"Mobilising Men and Women in Support of Workplace Gender Equality: Does Leader Gender Matter?"

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Statement of Originality

I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge and belief the work embodied in the thesis is my own work, conducted under normal supervision. The thesis contains no material which has been accepted, or is being examined, for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University's Digital Repository, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968 and any approved embargo.

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By signing below I confirm that as the publication's first author, Stephanie Hardacre made a relative contribution of 65%, and assisted with the design, recruitment, analysis, and interpretation of both experiments, and additionally drafted and finalised the manuscript for the paper/publication entitled "Whose issue is it anyway? The effects of leader gender and equality message framing on men's and women's mobilization toward workplace gender equality". As the second author and primary supervisor of Stephanie, Dr Emina Subašić provided a relative contribution of 35%. She assisted with the design, analysis, and interpretation of both experiments, and additionally provided theoretical and practical feedback on several drafts of the manuscript.

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"Since men are the primary agents maintaining and supporting sexism and sexist oppression, they can only be successfully eradicated if men are compelled to assume responsibility for transforming their consciousness and the consciousness of society as a whole."

(bell hooks, 1984, p. 83)

"Gender equality is not just a women's issue, it's a human rights issue."

(HeForShe, 2016, para. 1)

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abstract

The burden of achieving gender equality is typically placed on women, limiting men's involvement in the movement. In contrast to work focusing on women's experiences as targets of discrimination, we propose a solidarity-based approach positioning men and women as *agents of change,* which relies on two key processes: leadership – particularly leadership as a form of influence based on shared identities among leaders and followers; and political solidarity as a way to mobilise the silent majority (men) to work as allies beside a minority (women) and embrace equality as a common cause for *both* groups.

This thesis examines how to mobilise a broader audience for gender equality, and how leadership and social identity dynamics affect that mobilisation. Three empirical programs (totalling six experiments) investigate how best to increase women's and men's support for equality. Key independent variables of interest are leader gender, message framing, and social identity. Program 1 examines whether solidarity-based frames are more effective than traditional frames which focus on either fixing (Experiment 1; $N = 338$) or blaming women (Experiment 2; $N = 336$). Program 2 investigates how emphasising different levels of subgroup and superordinate identities (Experiment 3; $N = 251$; Experiment 4; $N = 319$) affects men's mobilisation. Program 3 investigates whether positioning men as being responsible for gender inequality (Experiment 5; $N = 258$), or being fellow victims of gender inequality (Experiment 6; $N = 543$) affects their mobilisation.

Our findings suggest men are doubly advantaged in mobilising followers because they possess a shared identity with male and female followers: shared gender identity and ingroup membership with men, and shared cause (in the form of equality) with women. We also demonstrate that leaders' ability to mobilise followers goes beyond gender to encompass the

rhetoric they adopt when discussing (in)equality. Essentially, solidarity-based message frames are an effective starting point for increasing individuals' receptivity to leaders but may not be sufficient for mobilising support.

Keywords: gender equality, leadership, solidarity action, social change, social identity, collective action, message framing

Chapter 1

Introduction: Who Run the World? ...Girls?

> "Men are the gatekeepers of current gender orders and are potential resistors of change. If we do not effectively reach men and boys, many of our efforts will be either thwarted or simply ignored."
>
> (Kaufman, 2004, p. 20)

The Question

Despite significant advancements in social change being achieved by the feminist movement during the 1960s and beyond – including female suffrage, women's entry to the workforce, and the sexual revolution (Eisenberg & Ruthsdotter, 1998) – gender inequality has proven both resilient and resistant to change (de Vries, 2010). Overall, there has been broad, albeit uneven, attitudinal shifts toward gender equality (Flood, 2015). Traditionally, the burden of achieving gender equality has been placed on women (particularly female leaders), who are usually the main targets of such inequality (Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003). Indeed, typical approaches tend to frame gender inequality as the responsibility of women alone to address (e.g., 'women's work'; Mavin, 2008). Such women's issue approaches tend to limit men's contribution to the gender equality movement by casting them as perpetrators or as passive bystanders (hooks, 2000).

Gender diverse organisations enjoy considerable benefits, such as superior company

performance, enhanced social responsiveness, and infiltration of novel markets (Catalyst, 2013; but see also Eagly, 2016, for a critique regarding diversity benefits). Despite this, research continues to focus predominantly on *demonstrating* rather than *rectifying* inequality, resulting in a dearth of research regarding how to effectively address the issue (Becker, Zawadzki, & Shields, 2014). Social psychological research has also focused on attitudes and collective action by either advantaged majority (Iyer & Leach, 2010; Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007) or disadvantaged minority groups (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), rather than examining psychological processes underpinning attitudes and widespread collective action for *both* groups (Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008). More often than not, the issue is seen as a women's issue that is best addressed by systemic measures such as government policy, thus neglecting to focus on how men and women might come to be mobilised toward equality (Subašić et al., 2018).

Indeed, until recently, few studies had investigated men's intentions to participate in collective action supporting equality (Wiley, Srinivasan, Finke, Firnhaber, & Shilinsky, 2012), or women's responses to male allies (Wiley & Dunne, 2018). Initiatives that *do* directly engage men in gender equality tend to focus on women as victims and men as protectors, typically resulting in paternalistic or symbolic support for women (e.g., Flood, 2017). Finally, research has failed to examine in detail the role of leadership and influence processes in the mobilisation of widespread support for social change toward gender equality, focusing instead on group and intergroup dynamics (Subašić, Reynolds, & Mohamed, 2015; Subašić et al., 2008).

In contrast to much of the work that focuses on women's experiences as targets of discrimination or men's role in maintaining inequality, in this thesis we take a political solidarity-based common cause approach that positions both gender groups as 'agents of change', in a concerted effort to engage a broader audience of men *and* women (see Subašić et

al., 2018; Hardacre & Subašić, 2018). Based on the political solidarity model (Subašić et al., 2008), this approach eschews traditional frames of men as perpetrators and women as their victims, in favour of promoting gender equality as a concern for men and women to address together, and relies on two key processes. Firstly, understanding the leadership and influence processes involved – particularly leadership as a form of influence based on shared social identities between leaders and followers (e.g., one's gender group; Subašić et al., 2018). The second process involves the concept of political solidarity as a way of mobilising the silent majority (men) to work as allies alongside a minority (women) and embrace gender equality as a common cause for *both* groups (Subašić et al., 2008). These respective processes are unpacked below.

A clear research and theoretical lacuna emerges in terms of the need to understand the process by which men become allies acting in solidarity with women (i.e., embracing equality as a common cause. This is in contrast to them remaining passive observers or bystanders acting on *behalf of* women without necessarily ever coming to view women's inequality as an issue that also concerns their own group and identity. Consequently, this PhD project is an exploration of the leadership and social identity processes underpinning and undermining mobilisation of men and women in support for gender equality. By investigating the psychological processes underlying leader influence in particular (specifically leader gender), it is hoped the steps necessary to effectively mobilise the silent majority (men) in support of the minority (women) might be illuminated.

Specifically, the aim of this research is to further our understanding of the effect that leader gender (male or female), leader message framing or rhetoric (e.g., highlighting or not the sense of common cause between men and women), and social identity have on individuals'

support for gender equality and leadership evaluations of those leading the charge for equality. The central premise of this project is that, by making men part of the solution and highlighting equality as a common cause (i.e., something both sexes should work toward), men and women are more likely to be mobilised for action. However, in order to guide both the theoretical and empirical nature of the thesis, it is important to first identify current gaps in knowledge, as outlined below.

Focusing on the 'Why?' Instead of the 'How?': Social Psychology's Neglect of the Psychological Processes Underlying Widespread Mobilisation toward Gender Equality

There is currently a lack of research investigating methods to effectively address gender inequality (Becker et al., 2014). Indeed, Becker and colleagues (2014) argue that studies investigating interventions against sexism are rare compared to those investigating reduction of other types of prejudice – such as racism or homophobia. This is likely because they are viewed as more serious and blatant forms of discrimination in comparison to sexism (Becker et al., 2014). Social psychology's contribution to explaining *why* gender inequality continues spans work on explicit and implicit bias, stereotype threat, ambivalent sexism, gender differences in workplace attitudes and behaviours, and related phenomena including the 'sticky floor', 'queen bee', 'glass ceiling', 'glass cliff', and 'glass elevator' (see Ryan & Branscombe, 2013, for an overview). Relatedly, research that does attempt to rectify inequality typically views it as an issue that is only able to be rectified using systemic measures (e.g., government legislation, hiring and promotion policies), consequently failing to investigate ways in which men and women might be encouraged to fight inequality together (Subašić et al., 2018).

Indeed, social psychological research has a tendency to explain attitudes and collective action by either advantaged majority (Iyer et al., 2007; Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006) *or*

disadvantaged minority groups (van Zomeren et al., 2008), thus neglecting psychological processes potentially underpinning attitudes and widespread collective action for both groups (e.g., men and women; Subašić et al., 2008; Subašić et al., 2018). Indeed, gender inequality is usually investigated as a women's issue, with the focus primarily on women's intentions to address inequality given their status as a disadvantaged group (Ellemers & Barreto, 2009; Radke, Hornsey, & Barlow, 2016), or on "fixing the women" (de Vries, 2010, p. 168) approaches such as the incorporation of mentoring and leadership training programs (Subašić et al., 2018). This mirrors a broader trend within social change research to concentrate predominantly on disadvantaged groups (see van Zomeren et al., 2008 for a review).

Many initiatives that *do* directly engage men in gender equality work tend to focus on women as victims and men as protectors rather than allies (Flood, 2017). Flood (2017) argues that we need a shift of focus from men engaging with equality due to self-interest or paternalistic protective motivations, towards engagement stemming from social justice-oriented motivations instead. Indeed, recently more attention has been given to men's intentions to support gender equality as allies alongside women (see Chapter 2; e.g., Iyer & Ryan, 2009a; Ochoa, Manalastas, Deguchi, & Louis, 2019; Stewart, 2017; Wiley et al., 2012).

For example, Ochoa and colleagues (2019) found that within Japan and the Philippines, men's moral convictions and perceived group efficacy of collective action predicted their support for feminist collective action. These findings speak to the value of encouraging men to oppose women's discrimination on moral grounds, as well as increasing men's sense that they are a crucial force in propelling women's equality as allies (Ochoa et al., 2019). Ochoa and colleagues (2019) also found that identification with men (as the advantaged group) demobilised Japanese but not Filipino men, and identification with women (as the disadvantaged group)

mobilised Filipino but not Japanese men. Consequently, Filipino gender discrimination interventions might benefit from increasing men's identification with women and (feminist) men, whereas Japanese interventions might concentrate on transforming male identity definitions and reducing the threat surrounding gender equality efforts (Ochoa et al., 2019), or including women and men within a common ingroup (e.g., feminists; Subašić et al., 2008).

Even so, social psychological research has overwhelmingly neglected to examine *women's* responses to such male allies (Wiley & Dunne, 2018). Allies, or advantaged group activists, comprise those individuals or groups who are not directly affected by the disadvantage they seek to address. For example, white people in the Black Lives Matter movement, heterosexual people supporting the Pride movement, and male feminists are all considered allies. Allies' involvement in social change movements can certainly achieve meaningful change by means of bringing much-needed power, influence and resources (Iyer & Ryan, 2009a). For instance, in the context of LGBT equality, activism by heterosexual allies has "generally been characterised by an unreservedly positive view of both the process by which such activism occurs and the change potential it embodies" (Russell & Bohan, 2016, p. 335). However, not all forms of allied support are wanted or even useful (Wiley & Dunne, 2018). For example, Wiley and Dunne (2018) found that strongly identified female feminists prefer male feminists (or allies) who offer autonomy-oriented support (e.g., taking a backseat and offering partial support) rather than dependency-oriented support (e.g., attempting to solve the problem themselves and dominating the movement). Moreover, Brown and Ostrove (2013) showed that people of colour perceived a white ally as significantly less willing to engage in racial issues compared to an ally of colour. Similarly, Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky, and Louis (2016) further showed that some forms of allied support are not wanted at all, and can in fact harm rather than help certain

movements. Droogendyk and colleagues (2016) suggest that for allies to remain effective, they "must effectively communicate support for social change, understand the implications of their own privilege, offer autonomy-oriented support, and resist the urge to increase their own feelings of inclusion by co-opting relevant marginalized social identities" (p. 315). Otherwise, feminist men are at risk of reinforcing the very hierarchy they are attempting to disassemble (Wiley & Dunne, 2018). It also proves problematic that men are frequently showered with praise for doing the bare minimum within equality movements, while still failing to truly challenge oppressive systems (Flood, 2017). Moreover, research regarding men as allies focuses primarily on short-term spontaneous confrontations of sexism, rather than focusing on planned equality interventions (Becker et al., 2014).

Finally, social psychological research has not yet examined in detail the role of leadership and influence processes in the mobilisation of widespread support for social change toward gender equality, focusing instead on group and intergroup dynamics (Subašić et al., 2008; Subašić et al., 2015). Leadership processes are crucial to understanding social change, particularly within gender equality contexts (Reicher, Haslam, & Hopkins, 2005; Subašić et al., 2015). Yet equality research has largely neglected the complexities of gendered leadership and power, which de Vries (2015) argues undermines equality initiatives because female leaders traditionally spearhead them. Essentially, while research on leadership and gender inequality has investigated how gender-based differences in leadership evaluations *maintain* inequality, research has so far not investigated how male or female leaders may effectively address inequality (Subašić et al., 2018).

For example, Eagly and Carli (2003) have found that female leaders suffer particular disadvantage within masculine organisational contexts, due to prejudicial gender-based

evaluations regarding their competency. Consequently, women leaders of equality initiatives are especially disadvantaged (and subsequently less effective) due to such initiatives inevitably being undertaken within such contexts (Acker, 1990). In contrast, male leaders experience more positive experiences and favourable evaluations when they choose to confront instances of sexism and inequality (Becker & Barreto, 2014; Drury & Kaiser, 2014). Given the substantial gaps outlined above, it remains crucial to determine under what conditions gender equality interventions flourish and succeed.

Case in Point: Current Research Aims, Objectives, and Research Questions

The significant gaps in knowledge outlined above highlight a clear research lacuna and the subsequent need for psychological research at the juncture of both cutting-edge social science and current best practice in the workplace and beyond. As such, this thesis seeks to advance our understanding of those psychological pathways and processes underlying men's and women's support for gender equality. Essentially, we seek to examine how different ways of thinking and talking about gender (in)equality shape attitudes and change-oriented behaviours across genders. We argue that certain approaches to discussing the issue will be more effective than others. For example, rather than continuing to focus on equality as a women's issue primarily concerning and involving women, we predict that a more effective approach is to promote the issue as a shared cause that is of importance to everyone. In doing so we attempt to mobilise a broader audience for gender equality by focusing on men as agents of change alongside women. The central premise of this thesis is that, by making men part of the solution and highlighting equality as a common cause (i.e., something both sexes should work towards together), men and women are more likely to be mobilised for action.

We believe this redefinition exists at the intersection of social identity, leadership, and

social change, and thus endeavor to examine how social identity and leadership as a social influence process can result in solidarity toward gender equality. Certainly, a shared social identity and shared sense of 'us' is required in order for those directly disadvantaged by the status quo, and those witnessing such disadvantage, to come together for a common cause (Subašić et al., 2008). This shared identity and sense of 'us' is a crucial aspect of leader-follower relations, and therefore leadership remains an important yet often overlooked aspect of the social change process. Moreover, the identity function of leadership has also been largely overlooked (Hogg, van Knippenberg, & Rast, 2012). By investigating the psychological and social influence processes underlying leadership influence we hope to illuminate the necessary steps to effectively mobilise the silent majority (men) in support for gender equality.

Essentially, we hope to uncover how leadership as a form of influence based on a shared ingroup membership can lead to the silent majority (men) embracing a cause of a minority (women) as their own via the process of political solidarity. In doing so we draw on Subašić et al.'s (2008) political solidarity model of social change, recognised as the only theoretical model that successfully explains how support for collective action can be maintained across intergroup boundaries. This is crucial, given that the attainment of gender equality rests on redefining how individuals think of themselves in terms of their gender identity in order to craft solidarity-based approaches to issues such as equality in the workplace.

We take a two-pronged approach that investigates both leadership (specifically leader gender) and social identity dynamics as manipulated by leader rhetoric and equality message framing. Specifically, we investigate how leader *gender* shapes the capacity of male and female leaders to mobilise both men and women for gender equality as a common cause, and whether different equality message frames affect individuals' mobilisation. This thesis will explore how

and why leader gender impacts the effectiveness of equality initiatives, including when leader gender matters, and when it ceases to matter. We will also explore whether leader message framing (highlighting or not the sense of common cause between men and women) affect men's and women's intentions to participate in collective action supporting equality. By investigating the psychological processes that enable organisational leaders to effectively mobilise men and women for gender equality, this research stands to benefit both the science and the reality of gender relations.

Our key research questions include (a) under what conditions (e.g., leader gender and message frames) are women and men likely to be mobilised to fight for gender equality, (b) whether male (compared to female) leaders are more effective in mobilising male and female followers toward this goal (and if so – why this is the case), and (c) does framing gender equality as a common cause for men and women increase their likelihood of acting in solidarity in support for equality. In answering these questions, we hope to lay the theoretical and empirical foundations necessary to advance the achievement of gender equality within the workplace and beyond.

Overview of Chapters

Essentially, this thesis will attempt to advance our understanding of how to mobilise a broader audience for gender equality, and how leadership and social identity dynamics affect this mobilisation. To begin, Chapter 2 summarises and reviews relevant literature on the relationship between leadership, social identity, and social change within the context of gender equality. In doing so we explore the background and importance of achieving gender equality, before examining the factors perpetuating inequality and previous attempts at redressing it. Relevant social change literature is explored and critiqued – including the social identity

approach to leadership and related social identity processes underpinning and undermining mobilisation of both men and women in support for equality. We investigate when leader gender matters (and when it ceases to) in the context of gender equality, before unpacking the intersection between solidarity and leadership. Building on the theoretical groundwork articulated in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 goes on to provide the theoretical and conceptual framework of the thesis and outlines how the research questions address existing gaps in the literature. We then describe the empirical framework, before discussing the relationships between our various dependent variables, providing an explanation for the use of participant samples, experimental settings, and outlining the constraints and qualifications of the thesis.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 detail the empirical work that we have undertaken, experimentally investigating the aforementioned relationships between leadership, social identity, and social change toward gender equality. Each empirical program comprises two experiments, seeking to answer a particular aspect of our research questions. Chapter 4 outlines our first empirical program, which investigates whether the gender of equality leaders affects their capacity to mobilise support for equality. It also examines whether solidarity-based message frames are more effective than traditional equality frames which typically focus on either fixing or blaming women. Chapter 5 introduces our second empirical program which focuses solely on male participants. In addition to further examining the effects of leader gender on mobilisation, Program 2 investigates how emphasising different levels of subgroup and superordinate identities affects men's support for equality, in addition to exploring whether superordinate American identity salience affects men's support relative to broader global identity salience. Chapter 6 details our final empirical program, which again focuses solely on male participants and investigates the effects of leader gender, but additionally moves beyond women's issue and

solidarity approaches to investigate whether positioning men as being responsible for, or being fellow victims of (i.e., themselves being directly affected by), gender (in)equality affects their support for women's equality.

In summary, this thesis begins by synthesising the various literatures on leadership, solidarity, and social identity in the context of gender equality. We then empirically investigate how best to increase men's and women's mobilisation in support for equality by manipulating leader gender, message framing, and social identity across six experiments. Finally, the general discussion in Chapter 7 provides an overall integration and discussion of the thesis, offering a summary of the key theoretical insights and empirical findings that arose, in addition to the theoretical and practical implications of the current findings. Several limitations and caveats are discussed, as are recommended avenues for future research.

Chapter 2

At the Intersection of Gender (In)Equality, Collective Action, Social Identity, and Leadership: A Review of the Literature

"When men are oppressed it's a tragedy, when women are oppressed it's a tradition."

(Letty Cottin Pogrebin, 1991)

Despite decades of attempts to reduce or eradicate it, women continue to face gender inequality in all facets of their lives. Defined as the prejudicial and discriminatory treatment of individuals or groups based exclusively on their gender, gender inequality is primarily discussed as relating to women, although individuals of any gender may experience it (Parziale, 2008). Furthermore, instances of gender-based inequality, discrimination, and sexism can occur across a vast range of settings, including the home, religious institutions, and public settings. Gender inequality is also largely apparent in the workplace; hence this thesis focuses largely upon instances of workplace gender inequality and workplace initiatives. Even so, it is important to note that gender inequality is also clearly evident in other spheres, such as the underrepresentation of women within political domains, and the unequal division of household, parenting, and caring responsibilities within the domestic sphere.

The maintenance of gender inequality has far-reaching commercial, societal, and economic consequences, particularly within the workplace (outlined in next section; Ellemers, 2014). Despite this, studies investigating how best to address gender inequality are considered rare compared to those investigating alternative instances of discrimination, such as racism or

homophobia, likely due to these being viewed as more blatant and harmful forms of discrimination compared to sexism (Becker et al., 2014). Given this paucity of literature pertaining to successful gender inequality interventions, it remains crucial to determine under what conditions individuals are best mobilised for gender equality.

Traditionally, the struggle for gender equality has been consigned to women's work (Jardine & Smith, 1987). This outlook is reflected in the literature, with the traditional approach to equality placing the burden first and foremost on women, specifically female leaders (Mavin, 2008). However, focusing solely on women (and female leaders) as the solution is neither effective nor sufficient for achieving equality, and neither is simply increasing the numbers of women occupying managerial positions (Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003). In fact, the traditional women's issue approach has been deemed largely ineffective, because this approach tends to focus on women as targets of discrimination, while emphasising men's role in the preservation of inequality (hooks, 2000). This can limit men's participation in gender equality work by casting them as perpetrators and limiting their contribution to the equality movement (hooks, 2000). Indeed, burdening women with the responsibility for achieving equality assuages men of any moral imperative to pledge support for women and provides them with justification to refrain from doing so (Becker & Barreto, 2014). hooks (2000) posits that the healing of this rift and the promotion of solidarity between the two sexes is crucial if gender inequality is to be redressed.

Indeed, more recent initiatives have instead emphasised men as agents of change (e.g., male leaders promoting equality within the workplace) rather than perpetrators, in a concerted effort to engage a broader audience (i.e., women *and* men). Flood (2017) characterises this recent emphasis as a "turn to men" (p. 48) which locates the responsibility for addressing

inequality on those who benefit most from it – men. Such initiatives rely on two key processes. Firstly, the concept of political solidarity as a way of mobilising the silent majority (men) to work as allies and embrace a cause of a minority (women) as their own (e.g., gender equality), despite not necessarily being affected by the issue themselves (Subašić, Reynolds, Klandermans, & Reicher, 2012). This concept, based on Subašić and colleagues' (2008) political solidarity model (explored in greater detail shortly), conceptualises the social psychology of social change as a process through which members of a majority challenge the authority in solidarity with the minority. Such an approach has proven to be efficacious, yet a gap is present between theory and practice, with the question being *how* we might unlock and mobilise men's full potential as catalysts of change in achieving gender equality (Government Equalities Office, 2014).

The answer to this question may rest in the second key process of change agent initiatives - leadership processes, specifically leadership as a form of influence based on shared identity and in-group membership between leaders and their followers (Haslam, Reicher, & Platow, 2011; Steffens, et al., 2014; Subašić et al., 2012). Yet research into the social psychology of social change has until recently failed to explicitly consider leadership itself, tending instead to concentrate on group and intergroup dynamics (Subašić et al., 2012). Nonetheless, in recent decades social identity analyses of leadership maintain that in order for leaders to effectively transform identities (that is, be successful), they need to share an identity with those individuals who they are trying to influence and inspire, given that people considered to be *us* as opposed to *them* have superior influence (Turner, 1991). With respect to gender equality initiatives, it thus makes sense that male leaders might influence and subsequently mobilise men more so than female leaders, due to sharing a salient in-group and social identity – that of their gender group (Subašić et al., 2012).

This chapter will explore each of these facets in greater detail. Firstly, the background and history of gender (in)equality will be discussed as a societal phenomenon, followed by the social identity approach to social change and how this culminates in the intersection of social influence (i.e., leadership) and social change (including political solidarity and collective action) as a function of social identity processes. In drawing together the literature on each of these areas we will establish the theoretical framework for the thesis and subsequent empirical chapters.

A Brief History: Workplace Gender (In)Equality and the Importance of Addressing it

Before we can start to examine and uncover the psychological processes through which individuals are mobilised to support gender equality efforts, it is necessary to first define and demonstrate the ways in which the problem permeates the workplace. Workplace gender inequality is typically expressed through the gender pay gap, the underrepresentation of women amongst senior managerial and leadership positions, and divergent career distributions and development pathways between men and women (Ellemers, 2014). Gender inequality also runs the gamut of workplace sectors, including, but not limited to, administration, healthcare, academia, business, and politics (Government Equalities Office, 2014).

So prevalent is workplace inequality that terms like *sticky floor* and *glass ceiling* have emerged in popular usage to describe the difficulty women face in getting to the top of the workplace hierarchy (Ellemers, 2014). In fact, it is estimated that less than 4% of American CEO positions, and just 8% of Australian company board positions are upheld by women (Catalyst, 2015). Yet even once they attain senior positions, women still frequently fail to obtain equal pay matched to men in equivalent positions (Catalyst, 2015), thus signifying a widespread undervaluation of women and their skills (Peetz, Gardner, Brown, & Berns, 2008). Indeed,

Catalyst (2015) maintains that the gender pay gap, described as the difference between men's and women's median weekly earnings, remains present irrespective of age, occupation, education, race, or country, while men's incomes commonly grow at a more rapid rate than women's do (Corbett & Hill, 2012).

Inequality is even present in the overrepresentation of women being recruited to occupy precarious leadership positions amidst crises – a largely invisible phenomenon known as the *glass cliff* (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). The glass cliff phenomenon arises from the assumption that stereotypically feminine leadership traits (e.g., warmth) position women as effective people managers who are more capable than men of absorbing blame for organisational failures (Ryan & Haslamn, 2007). A prime example is the hiring of British Prime Minister Theresa May following the tumultuous and unexpected Brexit win of 2016, making her only the second female to ever occupy the role. Importantly, several male leaders resigned from the role prior to May's promotion. May has faced severe public backlash over the failure of Brexit proceedings to move forward in a productive manner and has unwittingly become the face of the crisis, despite previously campaigning against Brexit (Tong, 2019).

Despite substantial progress being achieved by the feminist movement of the 1960s-1980s, women continue to endure significant discrimination and disadvantage compared to men, indicating that progress has stagnated or even reversed since that period (Peetz et al., 2008). Gender inequality has irrefutably demonstrated itself to be both robust and almost wholly resistant to change, with equality gains for women proving to be both modest and slow (de Vries, 2010). Indeed, inequality continues to pervade society despite years of policy and research aimed at reducing it (Becker et al., 2014). In order for it to be redressed, organisations are increasingly seeking to better understand how their cultures, structure, and tactics are

contributing to the issue, so as to accommodate the swiftly increasing number of women choosing to join the ranks of the workforce (Johnson, 2010). Certainly, although women presently occupy an estimated 50% of the Western paid workforce (Ryan & Branscombe, 2013), their unequal status endures despite said decades of feminist activism (Ahl, 2004).

The continued preservation of workplace inequality results in far-reaching commercial, societal, and economic consequences, thus it is crucial that the issue is addressed (UN Women, 2015). Female employees who endure gendered discrimination at work tend to feel undervalued and consequently *opt out* of the workplace completely (Kuperberg & Stone, 2008). The resultant loss of female employees seriously threatens the effectiveness of workplaces, given there are considerable benefits to organisations who choose to embrace gender diversity (Dezsö & Ross, 2012). Such benefits comprise superior financial outcomes and company performance, better economic advancement, and enhanced social responsiveness (Catalyst, 2013). Additionally, the inclusion of female board directors dependably forecasts the value of firms regardless of their size or industry type (Carter, Simkins, & Simpson, 2003), and frequently results in amplified sales and invested capital returns (Catalyst, 2013). The presence of females amongst senior leadership positions further enables for the infiltration of novel markets and customer bases, given that gender-diverse teams are more adept at catering to different clients and suppliers (Ellemers, 2014). Lastly, the availability of alternative viewpoints and thinking processes extant within gender-diverse workforces regularly lead to enhanced creativity, innovation, and problem-solving (Dezsö & Ross, 2012).

Yet notwithstanding the myriad benefits that gender diversity provides organisations with, these boons usually fail to extend to women, with the failure of companies to create more gender-equitable workplaces being thoroughly documented (Pincus, 2009). For example, in

most workplaces women receive fewer rewards relating to pay and career prospects than men do (Peetz et al., 2008). Women also frequently fail to receive recognition for their work contributions, which ultimately results in unequal position classifications, grades, and salaries compared to men (Merrill-Sands & Scherr, 2001). The inability of companies to offer attractive working conditions and remuneration packages to women tends to decrease female employee's morale, in turn affecting their motivation and productivity (Merrill-Sands & Scherr, 2001). This results in knock-on effects of greater absenteeism and turnover rates, and subsequently higher expenses to companies (Ellemers, 2014). These real-world, bottom-line benefits of achieving workplace equality highlight the absolute importance of determining how best to mobilise collective action toward it. However, Acker (1990) suggests that for equality to be attained, a systemic understanding of organisational gendering processes is required. As such the following section investigates traditional approaches to addressing gender inequality, which in turn sheds light on why it remains resistant to change.

If it Ain't Broke…But What if it is? Traditional Approaches to Dealing with Gender (In)Equality

To date, the literature exploring workplace gender inequality has predominantly focused on organisational culture, structure, and policies (Eitzen & Zinn, 2000). This may appear superfluous given the popularity of discrimination guidelines, which aim to encourage equal rights and promote 'gender-neutral treatment' of employees (Ellemers, 2014). Certainly, their prevalence implies that the achievement of equality and the promotion of diversity are of prime concern to organisations, and that such organisations are actively working to realise equality (Kaiser et al., 2013). Yet though proactive, these initiatives may actually have unintended negative consequences for gender equality. In an award-winning Harvard Business Review

article, Dobbin and Kalev (2016) summarised the reasons why current workplace diversity programs frequently fail to do the one thing they were designed to do – increase diversity. Dobbin and Kalev (2016) argue that rather than trying out new approaches, big companies are relying on the same command-and-control strategies used since the 1960s, which oftentimes make things worse. The most popular top-down interventions include mandatory diversity training, hiring and job tests, and grievance systems, all of which have the potential to activate rather than reduce bias, as explained below (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016).

Diversity training involves sending employees to mandatory workshops to improve their cultural awareness and communication with people of differing backgrounds, with the aim of reducing prejudice and facilitating a positive workplace environment (Loden, 1995). Despite most Fortune 500 companies embracing diversity training, it has been shown to trigger bias and even backlash in the form of increased anger, resistance, and hostility directed at other groups, while any positive effects rarely last longer than a day (Hill, 2009; Kidder, Lankau, Chrobot-Mason, Mollica, & Friedman, 2004). Dobbin and Kalev (2016) maintain that the negative messaging and subsequent sense of implied threat utilised in such training is one reason companies witness adverse outcomes following mandatory training. Meanwhile, voluntary training yields better results, due to participants thinking "I chose to show up, so [therefore] I must be pro-diversity" (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016, p. 5). Furthermore, securing the sincere involvement of senior workplace leaders is crucial to the success of initiatives, given they can ensure diversity training is ingrained into policies and development (VicHealth, 2018).

Mandatory hiring tests that aim to assess applicants' skills are also prone to evoking bias and prejudice against women and minority groups, primarily due to (mostly white) managers' tendencies to use the tests selectively (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016). For example, managers often fail

to test white people (mainly men), thus giving them a free pass while simultaneously holding minority groups to a greater standard. Yet even if managers test every applicant, they still frequently cherry-pick the results – paying less attention to when white men fail certain tests compared to when women or blacks do the same (Rivera, 2012). Performance ratings befall a similar fate: raters tend to either 'lowball' women or other minorities, or alternatively award everybody high marks in order to leave their options for promotions open (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016). In this way, ratings act as a kind of shield against litigation due to claims that they prevent discriminatory treatment in the first place (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016).

Finally, grievance procedures supposedly provide formal avenues for employees to follow should they wish to challenge wage, promotion, or dismissal decisions, but instead often end in managers seeking retaliation against complainants (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016). Upon realising that the system fails to stop organisational misbehavior, employees stop reporting incidents, which snowballs into managers believing their companies have no issue with discrimination (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016). Moreover, grievance procedures can actually increase bias because employees at these companies believe that they have already confirmed their moral goodness (Brady, Kaiser, Major, & Kirby, 2015; Kaiser et al., 2013). Indeed, Kaiser and colleagues (2013) demonstrated that the mere presence of *diversity structures* (policies that promote gender diversity) caused men to view companies as being procedurally just toward women, even when it was apparent that the women in those companies were at an unfair disadvantage. Diversity structures likewise caused men to become less sensitive to, and more likely to respond punitively to, female employees who claimed to experience discrimination in these companies. Kaiser and colleagues (2013) concluded that male "perceptions of how fairly members of underrepresented groups are treated may be influenced by the presence, not the

efficacy, of a diversity structure" (p. 504), a phenomenon they coined an *illusion of fairness*. Brady and colleagues (2015) extended Kaiser and colleagues' (2013) findings to women and found that diversity structures similarly affect women's perceptions of sexism, causing them to rationalise sexist outcomes. Similar to men, this illusion of fairness led to women being more discriminatory toward their fellow female colleagues, and less supportive of mobilisation toward equality (Brady et al., 2015).

Overall, these results allude to the fact that diversity structures and policies can have unintended negative and damaging consequences – aggravating rather than alleviating inequality. Furthermore, it remains critical to recognise that both organisations *and* individuals 'do gender' (Acker, 1990). By focusing solely on changes at an organisational level (e.g., regulations, guidelines, and institutional practices), these diversity structure studies imply that organisations alone are capable of providing the sustained change required to fight gender inequality (Government Equalities Office, 2014). This effectually liberates individuals of their personal responsibility for achieving equality and their requirement to act as change agents (Government Equalities Office, 2014). Future research should go beyond attempts at affecting change at the organisational level, and instead investigate how social influence (particularly leadership processes) can be utilised to collectively mobilise individuals into action.

These studies also establish that men and women are comparable in their evaluations of equality interventions that inadvertently legitimate gender inequality (Brady et al., 2015). These diversity structures seem to have the capacity to numb both gender groups to the true veracity of discrimination and disadvantage, consequently chronically legitimating inequality (Ridgeway, 2011). Instead, the best initiatives are typically designed without even having diversity in mind, with the most effective practices comprising targeted college recruitment, mentoring programs,

self-managed teams, and diversity task forces (for a review see Dobbin & Kalev, 2016). This ineffectiveness of diversity structures and interventions highlights that there is a requirement for both gender groups to come to a shared perspective about the nature and actual magnitude of disadvantage before both groups can be mobilised against it.

Despite this need, instead of concentrating on shared beliefs and attitudes regarding inequality and ways to alter them, the focus has traditionally been on emphasising and establishing differences between the genders (Ellemers, 2014). However, in 2014 Hyde performed a meta-analytic review to assess the statistical robustness of gender difference effects across numerous studies. The meta-analysis scrutinised a number of differences hitherto thought relevant to the differing career success between genders, including psychological wellbeing (e.g., self-esteem), social and personality behaviours (e.g., leadership), and cognitive performance (e.g., arithmetic). Hyde (2014) established that differences were only present under certain conditions, and concluded that social context, as opposed to biology, produces and erases sex differences. In essence, gender variances are not pre-determined by biology and subsequently inescapable, but rather are the consequence of social hierarchical power arrangements that are capable of being altered (Bender, 1989).

Certainly, Bender (1989) maintains that "inequality is gender difference translated into hierarchical power relations in which one gender (male) is privileged" (p. 949). These power relations strengthen organisational structural positions, creating a gendered organisation that sustains inequality (Acker, 1990). Comparable to Hyde's (2014) deductions, current research claims that the socioeconomic system reinforces women's positions in the workplace, rather than individual characteristic differences (Eitzen & Zinn, 2000). In sum, this entrenched socioeconomic structure thwarts the upward mobility of women, contributes to harmful

behaviours and attitudes regarding women, and results in the preservation of inequality (Eitzen & Zinn, 2000). Acker (1990) claims that the very nature of gendered organisations defines the transformative change necessitated. Specifically, efforts at gender equality must necessarily involve male corporate leaders who, by virtue of their status and gender within the socioeconomic hierarchy, possess the official positional and gendered power required to create change within that hierarchy (de Vries, 2015). Leadership processes and their role in social change toward equality are explored later in this review, but first it is necessary to explore why focusing on women as the solution to inequality is naïve and insufficient.

A Woman's Work is Never Done: The Problem With Viewing Gender Equality as 'Women's Work'

Traditional approaches to gender equality tend to burden women with the responsibility of addressing inequality, particularly female leaders (Mavin, 2008). Indeed, requests for solidarity-based behavior between women have only become louder in recent years (Mavin, 2008). This echoes the literature's implied supposition that gender inequality is a women's issue and therefore women's work (Jardine & Smith, 1987). Traditional intervention approaches concentrate exclusively on using women – principally high-ranking women and leaders – and the idea of "fixing the women" (de Vries, 2010, p. 168). Yet this notion of fixing women has failed to successfully alter the reality of gender relations and gender inequality. Focusing on women as victims of discrimination and men as perpetrators tends to disempower women and limit men's role in the equality movement (hooks, 2000). Certainly, placing the responsibility on women alone can alleviate men's "moral imperative to show themselves as supportive of women and provides sufficient justification not to do so" (Becker & Barreto, 2014, p. 671). Overall, while a women's issue approach to achieving equality remains widespread, we argue

that a new solidarity-based approach might prove more successful. Indeed, despite its prevalence, the effectiveness of the women's issue approach is increasingly being questioned, for reasons outlined below.

Typically, it is assumed that as the number of women occupying senior positions rises, the gendered nature of the workplace will become less problematic (Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003). Certainly, the assumption that high-ranking women ought to champion equality and readily partake in solidarity-based behaviour with regular women is inherent within the literature (Mavin, 2008). Nevertheless, the well-documented queen bee phenomenon suggests that this approach is not sufficient to achieve equality (Johnson, 2010). This phenomenon refers to successful female business leaders engaging in behaviours that distance themselves from less prosperous junior female contemporaries (Johnson, 2010). More recently, the phenomena and its related behaviours have been referred to as a 'self-group distancing' response. Such relabelling is intended to capture the notion that queen bee-like behaviours are not "a typically feminine response but part of a general self-group distancing response that is also found in other marginalized groups" (Derks, van Laar, & Ellemers, 2016, p. 456). . Indeed, research has found that self-group distancing behaviours exhibited by senior women are likely a method of dealing with the gender bias, gender-based expectations, and social identity threat that is triggered by being a woman in traditionally male-dominated organisations (Ellemers, 2014; Derks et al., 2016). Derks and colleagues (2016) maintain that rather than being a *source* of gender inequality, queen bee behaviours are a *consequence* of workplace gender discrimination faced by women. Nevertheless, these self-group distancing behaviours can sometimes affect senior women's capacity to effectively champion equality initiatives (Ellemers, 2014). Indeed, senior women leaders who exhibit queen bee-like behaviours typically demonstrate resistance to

measures that strive to secure equitable opportunities for women (Ellemers, 2014). For example, Rindfleish and Sheridan (2003) discovered less than 40% of high-ranking Australian women endorse interventions that endeavor to improve female representation in managerial positions. Moreover, over 40% of female executives agreed that zero action should be taken to increase female representation among executive boards (Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003).

Despite expectations, these findings indicate that senior women for the most part refrain from utilising their positional power to support equality initiatives or challenge gendered organisational structures (Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003), and fail to engage in female solidarity actions (Johnson, 2010). Thus, improving female representation among senior managerial ranks is neither effective nor adequate in effecting organisational change (Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003). De Vries (2010) argues that viewing women as a problem that requires fixing only perpetuates inequality, and that focusing solely on women as the answer averts attention from men and the gendered organisation. By focusing solely on women, we effectively alienate men, thus limiting their engagement with the equality movement, and consequently halving the pool of potential supporters of the movement (hooks, 2000). hooks (1984) maintains that because men remain "the primary agents maintaining and supporting sexism and sexist oppression, they can only be successfully eradicated if men are compelled to assume responsibility for transforming their consciousness and the consciousness of society as a whole" (p. 63). It thus remains critical that future research examines how to successfully mobilise women and men to become comrades in the struggle for equality, a concern that is central to the social psychology of social change, and to this thesis (hooks, 1984).

Some of the most influential theories of social change are social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorisation theory (SCT; Turner, 1982, 1985; Turner, Hogg,

Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), known as the social identity perspective or approach (Turner & Reynolds, 2001). Indeed, these theories constitute the theoretical foundations of the political solidarity model and also help to explain how leaders derive their social influence. Consequently, the social identity approach is discussed next.

The Hidden Power of Social Identity: The Social Identity Theory of Social Change

Reynolds, Subašić and Tindall (2015) argue that much of the social science field offers disjointed and mostly impractical (i.e., individualised) solutions to policymakers' needs. In contrast, the social identity framework offers "a far-reaching, integrated and parsimonious analysis of a single process through which change at both the level of the 'individual' person and the level of society takes place" (Reynolds et al., 2015, p. 54). Certainly, since its inception in 1979 by Tajfel and Turner (1979) SIT has grown in leaps and bounds, spurring numerous conceptual elaborations, interpretations, and applications to a myriad of phenomena and contexts. These include political behaviour (Huddy, 2002), eating disorders (Ison & Kent, 2010), group therapy (Aviram & Rosenfeld, 2002), religious fundamentalism (Herriot, 2007), and, of importance to the current thesis, leadership (Hogg, 2008; see Hornsey, 2008 for an extensive historical review of SIT).

From Social to Political Identity: Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory places strong emphasis on how social contexts affect intergroup relations. Tajfel and Turner (1979) maintain that social interaction exists on a continuum ranging from solely interpersonal (people relating wholly as individuals, with zero consciousness of social groups) to solely intergroup (people relating wholly as representatives of their social groups). Tajfel and Turner (1979) claim that shifts in how individuals view themselves and others occur as a result of where on this spectrum they sit at any moment in time. These shifts occur as

a process of making ‘us and them’ distinctions salient (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). By making salient certain category distinctions, people emphasise similarities within the ingroup and emphasise differences between them and the outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Furthermore, categorisation activates differing levels of individual’s self-concept. People’s self-concept at the interpersonal end of the spectrum will comprise their personal identity, including those “attitudes, memories, behaviours, and emotions that define them as idiosyncratic individuals, distinct from other individuals” (Hornsey, 2008, p. 206). People’s self-concept at the intergroup end of the scale will instead involve their social identity, comprising facets of their self-image that arise from the different social categories they belong to, in addition to the emotional consequences of that belonging (Hornsey, 2008). In sum, Tajfel (1972) defined social identity as "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership"(p. 292).

Social identity theory is frequently combined with self-categorisation theory, which arose from a need to extend and refine the cognitive element of SIT, and to shed further light on intragroup processes (see Hornsey, 2008, for an overview of SCT). In fact, due to sharing similar assumptions and methods, SIT and SCT have come to be known as the social identity approach. This is arguably “now one of the most influential theories of group processes and intergroup relations worldwide, having redefined how we think about numerous group-mediated phenomena” (Hornsey, 2008, p. 205).

Self-categorisation theory views the individual self as “hierarchically organised, context specific, and variable” (Subašić et al., 2008), and characterises identity as functioning at three levels of inclusiveness. These include: a superordinate category of viewing the self as a human being (human identity), an intermediate category of the self as a group member of an ingroup

juxtaposed against alternative groups (social identity), and a "subordinate level of personal self-categorizations based on interpersonal comparisons (personal identity)" (Hornsey, 2008, p. 208). The theory is therefore capable of explaining both ingroup-outgroup categorisations but also how one shifts from being viewed as outgroup to ingroup. Essentially, when a relevant superordinate identity is made salient, previous separate subgroups come to be viewed under the umbrella of a shared superordinate ingroup identity. Subašić and colleagues (2008) give the example of 'psychologist' at the shared higher-level inclusive category, and 'social or clinical psychologist' at the lower-level self-categorisation.

Principally, SIT theorises that the basis of real-world intergroup differentiation and outgroup derogation is due to people's desire to maintain a positive self-concept of one's self and the groups that they belong to (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). To maintain a positive social identity, group members are required to act and think in a manner that preserves a positive distinctiveness between their ingroup and relevant outgroups. The theory also acknowledges that different groups occupy different points within a status and power hierarchy, and that groups with low status are motivated to obtain a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Low-status groups' options include exiting the group, making flattering downward intergroup comparisons, concentrating only on facets of their group that make them look good, underemphasising facets that make the group look bad, or participate in social change to overthrow the status quo (Hornsey, 2008).

Essentially, SIT is a social psychological theory of social change, and argues that "if people's group memberships and associated social identities change, so too can behaviour" (Reynolds et al., 2015, p. 51; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This is because social identities are "associated with distinctive group behaviours – behaviours that are depersonalized and regulated

by context-specific group norms" (Smith & Louis, 2008, p. 649; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Because norms are inherently tied to one's social identity, and both are tied to behaviour and behavioural change, "the social identity is important not only in understanding people's behaviour in certain contexts but also in shaping it" (Reynolds et al., 2015, p. 50). Certainly, the social identity ingroup determines which 'others' will shape behaviour in particular circumstances, and therefore social norms are crucial to behavioural change and influence, as detailed next (Reynolds et al., 2015).

The Problem of Behaviour Change: The Relationship Between Social Identity, Norms, and Behaviour Change

Social norms are considered "one of the most central theoretical constructs in the social sciences including sociology, law, political science, anthropology, and increasingly economics" (Kameda, Takezawa, & Hastie, 2005, p. 331). The social identity approach offers a new outlook on power, conformity and social influence, maintaining that these ingroup social norms are a critical source of information regarding how one should think, feel, and act (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The social identity approach maintains that belonging to social groups (e.g., a nationality) provides a definition of 'who we are' (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Those characteristics and norms that define the ingroup mould behaviour because they ultimately become self-relevant, self-defining, and self-enforcing (Turner, 1985). Social psychology argues that these ties between changes in social identity and ingroup norms need to be explored if we are to better understand large-scale behaviour change, because "as definitions of who 'we' are and who 'we' are not shift, so too does what 'we' (should) do" (Reynolds et al., 2015, p. 51).

Reynolds and colleagues (2015) offer a systematic and precise social identity analysis of this relationship between social identity, social norms and behaviour change. They apply this

analysis to previous strands of behavioural change research that can be explained from a social identity-based perspective despite not necessarily being derived from such. For instance, there exists well-established trajectories of social influence research that focus on the use of descriptive social norms, however Reynolds and colleagues (2015) argue such studies (implicitly) engage social-identity based processes to achieve behavioural change.

For example, Goldstein, Cialdini, and Griskevicius (2008) showed that a descriptive normative statement that most guests 'in this room' versus 'in this hotel' reuse their towels led to increased reuse of towels. The UK Behavioural Insights Unit (2012) found that distributing information stating "nine out of ten people in an area had already paid their taxes" (p. 6) improved tax compliance in comparison to information discussing national compliance rates or non-compliance fines. Finally, Nolan, Schultz, Cialdini, Goldstein, and Griskevicius (2008) discovered that energy use decreased most when individuals read a descriptive normative message stating "most people in your community are finding ways to conserve energy". This was in comparison to messages emphasising self-interest ("the time is right to save money on…bills", environmental preservation ("the time is right for reducing greenhouse gases"), or social duties ("we need to work together to save energy"; Reynolds et al., 2015).

Reynolds and colleagues (2015) argue that the success of such initiatives' rests on the perception that 'others' who previously occupied the hotel room, or were residing in one's city, are fellow ingroup members. These 'others' influenced participants' behaviours specifically because they were seen as sharing similar norms, values, and behaviours. This "perception of self-other similarity" (Reynolds et al., 2015, p. 53) is crucial within social identity-based interventions, because the more the available norm information relates to one's social self and identity, the larger the influence on their behaviour will be and the greater the likelihood of

psychologically redefining who 'we' are (Reynolds et al., 2015). Identity work can be highly effective in mobilising large numbers of people toward large-scale social change, so long as the identity you are working with is meaningful to those people, and one understands its "content and salience in the context relevant to the behaviour" (Reynolds et al., 2015, p. 53).

Certainly, people will attempt to align their behaviours with group norms to the extent that belonging to that group is perceived as important to them, and in this sense particular normative influence sources are more influential than others (Smith & Louis, 2008). Indeed, norms will have a greater effect on behaviours if they are part of social identities that are "contextually salient and self-defining in the immediate social context" (p. 649), and thus ingroups will have a greater influence on individuals' behaviours than will outgroups (Smith & Louis, 2008). Essentially, "norms of a behaviourally relevant reference group will influence intentions to engage in a particular behaviour, but only for people who identify strongly with the reference group" (Terry & Hogg, 1996, p. 781). Moreover, social pressure is viewed as being additive across referent social groups that are deemed important to the individual (Smith & Louis, 2008). For example, for a male Republican footballer, a male who was also a footballer and also held Republican views would exert stronger social pressure than a male Republican tennis player, and even more pressure than a male Democratic tennis player. Thus, in the context of the present work, it could be argued that male leaders promoting gender equality would be more effective at mobilising the (largely male) silent majority than female leaders. This is because men possess a shared identity with other men in the form of their shared gender group, whereas women do not.

In this vein, members of groups can be influential only to the degree that they represent those attitudes and behaviours prototypical of the group they are trying to influence (Hornsey,

2008). Since those trying to influence groups are most often leaders, the social identity approach to social change has shed light on the existence of leadership as a social influence process. Indeed, *who* imposes the required identity recategorisation matters significantly (as does the method they use to do so; (Hogg, 2015). Certainly, leaders who aim to succeed in social change by subverting dominant and subordinate social relations are obligated to redefine intergroup boundaries so that those in authority come to be 'them' rather than 'us' (Subašić et al., 2012). Reynolds and colleagues (2015) maintain that leadership plays a role in clarifying "what it means to be a group member…, in building consensus around definitions of who 'we' are, and embedding these in structures, rituals and practices" (p. 51). As such, leadership plays a key role in the propagation of social change and the degree to which followers will be mobilised for a particular cause. Indeed, leadership processes, specifically leadership as a form of influence based on shared ingroup membership, play a central role in the achievement of social change, as explored below (Subašić et al., 2012).

The Importance of Leadership in the Context of Gender (In)Equality: The Social Identity Theory of Leadership

Because the main role leaders have is to alter social relations, and the mobilisation of social groups depends heavily on leader influence, it is imperative to understand *who* has influence and *why* (Subašić et al., 2012). Yet interest in leadership research within social psychology as a whole waned from the 1970s, although it expanded exponentially within the management and organisational literature (e.g., Yukl, 2010). However, over the past two decades leadership research has experienced a reinvigoration, care of Hogg's (2001) social identity theory of leadership (see Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2008, 2015). A formal extension and application of SIT, the theory reconnects leadership processes to the social psychology of

influence by expounding on the social identity functions associated with such processes (Hogg et al., 2012).

Hogg (2001) summarises leadership neatly by asserting that it is "about how some individuals or cliques have disproportionate power and influence to set agenda, define identity, and mobilise people to achieve collective goals" (p. 188). Indeed, leaders are typically viewed as the visible embodiment, or human representation of institutions and social movements, and it thus makes sense that followers tend to attribute major social change to leaders themselves (Olscamp, 2003). It is certainly common for audiences and followers to come to associate social change movements with the leaders who spearhead those specific movements. Prime examples include Nelson Mandela, Adolf Hitler, Martin Luther King Jr, Barack Obama, and Rosa Parks. The social identity theory of leadership explains how certain individuals come to be viewed as leaders, and why some are more effective than others.

Going to Extremes for One's Group: The Role of Prototypicality in Effective Leadership

The basic tenets of the theory place leader prototypicality at the core of leadership effectiveness, maintaining that the more group prototypical a leader is, the more effective group members will evaluate them as being (Hogg et al., 2012; van Knippenberg, & van Knippenberg, 2005). A prototype refers to people's cognitive representations of social groups and comprises a 'fuzzy' set of characteristics (e.g., attitudes, behaviours) that epitomise ingroup similarities and intergroup differences (Hogg et al., 2012). Thus, the process of categorising individuals as group members leads us to assign that group member prototypical attributes of the group (Hogg et al., 2012).

Leader prototypicality becomes an increasingly influential basis for leadership the more group membership becomes a key and salient facet of the group member's identity, and as group

identification becomes increasingly stronger (Hogg, 2001; Hogg et al., 2012). The more leaders can position themselves as being prototypical of the group, the greater their perceived legitimacy and influence (Hogg, 2001; Hogg, Hains, & Mason, 1998). Therefore, possessing prototypical characteristics of a psychologically salient ingroup is crucial to being an effective leader (Hogg, 2001). Turner (1991) views categorisation as the causal determinant of power and influence, therefore when leaders embody the group prototype, they maximise their influence, which is the primary source of power (Hornsey, 2008). Essentially, the SIT of leadership sees leadership as a group process arising from categorisation processes linked to social identity (Hogg, 2001).

As such, in order for leaders to effectively mobilise followers, they need to share a social identity with those they are trying to influence, given people considered to be 'us' as opposed to 'them' have superior influence (Hogg, 2001; Subašić et al., 2012). Moreover, prototypical leaders derive their effectiveness in part from the perception that they embody group interests and collective goals (van Knippenberg, 2011). Essentially, leadership is a group process and form of influence through which followers are mobilised toward the attainment of shared goals (Hogg & Reid, 2001). Effective leaders persuade groups to adopt shared objectives and beliefs, and to act collectively in the quest for those objectives (Subašić et al., 2012). Indeed, leaders who embody 'our' shared agenda for change should be able to mobilise 'all of us' more effectively (Subašić, Schmitt, & Reynolds, 2011). Therefore, to the extent that leaders are able to foster a sense of common cause among followers by realigning their personal self-interests with these broader collective goals, collective mobilisation can be expected (Turner, Reynolds, & Subašić, 2008). This constitutes the essence of common cause (also known as solidarity) – the aspect of identity most closely connected to group-based collective action (Wiley et al., 2012). This sense

of common cause (and shared identity) most readily arises when leaders and followers share a salient ingroup, as discussed below (Wiley et al., 2012).

Social identity-based theories of leadership maintain that leaders and followers hold interdependent roles within social systems bounded by common group memberships (e.g., gender, political affiliation; Hogg, 2001), and that these groups provide members with a social identity (e.g., woman, Republican; Hogg, 2015). Leaders are considered the most dependable source of information pertaining to these identities and group prototypes because they provide followers with a reference point via which group members can calibrate and reaffirm the group's identity and norms, which comprise their values, beliefs, and behaviours (Hogg, 2015). Essentially, prototypical leaders value group members' membership, act in ways which serve the group, and become the embodiment of group norms (Hogg, 2015). Leaders are thus capable of greatly influencing the group's normative trajectory, solidifying who 'we' are and entrenching such definitions within "structures, rituals and practices" (Reynolds et al., 2015, p. 51; Turner et al., 2008). The prototype is important to group members because it serves "as an evaluative self-definition that governs what one thinks, feels, and does, and how one is perceived and treated by others" (Hogg et al., 2012, p. 262). These norms come to be known as the ingroup prototype and assist in minimising intragroup differences and maximising intergroup differences (Hogg, 2015). Leaders also create a vision for the group and influence the group to internalise that vision as their own and subsequently act in line with it (Hogg, 2015).

In sum, leaders provide an attitudinal and behavioural agenda for the group and are thus a crucial source of social influence. The degree to which a leader is perceived as being representative of and promulgating this ingroup prototype, the more they will be thought of as a prototypical leader, and hence the more effective they will be (van Knippenberg & van

Knippenberg, 2005). Therefore, by enhancing self-categorical bonds between them and their relevant ingroup, leaders boost their capacity to persuade followers (Subašić et al., 2008). Indeed, Duck and Fielding (2003) established that ingroup (and hence prototypical) leaders were more strongly supported and influential than were outgroup (and hence non-prototypical) leaders, an effect that was strengthened based on the degree to which group members identified with their own group. Moreover, in 2013 Subašić and Reynolds (as cited in Reynolds & Branscombe, 2015) found that highlighting shared ingroup membership (e.g., identity) between the source of a message and the individual receiving that message increased the individual's collective action intentions. However, what happens when leaders do not possess a shared identity with those they are attempting to influence?

The Dark Side of Leadership: The Downside of Prototypicality-Based Leadership

Hogg (2001) acknowledges one caveat of prototypicality-based leadership is that social minorities may struggle to occupy leadership roles within certain contexts due to issues with perceived prototypicality. Group members typically preference "highly prototypical ingroup members over both outgroup members and less prototypical ingroup members" (Hogg et al., 2012, p. 263). Yet when group salience is high, individuals are even more aware of and attuned to prototypicality, becoming overtly sensitive to even minor differences in the extent to which fellow members are prototypical (or not; Hogg, 1993). Hogg and Terry (2000) provide the normative environment of the business world as an example of such a context. These corporate-like environments typically reduce minority group members to inherently less prototypical individuals compared to majority members, thus making it problematic for them to obtain leadership roles, let alone maintain such roles (Hogg & Terry, 2000).

It therefore makes sense that female leaders would fare worse than male leaders within

the corporate world, given their intrinsic lack of prototypicality (and therefore influence), particularly in contrast to male leaders who have the advantage of the predominant leadership prototype comprising primarily masculine attributes (Eagly & Karau, 2002). In such circumstances, Hogg (2001) argues that while prototypical leaders would "do well to raise group solidarity and cohesion while accentuating their prototypicality, non-prototypical leaders should instead lower solidarity and cohesion while accentuating how well they match [task and situation specific] leader schemas" (p. 196). By strengthening members' identification with the group, prototypical leaders become even more prototypical, while weakening the same identification can insulate less prototypical leaders from the disadvantages which accompany low prototypicality (Hogg et al., 2012).

An additional caveat is that non-prototypical leaders face greater behavioural restriction in the ways they act out their leadership role, and are required to prove (through their actions) their group serving intentions (Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). In contrast, prototypical leaders have more leeway in terms of their behaviour and can be perceived as effective even when their actions cannot plainly be interpreted as serving the group's best interests. One implication of this increased behavioural leeway is that prototypical leaders can be more effective change agents precisely because they are allowed to deviate from group norms and be more transformational compared to non-prototypical leaders (Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques, & Hutchison, 2008; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). Because they are active entrepreneurs of social identity (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001), prototypical leaders are also able to consolidate, modify, or reconstruct group prototypes perceptions and therefore the group's identity, redefining what it means to be 'us' (Hogg & Reid, 2006; Seyranian, 2012).

A final caveat is that leaders may only take on an authority role within a group to the extent that the group allows them to do so (Hogg, 2015). The link between identity and leadership dictates that the extent to which an individual group member might support an idea that the leader is promoting depends on the degree to which the group member identifies with their group (Subašić et al., 2012). However, when aiming to mobilise audiences, leaders rarely deal with homogenous groups of followers. Rather, leaders must mobilise groups of followers consisting of multiple subgroups, who despite sharing a superordinate identity, possess separate goals and values (Hogg & Terry, 2000). These subgroups may comprise members' ethnic, religious, occupational, or gender subgroup identities, among others (Hogg et al., 2012). Indeed, leaders frequently face the challenge of integrating warring divisions within an overarching superordinate identity, for example, men and women within the context of gender equality (Hogg, 2015).

Duck and Fielding (2003) argue that the emergence of these different subgroups among followerships can act as a barrier to group mobilisation because certain subgroups are at risk of perceiving the leader to represent other subgroups' shared goals and values better than their own. This perceived representation of one's group norms by the leader is known as intergroup relational leadership identity, and is crucial to perceived leader prototypicality (Hogg, 2015). This reduction in perceived shared relational identity with the leader can result in decreased perceived prototypicality of the leader and consequently reduced influence over the subgroup in question (Duck & Fielding, 2003). When the shared leader-follower identity is undermined, ingroup leaders typically lose influence (Subašić et al., 2011). In an attempt to overcome this, leaders can endeavor to bridge the gap between subgroup differences by honing a superordinate identity instead (Hogg, 2015). Indeed, top-down superordinate leadership processes usually

drive the reduction of subgroup conflicts – for example political leaders striving to achieve harmony across ideological rifts (Hogg, 2015).

In relation to the current work, the majority of gender equality research views men and women as "homogeneous social categories with necessarily conflicted subgroup interests" (Subašić et al., 2018, p. 708). In line with this, Subašić and colleagues' (2008) political solidarity model (discussed in the previous section) can assist in explaining how female (and male) leaders might construct a superordinate shared identity for change that transcends gender subgroup differences in the quest for mobilisation toward gender equality, by utilising solidarity-based equality messages. Indeed, the addressing of subgroup factional conflict can be resolved through strategies such as identity rhetoric (Hogg, 2015). Yet before we discuss how these solidarity-based messages might be crafted, it is important to outline how gendered differences and expectations in leadership advantage male leaders while disadvantaging female leaders.

Does Leader Gender Matter? How Female Leaders Fare in Leading the Charge Toward Gender Equality

To reiterate, shared identity and sense of common cause emerges most readily when leaders share a salient ingroup with their followers (Wiley et al., 2012). Therefore, because gender is one of the most salient ingroups (Fiske, 1998), and arguably at its *most* salient within gender (in)equality contexts, people are not only conscious of their own gender in such contexts but also whether those leading the charge toward equality are men or women (i.e., members of their gender group or not). Certainly, eadership is both a gendered construct and practice, and has traditionally been viewed as a masculine-oriented and dominated role (de Vries, 2010). Yet research has largely neglected the intricacies of gender and leadership when examining when and why female (and male) equality leaders may be able to mobilise support for gender equality

(Powell, 1990). This seriously destabilises equality interventions given that women conventionally spearhead them, and given the increased consciousness people have of both their own gender and that of the leaders promoting equality (de Vries, 2015).

This increased awareness of leader gender can negatively affect female equality leaders because they suffer particular disadvantage within masculine organisational contexts due to prejudicial evaluations regarding their competency, efficacy, and legitimacy as leaders (as a direct consequence of their gender; Eagly & Carli, 2003). Female equality leaders are therefore especially disadvantaged and subsequently less effective due to equality initiatives inevitably being undertaken within such contexts (Acker, 1990). Numerous theories of leadership highlight the desirability of stereotypically masculine traits in leaders (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Role congruity theory asserts that female leaders are frequently perceived as ineffective because individuals' effective leadership schemas regularly overlay with agentic male stereotypes (e.g., assertive, dominant), as opposed to communal female stereotypes (e.g., placid, nurturing; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Moreover, when female leaders *do* adopt masculine behaviours (such as those seen as prototypical of leaders) and thus violate communal expectations of women, they face backlash effects (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). This signifies a Catch-22 situation whereby female leaders are "damned if they do and doomed if they don't" (Catalyst, 2018, p. 1).

Furthermore, de Vries (2015) undertook a qualitative research project investigating the efficacy of equality leaders and discovered that women were less effective than men because they are viewed as self-interested as a result of their gender group membership. De Vries (2015) argues women possess "little capacity to camouflage or minimise their membership of a disempowered outsider group, and the claims of self- or group-interest that ensue" (p. 30). This is because decreasing inequality can be interpreted as furthering women's self-interests and

ingroup (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006). These accusations of self-interest can further destabilise women's social change efforts because acts of self-interest are less influential than those opposing one's interests (Eagly, Wood, & Chaiken, 1978). Indeed, Yorges, Weiss, and Strickland (1999) found that leaders who "appeared willing to endure hardship for the expression of their beliefs" (p. 428) obtained greater leader influence relative to leaders who appeared to benefit from expressing those same beliefs.

Overall, female leaders are typically perceived as less legitimate, influential, and persuasive compared to their male counterparts who face no such accusations (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). The more women are viewed as trying to benefit their own group, the more cynicism and dismissal they encounter (Drury & Kaiser, 2014), with Becker and colleagues (2014) finding female confronters are regularly evaluated as "overreacting, whiny, oversensitive troublemakers" (p. 606), further damaging their perceived legitimacy. Furthermore, when a low-status group member such as a female leader confronts inequality, this poses a direct threat to high-status group members (e.g., men) because such a confrontation can illuminate the higher status group's potential loss of privilege should social change successfully occur (Wright, 2010).

It's a Man's Job: The Effectiveness of Male Leaders Leading the Charge Toward Gender Equality

In contrast, male leaders and feminist men receive more favourable evaluations (Anderson, 2009; Eagly & Carli, 2003) and encounter more positive reactions when drawing attention to gender inequality (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). Feminist men (compared to women) are viewed more positively but also less stereotypically masculine or heterosexual, which can affect their readiness to identify as feminists and participate in equality efforts (Anderson, 2009). Yet sexism confrontations by non-targets (men) are more successful than those by targets (women) because

men are seen as acting counter to group interests when they challenge sexism (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). The same finding has been established in racism settings when whites (non-targets) as opposed to blacks (targets) challenge acts of racism (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010).

Within sexism settings, this perception that male leaders have something to lose when challenging inequality (i.e., the privileges accompanying high-status group membership), and the belief that they are unlikely to benefit from such behaviours, affords them greater legitimacy and the propensity to be perceived more positively than female leaders (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). For example, Cihangir, Barreto, and Ellemers (2014) found that suggestions of sexism by male sources were more beneficial to targets (e.g., increased self-confidence and greater likelihood of filing a complaint) than suggestions by female sources. Moreover, Gervais and Hillard (2014) found men are perceived more positively when they confront sexist statements both indirectly (i.e., classifying an act as problematic rather than explicitly sexist) and publicly, while female leaders benefited from confronting indirectly but privately. Public (compared to private) confrontations also led to the statement being evaluated as more sexist (Gervais & Hillard, 2014). That men gain an advantage from publicly confronting sexism works in their favour given the typically public nature of equality campaigns.

Furthermore, Gervais and Hillard (2014) established that confrontations of sexism by men are thought of as more 'surprising' than confrontations by women because they appear contrary to group-based expectations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Comparable to Moscovici's (1980) minority conversion theory, this element of surprise highlights the sexist nature of the act, instigating witnesses to meticulously process particulars of the argument and participate in validation processes that result in private acceptance of the minority's message (Gervais & Hillard, 2014). Within this context, male confronters are effectually minority in-group members

– who as earlier discussed usually generate more indirect attitude change than out-group minority members (i.e., female confronters; David & Turner, 2001). Indeed, people who witness non-targets confronting perpetrator's prejudiced acts go on to express increased negative reactions to perpetrators and increased positive reactions to non-targets, compared to if the act had gone unchallenged altogether (Dickter, Kittel, & Gyurovski, 2011). Certainly, simply witnessing men's sexism confrontations can trigger a 'snowball' effect – prompting witnesses to later confront offenders themselves, and therefore assisting in the spread of anti-prejudice sentiments (Swim & Thomas, 2006).

By publicly confronting sexism, men appear especially successful at influencing others to act, while in contrast women experience derogation and questions regarding their competency (Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Eagly & Carli, 2003). Subašić and colleagues (2018) showed that male equality leaders foster a sense of common cause among followers by signaling to women and men that "we are all in this together" (p. 7) – owing to both their shared (gender) identity with men, and shared cause (gender equality) with women. Indeed, Acker (1990) claims the very nature of gendered organisations means attempts at gender equality must involve male corporate leaders who have the formal positional and gendered power necessary to influence change within the socioeconomic hierarchy they control (de Vries, 2015).

Alternatively, Drury (2013) discovered that although male observers perceived sexism confrontations by men as more warranted than those carried out by women, female observers of sexism confrontations were unaffected by confronter gender. Drury (2013) maintains that this is due to men being more effective than women in alerting fellow men to acts of sexism. Similarly, Subašić and colleagues (2018) showed that while men reported higher collective action in response to male leaders promoting common cause messages compared to female leaders

promoting identical messages, this effect was absent for women. Instead, women's intentions remained the same under common cause messages regardless of *who* promoted the message, indicating that women remain unaffected by the gender of those promoting equality. Women perceiving confrontations or initiatives by either gender as equally warranted makes sense given both aim to elevate women's social hierarchical status (Drury, 2013).

In sum, extant research suggests women are poor candidates for leading equality initiatives, because despite possessing official authority at work, gendered expectations disempower them and undermine their ability to effectively address inequality (de Vries, 2015; Martin & Meyerson, 1998). Although these gendered expectations destabilise female leaders, they equally locate male leaders as successful and influential catalysts for gender equality (de Vries, 2015). Paradoxically, by virtue of their gender and the privileges it permits, male leaders possess the ability to undertake equality leadership roles more effectively than females, because they evade self-interest accusations (Marshall, 2007). In fact, men appear doubly advantaged in mobilising followers as they represent the dominant ingroup (for men) and are seen as prototypical leaders by men and women (Eagly & Karau, 2002). In essence, the capacity to successfully hold equality leadership roles is "intimately intertwined with sex (bodies), gender and power" (de Vries, 2015, p. 32), with men's gender and positional power intersecting to produce an extremely effective platform for leading the charge in equality interventions.

It would therefore prove advantageous to utilise the gendered nature of leadership when planning and executing equality interventions (Marshall, 2007). Doing so would relocate gender equality away from being solely women's work, and instead share the burden (or common goal) with those who possess the necessary positional and gendered power to effect such change – men (de Vries, 2015). Yet just as focusing exclusively on women is inadequate for achieving

equality, viewing male leaders' engagement as the panacea for inequality is equally naïve (de Vries, 2015). In fact, inert representation of equality issues by male leaders is still inadequate and can actually destabilise attempts at gender equality (Pincus, 2009). If male leaders are not sufficiently dedicated to the cause of equality, they are at risk of undermining the legitimacy and status of the cause (Pincus, 2009). Therefore, an intersection between solidarity (promoted via message framing) and leadership is required. As such, the political solidarity model of social change is outlined next.

The Politics of Solidarity: The Political Solidarity Model of Social Change

Traditionally, the psychology of social change has concerned itself with minority groups acting collectively to challenge the decisions and policies of those in established positions of authority (Subašić et al., 2008), known as the conversion theory of minority influence (Moscovici, 1980). These minority groups usually occupy lower status positions within the social hierarchy, for instance homosexuals participating in the gay rights movement (Iyer & Ryan, 2009b). Because women are considered as occupying a low-status position equivalent to minority racial groups, it is thus not unexpected that conventionally women have challenged the gendered status quo (Reid, 1988). Indeed, this has typically been the case, as per decades of feminist activism (Ahl, 2004).

Yet SIT provides an alternative outlook on minority influence and social change (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The theory argues that the relative and unwarranted disadvantage that typically accompanies lower status positions harms the group's interests and identity, and it is consequently in the group's best interests to contest the status quo (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Yet this inclination for minority groups (e.g., women) to act in their best interests can actually undermine their efforts at social change, because acts of self-interest are perceived as less

convincing than acts that oppose one's best interests (Eagly et al., 1978). Interestingly, David and Turner (2001) have demonstrated that minority groups are most persuasive when they share an in-group with those who they are attempting to persuade (e.g., a gender group). Because men within the gender equality could be considered a minority group in terms of their numbers and size relative to women within the movement, it is not a stretch to consider them as in-ingroup minorities when mobilising a male audience toward gender equality. In fact, these 'in-group minorities' (e.g., men challenging inequality) can actually attain superior attitudinal change compared to 'out-group minorities' (e.g., women; David & Turner, 2001).

Alternatively, contemporary research has revealed that chief aims of social movements can be attained by utilising the power, influence, and resources held by advantaged majority groups (Iyer & Ryan, 2009a). In this sense, so long as they perceive current social arrangements to be illegitimate, advantaged groups can play a critical role as allies alongside disadvantaged groups (Becker, Wright, Lubensky, & Zhou, 2013). Indeed, there are numerous cases whereby majorities have acted alongside minorities to counter the status quo (e.g., gay marriage in Australia), a process referred to as political solidarity (Subašić et al., 2008). This concept of solidarity as a way of mobilising majorities (e.g., men) to work as allies alongside minorities (e.g., women) and embrace their cause (e.g., equality) as their own is based on the political solidarity model of social change, the focus of this section (Subašić et al., 2008).

The political solidarity model provides an integrative review of intergroup relations and their relationship to the achievement of social change, conceptualising solidarity-based social change as a process through which majority group members challenge the authority in solidarity with minority group members (Subašić et al., 2008). This sits in direct contrast to social psychology's fixation on dualistic or bipolar intergroup relations (e.g., dominant vs.

subordinate), which curtails our deeper understanding of social change, and also fails to elucidate the true complexity of the social and historical contexts that social change occurs within (Subašić et al., 2008). Indeed, the novel theoretical model has been recognised as the only theoretical model capable of explaining how cooperation and commitment to collective action can be preserved across intergroup boundaries (Subašić et al., 2008).

