.

² Based on the results of past research and in the interest of parsimony, the current research did not employ naïve coders to supplement participants' own ratings of their self-promotion abilities. This past research found that naïve coders agreed with self-promoting women's assessments that their promotion skills were diminished relative to those of their peer-promoting counterparts, suggesting that women are not simply exhibiting modesty in their self-promotion ratings and that people may actually be fairly accurate at estimating their self-promotion abilities (Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010). Additionally, because the BAM is a causal model of the intrapsychic processes contributing to women's self-promotion detriments, participants' own assessments (rather than outsiders' ratings) were expected to relate to other variables, and thus should be used in the model. Because previous research has established that naïve judges concur with women's assessments of their own self-promotion abilities, the current research continued to utilize this variable in the BAM and did not call for time and resource-consuming ratings of the essays for self-promotion success by external judges.

³ To be thorough, I examined results associated with the most reliable version of this scale, which included 8 items assessing the desirability of 4 self-promoting behaviors for both men and women. Specifically, the items were: "Putting aside your own beliefs, how desirable do you think most other people would find it if a man/woman were to self-promote/speak assertively about their accomplishments/exhibit self-confidence/show

pride in their achievements?” Items were averaged to form the male stereotypicality index ($\alpha = .64$) and the female stereotypicality index ($\alpha = .66$). The male and female stereotypicality indices were not significantly different from one another, $t(284) = .63$, *ns*, suggesting that self-promotion may not be viewed as male sex-typed among this sample. Next, I subtracted the male stereotypicality index from the female stereotypicality index, such that high scores on the perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion index would reflect the belief that self-promotion is viewed as more desirable for men. Scores on this index did not differ reliably from zero. This was true for both men, $t(94) = .09$, *ns*, and women, $t(189) = .78$, *ns*, suggesting that this sample may have viewed self-promotion to be gender-neutral. Finally, I proceeded to test the original hypothesized BAM model for the full sample (because the comparable patterns between variables suggested that the processes would operate similarly for men and women). Although this model provided a reasonable fit to the data, $\chi^2(34) = 60.86$, $p = .07$, CFI = .99, IFI = .97, NNFI = .98, RMSEA = .04 (with a range of .00-.06), the fit was significantly worse than the modified model, as indicated by the higher AIC value for this model (-19.14), compared with the AIC for the modified model (-25.40). More importantly, the path from perceived gender stereotypicality of self-promotion to fear of backlash was non-significant ($\beta = -.05$, *ns*), further suggesting that this variable may not be critical for the BAM.

⁴ An alternate model which did not include the direct path demonstrated slightly inferior fit statistics: $\chi^2(35) = 49.11$, $p = .06$, CFI = .99, IFI = .98, NNFI = .99, RMSEA = .04 (with a range of .00-.06). A chi-square difference test indicated that the more parsimonious model provided a significantly worse fit to the data, $\chi^2 \Delta = 5.4$, $p < .05$ (Yuan & Bentler, 2004). More importantly, the LaGrange multiplier test for this path was significant, indicating that the direct path should be added and supporting the idea that the three mediators are partially responsible for the relationship between fear of backlash and self-promotion success. Although the three variables included in this research contribute to the impact of fear of backlash on self-promotion success, it is reasonable to expect that additional non-measured variables may also play a role (resulting in partial mediation of the IV-DV relationship).

⁵ Although hypotheses did not concern possible interactions between chronic self-regulatory focus and fear of backlash for male participants, I nonetheless repeated the analyses described above for male participants. Results were identical to those obtained for female participants, suggesting that for both men and women, chronic regulatory focus does not interact with fear of backlash to set the tone for acute regulatory focus.