The political solidarity model's trifocal approach emphasises social influence relationships between those in positions of 'authority' (the dominant group), those 'power minorities' who seek to challenge authority (the subordinate group), and the 'silent majority' (the majority third party) as the audience to be mobilised (Subašić et al., 2012). In essence, the majority group comes to embrace the minority group's cause as a common goal that both parties must work toward together, despite not necessarily being negatively affected by the present status quo themselves (Subašić et al., 2008). Essentially, the model provides an explanation as to how those not necessarily negatively affected by the state of social arrangements can nonetheless be mobilised to act in solidarity with those who are (Subašić et al., 2008).

It is first important to denote what is meant when referring to these three social actors: the minority, the authority, and the majority. For example, despite being disadvantaged, women do not represent a numerical minority within the general population, but they can be thought of as a numerical minority within leadership positions (Ellemers, 2014). Importantly however, from a political solidarity perspective, the terms 'minority' and 'majority' are not referring exclusively to numerical categories but instead signify the social position of and social power available to certain groups (Subašić et al., 2008; Tajfel, 1978). In the case of this thesis and the context of gender equality, we also take into account men's and women's overall representativeness within the workplace and leadership positions.

Therefore, women can be thought of as an under-represented group (the minority), while men signify an over-represented group (the majority). The minority comprises the disadvantaged group seeking to challenge the authority, and who requires the majority's support to achieve effective change via political solidarity. Minorities often target those who embody 'the system' via their position as an established societal authority, such as the government (Subašić et al., 2008). Indeed, the authority is that entity that holds a position of social power stemming from a sense of shared identity, thus imbuing it with the ability to influence and exercise legitimate authority over the social majority (Subašić et al., 2008). In a gender equality context, the authority comprises those male-dominated systems, government bodies, and workplace structures that allow for the continued existence of gender inequality. Meanwhile, the majority is the target audience for the intergroup power contestation processes that make up the process of achieving this required political solidarity (Subašić et al., 2008).

In keeping with the SIT continuum of interpersonal to intergroup categorisation however, only in extreme conditions will the minority, majority, and authority form radically separate ingroup-outgroup distinctions (Subašić et al., 2008). Consequently, the majority typically does not comprise a homogenous audience, but rather encompasses individuals ranging from those who pledge full support to the authority's position, those who disengage from both the authority and minority and view the power struggle as irrelevant to them, to those who outright reject the authority and instead endorse the minority (Subašić et al., 2008). For example, within an equality context, the majority would comprise those who support women's rights, those disinterested in the cause, and those who are actively hostile toward women. Yet the greatest change is possible with those individuals who believe the issue is of no concern to them and subsequently disengage from both groups (Subašić et al., 2008). This provides room for power contestation

processes to occur over the meaning of both the superordinate identity but also the subgroup majority identity, which ultimately determines whether social change or the status quo will prevail (Subašić et al., 2008).

The Social Psychology of Collective Action: Political Solidarity as a Process of Social (Psychological) Change

As per Turner (1991), social power and the ability to influence followers depends on both the source (i.e., authority or leader) and targets (i.e., followers) sharing a social identity – the meaning of which is continually contested within social change settings. Indeed, within the political solidarity model, this power struggle consists of the authority and minority contesting over the definition and meaning of a shared superordinate identity with the majority (Subašić et al., 2008). In this sense, the political solidarity model is consequently an identity and solidarity-based model of social change. Whether the authority or the minority wins determines whether social stability or social change (respectively) triumphs (Subašić et al., 2008). Importantly, political solidarity does not necessarily mean seeking to overthrow the authority entirely. Despite political solidarity typically being triggered by the sense that the authority no longer shares a higher-order identity with the majority, the actual objective of political solidarity is to shape the authority's actions in a way that realigns that higher-order identity to one consistent with 'who we are' (Subašić et al., 2008).

Indeed, the process of political solidarity typically seeks to first mould the authority's actions and decisions in a way that ultimately restores their legitimacy, typically by pursuing the authority's endorsement of equal rights policies (e.g., equal pay for equal work, gay marriage, etc.; Subašić et al., 2008). Yet to the extent that the authority continues to violate a higher-order understanding of who we are, and instead the minority is seen as sharing this understanding,

solidarity with the minority becomes possible (Subašić et al., 2008). Ultimately, the minority becomes the authority via the process of political solidarity. Therefore, just as the authority relies on the majority's support to retain their position of social power and are accordingly required to keep the majority on side, so too does the minority, because the majority possesses the ability to "empower the powerless" (Subašić et al., 2008, p. 347).

When the concepts of political solidarity, the political solidarity model, and common cause are discussed in this thesis, we use the terms interchangeably to denote a sense of psychological connection to a shared cause or agenda that people attempt to achieve together (Subasic et al., 2008). Specifically, Subasic et al. (2008) define political solidarity within the political solidarity model as a higher level process whereby "the majority becomes not only sympathetic toward the minority and its cause but also willing to actively challenge the authority in solidarity with the minority" (p. 331). This sense of solidarity typically results in collective action to achieve social change. In this sense, solidarity can be considered both a process and an outcome. Meanwhile, common cause can be thought of as one of the required ingredients in this process of solidarity. Common cause is a lower level construct which can be considered a feature of an identity that arises based on a sense of common cause (e.g., a feminist identity; McGarty, Bliuc, Thomas, & Bongiorno, 2009; Subasic et al., 2008). More specifically, political solidarity is the process through which a sense of common cause is achieved.

Certainly, McGarty and colleagues (2009) maintain that the issue of collective action is one of common cause, "whereby social categories become psychological groups defined by shared goals, values, and important (action-relevant) opinions" (Subašić et al., 2018, p. 709). Only through the advent of common cause can collective action become possible. This supports the political solidarity model's argument that majorities are more inclined to act in support for

minorities once a positive sense of solidarity (or common cause) emerges between the two groups (Subašić et al., 2008). Indeed, this emerging sense of a common cause between majority and minority groups constitutes the crux of solidarity, and usually manifests in readiness to participate in collective action supporting that particular cause (Subašić et al., 2008). This sense of common cause rests on the majority's capacity to form a shared positive, activist identity with the minority and take on their shared norms, values, and beliefs (Wiley et al., 2012). Such an identity is required if groups are to "transcend interpersonal differences…develop a sense of solidarity, and…act together in a coordinated and effective way" (Subašić et al., 2012, p. 69). This transformation of the majority group's identity relative to the authority and minority is what makes solidarity conceivable – widespread collective action toward social change occurs only once advantaged and disadvantaged parties come to view themselves under the umbrella of a shared identity for change – a shared 'us' (Subašić et al., 2008, 2012). Through the redefinition of pertinent social identities, the silent majority can come to view their interests as aligning with those of the disadvantaged minority (Subašić et al., 2008). Because the political solidarity model maintains that this type of solidarity-based collective action is central to achieving social change, it is vital that research explicitly considers how and when majority groups become willing to contest authorities in solidarity with minority groups (Subašić et al., 2008).

We're All in This Together Now: Common Cause in the Context of Gender (In)Equality

Although the political solidarity model explains how collective action can be mobilised beyond those directly affected by the status quo via the emergence of political solidarity with disadvantaged groups, there exist some caveats. One important qualification of the model is that it applies equally to positive social change (e.g., equality) as it does to negative social change (e.g., the rise of fascism) or social stability (e.g., maintaining the status quo). Furthermore, its'

application is limited in that it offers only a parsimonious analysis of certain (not all) social psychological aspects of social change.

Nevertheless, the political solidarity model of social change is useful when it comes to explaining how gender equality may come to be viewed as a common goal between men and women. Because the emergence of shared higher-order identities is a crucial aspect of the political solidarity model, for solidarity to emerge within a gender equality context, men and women need to come to "a shared view of who 'we' are – the core values that define 'us' – and for those values to be clearly aligned with an agenda for change" (Subašić et al., p. 710). In this sense, the current thesis proposes that when there exists a shared social identity defined by change toward equality, it is possible to transcend gender subgroup divisions and advance gender equality as a common cause. Within the context of gender equality, that identity would involve men and women identifying as feminists, because this feminist identity constitutes a higher-order identity that is defined by shared support for gender equality (Subašić et al., 2018).

Indeed, Leach and colleagues (2008) determined feminist solidarity to be the facet of identity most predictive of men's collective action supporting equality. Similarly, Wiley and colleagues (2012) found that men expressed higher feminist solidarity and collective action intentions when exposed to positive portrayals of feminist men (compared to negative portrayals or a control condition that did not mention men). They further determined that a sense of solidarity with feminists was a key antecedent to men's collective action intentions, with feminist solidarity fully mediating the relationship between positive portrayals and collective action intent (Wiley et al., 2012). Essentially, men are more predisposed to partake in collective action supporting equality when they recognise that numerous men back feminism and equality, and that such labors are valued (Wiley et al., 2012). Therefore, this feminist identity can

constitute what McGarty and colleagues (2009) referred to as psychological groups defined by a common cause, and it can ameliorate subgroup (gender) boundaries previously seen as barriers to solidarity (Subašić et al., 2018).

In fact, solidarity "implies that we are united not only despite subgroup difference but precisely *because* we are different" (Subašić et al., 2008, p. 337), and actually capitalises on these differences to fulfil common goals. Thus men, as the majority resource holders, can offer assistance to women, in an act of cross-gender solidarity toward equality. Yet, with regard to gender equality being a common cause for example, traditional women's issue approaches signal to men that inequality is a women's problem rather than 'our' problem, or is even a zero-sum game whereby men have to give up their privilege in order for women to succeed (Subašić et al., 2018). Rather than focusing exclusively on women as a minority group challenging authority, the political solidarity model would instead place emphasis on men's engagement as a majority ally group. This solidarity-based approach allows for a shift in social relations – from women as victims and men as bystanders or perpetrators, to positioning both women and men as agents of change in a concerted effort to engage a broader audience of women and men (Subašić et al., 2018).

In fact, solidarity-based message frames can redefine people's view of the problem of inequality and their willingness to engage with this issue, leading to the emergence of a sense of common cause (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996; Snow & Benford, 1992). Indeed, Subašić and colleagues (2018) provided the first evidence that redefining gender equality from a women's issue to 'our cause' increased collective action toward equality, demonstrating that framing gender equality as a common cause for both men and women (rather than a women's issue) heightened women's *and* men's collective action intentions. Importantly though, this

result arose only when *male* leaders promoted the common cause message. Subašić and colleagues (2018) maintain that for solidarity-based common cause messages to be successful regardless of leader gender, they are required to be contextualised by leader-follower relations arising from shared social identities (see Haslam et al., 2011).

Human Solidarity in a Divided World: The Role of Leadership in Fostering a Sense of Common Cause

Certainly, the political solidarity model maintains that the necessary redefinitions of self-identity required to craft a shared identity depend on how individuals choose between differing sources of influence – that is, who we listen to and deem as our leaders (Subašić et al., 2012). Subašić and colleagues (2008) argue that the political solidarity model sheds light on understanding leadership processes within a tripolar intergroup dynamic setting. This in turn allows for further understanding of "how social inclusion and exclusion strategies can be used to create and advance one's position of social power as influence over the majority of subordinates" (Subašić et al., 2008, p. 357). Leaders can use their authority and preexisting shared identity with the majority to seek a redefinition of minority groups as members of a higher-order shared ingroup (Subašić et al., 2008).

Subašić and colleagues (2008) offered the example of Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's apology to Indigenous Australians in 2008, which signaled the government's changed attitude toward Indigenous Australians and also a direct call for non-Indigenous Australia to act in solidarity toward reconciliation. We additionally offer the example of former Lieutenant General David Morrison's leadership speech to his Australian Defence Force (ADF) troops, the majority of whom are male. In an attempt to correct the sexist ethos of the ADF, Morrison positioned himself as an ally to women – managing to collectively mobilise a traditionally

masculine institution by stressing the broader benefits that accompany embracing gender equality as a common cause. Had a woman (i.e., a minority group member) given the same speech, it is unlikely to have triggered the stir that Morrison's did. In this sense, male leaders can play a central role in signalling that gender equality is a shared concern for 'all of us', thus epitomising solidarity (Subašić et al., 2018).

However, all leaders, both male and female, must ensure they "walk the talk" (Kotter, 2007, p. 101) and genuinely embrace equality as their own cause, consequently instilling a sense of solidarity between low- and high-status groups in order to move both women *and* men toward social change (Subašić et al., 2018; Subašić et al., 2008). Indeed, not only does it matter *who* is promoting the message, but also *what* is being said (Subašić et al., 2012). Thus, the intersection of leadership (particularly leader gender) and solidarity (communicated via rhetoric or message framing) plays a critical role in the facilitation of social change and collective action toward gender equality (Subašić et al., 2012). This intersection is unpacked below.

The Intersection of Leadership and Solidarity Processes: Framing Gender Equality as a Common Cause

As previously detailed, there clearly exists an asymmetry in terms of male and female leaders' capacity to craft a shared identity for social change (Subašić et al., 2018). Namely, when mobilising individuals toward gender equality, male leaders start from the point of shared social identity with both men and women – stemming from shared subgroup membership (gender) with men, and shared cause (gender equality) with women (Subašić et al., 2018). Meanwhile, no such shared identity yet exists for female leaders looking to mobilise a male audience. Indeed, in contrast, female leaders are seen as outgroup members by men in terms of both their gender subgroup membership, but also in terms of shared cause because gender equality is typically

seen as a women's issue and a zero-sum game forcing men to surrender their privilege (Subašić et al., 2018). Because female leaders start off on the back foot relative to their male counterparts, it is even more important for female leaders to craft a shared identity and sense of 'us' with their followers when advocating for gender equality. As such, viewing gender equality as 'our cause', and subsequently seeing equality leaders as being 'one of us', is especially imperative for female leaders (Subašić et al., 2018).

'WeForShe': How Leaders Utilise Message Framing and Rhetoric to Craft a Shared Identity with Their Followers

To gain traction and influence, leaders are required to emulate both identification with, and prototypicality of, the group (Hogg, 2001). Tellingly, Reicher and Hopkins (2003) labelled leaders as "entrepreneurs of identity" (p. 297), whose role it is to represent ingroup prototypes in order to successfully mobilise followers. Leaders can utilise rhetoric to "locate themselves within the heart of the group" (Hornsey, 2008, p. 211), hence why the manner in which leaders discuss the goal of gender equality is crucial in determining their level of influence over followers. Essentially, message framing and leader rhetoric exists as the vehicle through which leaders articulate their shared sense of identity with followers.

Indeed, research into failed gender equality interventions have determined that male leaders' lack of interest, passive representation, and dependence on meaningless rhetoric greatly impairs equality interventions (Pincus, 2009). Because leaders' prototypicality and the identity of their group are shaped by the rhetoric leaders use (Hogg et al., 2012), leaders need to instead maintain consistency between their rhetoric and behaviours that support that rhetoric, consequently strengthening their perceived legitimacy (Stone, Wiegand, Cooper, & Aronson, 1997). Certainly, influence boils down to the "leaders' rhetoric-based construction of the group's

identity" (Hogg et al., 2012, p. 259). Thus, the way in which leaders craft their message is of utmost importance, especially when considered in light of research demonstrating that how equality message frames are communicated can drastically affect mobilisation (Benford & Snow, 2000; Flood, Dragiewicz, & Pease, 2018; Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; Subašić et al., 2018).

Indeed, how leaders frame their message, in both content and meaning, and "make the case" (p. 18) for equality affects the way in which followers process and react to that message (Flood et al., 2018). It is important to "find supportive messengers" (p. 8; aka leaders) who are likely to be listened to (VicHealth, 2018). This is particularly important because resistance and backlash to gender equality initiatives usually comes from status quo beneficiaries who are often men (Kidder et al., 2004), although women also resist and criticise such initiatives (Steuter, 1992). Certainly, feminism in general has more recently experienced a vilification in popular culture, with many men and women believing it is no longer necessary due to feminism having allegedly already achieved its goals (McRobbie, 2011). Forms of resistance to equality initiatives span from passive blocking techniques (e.g., denial, disavowal, inaction), to minimisation or co-option strategies (e.g., appeasement, appropriation, co-option), to more direct opposition (e.g., repression, backlash; Flood et al., 2018; Godenzi, 1999). Research shows that merely disseminating information about inequality fails to reduce resistance from those who are fervently opposed to equality initiatives, because they likely prescribe to ingrained (typically unconscious) sexist social norms advising how individuals should act in society (VicHealth, 2018).

Instead, research and practice propose a number of strategies to more effectively engage with inequality issues. These include framing strategies – the way in which you communicate

the initiative and its importance; organisational strategies – involving leaders, individuals and groups to improve workplace structures; teaching and learning strategies – the procedures, atmosphere, materials, and educators; and individual strategies – recognising allies, self-care, and concentrating on influencing those you can (Flood et al., 2018). Indeed, in line with the political solidarity model's tenets, effective gender equality initiatives are those that identify allies and concentrate on working with the "moveable middle" (VicHealth, 2018, p. 6) – referring to the silent majority who are unconvinced or even just curious about such initiatives (Subašić et al., 2008). As previously mentioned, it is this silent majority where the greatest social change can be achieved because there exists the most room for power contestations to occur over what it means to be 'us' (Subašić et al., 2008). It is therefore of great importance to determine what message framing strategies leaders should utilise to most effectively mobilise this silent majority.

Social Identity Framing or Bust: Solidarity-Based Message Framing and Rhetoric

The intersection of leadership communication methods and the social identity approach to leadership toward social change prompted the emergence of social identity framing theory, which focuses on those communication strategies that are directly concerned with the social identity facets of leadership (Seyranian, 2014). This widens the focus from the leader-follower relationship to instead encompass the specific rhetorical strategies leaders choose to implement (Seyranian, 2014). Leaders' communication strategies are saturated with social identity-framing rhetoric (Seyranian & Bligh, 2008), because it can be used to construct a shared identity between leaders and followers in their goal to motivate followers toward social change (Benford & Snow, 2000).

One method of fostering shared identity and raising leader prototypicality is the use of

‘collective’ or ‘inclusive’ message framing. Such framing encompasses a set of rhetorical strategies that place emphasis on existing shared identities between leaders and their followers, and inspires followers toward collective action by highlighting shared grievances of the collective group (e.g., gender inequality; Benford & Snow, 2000; Seyranian, 2014). Doing so generates discontent with the status quo and unfreezes followers’ attachments to the values and facets of group identity that preserve the status quo (Seyranian & Bligh, 2008).

Inclusive framing consists of language that evokes social identities (we, our), references collectives (social groups), and limits self-references (me, I), consequently emphasising solidarity and increasing the salience of leaders’ and followers’ shared social identities (Fiol, Harris, & House, 1999). Importantly, collective framing promotes a sense of common cause between minority and majority groups (Becker et al., 2014). This constitutes the crux of solidarity, and usually results in increased readiness to participate in collective action supporting that cause (Subašić et al., 2008). For example, Seyranian (2014) showed that leaders employing inclusive framing were evaluated more favourably and inspired greater collective action among followers. This demonstrates that the crafting of a shared identity (and thus shared cause or solidarity) – a crucial element of the leader-follower influence process – can be achieved via message framing (Seyranian, 2014).

Flood and colleagues (2018) further argue that gender equality frames should communicate the rationale and benefits to both women *and* men, draw on collective goals and values, and directly acknowledge and address anticipated disadvantages men typically cite in reaction to equality initiatives (e.g., counter-claims, the myth of merit, “what about men’s rights?”). Frames should also outline convincing, real-life, personal instances of inequality and its solutions, and concede that “gender is personal, interpersonal and structural, and that it

involves unequal relations of power" (VicHealth, 2018, p. 7; Flood et al., 2018).

Essentially, rather than framing equality as a zero-sum game, it is more beneficial to instead frame it as a win-win situation (Holter, 2014). This is because whereas mutually exclusive zero-sum objectives heighten conflict, nonzero-sum objectives inspire cooperation and enhance intergroup cooperation (Sherif, 1966). For example, as per Sherif's (1966) seminal research, when two groups hold a shared goal that neither group can obtain without relying on the other, they typically cooperate to reach that goal. A concrete example of such framing is the Victorian Trades Hall Council's 2016 'Stop Gendered Violence at Work' campaign, which framed gender violence as a critical workplace health and safety issue, and subsequently a broad, shared union value for all employees (VicHealth, 2018). In the same vein, Subašić and colleagues (2018) argue that in terms of demands for workplace equality, there exists "at least as much common ground between men and women as there is subgroup conflict between them" (p. 709).

In this sense then, solidarity-based message frames place emphasis on women's *and* men's engagement toward equality as "comrades in struggle" (hooks, 1984, p. 67) by promoting that common ground and shared identity (Subašić et al., 2008). Solidarity framing consequently sits in direct contrast to traditional frames of gender equality that focus exclusively on women as a minority group challenging authority alone, placing responsibility for addressing inequality on women (subsequently making gender equality women's work; Mavin, 2008). In line with solidarity framing, Drury and Kaiser (2014) showed that rather than highlighting their personal investment when confronting inequality, to evade allegations of self-interest women should instead draw attention to the broader benefits of equality for society. Likewise, Drury (2013) found that irrespective of gender, individuals who confronted "for the greater good" (p. 1)

deflected accusations of self-interest and were taken more seriously by perpetrator group members (i.e., men).

Furthermore, Subašić and colleagues (2018) demonstrated that framing gender equality as a common cause for both genders (compared to traditional women's issue frames) heightened men's collective action intentions supporting equality. However, this effect was confined to when *male* leaders espoused such messages. Subašić and colleagues (2018) argue that for solidarity-based messages to remain effective irrespective of leader gender, they must be contextualised by leader-follower relations arising from shared social identities (see Haslam et al., 2011). Once again, this demonstrates the central role that both leadership and solidarity-based processes play in the achievement of social change toward equality.

Solidarity frames represent a sharp contrast to more traditional frames of gender equality that either foist responsibility for redressing inequality on women (effectively making gender equality work women's work; Mavin, 2008), or attempt to justify the existence of inequality by blaming women for their current predicament (i.e., meritocratic framing; Whelen, 2013). This thesis investigates these, and a number of other different message frames in order to explore the most effective frame for mobilising women and men in support for equality. The background and rationale behind each of these frames is briefly touched on in the following empirical overview chapter, before being elaborated on in each of the relevant empirical chapters.

Chapter Summary

Ultimately, this thesis seeks to understand how best to mobilise men and women toward gender equality, with a specific focus on social identity and leadership dynamics. Thus far, we have reviewed: (a) the background and history of gender inequality as a societal phenomenon, including reasons as to its continued existence and traditional attempts at overcoming the issue;

(b) the social identity approach to social change (including how collective action and a sense of common cause can arise as a function of social identity processes); (c) leadership as a social influence process and how leader gender in particular may affect mobilisation; and (d) the intersection of leadership and solidarity processes, culminating in how leader rhetoric and equality message framing play a key role in mobilisation. In doing so we have established the foundational theoretical framework for the thesis and our empirical chapters.

Chapter 3

Mobilising Men and Women in Support of Gender Equality: A Theoretical and Empirical Overview

"A hand fought best when it made a fist."

(Guy Gavriel Kay, 1990)

In the current chapter, we outline where additional theoretical and empirical insight is required, with a focus on the empirical and methodological aspects of the thesis and how we made certain methodological decisions. We start by identifying key conceptual gaps and how the research questions will address these, then give a brief overview of our three empirical programs, including an outline of the key mobilisation message frames that are examined in the present work. We then discuss key dependent variables, elaborating on how they relate to and interact with one another as predictors, mediators and/or outcomes of social change, to explain their inclusion in the thesis. We end by outlining constraints and qualifications of the thesis, including

the reasoning behind methodological choices such as participant samples, experimental settings, and contextual settings.

Rethinking the Lay of the Land: Key Theoretical and Conceptual Contributions of the Thesis

Overall, Chapters 1-2 identified key conceptual gaps in the existing literature and laid the theoretical groundwork for the current thesis. For example, we outlined how social psychology continues to focus primarily on *why* gender inequality persists, as opposed to *how* we might address the issue (Ryan & Branscombe, 2013). Moreover, existing research frequently perceives inequality as an issue requiring systemic measures such as government legislation, rather than examining how women and men might be mobilised to address the issue alongside one another (Subašić et al., 2018). In this sense, psychological research tends toward explaining collective action by advantaged *or* disadvantaged groups (Iyer & Ryan, 2009b; van Zomeren et al., 2008), effectively ignoring psychological processes underlying the widespread mobilisation of both parties (Subašić et al., 2018).

Most work also focuses heavily on collective action by disadvantaged groups (i.e., women in gender equality contexts; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Indeed, few studies have investigated men's intentions to participate in collective action that supports gender equality (Wiley et al., 2012), and the role of male allies remains under researched (Wiley & Dunne, 2018). Moreover, studies that do investigate men as allies concentrate predominantly on short-term, spur-of-the-moment confrontations of sexism, as opposed to focusing on long-term equality initiatives (Becker et al., 2014). Lastly, the role of leadership processes in the mobilisation of more widespread support for gender equality remains largely unexamined, thus

leaving the question of how individuals become mobilised for social change unanswered (Subašić et al., 2018).

Given the paucity of literature in these areas, the current work addresses these gaps to advance our understanding of how to mobilise a broader audience for gender equality, and how leadership and social identity dynamics affect that mobilisation. The unique contribution of this project is its focus on leadership as a process of social influence toward social change and gender equality. Indeed, we extend Subašić and colleagues' (2018) work in a novel way by empirically assessing the psychological processes underlying leader influence. More specifically, this project systematically examines how leader gender intersects with (a) message framing and (b) relevant social identities (gender and higher-order identities) to predict leader influence and capacity to mobilise men and women for gender equality. Indeed, just as focusing exclusively on women is inadequate for achieving equality, viewing male leaders' engagement as the panacea for inequality is equally naïve (de Vries, 2015). As such, we go beyond leader gender to investigate whether the way that equality leaders promote their message of equality affects mobilisation. As a third point of strength, we additionally examine participant gender at both subgroup and higher-order superordinate levels, to investigate whether identity salience affects women's and men's support for equality.

Indeed, aligning with Flood's (2017) call for a shift towards engaging men as a consequence of social justice-oriented motivations, we propose a solidarity-based frame promoting the issue as one for women and men to address together, with men acting as allies alongside women. In this sense, we move away from approaches focusing on burdening (Ellemers & Barreto, 2009) or fixing women (de Vries, 2010), or those concentrating on systemic or government-implemented measures. We also bridge existing gaps in the literature by

examining intentions on behalf of both women and men, thus conceptually advancing present understandings of those psychological processes underlying the mobilisation of both groups.

In summary, the present research examines the role of leader gender, solidarity-based message framing, and social identity in mobilising support for gender equality by men and women, to determine under what conditions these factors do or *do not* affect mobilisation toward equality. Specifically, we investigate how leader gender and the way in which a leader frames their equality message (highlighting or not the sense of a common cause between men and women), affects women's and men's mobilisation for gender equality. We additionally examine how social identity salience affects mobilisation. The central premise of this thesis is that, by making men part of the solution and highlighting equality as a common cause (i.e., something that both sexes should work towards together), men *and* women are more likely to participate in collective action supporting equality.

Dotting the i's and Crossing the t's: Empirical Framework of the Thesis and Overview of the Experiments

This thesis utilises an experimental paradigm comprising online questionnaires. These are foreshadowed by manipulation statements consisting of a short press release ostensibly credited to a gender equality leader whose aim is to reduce (workplace) gender inequality. In six experiments, we used manipulation statements attributed to either a male leader (Experiments 1-6), a female leader (Experiments 1–5), or a government agency (Experiment 1) to investigate whether the gender of the leader affects their capacity to mobilise support for equality, as extant literature suggests (e.g., Seyranian, 2014; Subašić et al., 2018). We also contrasted solidarity-based frames of gender equality as a common cause (Experiments 1-6) with traditional approaches framing equality as a women's only issue (Experiment 1-6), a meritocratic issue

(Experiment 2), as men's responsibility (Experiment 5), a men's victimisation issue (Experiment 6), or an issue directly affecting both men and women as victims (Experiment 6). This allowed us to determine whether the way in which the equality message is framed affects support for equality.

The empirical program presented in this work comprises three separate but complementary programs. Program 1 first investigates whether the gender of equality leaders affects their capacity to mobilise men's and women's support for equality, in addition to whether solidarity-based frames are more effective than traditional frames that tend to either fix or blame women. This program contrasts a solidarity-based framing of gender equality as a common cause for men and women with more traditional frames of inequality as either a women's issue which tends to limit men's involvement in the equality movement (Experiment 1), or a meritocratic non-issue that implies inequality exists due to women's tendency to pursue less intensive careers (Experiment 2).

The second program (Experiments 3-4) focuses solely on male participants and examines social identity processes underlying mobilisation toward equality, because they play a central role in extant work (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013; Klandermans, 2014; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Moreover, studies investigating the role of local (American) versus global context and identity framing in collective action engagement demonstrate that local context settings result in greater participation than do global settings (Scannell & Gifford, 2013). Given this, Program 2 explicitly and orthogonally manipulated different levels of subgroup (women vs. men and women) and superordinate (local American vs. global citizen) identities to better establish the effects of subgroup and superordinate identity salience on men's support for equality.

Program 3 moved beyond women's issue and solidarity approaches to explicitly position

men as either being responsible for (Experiment 5), or being fellow victims of (i.e., themselves being directly affected by; Experiment 6), gender equality, given little research exists on this (Becker et al., 2014; Government Equalities Office, 2014). Experiment 5 served as an extension of Subašić and colleagues' (2018) study that found explicitly positioning men (rather than government policy) as being responsible for maintaining and addressing gender inequality increased men's collective action intentions to address said inequality. Experiment 6 builds on Experiment 5 by holding the male leader's gender constant, reintroducing female participants, and positioning men as not just being responsible for addressing inequality, but also as being victims of gender inequality themselves. This is based on covictimisation framing, which attempts to gain allies' support by highlighting the negative consequences that they *too* experience as a consequence of the status quo (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Vollhardt, 2012).

Entangling Relations: Key Dependent Variables and Their Relationships to One Another

In this thesis we focused on two main sets of outcome variables that are of key importance to social change processes. Firstly, mobilisation or followership variables as a function of effective leadership (including collective action intentions [Experiments 1-6] and sense of common cause [Experiments 2-6]). We also focus on leadership variables (including leader prototypicality, legitimacy, and influence [Experiments 1-6], relational leadership identification [Experiments 1, 3-6], and transformational leadership [Experiment 2-6]). Though many of these variables and their relationships to one another have been touched on in the literature review, given their central role in the current work it is worthwhile explaining in further detail their relevance to the thesis and how they are investigated within it. Additional social identity (e.g., feminist, gender, and national identification) and threat constructs (e.g., perceived threat to one's gender group, sexism, etc.) were measured for exploratory purposes,

however these are explored in their respective empirical chapters.

What Do We Want? Collective Action Intentions

The majority of collective action research focuses on the attitudes and conditions leading to action by either advantaged majority *or* disadvantaged minority groups, rather than focusing on how widespread support from both groups might arise (Subašić et al., 2008). In the current work, we instead focus on a political solidarity-based approach that investigates how the majority group (men) come to embrace equality as a common cause for both groups and engage in collective action alongside the minority group (women). In this respect, willingness to engage in collective action intentions to support women is considered a key outcome of political solidarity and therefore collective action intent is a key dependent variable within the current work.

Collective action intentions refer to the perceived *willingness* of individuals to engage in certain behaviours that address inequality, without necessarily recording those individuals partaking in the actual behaviour. For example, participants indicate the extent to which they would be willing to sign a petition to stop inequality against women, post on social media about gender inequality, or discuss the issue with colleagues. In the current work we measure different facets of collective action, including direct challenges to the authority (e.g., voting behaviours), actions that are supportive of the minority's social change efforts (e.g., signing a petition or attending a rally), and actions that combine both (e.g., voting for a party that supports the minority's cause; Subašić et al., 2011). Although there exist behaviours which are available exclusively to majority advantaged groups due to their social status and power, this thesis focuses on behaviours available to both advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Finally, this thesis focuses primarily on collective action *intentions* rather than

behaviours. This is largely because the measurement of intentions is best suited to the online experimental questionnaires used in our empirical program, a setting where it becomes difficult to determine the extent to which participants *actually* engage in collective action behaviours. Nevertheless, intentions have been shown to correlate strongly with behaviours (between r = 0.45-0.50) and are therefore an adequate measurement within this realm (van Zomeren et al., 2008; Webb & Sheeran, 2006). Moreover, from Experiment 2 onwards we include a quasi-measure of participants' actual collective action behaviours via use of a questionnaire item asking them to electronically sign an online petition. The petition is in fact fake, and when agreed (or disagreed) to, our software platform records their response but simply takes them to the end of the questionnaire. This was believed to be the most effective, low-cost way in which we could attempt to measure participants' collective action *behaviours*.

And How Do We Want It? Predictors of, and Pathways to, Collective Action

There are a number of socio-psychological predictors of collective action intentions, including strength of identification (e.g., as a feminist), perceived injustice or illegitimacy of inequality, and affective injustice (van Zomeren et al., 2008). While we have not made specific predictions regarding these interrelated variables, the current work contributes to the collective action literature by measuring them for exploratory purposes and to investigate how our independent variables affect them. As such, each of these distinct pathways to collective action are outlined here.

Firstly, within gender equality contexts "identifying as a feminist signals the emergence of such higher-order identity defined by a shared agenda for change toward gender equality (i.e., common cause)" (Subašić et al., 2018, p. 710). Indeed, increased feminist identification has been linked to increased collective action intentions supporting equality (van Zomeren et al., 2008;

Zucker, 2004), activism (Yoder, Tobias, & Snell, 2011) and sexism confrontations (Ayres, Friedman, & Leaper, 2009). Moreover, identification with a political activist identity (i.e., feminism) is a stronger predictor of collective action than identification with larger social groups (i.e., gender or nationality) due to stronger internal obligations to participate in social movements (Stürmer & Simon, 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Perceived legitimacy of inequality refers to the judgement of fairness or legitimacy regarding collective disadvantage. For example, believing that the wage gap between men and women is justified because they are doing different jobs, or believing men and women have different qualities making them better suited for different roles (Miron, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2006). Both women's and men's collective action is predicted by appraisals of illegitimacy (Iyer & Ryan, 2009). For example, Jetten, Schmitt, Branscombe, Garza, and Mewse (2011) disovered that higher perceived legitimacy of inequality was linked to decreased collective action intentions among women in academia. Meanwhile, Miron and colleagues (2006) maintain that legitimating beliefs surrounding gender inequality are so pervasive and supported by men that they act as a way of decreasing the guilt men feel regarding their positions of privilege.

Finally, appraisals of illegitimacy are closely associated to group-based anger, which forms a distinct pathway to collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2004). Group-based anger is typically experienced by disadvantaged group members and directed at those groups who harm the ingroup, therefore acting as a driver to take action against those responsible (e.g., women to men in gender inequality contexts; van Zomeren et al., 2004). Meanwhile, other affective experiences of injustice also act as powerful predictors of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008). For example, sympathy with a political movement's aims constitutes the initial step toward participating in that movement (Klandermans, 1997).

A Problem Shared is a Problem Halved: Sense of Common Cause

Shared identity forms the basis of collective action and is most likely to develop when a shared sense of common cause arises between groups (Subašić et al., 2008). In this respect, common cause (also known as political solidarity) is conceptualised as a proxy for such a shared identity to emerge. Importantly, common cause differs from common fate or shared grievance, which instead refer to groups who share a common history of injustice and a collective fate (Haslam, 2001; Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Instead, in contrast to a shared experience of victimisation, common cause refers to the emergence of a shared set of goals, values, norms, and interests between groups, and is founded on a shared understanding of intergroup relations (Subašić et al., 2008). It exists as the basis for recategorisation from separate ingroups ('us') and outgroups ('them'), to a sense of 'we' – bound together by a shared higher-order normative framework (Subašić et al., 2008). Essentially, groups come together in solidarity, united for a common purpose (i.e., gender equality).

Moreover, whereas Arendt (as cited in Reshaur, 2002) argues exclusive solidarity refers only to those who are suffering, *inclusive* solidarity includes those who are suffering but also those who share a common cause with sufferers. This type of solidarity is closely linked to group-serving behaviours (i.e., collective action; Leach et al., 2008), particularly action by advantaged group members on behalf of disadvantaged members (e.g., men on behalf of women; Subašić et al., 2008). Certainly, the term 'solidarity' can be broadly defined as "unity or agreement of outlooks and behaviors among persons of like interests" (Cingolani, 2015, p. 1), while the renowned slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" (Marx & Engel, 1848, p. 23) perhaps epitomises solidarity.

Importantly, in Experiment 1 we used a sense of common cause measure which measured attitudes regarding joint action between low- and high-status groups to achieve gender equality, rather than a true measure of sense of common cause (i.e., one that captures the aspects of shared identity that are crucial to common cause). In hindsight, and as evidenced by ceiling effects, this measure oversimplified the concept that we were attempting to capture by focusing on black and white bipolar and dichotomous relations (e.g., "Women should work together (without men) to achieve equality" vs. "Men and women should work together to achieve equality"). From Experiment 2 onwards, we used a more nuanced measure of common cause which better captured the shared higher-order normative framework and identity so essential to the emergence of a sense of common cause (or solidarity) between men and women. For example, items included "Those seeking to reduce income inequality and leadership disparities between men and women share my goals and concerns" and "The women calling for action on this issue reflect the values that I consider to be important".

Finally, collective action can be expected only to the degree that leaders are able to create a sense of common cause among followers by realigning their personal self-interests with broader collective goals (Turner et al., 2008). Indeed, the social identity theory of leadership maintains that a shared sense of 'us' between leaders and followers is a prerequisite for leadership to emerge (Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2001). Consequently, followers' (or participants') evaluations of those individuals leading the charge toward equality is an important aspect of the social change process, as detailed below.

The New Psychology of Leadership: Leader Prototypicality, Leader Influence, Leader Legitimacy, Relational Leadership Identification, and Transformational Leadership

Because successful leadership at its core is a form of social influence, the ways in which

equality leaders are evaluated by followers is critical to determining how effective those leaders will be. As such, we measured participants' perceptions of leaders' prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, relational leadership identification, and levels of transformational leadership. Each of these key variables are defined in this section.

Leader prototypicality was already discussed in great detail in the previous chapter and is therefore only briefly revisited here. Leader prototypicality sits at the crux of effective leadership, and the more prototypical a leader is, the more effective they will be perceived as being (Hogg et al., 2012; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). Prototypes emphasise ingroup similarities and intergroup differences, providing a set of attitudes and behaviours for the ingroup (Hogg et al., 2012). Therefore, having prototypical characteristics of a psychologically salient ingroup is crucial to being an effective leader (Hogg, 2001). As group identification strengthens and becomes a more salient aspect of the group member's identity, leader prototypicality becomes an increasingly influential basis for leadership (Hogg, 2001; Hogg et al., 2012). In sum, leaders provide an attitudinal and behavioural agenda for the group, and when they symbolise the group prototype, they essentially maximise their influence (which is the primary source of power; Hornsey, 2008; Turner, 1991).

Certainly, both perceived leader influence and legitimacy ultimately stem from how prototypical a leader is perceived as being (Hogg, 2001). Leader influence is an inextricable part of each of our leadership variables given that effective leadership is a form of social influence and not "something that does not reside in a position, a person, or a result (Steffens et al., 2014, p. 1002). Despite this, we still explicitly measured perceived leader influence within this thesis by asking participants to evaluate how persuasive, convincing, compelling, and credible the leader and their equality message was. Meanwhile, perceived leader legitimacy was measured

by how legitimate, justified, valid, and reasonable participants believed the leader and their equality statement to be. Although 'legitimate power' is one of the five most common 'bases of power' that leaders can draw on, and is thought to reside in a leader's position within the authority hierarchy (French & Raven, 1959), Kanter (1977) argues that occupying a formal position of power does not necessarily guarantee a leader's legitimacy. We take the same approach in this thesis. Instead, successful leaders rely on personal power rather than titles or credentials to instill confidence among followers (i.e., legitimacy) and subsequently mobilise them (Kanter, 1977). Successful leaders need to possess increased levels of legitimacy, because legitimacy heightens their ability to influence followers' behaviours (Kanter, 1977).

We also measured participants' perceived relational leadership identification with the equality leader (labelled 'relational leadership identification' throughout), a variable that is related to key leadership outcomes (Steffens et al., 2014). Steffens et al. (2014) argue that decades of intensive research dedicated to the social identity theory of leadership and leader prototypicality in particular was at the negligence to measuring equally significant facets of leaders' social identity management. They maintain that prototypicality, though extremely important, is not the "be-all and end-all of identity leadership" (Steffens et al., 2014, p. 1002). They instead proposed that in order to mobilise followers, leaders must "'be one of us' (identity prototypicality)…'do it for us' (identity advancement)…'craft a sense of us' (identity entrepreneurship), and to 'embed a sense of us' (identity impresarioship)" (Steffens et al., 2014, p. 1001).

Steffens, Haslam, and Reicher (2013) developed the Identity Leadership Inventory (ILI) to assess these four dimensions of leaders' social identity management. Essentially, the ILI (or relational leadership identification) captures the extent to which leaders are viewed as 'one of

us' – as someone who shares our goals and concerns and embodies core values that make us 'who we are' (Steffens et al., 2013). Steffens and colleagues (2013) maintain that "highly identified followers perceive themselves to share relational identity with a leader when that leader is representative of their ingroup, but not if that leader is representative of an outgroup" (p. 296; e.g., their gender group). Certainly, Duck and Fielding (2003) found that ingroup leaders are more influential than outgroup leaders, and that this effect strengthens with the extent to which members identify with their ingroup. In the present work we used a short form version of the ILI which included items such as "the leader creates a sense of cohesion within the gender equality movement" and "the leader acts as a champion for the gender equality movement".

Finally, we measured the extent to which leaders were perceived as being transformational. Transactional leaders motivate subordinates via the exchange of rewards for services performed (Burns, 1978). In contrast, transformational leaders go beyond transactional leadership by acting as a role model to followers, challenging and motivating them by providing a shared vision and a mission, ultimately inspiring colleagues to go beyond personal to group interests (Bass & Avolio, 1993; Stern's Management Review, 1993). Founded on "traditional bureaucratic authority and legitimacy" (Seyal & Rahman, 2014, p. 3), transformational leaders are characterised by the '4 Is': Idealised Influence (attributed and behaviour), Inspirational Motivation (inspires others), Intellectual Stimulation (encourages innovative thinking), and Individualised Consideration (coaches people; Bass & Avolio, 1990).

In the present work, participants completed a short form measure of transformational leadership (adapted from the Charisma factor of Bass & Avolio's Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire [MLQ], 1990). We chose to use three subscales of the Charisma transformational

factor of the 45-item MLQ. These subscales closely align with the dimensions we aimed to measure, and were most appropriate given the context of the vignettes because they describe leader behaviours that imbue a sense of faith in, communicate key issues to, and impart a sense of purpose to followers (Connell, 2005). The subscales included Idealised Influence (attributed: "Goes beyond self-interest for the good of members of the movement", α =.84; and behaviour: "Emphasises the importance of having a collective sense of mission", α =.81), and Inspirational Motivation ("Talks enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished", α =.86). Alternatively, the Intellectual Stimulation ("Seeks differing perspectives when solving problems") and Individualised Consideration ("Spends time teaching and coaching") transformational factors of the MLQ were not applicable due to the nature of our vignettes.

Beyond the Scope of This Thesis: Constraints and Qualifications

It is important to note that the present work was conducted within certain parameters (both contextual and experimental), each of which are detailed below.

A Sample of What's to Come: Participant Samples from Australia, America, and the United Kingdom

Gender inequality spans multiple contexts and settings – from social to political to economical to sexual to domestic spheres. Given this expansive reach of gender inequality, it was not feasible to conduct the current research in the context of each of these settings in sufficient breadth. Given our interest in how leadership (specifically leader gender) affects mobilisation toward equality, and the prevalence of gender inequality within the workplace, we focused primarily on the setting of workplace gender inequality given that leadership processes play a crucial and inherent role within organisational contexts. Furthermore, workplace gender inequality is an issue well known to the public, it can be framed as affecting both women and

men, and the issue can be fairly neatly operationalised. Even so, it is important to note that gender inequality is evident across multiple spheres including the political, domestic, and social, and that our research and related findings are not restricted solely to the workplace. Indeed, our findings can be applied to most contexts and settings where gender inequality is apparent.

Following this, because gender inequality issues are comparable across Australia, America, and Britain, our samples comprised Australian (Experiment 1 in 2016), American (Experiments 1-5 in 2016-2017), and British participants (Experiment 6 in 2019). An overview of gender inequality in each of these countries is detailed below.

While Australia ranked number 1 for educational attainment on the 2017 World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index (a recording of the magnitude of gender-based inequalities across time), it ranked 35th out of 144 countries for gender equality overall, largely due to decreased rates of economic participation and political empowerment. Certainly, women's average full-time weekly earnings are still 14.1% less than men's (ABS, 2019), while the gender wage gap is 16.2 for full-time yearly base salary among non-public sector companies of 100 employees and over (WGEA, 2019). It is estimated that just 8% of Australian company board positions are upheld by females (Catalyst, 2015), with 35.2% of boards having zero female directors compared to just 0.9% with no male directors (WGEA, 2018). Despite this, a 2017 Ipsos global survey revealed that 62% of Australian men (compared to 48% of women) agreed that 'Women have equal opportunities to men in the country where I live'.

Meanwhile, the United States recently dropped four places on the Global Gender Gap Index to 49/144 countries, in comparison to Australia's 35/144, the United Kingdom's 15/144, and Bangladesh's 47/144 (World Economic Forum [WEF], 2017b). Pew Research Center (2017) surveys undertaken throughout 2016-2017 cited a number of key findings regarding gender

inequality in America, including: men and women consider recent sexual harassment allegations to reflect a broader societal problem; 22% of working women have experienced sexual workplace harassment, while 42% have experienced gendered workplace discrimination; most women do not believe America has progressed enough in terms of pursuing equal rights for women; and 41% of women and 28% of men claim men have it easier than women. Furthermore, Geiger and Parker (2018) report that while women make up 47% of the American workforce and are significantly more likely than men to be college-educated, Fortune 500 companies comprise only 5% of female CEOs and 20% of female board members, only 20% of Congress are female, and women earn 83 cents to a man's dollar. Furthermore, America does not yet provide paid maternity leave (WEF, 2017b).

We used British participants in our final sample because of the potential of external factors affecting American participants' attitudes toward gender equality. The overall American political climate and cultural mood pertaining to the issue of gender inequality has been on an increasingly heightened and sensitive trajectory over the past two years (Burns, Dias, & Chira, 2018). This is due in part to the spotlight on the #MeToo movement, greater attention to wage inequality and assaults on campuses, increasing unrest under Donald Trump's presidency and the November 2018 midterm elections, and the nomination of accused sexual assault perpetrator Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court in September 2018. In contrast to the current American political climate, the UK is not experiencing as big of a cultural revelation regarding gender inequality. As such, it was considered less likely that external factors would adversely affect study outcomes if a UK sample was used instead.

Even so, gender inequality remains a prominent issue in the UK, and on par with Australian and American contexts. The UK's 2017 Gender Equality Index was 66.2/100 points,

and they placed 15/144 countries on the Global Gender Gap Index, ranking alongside 27 other European member states who have made no significant reduction in inequality levels over the last decade (WEF, 2017b). The UK lags significantly behind in the areas of pay, workforce participation, and leadership, idling at 53/144 in the Economic Participation and Opportunity pillar (WEF, 2017b). Despite introducing mandatory gender pay gap reporting regulations in April 2018, UK women still earn 20% less than men on average, and 57% of women's work is unpaid compared to just 32% of men's (WEF, 2017b). While women currently comprise 40% of the full-time equivalent employment rate, only 22% of board member positions are occupied by women and 16% of companies have no female board members (WEF, 2017b).

'The Trump Effect': President Donald Trump's Election as an External Contextual Factor

It cannot be argued that this thesis was conducted within a vacuum in terms of context. Indeed, the current research was undertaken throughout a unique era and climate of American politics and social change, thanks largely due to Donald Trump's campaign and subsequent election as the president of the United States in November 2016. Since his election, Trump has undone much of Barack Obama's work, including removing the healthcare law requirement that employers make contraceptives available, rescinding a law designed to reduce the gender wage gap, and suspending multiple measures against workplace sexual harassment (Siddiqui, 2018). Many view his nomination as reversing decades of gender equality progress by legitimating discriminatory attitudes and behaviours, thus exacerbating systematic workplace inequalities (Manwaring, 2019). In fact, sexism is thought to have been a major explanatory factor to Trump's success throughout the primary election, general election, and post-race analysis (Bialik, 2017). In this manner, Trump can be considered both "a product of and contributor to" (Baird, 2019, p. 191) the current state of affairs.

Indeed, Korostelina (2017) characterises *the Trump Effect* as a three-pillared phenomena based on a systematic analysis founded on several theories of social identity, emotion, cognition, power, and morality. Korostelina argues that: 1) "Trump champions a specific conception of American national identity that empowers his supporters" (p. 2); 2) his leadership depends on his ability to understand and reflect the American public's general sense of malaise and disenfranchisement, and inspire them to funnel that frustration-based anger to attain his (and their) aims. Trump recognises their inability to tolerate uncertainty and proffers simple solutions. Trump utilises prevailing political polarisation and has subsequently created a novel type of morality; and 3) Trump is "both challenging the existing political balance of power and promoting coercion and dominance within the U.S. and globally" (p. 3). Similarly, Reicher and Haslam (2017) argue that Trump's success arises from his talent as an "entrepreneur of identity" (p. 29). Trump is capable of shaping himself and articulating his political views (via rhetoric) in ways that align with how his followers experience the world. In this way he crafts the image of himself as a prototypical ordinary American just like his supporters (Reicher & Haslam, 2017).

A consequence of the Trump Effect is that it has provided justification for a global increase in reckless sexist, racist, and xenophobic politics, which may well have affected our participant samples' responses to our study materials (particularly our American participants; Clements, 2017). At the same time though, Trump's nomination and what it represents has signaled a pushback in the form of a countermovement favouring gender equality and amplifying women's voices (Manwaring, 2019). Trump's victory has acted as a catalyst for women's increased interest in politics, and with it has come an "intense social and political mobilisation of women" (Solanis Cardin, 2018, p. 1). Indeed, some argue that Trump is responsible for triggering the #MeToo movement (explored next), because as someone who has

been accused of multiple instances of assault and harassment he "represents the ultimate unpunished sexual predator" (para. 8, Tambe, 2017).

The Emergence of #MeToo: The #MeToo Movement as an External Contextual Factor

Indeed, the current work had to take into consideration the widespread uptake of the high-profile global #MeToo movement as a contextual factor. The movement aims to call out male predators for sexual assault and harassment and highlights sexual abuse in all industries by encouraging women to publicly discuss their experiences of such incidents. Though established in 2006 by African American activist Tarana Burke, the movement gained widespread online traction in October 2017, leading to public acknowledgement of the level of sexual harassment, assault, and abuse that women – both celebrity and non-celebrity – face every day (Canadian Women's Foundation [CWF], 2018, para. 2). It has been labelled "a watershed moment in the advancement of gender equality, giving a powerful platform to women and demonstrating the extent of sexual assault and harassment across society" (CWF, 2018, para. 2).

Certainly, the unparalleled dialogue the movement has incited regarding sexual assault and gender inequality signals the start of a transformative era for women within the workplace and beyond (Siddiqui, 2018). It has provided a collective platform of awareness that demands accountability, challenges current workplace systems, prompts employers to reevaluate their policies and seek out education opportunities, and overall has "increased the sense of urgency for progress toward long-term change" (CWF, 2018, para. 12). For example, a 2018 LeanIn.Org survey showed approximately half of the women and men surveyed stated their workplace had taken concrete action in the wake of the #MeToo movement, while the amount of Americans acknowledging workplace sexual harassment as a serious issue increased from 47% in 2011 to 64% in 2017 (LeanIn.Org, 2018).

Yet the #MeToo movement has also been accompanied by backlash effects. Ortiz (2018) claims that in the wake of the movement confusion has arisen regarding appropriate workplace etiquette, which many fear could paradoxically result in decreased opportunities for women as male executives "struggle to adjust to the new rules of engagement" (para. 4). For example, a LeanIn.Org survey demonstrated that the number of American male managers who claim they are uncomfortable mentoring female colleagues due to fears of sexual harassment allegations has tripled to 1 in 6 since October 2017, coinciding with the start of the movement (LeanIn.Org, 2018). A 2018 Pew Research Center poll showed that 66% of adults over 65 believe it is now more difficult for men to traverse workplace interactions, while 51% of Americans believe the movement has made it harder for men to interact with women (Ortiz, 2018). Furthermore, some argue that the media's handling and swift judgements of those accused has resulted in due process not being followed, which violates legal workplace obligations (Hudson, 2018).

With regard to men's responses to the movement and how they intend to change (or not), PettyJohn, Muzzey, Maas, and McCauley (2018) qualitatively analysed and coded tweets to identify valuables themes regarding "what holds men back from participating, and what men are willing to do to help" (p. 1). PettyJohn and colleagues (2018) found that Twitter users committed to dismantling rape culture intended to call out fellow men, listen to women's experiences, promote egalitarianism, and teach the next generation. Meanwhile, Twitter users resistant to changing relied on 'not all men' rhetoric and benevolently sexist attitudes, arguing that men had been unethically targeted. Finally, users actively promoting hostile resistance to the movement berated male supporters of the movement for their perceived weakness, and expressed sexist attitudes, anti-feminist statements, and Trump-inspired racism. It is clear that the #MeToo movement, along with an increasingly politically charged climate following

Trump's successful presidential election bid, has the potential to affect our participants' understanding of and mentality toward gender equality issues. To avoid such factors disproportionately affecting our study results, we used a British sample in our final study (conducted in early 2019).

Chapter Summary

This chapter has summarised: (a) the theoretical and conceptual framework of the current work and how the research questions address existing conceptual gaps in the literature, (b) the empirical framework of the current thesis, including an outline of the different message frames we explore and an overview of our six experiments, (c) our key dependent variables of collective action intentions, sense of common cause, and leadership evaluations, and discussed their importance and relationship to one another, and (d) various contextual and experimental constraints and qualifications of the thesis, including our use of Australian, American, and British samples, and how the nomination of President Donald Trump together with the advent of the #MeToo movement might serve as important external contextual factors affecting participants' responses to our gender equality-related study materials. The next chapter describes our first empirical program encompassing Experiments 1 and 2, which serves as an exploration of the effects that leader gender and equality message framing have on women's and men's support for gender equality.

Chapter 4

Whose Issue is it Anyway? The Effects of Leader Gender and Equality Message Framing on Mobilisation Toward Gender Equality[1]

"If you come only to help me, you can go back home. But if you consider my struggle as part of your struggle for survival, then maybe we can work together."

(Aboriginal wise woman, 2012)

The burden of achieving gender equality has traditionally been placed on women (particularly female leaders), who are typically the main targets of such gender inequality (Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003). In fact, typical approaches tend to frame gender inequality as being either the responsibility of women alone to address (e.g., 'women's work', Mavin, 2008), or as a meritocratic 'non-issue' – existing solely due to women's propensity to follow less intensive career and education paths (Whelen, 2013). Women's issue approaches focus on women as targets of discrimination and emphasise men's role in the preservation of inequality. This can limit men's participation in the movement by casting them solely as perpetrators (hooks, 2000). Furthermore, placing the responsibility solely on women can assuage men's

[1] Parts of this chapter and its related findings have been modified and published in *Frontiers for Psychology* as Hardacre, S., & Subašić, E. (2018). Whose issue is it anyway? The effects of leader gender and equality message framing on men's and women's mobilization toward workplace gender equality. *Frontiers in Psychology, Special Issue – Understanding Barriers to Workplace Equality: A Focus on the Target's Perspective, 9*(2497), 1-15. doi:10.3389/fpsvg.2018.02497. See Appendix F for a copy of the article.

"moral imperative to show themselves as supportive of women and provides sufficient justification not to do so" (Becker & Barreto, 2014, p. 671). So too can the traditional meritocratic framing of gender equality, which implies that so long as an individual works hard, they should measure up favourably against necessary employment criteria and subsequently succeed at work (Williams, 2015). Meritocratic ideology is frequently used as an explanation for why gender inequality exists, or why it is in fact women's fault (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2010). Moreover, unquestioning belief in meritocratic ideals has been shown to undermine men's recognition of and understanding of gender inequality (de Vries, 2010), and to reduce women's likelihood of contesting it (Major et al., 2002).

As discussed, to be successful leaders need to craft a shared identity with the group, in addition to increasing their perceived prototypicality of that group (Hogg, 2011). One way of developing this is via inclusive message framing, which comprises rhetorical strategies that highlight solidarity and emphasise salience of shared identities between leaders and followers (e.g., using language that evokes social identities and references collectives; Fiol et al., 1999). Drawing attention to shared concerns of the collective group motivates followers to act collectively in support of such concerns (e.g., gender equality; Benford & Snow, 2000; Seyranian, 2014). This type of solidarity framing sits in direct contrast to more traditional frames of gender equality, which either place the responsibility for achieving equality on women (effectively making gender equality work women's work; Mavin, 2008), or attempt to justify the existence of inequality by blaming women for their current predicament (i.e., meritocratic framing; Whelen, 2013). Rather than focusing on women as a minority group challenging authority alone, political solidarity-based common cause message frames instead place emphasis

on women's *and* men's engagement toward equality as "comrades in struggle" (hooks, 1984, p. 67; Subašić et al., 2008).

In Program 1, we propose a solidarity-based common cause approach that positions both gender groups as 'agents of change', in a concerted effort to engage a broader audience of women *and* men (see Subašić et al., 2018). This sits in contrast to work that focuses on either women as targets of discrimination, or men as perpetrators. Based on Subašić et al.'s (2008) political solidarity model, this approach eschews traditional frames of men as perpetrators and women as their victims, in favour of promoting gender equality as a concern for women and men to address together. This approach relies on two key processes. The first involves understanding the leadership and influence processes involved – primarily leadership as a form of influence based on shared social identities between leaders and followers (e.g., one's gender group; Subašić et al., 2018). The second process relates to the concept of political solidarity as a way of mobilising the silent majority (men) to work as allies alongside a minority (women) and embrace gender equality as a common cause for *both* groups (Subašić et al., 2008). These respective processes, which were mentioned throughout the General Introduction, are elaborated upon below.

Experiment 1

The social identity analysis of leadership argues that effective leaders share an identity with those they are trying to mobilise, because people considered to be 'us' as opposed to 'them' have superior influence (Hogg, 2001; Subašić et al., 2012). To the extent that leaders are capable of fostering a sense of common cause among followers by realigning their personal self-interests

with broader collective goals, collective mobilisation can be expected (Turner et al., 2008). This sense of common cause (and shared identity) most readily arises when leaders and followers share a salient ingroup (Wiley et al., 2012).

In terms of equality leaders, women leaders are particularly disadvantaged within masculine organisational contexts due to prejudicial gender-based evaluations regarding their competency as leaders (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Moreover, female leaders experience backlash effects when they attempt to embody masculine behaviours typically seen as prototypical of leaders (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Indeed, due to prescriptive gender stereotypes, women leaders who demonstrate masculine agentic behaviours are viewed as violating traditional stereotypes of feminine niceness, and face backlash effects as a result (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, and Nauts (2012) suggest that this backlash effect serves to preserve male dominance by strengthening double standards pertaining to power and control. Female leaders also struggle to camouflage their disadvantaged outgroup membership and the claims of self-interest that follow (de Vries, 2015). They are consequently perceived as less legitimate, influential, and persuasive compared to their male counterparts who face no such accusations of self-interest (Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Eagly et al., 1978).

In contrast, male leaders receive more favourable evaluations than female leaders (Eagly & Carli, 2003), and encounter reactions that are more positive and are seen as acting counter to group interests when they address gender inequality (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). By publicly confronting sexism, men appear especially successful at influencing others to act, while in contrast women primarily experience derogation and questions regarding their competency (Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Eagly & Carli, 2003). Moreover, Subašić and colleagues (2018) showed that male equality leaders foster a sense of common cause among followers by signaling to men

and women that "we are all in this together" (p. 7). In fact, Subašić and colleagues (2018) showed that while men reported higher collective action in response to male leaders promoting common cause messages compared to female leaders promoting identical messages, this effect was absent for women. Instead, women's intentions remained the same under common cause messages regardless of *who* promoted the message, indicating that women remain unaffected by the gender of those promoting equality. Likewise, Drury (2013) discovered female observers of sexism confrontations were also unaffected by confronter gender. Women perceiving sexism confrontations or equality initiatives by either gender as equally warranted makes sense given that both essentially aim to elevate women's social status (Drury, 2013).

In light of these arguments, Program 1 explores the effects that leader gender and message framing have on women's and men's support for gender equality, as well as their leadership evaluations of those leading the charge for equality. We use manipulation statements attributed to either a male or female leader (Experiments 1-2) to examine whether the gender of the leader affects their capacity to mobilise support for equality, as extant literature would suggest (e.g., Seyranian, 2014; Subašić et al., 2018). We also contrast solidarity-based frames of gender equality as a common cause with traditional approaches framing equality as a women's only issue (Experiment 1) or a meritocratic issue (Experiment 2), to explore whether the way the equality message is framed affects support for equality.

Aims and Hypotheses

Experiment 1 aims to extend Subašić and colleague's (2018) paper by explicitly examining the role of leadership and influence processes underlying women's and men's mobilisation toward gender equality. We do so by juxtaposing male and female equality leaders and contrasting a traditional women's issue message with a common cause message. Importantly,

we additionally attribute the equality message to a gender-neutral control (i.e., a government agency), against which the effects and impact of leader *gender* can be compared. We hope that inclusion of this control will serve as a valid baseline, allowing us to further investigate participants' responses to male and female leaders relative to a non-gendered control condition (further extending Subašić et al., 2018). In doing so we hope to further uncover the effects that leader gender and message framing have on women's and men's responses to gender equality.

In line with Seyranian (2014), in Experiment 1 we hypothesise that when gender equality is framed as a common cause rather than a women's issue, men and women will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, relational leadership identification, and transformational leadership (Hypothesis 1a [H1a]). Again in line with Seyranian (2014), we predict that when gender equality is framed as a common cause rather than a women's issue, men and women will report higher collective action intentions (Hypothesis 1b [H1b]). Finally, as per Subašić and colleagues (2018), we hypothesise that while women's collective action intentions will remain stable regardless of who promotes equality, men's intentions will be higher when the equality message is attributed to a male leader rather than a female leader or a government agency, especially under common cause compared to women's issue messages (Hypothesis 2 [H2]).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, in all studies we also include a number of related dependent variables. These include measures of social identification (feminist, gender, and national identification) and threat constructs (e.g., perceived threat to one's gender group, sexism, etc.). We have not made specific predictions pertaining to these additional variables, but rather included them for exploratory purposes.

Method

Participants and Design

Participants (N = 480, 240 women) were students at a large Australian university (28% of sample) or members of the general public (72%), between the ages of 17-68 years (M_{age} = 26.37, SD = 9.41). Participants were recruited online via Facebook (71 women, 28 men; M_{age} = 31.84, SD = 13.29), Reddit (84 women, 163 men; M_{age} = 26.84, SD = 7.84), or the University of Newcastle's online research participation program SONA (85 females and 49 males; M_{age} = 21.47, SD = 5.34). SONA participants were either first- or third-year psychology undergraduate students and they received 1-point course credit as remuneration, while non-SONA participants were not remunerated. The results did not differ between each of these groups.

Participants comprised Australians (44%), Americans (35.8%), Canadians (5.4%), English (5.2%), and other (9.6%). Seventy-one percent of participants identified as heterosexual (4.4% homosexual; 13.1% bisexual; 2.9% asexual; 3.3% other; 5.2% preferred not to respond). They were employed on a full- (33.5%), part-time (18.5%), or casual (17.9%) basis, or identified as unemployed (26.76%) or other (3.3%). Students comprised 60.6% of the sample, studying full-time (50.2%) or part-time (8.8%) domestically, or full-time internationally (1.7%), while the remaining 39% were not currently studying.

The study was a 2 (participant gender: male, female) x 3 (leader gender: male leader, female leader, government agency) x 2 (message framing: women's issue, common cause) balanced factorial design with 40 participants per cell, with equal numbers of men and women being allocated at random to one of the six conditions. An effect size of approximately r = .15 is typical in the field of psychology, which is equivalent to a partial eta-squared (η_p^2) of .0225 (Cafri, Kromrey, & Brannick, 2010). Consequently, an a priori statistical power analysis using

Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, and Buchner's (2007) G*Power 3 program revealed that for a power of .80 (α = .05) the minimum sample to detect a small effect size of η_p^2 = .0225 (or f = .151) using a 2 x 3 x 2 ANOVA is 422 (35 participants per cell). We increased this to 480 (40 per cell) to reach adequate power after the anticipated exclusion of participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check. Sensitivity power analyses revealed that our actual obtained sample size of 338 had the power to detect effect sizes of: η_p^2 = .0228 (or f = .152) for the participant gender and message framing main effects and participant gender X message framing interaction, and η_p^2 = .0280 (or f = .169) for the leader gender main effect and all remaining two- and three-way interactions.

Procedure and Materials

The procedure for all experiments in this thesis remained similar so is therefore reported in depth here and briefly reiterated in later experiments. Materials comprised a 15-minute online self-report questionnaire, containing the experimental manipulations and relevant dependent measures. Online participants used their own device to follow a hyperlink directing them to the questionnaire, which was administered via Qualtrics (2019) survey software. The software's randomisation feature assigned participants to one of the relevant experimental conditions.

All experiments were conducted in accordance with the principles and recommendations of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007), as per the University of Newcastle's Human Research Ethics Committee. The protocol was approved by the University of Newcastle's Human Research Ethics Committee (Program 1's Protocol Number: H-2015-0143; Program 2-3's Protocol Number: H-2017-0195; see Appendix A), which is affiliated with the National Health and Medical Research Council of Australia. All participants gave electronic informed consent in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki

(see Appendix B). Participants were informed that the research was investigating social inequality and provided their informed consent. Upon completion, participants were debriefed and offered the opportunity to withdraw, and were provided with contact details for the Chief Investigator and Human Research Ethics Officer (see Appendix B).

Leader gender and message framing manipulations. Experimental vignettes were used in all experiments to manipulate the independent variables, and full copies of the vignettes are located in Appendix C. Atzmüller and Steiner (2010) state that a vignette constitutes "a short, carefully constructed description of a person, object, or situation, representing a systematic combination of characteristics" (p. 128). To this end, Experiment 1 used a one-page article that (ostensibly) detailed the Gender Equality Commission(er)'s creation of a new group whose goal was to "address gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, and other barriers to gender equality." The vignette also comprised a press release from the Gender Equality Commission(er). The Commission(er) described gender inequality (e.g., "Women continue to earn less than men for equal work, and are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions compared to men") and detailed the group's progress toward their goal in an annual report (e.g., "increase the number of women in leadership positions within companies and decrease the gender pay gap").

Leader gender (male, female, government agency) was manipulated by changing the Commission[er]'s name (e.g., "Margaret [Matthew] Jamieson" vs. "The Commission") and using relevant pronouns (e.g., "her [his, our], she [he, it]"). Message framing (women's issue, common cause) was manipulated via equality group name (e.g., "[Men and] Women for Gender Equality") and message content (e.g., "it is vital [men and] women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue [together]", "[men and boys] working [together] with women and girls"). The Commission[er] communicated their pledge "to serve the [men and] women of this world" and

stated their group "builds on the excellent work of all those [men and] women currently committed to achieving gender equality."

Dependent Measures

After reading the manipulation article, participants completed the dependent measures described below. Unless stated otherwise, Experiments 1-5 in this thesis used 7-point Likert scales (1 = *strongly disagree/not at all/not at all carefully*, 4 = *neither agree nor disagree/somewhat/carefully*, 7 = *strongly agree/very much so/extremely carefully*), while Experiment 6 did not use midpoint labelling (i.e., removed 4 = *neither agree nor disagree*). Item ratings were averaged to obtain all scale scores, with higher scores indicating greater agreement. Internal reliability was calculated using Cronbach's coefficient alpha (α). See Appendix D for item list.

Leader prototypicality. Six items measured participants' perceived prototypicality of the leader (adapted from Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001). For example, "[Thinking of the gender equality movement and people who support it, would you say the Commission:] Is representative of members of the movement". Combined, these items had a reliability coefficient of α = .57. Removal of the fifth (reverse-coded) item considerably improved the reliability of this measure (α = .85). Consequently, this item was excluded from further analysis.

Leader legitimacy. Four purpose-built items assessed the leader's perceived legitimacy ("Based on the information you read, do you think the Gender Equality Commission's statement was: Legitimate/Justified/Valid/Reasonable"; α = .96).

Leader influence. Four items measured the leader's perceived influence (adapted from Wiley et al., 2012; "…do you think the Gender Equality Commission's statement was: Persuasive/Convincing/Compelling/Credible"; α = .92).

Relational leadership identification. Four items (α = .79) measured participants' perceived relational leadership identification with the equality leader using a short-form version of the ILI (adapted from Steffens et al., 2013). The ILI (or relational leadership identification, as we label the variable throughout the current thesis) measures the degree to which leaders are viewed as 'one of us' – as someone who shares our goals and concerns and personifies core values that make us 'who we are' (Steffens et al., 2013). A sample item is: "[Thinking of the gender equality movement and people who support it, would you say the Commission] Creates a sense of cohesion within the movement". These items combined revealed a reliability coefficient of α = .30. Removal of the third item improved the reliability of this measure substantially (α = .79), hence this item was omitted from further analysis.

Collective action intentions. Eight items (α = .95) measured participants' collective action intentions supporting gender equality (adapted from Glasford & Calcagno, 2012; and van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Example items included: "[Imagine you were approached by the Commission and asked to participate in their latest campaign for gender equality. In response, would you be willing to…] Sign a petition to stop inequality against women".

Sense of common cause. Six items assessed participants' sense of common cause (adapted and extended from Glasford & Calcagno, 2012; α = .82). A sample item read: "[In terms of achieving equality, I believe that…] Men and women would be better off if they cooperated together to achieve equality".

Perceived legitimacy of gender inequality. Nine items measured the degree to which participants legitimated gender inequality (adapted from Miron et al., 2006; α = .92). Items were negatively coded so that higher scores indicated higher perceived legitimacy of inequality, for

example, "[Overall, I believe that…] Women have just as many privileges as men do".

Perceived group efficacy of collective action. Four items measured participants' perceived group efficacy of collective action (adapted from van Zomeren et al., 2004; $\alpha = .94$). A sample item is: "[I believe if those aiming to achieve gender equality worked together collectively, it would be possible to] Really influence the current situation".

Feminist identification. Given the importance of feminist identification to the cause of gender equality, three items measured participants' levels of identification with feminists (taken from Wiley et al., 2012). For example, "I feel a bond with feminists".

Gender ingroup identification. Participants completed an eight-item measure ($\alpha = .92$) of gender ingroup identification (adapted from Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995; and Leach et al., 2008). An example item is: "[Thinking of yourself in terms of the gender group you identify with, please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements] I identify/feel connected with other members of my gender group".

National identification. Three items ($\alpha = .92$) assessed participants' national identification (adapted from Leach et al., 2008, by keeping their item stems but adding our target group). An example item read: "I feel committed to others in my nation".

Perceived threat to men's [and women's] gender group. Two separate two-item scales assessed participants' level of perceived collective threat towards both men's ($\alpha = .96$) and women's ($\alpha = .95$) gender groups respectively (adapted from Becker & Barreto, 2014). A sample item is: "[Thinking about the information you read, to what extent do you think that…] The Commission's statement hurts the reputation of men (women) in general".

Collective self-esteem. Four items measured participants' collective self-esteem based on their gender group membership (adapted from Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; $\alpha = .80$). An example

item read: "[Thinking about the information you read and the gender group you identify with, please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements…] I feel good about the gender group I belong to".

Affective injustice. We measured participants' emotional responses to the effects of gender inequality on women, which served as an indicator of their perceived affective injustice regarding gender inequality. The measure comprises four separate three-item subscales (anger: α = .92, guilt: α = .83, shame: α = .76, and sadness: α = .89; adapted from Shepherd, Spears, & Manstead, 2013). Example items include: "[Thinking about the effects of gender inequality on women, to what extent do you feel…] Angry/Guilty/Ashamed/Sad".

Sadness is usually experienced by the disadvantaged outgroup (e.g., women), and has been linked to decreased likelihood of protesting (Scherer, Schorr, & Johnstone, 2001). In contrast, anger, guilt, and shame are typically experienced when individuals evaluate their ingroup as being the perpetrators of an illegitimate and adverse action – for example an act of gender inequality (Iyer et al., 2007). The specific appraisal of the action decides which of these emotions will be induced (Shepherd et al., 2013). Specifically, anger is usually directed at groups who have harmed the ingroup (van Zomeren et al., 2004) or at one's own ingroup if *they* have harmed an outgroup (Leach et al., 2006). Guilt is typically evoked if one views their group as responsible for the action, which can consequently serve as a motivational state (Leach et al., 2006). Meanwhile, shame typically occurs when one believes the group's actions have tainted their social identity (Iyer et al., 2007) or personal reputation (Ferguson, 2005). Furthermore, while guilt evokes positive preventative incentives and can motivate individuals to adjust their behaviour, shame elicits defensive mechanisms and can lead to distancing from, rather than adjusting of, immoral behaviour (Makogon & Enikolopov, 2013).

Manipulation checks. To assess the manipulation's success, participants identified the Commission[er]'s gender (male/female/not stated), and the group that was discussed in the article (Men and Women for Gender Equality/Women for Gender Equality). Participants then rated the extent to which the vignette provided information regarding inequality being (a) a women's only issue or (b) a common cause for men and women (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much so*).

Depth of processing checks. One item assessed how deeply participants processed the article (M = 4.21, SD = 1.44). The item read: "Please rate the extent to which you feel you thought about the information provided as you read it" (1 = *not at all carefully* and 7 = *extremely carefully*).

In each of the six experiments, two Instructional Manipulation Checks (IMCs) acted as straightforward attention checks to determine whether participants were paying attention to study instructions (e.g., "To show that you are paying attention, please select 'Strongly Agree'"). These checks increase the reliability and validity of data, and subsequently increase statistical power (Oppenheimer, Meyvis, & Davidenko, 2009).

Demographics. Participants provided their gender, age, citizenship and residency status, sexual orientation, education level, employment and student status.

Results

Data Analysis and Analytical Strategy

SPSS Version 23 was used to perform between-participants analyses of variance (ANOVA's) on all dependent variables, with participant gender, leader gender, and message framing as factors. There were no significant three-way interactions, nor were there any significant interactions involving message framing. To investigate the effects of leader gender on

men's and women's responses, significant participant gender x leader gender interactions were unpacked by conducting one-way ANOVA's at each level of participant gender. The same interactions were also unpacked by performing separate one-way ANOVA's on the applicable dependent variables at each level of leader gender, however the results of this split are reported in Appendix E. Necessary post hoc comparisons were made on leader gender using Tukey's honestly significant differences (HSD) test (Laerd Statistics, 2013).

Because we focused on four broad categories of dependent variables, our results for each of the six experiments are reported within each of these main categories: leadership variables (e.g., prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, and relational leadership identification), mobilisation variables (e.g., collective action intentions, sense of common cause, perceived group efficacy of collective action, and legitimacy of inequality), social identity variables (e.g., feminist, gender, and national group identification), and threat variables (e.g., perceived threat to men's and women's gender groups, collective self-esteem, and affective injustice).

Data Screening

We applied the same data screening process to all experiments in this thesis. For all experiments, data inspection revealed some assumptions of ANOVA were violated (normality, homoscedasticity, etc.). However, no corrections were applied because ANOVA's are fairly robust to violations so long as a large sample and equal cell size is used, which we did (Brown & Forsythe, 1974). For example, normality is not required so long as each sample size is reasonable (i.e., each *n* is more than 25), and homogeneity is required only if cell sizes are sharply unequal, and ours were not. In each study, outliers were identified using boxplots, and were subsequently replaced using the Winsorization method which seeks to 'robustify' the sample mean by decreasing the impact that extreme outliers can have (Reifman & Keyton,

2010). Additionally, in all experiments potential covariates (feminist identification, gender identification, national identification, and processing depth) violated ANCOVA's assumption of independence between the covariate and treatment effect, and thus could not be included as covariates (Laerd Statistics, 2013).

Manipulation Checks

Frequency statistics confirmed that 70% of participants correctly identified the Commission[er]'s gender (68.1% male, 72.5% female, 70% not stated). Results were greatly affected when the 142 participants (29.6% of the overall sample) who failed the nominal leader gender manipulation check were excluded. As such, these participants were excluded from further analyses, bringing the final sample size to 338 participants (167 women). Participant exclusion distribution rates did not differ significantly by condition ($\chi(5) = 6.321$, $p = .276$), and are reported below, alongside final participant gender distributions for each cell (see Table 4.1).

Of the remaining 338 participants, 71.1% of participants in women's issue conditions, and 90.3% in common cause conditions correctly identified the equality group's name (e.g., Women for Gender Equality vs. Men and Women for Gender Equality). Due to the mutually exclusive and exhaustive nature of this nominal manipulation check which only allowed participants to make a single simple distinction, we decided to further assess the success of our message framing manipulation quantitatively. Indeed, Watt and van den Berg (2002) recommend avoiding nominal measurements and instead favour scale measurements, due to nominal items providing little information regarding the relevant theoretical concept (e.g., message framing). Therefore, to further verify the validity of our message framing manipulation, the two manipulation check statements pertaining to each condition were combined to create a 2-item scale. One-way message framing ANOVAs were then run on these scales.

Table 4.1

Participant Exclusion Distribution Rates and Final Participant Gender Distribution Numbers by Condition, Based on Participants who Failed the Leader Gender Manipulation Check

Condition	% of Participants who Failed the Manipulation Check	Number of Male Participants Remaining in Cell	Number of Female Participants Remaining in Cell	Number of Overall Participants Remaining in Cell
Male Leader, Women's Issue	25%	30	30	60
Male Leader, Common Cause	38.75%	28	21	49
Female Leader, Women's Issue	25%	26	34	60
Female Leader, Common Cause	30%	27	29	56
Government, Women's Issue	33.75%	28	25	53
Government, Common Cause	25%	32	28	60
Totals	30%	171	167	338

Note. The third and fourth columns represent the number of male and female participants remaining in each condition following the exclusion of those participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check.

Participants in the women's issue conditions were significantly more likely than participants in the common cause conditions to agree that the article discussed "The need for women alone to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being a women's only issue" ($F(1, 336)=55.986$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.143$; *Ms* = 3.80 and 2.53, *SDs* = 1.60 and 1.50, respectively). In contrast, participants in the common cause conditions were significantly more likely than participants in the women's issue conditions to agree that the article discussed "The need for both men and women to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being a men's and women's issue" ($F(1, 336)=109.870$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.246$; *Ms* = 5.90 and 4.06, *SDs* = 1.40 and 1.80, respectively). No other significant effects were found, indicating that our manipulations were successful.

Leadership Variables

Leader prototypicality. A main effect of framing revealed that in line with Hypothesis 1a, participants perceived leaders as being significantly more prototypical of the gender equality movement when they promoted common cause (M = 4.71, SD = 0.98) rather than women's issue framing (M = 4.43, SD = 1.11), $F(1, 326) = 5.972$, $p = .015$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$. None of the remaining main effects or interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 2.373$, ps $\geq .095$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .014$.

Leader legitimacy. Supporting Hypothesis 1a, a main effect of framing demonstrated that participants viewed leaders as being significantly more legitimate when they promoted common cause (M = 5.17, SD = 1.55) rather than women's issue framing (M = 4.75, SD = 1.87), $F(1, 326) = 5.874$, $p = .016$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$. A main effect of gender also showed that women (M = 5.26, SD = 1.62) perceived leaders to be significantly more legitimate than men did (M = 4.66, SD = 1.79), $F(1, 326) = 10.304$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 1.151$, ps$\geq .318$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

Leader influence. In line with Hypothesis 1a, participants perceived leaders to be significantly more influential when they promoted gender equality as a common cause (M = 4.40, SD = 1.44) compared to a women's issue (M = 3.98, SD = 1.58), $F(1, 326) = 7.355$, $p = .007$, $\eta_p^2 = .022$. In line with our leader legitimacy results, a main effect of gender again showed that women (M = 4.52, SD = 1.39) rated leaders as more influential than men did (M = 3.84, SD = 1.58), $F(1, 326) = 18.028$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .052$. No other main effects or interactions were significant, all $F \leq 0.932$, ps $\geq .395$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .006$.

Relational leadership identification. Replicating all other leadership evaluation findings and supporting Hypothesis 1b, participants evaluated leaders as being significantly higher in relational leadership identification when they promoted equality as a common cause (M = 4.83,

SD = 0.99), rather than a women's issue (*M* = 4.51, *SD* = 1.04), $F(1, 326) = 7.771$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$. All remaining main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 0.782$, $ps \geq .374$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .005$.

Overall, supporting Hypothesis 1a, men and women consistently rated leaders as being significantly more prototypical, legitimate, influential, and higher in relational leadership identification when leaders framed gender equality as a common cause for men and women to work towards together, as opposed to an issue concerning women alone.

Mobilisation Variables

Collective action intentions. Absence of a significant main effect of framing did not provide support for Hypothesis 1b, which predicted that men and women would report higher collective action intentions under common cause compared to women's issue framing. Instead, participants reported similar collective action intentions regardless of how the message was framed ($M_{commoncause} = 4.73$, $SD = 1.68$; $M_{women'sissue} = 4.52$, $SD = 1.88$; $F(1, 326)=2.10$, $p=.148$, $\eta_p^2=.006$).

Our three-way prediction that men (but not women) would report higher collective action intentions under male leaders compared to female or government leaders, particularly under common cause messages (H2), was not supported, $F(2, 326)=0.753$, $p=.472$, $\eta_p^2=.005$.

Finally, a significant main effect of gender revealed that women (*M* = 5.23, *SD* = 1.61) expressed higher collective action intentions than men (*M* = 4.03, *SD* = 1.75), $F(1, 326) = 45.176$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .122$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 0.718$, $ps \geq .489$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

Sense of common cause. There were no significant main effects or interactions for our sense of common cause measure, all $F \leq 1.952$, $ps \geq .144$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .012$. However, the measure had

a range of only 5.88-6.32 (M = 6.07, SD = 0.99), and these high scores suggest the presence of a ceiling effect (Groen et al., 2010).

Perceived legitimacy of gender inequality. A significant main effect of participant gender showed that men (M = 3.71, SD = 1.52) legitimated inequality significantly more so than women did (M = 2.64, SD = 1.23), $F(1, 326) = 51.928$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .137$. No remaining main effects or interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 2.463$, ps $\geq .087$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .015$.

Perceived group efficacy of collective action. Women (M = 6.05, SD = 0.96) were significantly more likely to believe in the perceived group efficacy of collective action compared to men (M = 5.34, SD = 1.46), $F(1, 326) = 28.117$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .079$. All remaining main effects and interactions did not reach significance, all $F \leq 3.065$, ps $\geq .081$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$.

Social Identity Variables

Feminist identification. Women (M = 4.95, SD = 1.98) were significantly more likely to identify as feminists compared to men (M = 3.58, SD = 2.06), $F(1, 326) = 39.787$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .109$, while all other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 1.444$, ps $\geq .230$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

Gender ingroup identification. Main effect of participant gender revealed that women (M = 5.31, SD = 1.26) reported significantly higher gender ingroup identification than men (M = 4.26, SD = 1.30), $F(1, 326) = 60.753$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .157$. Main effect of framing showed that participants reported significantly higher gender identification when inequality was framed as a common cause (M = 4.88, SD = 1.36) compared to a women's issue (M = 4.68, SD = 1.42), $F(1, 326) = 4.255$, $p = .040$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$.

We also found a significant main effect of leader gender, $F(2, 326) = 7.499$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .044$. Post hoc comparisons indicated that when male leaders promoted equality (M = 5.12, SD

= 1.20) participants reported significantly higher gender identification compared to when government agencies did (M = 4.50, SD = 1.42; p = .001). However, participants' gender identification levels did not differ significantly between male and female leaders (M = 4.73, SD = 1.43; p = .055), and female leaders and government agencies (p = .340). No other main effects or interactions were significant, all $F \leq 2.078$, ps $\geq .150$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .006$.

National identification. Main effect of leader gender was found to be significant, $F(2, 326) = 4.004$, $p = .019$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$, with post hoc tests showing that under male leaders (M = 5.08, SD = 1.30) participants reported significantly higher national identification ratings compared to under female leaders (M = 4.57, SD = 1.54; p = .030). Replicating our gender identification results, participants' national identification ratings did not differ significantly between female leaders and government agencies (M = 4.66, SD = 1.66; p = .891). Additionally, participants' national identification levels did not differ significantly between male leaders and government agencies (p = .094). All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 3.851$, ps $\geq .051$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .012$.

Threat Variables

Perceived threat to men's gender group. Main effect of framing showed that participants perceived the threat to men's gender group to be significantly higher when inequality was framed as a women's issue (M = 3.12, SD = 1.63) rather than a common cause (M = 2.79, SD = 1.57), $F(1, 326) = 4.808$, $p = .029$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$. A significant main effect of participant gender was also found (M_{men} = 3.27, SD = 1.64; M_{women} = 2.63, SD = 1.51), $F(1, 326) = 13.897$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .041$, as was a significant main effect of leader gender ($M_{governmentagency}$ = 3.26, SD = 1.63; $M_{maleleader}$ = 2.90, SD = 1.49; $M_{femaleleader}$ = 2.71, SD = 1.66), $F(2, 326) = 3.538$, $p = .030$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$. However, these were qualified by the significant two-way interaction

between participant gender and leader gender, illustrated in Figure 4.1, $F(2, 326) = 3.954$, $p = .020$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$. No other main effects and interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 0.319$, $ps \geq .727$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .002$.

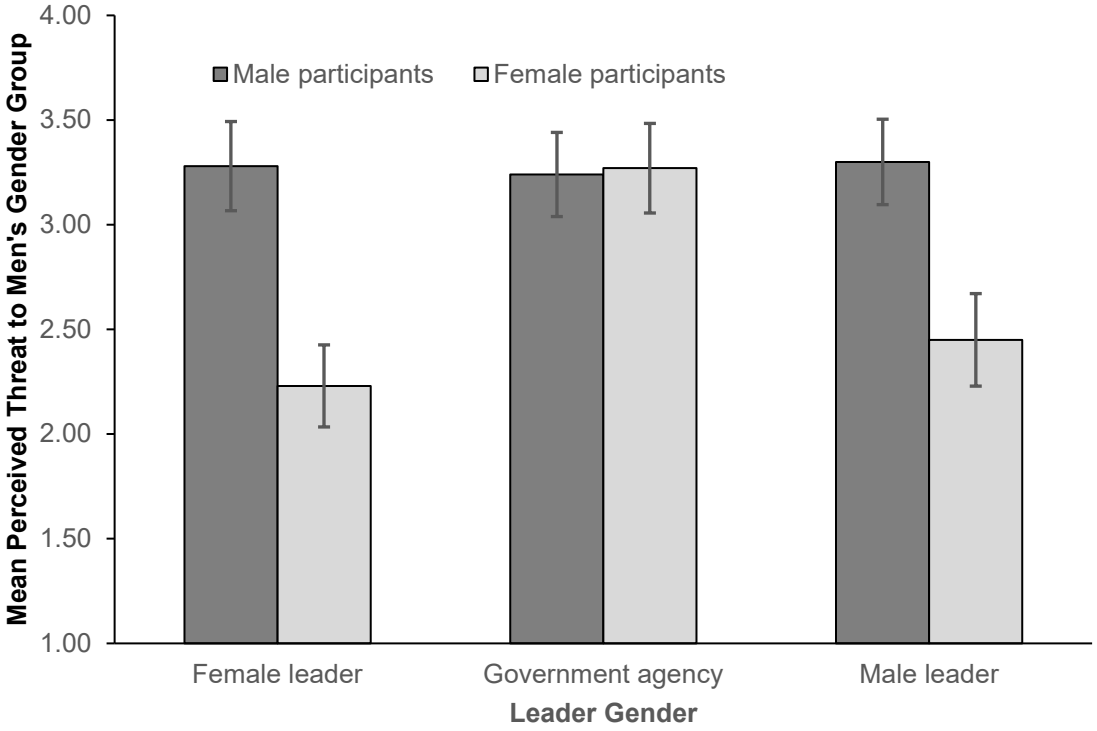

Figure 4.1. Mean perceived threat to men's gender group as a function of leader gender and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Figure 4.1 shows that women's perceived threat to men's gender group increases substantially when a government leader promotes equality, compared to when a male or female leader does. As such, to investigate the effects of leader gender between male and female responses more thoroughly, we unpacked the significant two-way interaction by participant gender. Simple effects revealed a significant main effect of leader gender for women ($F(2, 161) =$

8.405, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .095$), but not men ($F(2, 165 = 0.007$, $p = .993$, $\eta_p^2 < .000$). Post hoc testing revealed that women perceived the threat to men's gender group to be significantly increased when government agencies promoted inequality ($M = 3.27$ $SD = 1.59$), compared to when male leaders ($M = 2.45$, $SD = 1.28$; $p = .012$) or female leaders did the same ($M = 2.23$, $SD = 1.46$; $p < .001$). Alternatively, women's perceived threat of the equality message to men's gender group did not differ significantly when either a male or female leader delivered the message ($p = .699$). In direct contrast, men consistently rated the perceived threat to their gender group as being considerably higher than women did, regardless of the gender of the leader delivering the equality message ($M_{maleleader} = 3.30$, $SD = 1.55$; $M_{femaleleader} = 3.28$, $SD = 1.71$; $M_{governmentagency} = 3.24$, $SD = 1.67$).

Perceived threat to women's gender group. A significant main effect of leader gender was found ($M_{governmentagency} = 3.12$, $SD = 1.76$; $M_{maleleader} = 2.76$, $SD = 1.45$; $M_{femaleleader} = 2.59$, $SD = 1.57$), $F(2, 326) = 3.552$, $p = .030$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$, but was qualified by the significant participant gender x leader gender interaction, shown in Figure 4.2, $F(2, 326) = 3.851$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 2.544$, ps $\geq .102$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .014$.

Figure 4.2 again depicts women's perceived threat to women's gender group rising abruptly when a government agency discusses equality, compared to when a male or female leader does so. To examine the effects of leader gender on participants' threat levels, we unpacked the two-way interaction by participant gender. Simple effects showed a significant main effect of leader gender for women ($F(2, 161) = 7.347$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .084$), but not men ($F(2, 165 = 0.067$, $p = .935$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$). Again replicating our perceived threat to men results, post hoc tests indicated that women perceived the threat to their own gender group to be

significantly higher under government agencies (M = 3.32, SD = 1.72), compared to under male leaders (M = 2.44, SD = 1.35; p = .013) or female leaders (M = 2.29, SD = 1.60; p = .002). Again, women's perceived threat based on the equality message was not statistically different between male and female leaders (p = .872). In contrast, men perceived the threat to women's gender group as being consistent, irrespective of which leader was promoting the message ($M_{maleleader}$ = 3.04, SD = 1.49; $M_{governmentagency}$ = 2.93, SD = 1.79; $M_{femaleleader}$ = 2.93, SD = 1.47). However, in this case, rather than their perceived threat under government agencies becoming level with women's, women's perceived threat significantly trumps men's.

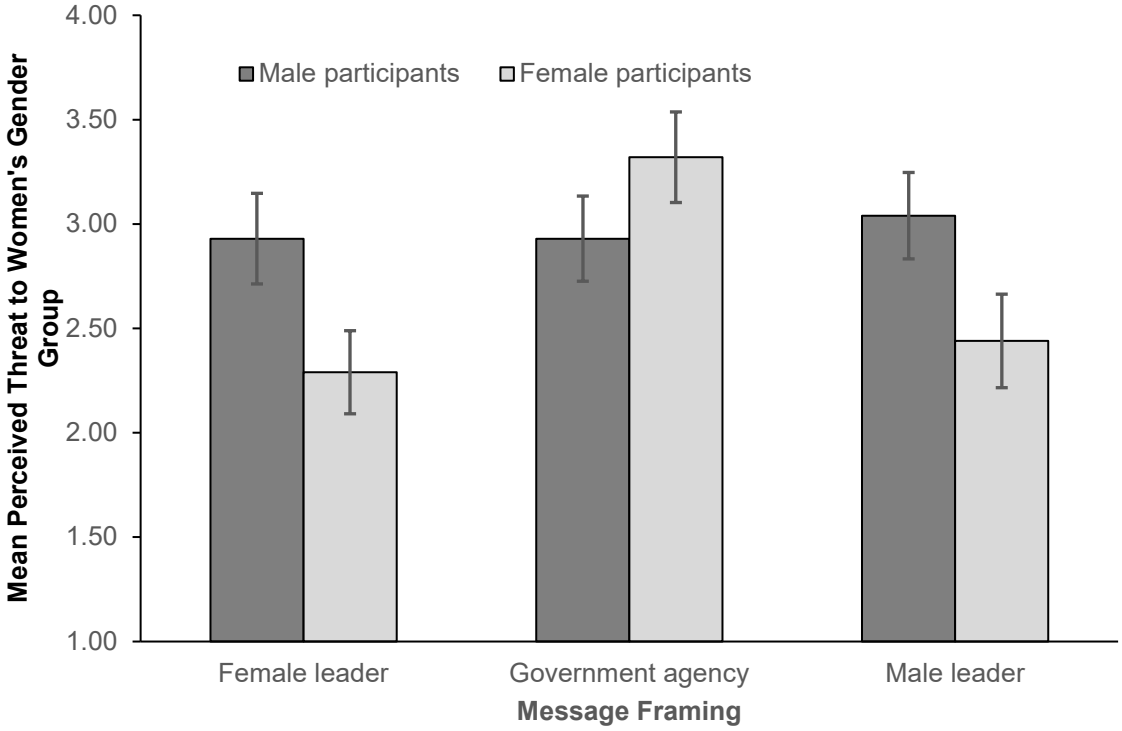

Figure 4.2. Mean perceived threat to women's gender group as a function of leader gender and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Collective self-esteem. Women (M = 5.86, SD = 1.10) reported higher collective self-esteem than men (M = 5.42, SD = 1.28), $F(1, 326) = 11.401$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .034$, while the remaining main effects and interactions remained non-significant, all $F \leq 1.661$, ps $\geq .191$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$.

Anger. A significant main effect of participant gender revealed women (M = 5.33, SD = 1.54) reported feeling angrier regarding the effects of gender inequality on women than men did (M = 4.12, SD = 1.75), $F(1, 326) = 46.070$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .124$. The remaining main effects and interactions were not significant, all $F \leq 2.540$, ps $\geq .080$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .015$.

Guilt. Men (M = 2.83, SD = 1.56) felt significantly guiltier over the effects of gender inequality on women than women did (M = 2.34, SD = 1.28), $F(1, 326) = 10.221$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$, demonstrating that men perhaps feel guilty regarding their role in the maintenance and perpetuation of gender inequality. All other main effects and interactions did not reach significance, all $F \leq 2.137$, ps $\geq .120$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .013$.

Shame. In line with the findings for guilt, men (M = 3.61, SD = 1.71) also reported significantly higher feelings of shame than women did (M = 3.22, SD = 1.38) regarding the effects of gender inequality on women, $F(1, 326) = 5.106$, $p = .025$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$. No other main effects or interactions were significant however, all $F \leq 1.268$, ps $\geq .283$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .008$.

Sadness. Main effect of participant gender showed that women (M = 4.27, SD = 1.37) feel sadder than men (M = 3.85, SD = 1.72) over the effects of inequality on women, $F(1, 326) = 6.598$, $p = .011$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$. All remaining main effects or interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 3.724$, ps $\geq .055$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .011$.

Discussion

Experiment 1 investigated the effects of leader gender and message framing on both

women's and men's mobilisation supporting equality, in addition to their evaluations of those leading the charge for equality. Gender equality was promoted by either a male or female leader, or a gender-neutral government agency, and framed as either a common cause for men and women to address, or as an issue concerning women alone.

Mobilisation findings. Overall, women reported higher collective action intentions than men (because this finding is replicated in Experiment 2, we discuss it in Experiment 2's Discussion). However, the prediction that framing equality as a common cause (rather than a women's issue) would result in increased collective action and common cause (H1b) was not supported. Instead, men and women reported similar levels of collective action intentions irrespective of how equality was promoted. This is in contrast to Subašić and colleagues (2018), who found that common cause framing heightened participants' collective action intent – although for men, this effect only emerged when a male leader promoted the common cause message. Indeed, a key aim of Experiment 1 was to uncover whether the source of the gender equality message being a male leader (compared to a female or government leader) would increase men's mobilisation toward equality, particularly under common cause messages (H2). However, this hypothesis was not supported. Instead, men and women expressed similar collective action intentions irrespective of who promoted the message and how. We address this finding in depth in the General Discussion.

Leadership findings. While our collective action findings did not replicate Subašić and colleagues' (2018), the present work extended theirs in a novel and important way by explicitly examining the leadership and influence processes underlying participants' mobilisation. Centrally, the prediction that solidarity-based common cause frames of gender equality would elicit more positive evaluations of leaders (as per Seyranian, 2014; H1b) was supported. When

leaders highlighted equality as a common cause rather than a women's issue, male and female participants consistently perceived those leaders as being significantly more prototypical, legitimate, and influential – a pattern which emerged irrespective of leader gender. Due to being replicated in Experiment 2, these novel findings are addressed together in Experiment 2's Discussion.

Threat and social identity findings. In terms of findings that are unique to Experiment 1 (i.e., not replicated in Experiment 2), men (compared to women) perceived the equality message to be a significantly greater threat to men's gender group, reported significantly lower collective self-esteem than women did, and identified significantly less with their gender group compared to women. This group of findings is logical given that increased threat has been linked to decreased self-esteem, and gender group identification has been found to play a role in coping strategies when facing collective threat (e.g., distancing oneself from the group; Cohen & Garcia, 2005). Hence, it makes sense that under the same conditions that men reported increased threat and lowered self-esteem, they also dissociated themselves from their group by identifying less strongly with their fellow men. Meanwhile, both men *and* women reported higher gender identification under male leaders compared to government leaders. For men, this is likely a consequence of ingroup members naturally identifying more with fellow ingroup members (Turner et al., 1987). For women, this may be a reactive effect in response to a gender outgroup member discussing women's inequality, which served to highlight their low status more so than a government agency doing the same, thus triggering their increased identification with their low-status group (Branscombe, 1998).

Men's and women's perceived threat to men's gender group was further enhanced when leaders used women's issue as opposed to common cause framing. For men in particular,

campaign leaders highlighting women's disadvantage as a low-status group (by discussing inequality) threatens their high status (van Zomeren & Spears, 2009), while emphasising men's privileged position leads to diminished group-based wellbeing and self-esteem (Branscombe, 1998). This results in greater perceived threat, and therefore greater motivation for men to justify and protect their collective status and self-esteem (Branscombe, 1998). This further explains men's higher legitimation and lowered collective action intentions (replicated in Experiment 2) when confronted with gender equality issues. In contrast, leaders promoting equality as a common cause likely diminished men's status protection motives, hence their lower perceived threat and lower legitimation under solidarity frames (Branscombe, 1998). Meanwhile, the steep rise in women's perceived threat to both men's *and* women's gender groups when a government agency discussed (in)equality could be due to an increase in perceived authority of the government agency relative to an individual male or female leader. Certainly, organisations are also authoritative political structures that provide initial power bases for individual leaders (Zaleznik, 1970). Future work should attempt to further uncover the motives that underlie women's threat perceptions in order to alleviate such threat.

Limitations and Future Research

There are some methodological limitations regarding the generalisability of our results. Firstly, some researchers might question why we measured collective action *intentions* as opposed to *behaviours*, and whether such intentions would translate to actual behaviours. However, Subašić and colleagues (2011) argue that "The link between intentions and behaviour is well established (e.g., Webb & Sheeran, 2006) and measures of behavioural intentions are widely used in collective action research" (p. 722; e.g., Simon et al., 1998; Stürmer, Snyder, Kropp, & Siem, 2006; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Indeed, van Zomeren and colleagues (2008)

demonstrated that the effects of collective action predictors on behavioural intentions and actual behaviours were comparable (albeit somewhat reduced in the latter). Nevertheless, future research could investigate whether participants indicating high collective action intentions follow through by committing collection action behaviours. To address this, each of our subsequent experiments include a behavioural measure whereby participants have the choice to anonymously electronically sign or not sign a (false) petition supporting gender equality.

Moreover, the lack of significant effects together with the restricted range on our sense of common cause measure (5.88-6.32; M = 6.07, SD = 0.99) indicates the presence of a ceiling effect. This greatly limits the scale's discriminative ability in terms of detecting statistically significant changes, and therefore makes it difficult to determine whether our independent variables actually affected this crucial measure (Groen et al., 2010). Given that a sense of common cause is of key importance to the present thesis, an alternative measure is used in Experiment 2 and beyond in order to better assess men's and women's emerging sense of common cause with women affected by gender inequality.

Finally, we used a combined sample of students and employed individuals, likely representing a wider range of political orientation, workplace experience, age, and attitudes toward inequality relative to undergraduate student and activist samples used in previous work (e.g., Drury, 2013; van Zomeren et al., 2004). Nonetheless, the majority of our sample still comprised Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, and Democratic individuals (i.e., a WEIRD sample; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Therefore, researchers should extend the present work to more diverse and nationally representative samples. Alternatively, one strength of our multinational sample is that our conclusions are not tied to any one specific context. This provides some evidence that no country influences were present and that the findings could be

replicated across countries (van Knippenberg, 2011). Even so, future researchers should be prepared to accept new evidence indicating cultural variations and nuances may exist beyond the present findings (van Knippenberg, 2011). As a first step in the current thesis, Experiments 2-5 use American samples, while Experiment 6 uses a UK sample.

Experiment 2

Experiment 2 aimed to build upon Experiment 1 (and Subašić et al.'s, 2018 paper) and manipulate the perceived legitimacy of inequality by contrasting common cause framing with meritocratic framing. In contrast to traditional women's issue approaches that subtly place the responsibility for addressing inequality onto women, meritocracy framing more blatantly assigns the blame for inequality to women. Indeed, meritocratic ideology preserves workplace inequality by implying it is partly women's fault due to their tendency to pursue less intensive career and education paths (Whelen, 2013), and argues that women should climb the meritocratic hierarchy with ease so long as they gain the necessary experience (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2010). Furthermore, Cech and Blair-Loy (2010) maintain that meritocratic explanations of inequality are less politically risky given that they can co-exist in conjunction with feminist goals of equal opportunity without appearing to "blame the victim" (p. 391). Meritocratic frames echo Sandberg's (2013) 'lean in' philosophy, which maintains that women would succeed at work if only they would show up and "sit at the table" (p. 27), learn to master negotiation techniques, take advantage of mentorship and leadership opportunities, and commit to their own individual growth.

Adherence to meritocratic ideologies is particularly pronounced in the United States of America, where meritocratic cues and messages are ubiquitous (e.g., Nike's *Just do it* advertisements, and stories such as *The Little Engine That Could*; McCoy & Major, 2007). Spruiked as an American societal ideal, merit is thought of as being "synonymous with fairness, equality, or objectivity" (Whelen, 2013, para. 2). Consequently, Americans frequently rely on meritocratic ideologies as explanations of gender inequality, as opposed to recognising the role that discriminatory structural factors play, particularly when appraising the workplace and labour market outcomes (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2010). Understandably then, meritocracy is often proffered as an argument or excuse for abolishing affirmative action policies such as gender- and race-based quotas or preferential treatment strategies that take into account minority or under-represented group status, because these strategies are perceived as violating meritocratic principles (Son Hing, Bobocel, & Zanna, 2002).

Essentially, meritocratic framing legitimates gender inequality by foisting blame onto the individual failings of people, rather than considering discriminatory structural factors that genuinely undermine the achievement of equality (Major & Schmader, 2001). Merit selection is intended to eliminate unconscious biases by evaluating people on objective, impartial measures, serving to create a level recruitment playing field across applicants (and therefore genders; Whelen, 2013). Certainly, merit-based appointments involve evaluating potential employees' performance against certain metrics (e.g., one's abilities and qualifications), and are typically viewed as the steadfast gold standard for employee selection (Williams, 2015). Yet whilst adhering to the basic principles of merit sounds simple in theory, when put into practice meritocracy faces numerous debates regarding its interpretation and implementation (Godwin, 2011). Indeed, the concept of 'pure merit' has been deemed overly simplistic and inherently

flawed, given there are multiple non-merit factors that repudiate the intended benefits of the merit process (UN Women National Committee Australia, 2014). These factors are concerned with the tendency of the merit process to fall victim to negative gender stereotypes, unconscious biases, and ignorance of gender-based differences in career opportunities throughout individuals' career trajectories (Williams, 2015).

Indeed, merit, and the metrics used for its evaluation, are often subject to gender biases pertaining to stereotypes of what roles men and women *should* be doing (e.g., men as leaders and women as carers; Eagly & Karau, 2002). For example, in 2003, Flynn and Anderson discovered that participants ranked an identical resume and biographical case study of two entrepreneurs more favourably when the candidate's name was Howard Roizen as opposed to Heidi Roizen. Though participants recognised Heidi as being equally competent and successful as Howard, they were less willing to work for or with her, deeming her less likeable and less worthy of the position (Flynn & Anderson, 2003). This Heidi versus Howard case study has since been replicated numerous times, demonstrating that gender stereotypes and unconscious biases can still prompt prejudice in subjective evaluations and subsequently affect meritorious decisions (Flynn & Anderson, 2003; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). If merit were a truly valid process of employee selection, Heidi and Howard should have been evaluated as being equally favourable.

The myth of meritocracy is particularly damaging because it gives the impression of being fair and legitimate, even though evidence suggests it does not actually increase workplace equality (e.g., Castilla & Benard, 2010). The 'merit paradox' phenomena shows that organisations that promote and place emphasis upon meritocracy can actually trigger implicit gender biases among their recruiters (Castilla & Benard, 2010). Indeed, individuals within

seemingly meritocratic work environments are more likely to express their prejudiced beliefs given they have already 'confirmed' their moral standing by using merit-based recruitment practices in the first place (Castilla & Benard, 2010). These workplaces also tend to strengthen managers' biases toward male candidates over equally qualified and performing female candidates, with managers favouring the hiring of males and assigning them greater monetary rewards (Castilla & Benard, 2010). Thus, rather than counteracting inequality, the merit paradox actually serves to legitimate and preserve it.

Overall, relying on merit as a recruitment strategy creates additional barriers to equality for women due to the wealth of non-meritorious factors negating the intended benefits of merit (UN Women National Committee Australia, 2014). Moreover, placing the responsibility of gender inequality onto women and their personal choices alleviates men's culpability, decreasing their prerogative to support women affected by gender inequality and providing ample rationalisation to abstain from doing so (Becker & Barreto, 2014). Meritocratic justifications of gender inequality are particularly troublesome because the perceived illegitimacy of gender inequality is a key predictor for collective action participation (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Indeed, the more one perceives gender inequality to be unjust or illegitimate, the higher one's likelihood of participating in collective action, and vice versa (van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Certainly, adherence to meritocratic ideals is known to undermine men's understanding of gender inequality (de Vries, 2010), and decrease women's likelihood of acting collectively against it (Major et al., 2002). For example, Jetten and colleagues (2011) found that higher perceived legitimacy and pervasiveness appraisals of discrimination were linked to lowered collective action intentions among women in academia. McCoy and Major (2007) also showed that priming meritocratic beliefs among women (e.g., "effort leads to prosperity," p. 343)

resulted in them justifying group disadvantage by reducing their perceptions of discrimination. Similarly, men and women were more likely to accept gender inequality following exposure to essentialist theories of social change, such as the belief that gender-based labour segregation is due to innate biological differences between men and women (Morton, Postmes, Haslam, & Hornsey, 2009). However, these studies relied on either providing false feedback regarding fellow female employee's legitimacy appraisals, or simply priming meritocratic and essentialist beliefs, rather than explicitly manipulating the suggested reasons behind gender inequality's existence. In contrast, study designs that *do* manipulate the ostensible legitimacy of inequality allow for the assumed causal direction to be tested (van Zomeren et al., 2008), which is what Experiment 2 aims to do.

As such, Experiment 2 differs from Experiment 1 in important ways. Firstly, inclusion of the government agency in Experiment 1 may have contributed to the flattening of responses we observed on our leader gender factor. Due to this and given the importance of leadership processes to mobilisation and our desire to determine the effects of leader *gender* on mobilisation, we focus solely on male and female leaders in Experiment 2. We also measure participants' sense of common cause (i.e., solidarity; Subašić et al., 2018), given that sense of common cause is of key importance to the present research. This measure seeks to better assess men's and women's sense of common cause with women affected by gender inequality compared to Experiment 1's sense of common cause measure. The previous scale appears to have measured a different dimension of common cause due to its strong focus on the blatant exclusion (or inclusion) of men from the gender equality movement. This might have contributed to the ceiling effects on this measure in Experiment 1. Finally, belief in meritocracy is a core American ideology (Kluegel & Smith, 1986). Therefore, an American sample is used as we

presume meritocratic explanations of inequality will be most familiar to Americans, regardless of whether they themselves endorse the ideology (McCoy & Major, 2007). Indeed, Americans are known to rely on meritocratic ideologies rather than potential structural factors as explanations for gender inequality (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2010).

Aims and Hypotheses

As stated, studies that experimentally manipulate the perceived legitimacy of gender inequality and measure the effects on individuals' mobilisation allow tests of the presumed causal direction (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Accordingly, Experiment 2 sees workplace inequality being framed either as a common cause for men and women to work toward together, or as an issue existing due to meritocratic reasons. By explicitly manipulating the perceived legitimacy of gender inequality, we hope to examine the effects that legitimacy appraisals or explanations have on men's and (particularly) women's responses to calls for equality. We expect that contrasting common cause framing with a more polarising version of women's issue framing (i.e., meritocracy) will strengthen the effects of common cause framing on participants' mobilisation. Indeed, implying that inequality exists for legitimate reasons further absolves men of any responsibility to address it (Whelen, 2013).

We predict that when gender equality is promoted as a common cause rather than a meritocratic issue, men and women will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, and transformational leadership (H1a). As per Seyranian (2014), we also hypothesise that when gender equality is framed as a common cause rather than as a meritocratic issue, men and women will report higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause (H1b). Finally, in line with Subašić and colleagues (2018), we predict that while women's collective action intentions and sense of common cause will remain consistent irrespective of

who promotes equality, men's intentions and sense of common cause will be higher when the equality message is credited to a male leader rather than a female leader, especially under common cause messages compared to meritocratic messages (H2).

Method

Participants and Design

Participants were 360 White Americans (180 women), aged 18-65 years (M_{age} = 34.13, *SD* = 11.66), who were recruited via crowdsourcing website Prolific (2017). Participants were remunerated £0.90 GBP (equal to approximately $1.60 AUD) or the equivalent. This amount was converted to site-specific currencies for certain Prolific channels (e.g. approximately $1.15USD). Prolific allows recruitment of naïve participants based on specified criteria (e.g., employment status), and use of such crowdsourcing portals efficiently and appropriately produces data with similarly good reliability as that found in typical undergraduate samples (Behrend, Sharek, Meade, & Wiebe, 2011).

Most participants identified as American citizens (97.5%; 2.5% other), and were employed on a full- (63.9%), part-time (18.3%), self-employed (13.6%), casual (2.2%), or other (1.9%) basis. Students comprised 19.4% of the sample, studying either full- (11.9%) or part-time (6.9%) domestically, or full- (0.3%) or part-time (0.3%) internationally, while the remaining 80.6% were not currently studying. Participants reported their highest level of educational attainment as follows: finished high school (21.1%), Trade/Technical/Vocational training (4.4%), Bachelor's degree (46.9%), Associate degree (15.8%), Master's degree (2.8%), or other (8.9%).

The study followed a 2 (participant gender: male, female) x 2 (leader gender: male leader, female leader) x 2 (message framing: meritocratic issue, common cause) balanced factorial design with 45 participants per cell, with equal numbers of men and women randomly allocated

to one of the four conditions. A G*Power analysis (Faul et al., 2007) revealed that for a power of .80 ($\alpha = .05$), the minimum sample to detect a small effect size of $\eta_p^2 = .0225$ (or $f = .151$) using a 2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA should be 343 participants (approximately 42 per cell). We increased this to 360 (45 per cell) to obtain enough power following the expected removal of those who failed the leader gender manipulation check. Sensitivity power analyses showed that our obtained sample size of 336 had the power to detect effect sizes of $\eta_p^2 = .0228$ (or $f = .152$) for all main effects and interactions.

Procedure and Materials

Participants completed a 15-minute online questionnaire following the same procedure as in Experiment 1.

Leader gender and message framing manipulations. We imbued Experiment 2's manipulation vignette with an increased emphasis on more global and corporate culture-like depictions of workplace inequality issues, because our sample consisted primarily of employed participants who presumably had greater workplace experience compared to Experiment 1's sample, which consisted mainly of younger students ($M_{age} = 26.37$, $SD = 9.41$; 61% studying; 52% employed). Employed participants might also be more aware of workplace gender inequities and therefore be more receptive and readily attuned to the messages we conveyed in our vignettes.

Minor amendments were made to the one-page article used in Experiment 1. For example, no reference was made to America or Americans explicitly. Rather, the vignette framed workplace gender inequality as taking place on a global stage. Additionally, although leader gender (male, female) was manipulated in the same manner as in Experiment 1 ("Margaret [Matthew]", "her [his]"), the Gender Equality Commissioner was replaced with the Chief

Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development to reflect a more corporate-like environment. In both message framing conditions the Chief Delegate first described their aspirations to address pay and leadership disparities within the business and corporate world in particular (e.g., "increase the number of women in business leadership positions", "women still comprise only 21% of board members and 9% of CEOs globally").

Further revisions included redacting references to the gender wage gap in favour of substituting these with information regarding women's accumulation of lower retirement savings compared to men. This was due to anecdotal participant feedback post-Experiment 1, which revealed that (primarily male) participants tended to become excessively distracted by mention of the supposedly 'mythical' wage gap. Indeed, research demonstrates that many believe the gender wage gap to be a myth (e.g., Venable, 2002), despite numerous studies confirming its existence (Belley, Havet, & Lacroix, 2015; Blau & Kahn, 2017). Finally, given Americans' likely sensitivity to meritocratic ideals, we aimed to keep the meritocracy framing as subtle as possible in order to reduce participant suspicion and reactive responses (particularly for female participants).

Our message framing manipulation consisted of one additional paragraph that framed inequality as either an issue that exists primarily due to meritocratic reasons and that women can overcome so long as they exert sufficient effort at work (meritocratic issue), or a common cause for both women and men to address together (common cause). The meritocratic manipulation made statements such as "While gender inequality continues to be a significant social and economic issue, those women who are in senior management roles show that it is possible to move up the leadership ladder by working hard, 'leaning in', and making sacrifices" and "These women demonstrate that all individuals can succeed in the workplace irrespective of their gender

— as long as they are prepared to invest the time, energy, and significant effort needed for such advancement." The common cause manipulation had statements such as "While gender inequality continues to be a significant social and economic issue, it is now an issue that matters to both men and women…which is why it's important that both parties are engaged and committed to tackling this issue together" and "…we know that men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world".

Dependent Measures

After reading the vignette, participants completed the following dependent measures and demographic information from Experiment 1: leader prototypicality (α = .95), leader legitimacy (α =.96), leader influence (α =.94), perceived threat to men's gender group (α =.95), perceived threat to women's gender group (α =.94), perceived legitimacy of inequality (α =.93), anger (α =.88), guilt (α =.83), sadness (α =.90), feminist identification (α =.97), national identification (α =.93), instructional manipulation checks, and demographic items. Participants also completed measures of transformational leadership, collective action intentions (revised from Experiment 1), sense of common cause, ambivalent (hostile and benevolent) sexism, sympathy, and the manipulation checks (described below). To ensure the questionnaire remained under 15-20-minutes (thus reducing participant fatigue), we excluded the measures of relational leadership identification, perceived group efficacy of collective action, collective self-esteem, shame, and depth of processing, in addition to the sexual orientation demographic question. See Appendix D for full item list.

Leader prototypicality. This five-item measure (α =.95) included the items outlined in Experiment 1, bar the original fifth reverse coded item (i.e., "Is not representative of the kind of

people who are involved in the movement"), because it greatly reduced Cronbach's coefficient alpha in Experiment 1.

Leader legitimacy and leader influence. Our leader legitimacy (α =.96) and leader influence (α =.94) scales comprised the same items used in Experiment 1. However, the item stem was changed from "Based on the information you read, do you think the Gender Equality Commission's statement was…" to "Thinking about the information you read, to what extent do you think that the Chief Delegate and their statement is". This was to more precisely capture participants' opinions of the leader, rather than the leader's statement regarding gender inequality.

Transformational leadership. Participants completed a twelve-item measure (α =.94) of transformational leadership (adapted from the Charisma factor of Bass & Avolio's Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire [MLQ], 1990). As mentioned in Chapter 3, we used three subscales of the Charisma transformational factor of the 45-item MLQ. These included Idealised Influence (attributed: "Goes beyond self-interest for the good of members of the movement", α =.84; and behaviour: "Emphasises the importance of having a collective sense of mission", α =.81); and Inspirational Motivation ("Talks enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished", α =.86).

Collective action intentions. Six items assessed participants' collective action intentions toward achieving gender equality (α =.91; adapted from Calogero, 2013; and Subašić et al., 2018). Sample items included: "[Imagine that the Chief Delegate has approached you directly to help with their campaign for gender equality. In that context, please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements…] Sign a petition (in person or online) in support of women's rights and gender equality", "I would vote for a political party that fights against gender inequality".

Sense of common cause. Four items measured participants' sense of common cause (i.e., solidarity) with women affected by gender inequality (α = .96; adapted from Subašić et al., 2018). Sample items included: "Those seeking to reduce income inequality and leadership disparities between men and women share my goals and concerns", "I feel solidarity with the women affected by income inequality and leadership disparities", and "I see myself as someone who shares the views of the women who object to these forms of inequality". This measure replaced the previous sense of common cause measure used in Experiment 1 (adapted from Glasford & Calcagno, 2012), which measured attitudes regarding joint action between low- and high-status groups to achieve gender equality.

Gender ingroup identification. Participants completed the same five-item measure (α =.90) of gender ingroup identification as in Experiment 1 (adapted from Doosje et al., 1995). However, for the purposes of brevity the second three-item gender identification measure (adapted from Leach et al., 2008) previously used was excluded from Experiment 2.

Sympathy. The shame subscale from Study 1 was replaced with a sympathy subscale (α =.89), given that shame is a notoriously difficult state to assess (Makogon & Enikolopov, 2013). Moreover, sympathy with a movement's political and strategic aims has been linked to collective action and is therefore of greater interest to measure in the current context (Klandermans, 1997).

Ambivalent sexism (hostile and benevolent sexism). Participants completed a ten-item measure (α = .91) of ambivalent sexism (a shortened version of Glick & Fiske's, 1996 Ambivalent Sexism Inventory [ASI]). Glick and Fiske (1996) argue that sexism is fundamentally ambivalent, encompassing hostile *and* benevolent components, both of which contribute to the ongoing justification and maintenance of women's oppression (hence the measure's inclusion). As such, the ASI can either be calculated and reported as an overall composite sexism score

(ambivalent sexism), or as two independent subscales which assess different dimensions of sexism (as done so in the present thesis).

These two five-item subscales are hostile sexism (α = .93), referring to dimensions of dominative paternalism and negative, often derogatory beliefs pertaining to women, and benevolent sexism (α = .88). This assesses dimensions of protective paternalism, and encompasses positively subjective views of women which nonetheless reinforce restrictive traditional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996). These short scales were chosen based on an Exploratory Factor Analysis undertaken by researchers conducting the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (NZSAVS; Sibley, 2009). Example items for hostile and benevolent sexism are, respectively: "[The statements below reflect different opinions and points of view. Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements] When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against" and "Women should be cherished and protected by men".

Manipulation checks. Participants first identified the gender (male [Matthew]/female [Margaret]) of the Chief Delegate, then rated the extent to which inequality was discussed as (a) a meritocratic issue or (b) a common cause, by rating the accuracy of four statements concerning the article's contents (1 = *not at all* and 7 = *very much so*).

Behavioural measure. Participants completed a one-item dichotomous measure that intended to record their actual behaviour regarding participating in collective action supporting gender equality. The item was low-cost in terms of commitment, comprising a 'false' online petition. The item read: "Would you be willing to sign an anonymous online petition in support of women's rights and gender equality?" Participants were advised that the petition would take 30 seconds to complete, and that selecting "Yes" would take them to an external website before

returning them to the end of the survey, whereas selecting "No" would take them directly to the end of the survey. This measure sought to address issues surrounding the Principle-Implementation Gap. This refers to the paradox whereby individuals tend to agree with the principles of equality and embrace it as an ideal (e.g., I would sign a petition), yet simultaneously reject concrete attempts at implementing and achieving that ideal (e.g., actually signing a petition; Dixon, Durrheim, & Thomae, 2017).

Results

Data Analysis and Analytical Strategy

SPSS Version 24 was used to conduct between-participants ANOVA's on each dependent measure, using participant gender, leader gender, and message framing as factors. In order to investigate the effects of framing on men's and women's responses, Significant two-way participant gender x message framing interactions were unpacked by performing one-way ANOVA's at both levels of participant gender. The same interactions were also unpacked by performing separate one-way ANOVA's on the applicable dependent variables at each level of message framing, however because this split is not of primary concern to our hypotheses, these results are reported in Appendix F.

Significant three-way participant gender x leader gender x message framing interactions were first unpacked by performing separate two-way leader gender x message framing ANOVA's on the relevant dependent variables at both levels of participant gender. Any significant two-way interactions arising from this were then further unpacked by conducting one-way leader gender ANOVA's on the dependent variables at each level of framing. To further investigate the three-way interactions, we also conducted separate two-way participant gender x leader gender ANOVA's on dependent variables at each level of framing, followed by

performing one-way participant gender ANOVA's at each level of leader gender, but these results are reported in the Appendix F.

Manipulation Checks

Frequency statistics revealed 93% of participants identified the Chief Delegate's gender correctly (95.6% male leader, 91.1% female leader). The 24 participants (7%) who failed this check were excluded from further analyses due to their exclusion positively affecting the results. Hence, the final sample comprised 336 participants (170 women). The higher percentage of participants passing the leader gender check relative to Experiment 1 is likely due to participants being remunerated via Prolific, which allows recruitment of participants who have a record of accomplishment regarding serious study attempts (e.g., successful study completion rates over 85%). Chi-Squared testing revealed participant exclusion distribution rates did not differ significantly by condition ($\chi(3) = 3.571$, $p = .312$) and are reported below in Table 4.2 alongside final participant gender distributions for each cell.

One-way ANOVAs verified success of our message framing manipulation. Participants in the meritocracy conditions were significantly more likely than those in the common cause conditions to agree that the article discussed "Women in senior management roles showing it's possible to move up the leadership ladder by working hard" and "The idea that all individuals can succeed in the workplace irrespective of their gender, as long as they work hard" ($F(1, 328)=176.954$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.350$; *Ms*=5.83 and 3.53, *SDs*=1.60 and 1.27, respectively).

Participants in the common cause conditions were significantly more likely than those in the meritocracy conditions to agree that the article discussed "The need for men and women to be engaged and committed to tackling gender inequality together" and "The need for men and boys to work together with women and girls to promote gender equality" ($F(1, 328)=317.891$,

p<.001, η_p^2=0.492; *Ms*=6.14 and 3.21, *SDs*=1.17 and 1.82). There was also a participant gender x message framing interaction (F(1, 328)=9.693, p=.002, η_p^2=.029), with simple effects performed at each level of framing showing only a main effect of gender for merit conditions, F(1, 164)=8.495, p=.004, η_p^2=.049. Women were significantly *less* likely to agree with the common cause manipulation items (M = 2.81, SD = 1.72) than men (M = 3.61, SD = 1.85), indicating that women were more capable of distinguishing between the frames. No other significant effects were observed, indicating our message framing manipulation was successful.

Table 4.2

Participant Exclusion Distribution Rates and Final Participant Gender Distribution Numbers by Condition, Based on Participants who Failed the Leader Gender Manipulation Check

Condition	% of Participants who Failed the Manipulation Check	Number of Male Participants Remaining in Cell	Number of Female Participants Remaining in Cell	Number of Overall Participants Remaining in Cell
Male Leader, Merit Issue	5.55%	42	43	85
Male Leader, Common Cause	3.33%	43	44	87
Female Leader, Merit Issue	10%	41	40	81
Female Leader, Common Cause	7.77%	40	43	83
Totals	7%	166	170	336

Note. The third and fourth columns represent the number of male and female participants remaining in each condition following the exclusion of those participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check.

Leadership Variables

Leader prototypicality. Consistent with Hypothesis 1a, leaders who promoted equality as a common cause (M = 5.42, SD = 0.99) were evaluated as being significantly more

prototypical of the gender equality movement than leaders who used meritocratic explanations for inequality (M = 4.29, SD = 1.54), $F(1, 328)=65.527$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.167$. A significant leader gender main effect also revealed that female leaders (M = 5.12, SD = 1.34) were rated as being significantly more prototypical of the gender equality movement than male leaders (M = 4.62, SD = 1.43), $F(1, 328) = 12.437$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .037$. No other main effects or interactions were detected, all $F \leq 2.051$, ps $\geq .153$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .006$.

Leader legitimacy. Consistent with Hypothesis 1a, a significant main effect of framing showed that leaders who employed common cause framing (M = 5.61, SD = 1.20) were viewed as significantly more legitimate than leaders who relied on meritocracy framing (M = 4.79, SD = 1.63), $F(1, 328) = 28.006$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .079$. However, this finding was qualified by the significant two-way interaction between participant gender and message framing shown in Figure 4.3, $F(1, 328) = 10.553$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$.

Simple effects performed at each level of participant gender showed a significant main effect of framing for women, $F(1, 166) = 4.029$, $p = .046$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$, but not men, $F(1, 162) = 0.282$, $p = .596$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$. Women evaluated leaders as significantly less legitimate when they framed equality as a meritocratic issue (M = 4.50, SD = 1.82), rather than a common cause for men and women (M = 5.81, SD = 1.18). In contrast, men viewed leaders as being equally legitimate regardless of how they framed their equality message ($M_{commoncause}$= 5.39, SD = 1.19; $M_{meritissue}$ = 5.08, SD = 1.36). No other main effects or interactions were significant, all $F\leq1.389$, ps$\geq.239$, $\eta_p^2\leq.004$.

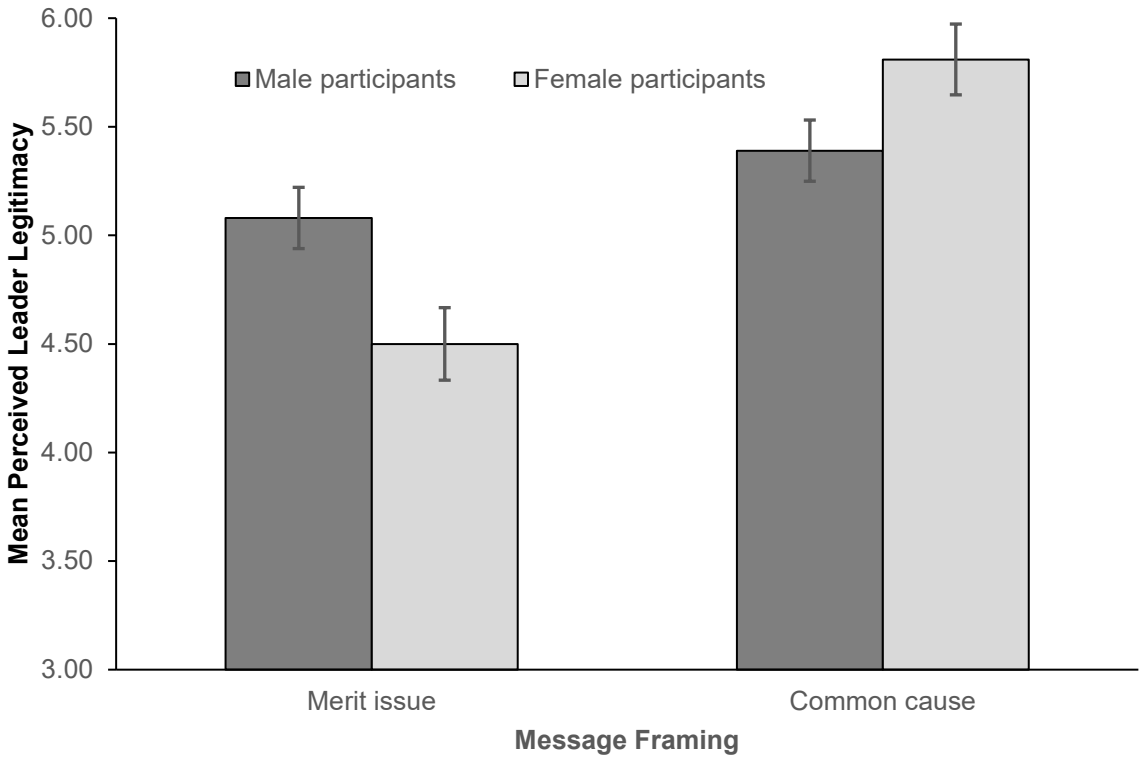

Figure 4.3. Mean perceived leader legitimacy as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Leader influence. Supporting Hypothesis 1a, and replicating our prototypicality and legitimacy findings, leaders who promoted gender equality as a common cause (M = 4.98, SD = 1.29) were considered significantly more influential than those who promoted it as an issue pertaining to meritocracy (M = 4.39, SD = 1.55), $F(1, 328) = 14.347$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$. However, in line with our legitimacy results, this finding was again qualified by a significant participant gender x message framing interaction, $F(1, 328) = 3.857$, $p = .050$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$ (see Figure 4.4).

Simple effects examining both levels of participant gender showed message framing had a significant effect on women, $F(1, 168)=13.932$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.077$, but not men, $F(1, 164)=2.028$, $p=.156$, $\eta_p^2=.012$. Replicating our leader legitimacy findings, women viewed leaders as significantly more influential when they framed equality as a common cause (M = 5.11, SD = 1.39) rather than an issue of merit (M = 4.23, SD = 1.69). Again replicating our leader legitimacy findings, men perceived leaders as being equally influential regardless of how they promoted equality ($M_{commoncause}$ = 4.84, SD = 1.17; $M_{meritissue}$ = 4.56, SD = 1.38).

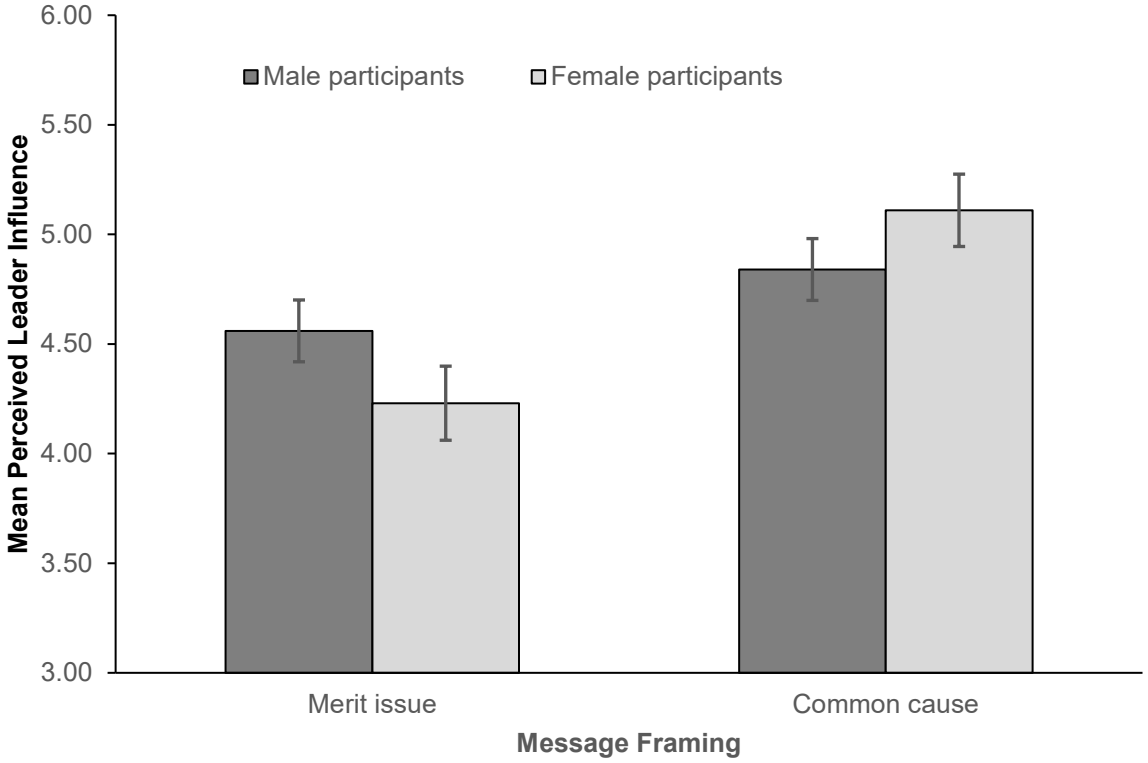

Figure 4.4. Mean perceived leader influence as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Transformational leadership. In line with Hypothesis 1a, and replicating our other leadership findings, leaders who employed common cause framing (M = 5.28, SD = 0.98) were rated as more transformational compared to leaders who used meritocracy framing (M = 4.86, SD = 1.03), $F(1, 328) = 15.105$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .044$. A significant main effect of participant gender revealed that men (M = 5.20, SD = 0.83) perceived all leaders as being more transformational than women did (M = 4.95, SD = 1.17), $F(1, 328) = 6.121$, $p = .014$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$. A significant leader gender main effect also showed that female leaders (M = 5.25, SD = 0.98) were rated as significantly higher in transformational leadership than male leaders were (M = 4.90, SD = 1.04), ($F(1, 328) = 10.321$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$. All other interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 3.638$, ps $\geq .057$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .011$.

Overall, supporting Hypothesis 1a and replicating Experiment 1's significant findings, participants evaluated leaders as being significantly higher in leader prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, and transformational leadership when they promoted gender equality as a common cause rather than a meritocratic issue. However, this was qualified by an interaction showing that women in particular rated leaders as being significantly more legitimate and influential under common cause compared to meritocracy framing.

Mobilisation Variables

Collective action intentions. Contrary to Hypothesis 1b, no significant main effect of framing was found, with participants instead expressing similar collective action intentions irrespective of how the message was framed ($M_{commoncause}$ = 4.78, SD = 1.72; $M_{meritissue}$ = 4.55, SD = 1.50; $F(1, 328)=1.766$, $p=.185$, $\eta_p^2=.005$). However, we detected a significant participant gender X message framing interaction (see Figure 4.5; $F(1, 328)=5.035$, $p=.026$, $\eta_p^2=.015$),

which qualified the significant main effect of gender that was also detected (M_{women} = 5.13, SD = 1.46; M_{male} = 4.28, SD = 1.61), $F(1, 328) = 26.404$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .075$.

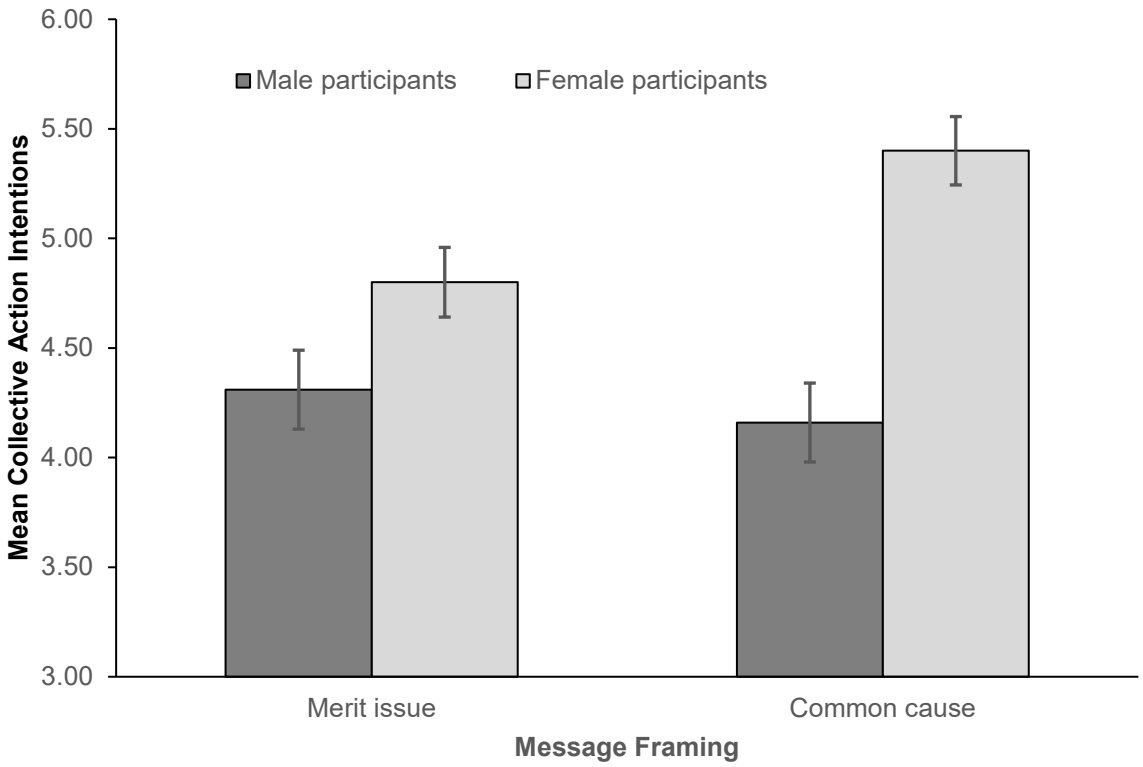

Figure 4.5. Mean collective action intentions as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Simple effects performed at both levels of participant gender revealed a significant main effect of message framing for women, $F(1, 168) = 7.322$, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$, but not men, $F(1, 164) = 0.342$, $p = .560$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$. Providing partial support for Hypothesis 1b (which predicted that men *and* women would report higher intentions under common cause frames), only women reported higher intentions under common cause (M = 5.40, SD = 1.44) compared to meritocracy

frames (M = 4.80, SD = 1.46). Alternatively, contrary to Hypothesis 1b, men expressed similar (albeit still lower than women's) collective action intentions regardless of how the message was framed ($M_{meritissue}$ = 4.31, SD = 1.50; $M_{commoncause}$ = 4.16, SD = 1.76).

Finally, absence of a significant three-way interaction did not provide support for Hypothesis 2 which predicted that men would report higher collective action intentions under male leaders who promoted a common cause message, $F(1, 328)=0.480$, $p=.489$, $\eta_p^2=.001$. Instead, a significant leader gender main effect showed that irrespective of how the equality message was framed, male (and female) participants expressed significantly higher collective action intentions when male leaders discussed equality (M = 4.86, SD = 1.60) compared to when female leaders did (M = 4.49, SD = 1.62), $F(1, 328)=4.816$, $p=.029$, $\eta_p^2=.014$. This indicates that male (compared to female) leaders were better at mobilising male *and* female participants. All remaining main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F\leq1.766$, ps$\geq.185$, $\eta_p^2\leq.005$.

Sense of common cause. No significant main effect of framing was found, thus failing to support Hypothesis 1b. Instead, participants reported similar sense of common cause regardless of how the message was framed ($M_{commoncause}$ = 5.25, SD = 1.68; $M_{meritissue}$ = 5.09, SD = 1.43; $F(1, 328)=0.65$, $p=.419$, $\eta_p^2=.002$).

Absence of a significant three-way interaction again did not provide support for Hypothesis 2 which predicted that men would report higher sense of common cause under male leaders promoting a common cause message, $F(1, 328)=0.899$, $p=.344$, $\eta_p^2=.003$. Instead, replicating our collective action findings, a significant main effect of leader gender revealed that irrespective of message framing, men *and* women reported significantly higher sense of common cause under male leaders (M = 5.33, SD = 1.46) than female leaders (M = 5.00, SD = 1.65; $F(1, 328) = 4.429$, $p = .036$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$). We also observed a significant main effect of gender, with

women (M = 5.78, SD = 1.17) expressing higher sense of common cause than men (M = 4.55, SD = 1.67), $F(1, 328) = 63.457$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .162$. No other significant main effects or interactions were detected, all $F \leq 3.279$, ps$\geq .071$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$.

Overall, Hypothesis 1b predicted that men and women would report higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause under common cause compared to meritocracy message frames. Providing partial support for this hypothesis, women (but not men) reported higher collective action intentions (but not sense of common cause) under common cause framing. Additionally, Hypothesis 2 was not supported, which predicted that men would report higher intentions and sense of common cause under male leaders who promoted a common cause message. Instead, men reported significantly higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause under male (compared to female) leaders irrespective of framing. Importantly, women *also* reported higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause under the same conditions.

Perceived legitimacy of gender inequality. There was a significant main effect of participant gender (M_{men} = 3.80, SD = 1.36; M_{women} = 2.62, SD = 1.33), $F(1, 328) = 64.755$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .165$, but this was qualified by the significant two-way interaction between participant gender and message framing illustrated in Figure 4.6, $F(1, 328) = 6.271$, $p = .013$, $\eta_p^2 = .019$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 1.727$, ps $\geq .190$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .005$.

Simple effects examining each level of participant gender showed no significant main effects of framing for women, $F(1, 168) = 3.330$, $p = .070$, $\eta_p^2 = .019$, or men, $F(1, 164) = 3.001$, $p = .085$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$, therefore these results are not reported.

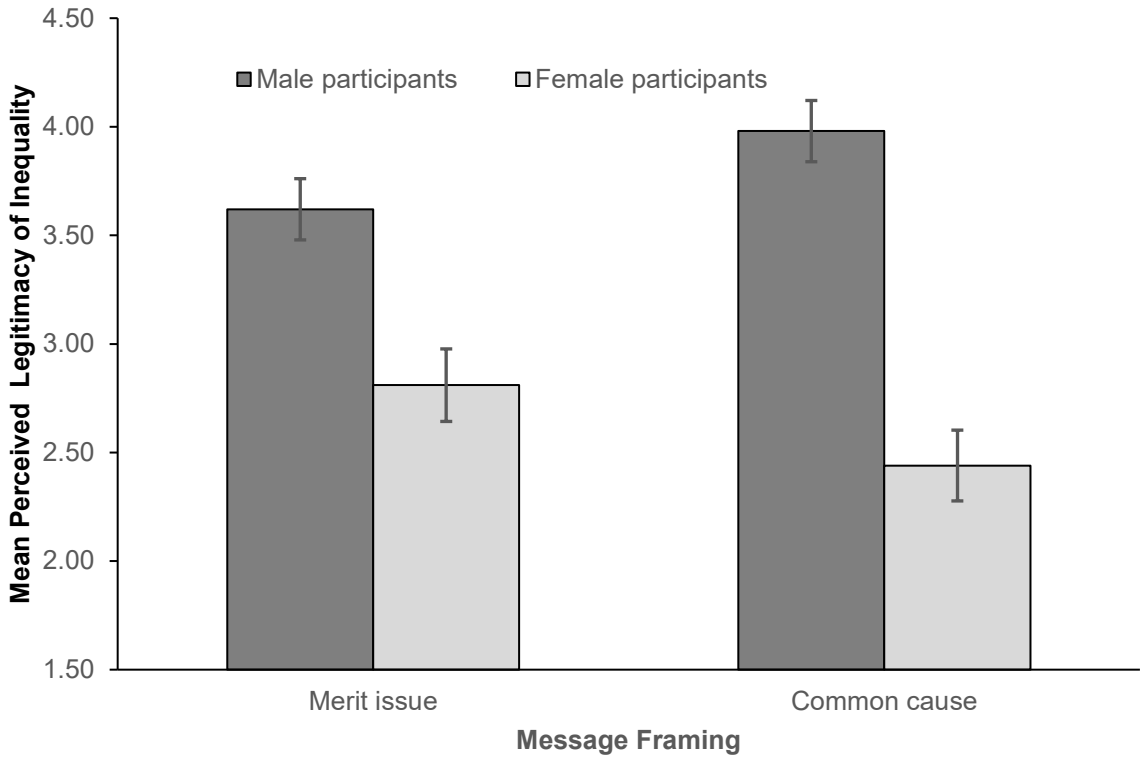

Figure 4.6. Mean perceived legitimacy of inequality as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Behavioural measure. Almost half (41.5%) of participants agreed to sign the online petition. However, results of a Pearson Chi-Square test revealed that there was no statistically significant association between the behavioural measure (i.e., signing a petition) and experimental condition ($\chi(3) = 5.337$, $p = .149$; male leader merit issue 47.1%, male leader common cause 45%, female leader common cause 45.1%, female leader merit issue 30.9%). This shows that participants were equally likely to agree to sign the petition regardless of the condition they were assigned to. There were also no statistically significant associations between the behavioural measure and participant gender ($\chi(1) = .298$, $p = .585$; women 21.8%, men

19.7%), leader gender ($\chi(1) = 1.562$, $p = .211$; male 23%, female 18.5%), or message framing ($\chi(1) = .740$, $p = .390$; common cause 22.1%, merit issue 19.4%).

We wanted to determine whether there was a statistically significant association between participants who agreed with item 3 of our collective action intentions measure ("I would sign a petition [in person or online] in support of women's rights and gender equality") and the behavioural measure ("Would you be willing to sign an anonymous online petition in support of women's rights and gender equality?"). To do so, item 3's 7-point Likert scale responses (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*) were recoded (1-3 = *No, I will not sign the petition*, 4 = *Undecided*, and 5-7 = *Yes, I will sign the petition*).

A Pearson Chi-Square test revealed a statistically significant association between item 3 and the behavioural measure ($\chi(2) = 72.470$, $p < .001$; see Figure 4.7). Participants who had previously indicated that they would sign a petition supporting women's rights and gender equality were significantly more likely to agree to sign the actual online petition (57.3% [130/227] yes, 42.7% [97/227] no). Likewise, participants who had previously indicated that they *would not* sign a petition were significantly more likely to decline to sign the actual petition (6.7% [5/75] yes, 93.3% [70/75] no), as were those participants who indicated that they were undecided (12.1% [4/33] yes, 87.9% [29/33] no). These findings provide evidence that participants' behavioural intentions (e.g., I would/would not sign a petition) are significantly similar to their behaviours (e.g., actually signing/not signing the petition now) in the context of collective action supporting gender equality.

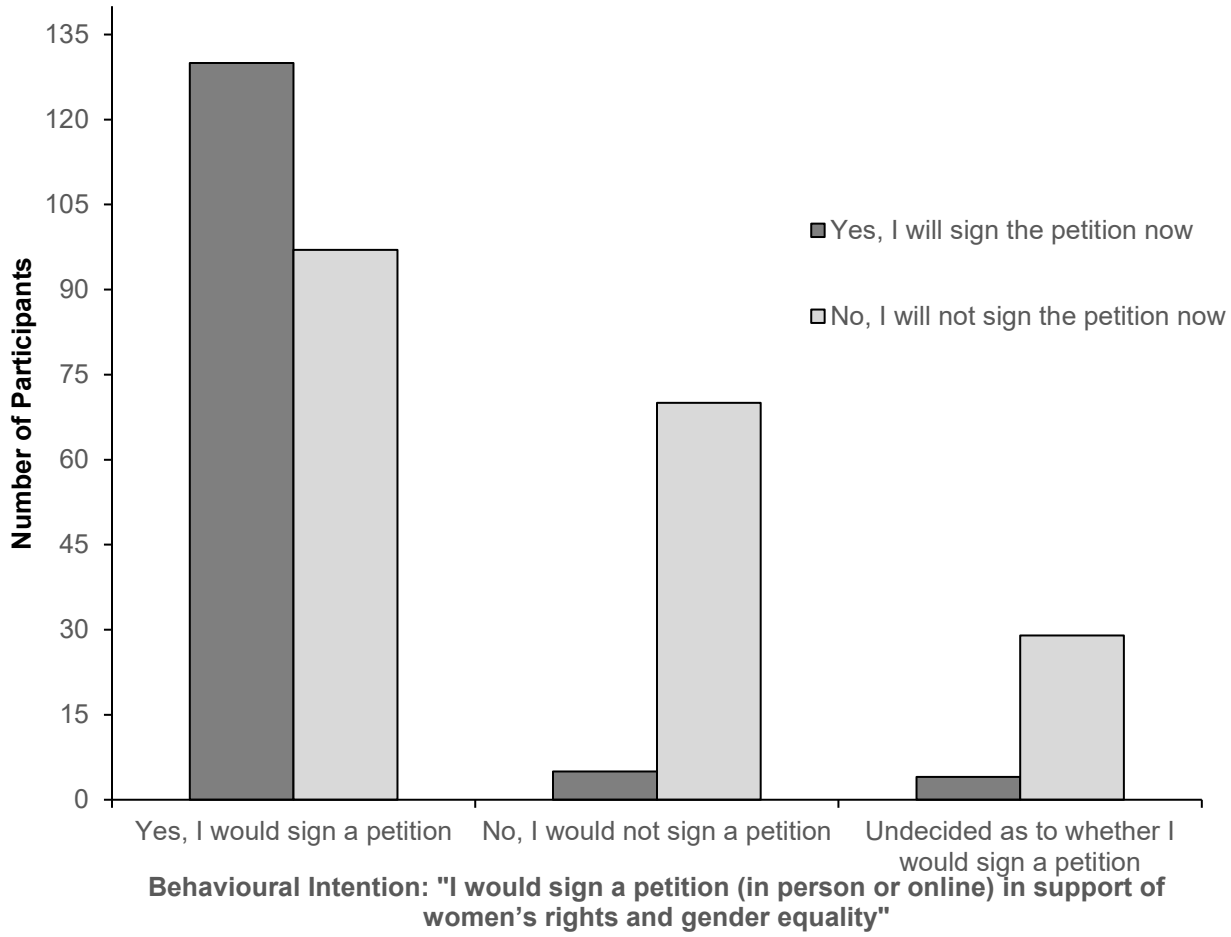

Figure 4.7. Number of participants who agreed to sign the online petition (behavioural measure) as a function of collective action intentions scale item 3 (behavioural intention). Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a one-item dichotomous response option (*yes/no*).

Social Identity Variables

Feminist identification. As could be expected given their gender group membership, women (M = 4.82, SD = 1.96) were significantly more likely to identify as feminists than men were (M = 3.21, SD = 1.76), $F(1, 328) = 62.513$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .160$. No other significant main effects or interactions were obtained, all $F \leq 1.589$, $ps \geq .208$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .005$, indicating participants'

feminist identification remained unaffected by the manipulations.

Gender ingroup identification. Women (M = 5.29, SD = 1.17) expressed significantly higher gender identification compared to men (M = 4.74, SD = 1.06), $F(1, 328) = 20.178$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .058$. This is consistent with research showing that members of lower status groups (e.g., women) have a tendency to identify more strongly with their groups compared to higher status group members (e.g., men; Leach et al., 2008). Participants also identified significantly more with their gender group when equality was framed as the responsibility of both men and women (M = 5.21, SD = 1.21) as opposed to a merit issue (M = 4.82, SD = 1.06), $F(1, 328) = 9.827$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .029$, perhaps due to the saliency of participants' respective gender groups in the common cause condition. No other main effects or interactions were found to be significant, all $F \leq 0.893$, ps $\geq .345$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .003$.

National identification. We found a significant main effect of message framing ($M_{commoncause}$ = 5.27, SD = 1.33; $M_{meritissue}$ = 4.86, SD = 1.30), $F(1, 328) = 8.557$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$, however this was qualified by the significant three-way interaction depicted in Figure 4.8, $F(1, 328) = 4.186$, $p = .042$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 2.413$, ps $\geq .121$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

Unpacking the three-way interaction at both levels of participant gender showed a significant two-way interaction between leader gender and message framing for women, $F(1, 166) = 6.630$, $p = .011$, $\eta_p^2 = .038$, but not men, $F(1, 162) = 0.119$, $p = .731$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. However, simple effects conducted at each level of framing revealed no significant main effects of leader gender for women under both common cause, $F(1, 85) = 3.808$, $p = .054$, $\eta_p^2 = .043$, and merit issue framing, $F(1, 81) = 2.876$, $p = .094$, $\eta_p^2 = .034$, hence these results are not reported.

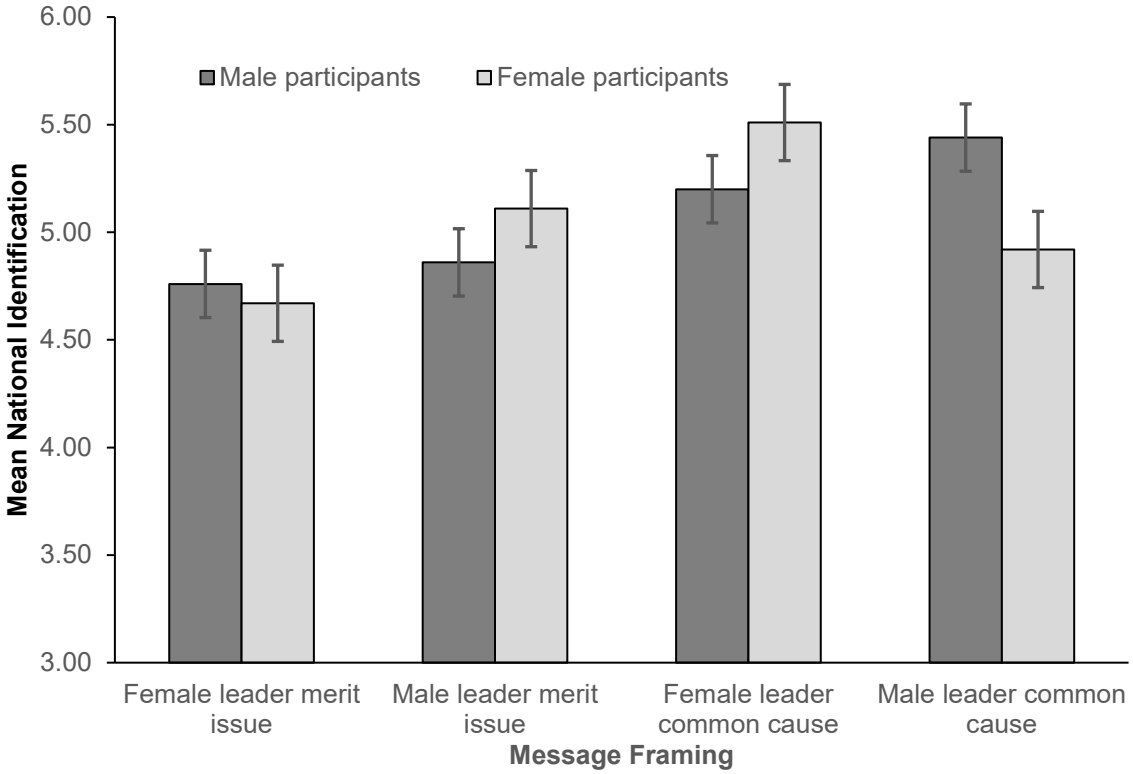

Figure 4.8. Mean national identification as a function of participant gender, leader gender, and message framing. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Threat Variables

Perceived threat to men's gender group. As per Figure 4.9, we observed a significant interaction between participant gender and message framing, $F(1, 328) = 4.607$, $p = .033$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$. No other main effects or interactions were significant, all $F \leq 2.450$, $ps \geq .118$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

Simple effects analyses conducted at each level of Participant Gender showed a significant main effect of message framing for women, $F(1, 168) = 5.152$, $p = .024$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$,

but not men, $F(1, 164) = 0.737$, $p = .392$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$. Women perceived the threat to men's gender group as being significantly higher under merit framing ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.53$) compared to under common cause framing ($M = 2.14$, $SD = 1.27$). In contrast, men perceived the threat as being similar (and equally high) under both issue frames ($M_{commoncause} = 2.75$, $SD = 1.68$; $M_{meritissue} = 2.54$, $SD = 1.48$).

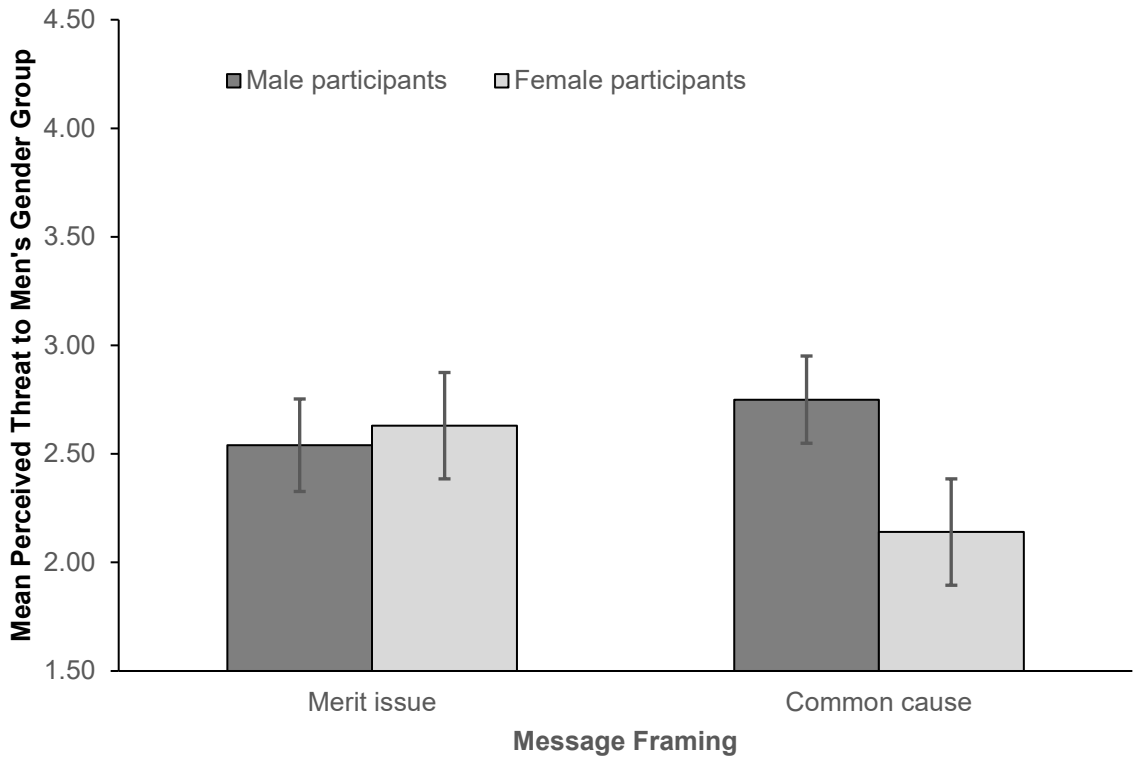

Figure 4.9. Mean perceived threat to men's gender group as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Perceived threat to women's gender group. We obtained significant main effects of participant gender ($M_{women} = 2.91$, $SD = 1.83$; M_{men} 2.48, $SD = 1.43$), $F(1, 328) = 6.863$, $p = .009$,

$\eta_p^2 = .020$, leader gender ($M_{maleleader} = 2.92$, $SD = 1.71$; $M_{femaleleader} = 2.46$, $SD = 1.57$), $F(1, 328) = 6.928$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$, and message framing ($M_{meritissue} = 3.12$, $SD = 1.80$; $M_{commoncause} = 2.29$, $SD = 1.40$), $F(1, 328) = 23.634$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .067$. We also found a significant interaction between participant gender and message framing, $F(1, 328) = 7.937$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$. However, each of these findings were qualified by the significant three-way interaction shown in Figure 4.10, $F(1, 328) = 6.865$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$. All other interactions remained non-significant, all $F \leq 1.152$, $ps \geq .284$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

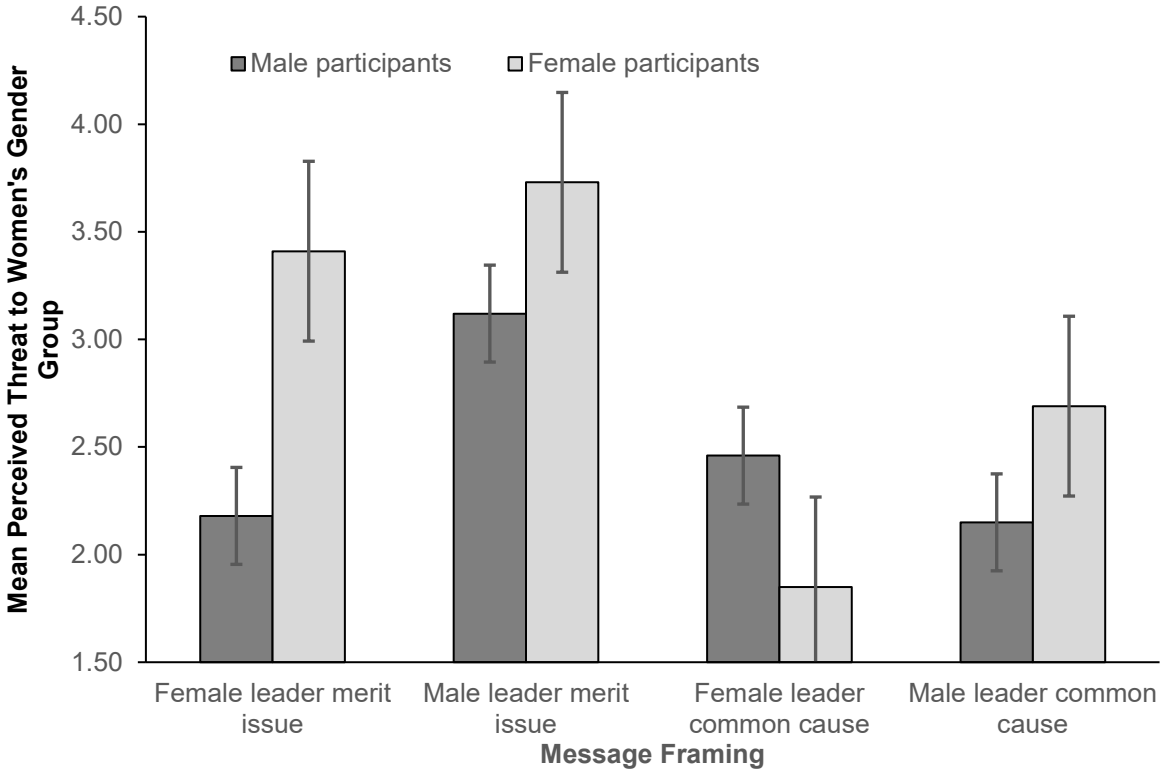

Figure 4.10. Mean perceived threat to women's gender group as a function of participant gender, leader gender, and message framing. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

The three-way interaction was unpacked at each level of participant gender to investigate the effects of leader gender and message framing. This revealed a significant two-way interaction between leader gender and message framing for men, $F(1, 162) = 8.409$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .049$, but not women, $F(1, 166) = 1.014$, $p = .315$, $\eta_p^2 = .006$. Simple effects conducted at both levels of framing showed a significant main effect of leader gender for men under merit issue, $F(1, 81) = 8.623$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .096$, but not common cause framing, $F(1, 81) = 1.177$, $p = .281$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$. Under merit framing, men viewed the threat to women's gender group to be significantly higher when the merit message was delivered by a male leader ($M = 3.12$, $SD = 1.61$) rather than a female leader ($M = 2.18$, $SD = 1.26$). However, under common cause framing, men's perceptions of the threat to women's gender group were similar regardless of the gender of the leader highlighting the common cause message ($M_{femaleleader} = 2.46$, $SD = 1.55$; $M_{maleleader} = 2.15$, $SD = 1.08$).

Anger. We found a significant main effect of participant gender ($M_{women} = 4.45$, $SD = 1.74$; $M_{men} = 3.22$, $SD = 1.61$), $F(1, 328) = 44.669$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .120$, but this was qualified by the significant two-way interaction between participant gender and message framing depicted in Figure 4.11, $F(1, 328) = 3.944$, $p = .048$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions, all $F \leq 0.541$, ps $\geq .462$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .002$.

Simple effects performed at both levels of participant gender revealed no significant message framing effect for women, $F(1, 168) = 3.50$, $p = .063$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$, or men, $F(1, 164) = 0.840$, $p = .361$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$. Consequently, these results are not reported.

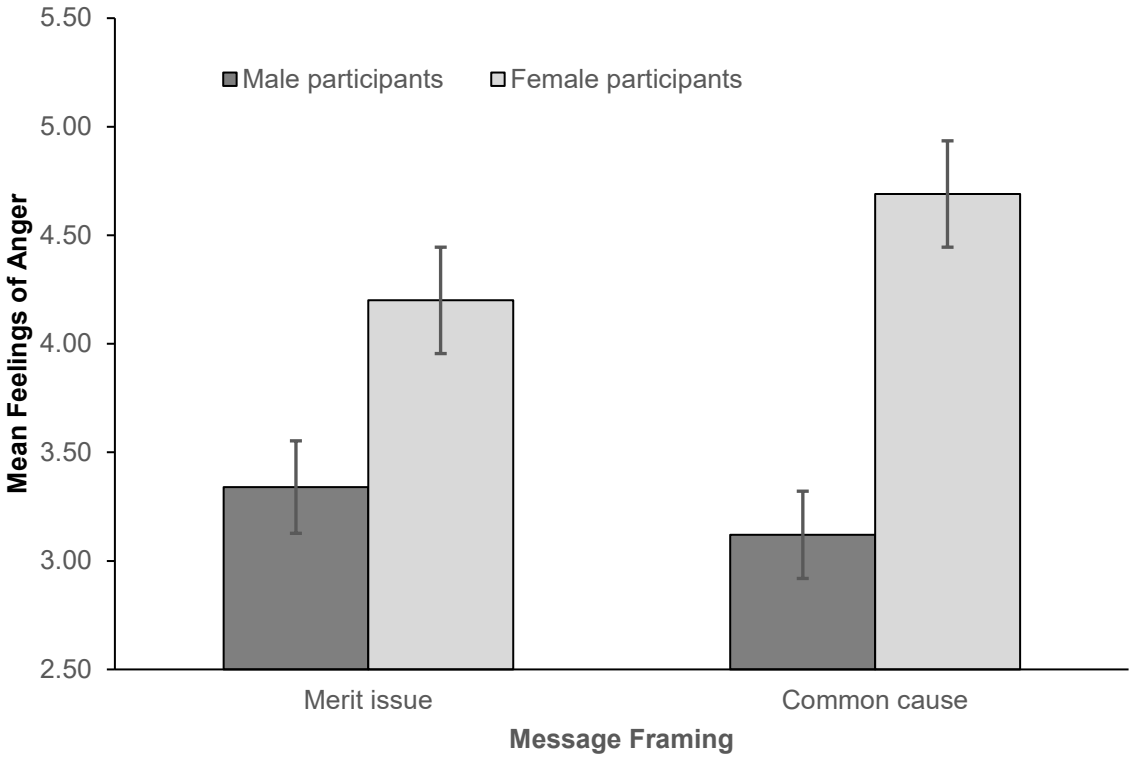

Figure 4.11. Mean feelings of anger as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Guilt. We found a significant main effect of participant gender, with men (M = 2.20, SD = 1.30) reporting higher guilt over the effects that gender inequality has on women than women themselves did (M = 1.84, SD = 1.00), $F(1, 328) = 7.986$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions, all $F \leq 3.271$, ps $\geq .071$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$.

Sadness. We detected a significant main effect of participant gender (M_{women} = 4.10, SD = 1.77; M_{men} = 2.97, SD = 1.62), $F(1, 328) = 37.591$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .103$, but this was qualified by the significant two-way interaction between participant gender and message framing depicted

in Figure 4.12, $F(1, 328) = 4.748$, $p = .030$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions, all $F \leq 1.925$, $ps \geq .166$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .006$.

Simple effects conducted at each level of participant gender revealed no significant results for men, $F(1, 164) = 2.861$, $p = .093$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$, or women, $F(1, 168) = 1.963$, $p = .163$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$, so these results are not reported.

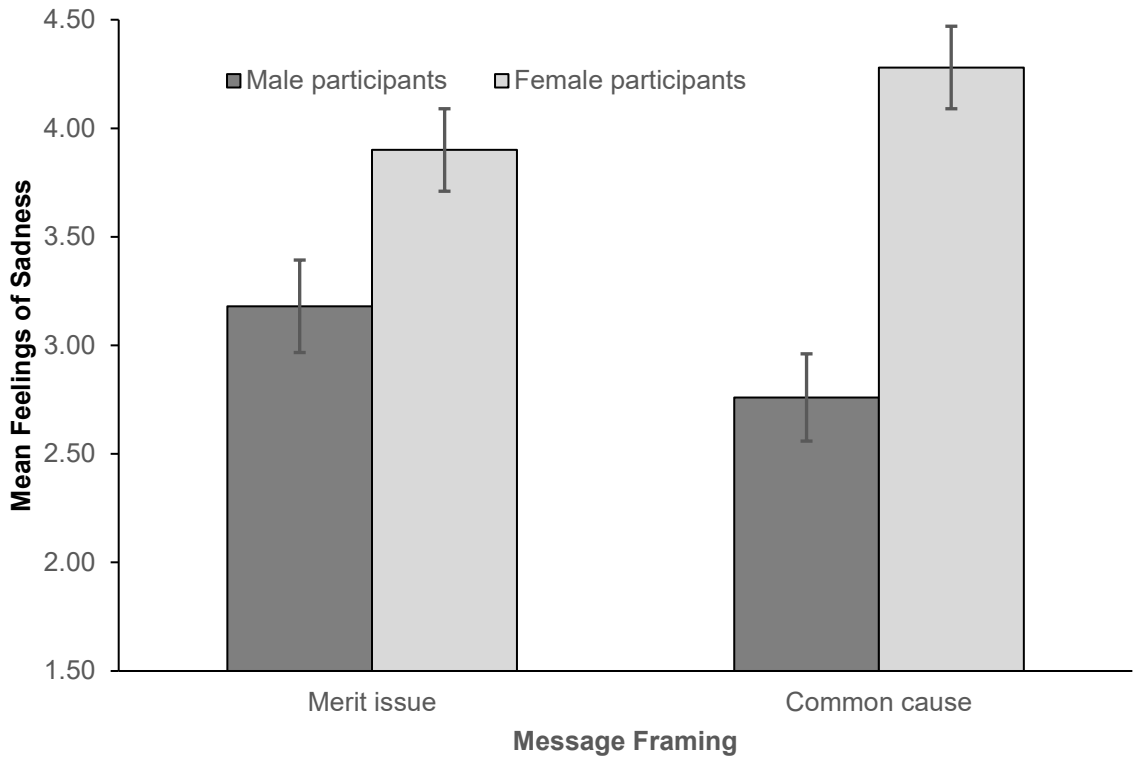

Figure 4.12. Mean feelings of sadness as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Sympathy. Women ($M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.52$) reported significantly higher feelings of sympathy over the effects that gender inequality has on women compared to men ($M = 4.24$, SD

= 1.57), $F(1, 328) = 15.87$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .046$. No other significant main effects or interactions were observed, all $F \leq 3.19$, $ps \geq .075$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$.

Hostile sexism. We found a significant main effect of participant gender, whereby men reported hostile sexism ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.50$) than women did ($M = 2.14$, $SD = 1.33$), $F(1, 328) = 52.349$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .138$. All remaining main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 2.768$, $ps \geq .097$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .008$.

Benevolent sexism. A significant main effect of participant gender showed that men reported higher benevolent sexism ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.48$) than women did ($M = 2.87$, $SD = 1.49$), $F(1, 328) = 9.330$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .028$, but this was qualified by a significant three-way interaction depicted in Figure 4.13, $F(1, 328) = 11.658$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .034$. No other main effects or interactions were significant, all $F \leq 2.179$, $ps \geq .141$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

We unpacked the three-way interaction at both levels of participant gender to uncover the effects of leader gender and message framing. Doing so showed a significant two-way interaction between leader gender and message framing for women, $F(1, 166) = 12.392$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .069$, but not men, $F(1, 162) = 1.813$, $p = .180$, $\eta_p^2 = .011$. Simple effects performed at each level of framing revealed a significant main effect of leader gender for women under both common cause, $F(1, 85) = 4.912$, $p = .029$, $\eta_p^2 = .055$, and merit issue framing, $F(1, 81) = 7.995$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .090$. While under common cause framing women expressed higher benevolent sexism under female leaders ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.73$) compared to male leaders ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 1.35$), under merit framing women demonstrated the opposite pattern, reporting higher benevolent sexism under male ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.39$) rather than female leaders ($M = 2.42$, $SD = 1.28$).

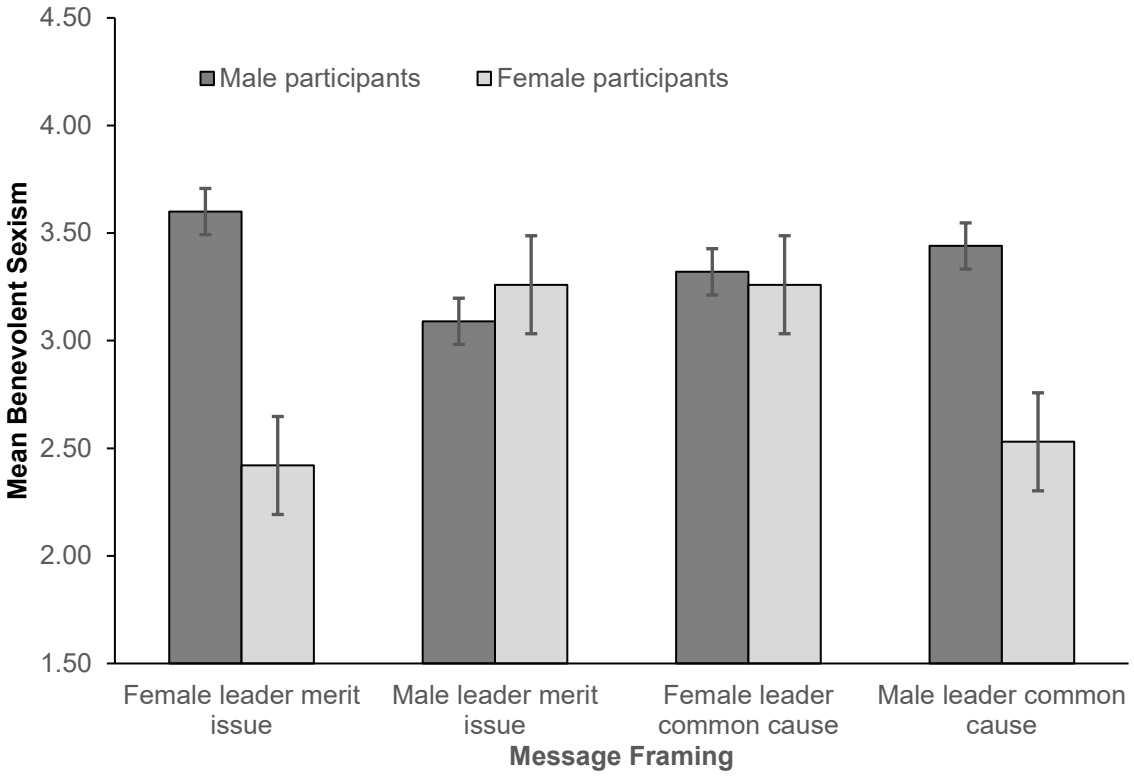

Figure 4.13. Mean benevolent sexism as a function of participant gender, leader gender, and message framing. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Discussion

Overall, Program 1 extends Subašić and colleagues' (2018) findings by explicitly examining the role of leadership and influence processes in affecting social change. A central aim of Experiment 2 in particular was to directly contrast male and female equality leaders (bar a gender-neutral control) to better determine whether they differ in their capacity to mobilise collective action toward gender equality.

Leadership findings. Supporting Hypothesis 1a and replicating Experiment 1's findings, participants again evaluated leaders more positively under common cause rather than

meritocratic framing. Thus, as predicted (H1a), across both experiments common cause framing (compared to more traditional frames of equality) enhanced leadership evaluations of all leaders irrespective of their gender. Indeed, common cause leaders were evaluated as being significantly more prototypical, legitimate, and influential (Experiments 1-2), more relationally identified (Experiment 1), and more transformational (Experiment 2) by both women and men.

This indicates that solidarity-based framing plays a crucial role in mobilising support for social change toward equality. As Steffens and colleagues (2014) assert, "leaders need not only to 'be one of us'…but also to 'do it for us'…to 'craft a sense of us'…and to 'embed a sense of us'" (p. 1001). Common cause framing positions leaders as 'one of us' by fashioning them as more prototypical and consequently more legitimate and influential to followers. Certainly, prototypical leaders derive their influence partly from perceptions that they embody collective group interests, which common cause framing achieves (van Knippenberg, 2011).

Furthermore, transformational leaders typically act as role models for followers by providing a shared vision and inspiring their followers to go beyond their own personal interests to embrace group interests (Bass & Avolio, 1993). Hence, it follows that participants would view leaders as more transformational when highlighting equality as a common cause for women and men, as opposed to blaming gender inequality on meritocratic reasons (Experiment 2) which fails to promote a shared mission toward equality. Instead, when (male and female) leaders position themselves as a common leader for women *and* men and thus craft a sense of common cause and shared identity, both women and men appear more favourable toward, and receptive of, these equality leaders.

In terms of leadership findings beyond our hypotheses, men evaluated all leaders as more transformational than women did regardless of the message leaders spruiked. A key aspect of

transformational leadership is the ability to craft and communicate an inspirational and shared vision of the future (Bass, 1985, 1998), and the achievement of gender equality undeniably necessitates a different view of the future. Because men typically view gender equality as being disruptive to the status quo (and subsequently their position within it; Branscombe, 1998), it makes sense that men would view any leader promoting the goal of equality as being more transformational in general. Certainly, "change is often sparked through disruptive leadership" (para. 12, WEF, 2017a), and the achievement of gender equality will require men to give up particular comforts and their "unjust share of power" (Flood, 2015, p. 5) that they have grown accustomed to.

Furthermore, in Experiment 2 women (but not men) evaluated all leaders as more legitimate and influential when they promoted common cause rather than meritocracy. Leaders are likely awarded an increase in perceived legitimacy (and consequently influence) by women because meritocracy framing ultimately legitimates the genuine discriminatory factors contributing to inequality (Hochschild, 1997). Thus, it follows that female participants consequently deem the messenger promoting this damaging message as less legitimate and subsequently less influential.

Mobilisation findings. Another key aim of Experiment 2 was to investigate how manipulating the perceived legitimacy of gender inequality affects men's and women's support for equality. However, the prediction that common cause framing would result in men's and women's higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause was not wholly supported (H1b). Instead, despite all participants evaluating leaders who promoted common cause frames more positively, only women (not men) expressed increased collective action intentions (but not sense of common cause) under common cause compared to meritocratic

frames. Therefore, as anticipated contrasting solidarity-based common cause framing with a more polarising and legitimating version of traditional women's issue frames (i.e., meritocracy) strengthened the effects of such framing on (women's) mobilisation.

Meanwhile, message framing did not affect men's mobilisation in either experiment, indicating that men appear less affected by *what* is being said, compared to *who* is saying it (e.g., male leaders). One limitation is that including a third women's issue condition would have allowed us to better determine the effects of common cause framing relative to meritocratic framing. Nevertheless, these results indicate that women, as the primary targets of gender inequality (and as compared to men, who are typically non-targets and even perpetrators of inequality) are *particularly* sensitive to how the issue of equality is promoted, and remain differentially affected by legitimating meritocratic messages.

Certainly, women's adoption of meritocratic beliefs surrounding inequality can lead them to "reconstruct the glass ceilings they have cracked" (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2010, p. 371). Our findings demonstrate this, given that women were significantly *less* likely to report collective action intentions or feelings of common cause under meritocratic frames. Essentially, providing women with a meritocratic explanation of inequality removed their motivation to agitate for collective action, likely as a reaction to the message's legitimating content. This aligns with Major and colleagues' (2002) findings that low-status individuals who endorse meritocratic beliefs are less likely to recognise discrimination against their group and are subsequently more likely to view actual gendered discrimination as being based on legitimate behaviours. Ultimately, discrimination perceived as legitimate removes the impetus for collective action by "undermining the validity of the collective grievances of the group" (Jetten et al., 2011, p. 118).

In a way, system justifying beliefs can provide comfort by justifying one's suffering as "unavoidable or deserved" (Wood, 1998, p. 359).

Alternatively, women may have reported significantly lower collective action intent under meritocratic framing due to increased feelings of hopelessness and frustration in the face of messaging that essentially implies inequality is their fault because they do not work hard enough to overcome (systematic) inequality (Whelen, 2013). Such feelings may have resulted in female participants disengaging from taking action to further the gender equality cause. Certainly, feelings of frustration and a lack of perceived agency can induce a sense of collective helplessness, in turn leading people to "remove from their consciousness any sense that they can collectively alter the conditions and terms of their daily lives" (Gamson, 1995, p. 95). Subsequently, because perceived sense of group efficacy is a key predictor of collective action, it makes sense that women remained less mobilised under meritocratic framing (van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Importantly, the prediction that men would report higher mobilisation under male leaders promoting common cause messages (H2) was partially supported in Experiment 2, with men (along with women) reporting higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause under male leaders – irrespective of how they framed the issue. This indicates that male leaders are more successful than female leaders at mobilising male *and* female participants, and signals that leader gender remains a crucial aspect of the leader-influence process when striving to mobilise follower support toward social change. It is not sufficient to merely "walk the talk" (Kotter, 2007, p. 101) by promoting equality as a common cause for men and women – it appears leaders must also embody a shared identity with their followers.

Indeed, the gender of the leader seems to greatly affect their capacity to rally supporters, with male leaders invoking significantly greater mobilisation (in the form of collective action and common cause) than female leaders irrespective of *how* they framed their message, or how positively *or* negatively they were evaluated as leaders (Experiment 2). However, men's increased mobilisation under male leaders was not enhanced under common cause messages, hence the prediction that men would report higher mobilisation under male leaders promoting common cause messages was not fully supported (H2). This central finding is discussed in depth in the General Discussion.

Participants' increased mobilisation under male leaders was not reflected in Experiment 2's behavioural measure, with participants being equally likely to agree to sign the online petition regardless of the condition they were assigned to. However, our behavioural measure findings are promising in terms of participants' behavioural intentions aligning with and reflecting their actual behaviours, with 53.7% of participants who insisted they would be willing to sign a petition actually agreeing to sign the petition when asked.

Finally, replicating Experiment 1's significant findings, in Experiment 2 women also reported higher collective action intentions than men, and the same pattern was found for women's sense of common cause. This strong gender difference demonstrates that women are more readily invested in and mobilised for equality than are men. Certainly, women are highly motivated to act collectively against inequality because it damages their group's prospects (van Zomeren & Spears, 2009), and such feminist behaviour aims to elevate women's status relative to men, hence is likely more attractive to women than to men (Radke, Hornsey, & Barlow, 2018). This is in line with extant work in related domains, for example workplace gender discrimination

(Iyer & Ryan, 2009b), sexism confrontations (Becker & Barreto, 2014), and women's sexual objectification (Guizzo, Cadinu, Gadli, Maass, & Latrofa, 2017).

Threat and social identity findings. In fact, compared to men women also reported higher levels of key predictors of collective action, such as affective injustice and feminist identification, which likely contributed to women's increased willingness to support gender equality (Burn, Aboud, & Moyles, 2000). These included higher levels (compared to men) of collective self-esteem (Experiment 1; measure omitted from Experiment 2), feelings of sympathy (Experiment 2; measure omitted from Experiment 1), feminist and gender identification, anger, and sadness in Experiments 1-2. Women's higher collective self-esteem may be because embracing the very collective qualities that attract discrimination in the first place "justifies equality struggles and motivates group activism" (Burn et al., 2000, p. 1082), while increased feminist identification is linked to increased collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008; Zucker, 2004).

Meanwhile, women's increased anger and sadness is not surprising: anger is a typical reaction from disadvantaged group members and is typically directed at groups who have harmed the ingroup (van Zomeren et al., 2004), while sadness is usually felt by the victimised outgroup (e.g., women; Scherer et al., 2001). Despite sadness being linked to increased likelihood of individuals withdrawing and giving up (i.e., decreased likelihood of protesting; Scherer et al., 2001), women still reported high levels of collective action in Experiments 1-2. In contrast, Klandermans (1997) states that sympathy with a movement's political and strategic aims is the first step toward participation in that movement. Additionally, empathic concern (a subset of sympathy) motivates altruistic actions aimed at improving a victim's welfare (Batson, Fultz, & Schoenrade, 1987).

Women's higher gender identification than men is in line with research demonstrating that low-status group members tend to be more identified with their respective groups relative to high-status members (Leach et al., 2008). Moreover, Kelly (1993) empirically demonstrated that low-status group members are more inclined to engage in collective action when they are highly identified with the disadvantaged group. Our results are in line with this, with women reporting higher collective action *and* gender identification than men in both experiments. Additionally, despite men and women reporting higher gender identification under common cause compared to women's issue (Experiment 1) or merit framing (Experiment 2), only women (not men) reported increased levels of collective action under common cause framing (Experiment 2). This is logical considering high-status group members are more likely to participate in collective action the *less* they identify with their advantaged group (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998). Indeed, low-identified males are capable of recognising appeals for equality as efforts to attain *equality*, not personal gain (Garcia, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Ellemers, 2010). Hence, men's higher gender identification under common cause framing goes hand in hand with their lack of collective action under the same framing.

Men also legitimated gender inequality significantly more than women did (Experiments 1-2), in addition to reporting higher benevolent and hostile sexism (Experiment 2; measures omitted from Experiment 1). This is not surprising, given men tend to demonstrate more conservative views regarding gender than women do, across both Australian and international samples (Flood, 2015; Olson et al., 2007). Men also consistently score higher than women on measures of sexism (Zawisza, Luyt, & Zawadzka, 2013). In contrast, the prominent drop in women's benevolent sexism levels when a male leader promoted a common cause message (Experiment 2) compared to all other conditions could reflect their receptivity to a non-invested

outgroup leader (compared to an evidently self-interested ingroup leader) standing up for gender equality.

Compared to women, men also reported significantly higher feelings of guilt (Experiments 1-2) and shame (Experiment 1; omitted from Experiment 2) regarding gender inequality. This could indicate that men acknowledge their gender group's collective role in inequality's perpetuation (hence their increased guilt; Schmitt, Branscombe, & Brehm, 2004), and believe their group's actions have damaged their social identity or personal reputation (leading to increased shame; Ferguson, 2005). Moreover, while guilt elicits positive preventative incentives and motivates one to adjust their moral behaviour, shame evokes defensive mechanisms, leading to distancing from (rather than adjustment of) amoral behaviour (Makogon & Enikolopov, 2013). Therefore, very different motivational states and outcomes can arise from each emotion, and the two may interact to neutralise men's intentions to address inequality.

Limitations and Future Research

One limitation of Program 1 is that we did not replicate Subašić and colleagues' (2018) finding that solidarity framing increased men's and women's collective action intent (an effect that only emerged for men when a male leader promoted the common cause message). A methodological explanation for this is potential weakness of our manipulation vignettes or the manipulation checks themselves. While in the correct rank order, responses of participants in the women's issue conditions to the women's issue manipulation checks in Experiment 1 were actually below the scale's midpoint. This indicates a 'Neither agree nor disagree' response. Thus, the Likert-type manipulation check items may not have adequately distinguished between message framing conditions. Additionally, common cause condition participants might have misinterpreted and agreed with the women's issue manipulation items too, due to common cause

framing ultimately encompassing equality as a women's (*and* a men's) issue. Moreover, many of our dependent variable means also hung around the scale's midpoint, raising concerns as to whether participants properly engaged with the study materials, and whether our manipulations elicited the desired effect.

Certainly, our manipulation differed slightly from Subašić et al.'s (2018). Whereas their manipulation specified an *Australian-based* Gender Equality Commission, our vignette focused on a supposedly *global* context and authority figure (i.e., Gender Equality Commissioner, Chief Delegate), with absence of a relevant superordinate identity to provide a localised context or initial shared identity for participants to relate to (e.g., an Australian or American Commission). Given the central role that social identity has been shown to play in the current and extant work (e.g., Banfield & Dovidio, 2013; Klandermans, 2014; van Zomeren et al., 2008), in Program 2 we investigate whether the inclusion (or exclusion) of a more specific superordinate identity affects participants' mobilisation toward equality. As such, Program 2 explicitly and orthogonally manipulates the salience of global versus American superordinate identities.

Additionally, Subašić and colleagues' (2018) sample comprised mostly young Australian undergraduates. We instead used a combined Australian and American undergraduate and general public sample (Experiment 1) and an American employed sample which was substantially older than typical undergraduate convenience samples ($M_{age} = 34.13$, $SD = 11.66$; Experiment 2). Thus, participants' personal experience (or lack thereof) of gender inequality may have differed, subsequently affecting their responses to different gender equality messages. Indeed, compared to typical undergraduate samples, Experiment 2's largely employed American sample is more likely to have been exposed to workplace gender inequality. Certainly, crowdsourcing samples

(such as those from Prolific) are on average older, more racially diverse, and have greater work experience than university samples (Behrend et al., 2011).

Such familiarity with workplace gender inequality could undermine women's acceptance of the meritocratic ideology used. This is because employed women are more likely than men or unemployed women to be cognisant of structural inequalities and thus predisposed to interpret gender inequality as being structurally based (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). Despite attempts to keep the meritocracy messaging subtle, anecdotal feedback indicated some female participants did not 'buy' the meritocratic framing, particularly when attributed to female leaders (e.g., "I thought there was a subtle implication in Margaret's statement that the barrier to women holding high level management positions was they weren't working hard enough"; "It sounded like she was saying - other women can do it, so if you failed it's your own fault and there is no systemic discrimination"). Future research could use more naïve samples and more nuanced meritocracy messages.

Chapter 5

All for One or One for All? The Effects of Subgroup and Superordinate Identity Framing on Men's Mobilisation Toward Equality

> "So often the world sits idly by, watching ethnic conflicts flare up, as if these were mere entertainment rather than human beings whose lives are being destroyed. Shouldn't the existence of even one single refugee be a cause for alarm throughout the world?"
>
> (Professor Urkhan Alakbarov, Azerbaijani geneticist, 1998)

The concept of social identity plays a central role in the social psychology of social change, and, subsequently, mobilisation toward collective action (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013; Klandermans, 2014; van Zomeren et al., 2008). As Klandermans (2014) points out: "Identity processes play a crucial role in the dynamics of protest – as antecedents, mediators, moderators, or consequences" (p. 1). Yet despite studies demonstrating that greater identification with referent groups results in greater collective action intentions, the majority of these studies are correlational and do not test causal relations (Klandermans, 2014). Additionally, Klandermans (2014) maintains that those few experimental and longitudinal studies that *are* better equipped to test causality remain inconclusive (e.g., Simon et al., 1998).

As such, there exists ongoing debate regarding *which* identity processes – specifically self-categorisation processes – most effectively reduce prejudice and discrimination (see Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003). For example, is it more prudent to highlight the superordinate

identity and ignore subgroup identities (e.g., 'American'), or to instead emphasise subgroup identities and ignore the superordinate (e.g., 'men and women')? Alternatively, is it better to keep both subgroup identities salient while simultaneously highlighting the superordinate (e.g., 'American men and women')? Due to this gap in current knowledge, Program 2 examined the role of subgroup and superordinate identity processes in mobilising men toward collective action for gender equality, to investigate whether identity salience affects men's mobilisation.

Experiment 3

Subgroup identities refer to individuals' exclusive group memberships (e.g., men *or* women) without reference to an overarching superordinate category. Meanwhile, common-group superordinate identities ignore exclusive subgroup memberships and instead reference only the common superordinate category (e.g., all Americans; Banfield & Dovidio, 2013). Social identity theory predicts that making higher-order identities salient makes it more probable that individuals will consider whether certain actions benefit the superordinate group rather than only their ingroup (Kramer & Brewer, 1984; Transue, 2007). Certainly, while making exclusive subgroup identities salient has been shown to increase ingroup favouritism, emphasising a common superordinate identity instead alleviates this favouritism effect (Stone & Crisp, 2007).

For example, Stone and Crisp (2007) discovered that British participants were more likely to engage in ingroup favouritism relative to the French when they identified at the subgroup level of 'Brits' rather than the higher-order level of 'Europeans'. Indeed, the Brits evaluated the French significantly more favourably upon identifying as Europeans – an identity that encompasses the respective Brit and French subgroup identities. Similarly, Transue (2007)

found that making an overarching 'American' identity salient to African and White Americans resulted in decreased racial prejudice on behalf of White Americans. This demonstrates that favouring common superordinate identities over making subgroup identities salient can have positive psychological effects (Transue, 2007).

In terms of the current thesis, the traditional women's issue approach to gender equality can be thought of as a subgroup identity frame that ignores the subgroup category of men (within the overarching category of those acting in support of equality). In line with Stone and Crisp (2007) and Transue (2007), it is possible that instead emphasising a superordinate category (e.g., Americans) could potentially increase individuals' support for equality. Certainly, Subašić and colleagues (2018) found that messages emphasising the overarching superordinate identity of 'parents' resulted in increased collective action intentions and higher feminist solidarity among male participants, compared to messages concentrating on the exclusive subgroup identities of 'mothers' or 'fathers'. This indicates that for men, gender equality messages are required to "go beyond subgroup concerns to emphasise a shared, superordinate identity if they are to become willing to challenge the status quo – and do so to the same extent as women" (Subašić et al., 2018, p. 716).

However, there also exists the well-documented risk that when advantaged and disadvantaged groups *do* come to see themselves under a shared superordinate identity, collective protest can be undermined (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). This is in line with empirical research showing that collective action can be undermined among disadvantaged groups when they experience positive cross-group contact with advantaged groups (e.g., Becker et al., 2013). In these cases, although the majority's attitudes toward the minority may be improved, the minority's ability to protest the status quo may be reduced, resulting in lower likelihood of

collective action (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). This is due to the phenomenon of social identity threat, a process whereby recategorisation processes that intend to *decrease* conflict instead threaten individuals' sense of distinctive social identity, resulting in defensive responses that actually prolong the conflict (Hogg, 2015). Certainly, erasing subgroup identity in favour of an overarching superordinate identity is a prime example of when social identity threat is likely to arise (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). For example, promoting gender equality as an issue requiring 'Americans' to work together could actually backfire and result in women experiencing social identity threat due to such superordinate framing erasing women's very real struggles with inequality.

Social identity threat typically occurs when certain subgroups believe that their group identity is only marginally represented within the superordinate identity, whereas the other (out)group's identity is thought to be over-represented (Wenzel et al., 2003). Hornsey and Hogg (2000) argue that subgroup social identity threat is the biggest barrier to social cohesion and should be avoided because it poses a genuine problem to recategorisation. Indeed, individuals who are strongly attached to their identity typically resist attempts at recategorisation, and this resistance can manifest in actions that exacerbate existing intergroup distinctions (Hogg & Hornsey, 2006). For example, within racial and ethnic bias contexts, recategorisation into a common superordinate identity that erased subgroup identities actually decreased collective action intentions on behalf of both disadvantaged (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Ufkes, Calcagno, Glasford, & Dovidio, 2016) and advantaged group members (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013). To avoid the potential for such conflict, retaining some subgroup autonomy within the superordinate category is recommended (Haslam, 2001; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Hogg & Hornsey, 2006; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). This can be done by emphasising dual superordinate

identities instead of exclusively emphasising subgroup or superordinate identities.

Dual superordinate identities refute the supposed mutual exclusivity of subgroup and superordinate categories, and instead emphasise both common-group representation *and* subgroup differences simultaneously (e.g., American women and men; Klandermans, 2014). This aligns with Berg's (2005) assertion that we should "let people have their groups" (p. 107) in order to avoid resistance from subgroups who believe their group is no longer seen within exclusive higher-order identities (e.g., all Americans). Hornsey and Hogg (2000) reiterate this idea that subgroup identities should be maintained and strengthened to achieve social harmony and reduce conflict, and suggest nesting subgroup identities within a higher-order superordinate identity.

This simultaneous identification at both the subgroup and superordinate group level erases subgroup boundaries and allows for previous outgroup members to instead be considered as ingroup members, all while maintaining the "integrity of valued subgroup identities" (Batalha & Reynolds, 2012, p. 743). For example, our solidarity-based common cause approach to gender equality can be conceptualised as a dual superordinate frame encompassing subgroup identities (women and men) within an overarching superordinate identity (American). Emphasising the overarching superordinate category while maintaining some semblance of the gender subgroup categories could result in transcendence beyond these social category boundaries that typically present as barriers to solidarity in the context of gender equality (Subašić et al., 2018).[2]

[2] It could be argued that within the context of gender equality, and given the nature of the issue, gender identity is in fact chronically salient (or at least elevated), and therefore does it even make sense to reason that the subgroup (gender) identity can ever be made 'not salient'. In this sense, the best we can hope for is a dual identity –

Utilising a dual-identity approach to group identity salience has been demonstrated to increase the likelihood of individuals recategorising themselves as common ingroup members, because in doing so they do not have to necessarily abandon their distinctive subgroup identities (González & Brown, 2003). By retaining some subgroup integrity and salience within a superordinate group identity (e.g., American men and women), it appears that group members are better able to enjoy healthy intergroup relations (González & Brown, 2003). This is particularly essential within the context of gender equality given the interconnectedness of men's and women's gender groups (González & Brown, 2003). Essentially, recategorisation "transforms competitive intergroup relations into cooperative intragroup relations" (Hogg, 2015, p. 181).

Indeed, within racial and ethnic settings, recategorisation into a dual superordinate identity was found to increase advantaged group members' collective action intentions (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013; Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). For example, Banfield and Dovidio (2013) found that although inducing a common superordinate 'American' identity *decreased* Whites' recognition of racial discrimination against Blacks, inducing a dual superordinate 'American Blacks and Whites' identity *increased* Whites' recognition of and willingness to protest the same racial discrimination. In line with this it could be expected that promoting gender equality as an issue for 'American women and men' to address (rather than 'American women' or just

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even when only 'American' or 'Australian' identities are mentioned. This is in contrast to 'parents' as an identity, since (for most people) it is similar to a collective noun for men and women raising kids together. Indeed, parents is somewhat of an 'instant' dual identity, and this may have contributed to the strong findings found in Subašić et al.'s (2018) work pertaining to parents.

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'Americans' overall) could increase individuals' motivation to participate in collective action supporting equality. This is because such dual identity framing provides a shared higher-order identity for men and women to see themselves as being part of, which is crucial for mobilisation to occur (Subašić et al., 2008).

Finally, Reynolds, Turner and Haslam (2003) argue that just as depersonalisation does not mean a loss of personal identity, nor does recategorisation at a higher-order mean a loss of subgroup identity, or the subsequent irrelevance of subgroup differences and relationships (Subašić et al., 2008). Instead, the meaning associated with higher-order identities shapes both understanding and behaviours at the (inter)subgroup level – and vice versa – and group members are prone to viewing those subgroups who share relevant higher-order norms as being part of the same higher-order identity ingroup (Haslam, Postmes, & Ellemers, 2003; Subašić et al., 2008). In this sense, group members can adopt a broader perspective that views other groups as 'us' due to the fact that 'we' are inhabitants of the Earth (Batalha & Reynolds, 2012).

Furthermore, Subašić and colleagues (2008) maintain "the perceived differences among subgroups and differential subgroup relations make possible both higher-order unity with the minority and higher-order division from a hitherto legitimate authority" (p. 346). Consequently, it makes sense to maintain subgroup identities within a higher-level identity so as to allow increased unity. In the context of gender equality, the 'authority' may refer to those government systems and workplace structures maintaining inequality. Furthermore, within an equality context, when subgroup divisions (e.g., man, woman) are embedded within higher-order identities (e.g., American), it may become possible to overcome subgroup conflict.

Overall, research demonstrates that while ignoring subgroup identities in favour of overarching superordinate identities can increase conflict (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000), couching

subgroup identities within a higher-order identity can increase ethnic majorities' collective action supporting outgroup minorities (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013). Yet it remains to be seen which specific self-categorisation and identity processes will positively affect men's support for gender equality. Moreover, many studies investigating the effects of group identification on collective action intentions are correlational and fail to test causal relations, hence an empirical approach is required (Klandermans, 2014).

Within the context of equality, it is possible that emphasising a dual identity that encompasses subgroup identities (e.g., American men and women) might increase individuals' support for gender equality more effectively than continuing to emphasise traditional subgroup (e.g., women's issue) or even superordinate identities (e.g., American women's issue). This is because dual identity message framing might stimulate participants to seek a reformulation of 'who we are' – for example, from separate outgroup entities (men, women) to a common dual identity (encompassing an overarching American identity and a common cause, e.g., *American* men and women) fighting toward equality. This is in contrast to the typical women's issue frame which is essentially a subgroup identity frame that neglects men as a subgroup (within the broader category of people who are acting to advance gender equality). In this sense, dual identity framing might allow participants to transcend typical social category boundaries that have previously acted as barriers to solidarity within gender equality settings and instead provide a shared higher-order identity for women and men to see themselves under (Subašić et al., 2008, 2018).

Consequently, Program 2 empirically investigates how emphasising different subgroup and superordinate identities affects men's mobilisation toward equality. Specifically, across Experiments 3 and 4, we investigate the importance of maintaining gender subgroups within an

overarching superordinate category in a gender equality setting (e.g., American men and women), rather than continuing to focus on the subgroup of women alone. We also investigate whether a localised superordinate American identity being made salient affects men's support for equality relative to a broader global identity being made salient. Finally, we again use manipulation statements credited to either a male or a female leader to further study the effects of leader gender on men's mobilisation.

Program 2 focuses solely on male participants because men hold the majority of resources and power necessary to effect social change (de Vries, 2015), and because women already tend to be heavily invested in addressing gender inequality (as evidenced by their higher mobilisation in Program 1, and extant work; van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). Indeed, men play a valuable role within the gender equality movement due to occupying high-status positions within the social hierarchy and also holding the majority of influential policymaking positions (ParlAmericas, 2016). We thus believe it will be beneficial to examine how men's mobilisation *in particular* is affected by leader gender and message framing strategies. Furthermore, the current trend in psychological research is to include fewer factors as this allows for higher power and therefore greater accuracy in detecting statistically significant differences (particularly relating to interactions), in addition to being more economical and practical (Anderson & Whitcomb, 2015). Focusing solely on men's mobilisation allows us to effectively halve the number of participants required for each cell, greatly reducing experiment running costs and recruitment time while simultaneously increasing the power of our experiments.

Aims and Hypotheses

Experiment 3 examines whether emphasising a local dual superordinate identity (American men and women) affects men's responses to calls for gender equality relative to a subgroup

(global women's issue) or superordinate identity (American women's issue). In line with Program 1's findings, we predict that when gender equality is framed as an American common cause (i.e., dual superordinate American men's and women's issue) rather than a (global) women's issue or an American women's issue, men will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, relational leadership identification, and transformational leadership (H1). In line with Experiment 2's findings whereby men reported higher mobilisation under male leaders, and Banfield and Dovidio's (2013) finding that dual identity framing increased White's willingness to protest racial discrimination, we predict that men's collective action intentions and sense of common cause will be higher when the equality message is attributed to a male rather than a female leader, particularly under American common cause compared to women's issue or American women's issue messages (H2).

Method

Participants and Design

Participants were 300 males (*M* age = 30.76 years, *SD* = 9.49) recruited online using Prolific. Participants received £0.90 GBP ($1.60 AUD) for their participation. Prolific's pre-screening criteria was set to White American men aged 18-65 years with English as their first language, and who were either part- or full-time employed. Consequently, 96.7% of participants identified as American citizens (1.7% American permanent residents; 1.7% other), employed on either a full- (59.3%), part-time (17%), self-employed (10.7%), casual (3.3%), or other (9.7%) basis. Students comprised 27.7% of the sample (71.08% studying full-time domestically; 26.5% part-time domestically; 2.41% full-time internationally), with the remaining 72.3% not currently studying. Participants' highest level of educational attainment comprised the following: finished some high school (0.3%), finished high school (24%), Trade/Technical/Vocational training

(1.7%), Bachelor's degree (46.7%), Associate degree (13%), Master's degree (3.3%), or other (11%).

The participants (all male) were randomly allocated to one of six experimental conditions in a 2 (leader gender: male leader, female leader) x 3 (message framing: women's issue [subgroup identity], American women's issue [superordinate identity], American common cause [men's and women's issue; dual identity]) between-subjects balanced factorial design, with 50 participants per cell. An a priori statistical power analysis using G*Power (Faul et al., 2007) showed that for a power of .80 (α = .05), the minimum required sample to detect small effect sizes of η_p^2 = .0225 (or f = .151) using a 2 x 3 ANOVA was 343 participants (approximately 57 per cell). We managed to recruit 300 participants (50 per cell), but sensitivity power analyses showed that our final sample of 251 participants (after excluding those who failed the leader gender check) could still detect effect sizes of: ηp^2 = .0305 (or f = .177) for the leader gender main effect, and ηp^2 = .0375 (or f = .197) for the message framing main effect and the leader gender X message framing interaction.

Procedure and Materials

Participants completed a 15-minute online questionnaire following the same procedure as per previous experiments. In order to incentivise participation all participants were given the opportunity to enter a prize draw for 12 x $20 eGift vouchers.

Leader gender and message framing manipulations. The vignette was similar to Experiment 1's. A one-page article outlined the Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development's creation of a gender equality initiative whose goal was to address workplace gender inequality. Leader gender was manipulated as in Program 1 (i.e., "Chief [American] Delegate Margaret [Matthew] Jamieson", "her [his], she [he"). Our message

framing manipulation involved the two women's issue conditions promoting gender inequality as an issue that women alone should address, while the common cause condition promoted gender equality as a common goal for both women and men to strive for together.

Our message framing factor also included the manipulation of subgroup or (dual) superordinate identity. This was manipulated via message content and the equality group's name (i.e., "Women for Gender Equality vs. Women for Gender Equality – America vs. Men and Women for Gender Equality – America"). For example, in the women's issue condition gender inequality was framed as a global subgroup issue that women around the world should address. We used statements such as "extensive consultation with women across the globe", "women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue", "women and girls working together to promote gender equality across the world", and "Now is the time for women around the world to act".

In the American women's issue condition gender inequality was framed as an American superordinate issue that American women alone should address. This condition used statements such as "extensive consultation with women across America", "American women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue", "women and girls working together to promote gender equality across the country", and "Now is the time for women around America to act".

Finally, our American common cause condition framed gender inequality as an American dual superordinate issue that both American women and men should strive to address together. This condition used statements such as "extensive consultation with men and women across America", "American men and women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue together", "men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality across the country", and "Now is the time for men and women around America to act".

Dependent Measures

Participants then completed the proceeding dependent measures and demographic information from Program 1 (in the same order): leader prototypicality (α = .92), relational leadership identification (α = .85), transformational leadership (α = .94), leader legitimacy (α = .95), leader influence (α = .92), perceived threat to men's gender group (α = .93), perceived threat to women's gender group (α = .88), collective action intentions (α = .90), common cause (α = .93), perceived legitimacy of inequality (α = .91), anger (α = .84), guilt (α = .84), sadness (α = .89), sympathy (α = .88), hostile sexism (α = .92), benevolent sexism (α = .85), gender ingroup identification (α = .89), feminist identification (α = .95), national identification (α = .93), the online behavioural measure, instructional manipulation checks, and demographics. See Appendix D for item list.

Manipulation checks. Participants identified the Chief Delegate's gender (male [Matthew]/female [Margaret]), and the name of the group discussed in the article (Women for Gender Equality/Women for Gender Equality - America/Men and Women for Gender Equality - America). Participants then rated the extent to which the vignette provided information regarding inequality being (a) a global women's issue, (b) an American women's issue, or (c) a common cause for American men and women (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much so*).

Results

Data Analysis and Analytical Strategy

SPSS Version 24 was used for the main analysis. We performed between-participants ANOVA's on each of the dependent measures, using leader gender and message framing as factors. Significant two-way message framing x leader gender interactions were first unpacked by conducting separate one-way ANOVA's on the relevant dependent variables for each level of

message framing. To investigate the effects of message framing on our male participants' responses, we then unpacked the two-way interactions by running one-way ANOVA's at each level of leader gender, and these results are reported in Appendix G.

Manipulation Checks

Most participants (83.7%) correctly identified the Chief Delegate's gender (male leader: 83.33%; female leader: 84%). As in Experiment 2, the results were positively affected when the 49 participants (16.3% of the sample) who failed the check were excluded, hence they were excluded from further analyses. The final sample comprised 251 male participants. Chi-Squared testing revealed that participant exclusion distribution rates did not change significantly between conditions ($\chi(3) = 3.571$, $p = .312$). These are reported in Table 5.1 alongside final participant gender distributions for each cell.

Table 5.1

Participant Exclusion Distribution Rates and Final Participant Gender Distribution Numbers by Condition, Based on Participants who Failed the Leader Gender Manipulation Check

Condition	% of Participants who Failed the Manipulation Check	Number of Overall Participants Remaining in Cell
Male Leader, Women's Issue	22%	39
Male Leader, American Women's Issue	22%	39
Male Leader, American Common Cause	6%	47
Female Leader, Women's Issue	12%	44
Female Leader, American Women's Issue	8%	46
Female Leader, American Common Cause	28%	36
Totals	16.4%	251

Note. The third column represents the number of male participants remaining in each condition following the exclusion of those participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check.

Only 66.7% of participants correctly identified the equality group's name (Women for Gender Equality: 72%; Women for Gender Equality - America: 55%; Men and Women for Gender Equality - America: 73%). To further assess the message framing manipulation checks, we ran one-way ANOVAs (with message framing as a factor) using the manipulation check statements as the dependent variables, and made post hoc comparisons using Tukey's HSD test. The two manipulation statements pertaining to each condition were combined to create a 2-item scale.

A significant main effect of message framing was detected for the global women's issue statements ("The need for *women across the world* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being a *global women's* issue", $F(2, 248) = 6.053$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .047$). Post hoc comparisons indicated that participants in the women's condition ($M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.32$) were significantly more likely to agree with the statements than participants in the American common cause condition ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 1.54$, $p = .002$), but *not* significantly more likely than participants in the American women's issue condition ($M = 5.02$, $SD = 1.26$, $p = .409$). This indicates that participants in the women's issue and common cause conditions could successfully distinguish between the manipulation vignettes. However, American women's issue participants could not successfully distinguish between the women's issue and American women's issue manipulation vignettes.

A significant main effect of message framing was found for the American women's issue manipulation check statements ("The need for *American women alone* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being an *American women's only* issue", $F(2, 248) = 5.438$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$). Post hoc comparisons revealed that participants in the American women's condition ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.48$) were significantly more likely to agree with the statements than participants in

the women's issue (M = 3.20, SD = 1.51, p = .006) and American common cause conditions (M = 3.36, SD = 1.53, p = .037), indicating success of our American women's issue manipulation.

Finally, a significant main effect of message framing was found for the American common cause statements ("The need for *both American men and women* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being an *American men's and women's* issue", $F(2, 245) = 20.462$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .143$). Post hoc comparisons showed that participants in the common cause condition (M = 5.49, SD = 1.47) were significantly more likely to agree with the statements than participants in the women's issue (M = 3.90, SD = 1.78, $p < .001$) and American women's issue conditions (M = 4.38, SD = 1.60, $p < .001$), indicating success of our common cause framing manipulation.

No other main effects or interactions were found to be significant. These findings imply mixed results regarding the success of our manipulation vignettes, particularly participants' ability to distinguish between the global women's and American women's issue conditions (see Experiment 3's discussion).

Leadership Variables

Leader prototypicality. There was a significant main effect of leader gender ($M_{femaleleader}$ = 5.58, SD = 0.92; $M_{maleleader}$ = 5.12, SD = 1.17; $F(1, 245) = 12.571$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .049$), however this was qualified by the significant interaction between leader gender and message framing shown in Figure 5.1, $F(2, 245) = 3.870$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$. The message framing main effect did not reach significance, all $F \leq 0.562$, ps $\geq .571$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .005$.

To examine the effectiveness of different leaders, the two-way interaction was unpacked by conducting simple effects at all levels of message framing, showing a significant main effect of leader gender for women's issue framing ($F(1, 81) = 15.761$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .163$), but not for

American women's issue ($F(1, 83) = 2.853$, $p = .095$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$), or common cause framing ($F(1, 81) = 0.076$, $p = .784$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$). Under women's issue framing, participants perceived female leaders ($M = 5.76$, $SD = 0.80$) as being more prototypical than male leaders ($M = 4.81$, $SD = 1.34$). However, participants viewed leaders as being equally prototypical under both American women's issue ($M_{femaleleader} = 5.49$, $SD = 1.00$; $M_{maleleader} = 5.09$, $SD = 1.15$) and common cause frames ($M_{femaleleader} = 5.47$, $SD = 0.93$; $M_{maleleader} = 5.41$, $SD = 0.97$).

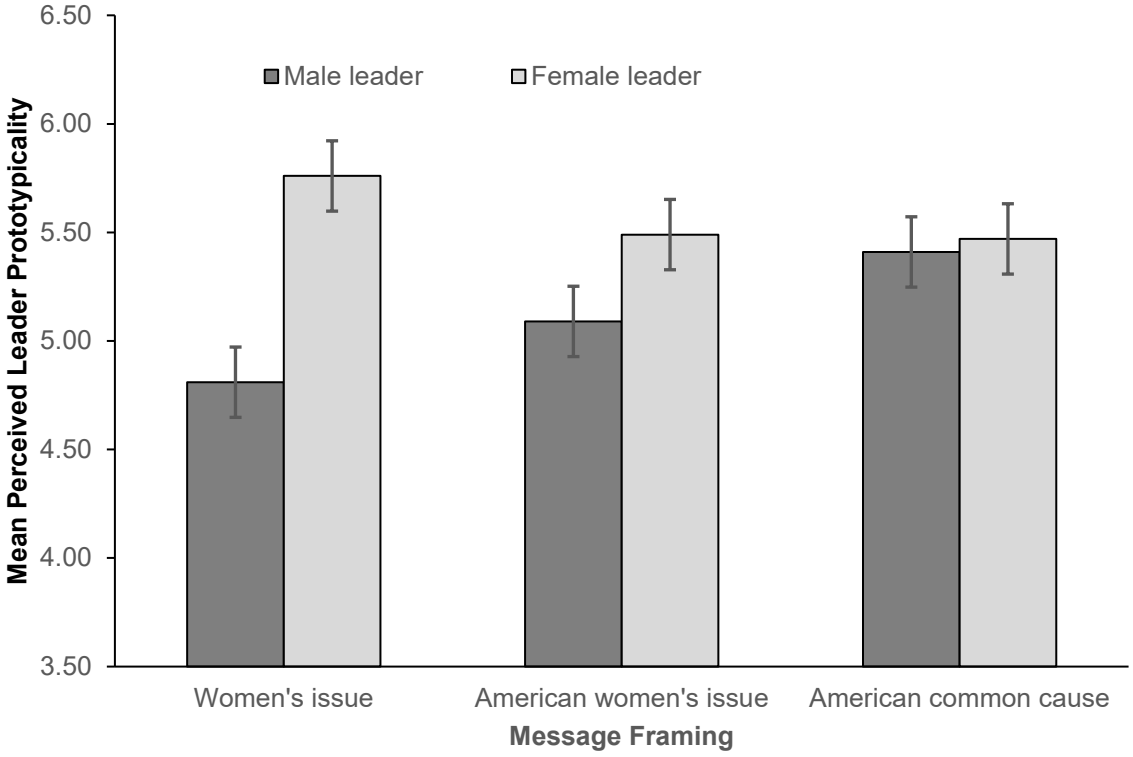

Figure 5.1. Mean perceived leader prototypicality as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Leader legitimacy. There were no significant main effects detected, all $F \leq 0.492$, $ps \geq .612$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$, however a significant interaction between leader gender and message framing was found, $F(2, 245) = 3.796$, $p = .024$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$ (see Figure 5.2).

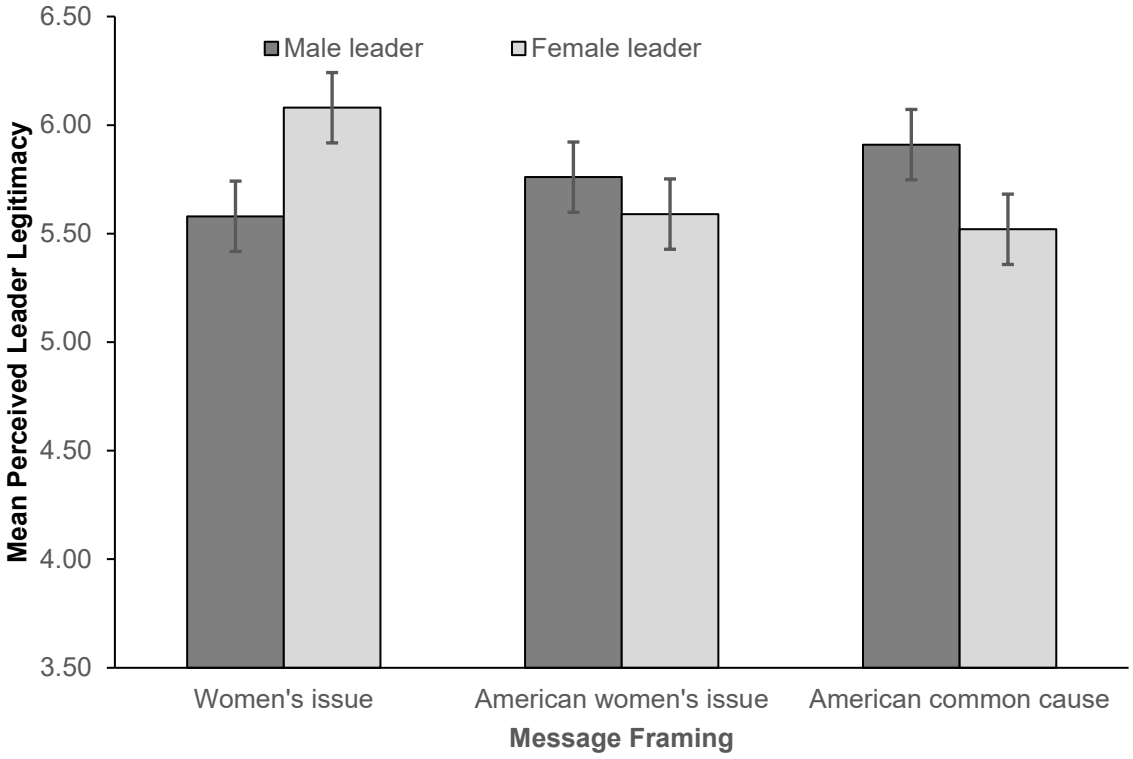

Figure 5.2. Mean perceived leader legitimacy as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Simple effects were first performed at all levels of message framing to investigate the effect of leader gender. This revealed a significant main effect of leader gender for women's issue framing ($F(1, 81) = 6.188$, $p = .015$, $\eta_p^2 = .071$), but not American women's issue ($F(1, 83) = 0.415$, $p = .521$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$), or common cause framing ($F(1, 81) = 2.634$, $p = .108$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$).

When inequality was promoted as an issue for women around the world, the male participants viewed female leaders (M = 6.08, SD = 0.74) as being significantly more legitimate than male leaders (M = 5.58, SD = 1.07). Alternatively, under both American women's issue and common cause message frames, participants perceived male (M = 5.76, SD = 1.10; M = 5.91, SD = 0.91, respectively) and female leaders (M = 5.59, SD e= 1.29; M = 5.52, SD = 1.27, respectively) as being equally legitimate.

Leader influence. No main effects were found to be significant, all $F \leq 0.912$, ps $\geq .403$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$, however Figure 5.3 shows the significant interaction between leader gender and message framing, $F(2, 245) = 4.339$, $p = .014$, $\eta_p^2 = .034$.

To investigate the effects of leader gender, simple effects were conducted at each level of message framing. This showed a significant main effect of leader gender for women's issue framing ($F(1, 81) = 5.091$, $p = .027$, $\eta_p^2 = .059$), but not for common cause framing ($F(1, 81) = 3.735$, $p = .057$, $\eta_p^2 = .044$), or American women's issue framing ($F(1, 83) = 0.250$, $p = .619$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$). When equality was framed as the responsibility of women across the world, participants perceived female leaders (M = 5.56, SD = 1.00) as being significantly more influential than male leaders (M = 5.01, SD = 1.22). In contrast, when gender equality was instead framed as the responsibility of both American men and women, participants perceived male (M = 5.32, SD = 1.16) and female leaders (M = 4.75, SD = 1.53) to be equally influential, as was the case when gender equality was framed as the responsibility of American women ($M_{maleleader}$ = 5.28, SD = 1.20; $M_{femaleleader}$ = 5.14, SD = 1.26).

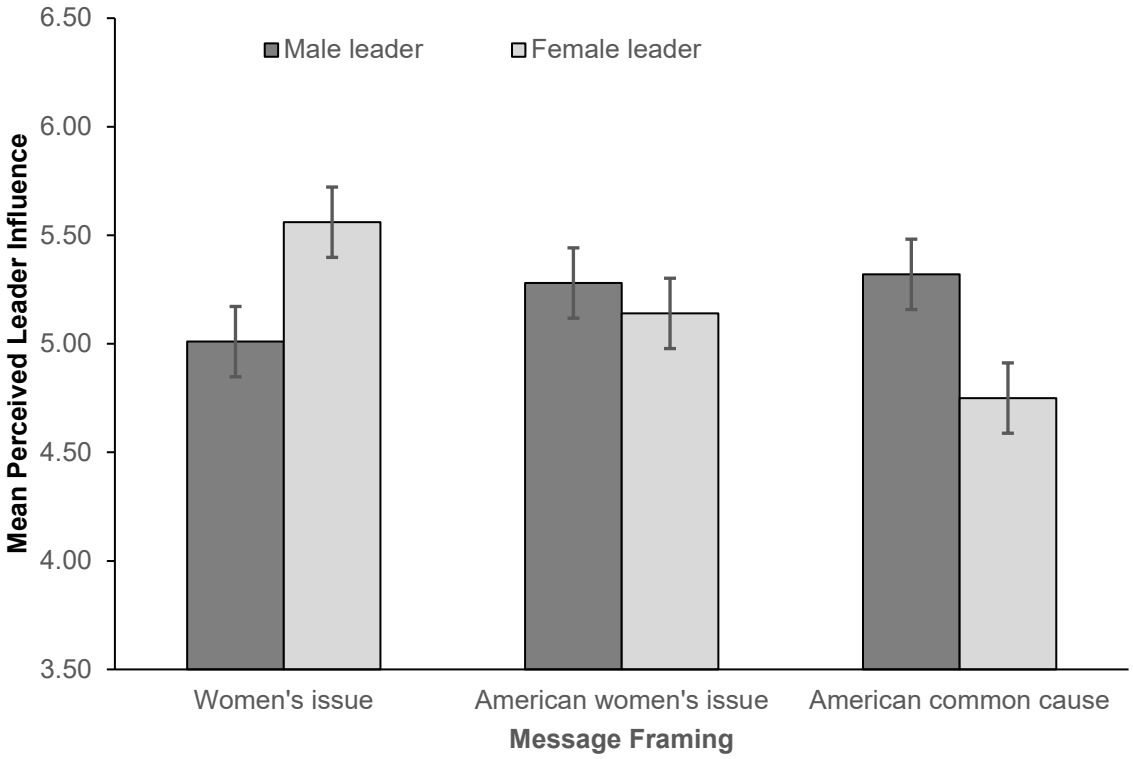

Figure 5.3. Mean perceived leader influence as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Relational leadership identification. A significant main effect of leader gender was found ($M_{femaleleader}$ = 5.64, SD = 0.93; $M_{maleleader}$ = 5.29, SD = 1.07; $F(1, 245) = 8.417$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$), but this was qualified by a significant interaction between leader gender and message framing, $F(2, 245) = 5.425$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$ (see Figure 5.4). All other main effects were non-significant, all $F \leq 0.323$, ps $\geq .724$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .003$.

We performed simple effects at each level of message framing to uncover the effects of leader gender. This revealed a significant main effect of leader gender for women's issue framing ($F(1, 81) = 18.886$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .189$), but not American women's issue ($F(1, 83) = 0.137$, p =

.712, $\eta_p^2 = .002$), or common cause framing ($F(1, 81) = 0.084$, $p = .773$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$). When inequality was framed as in issue for women across the world, our male participants rated female leaders ($M = 5.88$, $SD = 0.74$) as being significantly higher in relational leadership identification compared to male leaders ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.21$). In contrast, under both American women's issue and common cause framing, participants viewed male ($M = 5.39$, $SD = 0.98$; $M = 5.49$, $SD = 0.95$, respectively) and female leaders ($M = 5.47$, $SD = 1.04$; $M = 5.56$, $SD = 0.94$, respectively) as comparable in their level of relational leadership identification.

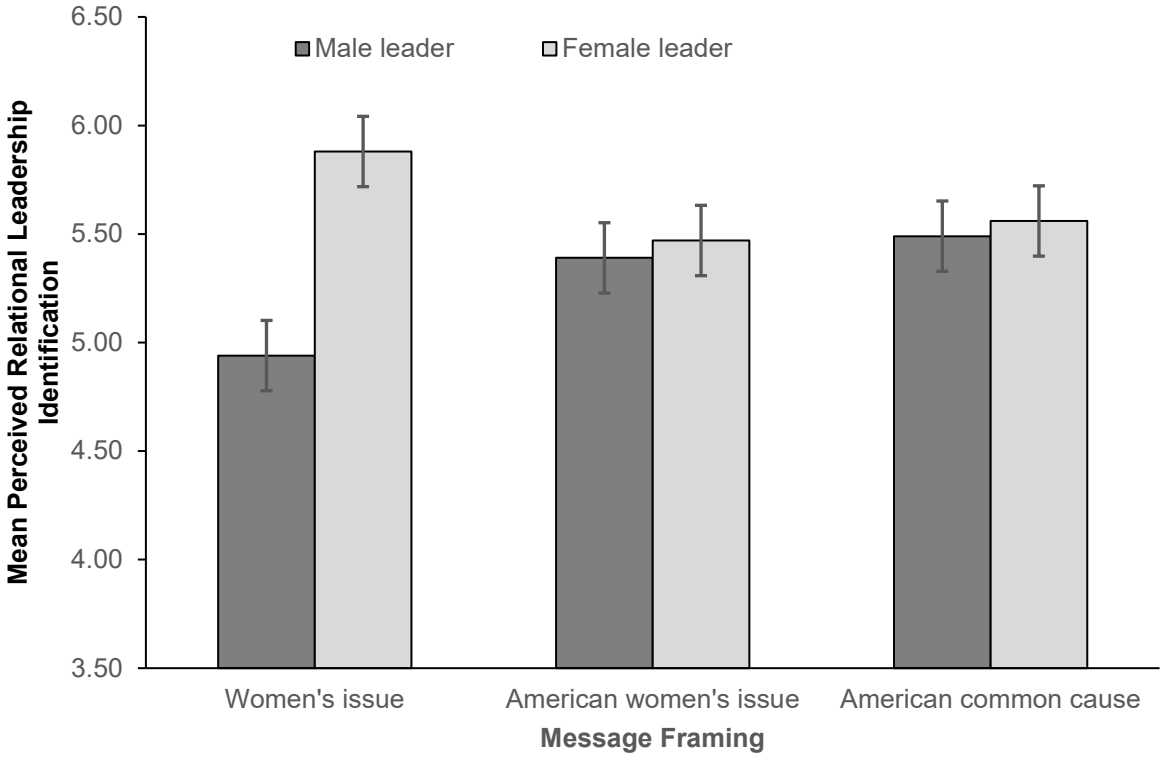

Figure 5.4. Mean perceived relational leadership identification as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Transformational leadership. No significant main effects were observed, all $F \leq 2.279$, $ps \geq .132$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$, but there was a significant interaction found between leader gender and message framing, $F(2, 245) = 7.587$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .058$ (see Figure 5.5).

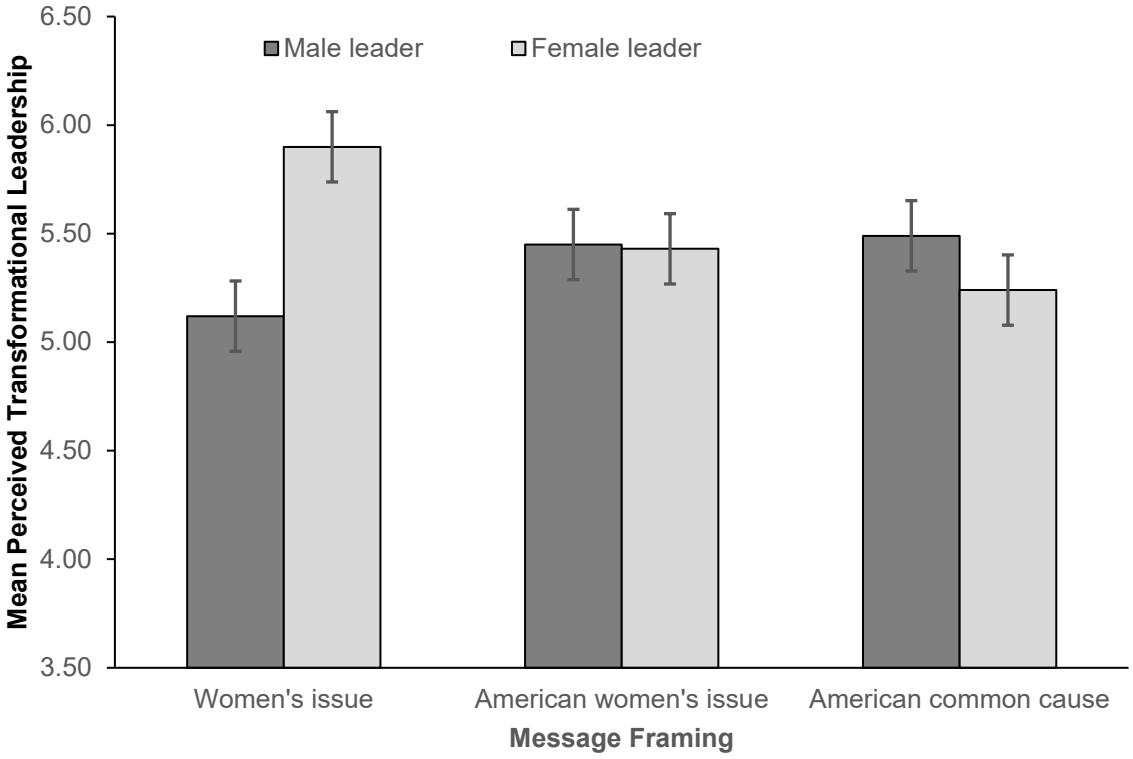

Figure 5.5. Mean perceived transformational leadership as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Simple effects conducted at each level of message framing to investigate the effects of leader gender again showed a significant main effect of leader gender for women's issue framing ($F(1, 81) = 18.769$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .188$), but not American women's issue ($F(1, 83) = 0.017$, $p = .898$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$), or common cause framing ($F(1, 81) = 1.341$, $p = .250$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$). When

inequality was discussed in terms of a women's issue, participants perceived female leaders (*M* = 5.90, *SD* = 0.71) as being significantly higher in transformational leadership in contrast to male leaders (*M* = 5.12, *SD* = 0.94). Alternatively, under both American women's issue and common cause message frames, participants perceived male (*M* = 5.45, *SD* = 0.75; *M* = 5.49, *SD* = 0.92, respectively) and female leaders (*M* = 5.43, *SD* = 1.01; *M* = 5.24, *SD* = 1.01, respectively) as being similarly transformational in their leadership style.

In summary, while female leaders were evaluated as more prototypical and higher in relational leadership identification than male leaders, no support was found for Hypothesis 1, which predicted that leaders would be evaluated more positively when they promoted common cause frames rather than women's or American women's issue frames. Instead, significant leader gender by message framing interactions split by message framing revealed that under global women's issue frames, female leaders were consistently evaluated as more prototypical, legitimate, influential, transformational and higher in relational leadership identification than male leaders).

Mobilisation Variables

Collective action intentions. Contrary to Hypothesis 2, participants reported similar collective action intent under both male (*M* = 4.54, *SD* = 1.59) and female leaders (*M* = 4.24, *SD* = 1.54), $F(1, 245) = 2.497$, $p = .115$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$, and also reported similar intent under common cause frames (*M* = 4.28, *SD* = 1.70) compared to women's issue (*M* = 4.50, *SD* = 1.45) or American women's issue frames (*M* = 4.39, *SD* = 1.55), $F(2, 245) = 0.584$, $p = .558$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$. All remaining main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 2.920$, ps $\geq .056$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .023$.

Sense of common cause. No main effects were significant, all $F \leq .001$, $ps \geq .999$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .000$, however there was a significant interaction found between leader gender and message framing, $F(2, 245) = 3.259$, $p = .040$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$ (see Figure 5.6).

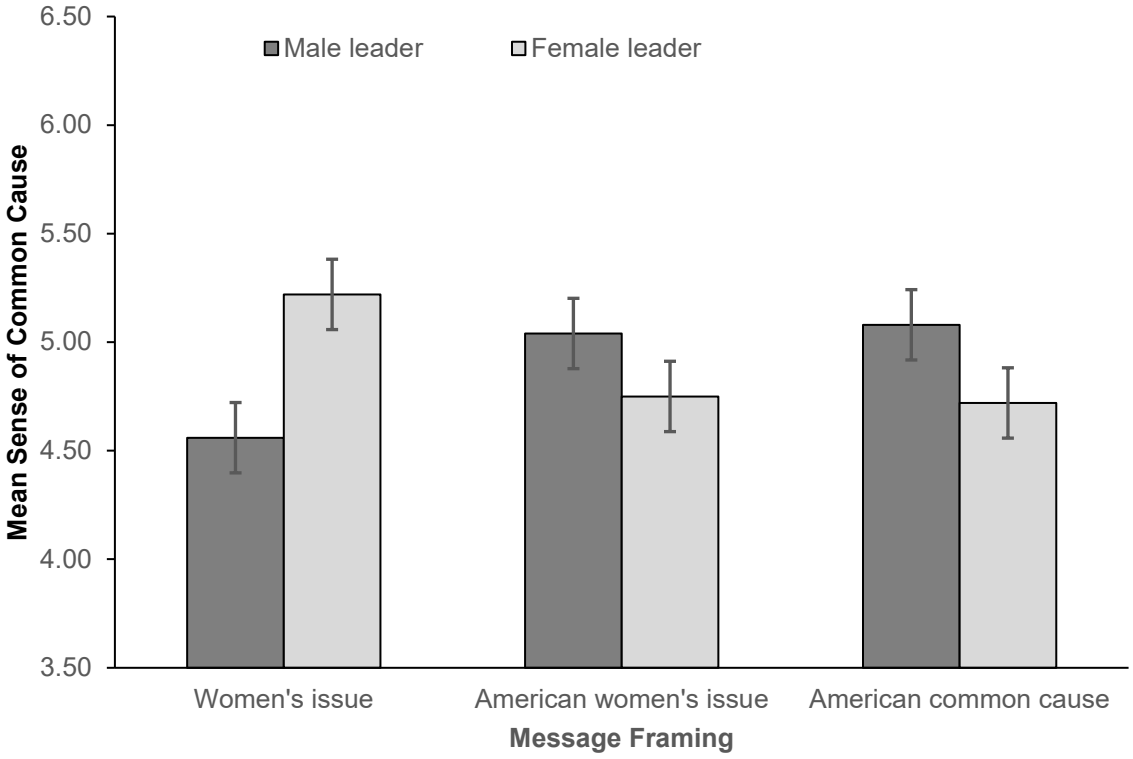

Figure 5.6. Mean sense of common cause as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

To unpack the two-way interaction and uncover the effects of leader gender, simple effects were conducted at each level of message framing. This showed a significant main effect of leader gender for women's issue framing ($F(1, 81) = 5.388$, $p = .023$, $\eta_p^2 = .062$) but not American women's issue ($F(1, 83) = 0.709$, $p = .402$, $\eta_p^2 = .008$), or common cause framing

($F(1, 81) = 1.383$, $p = .243$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$). Despite predicting that the male participants would report higher sense of common cause under male leaders, particularly when they promoted common cause frames (H2), we instead found that when gender equality was framed as an issue for women around the world, participants' sense of common cause was significantly higher under female leaders ($M = 5.22$, $SD = 1.05$) compared to male leaders ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 1.49$). In contrast, irrespective of the gender of the leader promoting the equality message, participants reported similar levels of common cause under both American women's issue ($M_{maleleader} = 5.04$, $SD = 1.57$; $M_{femaleleader} = 4.75$, $SD = 1.58$) and common cause framing ($M_{maleleader} = 5.08$, $SD = 1.34$; $M_{femaleleader} = 4.72$, $SD = 1.52$).

In summary, no support was found for Hypothesis 2, which predicted that men would report higher collective action and sense of common cause under male rather than female leaders, particularly under American common cause compared to women's issue or American women's issue frames. Instead, under global women's issue framing our male participants reported higher sense of common cause under female compared to male leaders. No other significant mobilisation findings were found.

Perceived legitimacy of gender inequality. All main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 1.506$, ps $\geq .224$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .012$, indicating that participants' perceived legitimacy of inequality remained stable regardless of the gender of the leader, or the way the message was framed.

Behavioural measure. Of the 300 male participants, 33.3% were willing to sign the online petition. A Pearson Chi-Square test showed no statistically significant association between the behavioural measure and experimental condition ($\chi(5) = 5.880$, $p = .318$; male leader women's issue 36% signed the petition, male leader American women's issue 28%, male

leader American common cause 38%, female leader women's issue 42%, female leader American women's issue 34%, female leader American common cause 22%). This indicates that irrespective of the condition they were allocated to, participants were equally likely to sign the petition. As in Experiment 2, no statistically significant associations were found between the behavioural measure and leader gender ($\chi(1) = 060$, $p = .806$; male leader 34%, female leader 32.67%), or message framing ($\chi(2) = 2.190$, $p = .335$; women's issue 39%, American women's issue 31%, American common cause 30%).

We recoded item 3 of our collective action intentions scale ("I would sign a petition [in person or online] in support of women's rights and gender equality") in the same way as in Experiment 2. Pearson Chi-Square testing showed that a statistically significant association existed between item 3 and the actual behavioural measure ($\chi(2) = 41.990$, $p < .001$; see Figure 5.7). Interestingly, in contrast to Experiment 2's findings, participants who previously agreed that they would sign a petition for gender equality were statistically significantly more likely *not* to agree to sign the petition online when asked (45.92% [90/196] yes, 54.08% [106/196] no). However, those who indicated that they would not sign a petition were statistically significantly more likely to refuse to sign the online petition (4.76% [3/63] yes, 95.24% [60/63] no), and the same was found for participants who had specified that they were undecided in signing a petition for gender equality (17.07% [7/41] yes, 82.93% [34/41] no).

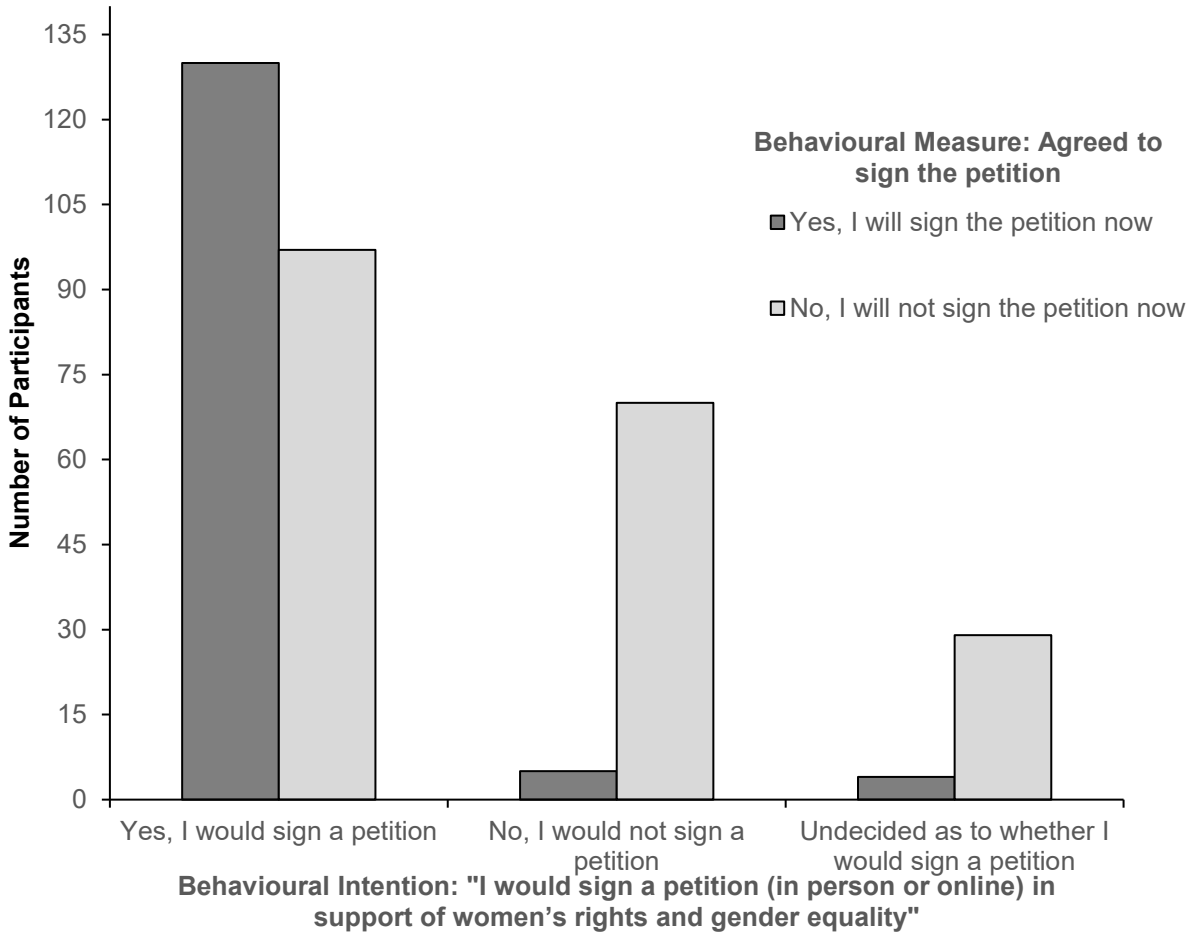

Figure 5.7. Number of participants who agreed to sign the online petition (behavioural measure) as a function of collective action intentions scale item 3 (behavioural intention). Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a one-item dichotomous response option (*yes/no*).

Social Identity Variables

Feminist identification. There were no significant main effects or interactions for feminist identification, all $F \leq 1.065$, $ps \geq .303$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

Gender ingroup identification. No significant main effects or interactions were detected, all $F \leq 2.898$, $ps \geq .057$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .023$.

National identification. No significant main effects or interactions were obtained, all $F \leq 1.529$, $ps \geq .219$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .012$.

Threat Variables

Perceived threat to men's gender group. No main effects or interactions reached significance (all $F \leq 1.582$, $ps \geq .208$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .013$).

Perceived threat to women's gender group. No significant main effects or interactions were detected, all $F \leq 3.327$, $ps \geq .051$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .024$).

Anger, Guilt, Sadness, and Sympathy. There were no significant main effects or interactions found for anger (all $F \leq 1.146$, $ps \geq .320$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$), guilt (all $F \leq 3.130$, $ps \geq .078$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .013$), sadness (all $F \leq 2.166$, $ps \geq .142$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .011$), or sympathy (all $F \leq 1.276$, $ps \geq .281$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$).

Hostile sexism. All main effects were non-significant, all $F \leq 1.170$, $ps \geq .312$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$, however as per Figure 5.8 there was a significant interaction found between leader gender and message framing, $F(2, 245) = 4.554$, $p = .011$, $\eta_p^2 = .036$.

Simple effects were conducted at all levels of message framing, revealing a significant main effect of leader gender for common cause framing ($F(1, 81) = 5.297$, $p = .024$, $\eta_p^2 = .061$) but not women's issue ($F(1, 81) = 2.373$, $p = .127$, $\eta_p^2 = .028$), or American women's issue framing ($F(1, 83) = 1.399$, $p = .240$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$). When gender inequality was framed as an issue for American men and women to address together, participant's hostile sexism levels were significantly higher under female leaders ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.60$) compared to male leaders ($M = 2.88$, $SD = 1.48$). Alternatively, regardless of the gender of the leader promoting the equality message, participants reported comparable levels of hostile sexism under both women's issue

($M_{maleleader}$ = 3.21, SD = 1.47; $M_{femaleleader}$ = 2.71, SD = 1.49) and American women's issue framing ($M_{maleleader}$ = 3.15, SD = 1.58; $M_{femaleleader}$ = 2.76, SD = 1.44).

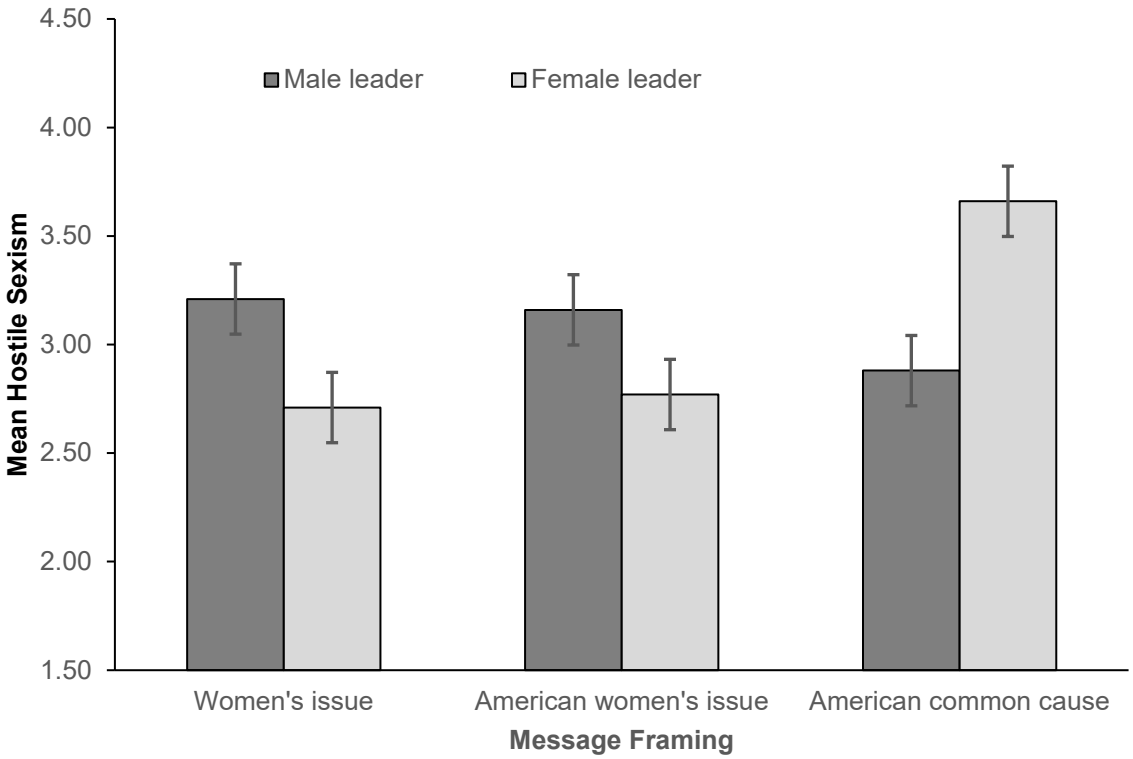

Figure 5.8. Mean hostile sexism as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Benevolent sexism. In contrast to our hostile sexism findings, no significant main effects or interactions were observed for benevolent sexism, indicating that participants' benevolent sexism levels did not differ significantly as a function of leader gender or message framing, all $F \leq 2.316$, $ps \geq .101$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .019$.

Discussion

Experiment 3 focused exclusively on male followers and examined whether the inclusion of a dual identity (American men and women) affected men's responses to calls for gender equality relative to a subgroup (global women) or superordinate (American women) identity.

Leadership findings. We found partial support for the prediction that male participants would report more positive leadership evaluations under American common cause framing compared to women's issue or American women's issue conditions (H1). Under subgroup (women's issue) framing, male participants evaluated female leaders as significantly more prototypical, relational, influential, legitimate, and transformational than male leaders. However, this difference disappeared under dual identity (American common cause) and superordinate (American women's issue) frames. Indeed, male participants rated male *and* female leaders as equally prototypical, relational, legitimate, and transformational (although not equally influential) when a shared superordinate American identity was made salient. This finding speaks to the importance of shared identity in mobilisation contexts by demonstrating that under shared superordinate American identity conditions, male leaders come to be seen as equally 'viable' as female leaders in terms of leading a gender equality movement. Thus, while we expected dual identity framing alone to trigger participants to think of themselves under a common dual identity (e.g., American men and women) rather than separate subgroups (e.g., men, women), it appears that American superordinate framing achieves the same outcome, and is of particular benefit to male leaders. Followers most likely came to think of leaders as 'one of us' when they adopted that shared superordinate American identity (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; Steffens et al., 2013).

Yet female leaders not only received more positive leadership evaluations under subgroup women's issue frames. Under the same framing, female leaders also invoked significantly higher sense of common cause and significantly lower perceived threat to women's gender groups among their male followers. Furthermore, though failing to reach significance, our behavioural measure depicted a trend whereby men in the female leader subgroup identity condition were *most* willing of all six conditions to sign the petition supporting women's equality (42% of participants). Meanwhile, in direct contrast men in the female leader dual identity condition were *least* willing to sign the petition (22%). These findings signal men's apparent discontent when female leaders adopt solidarity framing, and speak instead to female leaders benefiting from their continued adherence to traditional equality frames which promote the issue as one for women alone to address – specifically for women *around the world* to address.

Certainly, the absence of a localised superordinate American identity appears to lend female leaders increased credibility and legitimacy. This is potentially because default women's issue approaches represent the status quo, and do not necessarily change anything in terms of men's involvement and engagement with the equality movement. Therefore, it is 'business as usual', with men likely viewing this as a more desirable and safer option compared to social change toward equality – hence their higher support for female leaders adopting this approach. This is evidenced by male participants' positive leadership evaluations, increased common cause, lowered perceived threat to women's gender group, and higher likelihood of signing a petition supporting women when a female leader promotes subgroup framing, but not when the same female leader promotes superordinate or dual identity framing. This 'punishment' effect that occurs when women adopt superordinate frames is evident in our previous work too (i.e., Subašić et al., 2018).

Certainly, prototypical leaders derive their influence from the perception that they embody collective rather than personal interests (van Knippenberg, 2011). Therefore, male leaders are likely taken more seriously when promoting solidarity messages because they are not seen as benefiting their own gender ingroup (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Furthermore, when called upon by an outgroup female leader to take action, men may view this as blaming them in some way, hence their antagonism in the form of increased hostile sexism when women promoted solidarity frames. In contrast, the same dual identity solidarity message promoted by a male ingroup leader could be perceived as an invitation to address inequality rather than an 'assignation of blame' for its existence. Indeed, when male leaders adopted dual identity framing men reported significantly decreased hostile sexism, indicating a softening toward women's plight. Experiment 4 includes a self-blame measure to explore whether men do indeed take ingroup leader's messages more seriously than outgroup leaders, subsequently internalising the message more and experiencing increased feelings of blame as a result (Hogg, 2001).

Mobilisation findings. In line with Banfield and Dovidio's (2013) finding that dual identity framing in the form of 'American Blacks and Whites' increased White's willingness to protest racial discrimination, we also expected men to report higher mobilisation under American common cause frames due to the dual identity framing prompting them to seek a reformulation of 'who we are'. For example, from distinct subgroup entities (men, women) to a common dual identity (American men and women) striving for equality. We expected this effect on men's mobilisation to be particularly pronounced when male rather than female leaders promoted that message (H2). However, we did not find support for Hypothesis 2, indicating that message framing and leader gender did not affect men's support for gender equality. This is in contrast to extant research on message framing (e.g., Subašić et al., 2018), in addition to Experiment 2

whereby male leaders were more effective than their female counterparts at mobilising both women *and* men toward equality. Thus, it is possible that the inclusion of female participants in Experiment 2 was driving this main effect.

Threat and social identity findings. In contrast to subgroup women's issue framing, the inclusion of a dual superordinate American identity in the form of solidarity framing did not benefit female leaders as much as it did male leaders. Indeed, in line with Subašić et al.'s (2018) findings whereby men objected to female leaders endorsing solidarity messages, in the current study men exhibited significantly greater hostile sexism when women (but not men) promoted common cause messages. This could be a consequence of male followers' scepticism regarding common cause messages being espoused by female leaders. Men may view this as an inauthentic and insincere strategy devised to dupe them into action, hence their higher hostile sexism toward female leaders spruiking this message. Once again demonstrating their preference for women (but not men) to stick to the status quo, under subgroup women's issue frames men perceived the threat to women's gender group to be significantly lower under female compared to male leaders.

Limitations and Future Research

One limitation of Experiment 3 is that we used frames that included the local American or global identity distinction, and *also* information regarding gender equality as a women's issue or a common cause (i.e., an issue for both men and women) concurrently. For this reason, it is difficult to determine exactly what effect superordinate American identity versus global identity salience had on men's support for equality independent of whether gender equality is described as a women's issue or a common cause for both women and men. This pairing is problematic because it could be argued that common cause framing suggests a dual identity in its own right

(irrespective of the inclusion of a superordinate American identity) due to simultaneously calling on women and men to address inequality. As such, to differentiate between the effects of superordinate identity salience and message content in respect to mobilisation for gender equality, in Experiment 4 we created two distinct independent variables and manipulated these variables orthogonally rather than concurrently.

Experiment 4

Manipulating the salience of local superordinate identity (e.g., American) versus broader global identity can greatly influence mobilisation supporting different social issues (Scannell & Gifford, 2013). Certainly, social psychological theories of successful attitude change (and the persuasion literature at large) stress the importance of demonstrating personal relevance of the issue to those whose attitude you wish to change (e.g., Apsler & Sears, 1968; Liberman & Chaiken, 1996). Indeed, Maio and Haddock (2007) maintain that as the message's personal relevance increases, so too does the individuals' processing of and interest in the message being communicated, due to the increased tangibility, relevance and comprehension of the message. It follows then that making a local superordinate identity salient (relative to a broader global identity) would positively affect attitudes and subsequently behaviours concerning social issues (Kruglanski & Sleeth-Keppler, 2007).

For example, Scannell and Gifford (2013) provided evidence that locally-framed (but not globally-framed) messages effectively increased engagement with climate change issues. They found that providing British Columbian participants with localised messages (e.g., rising sea levels in the *Vancouver Island region*) versus global messages (e.g., rising *global* sea levels)

regarding the effects of climate change resulted in greater likelihood of engagement with and mobilisation supporting climate change issues (Scannell & Gifford, 2013). Other climate change researchers have replicated the finding that local frames result in greater collective action participation than do global frames (e.g., Kates & Wilbanks, 2003; Sheppard, 2005). Evidently, the locality (and consequent personal relevance) of message frames appears to foster individual's receptivity to information pertaining to social issues. In fact, it could be argued that there exists a more meaningful salient superordinate identity under local framing compared to global framing, and that this shared superordinate identity plays a key role in mobilising individuals.

Certainly, these framing studies can actually be viewed through a social identity lens despite not necessarily being derived from one. We previously discussed Goldstein et al.'s (2008) towel reuse study, whereby advising participants that people 'in this room' reused their towels (relative to 'people in this hotel') increased towel re-usage. Another study found that tax compliance rates improved following exposure to descriptive norms referring to taxpayers' behaviours in a specific *neighbourhood* relative to taxpayers *nationwide* (UK Behavioural Insights Unit, 2012). From a social-identity based perspective, it could be argued that these behaviour changes arose as a direct consequence of the increased locality and proximity of 'this room' or one's neighbourhood ultimately making salient a more meaningful and contextually-relevant social identity to align ones' behaviour with (Reynolds et al., 2015). Furthermore, participants likely recategorised those 'others' who had previously used their hotel room, or who lived in their neighbourhood, or who occupied the Vancouver region (as in Scannell & Gifford's, 2013 study), as fellow ingroup members (Reynolds et al., 2015). Similarly, Experiment 3 demonstrated that when discussing gender equality, the inclusion of a superordinate American identity relative to a global identity resulted in male and female leaders being evaluated equally

positively as leaders for gender equality. This is likely because the shared superordinate American identity between leaders and followers led followers to think of such leaders as 'one of us' (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; Subašić et al., 2018).

In fact, to the extent that the available social norm information pertains to one's social identity, the greater the influence it will have on their behaviour, and the more likely the redefinition of who 'we' are will occur (Reynolds et al., 2015). For example, in terms of Scannell and Gifford's (2013) study, fellow Vancouver residents were likely viewed as being more ingroup than global citizens were and would therefore have exerted greater influence on participants' engagement with climate change issues (Reynolds et al., 2015). From a social identity perspective, it could be argued that Scannell and Gifford's (2013) study essentially manipulated the salience of a superordinate Vancouverite identity relative to a global identity, and the increased personal relevance of the Vancouverite identity resulted in increased mobilisation. In line with the persuasion literature's emphasis on personal relevance, Reynolds and colleagues (2015) maintain that if the identity that social change initiatives are working with is meaningful to those who you are trying to mobilise, identity work can effectively mobilise the critical mass toward social change.

Similar to a superordinate national identity, politicised collective identities can also form the basis for collective action (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). For example, within a gender equality context, the identity of 'feminist' can be considered an opinion-based group that is formed around ideologies about relations between gender groups (McGarty et al., 2009). In this sense, an overarching feminist identity constitutes what McGarty and colleagues (2009) refer to as a psychological group defined by a common cause (i.e., gender equality). Holding such a shared positive activist identity can blur subgroup (gender) boundaries formerly viewed as

barriers to solidarity, resulting in the majority and minority adopting shared opinions, values, and norms (Subašić et al., 2018; Wiley et al., 2012). Essentially, the emergence of politicised identities centred around opinion-based groups allows separate groups to transcend problematic interpersonal differences to work together for a shared cause (McGarty et al., 2009; Subašić et al., 2012). Certainly, "it is easier for women and men to work together to promote gender equality…if members of both categories share a relevant opinion-based group membership" (McGarty et al., 2009, p. 847). Not surprisingly, feminist identification has been found to be the facet of identity most predictive of men's collective action supporting equality (Leach et al., 2008).

Moreover, McGarty and colleagues (2009) argue that opinion-based groups are most successful when they represent an alignment with "dominant, positively valued social categories such as nations" (e.g., 'American'; p. 847). Indeed, to the degree to which belonging to a particular group is considered important to them, individuals will try to align their behaviours with that group's norms (Smith & Louis, 2008). Therefore, groups (i.e., social identities) that are salient, self-defining, and deemed important to the individual have a greater impact on behaviour than groups that are not (Smith & Louis, 2008). For example, for American individuals, it follows that making a superordinate national American identity salient would enhance their collective action intentions relative to making a broader global identity salient. This is because a superordinate American identity comprises a far stronger and more meaningful cultural basis and identity in terms of prescriptive norms, compared to a weakened global identity. Moreover, social pressure is additive across each behaviourally-relevant referent group (Smith & Louis, 2008). It therefore makes sense that a *male* leader (compared to a female leader) promoting equality as an *American* issue (rather than a broader global issue) would

result in increased social pressure and therefore greater likelihood of an *American male* engaging in collective action. This is due to the additive social pressure from two salient and self-defining groups – gender and nationality (Smith & Louis, 2008). The current experiment explores these ideas empirically.

Ultimately, Experiment 4 expands on Experiment 3 in two key ways. Firstly, to distinguish between the effects of superordinate identity salience and message content with regard to gender equality, we create two separate independent variables and manipulate these variables orthogonally (rather than concurrently as done in Experiment 3). We do so by framing gender equality as either an issue for women alone or for both men and women to address together (message content), and additionally as either an issue affecting American individuals specifically, or the world at large (superordinate identity salience). This allows us to examine the specific effects that superordinate American identity versus global identity salience has on men's mobilisation toward equality, independent of whether gender equality is framed as a women's issue or a common cause for women and men. We also include a measure of self-blame to determine whether men will report higher feelings of blame under a male compared to a female leader. We expect that they will due to internalising the ingroup leader's message more so than the outgroup leader's message (Hogg, 2001).

Aims and Hypotheses

Overall, making local superordinate identities (rather than broader global identities) salient has been shown to increase engagement with and mobilisation supporting social change issues (Reynolds et al., 2015; Scannell & Gifford, 2013). For example, locally-framed messages have effectively increased involvement with climate change issues (Scannell & Gifford, 2013), and exposure to local neighbourhood rather than national norms has led to improved tax

compliance rates (UK Behavioural Insights Unit, 2012). Experiment 4 applies a similar paradigm within a gender equality setting to investigate the impact that local American versus global identities have on men's support for equality. We contrast our solidarity-based common cause frame with a traditional women's issue frame, and additionally juxtapose a local superordinate American identity with a broader global identity. As per Experiment 3, we again focus solely on male followers and attribute the manipulation vignette to either a male or female leader.

We hypothesise that when gender equality is framed as a common cause rather than a women's issue, the male participants will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, relational leadership identification, and transformational leadership (H1a). We also expect that when gender equality is framed as a common cause rather than a women's issue, men will report higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause (H1b). Additionally, we predict that men's intentions and sense of common cause will be higher when the equality message is credited to a male rather than a female leader, particularly under common cause (compared to women's issue) messages (H2). Finally, we expect that the effects of leader gender and message framing on men's mobilisation will be moderated by the additional superordinate American identity variable, in that men's collective action intentions and sense of common cause will be enhanced under American identity salience compared to global identity salience (H3).

Method

Participants and Design

Participants included 400 males (*M* age = 31.22 years, *SD* = 10.01) recruited online through Prolific, who were remunerated £0.90 GBP (equal to approximately $1.60 AUD). As per

Experiment 3, eligible participants were employed White American men between 18-68 years with English as their first language. Accordingly, 92% of participants identified as American citizens (7.5% American permanent residents, 0.6% other), and were employed on either a full- (53.3%), part-time (10.8%), self-employed (13.3%), casual (2.3%), unemployed (18.5%), or other (2.1%) basis. Twenty-nine point seven percent were currently studying (20.8% full-time domestically; 6.1% part-time domestically; 3.1% internationally), and their education levels comprised: finished some high school (2%), finished high school (35%), Trade/Technical/Vocational training (2%), Bachelor's degree (24.8%), Associate degree (8%), Master's degree (18.8%), Doctorate degree (8%), or other (1.5%).

The participants (all male) were randomly allocated to one of the eight experimental conditions in a 2 (leader gender: male leader, female leader) x 2 (superordinate identity salience: global [worldwide], American [local]) x 2 (message framing: women's issue, common cause) between-subjects balanced factorial design, with 50 participants per cell. An a priori statistical power analysis using G*Power (Faul et al., 2007) demonstrated that for a power of .80 ($\alpha = .05$), the smallest sample necessary to detect small effect sizes of $\eta_p^2 = .0225$ (or f = .151) using a 2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA is 422 participants (approximately 70 per cell). We managed to recruit 400 participants, and a sensitivity power analysis demonstrated that our final sample of 319 (after excluding participants who failed the leader gender check) was capable of detecting effect sizes of: $\eta p^2 = .0241$ (or f = .157) for the leader gender, message framing, and superordinate identity salience main effects, and $\eta p^2 = .0295$ (or f = .174) for the remaining two- and three-way interactions.

Procedure and Materials

Participants completed the 15-minute online questionnaire following the same procedure as in all previous experiments.

Leader gender and message framing manipulations. The experimental vignettes were similar to those used in Experiment 3, in that the Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development discussed their recent workplace gender equality initiative. Leader gender and message framing were manipulated in the same way as our previous experiments – via name and relevant pronouns (i.e., Matthew vs. Margaret Jamieson; he vs. she), equality group name (Women for Gender Equality vs. American Women for Gender Equality vs. Men and Women for Gender Equality vs. Men and Women for Gender Equality – America), and the language used.

Our superordinate identity salience factor was manipulated via the language used when discussing the setting that the gender inequality and the Chief Delegate's equality group were operating in. For example, global identity conditions described gender inequality as an issue affecting the world at large, with no reference to America (e.g., "within workplaces *around the world*", "21% of board members and 9% of CEOs *globally*"; "promote gender equality *across the world*"). The American identity conditions emphasised that gender inequality was an issue within America specifically, with no mention of the world at large (e.g., "within *American* workplaces", "16% of board members and 4% of CEOs *nationally*"; promote gender equality *across the country*").

Dependent Measures

After reading the vignette, participants filled out the same dependent measures as used in Experiment 3: leader prototypicality (α = .92), relational leadership identification (α = .89),

transformational leadership (α = .95), leader legitimacy (α = .94), leader influence (α = .92), collective action intentions (α = .90), common cause (α = .94), perceived legitimacy of inequality (α = .89), anger (α = .81), guilt (α = .87), sadness (α = .85), sympathy (α = .87), hostile sexism (α = .94), benevolent sexism (α = .90), gender identification (α = .90), feminist identification (α = .96), national identification (α = .95), online behavioural measure, instructional manipulation checks, and demographics. Participants also completed a modern sexism scale, a revised version of the perceived threat to men's and women's gender groups scale, a blame subscale of the affective injustice measure, and the manipulation checks described below. See Appendix D for item list.

Modern sexism. Participants completed Swim, Aikin, Hall, and Hunter's (1995) eight-item measure (α = .80) of modern sexism. Modern sexism is considered a covert and socially acceptable form of sexism in contrast to more blatant, overt expressions of sexism (Swim, Mallett, & Stangor, 2004), and is frequently considered 'invisible' due to being entrenched within societal norms (Swim & Cohen, 1997). Modern sexism is typically expressed through gender inequality and insensitivity toward sexist language (Swim et al., 2004). Because the scale measures subtler, more socially accepted forms of sexism, we believed that it would better assess male participants' views regarding the current state of gender inequality and initiatives aiming to reduce it.

Swim and colleagues' (1995) measure assesses three underlying dimensions of modern-day sexism: denial of continuing discrimination, antagonism toward women's demands, and resentment about special favours for women. Example items for the three dimensions are, respectively: "[Overall, I believe that…] It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television", "It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal

limitations of women's opportunities", and "Over the past few years, the government and the news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences".

Affective injustice. The same twelve items used in the previous experiments measured emotional reactions regarding the effects of gender inequality on women (anger, guilt, sadness, and sympathy; adapted from Shepherd et al., 2013). We added three items pertaining to feelings of self-blame (α = .90; based on our own items) to assess whether our male participants felt blame or a sense of personal responsibility regarding the effects of inequality on women. Though closely related to guilt, which is considered a self-blaming emotion, blame more accurately taps perceptions of negativity and responsibility (Iyer, Leach, & Pedersen, 2004). It can also motivate advantaged groups to make reparations to disadvantaged groups, hence its inclusion (Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003). The three items included: "[Thinking about the effects of gender inequality on women, to what extent do you feel…] Blameworthy/Accountable/Responsible".

Perceived threat to men's [and women's] gender group. The same four items employed in the preceding experiments were used to assess participants' levels of perceived collective threat toward both men's (α = .96) and women's (α = .97) gender groups (adapted from Becker & Barreto, 2014). However, an additional item was added to each of the two scales which we felt better assessed whether men actually perceived the equality message to be threatening to male and female gender groups. The item read: "[Thinking about the information you read, to what extent do you think that the Chief Delegate and their statement is…] A threat to men (women) in general".

Manipulation checks. Participants first identified the gender of the Chief Delegate

(male [Matthew]/female [Margaret]), and the equality group's name (Women for Gender Equality/American Women for Gender Equality/Men and Women for Gender Equality/Men and Women for Gender Equality - America). Participants then answered eight statements regarding the extent to which the vignette discussed information about inequality being (a) a global women's issue, (b) an American women's issue, (c) a global men's and women's issue, or (d) an American men's and women's issue.

Results

Data Analysis and Analytical Strategy

SPSS Version 25 was used for the main analysis. Between-participants three-way ANOVA's were conducted on each dependent variable, using leader gender, superordinate identity salience, and message framing as factors. Significant two-way leader gender X message framing interactions were unpacked by first running separate one-way ANOVA's at both levels of message framing. We also unpacked them by running one-way ANOVA's at each level of leader gender, however these results are reported in Appendix H. Significant three-way leader gender X superordinate identity salience X message framing interactions were unpacked by conducting separate two-way ANOVA's for each level of message framing, then each level of leader gender. To further explore the three-way interactions, they were then unpacked by conducting separate two-way ANOVA's for each level of superordinate identity salience, then each level of message framing, and these results are reported in Appendix H.

Manipulation Checks

Most participants (79.8%) correctly identified the Chief Delegate's gender (male leaders: 82.5%; female leaders: 77%). As per the previous experiments, we excluded the 81 participants (20.25% of the sample) who failed the leader gender manipulation check from further analyses,

due to the results being positively affected by their exclusion. The final sample thus comprised 319 male participants. Chi-Squared testing demonstrated that participant exclusion distribution rates were not significantly different between conditions ($\chi(3) = 3.571$, $p = .312$), and these are reported in Table 5.2 alongside final participant gender distributions for each cell.

Table 5.2

Participant Exclusion Distribution Rates and Final Participant Gender Distribution Numbers by Condition, Based on Participants who Failed the Leader Gender Manipulation Check

Condition	% of Participants who Failed the Manipulation Check	Number of Overall Participants Remaining in Cell
Male Leader, Global Women's Issue	18%	41
Male Leader, American Women's Issue	14%	43
Male Leader, Global Common Cause	18%	41
Male Leader, American Common Cause	20%	40
Female Leader, Global Women's Issue	18%	41
Female Leader, American Women's Issue	16%	42
Female Leader, Global Common Cause	27%	36
Female Leader, American Common Cause	30%	35
Totals	20.25%	319

Note. The third column represents the number of male participants remaining in each condition following the exclusion of those participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check.

The majority of participants (71.3%) correctly identified the equality group's name (Women for Gender Equality: 68%; American Women for Gender Equality: 71%; Men and Women for Gender Equality: 71%; Men and Women for Gender Equality - America: 75%). The

statements pertaining to each condition were also combined to obtain a 2-item scale, and two-way superordinate identity salience X message framing ANOVA's were then run on the separate scales.

Importantly, there were no significant main effects or interactions for the global women's issue condition ("The need for *women across the world* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being a *global women's only* issue"). Despite failing to reach significance however, the pattern of means suggests that participants in the global women's issue conditions (M = 4.70, SD = 1.39) were more likely to agree with the statements compared to participants in the remaining conditions ($M_{Americanwomen'sissue}$ = 4.22, SD = 1.58; $M_{globalcommoncause}$ = 4.40, SD = 1.37; $M_{Americancommoncause}$ = 4.43, SD = 1.70).

There were significant main effects of superordinate identity salience, $F(1, 315) = 5.388$, $p = .021$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$, and message framing, $F(1, 315) = 7.098$, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = .022$, for the American women's issue condition ("The need for *American women alone* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being an *American women's only* issue"). Participants in the American identity conditions (M = 3.96, SD = 1.84) were significantly more likely to agree with the American women's issue statements compared to participants in the global identity conditions (M = 3.49, SD = 1.74). The same result was found for participants in women's issue conditions (M = 3.98, SD = 1.74) compared to participants in common cause conditions (M = 3.45, SD = 1.84).

Significant main effects of superordinate identity salience, $F(1, 311) = 4.401$, $p = .037$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$, and message framing, $F(1, 311) = 12.972$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .040$, were also found for the global common cause condition ("The need for *both men and women across the world* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being a *global men's and women's* issue"). Participants

were significantly more likely to agree with the global common cause statements in the global identity conditions (*M* = 5.14, *SD* = 1.50) compared to participants in the American identity conditions (*M* = 4.77, *SD* = 1.68), and this result was also found for participants in common cause conditions (*M* = 5.29, *SD* = 1.37) compared to those in women's issue conditions (*M* = 4.65, *SD* = 1.73).

Finally, we observed significant main effects of superordinate identity salience, $F(1, 315) = 5.974$, $p = .015$, $\eta_p^2 = .019$, and message framing, $F(1, 315) = 11.118$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .034$, for the American common cause condition ("The need for *both American men and women* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being an *American men's and women's* issue"). Participants in the American identity conditions (*M* = 5.18, *SD* = 1.57) were significantly more likely to agree with the American common cause statements compared to participants in the global identity conditions (*M* = 4.76, *SD* = 1.63), and the same result was found for those in common cause conditions (*M* = 5.28, *SD* = 1.45) compared to participants in women's issue conditions (*M* = 4.69, *SD* = 1.70). Overall, these results indicate that our superordinate identity salience and message framing manipulations were successful, bar for our global women's issue condition (as addressed in Program 2's discussion).

Leadership Variables

Leader prototypicality, leader influence, relational leadership identification, and transformational leadership. Contrary to predictions, no main effects or interactions were found for leader prototypicality (all $F \leq 2.425$, $ps \geq .120$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .008$), leader influence (all $F \leq 2.397$, $ps \geq .123$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .008$), relational leadership identification (all $F \leq 3.483$, $ps \geq .063$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .011$), or transformational leadership (all $F \leq 3.090$, $ps \geq .080$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$). This is in contrast to Experiment 3's findings, which showed that under subgroup (women's issue) frames, male

participants consistently evaluated female leaders as more prototypical, legitimate, influential, transformational and higher in relational leadership identification than male leaders. Alternatively, male participants evaluated male *and* female leaders equally positively when a shared superordinate American identity was made salient (i.e., under American women's and common cause frames).

Leader legitimacy. A significant leader gender main effect revealed that the male participants perceived male leaders (M = 5.83, SD = 0.97) to be significantly more legitimate than female leaders (M = 5.53, SD = 1.39), irrespective of the way they framed their equality message, $F(1, 311) = 5.064$, $p = .025$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions found, all $F \leq 0.453$, ps $\geq .501$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .001$.

Overall, while male leaders were evaluated as more legitimate than female leaders, no support was found for Hypothesis 1a, which predicted that all leaders would enjoy more positive evaluations when they promoted equality as a common cause rather than a women's issue.

Mobilisation Variables

Collective action intentions. Providing partial support for Hypothesis 2, participants were significantly more likely to partake in collective action supporting gender equality when male leaders promoted the issue (M = 4.77, SD = 1.61), compared to when female leaders did (M = 4.22, SD = 1.64), $F(1, 311) = 9.202$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .029$. However, contrary to Hypothesis 1b and 2, participants reported similar levels of collective action intent irrespective of how the equality message was framed ($M_{women'sissue}$ = 4.49, SD = 1.63; $M_{commoncause}$ = 4.52, SD = 1.66). Finally, there was no 3-way interaction to support Hypothesis 3, with participants instead reporting similar intentions regardless of which superordinate identity was made salient

($M_{Americanidentity}$ = 4.46, *SD* = 1.70; $M_{globalidentity}$ = 4.55, *SD* = 1.59). No other main effects or interactions were found, all $F \leq 0.440$, *p*s $\geq .508$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .001$.

Sense of common cause. Again providing partial support for Hypothesis 2 and replicating Experiment 2, in line with our collective action results our male participants reported feeling a higher sense of common cause when male leaders discussed inequality (*M* = 5.07, *SD* = 1.58) compared to when female leaders did (*M* = 4.62, *SD* = 1.70), $F(1, 311) = 5.688$, $p = .018$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$. However, no other significant main effects or interactions were observed for common cause, failing to provide support for the remaining hypotheses, all $F \leq 1.231$, *p*s $\geq .268$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

In summary, no support was found for Hypothesis 1b, which predicted that the male participants would report higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause under common cause compared to women's issue frames. Meanwhile, Hypothesis 2 predicted that men would report higher collective action intentions and common cause under male rather than female leaders, particularly under common cause compared to women's issue frames. Providing partial support for this hypothesis (and replicating Experiment 2), our male participants reported higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause under male compared to female leaders. However, Hypothesis 3, which expected that these effects would be moderated by the additional superordinate American identity variable, was not supported.

Perceived legitimacy of gender inequality. In line with our collective action and common cause findings, a significant main effect of leader gender revealed that participants also legitimated gender inequality more under male leaders (*M* = 4.29, *SD* = 1.48) compared to female leaders (*M* = 3.98, *SD* = 1.36), $F(1, 311) = 4.062$, $p = .045$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. However, no other main effects or interactions were found to be significant, all $F \leq 2.668$, *p*s $\geq .103$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$.

Behavioural measure. Just 36.4% of the 319 male participants agreed to sign the (false) online petition. A Pearson Chi-Square test showed no statistically significant association between the behavioural measure and experimental condition ($\chi(7) = 3.640$, $p = .820$; male leader global women's issue 46%, male leader American women's issue 30%, male leader global common cause 41%, male leader American common cause 35%, female leader global women's issue 36%, female leader American women's issue 31%, female leader global common cause 33%, female leader American common cause 37%). This shows that participants were equally likely to agree to sign the petition regardless of which condition they had been allocated to. Similar to Experiments 2-3, no statistically significant associations were detected between the behavioural measure and leader gender ($\chi(1) = .488$, $p = .485$; male leader 37%, female leader 39 %), message framing ($\chi(1) = .029$, $p = .865$; women's issue 36%, common cause 37%), or superordinate identity salience ($\chi(1) = 1.455$, $p = .228$; global identity 39%, American identity 33%).

We again recoded item 3 of the collective action intentions scale ("I would sign a petition [in person or online] in support of women's rights and gender equality"). Results of a Pearson Chi-Square test showed a statistically significant association between item 3 and the behavioural measure ($\chi(2) = 46.226$, $p < .001$; see Figure 5.9). Interestingly however, male participants who had previously stated that they would sign a petition supporting gender equality were statistically significantly *less* likely to agree to sign the petition online (48.63% [107/220] yes, 51.36% [113/220] no). Furthermore, participants who had indicated that they would not sign the petition were statistically significantly more likely to refuse to sign the online petition (10% [7/70] yes, 90% [63/70] no), and this result was echoed for participants who had specified that

they were unsure whether they would sign a petition against gender inequality (6.89% [2/29] yes, 93.10% [27/29] no).

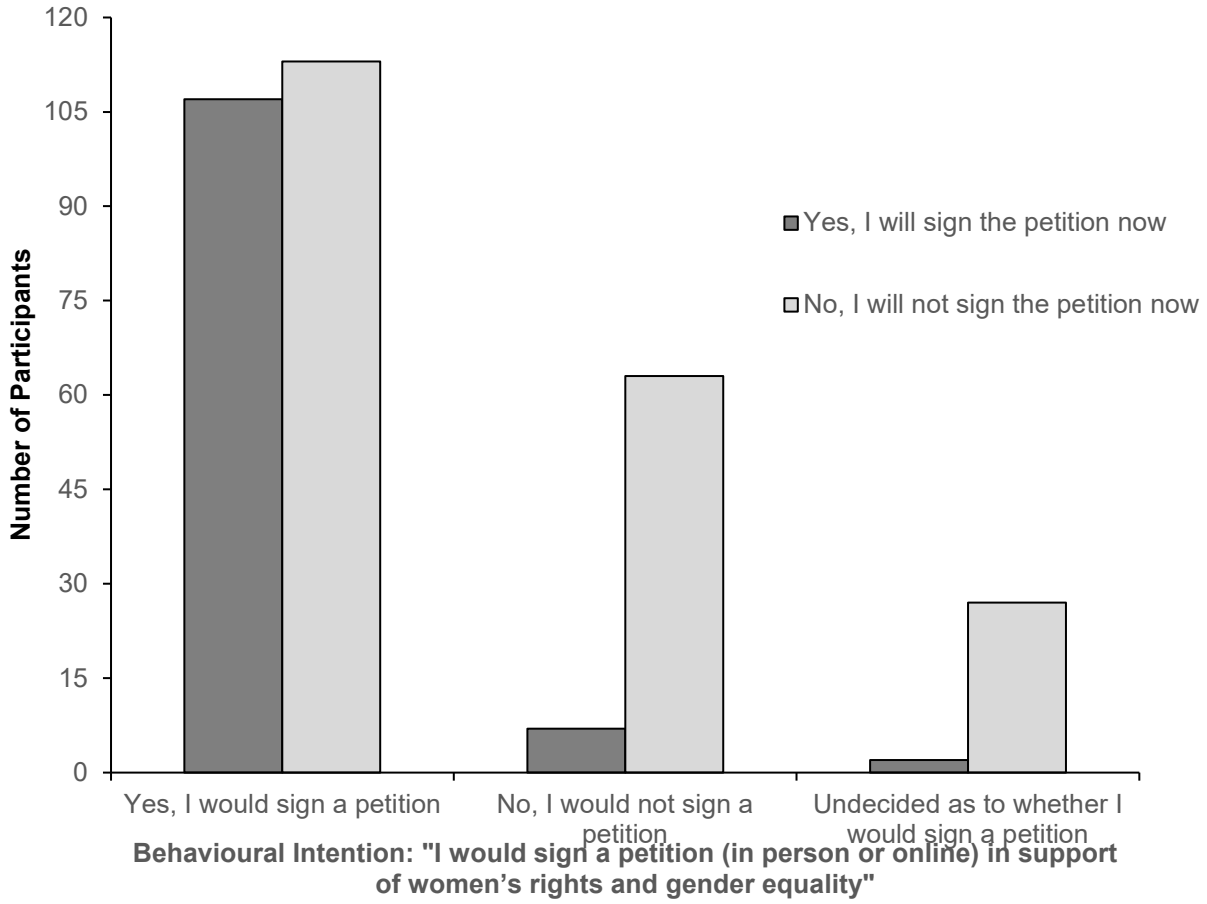

Figure 5.9. Number of participants who agreed to sign the online petition (behavioural measure) as a function of collective action intentions scale item 3 (behavioural intention). Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a one-item dichotomous response option (*yes/no*).

Social Identity Variables

Feminist identification. Mirroring our other mobilisation variables, the male participants reported higher feminist identification under male leaders (M = 4.06, SD = 2.04)

compared to female leaders (M = 3.20, SD = 1.87), regardless of how those leaders framed their equality message, $F(1, 311) = 14.733$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .045$. However, all remaining main effects or interactions were found to be non-significant, all $F \leq 1.292$, ps $\geq .257$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

Gender ingroup identification. No main effects or interactions reached significance for gender identification, all $F \leq 3.619$, ps $\geq .058$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .012$.

National identification. A significant interaction between leader gender and message framing was found, as per Figure 5.10, $F(1, 311) = 6.254$, $p = .013$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions detected, all $F \leq 2.675$, ps $\geq .103$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$.

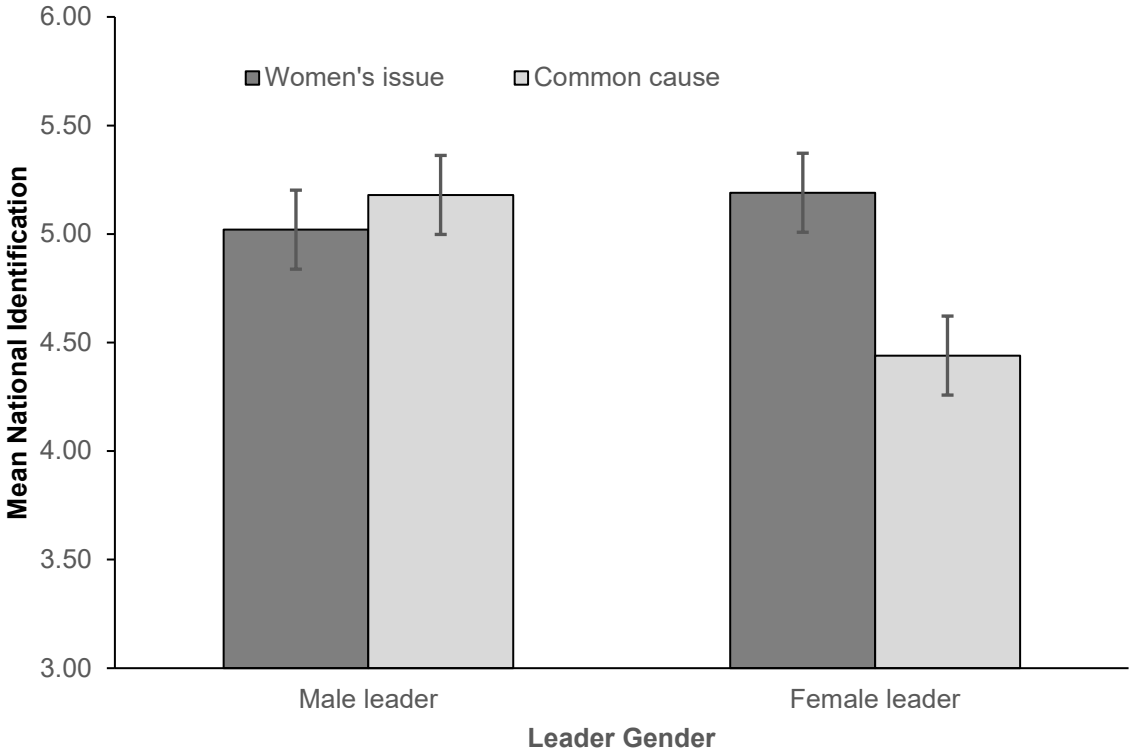

Figure 5.10. Mean national identification as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Threat Variables

Perceived threat to men's gender group. There was a significant three-way interaction found between leader gender, superordinate identity salience, and message framing, as depicted in Figure 5.11, $F(1, 311) = 5.284$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$. No other significant main effects or interactions were found, all $F \leq 1.826$, ps $\geq .178$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .006$.

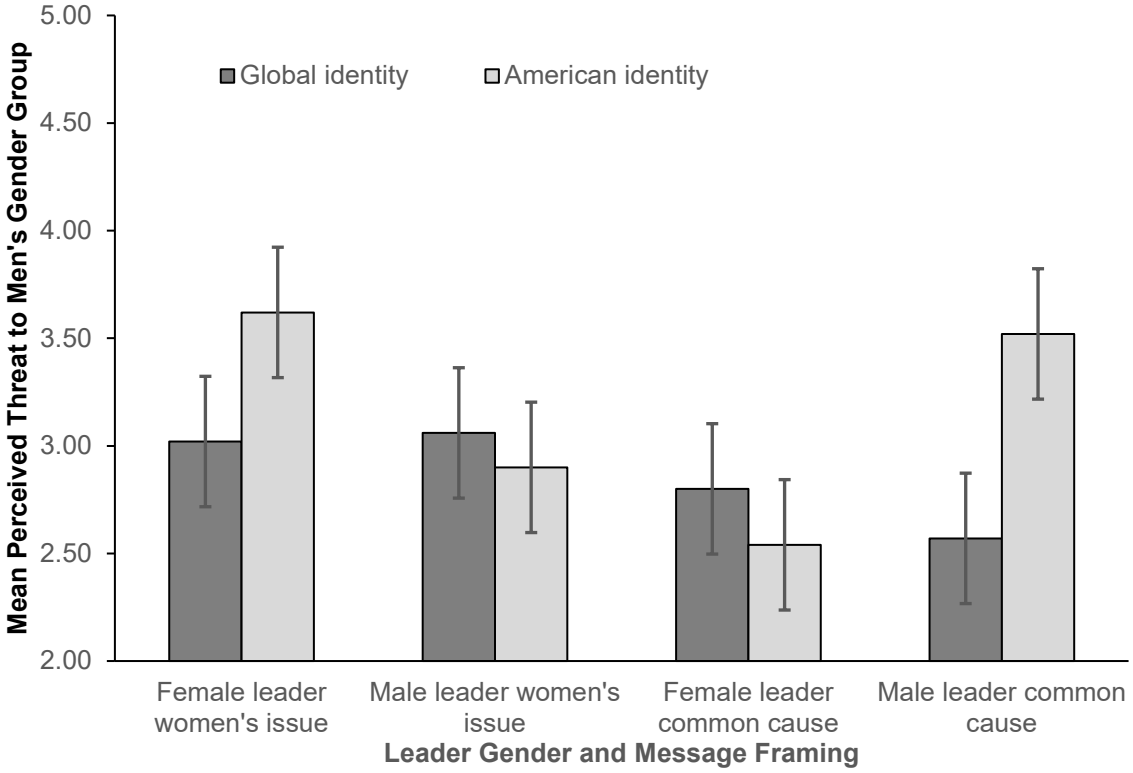

Figure 5.11. Mean perceived threat to men's gender groups as a function of leader gender, superordinate identity salience, and message framing. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

The three-way interaction was first unpacked at each level of message framing. This revealed a significant leader gender x superordinate identity salience interaction under common

cause framing, $F(1, 148) = 4.047$, $p = .046$, $\eta_p^2 = .027$, but not women's issue framing, $F(1, 163) = 1.569$, $p = .212$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$. Simple effects conducted at each level of leader gender showed a significant main effect of superordinate identity salience under common cause frames for male leaders, $F(1, 79) = 5.307$, $p = .024$, $\eta_p^2 = .063$, but not female leaders, $F(1, 69) = 0.342$, $p = .561$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$. When male leaders framed inequality as a common cause for both men and women, our male participants viewed the threat to their own gender group as being significantly higher when the message made a local American identity salient ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 2.15$) rather than a global identity salient ($M = 2.57$, $SD = 1.54$). However, when female leaders promoted the same common cause framing, participants perceived the threat to their gender group as being similar regardless of which superordinate identity was made salient ($M_{Americanidentity} = 2.54$, $SD = 1.82$; $M_{globalidentity} = 2.80$, $SD = 1.83$).

Perceived threat to women's gender group. All main effects and interactions were not significant, all $F \leq 2.914$, $ps \geq .089$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$.

Anger, Guilt, and Sadness. No main effects or interactions were found for anger (all $F \leq 3.007$, $ps \geq .084$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$), guilt (all $F \leq 2.584$, $ps \geq .109$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .008$), or sadness (all $F \leq 0.445$, $ps \geq .505$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .001$).

Blame. As demonstrated by a significant leader gender main effect, the male participants reported feeling more blame regarding the effects of gender inequality on women when a male leader promoted the issue ($M = 2.96$, $SD = 1.96$), compared to when a female leader did so ($M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.54$), $F(1, 311) = 10.749$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$. All remaining main effects and interactions remained non-significant, all $F \leq 1.068$, $ps \geq .302$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .003$.

Sympathy. A significant main effect of leader gender was observed, with participants feeling more sympathetic regarding the effects of inequality on women when male leaders

promoted the issue (M = 4.63, SD = 1.63), rather than when female leaders did the same (M = 4.24, SD = 1.75), $F(1, 311) = 4.150$, $p = .042$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. No other main effects or interactions were significant, all $F \leq 3.621$, ps $\geq .058$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .012$.

Hostile and Modern sexism. No main effects or interactions were found for hostile (all $F \leq 2.776$, ps $\geq .097$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$), or modern sexism (all $F \leq 1.085$, ps $\geq .298$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .003$).

Benevolent sexism. A significant main effect of leader gender showed that participants reported higher benevolent sexism under male leaders (M = 4.23, SD = 1.70) compared to female leaders (M = 3.61, SD = 1.62), $F(1, 311) = 11.482$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .036$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 3.245$, ps $\geq .073$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$.

Discussion

A central aim of Experiment 4 was to extend Experiment 3 by creating two distinct message framing and superordinate identity salience variables to further investigate whether the inclusion of a superordinate American identity affected men's mobilisation and leadership evaluations relative to a broader global identity.

Leadership findings. Compared to our previous three experiments, the prediction that participants would perceive leaders more favourably under common cause compared to women's issue framing was not supported (H1a). A potential explanation for this lack of leadership findings is that the additional superordinate identity salience factor weakened the effects of message framing and leader gender. Certainly, the current trend in psychological research is to simplify study designs in order to increase power and more adequately detect significant effects, whereas our experiment followed a relatively large 8-cell design (Anderson & Whitcomb, 2015). Meanwhile, our sole significant leadership evaluation finding was that male participants perceived male leaders to be significantly more legitimate than female leaders. This is in line

with Drury's (2013) finding that male confronters of sexism are viewed as more legitimate than female confronters and taken more seriously by male observers because confronting sexism is not perceived as directly benefiting men. Male leaders therefore avoid accusations of self-interest and are awarded higher perceived legitimacy as a result, which has also been linked to increased cooperation and collective action intentions (Anderson & Brown, 2010). This is further evidenced in the present experiment with men reporting higher collective action intent under leaders they deemed legitimate (i.e., male leaders; discussed below).

Mobilisation findings. In contrast to Experiment 3, we found partial support for Hypothesis 2 which predicted male participants would report higher mobilisation under male compared to female leaders, particularly under common cause compared to women's issue frames. Centrally, and replicating Experiment 2's findings, participants reported higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause when male leaders discussed equality compared to when female leaders did. Contrary to predictions however, men's intentions did not vary as a result of message framing (H2) or superordinate identity salience (H3). Moreover, in contrast to Experiment 2's behavioural measure which provided evidence that participants' intentions aligned with their actions, Experiment 4 (and 3) showed that men who had previously indicated that they *would* be willing to sign a petition against gender inequality were significantly *less* likely to sign the actual petition. Meanwhile, those who had signaled their intention not to sign, or were unsure whether they would sign, were also significantly less likely to sign the petition. This signals a disparity between male participants' intentions and actual behaviour, reflecting the Principle-Implementation Gap (which was absent in Experiment 2; Dixon et al., 2017).

Not only did our male participants express higher collective action and sense of common cause under male compared to female leaders irrespective of how leaders framed their message (replicating Experiment 2's findings, and providing partial support for H2), men also reported increased feminist identification under male leaders. This makes sense because sense of common cause (Subašić et al., 2018) and feminist identification (van Breen, Spears, Kuppens, & de Lemus, 2017; Yoder et al., 2011) are both linked to increased collective action supporting equality. Indeed, Subašić and colleagues (2018) assert that in order for solidarity to emerge, men and women need to come to a shared definition of who 'we' are, and for that identity to align with a shared agenda for change. They maintain that "identifying as a feminist signals the emergence of such higher-order identity defined by a shared agenda for change toward gender equality (i.e., common cause)" (p. 708). It therefore makes sense that in the present experiment the same conditions which resulted in higher common cause and feminist identification led to increased collective action intent on behalf of men (i.e., when male leaders rather than female leaders discussed equality). However importantly, we have now provided additional evidence that men report higher levels of these mobilisation variables only when male ingroup leaders discuss gender (in)equality.

Finally, we found no support for the prediction that the effects of leader gender and message framing on men's mobilisation would be moderated by the salience of an American superordinate identity (H3). This could be due to utilising a broad-ranging sample from across the whole of America, compared to Scannell and Gifford's (2013) use of a close-knit Canadian community (i.e., Vancouver Island). We also focused on the impacts of gender inequality, which could be less salient and important for participants compared to Scannell and Gifford's (2013)

focus on climate change effects. These factors could explain our lack of significant effects involving our superordinate identity salience factor.

Threat and social identity findings. The male participants also reported higher benevolent sexism and sympathy regarding the effects of inequality on women under male compared to female leaders. Benevolent sexist attitudes portray women positively, but simultaneously as weak incompetent individuals who require men's protection and support (Glick & Fiske, 1996). It makes sense that a male leader appearing to 'help' women in their quest for equality could trigger men's benevolent sexist beliefs, because this signals to other men that women require their help addressing inequality. Similarly, sympathy with a movement's political aims (such as feminism in the current context) has been linked to collective action supporting that movement (Klandermans, 1997), while empathy arising from sympathetic concerns can motivate acts of altruism (Batson et al., 1987).

Therefore, benevolent sexist motives – which are paternally protectionist in nature – and sympathy – which can lead to 'altruistic' acts – may be underlying men's increased mobilisation in the form of collective action, common cause, and feminist identification under the same conditions (i.e., under male rather than female leaders). Importantly, collective action rooted in benevolent sexist beliefs is frequently problematic. Hideg and Ferris (2016) showed that while benevolent sexism endorsement was linked to increased support for gender-based equality policies, this support extended solely to policies aimed at hiring women into feminine, but not masculine positions. Hideg and Ferris (2016) concluded that while benevolent sexism can be perceived as promoting equality, it instead upholds occupational gender segregation and inaction regarding women's underrepresentation in male-dominated fields.

Our male participants also reported higher perceived legitimacy of inequality and feelings of blame regarding the effects of inequality on women under male compared to female leaders. In line with the social identity analysis of leadership, and as we expected, this indicates that men indeed internalised the ingroup leader's message more, feeling increased self-blame as a result (Hogg, 2001). Such feelings of blame can motivate collective action (e.g., Miron et al., 2006) and prompt advantaged groups to make reparations to disadvantaged groups in order to alleviate these negative feelings (Iyer et al., 2003). It therefore makes sense that men reported higher feelings of blame and collective action under the same conditions (i.e., male leaders).

Meanwhile, because *decreased* legitimation of inequality is typically a key predictor of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008), it is unusual that men reported increased legitimation under the same conditions that they reported increased collective action. However, it may hint at men interpreting male leaders discussing inequality as permission for them to freely legitimate the phenomena. It could also be a defensive attempt to counter the negative feelings of self-blame they felt under male leaders – if gender inequality exists for legitimate reasons, they have less reason to feel blameworthy. Certainly, Miron and colleagues (2006) maintain that legitimating beliefs concerning gender inequality are so widespread and endorsed by men that they "may function as a means of reducing men's distress and guilt over their privileged position" (p. 176).

Furthermore, a three-way interaction revealed that under common cause framing, men perceived the threat to their gender group as being significantly higher when male leaders emphasised a superordinate American identity rather than a global identity. A male ingroup leader personally calling on fellow American men to address inequality likely felt particularly personal compared to the same leader calling on men around the globe to do the same. Certainly,

self-relevant information is encoded more effectively (Rogers, Kuiper, & Kirker, 1977) and elicits a stronger emotional reaction (O'Mara, Jackson, Batson, & Gaertner, 2011). Thus, men likely paid particular consideration to, and considered the impacts of, the American common cause message. Moreover, Kosakowska-Berezecka and colleagues (2016) found that threats to men's gender identity (in the form of information regarding testosterone levels) led to men's lowered support for collective action supporting gender equality. Therefore, men's increased perceived threat under the same conditions that we predicted would mobilise men the most (i.e., a male leader promoting an American common cause) may explain the lack of support for this hypothesis.

Limitations and Future Research

One limitation of Program 2 is that the results of both experiment's manipulation checks call into question the strength of our manipulations, particularly our global women's and American women's issue manipulations in Experiment 3. Despite the means trending in the predicted direction, participants in the American women's condition were unable to successfully distinguish between the American women's and global women's issue vignettes. Reflecting this, our nominal manipulation check showed a large drop in the number of participants correctly identifying the global women's (72%) and the American men's and women's (73%) group names compared to the American women's group name (55%). This might also explain the lack of interactions directly involving the American women's condition. Certainly, most of our significant interactions involved differences between the common cause and global women's issue conditions.

These manipulation results indicate that our global women's issue condition vignette was perhaps weakened as a result of the absence of a higher-order American superordinate identity

for participants to latch on to, or was alternatively too similar to our American women's issue condition. This is possible given that there were only subtle differences between the two vignettes (e.g., mentions of "Women for Gender Equality – America group", "women around America", and "women across America" vs. "Women for Gender Equality group", "women around the world", and "women across the globe". This is in contrast to our dual superordinate condition which differed considerably given its frequent inclusion of '*men* and women'. Similarly, despite Experiment 4's means trending in the expected direction, results for our global women's issue condition manipulation check indicated that participants were unable to distinguish between the global women's issue condition and the remaining three conditions. However, contrary to Experiment 3's large drop, Experiment 4 showed only a slight drop in the percentage of participants correctly identifying the American common cause (75%), global common cause (71%), and American women's issue (71%) group names compared to the global women's issue (68%).

In future, a better manipulation could involve priming participants' identity salience prior to reading the vignette. For example, instructing participants to think of themselves as either a) a global citizen or b) an American citizen, and then having them respond to questions regarding that identity (e.g., "My global [American] identity is an important reflection of who I am"). Though subtle, the literature has reliably demonstrated that "answering simple questions about one's membership in a particular group can increase the salience of one's identity in relation to that group, which can in turn lead to significant cognitive and behavioural consequences" (Wang & Dovidio, 2017, p. 67). Moreover, despite including a national American identification measure, we did not include a measure of global citizenship identity strength in either experiment. Future research could incorporate such a measure, which could serve as a global

identity salience comparison between conditions. For example, Russell and Russell (2009) experimentally manipulated participants' subordinate or superordinate group identities and included measures of American national and global citizenship identity to assess whether they successfully manipulated participants' identity salience.

Finally, as Subašić and colleagues (2018) acknowledge, within gender relations the political, domestic, and workplace spheres are intimately intertwined. Therefore, members of both male and female gender groups are accustomed to frequently interacting, negotiating, considering, and having to cooperate with members of the opposite sex. As such, the subgroup demarcation lines between men and women are far more blurred in contrast to those between White and Black racial groups (Subašić et al, 2018). Yet we partly based our theorising and predictions on Banfield and Dovidio's (2013) discovery that dual superordinate framing ('American Blacks and Whites') increased White's willingness to protest racial discrimination. In hindsight, extending this methodology to encompass gender subgroups within a gender equality context may have been too much of a stretch because of both the subtle demarcation between the two gender subgroups, and the frequency of interactions between women and men. Future research could also manipulate the absence or presence of an overarching feminist identity instead of a superordinate national American identity. Focusing on holding such a politicised identity could overcome the problems associated with using 'American' as a common ingroup identity.

Moreover, while Program 1 found evidence that solidarity-based common cause framing increases women's mobilisation toward equality, Program 2 did not find evidence of the same for men. Thus, there remains the need to resolve this inconsistency by further investigating the effects that different message frames have on men's (and women's) support for equality.

Accordingly, Program 3 explores several additional gender equality frames that focus exclusively on men's gender group by positioning them as either being responsible for, or being fellow victims of, gender (in)equality. We focus on these additional frames because they are better tailored to men's concerns as a subgroup, and therefore might have greater efficacy in mobilising men. For example, for the first time in this thesis, the covictimisation framing introduced in Experiment 6 discusses the ways in which men too suffer from inequality, in an attempt to demonstrate that the issue is of direct importance to them as a subgroup.

Chapter 6

A Man's World: Positioning Gender (In)Equality as the Shared Burden of Men

> "Gender equality is not only an issue for women and girls. All of us benefit when women and girls have the same opportunities as men and boys – and it's on all of us to make that a reality. Our sons have the power and the responsibility to change our culture of sexism."
>
> (Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, 2017)

Traditional approaches to gender equality typically frame it as a women's only issue – with limited success (Mavin, 2008; Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003). As such, little research has investigated the effects of placing the responsibility for the achievement of gender equality onto men *alone* (Becker et al., 2014; Government Equalities Office, 2014). However, more recently, attention has been given to initiatives that call on men to act as agents of change toward gender inequality. This involves using their influence and access to resources to address gender inequality in ways that women, due to their lower position in the status hierarchy, simply cannot (de Vries, 2015). Certainly, as evidenced in Experiments 2 and 4, by virtue of their gender and subsequent position within the socioeconomic hierarchy, men (particularly male leaders) appear to have the formal positional and gendered power required to effect change within that hierarchy and mobilise men toward equality (de Vries, 2015; Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; Subašić et al., 2018).

Program 3 moves beyond women's issue approaches to explicitly position men as either being responsible for (Experiment 5), or being fellow victims of (i.e., themselves being directly

affected by; Experiment 6), gender (in)equality. Such male-led initiatives seek to redefine men's roles within the gender equality movement by unequivocally positioning them as being primarily *responsible* for achieving equality, rather than simply spearheading campaigns or working closely alongside women, as has been the focus in Programs 1-2. Key examples of these contemporary initiatives that have recently gained traction within the workplace and broader societal settings include the Australian Male Champions of Change (MCC) movement and the UN Women's HeForShe campaign (outlined below).

Experiment 5

Since its inception in 2010 the MCC Institute has strived to recruit key groups of male corporate leaders (e.g., CEOs, board directors, and military leaders) and encouraged them to use their collective influence to elevate the issue of workplace inequality to the national agenda (Australian Human Rights Commission [AHRC], 2015). These respected male leaders provide visible leadership on the issue of gender (in)equality, and are able to influence and affect change as a consequence of their status and standing (MCC, 2015). They receive targeted support to stand up for equality as allies alongside women, and they adopt and implement concrete actions across both public and private workplace sectors (e.g., accelerating high potential women into managerial positions; MCC, 2015). These MCC groups span across male-dominated industries (e.g., STEMM, architecture, and sport) and as of late 2019 comprise a high-profile coalition of 13 groups totaling 220 leaders nationally. These male leaders have voluntarily embraced equality as a common cause, with positive results (AHRC, 2015).

The movement's strategy involves "work[ing] together to identify and implement progressive, high-impact actions that disrupt the status quo and create meaningful and lasting change" (MCC, 2017, para. 6). This encompasses sharing their own experiences, data, and results, advocating at both the organisational and community level, and utilising their individual and collective leadership and shared resources to enact change (MCC, 2017). They also publicly commit to shared goals and practical actions so as to hold themselves accountable, given that it requires more than 'lip service' to effect change (MCC, 2017). Essentially, by using their combined influence and positional power to place equality on the workplace agenda, these leaders help to accelerate and advance change toward gender equality (MCC, 2015). So far, 58% of MCC organisations have reached gender-balanced recruitment levels, 82% have promotion rates that are gender-balanced or higher than their overall representation of women, and 68% have a better gender balance among management staff compared to their first public MCC report (MCC, 2018).

Another initiative calling on men to take responsibility for their role in maintaining and addressing gender inequality is the UN Women's HeForShe campaign, whose slogan "Gender equality is not just a women's issue, it's a human rights issue" (HeForShe, 2016, para. 1) undoubtedly epitomises solidarity. Launched in 2014, the solidarity-based movement provides "a systematic approach and targeted platform on which men and boys can engage and become change agents towards the achievement of gender equality" (HeForShe, 2017, para. 1). HeForShe invites individuals of all gender identities to envision a gender-equal world and strive to achieve this by enacting tangible, locally-relevant solutions to equality issues, with the aim of mobilising men in particular toward gender equality (HeForShe, 2016). The campaign hopes that by having men crystallise their intent into explicit action, their individual actions will

collectively allow for the systematic social change that is required in order for gender equality to be achieved (HeForShe, 2017). This ties in with Subašić and colleagues (2018) assertion that we need to make men's role in equality work explicit rather than ambiguous.

HeForShe (2017) also aims to empower female leaders and collaborate with men as advocates of change via a top-down process. This starts with encouraging global leaders within public, private, and academic spheres to take on the roles of public champions of change. Indeed, the workplace and political domains are predominantly male, and men within these realms play the role of 'gatekeeper' in terms of the creation and control of political and employment opportunities (HeForShe, 2017). This often results in women being excluded from participating in such domains. By including men (particularly male leaders) as agents of change instead of gatekeepers, they can use their power and resources to address rather than maintain inequality (HeForShe, 2017).

In line with this, Flood, Russell, O'Leary, and Brown (2017) maintain that it is important to emphasise the valuable role that men play in driving gender equality. They claim equality messages should appeal to men as bystanders to inequality and as allies to women, but also to their sense of fairness and their concern for the women in their life (Flood et al., 2017). In sum, messages should "encourage men to shift from engaging on gender equality for paternalistic reasons, and with a limited focus on 'other' and 'bad' men, and little sense of wider inequalities" (Flood et al., 2017, p. 17), to instead engage with equality efforts as allies alongside women.

Together, these male-oriented initiatives mark a parting from the more traditional approach of placing the sole responsibility for addressing gender inequality on women (Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003), toward a fresh alternative – placing the responsibility on the main perpetrators of said inequality. Subašić and colleagues (2018) previously investigated the success

of this novel framework by attributing gender inequality's existence to either a lack of government regulation or due to increased numbers of men occupying leadership positions. They discovered that when equality messages focused on *men's* role in the change process (rather than the government's role), men reported higher collective action intentions and stronger sense of common cause with women disadvantaged by inequality (Subašić et al., 2018). Subašić and colleagues (2018) also found that this effect was mediated by the emergence of men's sense of common cause with women affected by inequality. They argue that these findings speak to the need for equality initiatives to "(a) make explicit (rather than obfuscate) men's role in creating and addressing inequality, and (b) do so in a way that highlights a sense of common cause (e.g., as colleagues) between men and women" (Subašić et al., 2018, p. 713).

Overall, the MCC and HeForShe initiatives have received positive feedback from the public at large and have made substantial progress toward gender equality (MCC, 2018). The success of such initiatives demonstrates that placing the responsibility for addressing gender inequality on to men can have positive effects. It also echoes Subašić and colleagues' (2018) findings that men report higher collective action intent when their role in the journey toward gender equality is highlighted. Yet beyond Subašić and colleagues (2018), little empirical research has investigated whether framing equality as the sole responsibility of men increases their likelihood of engaging in collective action supporting women.

The scarcity of these male-led initiatives reveals the gap remaining between theory and practice, indicating a need to go beyond 'armchair' theorising and instead translate research into practice (Meyerson & Kolb, 2000). Notably, Subašić et al. (2018) also questioned whether the rhetoric focusing on men's responsibility potentially motivated men's collective action only by conflating a sense of responsibility with feelings of blame and collective guilt for men (e.g.,

Miron et al., 2006). Subašić and colleagues (2018) believed that this explanation could be explored in future experiments by incorporating measures of affective injustice (e.g., guilt, blame, sympathy, etc.).

In light of these arguments, Program 3 explores additional gender equality frames that focus solely on men. It is important to investigate these frames given the effectiveness of those initiatives that explicitly engage men as change agents for equality (e.g., MCC, HeForShe), and because it appears necessary to explicitly outline the role that men can play in achieving gender equality (Subašić et al., 2018) In two experiments, we contrast our solidarity-based frame of gender equality as a common cause with the typical traditional women's issue frame, but additionally frame men as being either solely responsible for addressing gender inequality (Experiment 5; extending Subašić et al., 2018), or as being actual victims of gender inequality themselves (Experiment 6). This is important because it allows us to explore whether positioning men as being responsible for, or being fellow victims of, gender inequality affects their support for women's equality.

Program 3 also maintains Program 2's superordinate American identity salience across all message framing conditions, instead of using the additional broader global identity used in the previous experiments. We do this because Experiment 3 demonstrated that the inclusion of a superordinate American identity resulted in male and female leaders being viewed as similarly effective gender equality leaders. Given this, we wanted to refocus on the effects of leader gender and message framing. Furthermore, while Experiment 5 examines the effects of leader gender on support for equality by juxtaposing male and female leaders, Experiment 6 holds the male leader's gender constant. This was done in order to keep the design size manageable and to better examine the particular effects of message framing on participants' mobilisation toward

equality. Finally, Experiment 5 again focuses solely on men's mobilisation, while Experiment 6 reintroduces female participants in order to further investigate how message framing differentially affects their support for equality relative to men.

Aims and Hypotheses

In Experiment 5 we position men as agents of change and frame inequality as an issue that men alone can and should mobilise against due to their gender group holding the majority of power and resources within society (Iyer & Ryan, 2009a). Essentially, Experiment 5 examines how assigning accountability for gender inequality to men as the majority subgroup affects both their mobilisation and evaluations of leaders promoting equality. Subašić and colleagues (2018, Experiment 1) contrasted whether gender equality was framed as men's or the government's responsibility but did not contrast these directly with a solidarity-based framing. The present work addresses this gap by contrasting three gender inequality frames: men's responsibility, women's issue, and common cause.

We expect that although the male participants' mobilisation will be higher under men's responsibility compared to women's issue conditions, ultimately men's mobilisation will be highest under common cause messages. Specifically, we predict that when gender equality is framed as a common cause rather than a women's issue or men's responsibility, our male participants will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, relational leadership identification, and transformational leadership (H1). We also predict that men's collective action intentions and sense of common cause will be higher when the equality message is attributed to a male leader rather than a female leader, particularly under common cause compared to women's issue or men's responsibility messages (H2).

Method

Participants and Design

Participants comprised 300 males (*M* age = 33.50 years, *SD* = 11.30) recruited online via Prolific. Participants were remunerated £0.90 GBP ($1.60 AUD) for participating. As in Program 2, the pre-screening criteria included employed White American men aged between 18-68 years whose first language was English. As such, 98.7% of the sample comprised American citizens (1.3% American permanent residents), whose employment status was either full- (52.3%), part-time (14.7%), self-employed (10.7%), casual (3%), unemployed (14.3%), or other (4.9%). Only 24.7% of the sample were currently studying (15% full-time domestically; 8.3% part-time domestically; 1.3% internationally), while the remaining 75.3% were not studying. Participants' education levels were as follows: finished some high school (2%), finished high school (26.7%), Trade/Technical/Vocational training (4%), Bachelor's degree (34%), Associate degree (9.7%), Master's degree (15.3%), Doctorate degree (7%), or other (1.3%).

Random allocation saw participants being assigned to one of six experimental conditions in a 2 (Leader gender: male leader, female leader) x 3 (Message framing: men's responsibility, women's issue, common cause) between-subjects balanced factorial design, with 50 participants per cell. An a priori statistical power analysis using G*Power (Faul et al., 2007) indicated that for a power of .80 (α = .05), the minimum sample needed to detect a small effect size of $\eta_p^2 = .0225$ (or f = .151) using a 2 x 3 ANOVA was 343 participants (approximately 57 per cell). We managed to recruit 300 participants (50 per cell), but sensitivity power analyses demonstrated that our ultimate sample (251 participants) still had adequate power to detect effect sizes of: $\eta p^2 = .0305$ (or f = .177) for the leader gender main effect and $\eta p^2 = .0375$ (or f = .197) for the message framing main effect and leader gender X message framing interaction.

Procedure and Materials

The male participants followed the same procedure as per previous experiments, completing a 15-minute self-report questionnaire which contained the experimental vignettes and dependent measures.

Leader gender and message framing manipulations. The experimental vignettes were similar to those used in Experiment 3 (with the addition of our men's responsibility frame), in that the Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development outlined their recent workplace gender equality initiative. Leader gender (Matthew vs. Margaret Jamieson, he vs. she) and group name (American Men for Gender Equality vs. American Women for Gender Equality vs. Men and Women for Gender Equality – America) were manipulated as in all previous experiments.

Message framing was further manipulated via language which framed gender equality as either men's responsibility (e.g., "…there's never been a more important time for men around America to act"), a women's issue (e.g., "it's important that American women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue"), or a common cause for both women and men to address together (e.g., "…men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality across the country"). Importantly, our men's responsibility message frame referred solely to the effects of gender inequality on women (not men), and positioned men as being responsible for addressing inequality rather than as being victims themselves of inequality.

Dependent Measures

After reading the article participants completed the below dependent measures (in the same order) as used in the previous experiments: leader prototypicality (α = .90), relational leadership identification (α = .86), transformational leadership (α = .93), leader legitimacy (α

= .96), leader influence (α = .92), collective action intentions (α = .90), common cause (α = .94), perceived legitimacy of inequality (α = .91), perceived threat to men's gender group (α = .96), perceived threat to women's gender group (α = .95), anger (α = .88), guilt (α = .83), sadness (α = .90), sympathy (α = .89), hostile sexism (α = .91), benevolent sexism (α = .86), modern sexism (α = .91), gender identification (α = .88), feminist identification (α = .94), national identification (α = .93), the online behavioural measure, instructional manipulation checks, and demographics (scale anchors were 1=*strongly disagree*, 7=*strongly agree* unless otherwise stated). Participants also completed the manipulation checks described below. See Appendix D for item list.

Manipulation checks. Participants responded to eight manipulation checks. First, they identified the gender of the Chief Delegate (male [Matthew]/female [Margaret]) and the equality group's name (American Men for Gender Equality/American Women for Gender Equality/Men and Women for Gender Equality - America). Participants then rated the degree to which the article discussed inequality being (a) an American women's issue, (b) American men's responsibility, or (c) a common cause for American men and women.

Results

Data Analysis and Analytical Strategy

The main analysis was run using SPSS Version 24, which involved performing between-participants ANOVA's on the individual dependent variables, using leader gender and message framing as factors. Significant two-way leader gender X message framing interactions were unpacked by running separate one-way ANOVA's at each level of message framing. The same interactions were then unpacked by leader gender, and these results are reported in Appendix I.

Manipulation Checks

Most participants (86%) identified the gender of the Chief Delegate correctly (male leader: 88.7%; female leader: 83.3%). As per the previous experiments, the 42 participants (14% of the sample) who failed the leader gender manipulation check were excluded, because the results were positively affected following their removal. As such, the final sample consisted of 258 male participants. Chi-Squared tests showed that participant exclusion distribution rates did not change significantly between conditions ($\chi(3) = 3.571$, $p = .312$). These are reported in Table 6.1, together with final participant gender distributions for each cell.

Table 6.1
Participant Exclusion Distribution Rates and Final Participant Gender Distribution Numbers by Condition, Based on Participants who Failed the Leader Gender Manipulation Check

Condition	% of Participants who Failed the Manipulation Check	Number of Overall Participants Remaining in Cell
Male Leader, Women's Issue	16%	42
Male Leader, Men's Responsibility	8%	46
Male Leader, Common Cause	10%	45
Female Leader, Women's Issue	14%	43
Female Leader, Men's Responsibility	18%	41
Female Leader, Common Cause	18%	41
Totals	14%	258

Note. The third column represents the number of male participants remaining in each condition following the exclusion of those participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check.

Most participants (75.3%) identified the equality group's name correctly (American Men for Gender Equality: 65%; American Women for Gender Equality: 77%; Men and Women for Gender Equality - America: 84%). As per previous experiments, the success of our message framing manipulation was further corroborated by running one-way ANOVAs (with message framing as a factor) on the manipulation check statements, and using Tukey's HSD tests to conduct post hoc comparisons. The two manipulation check statements referring to each condition were combined, creating a 2-item scale.

There was a significant main effect of message framing for the men's responsibility manipulation check statements ("The need for *American men alone* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being an *American men's only* issue", $F(2, 252) = 21.579$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .146$). Post hoc comparisons revealed that participants in the men's responsibility condition ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 1.59$) were significantly more likely to agree with the statements than were participants in the women's issue ($M = 2.18$, $SD = 1.31$, $p = .000$), and common cause conditions ($M = 2.58$, $SD = 1.77$, $p = .000$).

A significant main effect of message framing was also found for the women's issue manipulation check statements ("The need for *American women alone* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being an *American women's only* issue", $F(2, 252) = 8.202$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .061$). Post hoc tests showed that participants in the women's issue condition ($M = 3.74$, $SD = 1.80$) were significantly more likely to agree with the statements than were participants in the men's responsibility ($M = 2.95$, $SD = 1.57$, $p = .008$) and common cause conditions ($M = 2.75$, $SD = 1.77$, $p = .001$).

Finally, we found a significant main effect of message framing for the common cause manipulation check statements ("The need for *both American men and women* to stand up for

equality" and "Inequality being an *American men's and women's* issue", $F(2, 252) = 21.481$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .146$). Post hoc testing demonstrated that participants in the common cause condition ($M = 6.07$, $SD = 1.23$) were significantly more likely to agree with the statements compared to participants in the men's responsibility ($M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.69$, $p = .000$) and women's issue conditions ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 1.94$, $p = .000$).

There were no other significant main effects or interactions detected. Overall, these findings indicate that our message framing manipulation was successful.

Leadership Variables

Leader prototypicality. A significant main effect of message framing was found, ($F(2, 252) = 3.668$, $p = .027$, $\eta_p^2 = 028$. Providing partial support for Hypothesis 1, post hoc comparisons showed that participants rated (male and female) leaders as significantly more prototypical when they framed gender equality as a common cause for both men and women ($M = 5.69$, $SD = 0.98$), rather than as an issue for women alone ($M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.10$, $p = .038$). Contrary to Hypothesis 1 however, leader prototypicality ratings did not differ significantly between men's responsibility framing ($M = 5.36$, $SD = 1.11$) and common cause framing (or women's issue framing).

Leader legitimacy. No significant main effects or interactions were found for leader legitimacy, all $F \leq 1.159$, ps $\geq .315$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$.

Leader influence. A significant main effect of leader gender revealed that participants viewed female leaders ($M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.27$) as being significantly more influential than male leaders ($M = 4.89$, $SD = 1.52$), ($F(1, 252) = 5.339$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = 021$. No other main effects or interactions were found, all $F \leq 0.646$, ps $\geq .525$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .005$.

Relational leadership identification. There was a significant main effect of message framing, ($F(2, 252) = 4.837$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = 037$. In line with Hypothesis 1, post hoc testing revealed that the male participants perceived leaders as significantly higher in relational leadership identification when leaders promoted gender equality as a common cause for men and women ($M = 5.76$, $SD = 0.94$), rather than as the responsibility of men alone ($M = 5.38$, $SD = 1.11$, $p = .035$), or as a women's issue ($M = 5.34$, $SD = 0.99$, $p = .018$).

Transformational leadership. There were no significant main effects or interactions found for transformational leadership, all $F \leq 2.618$, ps $\geq .107$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .017$.

Overall, providing partial support for Hypothesis 1, which predicted that our male participants would rate leaders most positively under common cause framing compared to men's responsibility or women's issue framing, male participants rated leaders as being significantly more prototypical under common cause compared to women's issue frames (but not compared to men's responsibility frames). Additionally, our male participants rated leaders as being higher in relational leadership identification under common cause frames compared to both women's issue and men's responsibility frames. Finally, the male participants also rated female leaders as being more influential than male leaders.

Mobilisation Variables

Collective action intentions. Contrary to Hypothesis 2, participants reported similar collective action intent regardless of the gender of the leader ($M_{maleleader} = 4.65$, $SD = 1.70$; $M_{femaleleader} = 4.62$, $SD = 1.61$), $F(1, 252) = 0.028$, $p = .866$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$, or the way the equality message was framed ($M_{men'sresponsibility} = 4.57$, $SD = 1.68$; $M_{women'sissue} = 4.57$, $SD = 1.60$; $M_{commoncause} = 4.76$, $SD = 1.69$), $F(2, 252) = 0.382$, $p = .683$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$.

Sense of common cause. Hypothesis 2 was not supported, with participants reporting similar levels of common cause irrespective of leader gender ($M_{maleleader}$ = 4.98, SD = 1.72; $M_{femaleleader}$ = 4.94, SD = 1.69), $F(1, 252) = 0.031$, $p = .861$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$, or message framing ($M_{men'sresponsibility}$ = 4.85, SD = 1.57; $M_{women'sissue}$ = 5.00, SD = 1.74; $M_{commoncause}$ = 5.02, SD = 1.81), $F(2, 252) = 0.321$, $p = .725$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$.

In summary, there was no support found for Hypothesis 2, which predicted that the male participant's collective action intent and sense of common cause would be higher when the equality message was attributed to a male leader rather than a female leader, particularly under common cause compared to women's issue or men's responsibility messages.

Perceived legitimacy of gender inequality. No main effects or interactions were significant, all $F \leq 1.741$, ps $\geq .188$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$, demonstrating that participants' perceived legitimacy of gender inequality remained unaffected by leader gender ($M_{maleleader}$ = 3.70, SD = 1.52; $M_{femaleleader}$ = 3.45, SD = 1.42), or message framing ($M_{men'sresponsibility}$ = 3.66, SD = 1.47; $M_{women'sissue}$ = 3.47, SD = 1.58; $M_{commoncause}$ = 3.61, SD = 1.40).

Behavioural measure. Of the 258 male participants, 38.4% stated that they were willing to sign the online petition. Results of a Pearson Chi-Square test revealed no statistically significant association between the actual behavioural measure and experimental condition ($\chi(5) = 8.345$, $p = .138$; male leader men's responsibility 37%, male leader women's issue 43%, male leader common cause 33%, female leader men's responsibility 24%, female leader women's issue 39%, female leader common cause 54%). This demonstrates that participants were equally likely to sign the online petition, irrespective of the condition they were assigned to. As in Experiments 2 and 3, there were no statistically significant associations detected between the actual behavioural measure and leader gender ($\chi(1) = .070$, $p = .791$; male leader 37%, female

leader 39 %), or message framing ($\chi(2) = 3.050$, $p = .218$; men's responsibility 31%, women's issue 41%, common cause 43%).

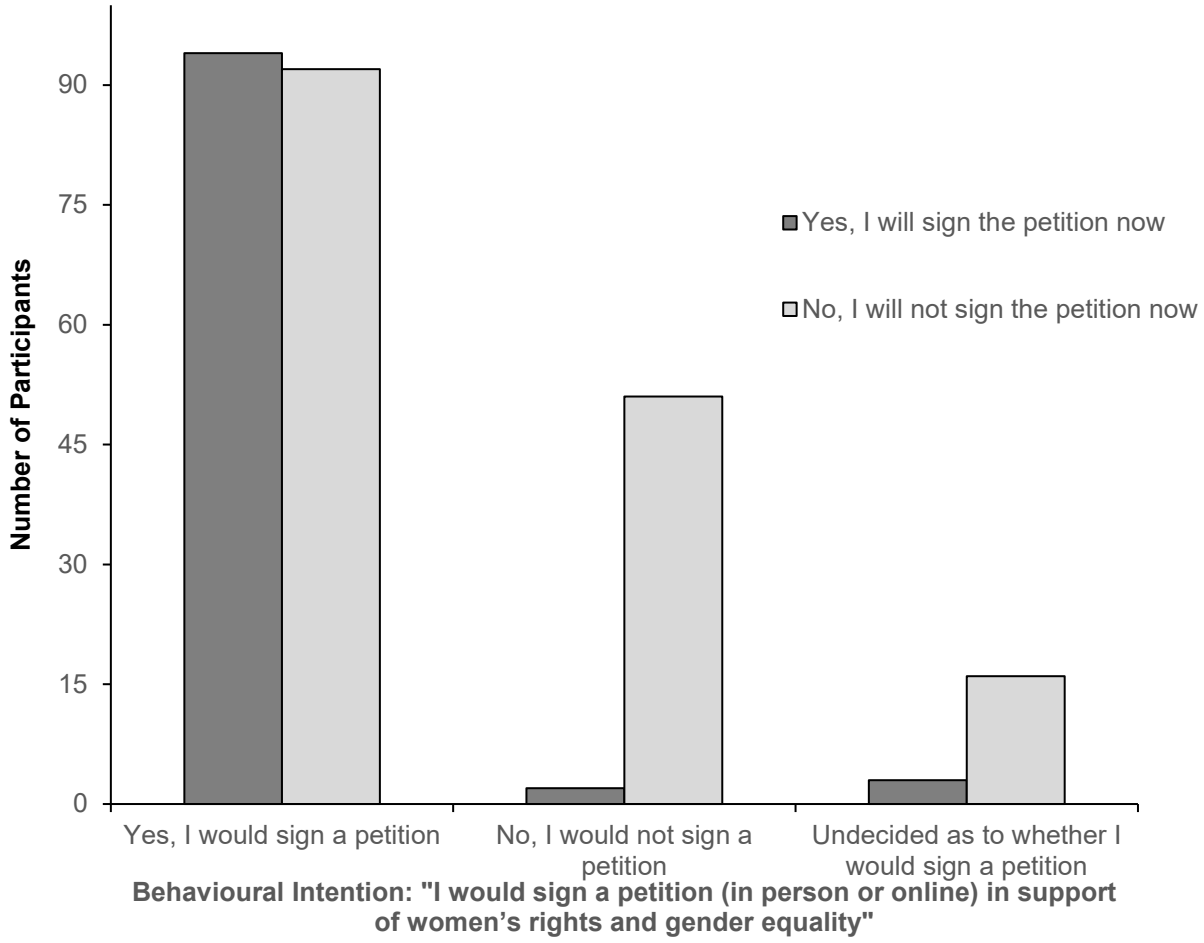

Figure 6.1. Number of participants who agreed to sign the online petition (behavioural measure) as a function of collective action intentions scale item 3 (behavioural intention). Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a one-item dichotomous response option (*yes/no*).

Item 3 of the collective action intentions scale ("I would sign a petition [in person or online] in support of women's rights and gender equality") was again recoded. A Pearson Chi-

Square test revealed a statistically significant association between item 3 and the actual behavioural measure ($\chi(2) = 42.567$, $p < .001$; see Figure 6.1). Indeed, participants who had formerly specified that they would sign a petition against gender inequality were statistically significantly more likely to agree to sign the petition online when asked (50.54% [94/186] yes, 49.46% [92/186] no). Similarly, participants who had stated that they would not sign the petition were statistically significantly more likely to decline to sign the online petition (3.77% [2/53] yes, 96.23% [51/53] no), and the same result was established for participants who had indicated that they were unsure whether they would sign a petition for gender equality (15.79% [3/19] yes, 84.21% [16/19] no).

Social Identity Variables

Feminist identification. Participants' feminist identification remained unaffected by the independent variables, all $F \leq 0.836$, ps $\geq .435$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

Gender ingroup identification. There was a significant main effect of message framing found for gender ingroup identification, $F(2, 252) = 4.450$, $p = .013$, $\eta_p^2 = .034$. Post hoc comparisons showed that our male participants identified significantly more with their gender identity when inequality was framed as the responsibility of men ($M = 4.93$, $SD = 1.49$) rather than an issue for women ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 1.39$, $p = .009$). In contrast, participant's gender identification did not differ significantly under common cause framing ($M = 4.52$, $SD = 1.25$) compared to under men's responsibility or women's issue frames. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 1.170$, ps $\geq .280$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .005$.

National identification. A significant main effect of message framing was found, $F(2, 252) = 8.592$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .064$. Post hoc testing revealed that participants reported significantly higher national American identification when gender inequality was framed as the

responsibility of men (M = 5.39, SD = 1.33), as opposed to an issue for women (M = 4.45, SD = 1.60, p = .000). Alternatively, participant's national identification did not differ significantly under common cause framing (M = 4.97, SD = 1.44) compared to under men's responsibility or women's issue framing. No other main effects and interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 1.304$, $ps \geq .255$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .005$.

Threat Variables

Perceived threat to men's gender group. All main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 2{,}913$, $ps \geq .089$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .018$.

Perceived threat to women's gender group. A significant main effect of leader gender showed that participants perceived the threat to women's gender group to be significantly higher when male leaders promoted gender inequality (M = 2.55, SD = 1.82), as opposed to when female leaders did so (M = 2.05, SD = 1.25), $F(1, 252) = 6.302$, $p = .013$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$. All remaining main effects and interactions were not significant, all $F \leq 1.139$, $ps \geq .322$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$.

Anger, Sadness, and Sympathy. No main effects or interactions were found for anger (all $F \leq 1.359$, $ps \geq .259$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .011$), sadness (all $F \leq 0.622$, $ps \geq .538$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .005$), or sympathy (all $F \leq 0.707$, $ps \geq .494$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .006$).

Guilt. A significant main effect of leader gender was found, ($F(1, 252) = 7.099$, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = 027$, revealing that the male participants reported significantly higher feelings of guilt over the effects of gender inequality on women when male leaders promoted gender equality (M = 2.87, SD = 1.64), as opposed to when female leaders did so (M = 2.37, SD = 1.36). All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 1.940$, $ps \geq .146$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .015$.

Blame. As per Figure 6.2, a significant interaction between leader gender and message framing was found, ($F(2, 252) = 3.218$, $p = .042$, $\eta_p^2 = 025$. No significant main effects were found, all $F \leq 0.937$, ps $\geq .334$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

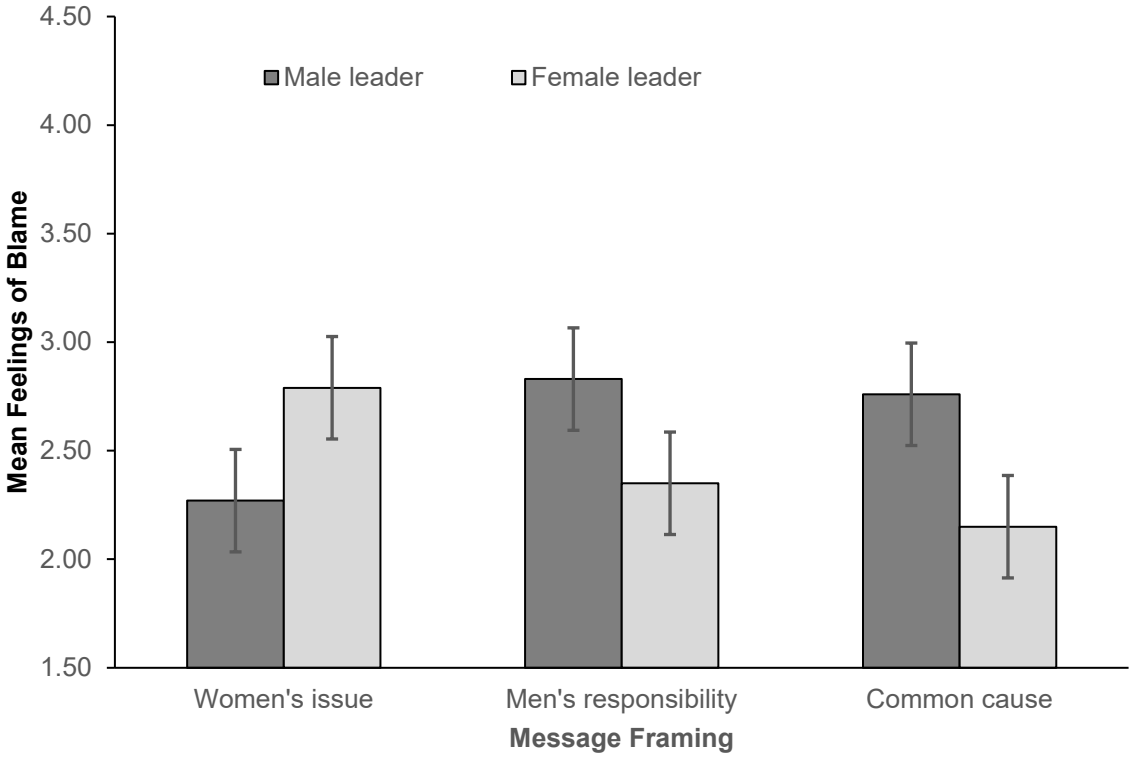

Figure 6.2. Mean feelings of blame as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

To investigate the two-way interaction, simple effects were conducted at all levels of message framing, revealing no significant main effects of leader gender for common cause framing ($F(1, 84) = 3.356$, $p = .070$, $\eta_p^2 = .038$), men's responsibility ($F(1, 85) = 1.777$, $p =$

.186, $\eta_p^2 = .020$), or women's issue framing ($F(1, 83) = 2.397$, $p = .125$, $\eta_p^2 = .028$). As such, these results are not reported.

Hostile sexism. A significant main effect of leader gender revealed that our male participants reported significantly higher hostile sexism when gender inequality was discussed by a male leader ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.75$) as opposed to a female leader ($M = 2.92$, $SD = 1.44$), ($F(1, 252) = 5.177$, $p = .024$, $\eta_p^2 = 020$. No other main effects or interactions were found to be significant, all $F \leq 1.620$, ps $\geq .200$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .013$.

Benevolent sexism. A significant main effect of leader gender showed that similar to our hostile sexism findings, participants also reported higher benevolent sexism when male leaders promoted gender inequality ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 1.56$), as opposed to when female leaders did the same ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.51$), ($F(1, 252) = 5.322$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = 021$. All other main effects and interactions did not reach significance, all $F \leq 0.866$, ps $\geq .422$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

Modern sexism. In contrast to our hostile and benevolent sexism findings, no significant main effects or interactions were observed for modern sexism, all $F \leq 0.179$, ps $\geq .758$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .001$.

Discussion

Experiment 5 investigated whether men's reactions to inequality campaigns differed in response to contrasting our solidarity-based message frame with the traditional women's issue approach, in addition to a novel frame which saw the responsibility for addressing inequality being placed solely on men. Essentially, Experiment 5 examined how assigning accountability for inequality to men affected both their mobilisation supporting equality and leadership evaluations of those leading the charge for equality.

Leadership findings. We predicted that the male participants would evaluate leaders more positively under common cause framing (H1). Mirroring Experiments 1-2 (but absent in Experiments 3-4), and providing partial support for H1, under common cause framing participants viewed leaders as being significantly higher in leader prototypicality (compared to under women's issue, but not men's responsibility frames) and relational leadership identification (compared to under both women's issue and men's responsibility frames). These leadership findings provide additional evidence that leaders who use solidarity-based frames create the perception that they are 'one of us' due to such frames promoting collective group interests (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; van Knippenberg, 2011).

Furthermore, Steffens and colleagues (2013) state that "highly identified followers perceive themselves to share relational identity with a leader when that leader is representative of their ingroup, but not if that leader is representative of an outgroup" (p. 296). Therefore, the fact that male followers rated male *and* female leaders as being equally high in relational leadership identification under common cause frames (compared to women's issue or men's responsibility frames) indicates that common cause framing partly closes the gap between male followers' and female leaders' (gender) outgroup differences. Nonetheless, in contrast to Program 1, our male participants did not rate leaders as more legitimate, influential, or transformational under common cause framing. It is not clear why participants' positive leadership evaluations did not extend to these particular variables.

Importantly however, the male participants' leadership prototypicality evaluations did not differ between common cause and men's responsibility frames, revealing that male and female leaders are viewed as equally prototypical under such frames. This demonstrates that engaging men in equality efforts by placing the responsibility for addressing the issue onto them alone

appears just as effective at increasing equality leaders' perceived prototypicality as common cause framing is. This may be because a leader actively addressing men (as is the case in our men's responsibility and common cause frames) strikes male participants as more prototypical of a leader than a leader who instead ignores men's role entirely (as per our women's issue frames).

Certainly, in the context of such frames, the leader literally 'speaks to us' (i.e., men), as per Haslam and colleagues' (2011) theory of identity-based leadership. Male participants may have interpreted these two frames as leaders standing in their corner, subsequently leading them to categorise those leaders as ingroup members, hence their higher perceived prototypicality (Hogg et al., 2012). Indeed, perceived leader prototypicality rests on emphasising ingroup similarities and creating the perception that they embody group interests and collective goals (van Knippenberg, 2011), while additionally providing a behavioural agenda and shared objectives for the group (Hogg et al., 2012). As such, leaders who ignore whole subgroups (i.e., men) and fail to provide such groups with 'our' shared agenda (i.e., by using women's issue frames) are likely to be perceived as less prototypical.

Participants had previously rated female leaders as more prototypical and transformational than male leaders in Experiment 2, and in the current experiment our male participants evaluated female leaders as more influential than male leaders. Female leaders are typically perceived as more transformational than male leaders on average (e.g., Eagly et al., 2003), and transformational leadership is widely considered an *influential* leadership style (Bass, 1985), hence it follows that female leaders might be regarded as more influential than male leaders. Nevertheless, female leaders were not seen as more transformational than male leaders in the present study, despite this being the case in Experiment 2. Additionally, this influence

finding is not replicated in any of our other experiments, although notably the *p*-value reached 0.051 for leader influence in Experiment 2.

Mobilisation findings. Despite predicting that our male participants would report higher collective action intentions under male compared to female leaders, particularly under common cause framing, absence of significant findings for our mobilisation variables meant there was no support found for Hypothesis 2. Because this pattern is prevalent across Experiments 1, 3, and now 5, we will address this issue in detail in the General Discussion. However, mirroring Experiment 2's findings and providing evidence that individuals act in line with their intentions, our behavioural measure results revealed that participants were significantly more likely to sign the petition if they had signaled their intention to do so, while those who had signaled they would not sign or were unsure if they would sign were significantly less likely to sign the petition.

Meanwhile, aligning with our finding that message framing did not affect men's mobilisation, participants were equally likely to sign the equality petition irrespective of their assigned condition. Interestingly however, despite failing to reach significance the Pearson Chi-Square test showed a trend whereby our male participants were least likely to support the gender equality petition when exposed to a female leader promoting equality as men's responsibility (24%), and most likely when exposed to a female leader promoting equality as a common cause (54%).

Threat and social identity findings. The male participants also expressed higher benevolent sexism (replicating Experiment 4) and hostile sexism under male compared to female leaders. The dominative paternalism aspect of hostile sexism "stipulates that only a superordinate male figure can fulfill leadership roles and roles that require complex judgement" (Cheng, 2018, p. 9; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Therefore, our male participants may have interpreted a male equality

leader as providing evidence that women are too incompetent to 'fight their own battles', instigating men to further endorse hostile sexist beliefs. Additionally, hostile sexists are more inclined to "believe that men are more competent and better suited for structural power than women" (Cheng, 2018, p. 9). A male leader fulfilling a traditionally female role (i.e., gender equality campaigner) could have strengthened these views, hence men's higher hostile sexism under male leaders.

Alternatively, as discussed in Experiment 4, the male participants reporting higher benevolent sexism under male leaders could be triggered by the perception that a male leader 'helping' women fight inequality casts them as individuals in need of help and protection, thus reflecting the protective paternalism dimensions of benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Despite this finding in Experiment 4 being coupled with men's increased collective action under male leaders (indicating that benevolent sexist motives were underlying men's collective action), this pattern was not replicated in the present study.

When male rather than female leaders discussed inequality, male participants also expressed higher perceived threat to women's gender group (but not their own gender group), as well as increased feelings of guilt. Men might expect that women themselves would perceive a male outgroup authority leader promoting equality as more threatening than a female ingroup leader doing the same. However, this finding is not replicated in our other experiments, nor do our other experiments provide evidence that women view a male equality leader as more threatening than a female leader.

In terms of the findings for guilt, this self-blaming emotion is known to evoke preventative measures and the motivation to regulate and adjust one's moral behaviour (Makogon & Enikolopov, 2013). Participants likely perceived the problem of inequality as being

more serious (and hence experienced increased guilt) when a male ingroup leader promoted the issue due to male leaders' (compared to female leaders') higher perceived legitimacy when advocating for gender equality (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). Indeed, women are often perceived as self-interested when promoting equality (Czopp et al., 2006), which could have resulted in our male participants dismissing the issue under female leaders and consequently alleviating any guilt they might otherwise have felt. Yet although feelings of guilt can motivate individuals to adjust their moral behaviour – which might have been expressed as increased collective action supporting women - this was not the case in the present study.

Participants also reported higher gender and national identification under men's responsibility compared to women's issue frames. Participants' increased gender identification could simply be the result of men's responsibility framing (unintentionally) priming men's gender identity more relative to the women's issue frame due to it drawing attention to their ingroup's role in gender equality work. Interestingly, experimentally manipulating gender identity salience has been found to heighten women's likelihood of confronting sexism (Wang & Dovidio, 2017). However, no studies have investigated whether gender identity salience has a causal impact on *men's* responses to sexism. While our lack of mobilisation findings in the present experiment does contribute to this area, this is a valid avenue for future research. An alternative explanation is that placing the responsibility for equality onto men threatened their high status, and they subsequently identified more with their gender group and nationality in response to that threat (Branscombe, 1998). Meanwhile, placing the responsibility onto women instead likely lessened the threat to men's status and diminished their motivation to identify strongly with their gender (Branscombe, 1998).

Limitations and Future Research

One limitation of Experiment 5 is that only 65% of the male participants correctly identified the American Men for Gender Equality group's name on our nominal manipulation check, compared to 77% in the women's issue and 84% in the common cause conditions. Watt and van den Berg (2002) recommend avoiding nominal manipulation checks due to their mutually exclusive dichotomous nature providing insufficient information regarding theoretical concepts (e.g., message framing). Hence, in all of our experiments we supplemented the nominal check with Likert scale manipulation checks, which indicated that participants did actually successfully distinguish between each of the framing conditions. Importantly however, one participant stated they "had a little difficulty with the [manipulation checks] about the initial statement…The text took a male perspective and focused on men needing to do more but that doesn't mean it was saying that this is a problem created by men to be solved only by men. Because of the focus on men doing more was I supposed to interpret the message as meaning women have no part to play? That's not really the way I took it. However, I was hesitant to answer high for statement about both men and women having a role to play for fear that you would think I misunderstood or didn't carefully read the text." This post-experimental anecdotal feedback indicates that our men's responsibility vignette may not have had the intended effect.

Additionally, while the means for our manipulation checks were typically five and above, many of our dependent variable means hung around the scale's midpoint (four), representing a 'Neither agree nor disagree' response. This could indicate that participants did not properly engage with the study materials. Alternatively, offering a middle response category can increase the likelihood of participants disproportionately adopting a midpoint response style (Weijters, 2006). As such, Experiment 6 removed all midpoint labelling.

We had also aimed to further investigate Subašić and colleagues' (2018) finding that assigning the responsibility for inequality to men increased their collective action intentions relative to assigning responsibility to the government. However, this experiment was in no means a direct replication of Subašić and colleagues' (2018) work, but rather an extension. Instead of assigning the responsibility to the government, we assigned it to either men alone, women alone, or both men and women together. It is likely that Subašić and colleagues' (2018) methodology of contrasting men's responsibility with the government's responsibility resulted in a much stronger contrast effect.

Furthermore, Subašić and colleague's (2018) vignettes explicitly stated that inequality was because either "the government has not done enough to ensure that men and women receive equal pay for equal work" (p. 711) or "there are more men than women in managerial and executive positions" (p. 711). Meanwhile, the current experiment did not place the *blame* for inequality on to anyone per se, but rather manipulated who should *take action* to address it. Therefore, while we aimed to extend Subašić et al.'s (2018) findings, ultimately the experiment was not designed in a way that could feasibly achieve this. Indeed, our manipulation differed substantially from that of Subašić et al.'s (2018), which could explain the discrepancy in findings between the two experiments.

Indeed, while our men's responsibility (and common cause) manipulation vignettes called on men to address inequality in broad terms, in hindsight the vignettes did not explicitly outline how men contribute to the creation and maintenance of inequality. Nevertheless, there remains the subtle implication within society (and hence potentially our vignettes) that men *are* implicitly responsible for inequality (Farré, 2012). Our vignettes also did not put forth concrete steps for men to follow, going against Subašić and colleague's (2018) advice to "make explicit

(rather than obfuscate) men's role in creating and addressing inequality" (p. 713). Future manipulation vignettes could suggest more explicit steps that men (and women) can take in order to reduce inequality, and could more blatantly manipulate the perceived *source* of inequality (e.g., due to men, the government, or women).

Finally, in this and the previous four experiments, multiple male participants questioned why our manipulation vignettes did not discuss the effects of gender inequality on men too. For example, "I'd like to see research about gender inequality in regards to men being treated as less deserving than women", "[It] specifically excludes the inequalities that effect men", and "equality involves men AND women, not just women". This absence of discussing men's issues may actually have demobilised male participants. Certainly, marginalising issues of inequality as only affecting women can prevent a broader consensus involving men (Flood et al., 2018). Meanwhile, raising men's awareness of the ways in which inequality affects them too is crucial to involving them in gender equality efforts and changing the conversation around the issue (Esplen, 2006). Esplen (2006) argues that gender equality initiatives should highlight how equality benefits society overall (e.g., solidarity framing) but should additionally address men's specific concerns surrounding gender inequality.

Indeed, this phenomena of covictimisation whereby both the advantaged and disadvantaged groups suffer at the hands of a third party, has been shown to increase collective action by the advantaged group (Subašić et al., 2011). For example, Subašić and colleagues (2011) investigated how consumers' (i.e., someone who purchases goods and services) collective action intentions supporting disadvantaged sweatshop workers differed depending on the presence or absence of covictimisation. Presence of covictimisation was manipulated by stating that the fictitious fashion company in the study's scenario not only acted unethically towards

their employees, but additionally victimised consumers via misleading prices and advertisements (Subašić et al., 2011). Subašić and colleagues (2011) found that the *presence* of co-victimisation increased consumers' likelihood of acting collectively against the government (i.e., 'service providers') in support of disadvantaged sweatshop worker employees (yet this was mediated by inclusive social identity). As such, Experiment 6 investigates how co-victimisation in the context of gender equality affects men's (and women's) support for the issue.

Experiment 6

Experiment 6 focuses on covictimisation and investigates whether discussing the ways in which men too are affected by gender inequality affects their support for action addressing the issue. This message frame arises from the idea of covictimisation or shared victimhood, which refers to the victimisation experience of two or more groups (Vollhardt, 2009). The collective victimhood literature has predominantly focused on its role in perpetuating violence and other damaging consequences (for reviews, see Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, Schori, & Gundar, 2009; Noor, Shnabel, Halabi, & Nadler, 2012; Vollhardt, 2009). However, research has also focused on the role of collective victimhood in fostering solidarity between groups.

Covictimisation can evoke a similar sense of common cause or solidarity as per the political solidarity model, however a fundamental difference exists between the two. Namely, the political solidarity model garners support for minorities from majority allies who are *not* negatively affected by the current status quo (Subašić et al., 2008). Meanwhile, shared (or common) victimhood framing gains allies' support and solidarity by highlighting the negative consequences that they *too* experience as a consequence of the status quo (Gaertner & Dovidio,

2000; Vollhardt, 2012). For example, Vollhardt (2009, 2010, 2012) has provided extensive evidence that solidarity, intergroup reconciliation, and prosocial behaviour benefiting other victim groups can arise from victims focusing on how their experiences similarly compare to other victim groups.

This phenomenon is referred to as 'inclusive victim consciousness' (Vollhardt, 2009, 2012) or 'common victimhood' (Shnabel, Halabi, & Noor, 2013), which emerges via perceptions of a common victim identity – sometimes with the very outgroup that the ingroup are engaged in conflict with (e.g., men within gender equality contexts). The emergence of this common superordinate identity allows different victim groups to acknowledge and realise the similarities between their sufferings (Vollhardt, 2012), and has been found to reliably foster intergroup solidarity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Inclusive victimhood can arise via intergroup contact when ingroup members become aware of instances of outgroup suffering that resemble their own victimhood experiences (e.g., shared grief over losing a child to wartime conflict; Landau, 2009).

The positive intergroup consequences of inclusive victim consciousness have been empirically demonstrated across a variety of intergroup conflict contexts. These include the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Shnabel, Belhassen, & Mor, 2017), Northern Ireland (Cohrs, McNeill, & Vollhardt, 2015), Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015), and beyond. A real-life example of inclusive victimhood successfully motivating social change is the Northern Ireland organisation Peace People, which sees Protestant and Catholic women join forces to protest the violence occurring within their communities (Shnabel et al., 2017). Furthermore, Shnabel and colleagues (2017) discovered that manipulating inclusive victim perceptions of participants predicted peace activism among Israeli Jews. Shnabel et al. (2017) maintain that although they focused solely on a Jewish-Palestinian

context, the underlying psychological processes examined likely also apply to alternative settings of intractable conflicts that are viewed as zero-sum games, such as gender inequality.

Indeed, men typically view gender equality as a zero-sum game where as women gain, men lose (Prime, Moss-Racusin, & Foust-Cummings, 2009). For example, Kehn and Ruthig (2013) examined whether fluctuations in anti-women bias are perceived as being directly related to fluctuations in anti-men bias among older men. They found that "the historically dominant social group (older men in this case) perceive any status gained by a socially subordinate group (women) as coming at the dominant group's expense" (p. 289). This zero-sum perspective can inhibit attempts toward gender equality. Indeed, 'denial of privilege' represents the most common form of backlash to equality initiatives, whereby men reject the notion that women are disadvantaged in any way whatsoever, or argue the counter-claim that *men* are now the disadvantaged ones (Flood et al., 2018). In framing themselves as the 'new disadvantaged', men cite mental health issues, custody and divorce proceedings, and violence by women as defensive counters to the 'threat' of feminism (Flood et al., 2018). This ties in with the emerging idea that men and boys are 'in crisis' due to changes in their work and family life as a consequence of feminist reforms (Flood et al., 2018).

Certainly, gender inequality does affect men in a number of ways. Men experience substantial pressure to be the financial breadwinner, and struggle to obtain adequate paid paternity leave or access flexible workplace practices (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2008). Men's work-life roles have diversified immensely over the last few decades, with most men no longer fulfilling the 'ideal worker' role (i.e., available full-time with zero personal commitments; Diversity Council of Australia, 2012). Yet the workforce has struggled to adapt to this change in needs (WGEA, 2013). A 2012 survey of almost 3000 Australians found

that while 17.3% of men requested flexible hours, 24.8% did not despite being dissatisfied with their working conditions and desiring reduced hours (Skinner, Hutchinson, & Pocock, 2012). Worryingly, 17.4% of men who *did* request flexibility were denied, in contrast to only 9.8% of women – pointing to the continuing stigmatised and strongly gendered nature of workplace flexibility (Skinner et al., 2012).

In fact, the gendered nature of the workplace is a consequence of restrictive gender roles that undeniably contribute toward the covictimisation of both men and women. Gender roles stem from gender stereotypes, and both typically restrict men's and women's "capacity to develop their personal abilities, pursue their professional careers and make choices about their lives" (United Nations Human Rights [UNHR], 1996, para 2). For example, the stereotype that women are nurturing while men are hard-working traditionally results in women taking on the housewife and caretaker roles while men take on the breadwinner role (UNHR, 1996). Yet most men and women choose to opt for an egalitarian relationship at home when workplace barriers preventing this option are experimentally manipulated (Pedulla & Thebaud, 2015). The ongoing resistance of workplaces to offer flexibility proves problematic given the benefits of doing so include increased workplace productivity and engagement, reduced absenteeism, lower turnover rates, enhanced family relationships, more active fathering, and equitable domestic labour division (WGEA, 2013). In fact, workplace flexibility mutually benefits women by giving them the opportunity to participate more fully in the workplace, and thus can essentially be considered a common cause for men *and* women.

In this sense, framing gender equality from a covictimisation stance could potentially increase men's willingness to address gender inequality, because such a frame acknowledges the inequalities that men face alongside women. In line with a covictimisation stance, Flood and

colleagues (2018) argue that we should make men aware of the ways that they have been oppressed and how it is in their own self-interest to strive for social change. Esplen (2006) further acknowledges that while initiatives should highlight how gender equality benefits society overall (e.g., solidarity framing), they should additionally address men's specific inequality concerns. Yet while highlighting what men stand to gain from increased equality is valuable, when framing equality work from a 'benefits to men' approach it is crucial that men's issues and concerns are not given center stage at the sake of marginalising women's issues (Flood et al., 2018). Rather, acknowledging similarities and differences between ingroup and outgroup victimisation need not be mutually exclusive, and instead, both can be acknowledged simultaneously and to differing degrees (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). Certainly, "one may agree that two groups have suffered during a conflict but recognize differences regarding the exact nature or extent of victimisation" (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015, p. 492).

Similarly, to prevent backlash to a covictimisation message frame, it is important to acknowledge distinct aspects of the ingroup's suffering (e.g., women's inequality), particularly when inclusive superordinate identities are experimentally implemented (Vollhardt, 2013). For example, Vollhardt (2013) found that when the Holocaust was discussed in an inclusive global manner while simultaneously acknowledging the distinct consequences for the ingroup, Jewish Americans' support for victims in Darfur improved. Likewise, within the context of increased access to workplace flexibility for parents, Subašić and colleagues (2018) framed gender inequality at either the subgroup ('mothers', 'fathers') or superordinate identity level ('parents'). They demonstrated that while men's (but not women's) collective action intent increased when the plight of parents was highlighted, it was reduced when those of fathers (or mothers) alone was focused on. This further cements the importance of making salient an inclusive higher-order

identity (e.g., parents), rather than merely highlighting the ways that men (or women) suffer from inequality (Subašić et al., 2018). Indeed, Subašić and colleagues (2018) stressed the necessity of going beyond subgroup issues to encompass a shared higher-order identity if men are to be mobilised to challenge inequality. These results also highlight the importance of drawing attention to the plight of *both* subgroups, rather than just one.

Meanwhile, in a 2011 study Subašić and colleagues demonstrated that the presence (compared to absence) of covictimisation significantly increased consumers' collective action intentions supporting disadvantaged employees. However, this finding was mediated by consumers' sense of inclusive "identification, solidarity, and shared values with employees" (Subašić et al., 2011, p. 715). Namely, the extent to which covictimisation led to a rise in consumers' sense of common cause (i.e., solidarity) was dependent upon an inclusive identity emerging between the majority advantaged and minority disadvantaged groups (Subašić et al., 2011). In a second study Subašić and colleagues (2011) provided further evidence of this theory by experimentally manipulating the salience of either an inclusive Canadian identity (comprising egalitarian norms) or a non-inclusive consumer identity (defined by concerns unique to consumers). Demonstrating the crucial role that inclusive identity plays, participants reported higher collective action intentions when the inclusive higher-order Canadian identity was made salient – irrespective of the presence or absence of covictimisation.

Subašić and colleagues (2011) also found that covictimisation had negative effects on consumers' solidarity with the minority employee group "when experienced in the absence of a higher-order normative framework that allows for unjust actions to be perceived and interpreted as *shared* grievance" (p. 721). Specifically, when non-inclusive consumer identity was salient, covictimisation *reduced* consumers' collective action supporting employees. Subašić et al. (2011)

argued that this was due to the consumers' subgroup concerns overshadowing the shared goals of both groups due to consumers concentrating on their own victimisation.

A key novel contribution of Experiment 6 is to highlight the ways that men too are affected by gender inequality. This is important because recent research has found that men, particularly Millennial men (i.e., those born 1982-2000), feel excluded from the gender equality movement and are "backsliding into traditional value systems" (Evans, Haussegger, Halupka, & Rowe, 2019, p. 11). According to this research, men increasingly want to see men's issues given equal representation in public debate regarding gender equality issues. Indeed, almost half of male survey respondents agreed that "gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account" (Evans et al., 2019, p., 13), while 48% of Millennial men agreed that "men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality" (p. 13).

Many men view equality initiatives as deepening rather than fixing prevailing inequalities, and these men are progressively viewing themselves as outsiders actively excluded from the equality movement (Evans et al., 2019). This kind of alienation risks losing men's support for broader gender equality. Esplen (2006) claims that equality initiatives should highlight men's specific inequality concerns, and indeed there has been a recent increase in demand by men for more equitable working arrangements. For example, men are becoming more interested in being active, engaged parents (Baxter, 2015), yet data shows that they are both less likely to request parental leave and to be refused when they do request it (Chapman, Skinner, & Pocock, 2014).

As such, Experiment 6 seeks to include and engage men in gender equality on their own terms, and therefore differs from Experiment 5 in important ways. Centrally, whereas Experiment 5 placed the *responsibility* for addressing gender inequality solely onto men,

Experiment 6 instead positions men as being directly affected by gender inequality themselves. Experiment 6 additionally reintroduces female participants to examine how message framing differentially affects their mobilisation relative to men. Experiment 6 also utilises a number of novel dependent variables. We extend the collective action measure (which previously focused solely on participants' support for women's equality) to include items assessing participants' support for collective action supporting either women alone, men alone, or both men and women together. In the same vein, we include a measure of participants' sense of common cause with *men* affected by gender inequality. These measures were included to investigate whether individuals might act to advance their own ingroup but not in a way that advances an outgroup or both groups together.

We also include measures of competitive and non-competitive victimhood to examine whether our manipulations affect participants' perceptions of victimhood arising from gender inequality. We have not made specific predictions pertaining to these additional measures, but rather included them for exploratory purposes. Finally, we used a British sample in an attempt to obtain a higher quality sample (e.g., participants who would more readily engage with the study materials and collective action measures compared to the American samples used in Experiments 3-5). We also wanted to investgiate whether our research findings would generalise to the UK. Certainly, gender inequality remains a prominent issue in the UK, on par with Australian and American contexts. Placing 15/144 countries on the Global Gender Gap Index, the UK currently lags in the domains of pay, workforce participation, and leadership (WEF, 2017b).

Aims and Hypotheses

Overall, the increasing alienation of men (particularly Millennial men) from the gender equality movement risks losing their support altogether (Evans et al., 2019). Moreover, Subašić

and colleagues (2018) found that men (but not women) reported higher collective action intentions when inequality was framed as an issue affecting mothers and fathers, rather than as an issue affecting mothers alone, or fathers alone. This demonstrates the importance (for men) of going beyond gender subgroup issues and instead highlighting how both women and men suffer from inequality. Beyond Subašić and colleagues (2018) however, there is a lack of research examining the effects of covictimisation framing within the specific context of gender (in)equality.

Experiment 6 addresses this gap by engaging men in equality issues on their own terms and subsequently investigating the effects of covictimisation framing on men's and women's mobilisation toward equality. Experiment 6 contrasts our typical solidarity-based message frame with a traditional women's issue (women's victimisation) frame, a men's issue (men's victimisation) frame, and also a covictimisation frame (men's and women's covictimisation). Additionally, for the first time in this thesis we hold the male leader's gender constant across conditions in order to keep the design size manageable and to better focus on the effects of message framing on participants' mobilisation toward equality.

This design allows us to uncover the effects of men's (in)subgroup victimisation versus shared victimisation on their support for equality. These frames extend our previous work which primarily focuses on either women's issue (or victimisation) frames, or solidarity-based frames which are both premised on the idea of the majority *not* being directly affected by gender inequality. Essentially, we are investigating whether solidarity-based framing (and a sense of common cause) is sufficient to mobilise men for equality – or whether it is more effective to instead argue that there is shared victimhood between women and men. Specifically, we predict that when gender (in)equality is framed as a covictimisation issue rather than a common cause, a

men's victimisation, or a women's victimisation issue, the male participants will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, relational leadership identification, and transformational leadership (H1a). In contrast, we predict that when gender equality is framed as a common cause rather than a covictimisation, a men's victimisation, or a women's victimisation issue, the female participants will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, relational leadership identification, and transformational leadership (H1b).

In line with Subašić et al.'s (2018) finding that men reported higher mobilisation under frames highlighting women's and men's inequality, we predict that male participants will report higher collective action intentions supporting women and higher sense of common cause with women under covictimisation compared to common cause, men's victimisation, or women's victimisation frames (H2a). This would demonstrate the importance of acknowledging men's inequality *in addition* to highlighting a common cause. Finally, we expect that female participants will report higher collective action intentions supporting women and sense of common cause with women under common cause compared to covictimisation, men's victimisation, or women's victimisation frames (H2b).

Method

Participants and Design

Five hundred and sixty participants (280 females; *M* age = 37.20 years, *SD* = 9.52) were recruited online using Prolific. Participants were remunerated £0.90 GBP ($1.60 AUD) for their participation. We screened for White UK residents between 18-60 years whose first language was English. Consequently, 96.4% of participants identified as UK citizens (3.6% UK permanent residents), and were employed on a full- (65.2%), part-time (21.3%), self-employed (8.9%), or casual basis (2%), or unemployed (2.5%), or other (0.2%). Students made up 11.6% of the

sample (4.3% full-time domestically; 7.3% part-time domestically), with the remaining 88.4% not studying. Education levels comprised: finished some high school/GCSE Level (4.5%), finished high school/A-Level (19.1%), Trade/Technical/Vocational training (11.6%), Scottish Higher National Diploma (0.5%), Graduate/Bachelor's degree (42.9%), Master's degree (18.2%), or Doctorate degree (3.2%).

We randomly allocated equal numbers of men and women to one of the four experimental conditions in a 2 (participant gender: men, women) x 4 (message framing: men's issue vs. women's issue vs. common cause vs. covictimisation) between-subjects balanced factorial design, with 70 participants per cell. The male leader was held constant across conditions. An a priori statistical power analysis (Faul et al., 2007) revealed that for a power of .80 (α = .05), the minimum required sample to detect an effect size of $\eta p^2 = .0225$ (or f = .151) using a 2 x 4 ANOVA is 478 participants (almost 60 per cell). We recruited 560 participants (70 per cell) to obtain sufficient power after the anticipated exclusion of those who had not passed the leader gender check. Post hoc analyses showed the power of our final sample size (543) was capable of detecting effect sizes of: $\eta p^2 = .0144$ (or f = .120) for the leader gender main effect, and $\eta p^2 = .0198$ (or f = .142) for the message framing main effect and the two-way interactions.

Procedure and Materials

Following the same procedure as in previous experiments, participants completed a 15-minute self-report questionnaire including the manipulation vignettes and dependent measures.

Message framing manipulations. The manipulation vignette saw a male leader (Matthew Anderson – the UK Chief Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development) discuss the issue of gender inequality and call upon certain gender groups to address the issue. Our message framing factor discussed gender inequality as affecting either

women alone, men alone, or both men and women together. In the same vein, each message frame called on either women alone, men alone, or men and women together to address the issue of inequality.

For example, in the women's issue condition, inequality was discussed solely in the ways that it affects women (e.g., "women continue to experience significant retirement and superannuation savings gaps compared to their male counterparts"), and women alone were called on to address the issue (e.g., "it's important that women in the UK remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue together"). In the men's issue condition, the ways that inequality affects men were discussed (e.g., "Men still receive on average only two weeks' paid paternity leave and are often denied access to flexible workplace arrangements, such as shorter hours, alternate starting and finishing times, or working from home"), and men alone were called upon to tackle the issue (e.g., "it's important that men in the UK remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue together").

Conversely, in the common cause condition, inequality was discussed as affecting only women (e.g., "women continue to experience significant retirement and superannuation savings gaps compared to their male counterparts"), yet both women and men were urged to help address the issue (e.g., "it's important that both men and women in the UK remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue alongside one another"; as per all previous common cause conditions in this thesis). Finally, in the covictimisation condition, the effects of gender inequality on both women *and* men were discussed (e.g., "Men still receive on average only two weeks' paternity leave and are often denied flexible workplace arrangements, while women continue to experience significant savings gaps and comprise only 22% of UK board members"), and both women and men were encouraged to address the issue (e.g., "it's important that both

men and women in the UK remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue alongside one another").

Dependent Measures

Participants completed the same dependent measures as used in Experiment 5: leader prototypicality (α = .93), relational leadership identification (α = .91), transformational leadership (α = .94), leader legitimacy (α = .96), leader influence (α = .93), sense of common cause with women (α = .92), perceived legitimacy of inequality (α = .90), guilt (α = .73), sympathy (α = .90), blame (α = .84), hostile sexism (α = .90), benevolent sexism (α = .83), gender ingroup identification (α = .89), feminist identification (α = .95), national identification (α = .93), instructional manipulation checks, and demographics.

As described below, participants additionally completed a sense of common cause with men scale, three separate collective action intentions scales aimed at supporting women alone, men alone, or both women and men, competitive and non-competitive victimhood scales, an amended online petition behavioural measure, and manipulation checks. To ensure the questionnaire remained within the 15-20-minute timeframe, we omitted the original collective action intentions, perceived threat to men's (and women's) gender group, modern sexism, sadness, and anger scales. Finally, in Experiment 6 we opted to remove the midpoint response label of each measure (e.g., 4 = *neither agree nor disagree/somewhat*), but still retained our 7-point Likert scales. See Appendix D for item list.

Collective action intentions supporting women (supporting men; supporting men and women). Participants completed three separate six-item measures assessing their willingness to participate in collective action efforts supporting women's equality (α = .90), men's equality (α = .90), and women's *and* men's equality (α = .89), respectively (adapted from

Calogero, 2013; and Subašić et al., 2018). This allowed us to investigate whether in certain instances participants would act in ways to advance their own ingroup, but not in ways to advance an outgroup, or even both groups together. For example, we could examine whether men would support their own gender ingroup, but not women's (out)group, or men's and women's groups simultaneously. An example item of our measure read: "[Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements…] I would tweet or post on social media about women's (men's; men's and women's) gender inequality". To control for order of administration effects, these three measures were counterbalanced using Qualtrics' randomisation feature (i.e., alternating the order in which each measure was presented to participants; Pollatsek & Well, 1995).

Importantly, in a study investigating the effects of covictimisation on consumer's (i.e., participants) intentions to act in solidarity with sweatshop workers, Subašić et al. (2011) conceded that including a measure recording collective action intentions supporting consumers (not just sweatshop workers) could shed additional light on the effects of covictimisation, hence why we included the additional scales.

Sense of common cause with men. Participants completed a four-item measure measuring their sense of common cause or solidarity with those men affected by gender inequality (α = .90; adapted from Subašić et al., 2018). A sample item read: "[Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements…] Those calling for action on these men's issues reflect the values that I consider to be important".

Non-competitive victimhood. Participants completed a single item which, for male participants, assessed their non-competitive victimhood claims on behalf of their gender ingroup. This measured the extent to which men claim their gender group has been victimised without any

reference to women's gender outgroup (adapted from Sullivan, Landau, Branscombe, & Rothschild, 2012). However, for female participants the measure assessed the extent to which women, as outgroup members, believe men suffer from discrimination within society today. For both male and female participants, the item read: "[Overall, I believe that…] In modern society, men are often discriminated against because of their gender". This measure allowed us to examine whether our manipulation simply increased the overall salience of men's ingroup (or personal) victimhood or not (Sullivan et al., 2012).

Men's competitive victimhood. Our male participants completed one item measuring their level of competitive victimhood claims – that is, competing for recognition of greater victim status relative to a harmed outgroup (taken from Sullivan et al., 2012). The item read: "[Overall, I believe that…] In society, compared with women, men experience _____ discrimination" (1 = *less overall* and 7 = *more overall*). Overall, higher scores indicated higher levels of men's competitive victimhood.

Women's competitive victimhood. To obtain the female participant's competitive victimhood levels the above item was reverse-coded for female participants. In this sense, the item read "In society, compared with men, women experience _____ discrimination" (1 = *less overall* and 7 = *more overall*). Higher scores again indicated higher levels of women's competitive victimhood.

Behavioural measure. Participants completed an amended version of the online petition measure, which intended to record their behaviour regarding taking part in collective action supporting gender equality. The item read: "We'd like to know if you'd be willing to sign an anonymous online petition in support of gender equality, which will take less than 30 seconds to complete. You're welcome to sign any one of the petitions below. Selecting a "Yes" option will

take you to an external website before returning you to the end of the survey, selecting "No" will take you to the end of the survey".

Participants could select only one option, and these included: "Yes, I'd like to sign the petition supporting women's gender equality", "Yes, I'd like to sign the petition supporting men's gender equality", "Yes, I'd like to sign the petitionn supporting men's and women's gender equality", or "No, I would not like to sign any of the petitions". The clear distinction between each of the items allowed us to measure participants' support for either women alone, men alone, both men and women, or neither of these gender groups.

Manipulation checks. Participants completed seven manipulation checks. First, they identified the gender of the Chief Delegate (male [Matthew Anderson]/female [Jessica Anderson]). They then rated six statements regarding the extent to which the article discussed inequality being a) an issue affecting women alone (women's issue), b) an issue affecting men alone (men's issue), c) an issue affecting women alone but still a common cause for women and men (common cause), or d) an issue affecting both women and men (covictimisation issue).

Results

Data Analysis and Analytical Strategy

SPSS Version 25 was used to run the analysis. Between-participants two-way ANOVA's were conducted on all dependent variables, with participant gender and message framing as factors. To examine the effects of message framing on men's and women's responses, two-way interactions were unpacked by performing one-way ANOVA's for each level of participant gender. Post-hoc comparisons for our four-level message framing factor were made using Tukey's HSD tests. Two-way interactions were also unpacked by running separate one-way

ANOVA's on the applicable dependent variables at all levels of message framing, and these results are reported in Appendix J.

Manipulation Checks

The majority of participants (97%) correctly identified the Chief Delegate's gender as male. Seventeen participants (3% of the sample) were excluded from further analyses due to misidentifying the leader as female and because our results were positively affected by their exclusion. Our final sample consisted of 543 participants (275 women, 268 men). Participant exclusion distribution rates did not differ significantly by condition ($\chi(3) = 6.477$, $p = .091$), and are reported alongside final participant gender distributions for each cell in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2
Participant Exclusion Distribution Rates and Final Participant Gender Distribution Numbers by Condition, Based on Participants who Failed the Leader Gender Manipulation Check

Condition	% of Participants who Failed the Manipulation Check	Number of Male Participants Remaining in Cell	Number of Female Participants Remaining in Cell	Number of Overall Participants Remaining in Cell
Male Leader, Women's Issue	3.57%	67	68	135
Male Leader, Men's Issue	0.72%	68	70	138
Male Leader, Common Cause	5.7%	65	67	132
Male Leader, Covictimisation	2.13%	68	70	138
Totals	3%	268	275	543

Note. The third and fourth columns represent the number of male and female participants remaining in each condition following the exclusion of those participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check.

We confirmed the success of our message framing manipulation by conducting one-way ANOVA's on our manipulation check statements, which were combined to create 2-item scales for each condition. Dunnett's post-hoc tests were used, with the relevant message frame being set as the control condition. For example, to investigate the success of our women's issue manipulation, women's issue framing was set as the control condition (Laerd Statistics, 2013).

There was a significant main effect of message framing, $F(3, 535) = 359.004$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .668$, for the women's issue condition ("Only discussed how women alone struggle with gender inequality [leadership promotions and retirement savings], with NO reference to men's inequality" and "Urged women and girls alone to 'combine efforts' to tackle inequality, and did NOT call on men to help"). With women's issue framing as the control, Dunnett's post-hoc comparisons revealed that participants in the women's issue condition ($M = 5.35$, $SD = 1.64$) were significantly more likely to agree with these statements than participants in men's issue ($M = 1.47$, $SD = 0.99$, $p < .001$), common cause ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 1.04$, $p < .001$), or covictimisation conditions ($M = 1.46$, $SD = 0.86$, $p < .001$). This indicates success of our women's issue manipulation.

We found a significant main effect of message framing, $F(3, 535) = 359.989$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .669$, for the men's issue condition ("Only discussed how men alone struggle with gender inequality [parental leave, breadwinner pressure, and workplace flexibility], with NO reference to women's inequality" and "Urged men and boys alone to 'join forces' to tackle inequality, and did NOT call on women to help"). Post hoc analyses using the men's issue condition as the control showed that participants in the men's issue condition ($M = 5.65$, $SD = 1.64$) were significantly more likely to agree with these statements than participants in women's issue ($M = 1.63$, $SD = 1.02$, $p < .001$), common cause ($M = 1.65$, $SD = 1.03$, $p < .001$), or covictimisation

conditions (M = 1.65, SD = 1.13, p < .001). This indicates success of our men's issue manipulation.

There was also a significant main effect of message framing, $F(3, 535) = 338.403$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .655$, for the common cause condition ("Only discussed how women alone struggle with gender inequality [leadership promotions and retirement savings], with NO reference to men's inequality" and "Urged men and boys to 'act as one' with women and girls to tackle inequality, because 'together we are stronger'"). Post hoc testing established that participants in the common cause condition (M = 5.73, SD = 1.31) were significantly more likely to agree with these statements than participants in women's issue (M = 4.22, SD = 0.59, p < .001), men's issue (M = 2.09, SD = 1.14, p < .001), or covictimisation conditions (M = 3.74, SD = 0.47, p < .001). This demonstrates success of our common cause manipulation.

Finally, we found a significant main effect of message framing, $F(3, 535) = 228.677$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .562$, for the covictimisation condition ("Discussed how men struggle with parental leave, breadwinner pressure, and workplace flexibility, and ALSO how women struggle with leadership promotions and retirement savings" and "Urged men and boys to 'act as one' with women and girls to tackle inequality, because 'together we are stronger'"). Post hoc comparisons showed that participants in the covictimisation condition (M = 6.26, SD = 0.99) were significantly more likely to agree with the statements than participants in women's issue (M = 2.41, SD = 1.45, p < .001), men's issue (M = 2.77, SD = 1.64, p < .001), or common cause conditions (M = 4.06, SD = 1.21, p < .001). This indicates success of our covictimisation manipulation.

Leadership Variables

Leader prototypicality. A main effect of message framing was found, $F(3, 535) = 4.742$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$. Tukey's post-hoc testing showed that participants perceived leaders as being significantly more prototypical of the gender equality movement when they promoted common cause ($M = 5.35$, $SD = 1.04$; $p = .003$) or covictimisation frames ($M = 5.28$, $SD = 1.13$; $p = .016$) rather than men's issue frames ($M = 4.86$, $SD = 1.36$). None of the remaining main effects or interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 0.262$, ps $\geq .811$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .001$.

Leader legitimacy. A main effect of message framing was found, $F(3, 535) = 6.831$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .037$, but was qualified by the significant interaction between participant gender and message framing, depicted in Figure 6.3, $F(3, 535) = 2.703$, $p = .045$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$. No other significant main effects were observed, all $F \leq 0.486$, ps $\geq .486$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .001$.

To investigate the two-way interaction, simple effects were performed at each level of participant gender, revealing a significant main effect of message framing for women, $F(3, 271) = 9.235$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .093$, but not men, $F(3, 264) = 0.554$, $p = .646$, $\eta_p^2 = .006$. Post-hoc comparisons showed that female participants perceived leaders as being significantly more legitimate when they promoted gender equality as either a women's issue ($M = 5.73$, $SD = 1.11$; $p = .010$), a common cause ($M = 6.03$, $SD = 0.84$; $p = .000$), or a covictimisation experience ($M = 5.98$, $SD = 1.01$; $p = .000$) rather than a men's issue ($M = 5.12$, $SD = 1.49$). Male participants' responses did not vary across conditions ($M_{commoncause} = 5.75$, $SD = 0.94$; $M_{covictimisation} = 5.72$, $SD = 1.22$; $M_{women'sissue} = 5.59$, $SD = 1.14$; $M_{men'sissue} = 5.53$, $SD = 1.30$).

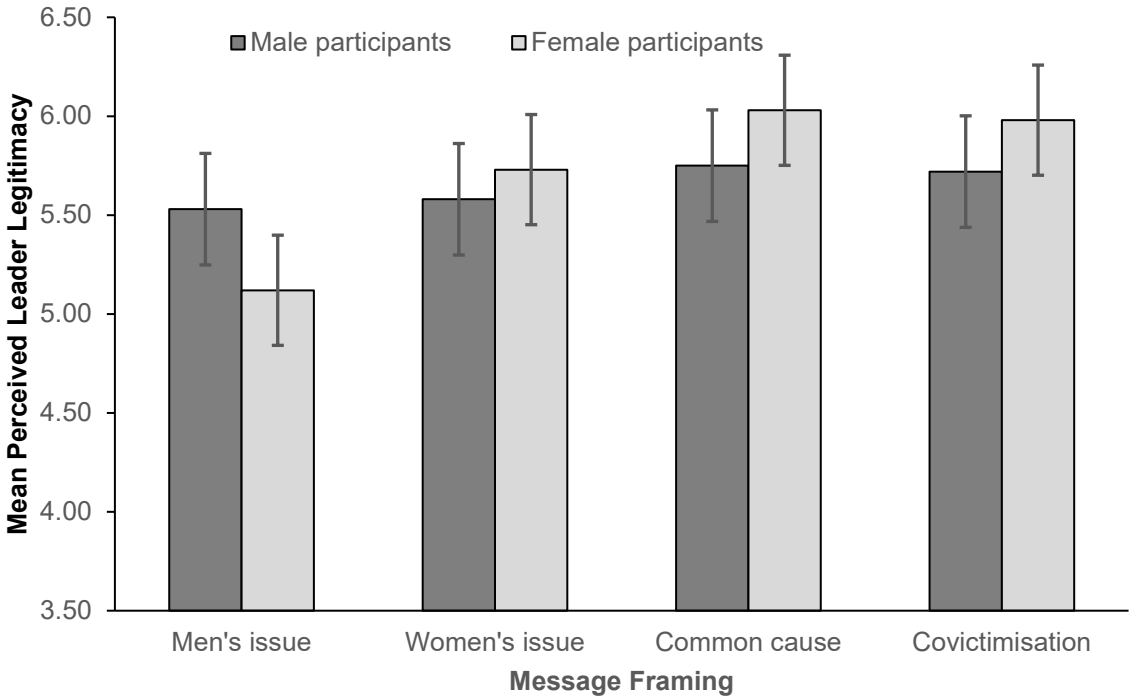

Figure 6.3. Mean perceived leader legitimacy as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Leader influence. In line with our other leadership evaluation findings, a main effect of message framing demonstrated that participants rated leaders as significantly more influential when they discussed common cause (M = 5.54, SD = 1.09; p = .006) or covictimisation (M = 5.49, SD = 1.20; p = .018) rather than men's issue frames (M = 5.07, SD = 1.23), $F(3, 535)$ = 4.350, p = .005, η_p^2 = .024. No other significant main effects or interactions were detected, all $F \leq 1.864$, ps $\geq .135$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$.

Relational leadership identification. As per our other leadership findings, a main effect of message framing revealed that male and female participants rated leaders as significantly higher in relational leadership identification when leaders endorsed common cause (M = 5.53, SD = 0.94; p = .001) or covictimisation frames (M = 5.42, SD = 1.10; p = .013) compared to

men's issue framing (M = 5.02, SD = 1.24), $F(3, 535) = 5.443$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions found, all $F \leq 0.990$, ps $\geq .397$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .006$.

Transformational leadership. A main effect of message framing demonstrated that participants viewed leaders as being significantly higher in transformational leadership when they discussed common cause (M = 5.53, SD = 0.86; $p = .047$) rather than men's issue frames (M = 5.26, SD = 0.89), $F(3, 535) = 2.721$, $p = .044$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$. However, in a departure from all of our other leadership evaluation findings, participants did not view leaders as more transformational under covictimisation (M = 5.50, SD = 0.88; $p = .085$) compared to men's issue frames. No other significant main effects or interactions were observed, all $F \leq 1.192$, ps $\geq .303$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

Overall, we predicted that the male participants would rate leaders most positively under covictimisation framing (H1a), while the female participants would rate leaders most positively under common cause framing (H1b). Providing partial support for Hypothesis 1a for men and Hypothesis 1b for women, both male and female participants consistently rated leaders as being significantly more prototypical, legitimate, influential, and higher in relational leadership identification when leaders framed gender equality as an issue of covictimisation requiring men and women to work towards together, or as a common cause for men and women to work towards together, rather than as an issue affecting men alone. Despite the same pattern being found for perceived leader legitimacy, this was qualified by a two-way participant gender by message framing interaction which showed that female participants rated leaders as more legitimate under women's issue, common cause, and covictimisation frames compared to men's issue frames. Finally, male and female participants also rated leaders as more transformational under common cause compared to men's issue frames, but not more transformational under

covictimisation compared to men's issue frames.

Mobilisation Variables

Collective action intentions supporting women. A significant main effect of gender revealed that women (M = 4.87, SD = 1.48) expressed higher collective action intentions supporting women than men did (M = 3.96, SD = 1.53), $F(1, 535) = 49.820$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .085$. There was no significant two-way participant gender by message framing interaction found, $F(3, 535) = 1.472$, $p \leq .221$, $\eta_p^2 = .008$. As such, there was no support for Hypotheses 2a or 2b. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 1.472$, ps $\geq .221$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .008$.

Collective action intentions supporting men. No significant main effects or interactions were found for this variable, all $F \leq 3.077$, ps $\geq .080$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .011$.

Collective action intentions supporting men and women. A significant main effect of participant gender showed that female participants (M = 4.71, SD = 1.46) reported significantly higher collective action intentions supporting men and women than male participants did (M = 4.01, SD = 1.48), $F(1, 535) = 30.765$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .054$. No remaining main effects or interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 1.435$, ps $\geq .232$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .008$.

Sense of common cause with women. Lack of a significant two-way participant gender by message framing interaction failed to provide support for Hypotheses 2a or 2b, $F(3, 535) = 1.716$, $p \leq .163$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$. A significant main effect of gender demonstrated that women (M = 5.87, SD = 1.05) expressed higher sense of common cause with women affected by inequality than men did (M = 5.22, SD = 1.40), $F(1, 535) = 38.292$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .067$. No other significant main effects or interactions were observed, all $F \leq 1.716$, ps $\geq .163$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$.

Sense of common cause with men. As depicted in Figure 6.4, a significant interaction between participant gender and message framing was found for sense of common cause with

men, $F(3, 535) = 3.091$, $p = .027$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$. No other significant main effects or interactions were detected, all $F \leq 1.923$, ps $\geq .125$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .011$.

To investigate the two-way interaction, simple effects were performed at both levels of participant gender, showing a significant main effect of message framing for men, $F(3, 264) = 3.010$, $p = .031$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$, but not women, $F(3, 271) = 2.128$, $p = .097$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$. Post-hoc testing revealed that male participants reported significantly higher sense of common cause with fellow men under covictimisation ($M = 5.31$, $SD = 1.18$) compared to women's issue conditions ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.36$; $p = .043$). In contrast, female participants reported equal sense of common cause with men regardless of how the equality message was framed ($M_{covictimisation} = 5.27$, $SD = 1.35$; $M_{women'sissue} = 5.12$, $SD = 1.32$; $M_{commoncause} = 5.07$, $SD = 1.29$; $M_{men'sissue} = 4.71$, $SD = 1.45$).

Overall, no support was found for the prediction that male participants would report higher collective action intentions supporting women and sense of common cause with women under covictimisation frames (H2a), or for the prediction that female participants would report the same under common cause frames (H2b). Instead, women (compared to men) reported higher collective action intent and common cause supporting women, and higher collective action intent supporting men and women. Interestingly, men also reported higher sense of common cause with men under shared victimhood frames compared to women's issue frames.

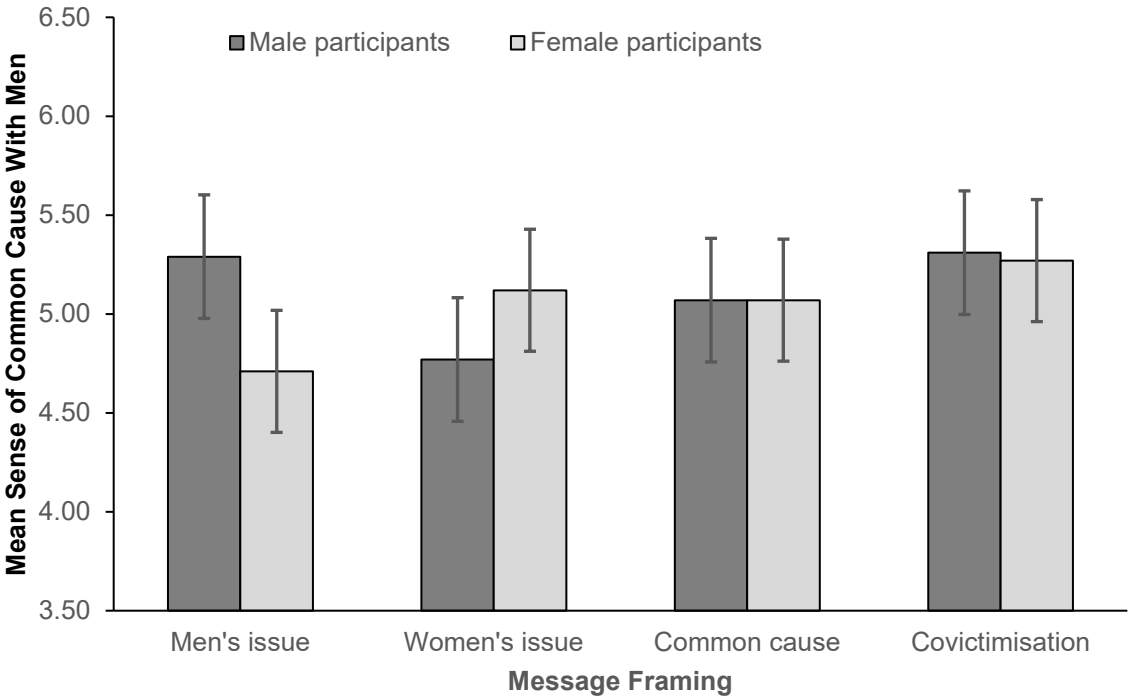

Figure 6.4. Mean sense of common cause with men as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors. Note that the measure used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7.

Perceived legitimacy of gender inequality. A significant main effect of gender revealed that men (M = 3.56, SD = 1.23) legitimated gender inequality significantly more so than women did (M = 2.81, SD = 1.08), $F(1, 535) = 57.347$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .097$. No other main effects or interactions were found to be significant, all $F \leq 0.426$, ps $\geq .734$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .002$.

Behavioural measure. Fifty-three percent of participants agreed to sign one of the online petitions (signed the women's petition 8% of participants, signed the men's petition 2%, signed the men's and women's petition 43%, did not sign a petition 47%). A Pearson Chi-Square test revealed that there was no statistically significant association between the behavioural measure and experimental condition, $\chi(9) = 14.875$, $p = .094$ (see Figure 6.5). Thus, participants were equally likely to agree to sign one of the petitions irrespective of which condition they

were exposed to (women's issue condition 54%, men's issue condition 52%, common cause condition 50%, covictimisation condition 53%).

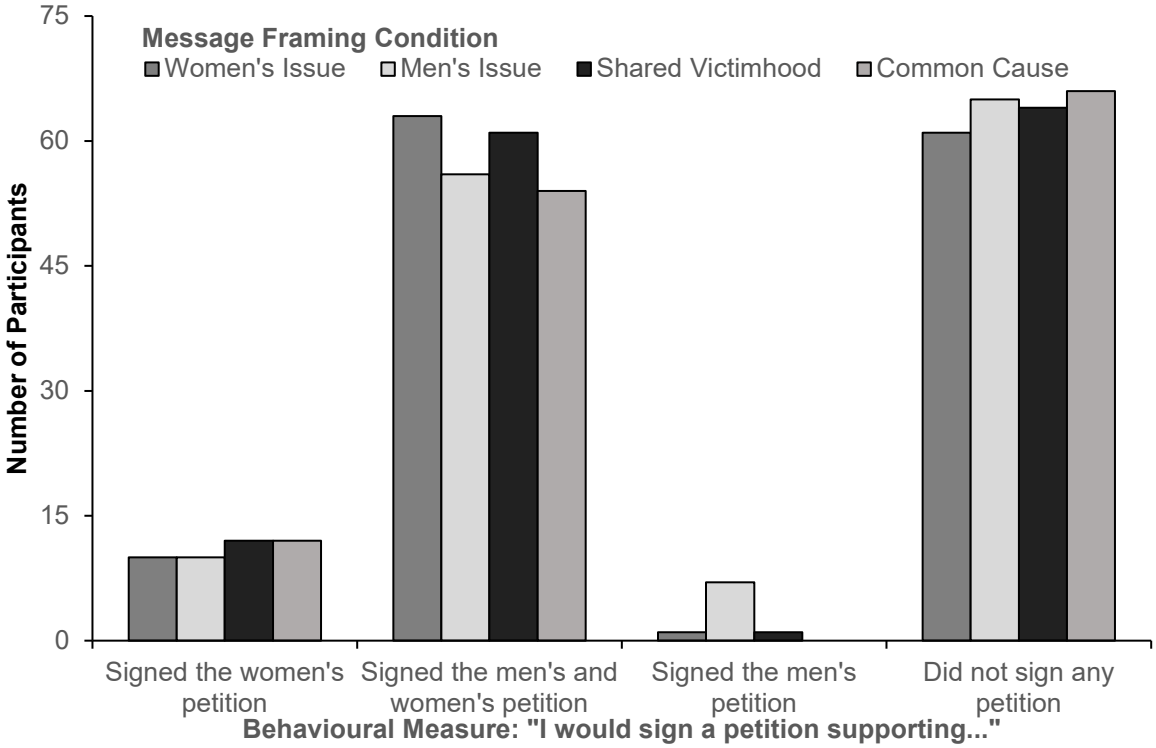

Figure 6.5. Number of participants who agreed to sign (or not sign) one of the online petitions (behavioural measure) as a function of message framing condition. Note that the measure used a one-item dichotomous response option (*yes/no*).

However, there was a statistically significant association detected between the behavioural measure and participant gender, $\chi(3) = 15.487$, $p = .001$, with female participants (56%) being significantly more likely to sign one of the petitions compared to male participants (50%; see Figure 6.6). Of the women surveyed, 11% signed the women's petition, 1% signed the men's petition, 44% signed the men's and women's petition, and 44% did not sign a petition. Of the men surveyed, 4% signed the women's petition, 3% signed the men's petition, 42% signed the men's and women's petition, and 50% did not sign a petition.

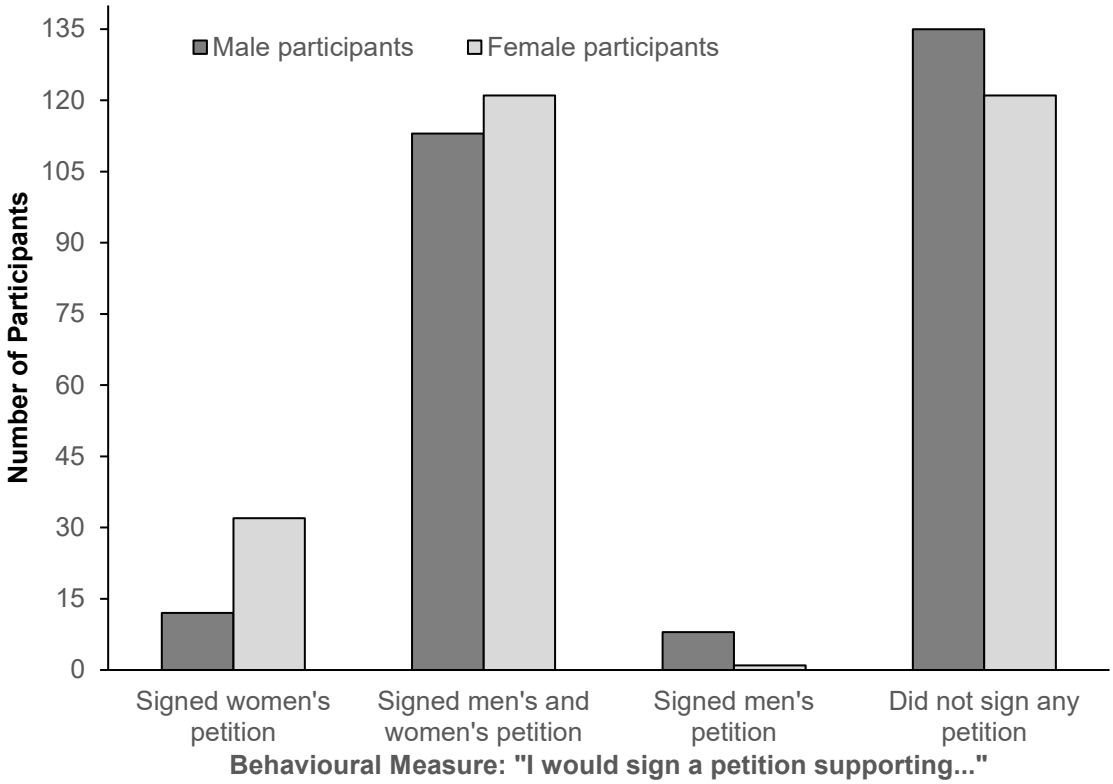

Figure 6.6. Number of male and female participants who agreed to sign (or not sign) one of the online petitions (behavioural measure). Note that the measure used a one-item dichotomous response option (*yes/no*).

Social Identity Variables

Feminist identification. A significant main effect of gender showed that women (M = 4.59, SD = 1.68) reported significantly higher feminist identification than men did (M = 3.54, SD = 1.70), $F(1, 535) = 52.365$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .089$. All remaining main effects and interactions were found to be non-significant, all $F \leq 1.579$, ps $\geq .193$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$.

Gender ingroup identification. A significant main effect of gender revealed that women (M = 4.93, SD = 1.23) reported significantly higher gender identification than men (M = 4.30,

SD = 1.28), $F(1, 535) = 34.941$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .061$. No other main effects or interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 2.285$, *p*s $\geq .078$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .013$.

National identification. No main effects or interactions were significant, demonstrating that participants' national identification remained stable across all conditions, all $F \leq 3.246$, *p*s $\geq .072$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

Threat Variables

Guilt. No significant main effects or interactions were found, indicating that participants' feelings of guilt over the effects of inequality on women remained consistent across conditions, all $F \leq 2.177$, *p*s $\geq .090$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .012$.

Blame. An absence of significant main effects or interactions indicated that participants' feelings of blame regarding the effects of gender inequality on women remained unchanged across all conditions, all $F \leq 1.572$, *p*s $\geq .195$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$.

Sympathy. A significant main effect of gender showed that female participants (*M* = 5.30, *SD* = 1.27) reported feeling significantly higher sympathy than male participants (*M* = 4.60, *SD* = 1.50) regarding the effects of inequality on women, $F(1, 535) = 34.417$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .060$. No other main effects or interactions were significant, all $F \leq 1.466$, *p*s $\geq .223$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .008$.

Hostile sexism. A significant main effect of gender showed that men (*M* = 5.23, *SD* = 1.61) reported higher hostile sexism than women (*M* = 4.03, *SD* = 1.75), $F(1, 535) = 30.265$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .054$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 0.765$, *p*s $\geq .514$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

Benevolent sexism. In line with our hostile sexism findings, a significant main effect of gender revealed that men (*M* = 3.15, *SD* = 1.34) expressed higher benevolent sexism than

women did (M = 2.81, SD = 1.18), $F(1, 535) = 9.530$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$. No other main effects or interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 0.732$, ps $\geq .533$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

Non-competitive victimhood. Male participants (M = 3.67, SD = 1.77) reported significantly higher levels of non-competitive victimhood than female participants did (M = 3.20, SD = 1.64), $F(1, 535) = 10.631$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .019$. Additionally, a main effect of message framing showed that all participants reported significantly higher non-competitive victimhood when the leader discussed men's issue (M = 3.70, SD = 1.71; $p = .036$) rather than women's issue frames (M = 3.15, SD = 1.70), $F(3, 535) = 3.896$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$. No other main effects or interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 0.054$, ps $\geq .983$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .000$.

Men's competitive victimhood. No main effect of message framing was found, demonstrating that male participants reported similar levels of competitive victimhood regardless of message framing, $F(3, 264) = 1.745$, $p = .158$, $\eta_p^2 = .019$.

Women's competitive victimhood. By reverse-coding our competitive victimhood scale, we were also able to examine competitive victimhood levels among low-status group members (i.e., women). No main effect of message framing was detected, indicating that female participants expressed similar levels of competitive victimhood irrespective of message framing, $F(3, 271) = 2.287$, $p = .079$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$.

Discussion

Experiment 6 extended Experiment 5 by holding the male leader's gender constant and reintroducing female participants so as to uncover how equality message framing affects women's support for equality relative to men's. Experiment 6 additionally investigated whether highlighting (or not) the effects that gender inequality has on men affected men's and women's attitudes toward gender equality. We contrasted our typical solidarity-based message frame with

frames discussing the effects that inequality has on women alone, on men alone, or on both women and men. In doing so, we hoped to examine whether common cause framing is adequate to mobilise men for equality, or whether it is instead more effective to emphasise that there is shared victimhood between women and men.

Leadership findings. We found partial support for the prediction that male participants would evaluate leaders most positively under covictimisation framing (H1a), and that female participants would do the same under common cause framing (H1b). Both male and female participants evaluated (male) leaders as more prototypical, influential, and higher in relational leadership identification under covictimisation *and* common cause framing compared to men's issue framing (but not women's issue framing). Similar to the findings of Experiments 1, 2, and 5, this pattern of positive evaluations under common cause frames demonstrates that leaders calling on women and men to act together in solidarity toward equality are perceived more favourably than leaders who call on women (or men) to act separately. This is likely because such common cause frames position leaders as 'one of us' by promoting collective group interests (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018).

Yet Experiment 6 extends this pattern of findings to encompass when (male) leaders go beyond solidarity frames to discuss how women *and* men are victims of inequality. Men (and women) evaluating leaders more positively under covictimisation compared to men's issue frames indicates that men's victimhood increases men's receptivity to equality leaders, but only when their suffering is highlighted directly alongside women's. This speaks to an element of competitive victimhood, whereby a group competes to claim that their ingroup has suffered more relative to an outgroup (Noor et al., 2012). It also emphasises the significance of the comparative

contrast effect with women's inequality, because otherwise we would see men evaluating leaders just as positively under men's issue frames.

Despite this, men (and women) reported similar levels of actual competitive victimhood under all message frames. This could be due to "reality constraints limiting the extent to which high-status groups can claim victimhood" (Sullivan et al., 2012, p. 785). Essentially, despite men still making non-competitive victimhood claims in comparison to women, they nonetheless refrain from claiming that they are discriminated against to the same extent as women are. This could indicate men's awareness that in reality they do not experience the same level of discrimination as women do.

Yet in contrast to the above leadership findings, while all participants perceived leaders as more transformational under common cause compared to men's issue frames, they did not also view leaders as more transformational under covictimisation frames relative to men's issue frames. A key aspect of transformational leadership is going beyond personal interests to encompass group interests (Bass & Avolio, 1993). While the male leader promoting common cause framing achieves an increase in the degree to which that leader is perceived as being transformational, the same male leader promoting covictimisation or men's issue framing does not achieve this because both these frames highlight how inequality affects men too. Consequently, both frames could be interpreted as focusing (to a certain extent) on the male leader's personal interests, hence his lower perceived levels of transformational leadership under these two frames.

Furthermore, an interaction showed that female participants rated leaders as more legitimate under women's issue, common cause, and covictimisation frames compared to men's issue frames. This is similar to Experiment 2's finding whereby women (but not men) rated

leaders as less legitimate when they promoted meritocratic framing compared to solidarity framing. In women's eyes, in the same way that meritocratic framing undermines and legitimates the genuine discriminatory factors contributing to women's gender inequality (Hochschild, 1997), so too might men's issue framing by focusing solely on men's issues without mentioning women's issues. Women may have felt aggrieved that a (male) leader was drawing attention away from women's struggles to instead shine a spotlight on men's inequality issues. It therefore makes sense that women would evaluate a messenger pushing such a message as less legitimate.

Mobilisation findings. Importantly, the predictions that male participants would report their highest mobilisation supporting women under covictimisation frames (H2a), and that female participants would do the same under common cause frames (H2b) were not supported. Instead, both male and female participants reported similar collective action intent irrespective of how the equality message was promoted. While these findings align with Experiments 1, 3, 4, and 5, whereby message framing did not affect men's (or women's; Experiment 1) mobilisation supporting equality, they are in contrast with extant work demonstrating that solidarity (and covictimisation) framing typically leads to increased mobilisation (e.g., Seyranian, 2014; Subašić et al., 2011; Subašić et al., 2018). Reasons as to why we did not replicate these findings are addressed in the General Discussion.

Meanwhile, women (compared to men) reported higher collective action supporting women (replicating Experiments 1-2) and higher sense of common cause with fellow women (replicating Experiment 2). This mirrors the strong gender difference typically found in the collective action literature (e.g., van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). Similarly, female participants were significantly more likely than male participants to sign the (false) online petition supporting gender equality, showing that women's intentions were in line with their behaviours. Female

participants also reported higher collective action supporting both men and women, which was a novel mobilisation measure introduced in the current experiment.

This was further supported by 44% of female participants opting to sign the online men's and women's petition compared to 11% who signed the women's petition and 1% who signed the men's petition. These findings show that women are equally willing to collectively support both ingroup and outgroup members. Interestingly, both female *and* male participants displayed an overwhelming preference for signing the men's and women's petition (43%) compared to those focusing on either gender subgroup (i.e., the men's [2%], or the women's petition [8%]; or alternatively did not sign a petition [47%]). This demonstrates that in spite of their *intentions,* women and men still behave in ways that support both gender groups when given the choice. More subtly, yet important given the results, these petition choices also frame gender equality in different ways (i.e., as a common cause or not).

In contrast, male *and* female participants reported similar collective action intentions supporting men, indicating that men and women are equally likely to support men's gender equality. This was the only collective action measure in this thesis where a participant gender effect was not present. One could thus argue that while men are willing to support their own ingroup individually, they may not be willing to extend that support to situations which would entail them supporting an outgroup (i.e., women). This is evidenced by their significantly lower intentions (compared to women) to support women alone, or to support both men and women. Nevertheless, the majority of male participants (42%) still opted to sign the men's and women's petition, compared to 3% who signed the men's petition, 4% who signed the women's petition, and 51% who did not sign a petition. While male participants' intentions do not appear to align with their actions, this could be the result of men simply not agreeing with each of the specific

collective action strategies proposed by our collective action intentions measure. For example, while male participants might not be supportive of participating in a demonstration or contacting a local member of parliament, they might be willing to sign an online petition, which is arguably less time-consuming or effortful.

Interestingly, despite male participants' collective action remaining unaffected by message framing, they reported higher sense of common cause with their fellow men under covictimisation frames compared to women's issue frames. Therefore, it was only when men's inequality issues were discussed directly alongside women's issues that male participants reported higher common cause with their own gender group. This finding is important because it demonstrates that the contrastive element between men's and women's victimisation is necessary to foster men's solidarity with their fellow men. In this sense, it could be argued that covictimisation acts as a proxy for common cause. If both groups are covictimised by the same third party (e.g., the government and structures perpetuating gender inequality), men and women could subsequently view themselves as sharing common cause.

Indeed, that male participants did not also report higher common cause with men under common cause framing (relative to women's framing) indicates that it was the shared victimhood rather than the solidarity aspect of the covictimisation message that increased their feelings of solidarity with their fellow men. Future campaigns might consider discussing the ways in which men too suffer from inequality, so as to increase men's solidarity with fellow gender group members. Importantly however, contrary to Hypothesis 1a covictimisation framing did not increase male participants' sense of common cause with women. Therefore, it can be concluded that covictimisation framing may not be sufficient to engender feelings of solidarity among men for women affected by inequality.

Indeed, men's higher levels of non-competitive victimhood (i.e., "men are often discriminated against because of their gender") compared to women indicates that men experience heightened awareness of their own victimhood "independent of comparison with the relevant outgroup" (Sullivan et al., 2012, p. 786). However, both male and female participants were more likely to agree that men are often discriminated against because of their gender (i.e., they expressed higher non-competitive victimhood) under men's issue compared to women's issue frames. Therefore, focusing solely on men's inequality actually increases both men's and women's tendencies to claim victimhood status on behalf of men. Nonetheless, this could merely be a salience effect because drawing attention to men's inequality raises awareness of such issues in the first place. It therefore makes sense that participants would be more likely to acknowledge men's disadvantages under men's inequality message frames.

Limitations and Future Research

A key aim of Experiment 6 was to examine whether solidarity-based framing in itself was sufficient to mobilise collective action relative to covictimisation framing. However, signifying a design constraint of our common cause and covictimisation frames, it could be argued that our covictimisation frame still comprised an element of solidarity. More specifically, both of these manipulation vignettes included a normative statement that women and men should work together to address inequality. It is therefore difficult to determine whether the actual victimisation aspect of these message frames affected participants' leadership evaluations (which remained stable across these two conditions) and mobilisation, or if participants additionally viewed the covictimisation condition as also comprising an aspect of solidarity between women and men. Essentially, we cannot determine whether participants' responses were motivated by solidarity or covictimisation processes.

Of course, our definition of solidarity rests on the idea that men might support equality efforts supporting women *irrespective* of whether they themselves are affected by gender inequality. This is what our common cause frame put forth compared to our covictimisation frame, which in contrast explicitly described how men too are affected by inequality. In this sense, our covictimisation vignette is somewhat at odds with the true definition of solidarity. Certainly, more work is required to tease out the differences between the two. It is possible that rather than being separate and orthogonal concepts, covictimisation and common cause are part of the same process toward solidarity but are instead located at different stages of that process. Nevertheless, to further disentangle co-victimisation from solidarity, future work could remove the normative statement regarding women and men working together from the covictimisation condition. Methodologically, this would remove any potential for the covictimisation frame to be interpreted as invoking solidarity between women and men, and would allow a more nuanced insight into the differences between solidarity-motivated and covictimisation-motivated behaviours.

Chapter 7

Where to From Here? A General Discussion of the Key Theoretical Insights and Empirical Findings of The Thesis

"In the future, there will be no female leaders. There will just be leaders."

(Sheryl Sandberg, 2013, p. 27)

This thesis sought to investigate the psychological pathways and processes underlying women's and men's support for gender equality, and whether that support was affected by the gender of the equality leader and the way in which that leader promoted their equality message. The key premise of this work was that by making men part of the solution for equality and framing the issue as a common cause for women and men to address together, both women and men would be more likely to be mobilised for action. We endeavoured to investigate how social identity and leadership as a social influence process could result in solidarity toward gender equality. We argued that a shared social identity and shared sense of 'us' was required in order for women and men to come together for a common cause, and that this sense of 'us' was a crucial aspect of leader-follower relations. By examining the psychological and social influence processes underlying leader influence we aimed to shed light on how leadership as a form of influence based on shared membership could lead to the silent majority (men) embracing equality as a common cause via the process of solidarity.

We adopted an approach that examined both leadership (with an emphasis on leader gender) and social identity dynamics as manipulated by leader rhetoric and equality message

framing. Specifically, we investigated how leader *gender* shapes the capacity of male and female leaders to mobilise women and men for gender equality, and whether different equality message frames affected individuals' mobilisation. We additionally explored participant gender at subgroup and superordinate levels to investigate whether identity salience affected women's and men's support for equality.

Our key research questions were (a) under what conditions (e.g., leader gender and message framing) are women and men most likely to be mobilised to support gender equality, (b) whether male (compared to female) leaders are more effective in mobilising male and female followers toward this goal (and if so – why this is the case), and (c) does framing gender equality as a common cause for women and men increase their likelihood of acting in solidarity in support for equality. We first reflect on key contributions of each of our three empirical programs, before discussing the broader findings of the thesis as they relate to each of our key research questions.

A Piece of the Pie: Key Contributions of Each Empirical Program

Program 1 investigated whether the gender of equality leaders affected their capacity to mobilise support for equality, and whether solidarity-based message frames were more effective than traditional equality frames that typically focus on either fixing or blaming women. Taken together, Program 1's mobilisation results speak to there being different mobilisation pathways for men and women, just as there exists "differing starting places and processes for women and men" (de Vries, 2010, p. 36) in their journey toward supporting gender equality. Namely, as the principal targets of workplace gender inequality, women appear particularly sensitive to the way in which leaders frame their equality messages, especially when such messages can be perceived as legitimating and therefore preserving gender inequality (e.g., meritocratic frames). Women

appear both demobilised by, and prone to negatively evaluating leaders who choose to adopt such legitimating messages.

These results have implications for the study of social change toward gender equality, specifically with regard to leadership and shared identity. Namely, our findings suggest that men are doubly advantaged in mobilising followers because they already possess a shared identity with both male and female followers: shared gender identity and dominant ingroup membership with men, and shared cause (in the form of gender equality) with women (irrespective of how they frame the issue; Subašić et al., 2018). Male leaders communicate to women *and* men that gender inequality is a matter of common concern for us all. In contrast, female leaders, as fellow targets of inequality alongside their female followers or employees, do not yet enjoy a shared identity with their (male) followers. This is discussed further in the next section.

Given our interest in mobilising men as the silent majority, Program 2 focused solely on male followers and investigated the role of subgroup and superordinate processes in the context of mobilising men for action toward gender equality. We also examined whether the inclusion of a local superordinate American identity would positively affect men's mobilisation relative to a global identity. While there were few consistent results between Experiments 3 and 4, their separate contributions are detailed here.

Significantly, Experiment 3's findings offer insight into when male and female leaders will be seen in a similar light (in terms of perceived prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, etc.), if not having the same capacity to mobilise collective action toward gender equality. Despite predicting that male leaders alone would be received more positively under American common cause frames, we found that when a shared superordinate American identity was made salient, both male and female leaders were evaluated equally positively. Meanwhile, female leaders

alone were viewed more positively under conditions where a superordinate American identity was absent (i.e., under global women's issue conditions), indicating that men prefer when female leaders promote the status quo (i.e., inequality being women's work). These findings demonstrate the importance of couching the issue of gender inequality under a shared superordinate American identity, particularly for male leaders. Such a frame creates a shared sense of 'us' between leaders and followers, which is a crucial aspect of leader influence and subsequent mobilisation.

Yet while common cause frames allowed equality leaders of different genders to be received equally positively, they did not result in increased mobilisation of male followers (in the form of collective action). Subašić et al. (2018) suggest that while solidarity-based frames may well be a necessary starting point toward social change processes they may not be sufficient, and Experiment 3 reflects this. We echo Subašić et al.'s (2018) calls for further research investigating "when men will be mobilised by female leaders advocating for gender equality as a common cause, and as much as they are by male advocates of this view" (p. 720).

Meanwhile, similar to Experiment 2, Experiment 4 demonstrates that male leaders are more effective at mobilising men's support for equality than are female leaders, seemingly irrespective of how they promote their equality message. This is evident in men's increased collective action intentions, sense of common cause, feminist identification, and feelings of sympathy under male compared to female leaders. Moreover, men reporting higher feelings of blame and benevolent sexism under male compared to female leaders lends further support to male leaders' greater capacity to rally support among male followers, because these measures are known to motivate men to make reparations to the disadvantaged group (Miron et al., 2006; Radke et al., 2018). These findings have important implications for social change toward gender

equality, given that many campaigns continue to rely largely on female leaders promoting the cause. We discuss this implication in depth in the next section.

Our final empirical program moved beyond women's issue and solidarity approaches to instead investigate whether positioning men as being either wholly responsible for addressing inequality (Experiment 5), or being directly affected by inequality themselves (Experiment 6), would affect their (and women's) mobilisation. Importantly, in Experiment 5 male participants evaluated all leaders as more prototypical and higher in relational leadership identification under common cause compared to women's issue frames (and also compared to men's responsibility frames for relational leadership identification). Meanwhile, in Experiment 6 all participants evaluated (male) leaders more positively under common cause and covictimisation framing compared to men's victimisation framing. In line with Program 1, these findings provide additional evidence that leaders who use solidarity-based frames are evaluated more favourably as a result crafting the perception that they are 'one of us', due to solidarity frames promoting collective group interests (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; van Knippenberg, 2011).

Meanwhile, contrary to predictions, and in contrast to previous research (e.g., Subašić et al., 2018), men's (Experiments 5-6) and women's (Experiment 6) collective action intent remained stable across message frames. Yet whereas Experiment 5 yielded no significant differences for our mobilisation measures, in Experiment 6 women (compared to men) reported higher collective action intent not only supporting women alone, but also supporting men and women together. Interestingly, male and female participants reported similar collective action intentions supporting men alone, making this the only collective action measure where men and women came together in their level of collective support. This indicates that men may be willing

to extend their collective support to help their own ingroup, but only when doing so does not simultaneously entail helping an outgroup.

Notably, this is in contrast to our behavioural measure findings, whereby women and men were more likely to sign the women's and men's petition (43%), compared to the men's (2%) or women's (8%) petitions. Nevertheless, our collective action results hint that in order to bring men's collective action in line with women's, future mobilisation strategies could frame equality efforts in ways that *appear* to benefit men alone, but inevitably assist women too. For example, calls for increased paid paternity leave primarily benefit men and will be interpreted as such, but actually have far-reaching advantages for mothers too (e.g., more equitable domestic labour division).

Finally, male participants reported higher sense of common cause with men (but not women) only when men's inequality issues were discussed alongside women's issues (i.e., under covictimisation framing; Experiment 6). This indicates that while the contrastive element between men's and women's victimisation appears necessary to foster men's solidarity with their fellow men, the same covictimisation framing is not sufficient to foster men's solidarity with, or collective action supporting women.

Leader Gender Matters…Sometimes: Male Leaders Achieve Greater Mobilisation than Female Leaders

While each empirical program had its key contributions, we now look to the broader contributions of the thesis as a whole, focusing on each key research question in turn. Firstly, a central aim of this thesis was to examine whether male and female leaders differ in their capacity to mobilise men and women toward equality. Specifically, we predicted that while women's collective action intentions and sense of common cause would remain relatively stable

irrespective of who promoted gender equality, men's intentions and sense of common cause would be higher when the equality message was attributed to a male leader rather than a female leader (Experiments 1-5) or a government agency (Experiment 1). Overall, we found mixed results regarding this prediction. Indeed, this prediction was not supported in Experiments 1, 3, and 5 (we held the male leader's gender constant in Experiment 6, hence this prediction did not apply).

Importantly however, in Experiments 2 and 4 men reported higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause under male compared to female leaders, providing partial support for this central prediction. This finding indicates that by virtue of their gender and the privileges it permits, male leaders seem to possess the ability to undertake gender equality leadership roles and mobilise men and women more effectively than female leaders (Marshall, 2007). This finding, while inconsistent across studies, still remains significant for the gender equality field because many campaigns continue to rely solely on female figureheads to lead the charge. Yet our work demonstrates this is perhaps not the most effective avenue for mobilising men (or women). Indeed, despite holding formal authority at work female leaders' gender appears to limit their ability to address inequality, as demonstrated by their lower follower mobilisation in the current work, and further reflected in extant work (e.g., Subašić et al., 2018; Martin & Meyerson, 1998). Male leaders' mobilisation advantage therefore speaks to leader gender remaining a critical aspect of leader-influence processes when endeavoring to mobilise follower support toward gender equality.

Male leaders' higher mobilisation of men (and women in Experiment 2) may be due to male feminists being free from the stigma that accompanies being a female feminist (Anderson, 2009). Moreover, men exposed to positive (compared to negative) portrayals of feminists

typically express higher feminist solidarity and collective action intentions, and the leader in our work undoubtedly constituted a positive feminist role model to followers (Wiley et al., 2012). Indeed, in this sense, male participants in Experiments 2 and 4 may have perceived a male leader publicly endorsing equality as a positive feminist role model, prompting them to more readily adopt feminist behaviours (i.e., collective action intentions) previously seen as unappealing or emasculating (Wiley et al., 2012). Certainly, it has become progressively more socially acceptable for male leaders and celebrities to openly self-identify as feminists (e.g., Barack Obama, Justin Trudeau, and Ryan Gosling), while this acceptance has not yet extended to women (e.g., Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Clementine Ford; Crowe, 2018).

Additionally, observing fellow male ingroup members promoting equality likely diminished male participants' status protection motives, in contrast to outgroup female members who likely threatened men's status and subsequently decreased their willingness to challenge the status quo (Branscombe, 1998). Our findings are in line with extant literature suggesting that women remain poor candidates for spearheading equality initiatives due to gendered expectations undermining their ability to address inequality effectively (de Vries, 2015; Martin & Meyerson, 1998). Essentially, the same expectations that destabilise women leaders appear to position men as successful catalysts for change, with male leader's gender and positional power intersecting to create an effective platform for mobilising increased support for equality (de Vries, 2015).

Crucially, male leaders managed to mobilise men more than female leaders in Experiments 2 and 4 *irrespective* of the way in which they framed the equality issue. This signals that it is perhaps not enough to simply "walk the talk" (Kotter, 2007, p. 101) by holding up the goal of equality as a common cause for both women and men. Instead, leaders are

required to also exemplify a shared social identity with their audience (Subašić et al., 2008). Certainly, Subašić and colleagues (2008) argue that a shared social identity and shared sense of 'us' is required in order for those directly disadvantaged by the status quo (women), and those witnessing such disadvantage (men), to come together for a common cause.

In fact, an important caveat of our leader gender results is that despite predicting that women's mobilisation would remain stable irrespective of the gender of the leader promoting equality, in Experiment 2 women *also* reported higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause under male compared to female leaders. Again, this finding was not consistent across studies, and due to our decision to exclude female participants from Experiment 4 (and 3 and 5), we cannot know whether this finding would have replicated in Experiment 4 or beyond. Nevertheless, our findings provide some evidence that male leaders may be more effective than female leaders at mobilising both men *and* women toward gender equality.

In fact, this particular finding suggests that men are doubly advantaged in mobilising followers because they already possess a shared identity with both male and female followers: shared gender identity and dominant ingroup membership with men, and shared cause (in the form of gender equality) with women (irrespective of how they frame the issue; Subašić et al., 2018). Essentially, male leaders can signal to men *and* women that "we are all in this together" (Subašić et al., 2018, p. 7). Ultimately, Experiments 2 and 4 demonstrate that leader gender matters. It can shape leader's ability to mobilise followers for social change, with male leaders invoking higher mobilisation than their female counterparts regardless of *how* they framed their message, or how positively *or* negatively they were evaluated as leaders (as discussed later). In contrast female leaders, who are indisputably fellow targets of inequality alongside their female followers or employees, do not yet appear to possess a similar shared identity with their (male)

followers. This is an important finding because this lack of shared identity limits women leaders' ability to mobilise those of the opposite sex. Future research could explore alternative message framing or leadership style strategies that female leaders could adopt in order to erode the disadvantage they face in gender equality contexts (and beyond), and instead augment their advantage. Furthermore, these findings regarding male leader's increased ability to mobilise participants must be interpreted with caution given our inconsistent pattern of results. Additional research is required to investigate in depth the effectiveness of using male leaders to mobilise men and women toward gender equality.

Leader Gender Matters in Other Ways, Too: Male Leaders Achieve More Favourable Mobilisation-, Sexism-, and Affect-Related Responses Than Female Leaders

We included several related dependent variables in the current work for exploratory purposes, many of which showed results aligning with men's higher mobilisation under male compared to female leaders (in Experiments 2 and 4). In terms of mobilisation and leadership evaluation findings, in Experiment 4 men not only reported higher collective action intentions under male compared to female leaders, they additionally perceived male leaders as more legitimate, and reported higher common cause and feminist identification under them (replicating Subašić et al.'s, 2018 findings). This makes sense because male confronters of sexism are typically seen as more legitimate and taken more seriously by male observers due to avoiding self-interest accusations that women leaders often encounter when discussing gender inequality (Czopp et al., 2006; Drury, 2013).

Moreover, perceived leader legitimacy (Anderson & Brown, 2010), common cause (Subašić et al., 2018) and feminist identification (van Breen et al., 2017; Yoder et al., 2011) are all associated with greater levels of collective action supporting equality. Certainly, Subašić and

colleagues (2018) maintain that for solidarity to emerge, women and men need to agree on a shared definition of who 'we' are, and for that identity to align with a shared agenda toward change. Subašić and colleagues (2018) state that "identifying as a feminist signals the emergence of such higher-order identity defined by a shared agenda for change toward gender equality (i.e., common cause)" (p. 708). It therefore makes sense that under the same conditions which led men to report higher collective action in Experiment 4 (i.e., under male rather than female leaders), men also reported higher leader legitimacy, feminist identification, and common cause.

In terms of sexism and legitimacy of inequality findings, under male compared to female leaders men also reported higher levels of benevolent sexism (Experiments 4-5), hostile sexism (Experiment 5), and higher perceived legitimacy of inequality (Experiment 4). Men's higher benevolent sexism under these conditions is logical because a male leader appearing to offer 'help' to women in their pursuit of gender equality could trigger men's underlying benevolent sexism attitudes. Indeed, benevolent sexism portrays women as weak and in need of men's protection and assistance (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Consequently, paternalistic and protectionist benevolent sexist motives could be underlying men's increased mobilisation (in the form of collective action, common cause, and feminist identification) under male leaders in Experiment 4 (albeit men's higher benevolent sexism under male leaders in Experiment 5 was not accompanied by the same boost in collective action intent). Moreover, as mentioned Cheng (2018) states that the dominative paternalistic facet of hostile sexism "stipulates that only a superordinate male figure can fulfill leadership roles and roles that require complex judgement" (p. 9), and hostile sexists believe men are more apt for power than women. In the current work, a male leader promoting women's equality likely

provided men with evidence that women are incapable of fighting their own battles, prompting men to further endorse their hostile sexist attitudes.

Finally, men reported increased perceived legitimacy of inequality under male compared to female leaders in Experiment 4. Because *lowered* legitimation of inequality is considered a vital antecedent of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008), it is unclear why men would report higher legitimation under the same conditions that they reported higher collective action and perceived leader legitimacy. Nonetheless, this could indicate that men interpret male ingroup leaders as promoting equality as giving fellow men permission to legitimate the phenomena. Alternatively, it could be a defensive attempt at countering the increased negative feelings of self-blame they also experienced under male leaders in Experiment 4 (discussed below). Certainly, if inequality really did exist because of legitimate reasons, men would have less reason to feel blameworthy. Indeed, legitimating beliefs regarding gender inequality are so pervasive and sanctioned by men that they "may function as a means of reducing men's distress and guilt over their privileged position" (Miron et al., 2006, p. 176).

When it comes to affect-related findings, under male compared to female leaders men also reported higher feelings of sympathy (Experiment 4), blame (Experiment 4), and guilt (Experiment 5) regarding the effects of inequality on women. Sympathy with a political movement is linked to increased likelihood of collective action on behalf of that movement (Klandermans, 1997). Indeed, a key function of sympathy is to assist disadvantaged groups out of concern for their wellbeing (Miron et al., 2006), while altruistic acts (i.e., collective action) can be motivated via empathy arising from sympathetic concerns (Batson et al., 1987). Consequently, sympathy leading to altruistic acts could be underlying men's increased mobilisation in the form of collective action, common cause, and feminist identification under

male leaders in Experiment 4. Additionally, men reported higher blame under the same conditions they reported higher collective action intentions (i.e., under male leaders in Experiment 4). This is logical because a sense of blame can motivate advantaged groups to take responsibility and make reparations to disadvantaged groups in order to alleviate such negative feelings (e.g., via collective action; Iyer et al., 2003; Miron et al., 2006).

Finally, men also expressed higher guilt under male leaders in Experiment 5. It is possible that men took the issue of inequality more seriously when a male ingroup leader discussed the issue rather than a female outgroup leader, and subsequently experienced increased guilt as a result. Yet despite guilt being a self-blaming emotion which typically motivates individuals to regulate their moral behaviour (Makogon & Enikolopov, 2013), this finding in Experiment 5 was not accompanied by men's increased collective action under the same conditions (i.e., under male leaders), nor was it replicated in the remaining experiments.

Essentially, men reporting higher collective action intentions, common cause, feminist identification, feelings of sympathy, blame, guilt, and benevolent sexism under male compared to female leaders lends support to male leaders' better capacity to rally support among male followers given that these variables are known to motivate men to make amendments to the disadvantaged group (Klandermans, 1997; Makogon & Enikolopov, 2013; Miron et al., 2006; Radke et al., 2018). Again, given our inconsistent pattern of findings, these results must be interpreted with some degree of caution. However, these results extend Subašić and colleagues' (2018) findings by offering additional preliminary evidence that men report higher levels of these mobilisation-related variables only when male ingroup leaders discuss gender (in)equality.

From a Female Leadership Advantage to a Female Leadership Deficit: How Female Leaders Fared

This work additionally uncovered some interesting findings regarding the role of female leaders in the gender equality movement. For example, despite the (mostly) positive effects found under male leaders, men (and women in Experiment 2) actually perceived female leaders as more prototypical (Experiment 2), transformational (Experiment 2), and influential (Experiment 5) than male leaders. In line with this, the literature shows that women frequently rate higher than men on positive aspects of effective leadership (e.g., transformational) while men rate higher than women on negative components (e.g., transactional; Eagly et al., 2003). This is an important finding, because it raises questions as to why women leaders' positive evaluations did not also translate to higher mobilisation of followers.

Haslam and colleagues (2011) suggest that evaluations of effective leadership are context dependent and dynamic. Thus, the 'glass cliff' phenomenon may explain why women leaders' positive leadership evaluations in the present work were not accompanied by increased follower mobilisation (Ryan & Haslam, 2005, 2007). This phenomenon refers to women's overrepresentation in precarious leadership positions (e.g., in crises) due to assumptions that female-stereotypical leadership traits (e.g., warm, engaging) position female leaders as effective people managers and better able to absorb blame for organisational failures (Ryan & Haslam, 2007). Women leaders may have been evaluated more positively and their traits seen as advantageous in the present context of workplace gender inequality because inequality can be thought of as a crisis of sorts, or at the very least a failure on behalf of organisations. Moreover, despite not being prototypical of leaders in general, women can ironically be considered more prototypical of the gender equality movement itself (and those who typically lead it) because

they regularly spearhead and epitomise the movement's goals and values (a key facet of leader prototypicality; Ryan & Haslam, 2005).

Yet the lack of mobilisation on behalf of female leaders in the current project may reflect participants' scepticism regarding female leaders' competency, particularly given the masculine organisational context of the present experiments (i.e., vignettes relating to corporate workplace gender inequality; Sczesny, 2003). Additionally, cultural variations regarding leadership prototypes exist across countries (Koopman et al., 1999), and followers have differing prototypes for male and female leaders (Offermann, Kennedy, & Wirtz, 1994). The ideas that followers hold regarding the prototypicality of effective and ineffective leaders predicts their willingness (or lack thereof) to follow a given leader (Koopman et al., 1999). While female leaders may be regarded as more prototypical of the equality movement, that prototype may still actually comprise perceived *ineffective* leadership traits, leading to their inability to mobilise followers in the current work (Kent, Blair, & Rudd, 2010).

Meanwhile, as evidenced in Experiment 2, female leaders are usually deemed more transformational than male leaders (Bass, 1985, 1998; Bass, Avolio, & Atwater, 1996). Indeed, a meta-analysis of 45 leadership style studies determined that female leaders were overall more transformational than male leaders (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003). Because transformational leadership is generally considered an *influential* leadership style (Bass, 1985), it follows that female leaders would also be regarded as more influential than male leaders by men (as found in Experiment 5; note the p-value reached 0.051 for influence in Experiment 2).

These findings are important because male followers frequently exhibit a negative bias toward transformational female leaders by devaluing their effectiveness (Ayman, Korabik, & Morris, 2009). Indeed, men and women evaluate male leaders' performance equally effective

regardless of those leaders' perceived transformational leadership levels, but men (and not women) tend to rate female transformational leaders' performance more negatively (Ayman et al., 2009). This could explain why male participants did not report higher mobilisation under female leaders that they nevertheless evaluated as highly transformational. Men might not have believed that the female leader's subsequent performance would be sufficient and therefore did not 'follow them in to battle'.

The Importance (or Not) of Equality Message Framing: Solidarity-Based Messages as a Starting Point for Mobilisation

A second central aim of this thesis was to investigate whether the way in which the equality message was framed affected men's and women's support for gender equality and their evaluations of the leader promoting that message. In this respect we examined how different ways of thinking and talking about gender (in)equality shaped attitudes and change-oriented behaviours across follower gender, and expected certain framing approaches to be more effective than others. We had two overarching message framing hypotheses which necessarily differed depending on the specific study design. Generally, however, we predicted that 1) men and women would evaluate leaders more positively under common cause frames, and 2) men and women would report higher collective action intentions and common cause under common cause frames compared to other frames.

We first address the prediction that both male (Experiments 1-6) and female (Experiments 1-2, 6) followers would evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, legitimacy, influence, relational leadership identification, and transformational leadership when leaders promoted equality as a common cause for both women and men to address together, as opposed to a women's only issue, a men's issue, men's responsibility, or a meritocratic issue.

Overall, there were mixed findings for this prediction, with no support found in Experiments 3 and 4, but partial support found in Experiments 1, 2, 5 and 6. Specifically, we discovered that male and female participants rated leaders higher in perceived legitimacy and influence (Experiments 1-2, 6), prototypicality (Experiments 1-2, 5-6), relational identification (Experiments 1, 5-6; variable omitted from Experiment 2), and transformational leadership (Experiment 2; variable omitted from Experiment 1) under common cause framing compared to women's issue (1, 5), men's issue (6), or merit framing (2). This provides fairly consistent support for the prediction that common cause framing (compared to more traditional frames of equality) would result in more favourable evaluations of leaders. Moreover, this pattern emerged irrespective of leader gender.

Indeed, articulating a shared identity with followers is crucial for leader success (Hogg et al., 2012), and our results provide concrete evidence that message framing can act as a vehicle through which leaders can achieve this common identity. Leaders typically use rhetoric to "locate themselves within the heart of the group" (Hornsey, 2008, p. 211), and our findings demonstrate that the crafting of a shared identity can be achieved via solidarity-based message framing (Seyranian, 2014). This is in line with work by Seyranian (2014), who found that leaders who employed inclusive framing were evaluated more positively by followers and inspired greater collective action. By emphasising the need for women *and* men to engage in equality as "comrades in struggle" (hooks, 1984, p. 67), solidarity framing promotes shared leader-follower identities – a crucial aspect of the mobilisation process (Subašić et al., 2008).

These findings are important because they indicate that solidarity-based common cause frames play a key role in affecting support for social change toward equality. As Steffens and colleagues (2014) assert, "leaders need not only to 'be one of us'…but also to 'do it for us'…to

'craft a sense of us'…and to 'embed a sense of us'" (p. 1001). The current work demonstrates that common cause framing achieves this perception of leaders being 'one of us' by making them appear more prototypical and subsequently more legitimate and influential to followers. Leaders are able to create this perception because such solidarity-based frames promote collective group interests (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; van Knippenberg, 2011). Certainly, prototypical leaders derive their influence partly from perceptions that they embody such collective interests (van Knippenberg, 2011). Moreover, "highly identified followers perceive themselves to share relational identity with a leader when that leader is representative of their ingroup, but not if that leader is representative of an outgroup" (Steffens et al., 2013, p. 296).

Consequently, it is particularly poignant that male participants rated male *and* female leaders as being similarly high in relational leadership identification under common cause framing (compared to women's issue [Experiments 1, 5], or men's victimisation frames [Experiment 6]). This finding demonstrates that solidarity-based frames partly bridge the gap between male followers' and female leaders' (gender) outgroup differences, which is an important starting point if women leaders hope to one day mobilise men to the same extent as male leaders do. Certainly, leaders calling on women and men to act together in solidarity toward equality were perceived more favourably than leaders who call on women (or men) to act separately. Further, Hogg and colleagues (2012) argue that influence boils down to "leaders' rhetoric-based construction of the group's identity" (p. 259), and in the present work leaders were indeed often viewed as more influential and legitimate under solidarity framing.

One caveat is that in Experiment 2 our increased legitimacy and influence evaluations under common cause framing were qualified by women (but not men) rating leaders as higher in these variables under common cause compared to meritocracy frames. Yet because meritocratic

framing legitimates actual discriminatory factors that perpetuate gender inequality, it makes sense that women deemed the leader promoting such damaging messages as less legitimate and consequently less influential (Hochschild, 1997).

Crucially, the fact that leadership evaluations were enhanced under solidarity framing irrespective of leader gender indicates that common cause framing alleviates female leader's tendency to be negatively evaluated (particularly by male followers). Ultimately, we provide evidence that common cause messages appear to erase gender-based evaluation differences between male and female leaders, bringing them on par with one another (with one exception whereby men reported increased hostile sexism when women promoted American common cause framing in Experiment 3). In this sense, solidarity-based frames can be thought of as an effective starting point for increasing men's support for equality, because leaders are crucial aspects of the social influence and social change process (Subašić et al., 2018). Given this, additional research is required to fully understand the impact that common cause framing has on the valence of leaders' evaluations.

A Ways to Go: Solidarity-Based Messages May Not be Sufficient to Mobilise Followers Toward Equality

Importantly, while common cause framing typically led to more positive evaluations of those leading the charge for equality, our findings indicate that solidarity framing may not be sufficient to additionally recalibrate participants' intentions to act collectively in support for gender equality. Indeed, we found little support for the prediction that men and women would report higher collective action intentions and common cause under common cause messages compared to all other message frames.

Importantly however, Experiment 2 showed that as predicted, juxtaposing solidarity-

based common cause framing with a legitimating, polarising version of traditional women's issue frames (i.e., meritocratic frames) strengthened the effects of such framing on women's (albeit not men's) mobilisation. This is a significant finding because it indicates that as the primary targets of gender inequality, women remain especially sensitive to how gender equality is discussed and appear differentially affected by legitimating meritocratic messages. Women's decreased collective action under meritocratic justifications of inequality speaks to such explanations removing women's impetus to agitate for change by "undermining the validity of the collective grievances of the group" (Jetten et al., 2011, p. 118). Women's demonstrated sensitivity to equality messages is important for future campaign organisers to keep in mind, because women undoubtedly still make up the majority base supporter audience for social change toward gender equality. Campaigns will not benefit from alienating this support base and should instead heed the current work's findings that justifying women's inequality inhibits their support for the cause.

Meanwhile, in all of the remaining experiments men demonstrated an apparent indifference to what form equality messages take, at least in terms of mobilisation. This lack of support for our key prediction that common cause frames would increase men's (and women's) mobilisation contradicts a raft of research demonstrating that the way leaders communicate their messages can drastically affect followers' mobilisation (e.g., Benford & Snow, 2000; Flood et al., 2018; Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; Subašić et al., 2018). For example, Flood and colleagues (2018) argued that how leaders make the case for equality affects how followers process and respond to leaders' messages. Meanwhile, Subašić and colleagues (2018) provided evidence that common cause messages effectively increase mobilisation for women *and* men (although this was qualified by men reporting this increased mobilisation only under male leaders). Reasons as

to why we did not replicate these findings are touched on below and explored in greater detail in the limitations and future directions section.

We previously argued that equality interventions often fail to mobilise widespread support due to (male) leaders' disinterest, inactive representation, and use of empty rhetoric (Pincus, 2009). We expected common cause framing to address these shortcomings and result in increased mobilisation, because such framing positions male followers (and leaders) as agents of change who actively address inequality as allies alongside women (Subašić et al., 2018). Yet our message framing factor did not have a consistent effect on participants' mobilisation toward equality. Instead, the current work indicates that men, as non-targets and even perpetrators of inequality, appear less affected by *what* is being said compared to *who* is saying it (as per men's increased mobilisation under male leaders in Experiments 2 and 4). In fact, this lack of support only serves to strengthen the argument that male leaders *should* step up and spearhead equality initiatives in order to increase men's support for equality. This is because male leaders appear more effective than female leaders at mobilising other men for change – as shown in Experiments 2 and 4.

It is possible that our common cause message framing factor did not affect participants' mobilisation toward equality (bar in Experiment 2, where women but not men reported higher mobilisation under common cause compared to meritocracy messages) due to the content of our messages not comprising concrete strategies for men to adopt. Due to time constraints and mindfulness regarding participants' attention span for detailed study materials, we kept our vignettes to a one-page maximum. Yet even these short vignettes may have proven too long and detailed for the online samples we used. Consequently, we did not provide in-depth information regarding what specific strategies each equality approach would utilise (e.g., women's issue,

common cause, men's issue, etc.).

Given extant research and practice recommendations, there are additional message frames worth exploring in future work. For example, Flood and colleagues (2017) stress the importance of messages emphasising the valuable role men can play in achieving gender equality, and acknowledging anticipated downsides that men usually refer to in retort to calls for equality (e.g., counter-claims and meritocracy myths). Flood and colleagues (2017) argue that messages need to appeal to men as bystanders and potential allies, but also to concerns they have for the women in their life. Future study materials could additionally outline case studies of past successful equality initiatives so that the silent majority might be better convinced of the efficacy of such initiatives (Flood et al., 2018). Certainly, perceived efficacy of collective action is a key predictor for participating in such action (van Zomeren et al., 2004).

It Matters Not Only Who is Speaking, but Also What They are Saying: The Intersection of Leader Gender and Message Framing Toward Gender Equality

Our final research question pertains to the interaction between leader gender and message framing, and whether followers' reactions differed as a result of *which* leader said *what*. We aimed to examine which conditions would best mobilise male and female followers to support equality. Specifically, we predicted that women's collective action intentions and sense of common cause would remain stable regardless of *who* promotes equality. Meanwhile, we expected that men's intentions and sense of common cause would be higher when the equality message was attributed to a male leader rather than a female leader (Experiments 1-5) or a government agency (Experiment 1), *especially* under common cause compared to women's issue (Experiment 1-5), meritocratic issue (Experiment 2), men's responsibility (Experiment 4), or men's issue (Experiment 5) frames.

We did not find full support for this interaction hypothesis, instead finding the leader gender main effects discussed in the preceding section whereby men (and women in Experiment 2) reported higher mobilisation under male compared to female leaders (Experiments 2 and 4) but did not report higher mobilisation under common cause framing. We also found that women (but not men) in Experiment 2 reported higher collective action intent under common cause compared to merit frames. As mentioned, these findings imply that male leaders are more capable than female leaders of mobilising women and men toward equality, while women (compared to men) appear particularly sensitive to the ways in which equality is discussed.

Importantly, we did find an interesting interaction effect in Experiment 3, with male participants evaluating women leaders more positively under global women's framing compared to American women's or common cause framing. This took the form of significantly increased prototypicality, influence, legitimacy, relational leadership identification, and transformational leadership, as well as higher common cause and lower perceived threat to women's gender group when women promoted global women's issue message frames. These results highlight men's apparent preference for female leaders to stick to promoting traditional global equality message frames that call solely on their own gender group to act (i.e., frames that preserve the status quo). This pattern echoes (but does not replicate) Subašić et al.'s (2018) finding that men reported their highest collective action intentions under women leaders only when those leaders promoted women's issue rather than common cause frames. Our findings also give credence to the notion that the absence of a localised superordinate American identity lends female leaders increased credibility and legitimacy. This is likely due to women's issue approaches maintaining the status quo, which is arguably preferable for many men.

Importantly, we focused on how a sense of solidarity emerging between men and women can result in *positive* social change for gender equality. However, the emergence of political solidarity can just as likely result in *negative* social change (e.g., fascism) or even social stability (e.g., maintaining the status quo; Subašić et al., 2008). As such, it is important to consider how leader gender and message framing for gender equality might mobilise support for social movements that actually detract from women's rights. For example, one could argue that the promotion of traditional women's issue frames by female (and male) leaders has backfired to some extent in today's society, resulting in an uprising of men's rights activist (MRA) groups. These MRA groups reflect a recent increase in cultural ideologies pertaining to the perceived crisis that men and masculinity in contemporary society face, an increase that can be viewed as a reaction to the perceived threat of feminism (Schmitz & Kazyak, 2016). Despite their higher social status, MRAs "seek to establish resources for men to utilise in elevating their perceived subordinated position in society in relation to women and social minorities" (Schmitz & Kazyak, 2016, p. 1). Interestingly, these groups have even managed to garner support from minority groups (i.e., female MRAs known as 'Honey Badgers'), indicating an emergent sense of solidarity between the majority and minority over how men are perceived to be treated in today's society (Mattheis, 2016). In this sense, it appears that traditional women's issue equality messages promoted by female leaders are capable of detracting from women's rights and can instead prompt increased support for antifeminist movements such as MRA groups (Schmitz & Kazyak, 2016).

Moreover, this pattern in Experiment 3 is also similar to Subašić et al.'s (2018) finding whereby men reported their highest collective action intent under female leaders only when such leaders promoted women's issue rather than common cause messages. Subašić et al. (2018)

surmised that there exists "an asymmetry between male and female leaders not only in terms of delivering common cause messages, but also when framing gender inequality as an issue that concerns women" (p. 718). That is, while Subašić and colleagues (2018) found that male leaders mobilised men best under solidarity framing, male leaders promoting women's issue frames demobilised men – at least relative to female leaders promoting the same frame. Our current findings echo this asymmetry given that under subgroup frames male leaders were consistently rated less positively than female leaders and invoked lower common cause.

However, these gender-based differences in leadership evaluations disappeared under American superordinate framing, with male and female leaders being evaluated equally positively (Experiment 3). In fact, when an American superordinate identity was introduced, the significant difference in leadership evaluations between male and female leaders became non-significant (with the exception of our leader influence variable). This change was due to male leaders experiencing a significant increase in positive evaluations while female leaders experienced a non-significant decrease in positive evaluations. This finding speaks to the importance of shared identity within mobilisation contexts, which seems to particularly benefit male leaders by increasing their positive leadership evaluations. Notably, these findings could be a result of men's increased ability to represent men and women (i.e., 'us'). Indeed, due to the tendency of individuals to perceive high-status group members (e.g., men) as being significantly more prototypical of the superordinate category of 'people' than low-status group members (e.g., women), men are in fact more capable of representing 'us' (Rubin, 2011).

Similarly, white and black men (not women) are considered as being prototypical of their respective races (Sesko & Biernat, 2010). This phenomenon is linked to 'androcentrism' – the inclination for men to be defined as the prototypical exemplars of a specific group (and women

as the non-prototypical exemplars; Bem, 1993). Moreover, Purdie-Vaughans and Eibach (2008) argue that individuals who possess multiple subordinate-group identities experience intersectional invisibility as a consequence of their enhanced non-prototypicality. That is, they are effectively rendered invisible compared to individuals who only possess a single subordinate-group identity. For example, a black male would still be considered more prototypical than a black female, given that black men represent the dominant prototypes for both 'people' and 'Blacks' (Purdue-Vaughans & Eibach, 2008). By virtue of men's tendency to be viewed as the universal societal standard, male leaders are subsequently more capable of representing 'us' without facing the negative consequences that female leaders do. It thus makes sense that male leaders might similarly have a greater claim over the superordinate American identity too. This would explain male leaders' significant increase in positive leadership evaluations when they adopted this identity, and the significant increase in hostile sexism when female leaders appropriated this superordinate identity (Experiment 3).

In the same vein, it is important to consider how our findings may have been affected if the leaders' or participants' gender identities intersected with other important group memberships, such as age, ethnicity, or sexuality. For example, an openly homosexual male leader might have suffered from a lack of support from a majority heterosexual male audience compared to an openly heterosexual male leader. Certainly, Morton (2017) found that more homonegative (compared to less homonegative) participants evaluated gay male leaders significantly more negatively on perceived leadership effectiveness than they did heterosexual male leaders. Thus, while we did not measure group memberships such as sexuality or ethnicity in the current research, this would prove an engaging avenue for future research to engage with.

Finally, it is also possible that men view female leaders utilising solidarity framing as an insincere, inauthentic strategy to trick them into supporting gender equality (Drury, 2013). This interpretation is in line with Drury's (2013) discovery that black confronters (targets) who framed overcoming racism as a common cause for blacks and whites actually lost credibility among white observers (non-targets) because such observers viewed this to be a strategic attempt by blacks to benefit their ingroup. Drury (2013) theorised that if observers perceived the target's confrontation to be a strategic attempt at benefiting their ingroup, their credibility may be harmed due to perceptions of self-interest. Policymakers might therefore benefit from having female leaders run global equality campaigns and male leaders run more localised campaigns.

The Gender Effect: Women are More Heavily Invested Than Men in Addressing Gender Inequality

Finally, mirroring the strong gender difference typically found in the collective action literature (e.g., van Zomeren & Spears, 2009), in all experiments involving female participants women (compared to men) reported higher collective action intentions supporting women (Experiments 1-2, 6) and higher sense of common cause with women (Experiments 2 and 6; measure omitted from Experiment 1) irrespective of how the equality message was framed. This demonstrates that women (compared to men) are more invested in and thus more readily mobilised toward gender equality due to inequality damaging their group's prospects (van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). Additionally, the feminist act of acting collectively for equality aims to raise women's status relative to men and is therefore probably more attractive to women than to men (Radke et al., 2018). This is in line with existing literature in related domains, such as workplace gender discrimination (Iyer & Ryan, 2009a), sexism confrontations (Becker & Barreto, 2014), and women's sexual objectification (Guizzo et al., 2017).

Furthermore, in Experiment 6 women (compared to men) also reported higher collective action intentions supporting both women and men (a novel measure introduced in Experiment 6). This willingness to act collectively to help both ingroup and outgroup members contradicts Warner, Wohl, and Branscombe's (2014) finding that historically victimised ingroups "appear to be especially concerned with entitlement to protect the ingroup and balk at moral obligation to reduce the adversary group's suffering" (p. 240). Instead, Experiment 6 demonstrates that women are just as likely to help suffering outgroup members as they are their own ingroup members. In direct contrast, there was only one collective action measure in Experiment 6 which did not show a significant gender effect – with women *and* men expressing equal willingness to act collectively to support men's equality. Thus, while men are keen to support fellow ingroup members, they may not be keen on extending that support to situations which would require helping (inadvertently or not) an outgroup (e.g., as per our measures regarding collective action supporting either women alone, or both women and men).

Finally, in Experiments 1, 2, and 6 there were also significant participant gender differences on a number of variables which are linked with increased likelihood of participating in collective action supporting the achievement of gender equality (as discussed throughout this thesis). These include women (compared to men) reporting significantly higher levels of perceived efficacy of collective action (Experiment 1; van Zomeren et al., 2004), feminist identification (Experiments 1-2, 6; Yoder et al., 2011; Zucker, 2004), gender identification (Experiments 1-2, 6; Iyer & Ryan, 2009b; Kelly, 1993), collective self-esteem (Experiment 1; Burn et al., 2000), anger (Experiments 1-2; van Zomeren et al., 2004), sadness (Experiments 1-2; Scherer et al., 2001), sympathy (Experiments 2, 6; Klandermans, 1997), and significantly lower levels of perceived legitimacy of inequality (Experiments 1-2, 6; Miron et al., 2006), hostile

sexism (Experiments 2, 6; Glick & Fiske, 1996), and benevolent sexism (Experiments 2, 6; Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Don't Throw the Baby Out With the Bath Water: Limitations and Future Directions

Participants at Our Fingertips: The Nature of the Online Participant Samples Used

One limitation of the thesis is Experiments 2-6's use of employed samples sourced from Prolific (2017; formerly Prolific Academic). This is a crowdsourcing website with large, readily available American and British samples at its disposal that allows recruitment and remuneration of naïve participants based on specified pre-screening criteria (e.g., employment status, ethnicity, etc.). Some researchers question the diversity and representativeness of samples provided by crowdsourcing websites such as Prolific and Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Kahan, 2013). Certainly, this participant portal may not have been the optimal source of participants for the experimental vignette paradigm that we used, due to a mismatch between the nature of our manipulations and our samples.

Indeed, paid online crowdsourcing participants are typically more familiar with short cognitive-based tasks (Crump et al., 2013), which is largely dissimilar to our study designs. We required participants to carefully consider and comprehend large amounts of written text and remember subtle differences in key details, in addition to engaging with collective mobilisation work which arguably requires more emotional labour than cognitive tasks. Moreover, Meade and Craig (2012) claim that interest in a given survey topic typically results in more careful responding. The lack of engagement with our collective action variable compared to our leadership variables indicates that this variable did not resonate with participants in the same manner as they have been shown to do in community samples (e.g., Subašić et al., 2018). It is

possible that the online sample was more interested in evaluating the presented leader rather than expressing active engagement in the collective action materials.

Certainly, critics argue that MTurk-like samples are not viable for political science and ideology research due to a lack of sample validity because crowdsourcing websites produce disproportionately liberal samples (Kahan, 2013). Kahan (2013) argues MTurk samples constitute a defective basis for studying "how differences in group commitments [across online samples] interact with the cognitive processes that generate cultural or political polarization over societal risks" (p. 3). Kahan (2013) maintains it does not make sense to investigate how message framing "might dissipate dismissiveness and promote open-minded engagement with evidence" (p. 15) using a predominantly liberal sample. This is because how a liberal sample responds to such framing will not produce reliable inferences regarding how non-liberal audiences would react to the same framing.

In contrast, Clifford, Jewell, and Waggoner (2015) determined that MTurk samples "closely mirror the psychological divisions of liberals and conservatives in the mass public" (p. 1). Additionally, experimental framing effects have been replicated across a variety of areas using MTurk samples (Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012). Nevertheless, given the politically charged nature of the current work, inclusion of a political ideology measure in future research would better determine whether crowdsourcing samples are representative of the political landscape at large. Future work could also use more representative non-paid community and organisational samples to increase the generalisability of our findings and to engage with an audience who are perhaps more readily moved by collective action-oriented study materials. This was not feasible in the current work due to time and financial constraints.

Despite these political constraints, use of crowdsourcing portals efficiently and appropriately produces data with similarly good reliability as that found in typical undergraduate samples (Behrend et al., 2011). Compared to MTurk, Prolific participants are also more naïve to common experimental research tasks, more honest, and more diverse, making it a viable alternative to MTurk (Peer, Brandimarte, Samat, & Acquisti, 2017). Furthermore, Prolific has a reputation as an academic research website as opposed to MTurk's reputation for fast financial gain. Moreover, Prolific allows recruitment of participants who have a track record of serious study attempts (e.g., successful completion rates over 85%). This issue was important to the current work as it increased the likelihood of recruiting attentive participants who would engage with the study materials. Crowdsourcing portals are also financially and practically convenient for large-scale data collection such as in the present work.

Research by Design: Methodological and Design Considerations

One limitation of our methodological design is that it is possible that the interventions we used have the potential to be effective, but were not intensive or long-lasting enough to engender concrete change in participants' social change behaviours toward equality (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018). Furthermore, the design does not provide evidence of a temporal relationship between variables, or participants' mobilisation tendencies over time (Sedgwick, 2014). Certainly, the benefits and potential attitudinal change may not readily generalise beyond the questionnaire and vignette setting to filter through to general intergroup relations (Hogg, 2015; Sherif, 1966). If we want to demonstrate attitudinal and behavioural change, longitudinal designs are needed, especially considering the paucity of longitudinal research in this area (Simon et al., 1998). This would enhance our capacity to speak to social change. It might also uncover whether participating in collective action can both *shape* individuals' responses to inequality and *be*

shaped by individuals' perceptions and actions concerning inequality (Iyer & Ryan, 2009b). Yet given the expensive and time-intensive nature of longitudinal work, and the current project's financial and time-constraints, it was not practical to utilise longitudinal designs.

Another potential limitation is our reliance on experimental vignette designs. By allowing manipulation and control of independent variables, vignettes offer a hybrid of the high external validity associated with traditional non-experimental surveys, and the high internal validity associated with experiments (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014; Evans et al., 2015). Despite this, the validity of the results and conclusions arising from vignettes is often raised as a methodological concern, due to vignettes not accurately reflecting real-world phenomena (Evans et al., 2015). Yet so long as they are carefully designed to test specific research questions and enhance experimental realism, vignettes can be "highly generalisable to 'real life' behaviour, while overcoming the ethical, practical, and scientific limitations associated with alternative methods (e.g., observation, self-report, standardised patients, archival analysis)" (Evans et al., 2015, p. 160; Aguinis & Bradley, 2014). Vignettes are particularly useful when researchers need to control independent variables and include or exclude certain factors that may confound the results, in order to provide evidence of causation (Cavanagh & Fritzsche, 1985). In this sense, both the subtlety and 'real-world' feel of our manipulations serves only to speak louder to the important practical implications of this research.

Indeed, in the present work vignettes allowed us to cleanly contrast male and female leaders via the use of names and pronouns, therefore avoiding variance arising from external factors such as appearance, personality traits, or body language. Moreover, our vignettes reflected real-world phenomena by discussing current gender inequality issues (e.g., gender pay gap, underrepresentation among leadership positions), and using the language, tone, and leader

gender information consistently seen in equality campaigns. Essentially, Evans and colleagues (2015) conclude that vignette-based methodologies "afford researchers control and standardisation of vignette presentation, alongside systematic manipulation of key aspects of the vignette, thus allowing for rigorous causal inferences to be drawn with respect to the unique and shared variance of multiple factors predicting...behaviour" (p. 165). Finally, the type of vignettes we utilised have been widely used to measure explicit processes and outcomes in leadership domains (e.g., Benjamin & Flynn, 2006; de Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2004). Due to our manipulations mimicking the leader gender and message framing information typically provided in gender equality campaign mission statements and websites, our findings are highly applicable to understanding the practical impacts, influences, and effectiveness of such initiatives.

The Clearest of Intentions: Use of a Low-Cost Behavioural Measure

In Experiments 2-6 we included a behavioural measure that gave participants the option to anonymously electronically sign a false online petition supporting women's gender equality (or men's equality, or men's and women's equality in Experiment 6). This measure aimed to provide a record of participants' actual behaviours regarding participating in collective action supporting gender equality. Importantly, there was no statistically significant association between the behavioural measure and experimental condition (Experiments 2-5), participant gender (Experiment 2), leader gender (Experiments 2-5), or message frame (Experiments 2-5). This indicates that participants were equally likely to sign the petition irrespective of the condition they were exposed to, including leader gender or message framing. This ultimately demonstrates that participants' behaviours did not align with our key predictions (i.e., that they would report higher collective action under male leaders, or under common cause frames, etc.). However, women *were* significantly more likely to sign the petition compared to men in

Experiment 6, with the majority (44%) of women opting to sign the petition supporting both men's and women's equality. This shows that women are equally supportive of women's and men's equality efforts.

One reason for these inconsistent results may be the low-cost nature of our measure. Namely, in terms of commitment the measure required just 30 seconds of participants' time to electronically sign the petition. Participants might not have believed that they were being given the opportunity to sign a real petition, or did not have time to sign at that moment. Because it appeared at the very end of the questionnaire, participants might also have overlooked the measure due to fatigue. Future research should investigate whether more concrete and high-cost behaviours (e.g., actually attending a gender equality rally, or donating money to a gender equality cause) would yield more consistent results between hypotheses and behaviours. This would allow researchers to ascertain whether participants are actually more likely to act under a male compared to a female leader, or under common cause frames compared to women's issue frames.

Have You Been Paying Attention? Strength of the Manipulation Vignettes and Manipulation Check Failure

Another explanation as to why we did not replicate Subašić and colleagues' (2018) finding that solidarity framing increased men's and women's collective action intent is potential weakness of our manipulation vignettes, or even the manipulation checks themselves. In terms of manipulation check results, Experiments 3 and 4 showed that participants were unable to distinguish the global women's issue conditions from American women's issue conditions (Experiments 3-4) or global common cause and American common cause conditions (Experiment 4). Additionally, many of the means for our dependent variables in Experiments 1,

2, and 5 hung around the scale's midpoint (four) which represents a 'Neither agree nor disagree' response. Moreover, despite the majority of participants identifying the leader's gender correctly, moderate rates of participants failed the leader gender check in some of our experiments (i.e., between 14-30% in Experiments 1, 3, 4, and 5, compared to 3-7% in Experiments 2 and 6). These discrepancies could indicate that participants who failed the manipulation checks either did not engage properly with the study materials, or the manipulations and associated checks need to be strengthened. It is also possible that the Likert scale manipulation checks did not sufficiently distinguish between message frames.

Alternatively, participants' lowered scores could signify them disagreeing that the vignette actually discussed the particular message frame we intended it to discuss. This would indicate weakness and a lack of construct validity pertaining to the vignettes themselves (Atzmüller & Steiner, 2010). The differences between many of our women's issue and solidarity frames were quite subtle (e.g., equality group name and message content). This may not have illustrated the intended differences between the message frames – that of the traditional women's only issue that excludes men, and the contemporary solidarity-based approach that includes men as part of the solution.

Furthermore, our manipulations were simply words on a page, rather than a real-life, in-person appeal to women and men to support equality efforts, which could have been more moving and memorable. Certainly, post-experimental anecdotal feedback from participants alluded to our vignettes being vague ("I believe the story at the beginning was vague. Even so, had a great meaning behind it, and can appreciate the movement behind feminism", Experiment 3; "need to add more informative details", Experiment 4) leading to it being "Hard to fully judge the character of the CEO based on one paragraph" (Experiment 5). Indeed, participants had

minimal (fictitious) information to base their appraisals on (i.e., first names and pronouns only).

The use of photographs, video footage, or more blatant manipulations of leader gender may allow future research to better capture how leader gender influences responses to calls for gender equality. We did not use such stimuli because we did not want to make the leader gender manipulation overtly obvious to participants. We also wanted to carefully control the content and identity information of the leader without opening our results up to variance from external factors (e.g., the leader's age or appearance). Finally, we wanted to maintain consistency across our experimental vignettes, hence why we opted against the inclusion of such stimuli in later programs. We additionally purposefully softened the language pertaining to our various message frames and intentionally avoided calling directly on men to help women, because such language serves only to maintain the intergroup boundary and positions men as saviours rather than equal agents of change. However, lack of engagement with the manipulation materials may have been the price we paid for these trade-offs.

Nevertheless, we attempted to improve the strength of our manipulations by including more moving rhetoric regarding gender (in)equality and placing more emphasis on how the leader aimed to address inequality. We also used more instances of pronouns (i.e., her/his) in later experiments. Centrally however, the number of leader gender-related results that we *did* find as a result of such subtle manipulations only serves to speak further to the entrenched nature of gendered leadership. Future work requires improvement of the vignettes' clarity and strength to ensure the desired effect is elicited (e.g., additional biographical information, photographic aids, real-world leaders, more divergent rhetoric between message frames), and use of alternative manipulation checks, such as writing a short paragraph about the vignette's contents immediately following its presentation (Evans et al., 2015). Certainly, vignettes are not constrained to written

text, but can also entail videos, pictures, or additional media (Hughes & Huby, 2002). This might assist in participants' recall of the leader's gender and message framing content.

The Shape of Things to Come: Conclusions and Implications

The present work addresses a number of gaps in the literature pertaining to mobilising men and women toward gender equality. As such, it has important theoretical and practical implications for the field of the social psychology of social change. Centrally, social psychology had largely neglected the role of leadership and influence processes in mobilising widespread support for gender equality, focusing instead on group and intergroup dynamics (Subašić et al., 2008; Subašić et al., 2015). This neglect tended to undermine equality initiatives because women leaders traditionally spearhead them. Indeed, previous research had mostly examined how gender-based differences in leadership evaluations *maintained* inequality, rather than harnessing these differences to achieve greater mobilisation (Subašić et al., 2018).

This thesis addressed this gap, and in doing so advances our understanding of the ways in which leader gender can impact women's and men's mobilisation toward gender equality. In fact, the present work demonstrates that leadership processes are crucial to understanding social change, particularly within gender equality contexts. Namely, there appears to exist different pathways for male and female equality leaders in achieving successful mobilisation of followers. Certainly, we have provided some evidence that male leaders appear more effective than female leaders at mobilising both women and men to support gender equality efforts.

In doing so we have demonstrated that men are doubly advantaged as agents of change toward equality due to possessing a shared identity with men, but also a shared cause with women, while their female counterparts do not yet possess this crucial shared identity with their male followers. Though our pattern of findings was inconsistent, our work provides preliminary

evidence that male leaders are better positioned and capable of speaking for the group regarding gender equality, because they are more representative of 'us' (e.g., Americans) than are female leaders. Implications arising from this finding include the need to bring male leaders on board with efforts at achieving gender equality, rather than continuing to consign the role solely to female leaders, who as victims of gender inequality themselves have an existing additional burden.

In this sense, we have also added to the scant literature pertaining to the role that male allies can play in gender equality contexts (e.g., Wiley & Dunne, 2018). We have shown that male allies' involvement in gender equality can achieve meaningful change by way of their status and subsequent influence (Iyer & Ryan, 2009a). Furthermore, women do not appear to object to male leaders advocating for gender equality, going so far as to report greater mobilisation under such leaders (albeit only in Experiment 2). Nevertheless, the involvement of men in gender equality movements is necessarily accompanied by a number of caveats and cautions. It remains important that (male) allies allow space for women in the movement, regardless of how successfully they can achieve widespread mobilisation. Indeed, while Droogendyk and colleagues (2016) extol the benefits of male allies, they also warn that male allies must "resist the urge to increase their own feelings of inclusion by co-opting relevant marginalized social identities" (p. 315). Indeed, despite our findings being fairly promising in terms of involving more men in the movement by way of utilising their fellow ingroup members as leaders, it remains crucial to determine how women (particularly women leaders) can attain the same level of influence.

Certainly, men have a greater platform to spread the cause of feminism, given their greater representation in media and the government (Rodriguez, 2017). This alone gives them

greater access to a broader audience. Yet men can also use their privilege to provide women with opportunities to voice their campaigns to reach a larger audience. For example, Subašić and colleagues (2019) have recently been investigating the effects of female and male leaders' calls for equality being supported by either female or male allies. This work indicates that men and women report their highest mobilisation when female leaders are backed up by a male ally, rather than by a female ally or no ally (Subašić et al., 2019). In this sense, men are leveraging their advantage by providing credibility to their female counterparts, while still providing women the space they deserve in the equality movement. Essentially, "By amplifying the voices of women, men prevent themselves from speaking over the experiences of women" (Rodriguez, 2017, p., 1).

Nevertheless, it remains crucial that future work continues to focus on better understanding the conditions under which female leaders will mobilise followers just as effectively as male leaders. Despite men holding the formal power necessary to create change, it will not do to relegate all responsibility to men because this will only perpetuate existing inequalities between male and female leaders, and men and women in general. Rather, a focus for future research is uncovering a potential shared identity between female leaders and their male followers. Future work could also explore alternative message framing or leadership style strategies that female leaders could adopt in order to erode the clear disadvantage they face in gender equality contexts (and beyond), and instead augment their advantage. Doing so will bridge the gap between male and female leaders' effectiveness within equality campaigns. Moreover, given our inconsistent findings across studies, further research is required to fully understand the effectiveness of male leaders within gender equality contexts.

Our work also demonstrates that leader influence goes beyond their gender, to

additionally include the rhetoric they advocate when discussing gender (in)equality. This broadens the emphasis from the leader-follower relationship alone (i.e., based on shared gender) to also encompass the specific rhetorical strategies leaders choose to put into practice (Seyranian, 2014). Specifically, we have demonstrated that it matters not only *who* is speaking, but also *what* they are saying. We argued that a shared social identity and shared sense of 'us' was required in order for women and men to come together for a common cause, and that this sense of 'us' was a crucial aspect of leader-follower relations. Yet we have shown that it is not enough to merely represent 'us', leaders must additionally craft a shared identity via their chosen language and messaging (Haslam et al., 2011). Indeed, we have demonstrated that solidarity-based common cause framing consistently elevated leaders' favourable evaluations on behalf of their followers. This is no small feat given the frequency with which female equality leaders are at best viewed cynically and at worst dismissed entirely (de Vries, 2015; Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Because leader influence is a crucial aspect of mobilising support for social change, this finding has far-reaching implications for the ways in which policymakers and campaign leaders pitch their gender equality work. Primarily, it could serve these parties well to involve men not only as leaders of equality campaigns, but also as quintessential parts of campaigns by speaking directly to men and requesting their involvement. Doing so might bridge the gap between intergroup differences of women and men, allowing both parties to view themselves under a common identity who have shared concerns and a shared goal. Essentially, common cause framing is an effective method of increasing men's and women's receptivity to equality leaders, which is crucial given the importance of leadership to social influence processes and ultimately social change.

Indeed, the mobilisation of various social groups depends largely on leader influence, and the main role of leaders is to alter social relations (Subašić et al., 2012). Moreover, Hogg (2001) defines leadership as being "about how some individuals or cliques have disproportionate power and influence to set agenda, define identity, and mobilise people to achieve collective goals" (p. 188). As such, policymakers should heed our findings and seek to move away from women's issue approaches toward incorporating common cause messages into their campaigns if they wish to reap more positive receptions.

Yet increasing receptivity to equality leaders is only part of the battle toward effective mobilisation. Indeed, the current work demonstrates that while common cause framing is a starting point for social change toward gender equality, it is not sufficient to mobilise action by male followers, which would arguably serve as the ultimate form of influence (i.e., getting followers to do what you want; Hogg, 2001). Future work needs to investigate how exactly we can translate leaders' positive evaluations under solidarity framing into tangible collective action mobilisation of followers. Ultimately, the current experiments point to the importance of there being an intersection between leadership and solidarity processes in order to bridge the gap between women's and men's mobilisation toward gender equality. While we have provided insight into the relationship between leader (gender) and solidarity messaging, this intersection requires further unpacking to achieve a more nuanced understanding.

Certainly, just as the present research indicates the existence of different mobilisation pathways for male and female leaders, there also appears to exist different mobilisation pathways for male and female followers. As mentioned, social psychology and collective action research has previously focused heavily on collective action by either advantaged *or* disadvantaged groups (with a strong emphasis on the latter; van Zomeren et al., 2008), without

examining those psychological processes that might underlie the effective mobilisation of both groups together (e.g., women *and* men). The present work rectified this tendency by examining how both women and men react to the same leaders and equality messages. In fact, a central premise of the current work was that by involving men as part of the solution and highlighting equality as a common cause, women *and* men would be more likely to be mobilised for action. Instead, we have uncovered evidence that men and women follow different paths to mobilisation.

Namely, while women (compared to men) are more invested in and thus more readily mobilised toward gender equality (as evidenced by their higher mobilisation than men in Experiments 1, 2, and 6), they nevertheless remain particularly sensitive to how calls for equality are framed. This is especially true when such messages legitimate inequality (i.e., Experiment 2's meritocratic framing). This is in contrast to men, whose mobilisation appears relatively unaffected by *what* is said, compared to *who* is saying it (i.e., male leaders). We take this indifference to only further underline the need for male leaders to step up for equality – if relying on male leaders is an effective way to mobilise men, then we should take full advantage of this.

Moreover, it did not matter *how* male leaders framed their equality message, men were still more willing to act collectively in response to their calls, compared to when a female leader espoused the exact same messages (at least in Experiments 2 and 4). Certainly, by including male leaders – who are typically the gatekeepers of workplace, political, and academic spheres – as public agents of change, it may be possible to channel this power into social change (HeForShe, 2017). Additionally, we have also extended existing research beyond the realms of short-term, spontaneous confrontations of sexism (e.g., Becker et al., 2014), to instead

investigate the success of gender equality campaigns.

Overall, this research stands to benefit both the science and reality of gender relations pertaining to gender inequality issues. The findings presented here speak to the need to expand research into social change beyond groups directly disadvantaged by unfair social relations (i.e., women), to also encompass those indirectly disadvantaged (i.e., men). As we previously argued, this applies to general social change research, but "assumes additional significance when it comes to gender relations, where the domestic, professional, and political spheres are so intimately entwined" (Subašić et al., 2018, p. 721). Our results speak to the value of encouraging men's participation in equality efforts, as well as increasing men's sense that they are a potentially crucial force in propelling women's equality as allies. To sum up, we return to bell hooks' famous quote: "Since men are the primary agents maintaining…sexism…, they can only be successfully eradicated if men are compelled to assume responsibility for transforming their consciousness and the consciousness of society as a whole" (p. 83).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Notices of Ethical and Methodological Approval

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE Notification of Expedited Approval

To Chief Investigator or Project Supervisor: **Doctor Emina Subašić**

Re Protocol: **Achieving Gender Equality: A Political Solidarity Approach**

Date: **15-Jun-2015** Reference No: **H-2015-0143** Date of Initial Approval: **15-Jun-2015**

Thank you for your **Response to Conditional Approval** submission to the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) seeking approval in relation to the above protocol.

Your submission was considered under **Expedited** review by the Chair/Deputy Chair.

I am pleased to advise that the decision on your submission is **Approved** effective **15-Jun-2015**.

In approving this protocol, the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) is of the opinion that the project complies with the provisions contained in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007, and the requirements within this University relating to human research.

Approval will remain valid subject to the submission, and satisfactory assessment, of annual progress reports. *If the approval of an External HREC has been "noted" the approval period is as determined by that HREC.*

The full Committee will be asked to ratify this decision at its next scheduled meeting. A formal *Certificate of Approval* will be available upon request. Your approval number is **H-2015-0143**.

If the research requires the use of an Information Statement, ensure this number is inserted at the relevant point in the Complaints paragraph prior to distribution to potential participants You may then proceed with the research.

Best wishes for a successful project.

Professor Allyson Holbrook

Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Notification of Expedited Approval

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE AUSTRALIA

To Chief Investigator or Project Supervisor: **Doctor Emina Subašić**

Cc Co-investigators / Research Students: **Miss Bridie Scott, Stephanie Hardacre, Mr Benjamin Elton, Miss Jessica Sullivan**

Re Protocol: **Achieving Gender Equality: A Political Solidarity Approach**

Date: **15-Apr-2016** Reference No: **H-2015-0143**

Thank you for your **Variation** submission to the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) seeking approval in relation to a variation to the above protocol.

Variation to add Stephanie Hardacre, Bridie Scott, Benjamin Elton and Jessica Sullivan Your submission was considered under **Expedited** review by the Ethics Administrator.

I am pleased to advise that the decision on your submission is **Approved** effective **15-Apr-2016**.

The full Committee will be asked to ratify this decision at its next scheduled meeting. A formal *Certificate of Approval* will be available upon request.

Professor Allyson Holbrook

Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE AUSTRALIA

Notification of Expedited Approval

To Chief Investigator or Project Supervisor: **Doctor Emina Subašic**

Cc Co-investigators / Research Students: **Miss Stephanie Hardacre**

Re Protocol: **Mobilising Men and Women in Support of Gender Equality: Does Leader Gender Matter?**

Date: **17-Aug-2017** Reference No: **H-2017-0195** Date of Initial Approval: **17-Aug-2017**

Thank you for your **Response to Conditional Approval (minor amendments)** submission to the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) seeking approval in relation to the above protocol.

Your submission was considered under **Expedited** review by the Ethics Administrator.

I am pleased to advise that the decision on your submission is **Approved** effective **17-Aug-2017**.

In approving this protocol, the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) is of the opinion that the project complies with the provisions contained in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007, and the requirements within this University relating to human research.

Approval will remain valid subject to the submission, and satisfactory assessment, of annual progress reports. *If the approval of an External HREC has been "noted" the approval period is as determined by that HREC.* The full Committee will be asked to ratify this decision at its next scheduled meeting. A formal *Certificate of Approval* will be available upon request. Your approval number is **H-2017-0195**.

If the research requires the use of an Information Statement, ensure this number is inserted at the relevant point in the Complaints paragraph prior to distribution to potential participants You may then proceed with the research.

For Noting: If you are planning on surveying participants who are students at the University of Newcastle please note you will also require approval from the office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor, Academic.

Best wishes for a successful project.

Associate Professor Helen Warren-Forward

Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee

Appendix B: Information Sheets and Debriefing Statements

General Public Online Participant Information Statement

General Public Online Participant Information Statement for the Research Project: "Social Inequality Survey" (Version 1, 18/12/18)

Dr Emina Subašić
School of Psychology, The University of Newcastle,
Callaghan, NSW 2308, Australia
T: +61 (0)2 4985 4597
F: + 61 (0)2 4921 6906
E: Emina.Subasic@newcastle.edu.au
W: www.newcastle.edu.au/profile/emina-subasic

What is the research about and who is conducting it?

You are invited to take part in the research project above which is investigating people's views about social inequality. The research is being conducted by Dr Emina Subašić (Lecturer) and Miss Stephanie Hardacre (PhD Candidate) from the School of Psychology at the University of Newcastle, Australia. The research is part of Miss Hardacre's PhD studies, supervised by Dr Subašić.

Who is eligible to participate?

You are eligible to participate in this research if you are 18 years of age or older.

What will I be asked to do?

The study consists of an online survey. In the survey, you will be asked to read a short article regarding social inequality, before being asked to respond to a number of statements using a multiple-choice response format. You will be asked to rate how strongly you agree or disagree with the statements, or how likely or unlikely you are to undertake certain activities the statements outline.

The survey must be completed in one sitting, as you are unable to save your responses and resume at a later time. The survey should take you approximately 15-20 minutes to complete. Please ensure you complete the survey on your own and in a quiet environment free from distractions.

You must click on a button labelled ">> Next" at the bottom of each screen in order to continue to the next screen. If you click on this button and you are not taken to the next screen, then please check your responses. It is possible that you have accidentally missed a response.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time. To withdraw, simply exit the survey at any time, or click on the "Withdraw" button at the end of the survey. In this case, your responses will be permanently deleted.

What choice do I have?

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and entirely your choice. Whether or not you decide to participate, your decision will not disadvantage you in any way.

Will my responses be anonymous?

Yes, your responses will be anonymous. The survey will not require you to provide any personally identifying information. The date and time at which you start and finish the survey will be recorded. However, your computer's internet provider address (IP address) and/or email address (if accessing the survey via an email link) will not be saved as part of the research data.

What risks and benefits are involved?

We do not expect there to be any risks or side effects to taking part in this study. However if you feel that any part of the survey causes you any embarrassment, anxiety, or emotional distress, then you may contact the University's free Counselling Service at (02) 4921 5801 or Lifeline's free national counselling service at 13 11 14.

In terms of benefits for society more broadly, we hope the survey will help us better understand how inequality affects our society, and contribute towards strategies which may reduce it. In taking part, you may feel a sense of satisfaction in knowing that your involvement will help us develop better strategies to reduce inequality.

How do I indicate my informed consent?

You will be asked to read a debriefing statement at the end of the survey that explains the research in more detail. Once you have been fully informed about the research, you will be asked to indicate whether you want your survey responses to be included in the data analyses or permanently deleted. If you choose to participate and have your survey responses included in the data analyses after the debriefing, you are required to click 'Submit' at the end of the survey. By submitting the survey you are providing your implied consent. Please note that due to the anonymous nature of the survey, responses cannot be withdrawn once submitted.

How will the information collected be stored and used?

All of the information that you provide will be anonymous to the researchers.

The researchers are using an online software program called Qualtrics to record and store all of the responses that you provide in the online questionnaire. This information will be stored on a server that is located in the USA. Qualtrics' online system uses secure data storage and transfer methods, and it is designed to meet international standards for ethical research and privacy. The data will be downloaded and deleted from the Qualtrics website following the completion of the research.

The researchers will store the research data on password-protected computers and servers for a period of at least five years. The research data may also be shared with other international researchers and made available publicly via public data repositories. In all cases, the research data will not contain any personally identifying information.

The research results will be included in Miss Hardacre's PhD thesis, and may be reported at professional conferences, in published articles in professional journals, and/or in blog and internet posts. Again, individuals will not be personally identified in the reported results. Instead, the results will be a summary of all participants' responses.

How can I find out more about the research?

A debriefing statement will be made available at the conclusion of the survey. This statement will provide further information about the research. You may also receive a summary of the results of this research by e-mailing Dr Emina Subašić after 1 July 2019 (Emina.Subasic@newcastle.edu.au).

Who can I talk to if I have questions and comments?

If you have any difficulty understanding the information provided here or have questions or comments about this research project, please contact the Chief Investigator, Dr Emina Subašić, School of Psychology, The University of Newcastle, Callaghan, NSW 2308, Australia. Email: Emina.Subasic@newcastle.edu.au

Has this study received ethical approval?

Yes. This project has been approved by the University's Human Research Ethics Committee, Approval No**. H-2017-0195.** Should you have concerns about your rights as a participant in this research, or you have a complaint about the manner in which the research is conducted, it may be given to the researcher, or, if an independent person is preferred, to the Human Research Ethics Officer, Research Services, NIER Precinct, The University of Newcastle, University Drive, Callaghan NSW 2308, Australia, telephone (02) 4921 6333, email Human-Ethics@newcastle.edu.au.

Dr Emina Subašić

Miss Stephanie Hardacre

School of Psychology, The University of Newcastle

Please print out and retain a copy of this Information Sheet for your records.

General Public Online Debriefing Sheet

General Public Online Debriefing Sheet for the Research Project: "Social Inequality Survey"

(Version 1, 12/12/18)

What was the purpose of this study?

Today you participated in social psychology research. In particular, you were asked to complete a questionnaire that assessed your opinions and beliefs on some social issues. The purpose of this research is to investigate when people become willing to support social change towards gender equality. In particular, we were interested in the different conditions that may mobilise both men and women towards this cause.

To do so, we designed this questionnaire in a way that presented slightly different information depending on which experimental condition you were randomly assigned to. You were assigned to one of four conditions which manipulated what inequality information you read about – gender inequality as an issue affecting men and requiring men alone to combat it, as an issue affecting women and requiring women alone to combat it, as an issue affecting women but requiring both men and women to combat it, or as an issue affecting both men and women and requiring both men and women to combat it.

These different conditions were included to examine how leader gender and framing of the issue affects the responses you made in the questionnaire. The online petition we asked you to sign does not exist and was intended to act as a measure of your collective action intentions. This research should enable researchers involved in the study to investigate the conditions where collective action for social change is most likely (or least likely).

We remind you that all responses are anonymous and surveys will be stored in a secure location where only the researchers have access to them. We appreciate and thank you for giving your time to participate in this study. Please print and retain this debriefing sheet for future reference. To submit your responses, please click on the Submit button below. If you would like to withdraw your responses, please click on the Withdraw button and your responses will be deleted.

Who can I talk to if I have questions and comments?

If you have any difficulty understanding the information provided here or have questions or comments about this research project, please contact the Chief Investigator, Dr Emina Subašić, School of Psychology, The University of Newcastle, Callaghan, NSW 2308, Australia. Email: Emina.Subasic@newcastle.edu.au

Should you have concerns about your rights as a participant in this research, or you have a complaint about the manner in which the research is conducted, it may be given to the researcher, or, if an independent person is preferred, to the Human Research Ethics Officer, Research Office, The Chancellery, The University of Newcastle, University Drive, Callaghan NSW 2308, Telephone: (02) 4921 6333, E-mail: Human-Ethics@newcastle.edu.au

Appendix C: Manipulation Vignettes

Experiment 1 Manipulation Vignettes:

Leader Gender manipulations are underlined *Message Framing manipulations are italicised*

Manipulation Vignette 1: Government Agency Framing Gender Inequality as a Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue worldwide, particularly within the workplace. Women continue to earn less than men for equal work, and are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions compared to men. Below is some information about the Gender Equality Commission and a recent campaign it has held to combat gender inequality.

About the Gender Equality Commission

The Gender Equality Commission was appointed in March 2015. The Commission's role is to address gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, and other barriers to gender equality *facing women* across the world. As part of its role, in 2015 the Commission created the *Women for Gender Equality* initiative which includes *50 of the world's top female business and public sector leaders* striving to *achieve gender equality for women*. A milestone report has been released, detailing how the *Women for Gender Equality group* are faring with their aspirations to increase the number of women in leadership positions within companies and decrease the gender pay gap.

The following is an excerpt from the Gender Equality Commission's recent press release:

Gender Equality Commission Calls for Immediate Action: "The time to act is now"

"As you know, the *Women for Gender Equality group* has just released its first annual report, *Gender Equality: What Matters to Women*. The research for the report involved *extensive consultation with women* across the world. Our key finding is that *gender equality matters to women* – but that progress towards *this goal* has stalled. Our report shows gender inequality continues to be a *significant social and economic issue facing women* across the world, which is why it is *vital women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue*.

The *Women for Gender Equality group* will continue to advocate for key reforms that reflect the priorities for *all women* at this time. It builds on the excellent work of *all those women currently committed* to achieving gender equality. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *working with women and girls* to promote gender equality contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the workplace.

We bring to our role as the Gender Equality Commission a sense of responsibility, obligation, and a deep commitment in our hearts to *serve the women of this world*, and strive to serve the gender equality movement to the best of our abilities. The time to act is now."

Gender Equality Commission

March 2016

Manipulation Vignette 2: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue worldwide, particularly within the workplace. Women continue to earn less than men for equal work, and are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions compared to men. Below is some information about the Gender Equality Commissioner and a recent campaign she has held to combat gender inequality.

About the Gender Equality Commissioner

Margaret Jamieson was appointed Gender Equality Commissioner in March 2015. The Commissioner's role is to address gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, and other barriers to gender equality *facing women* across the world. As part of her role, in 2015 the Commissioner created the *Women for Gender Equality* initiative which includes *50 of the world's top female business and public sector leaders striving to achieve gender equality for women*. A milestone report has been released, detailing how the *Women for Gender Equality group* are faring with their aspirations to increase the number of women in leadership positions within companies and decrease the gender pay gap.

The following is an excerpt from the Gender Equality Commissioner's recent press release:

Gender Equality Commissioner Calls for Immediate Action: "The time to act is now"

"As you know, the *Women for Gender Equality group* has just released its first annual report, *Gender Equality: What Matters to Women*. The research for the report involved *extensive consultation with women* across the world. Our key finding is that *gender equality matters to women* – but that progress towards *this goal* has stalled. Our report shows gender inequality continues to be a *significant social and economic issue facing women* across the world, which is why it is *vital women, are engaged and committed to tackling this issue*.

The *Women for Gender Equality group* will continue to advocate for key reforms that reflect the priorities for *all women* at this time. It builds on the excellent work of *all those women currently committed* to achieving gender equality. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *working with women and girls* to promote gender equality contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the workplace.

I bring to my role as the Gender Equality Commissioner a sense of responsibility, obligation, and a deep commitment in my heart to *serve the women of this world*, and strive to serve the gender equality movement to the best of my abilities. The time to act is now."

Margaret Jamieson
Gender Equality Commissioner
March 2016

Manipulation Vignette 3: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue worldwide, particularly within the workplace. Women continue to earn less than men for equal work, and are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions compared to men. Below is some information about the Gender Equality Commissioner and a recent campaign he has held to combat gender inequality.

About the Gender Equality Commissioner

Matthew Jamieson was appointed Gender Equality Commissioner in March 2015. The Commissioner's role is to address gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, and other barriers to gender equality *facing women* across the world. As part of his role, in 2015 the Commissioner created the *Women for Gender Equality* initiative which includes *50 of the world's top female business and public sector leaders striving to achieve gender equality for women*. A milestone report has been released, detailing how the *Women for Gender Equality group* are faring with their aspirations to increase the number of women in leadership positions within companies and decrease the gender pay gap.

The following is an excerpt from the Gender Equality Commissioner's recent press release:

Gender Equality Commissioner Calls for Immediate Action: "The time to act is now"

"As you know, the *Women for Gender Equality group* has just released its first annual report, *Gender Equality: What Matters to Women.* The research for the report involved *extensive consultation with women* across the world. Our key finding is that *gender equality matters to women* – but that progress towards this goal has stalled. Our report shows gender inequality continues to be a *significant social and economic issue facing women* across the world, which is why it is *vital women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue*.

The *Women for Gender Equality group* will continue to advocate for key reforms that reflect the priorities for *all women* at this time. It builds on the excellent work of *all those women currently committed* to achieving gender equality. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that

working with women and girls to promote gender equality contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the workplace.

I bring to my role as the Gender Equality Commissioner a sense of responsibility, obligation, and a deep commitment in my heart to *serve the women of this world*, and strive to serve the gender equality movement to the best of my abilities. The time to act is now."

Matthew Jamieson
Gender Equality Commissioner
March 2016

Manipulation Vignette 4: Government Agency Framing Gender Inequality as a Common Cause

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue worldwide, particularly within the workplace. Women continue to earn less than men for equal work, and are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions compared to men. Below is some information about the Gender Equality Commission and a recent campaign it has held to combat gender inequality.

About the Gender Equality Commission

The Gender Equality Commission was appointed in March 2015. The Commission's role is to address gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, and other barriers to gender equality facing men and women across the world. As part of its role, in 2015 the Commission created the *Men and Women for Gender Equality* initiative which includes *50 of the world's top male and female business and public sector leaders* striving to *achieve gender equality for men and women*. A milestone report has been released, detailing how the *Men and Women for Gender Equality group* are faring with their aspirations to increase the number of women in leadership positions within companies and decrease the gender pay gap.

The following is an excerpt from the Gender Equality Commission's recent press release:

Gender Equality Commission Calls for Immediate Action: "The time to act is now"

"As you know, the *Men and Women for Gender Equality group* has just released its first annual report, *Gender Equality: What Matters to Men and Women*. The research for the report involved *extensive joint consultation with men and women* across the world. Our key finding is that *gender equality matters to both men and women* – but that progress towards *this common goal* has stalled. Our report shows gender inequality continues to be a *significant social and economic issue facing everyone* across the world, which is why it is *vital men and women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue together*.

The *Men and Women for Gender Equality group* will continue to advocate for key reforms that reflect the priorities for *all individuals* at this time. It builds on the excellent work of *all those men and women currently committed* to achieving gender equality. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *men and boys working together with women and girls* to promote gender equality contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the workplace.

We bring to our role as the Gender Equality Commission a sense of responsibility, obligation, and a deep commitment in our hearts to *serve the men and women of this world*, and strive to serve the gender equality movement to the best of our abilities. The time to act is now."

Gender Equality Commission

March 2016

Manipulation Vignette 5: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Common Cause

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue worldwide, particularly within the workplace. Women continue to earn less than men for equal work, and are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions compared to men. Below is some information about the Gender Equality Commissioner and a recent campaign she has held to combat gender inequality.

About the Gender Equality Commissioner

Margaret Jamieson was appointed Gender Equality Commissioner in March 2015. The Commissioner's role is to address gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, and other barriers to gender equality *facing men and women* across the world. As part of her role, in 2015 the Commissioner created the *Men and Women for Gender Equality* initiative which includes *50 of the world's top male and female business and public sector leaders* striving to achieve gender equality for men and women. A milestone report has been released, detailing how the Men and Women for Gender Equality group are faring with their aspirations to increase the number of women in leadership positions within companies and decrease the gender pay gap.

The following is an excerpt from the Gender Equality Commissioner's recent press release:

Gender Equality Commissioner Calls for Immediate Action: "The time to act is now"

"As you know, the Men and Women for Gender Equality group has just released its first annual report, Gender Equality: What Matters to Men and Women. The research for the report involved *extensive joint consultation with men and women* across the world. Our key finding is that *gender equality matters to both men and women* – but that progress towards *this common*

goal has stalled. Our report shows gender inequality continues to be a *significant social and economic issue facing everyone* across the world, which is why it is *vital men and women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue together*.

The *Men and Women for Gender Equality group* will continue to advocate for key reforms that reflect the priorities for *all individuals* at this time. It builds on the excellent work of *all those men and women currently committed* to achieving gender equality. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *men and boys working together with women and girls* to promote gender equality contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the workplace.

I bring to my role as the Gender Equality Commissioner a sense of responsibility, obligation, and a deep commitment in my heart to *serve the men and women of this world*, and strive to serve the gender equality movement to the best of my abilities. The time to act is now."

Margaret Jamieson
Gender Equality Commissioner
March 2016

Manipulation Vignette 6: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Common Cause

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue worldwide, particularly within the workplace. Women continue to earn less than men for equal work, and are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions compared to men. Below is some information about the Gender Equality Commissioner and a recent campaign he has held to combat gender inequality.

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I bring to my role as the Gender Equality Commissioner a sense of responsibility, obligation, and a deep commitment in my heart to *serve the men and women of this world*, and strive to serve the gender equality movement to the best of my abilities. The time to act is now."

Matthew Jamieson
Gender Equality Commissioner
March 2016

Experiment 2 Manipulation Vignettes:

Leader Gender manipulations are underlined
Message Framing manipulations are italicised

Manipulation Vignette 1: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Common Cause

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue worldwide, particularly within the workplace. Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades, women still comprise only 21% of board members and 9% of CEOs globally.

About the Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development

Margaret Jamieson was appointed Chief Delegate to the OECD in March 2016. Part of her role is to address pay and leadership disparities within workplaces across the world. A

milestone report has been released, detailing how the Chief Delegate is faring with her aspirations to increase the number of women in business leadership positions and decrease the retirement savings gap.

The following is an excerpt from the Chief Delegate's recent press release:

Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development Calls for Action

"As you know, I've just released my Department's first annual report, the research for which involved extensive joint consultation with men and women across the globe. While gender inequality continues to be a significant social and economic issue, it is now an issue that matters to both men and women. However, our report shows that progress towards this common goal has stalled, which is why it's important that both parties are engaged and committed to tackling this issue together. Admittedly, while there is no 'silver bullet', we know that men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world."

Margaret Jamieson
Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development
April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 2: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Meritocracy Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue worldwide, particularly within the workplace. Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades, women still comprise only 21% of board members and 9% of CEOs globally.

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The following is an excerpt from the Chief Delegate's recent press release:

Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development Calls for Action

As you know, I've just released my Department's first annual report. While gender inequality continues to be a significant social and economic issue, those women who are *in senior management roles show that it is possible to move up the leadership ladder by working hard, 'leaning in', and making sacrifices. These women demonstrate that all individuals can succeed in the workplace irrespective of their gender — as long as they are prepared to invest the time, energy, and significant effort needed for such advancement. Indeed, in the business world, those who apply themselves and make sacrifices along the way reap the rewards, because business — and society more broadly — has always rewarded hard work."*

Margaret Jamieson
Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development
April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 3: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Common Cause

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue worldwide, particularly within the workplace. Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades, women still comprise only 21% of board members and 9% of CEOs globally.

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Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development Calls for Action

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Matthew Jamieson
Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development
April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 4: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Meritocracy Issue

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Social Inequality Study

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Matthew Jamieson
Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development
April 2017

Experiment 3 Manipulation Vignettes:

Leader Gender manipulations are underlined
Message Framing manipulations are italicised

Manipulation Vignette 1: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Global Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly *within workplaces around the world.* Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only *21% of board members and 9% of CEOs globally.*

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The following is an excerpt from the *Chief Delegate's* recent press release:

***Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action**

"As you know, the *Women for Gender Equality group* has just released its first annual report, the research for which involved *extensive consultation with women across the globe*. Our report shows that progress towards *this goal* has stalled, which is why *it's important that women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue*. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *women and girls working together to promote gender equality across the world* contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. The *Women for Gender Equality group* will continue to build upon the excellent work of *all those women* who are currently committed to achieving gender equality. *Now is the time for women around the world to act.*"

Margaret Jamieson
***Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**
April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 2: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as an American Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly *within American workplaces.* Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only *16% of board members and 4% of CEOs nationally*.

In March 2016, Margaret Jamieson was appointed *Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. As part of her role, the *Chief American Delegate* recently created the *Women for Gender Equality – America initiative,* which includes *50 of America's top female business and public sector leaders* striving to achieve gender equality. A milestone report has been released, detailing how the group is faring with their aspirations to increase the number of women in business leadership positions and decrease the retirement savings gap.

The following is an excerpt from the *Chief American Delegate's* recent press release:

***Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action**

"As you know, the *Women for Gender Equality – America group* has just released its first annual report, the research for which involved *extensive consultation with women across America.* Our report shows that progress towards *this goal* has stalled, which is why *it's important that American women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue*. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *women and girls working together to promote gender equality across the country* contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. The *Women for Gender Equality – America group* will continue to build upon the excellent work of *all those American women* who are currently committed to achieving gender equality. *Now is the time for women around America to act.*"

Margaret Jamieson
***Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**

April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 3: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as American Men's and Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly *within American workplaces.* Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only *16% of board members and 4% of CEOs nationally*.

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Margaret Jamieson

***Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**

April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 4: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Global Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly *within workplaces around the world.* Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only *21% of board members and 9% of CEOs globally.*

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The following is an excerpt from the *Chief Delegate's* recent press release:

***Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action**

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Matthew Jamieson
***Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**
April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 5: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as an American Women's Issue

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Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly *within American workplaces.* Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only *16% of board members and 4% of CEOs nationally*.

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Matthew Jamieson

***Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**

April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 6: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as American Men's and Women's Issue

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***Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action**

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Matthew Jamieson

***Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**

April 2017

Experiment 4 Manipulation Vignettes:

Leader Gender manipulations are underlined

Message Framing manipulations are italicised

Superordinate Identity Salience manipulations are underlined and italicised

Manipulation Vignette 1: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Global Women's Issue

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Social Inequality Study

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***Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action**

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Matthew Jamieson
***Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**
April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 2: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as an American Women's Issue

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April 2017

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Matthew Jamieson
***Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**
April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 4: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as American Men's and Women's Issue

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"As you know, the *Men and Women for Gender Equality – America group* has just released its first annual report, the research for which involved *extensive consultation with men and women across America.* Our report shows that progress towards *this common goal* has stalled, which is why *it's important that American men and women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue together*. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality across the country* contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and the *Men and Women for Gender Equality – America group* will continue to build upon the excellent work of *all those American men and women* who are currently committed to achieving gender equality. *Right now, there's never been a more important time for men and women around America to act.*"

Matthew Jamieson

***Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**

April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 5: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Global Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly *within workplaces around the world.* Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only *21% of board members and 9% of CEOs globally.*

In March 2016, Margaret Jamieson was appointed *Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. As part of her role, the *Chief Delegate* recently created the *Women for Gender Equality initiative,* which includes *50 of the world's top female business and public sector leaders* striving to achieve gender equality. A milestone report has been released, detailing how the group is faring with their aspirations to increase the number of women in business leadership positions and decrease the retirement savings gap.

The following is an excerpt from *Chief Delegate* Margaret Jamieson's recent press release:

***Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action**

"As you know, the *Women for Gender Equality group* has just released its first annual report, the research for which involved *extensive consultation with women across the globe.* Our report shows that progress towards *this goal* has stalled, which is why *it's important that women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue*. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *women and girls working together to promote gender equality across the world* contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and the *Women for Gender Equality group* will continue to build upon the excellent work of *all those women* who are currently committed to achieving gender equality. *Right now, there's never been a more important time for women around the world to act.*"

Margaret Jamieson
***Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**
April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 6: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as an American Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly *within American workplaces.* Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only *16% of board members and 4% of CEOs nationally.*

In March 2016, Margaret Jamieson was appointed *Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. As part of her role, the *Chief American Delegate* recently created the *American Women for Gender Equality initiative,* which includes *50 of America's top female business and public sector leaders* striving to achieve

gender equality. A milestone report has been released, detailing how the group is faring with their aspirations to increase the number of women in business leadership positions and decrease the retirement savings gap.

The following is an excerpt from *Chief American Delegate* Margaret Jamieson's recent press release:

***Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action**

"As you know, the *American Women for Gender Equality group* has just released its first annual report, the research for which involved *extensive consultation with women across America.* Our report shows that progress towards *this goal* has stalled, which is why *it's important that American women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue*. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *women and girls working together to promote gender equality across the country* contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and the *American Women for Gender Equality group* will continue to build upon the excellent work of *all those American women* who are currently committed to achieving gender equality. *Right now, there's never been a more important time for women around America to act.*"

Margaret Jamieson

***Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**

April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 7: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as a Global Men's and Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly *within workplaces around the world.* Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only *21% of board members and 9% of CEOs globally*.

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increase the number of women in business leadership positions and decrease the retirement savings gap.

The following is an excerpt from *Chief Delegate* Margaret Jamieson's recent press release:

***Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action**

"As you know, the *Men and Women for Gender Equality group* has just released its first annual report, the research for which involved *extensive consultation with men and women across the globe.* Our report shows that progress towards *this common goal* has stalled, which is why *it's important that men and women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue together*. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality across the world* contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and the *Men and Women for Gender Equality group* will continue to build upon the excellent work of *all those men and women* who are currently committed to achieving gender equality. *Right now, there's never been a more important time for men and women around the world to act.*"

Margaret Jamieson
***Chief Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**
April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 8: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as American Men's and Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly *within American workplaces.* Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only *16% of board members and 4% of CEOs nationally.*

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The following is an excerpt from *Chief American Delegate* Margaret Jamieson's recent press release:

***Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action**

"As you know, the *Men and Women for Gender Equality – America group* has just released its first annual report, the research for which involved *extensive consultation with men and women across America.* Our report shows that progress towards *this common goal* has stalled, which is why *it's important that American men and women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue together*. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality across the country* contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and the *Men and Women for Gender Equality – America group* will continue to build upon the excellent work of *all those American men and women* who are currently committed to achieving gender equality. *Right now, there's never been a more important time for men and women around America to act.*"

Margaret Jamieson

***Chief American Delegate* to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**

April 2017

Experiment 5 Manipulation Vignettes:

Leader Gender manipulations are underlined

Message Framing manipulations are italicised

Manipulation Vignette 1: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as an American Men's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

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includes *50 of America's top male business and public sector leaders* striving to achieve gender equality. A milestone report has been released, detailing how the group is faring with their aspirations to increase the number of women in business leadership positions and decrease the retirement savings gap.

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Chief American Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action

"As you know, the *American Men for Gender Equality group* has just released its first annual report, the research for which involved *extensive consultation with men across America.* Our report shows that progress towards *this goal* has stalled, which is why *it's important that American men are engaged and committed to tackling this issue*. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *men and boys working together to promote gender equality across the country* contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and the *American Men for Gender Equality group* will continue to build upon the excellent work of *all those men* who are currently committed to achieving gender equality. *Right now, there's never been a more important time for men around America to act.*"

Matthew Jamieson

Chief American Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 2: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as an American Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly within American workplaces. Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only 16% of board members and 4% of CEOs nationally.

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aspirations to increase the number of women in business leadership positions and decrease the retirement savings gap.

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Chief American Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action

"As you know, the *American Women for Gender Equality group* has just released its first annual report, the research for which involved *extensive consultation with women across America.* Our report shows that progress towards *this goal* has stalled, which is why *it's important that American women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue*. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *women and girls working together to promote gender equality across the country* contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and the *American Women for Gender Equality group* will continue to build upon the excellent work of *all those women* who are currently committed to achieving gender equality. *Right now, there's never been a more important time for women around America to act.*"

Matthew Jamieson

Chief American Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 3: Male Leader Framing Gender Inequality as an American Men's and Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly within American workplaces. Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only 16% of board members and 4% of CEOs nationally.

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Chief American Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action

"As you know, the *Men and Women for Gender Equality – America group* has just released its first annual report, the research for which involved *extensive consultation with men and women across America.* Our report shows that progress towards *this common goal* has stalled, which is why *it's important that American men and women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue together*. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality across the country* contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and the *Men and Women for Gender Equality – America group* will continue to build upon the excellent work of *all those men and women* who are currently committed to achieving gender equality. *Right now, there's never been a more important time for men and women around America to act.*"

Matthew Jamieson

Chief American Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 4: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as an American Men's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly within American workplaces. Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only 16% of board members and 4% of CEOs nationally.

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Chief American Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action

"As you know, the *American Men for Gender Equality group* has just released its first annual report, the research for which involved *extensive consultation with men across America.* Our report shows that progress towards *this goal* has stalled, which is why *it's important that American men are engaged and committed to tackling this issue*. While there is no 'silver bullet', we know that *men and boys working together to promote gender equality across the country* contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and the *American Men for Gender Equality group* will continue to build upon the excellent work of *all those men* who are currently committed to achieving gender equality. *Right now, there's never been a more important time for men around America to act.*"

Margaret Jamieson

Chief American Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 5: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as an American Women's Issue

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Social Inequality Study

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly within American workplaces. Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only 16% of board members and 4% of CEOs nationally.

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Chief American Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Calls for Action

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Margaret Jamieson

Chief American Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

April 2017

Manipulation Vignette 6: Female Leader Framing Gender Inequality as an American Men's and Women's Issue

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

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As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly within American workplaces. Women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions, and accumulate less retirement savings compared to men. Although significant progress has been made towards achieving equality over the past few decades women still comprise only 16% of board members and 4% of CEOs nationally.

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Margaret Jamieson
Chief American Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
April 2017

Experiment 6 Manipulation Vignettes:

Manipulation Vignette: Male Leader, Men's Subgroup Victimisation
Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly within workplaces in the United Kingdom. In 2018, Matthew Anderson was appointed UK Chief Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. As part of his role, Chief Delegate Anderson devised an initiative aimed at improving workplace gender equality. Below is a recent press release detailing the progress of his initiative.

Chief Delegate Matthew Anderson Calls for Action

"While not often discussed, it's important to note that gender inequality continues to affect men in the workplace. For example, men often struggle to obtain extended paid parental leave, and report increased pressure to be the financial breadwinner of the household. Men also enjoy less workplace flexibility compared to their female counterparts. These issues can affect men's work-life balance by stopping them from spending as much time with their friends and family as they might like. My organisation has just released its first report, which shows that despite some headway being made towards gender equality, progress towards this goal has stalled: Men still receive on average only two weeks' paid paternity leave and are often denied access to flexible workplace arrangements, such as shorter hours, alternate starting and finishing times, or working from home.

This is why it's important that men in the UK remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue together. We know that men and boys working together to promote gender equality can achieve a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and my organisation will continue to build upon the excellent work of all those men currently committed to achieving the goal of equality. There's never been a more important time for men around the UK to join forces and act in support of equality."

Matthew Anderson
Chief Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Manipulation Vignette: Male Leader, Women's Subgroup Victimisation

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly within workplaces in the United Kingdom. In 2018, Matthew Anderson was appointed UK Chief Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. As part of his role, Chief Delegate Anderson devised an initiative aimed at improving workplace gender equality. Below is a recent press release detailing the progress of his initiative.

Chief Delegate Matthew Anderson Calls for Action

"Despite being regularly discussed, it's important to note that gender inequality continues to affect women in the workplace. For example, women are less likely to be promoted to senior management or leadership positions than men are, and they also accumulate less retirement and superannuation savings compared to their male counterparts. These kinds of issues can prevent women from having adequate financial independence and resources upon reaching retirement age, which can in turn affect their quality of life. My organisation has just released its first report, which shows that despite some headway being made towards gender equality, progress towards this goal has stalled: At present women continue to experience significant retirement and superannuation savings gaps compared to their male counterparts, and women currently occupy only 22% of board member positions across the UK.

This is why it's important that women in the UK remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue together. We know that women and girls working together to promote gender equality can achieve a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and my organisation will continue to build upon the excellent work of all those women currently committed to achieving the goal of equality. There's never been a more important time for women around the UK to combine efforts and act in support of equality."

Matthew Anderson
Chief Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Manipulation Vignette: Male Leader, Common Cause

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly within workplaces in the United Kingdom. In 2018, Matthew Anderson was appointed UK Chief Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. As part of his role, Chief Delegate Anderson devised an initiative aimed at improving workplace gender equality. Below is a recent press release detailing the progress of his initiative.

Chief Delegate Matthew Anderson Calls for Action

"Despite being regularly discussed, it's important to note that gender inequality continues to affect women in the workplace. For example, women are less likely to be promoted to senior management or leadership positions than men are, and they also accumulate less retirement and superannuation savings compared to their male counterparts. These kinds of issues can prevent women from having adequate financial independence and resources upon reaching retirement age, which can in turn affect their quality of life. My organisation has just released its first report, which shows that despite some headway being made towards gender equality, progress towards this goal has stalled: At present women continue to experience significant retirement and superannuation savings gaps compared to their male counterparts, and women currently occupy only 22% of board member positions across the UK.

This is why it's important that both men and women in the UK remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue alongside one another. We know that men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality is the most effective way to achieve a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and my organisation will continue to build upon the excellent work of all those men and women currently committed to achieving the common goal of equality. There's never been a more important time for men and women around the UK to act as one – because together we are stronger."

Matthew Anderson
Chief Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Manipulation Vignette: Male Leader, Shared Victimisation

Please read the below information carefully as we will be asking you a series of questions about it.

As you may be aware, gender inequality remains a key issue, particularly within workplaces in the United Kingdom. In 2018, Matthew Anderson was appointed UK Chief

Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. As part of his role, Chief Delegate Anderson devised an initiative aimed at improving workplace gender equality. Below is a recent press release detailing the progress of his initiative.

Chief Delegate Matthew Anderson Calls for Action

"While gender inequality is typically discussed as a problem affecting women, it's important to note that men are also affected. For example, men struggle to obtain extended parental leave, report pressure to be the breadwinner, and enjoy less workplace flexibility than women. This can affect men's work-life balance by stopping them from spending adequate time with friends and family. Meanwhile, women are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions and accumulate less retirement savings than men. This can prevent women from having adequate financial independence upon retiring. My organisation has just released its first report, which shows that progress towards gender equality has stalled: Men still receive on average only two weeks' paternity leave and are often denied flexible workplace arrangements, while women continue to experience significant savings gaps and comprise only 22% of UK board members.

This is why it's important that both men and women in the UK remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue alongside one another. We know that men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality is the most effective way to achieve a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world. It's uplifting to see the cogs starting to turn in the corporate world, and my organisation will continue to build upon the excellent work of all those men and women currently committed to achieving the common goal of equality. There's never been a more important time for men and women around the UK to act as one – because together we are stronger."

Matthew Anderson
Chief Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Appendix D: Questionnaire and Dependent Measures

Unless otherwise stated, each item was answered on a 7 point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

Below is a collection of statements and questions regarding the information you just read. Using the 1-7 scales, please indicate your score for each statement by selecting your response (Note that 1 = Not At All/Strongly Disagree and 7 = Very Much So/Strongly Agree). Because we are interested in your honest opinion and thoughts about what you just read, all responses are anonymous. The answer that first comes to mind is usually the best.

About the Chief Delegate…
Even though you may not be familiar with the Chief Delegate and their initiative, we're interested in your first impressions about them after reading a bit about them above. Thinking of the gender equality movement and the people who support it, would you say that the Chief Delegate:
Experiments 1-6 [Leader Prototypicality Scale - adapted from Platow & van Knippenberg's (2001) Leader Relative Ingroup Prototypicality Scale]
Represents what is characteristic about members of the movement

Represents members of the movement
Is a good example of the kind of people who are involved in the movement
Stands up for what people in the movement have in common
Is very similar to most people in the movement
[Included in Experiment 1 only] **[REVERSE SCORED]** Is not representative of the kind of people who are involved in the movement
Experiments 1, 3-6 [Leader Relational Identification Scale - taken from Steffens, Haslam, & Reicher's (2013) Identity Leadership Inventory – Short Form (ILI-SF) Scale]
Represents a model member of the movement

Acts as a champion for the movement
Creates a sense of cohesion within the movement
Creates structures that are useful for members of the movement
Experiments 2-6 [Transformational Leadership Scale – adapted from Bass & Avolio's (1990) Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire]
Talks about their most important values and beliefs

Talks optimistically about the future
Instills pride in other members of the movement
Talks enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished
Specifies the importance of having a strong sense of purpose
Goes beyond self-interest for the good of members of the movement
Acts in ways that build others' respect for them
Considers the moral and ethical consequences of decisions

Displays a sense of power and confidence
Articulates a compelling version of the future
Emphasises the importance of having a collective sense of mission
Expresses confidence that goals will be achieved

Experiments 1-6 [Instructional Manipulation Check – derived from supervisor/student's own item]

To show that you are paying attention, please select number 3 (i.e., third from the left)

Thinking about the information you read, to what extent do you think that the Chief Delegate and their statement is:

Experiments 1-6 [Leader Legitimacy Scale – supervisor/student's own items]

Legitimate Justified Valid Reasonable

Experiments 1-6 [Leader Influence Scale – adapted from Wiley et al.'s (2013) Credibility Scale, and supervisor/student's own items]

Persuasive Convincing Compelling Credible

About gender inequality…

It's really important to us that we get your honest views about gender inequality. As such, we'd now like to ask you some questions about how you feel, and what you yourself would be willing to do, regarding this particular social issue. As such, please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

Experiment 1 [Sense of Common Cause Scale – adapted from Glasford & Calcagno's (2012) Politic Scale]

In terms of achieving equality, I believe that…:

[REVERSE SCORED] Women should work together (without men) to achieve equality

Men and women should work together to achieve equality

[REVERSE SCORED] Women must stick together and work with each other (without men) to achieve

Men and women must stick together and work with each other to achieve equality

[REVERSE SCORED] Women would be better off if they cooperated together (without men) to achie

Men and women would be better off if they cooperated together to achieve equality

Experiments 2-5 [Common Cause Scale – adapted from Subašić, Hardacre, Elton, Branscombe, Rya under review) Common Cause Scale]

I feel solidarity with the women affected by income inequality and leadership disparities
The women calling for action on this issue reflect the values that I consider to be important

I see myself as someone who shares the views of the women who object to these forms of inequality

Those seeking to reduce income inequality and leadership disparities between men and women share my

Experiment 6 [Common Cause with Women Scale – adapted from Subašić, Hardacre, Elton, Branscombe, Ryan, & Reynolds' (2018) Common Cause Scale]

I feel solidarity with those objecting to gender-based income inequality and leadership disparities facing women

Those calling for action on these women's issues reflect the values that I consider to be important

I see myself as someone who shares the views of those who object to these forms of inequality affecting women

Those seeking to reduce income inequality and leadership disparities between men and women share my goals and conc

Experiment 6 [Common Cause with Men Scale – adapted from Subašić et al.'s (2018) Common Cause Scale]

I feel solidarity with those objecting to gender-based financial pressure and parental leave disparities facing men

Those calling for action on these men's issues reflect the values that I consider to be important

I see myself as someone who shares the views of those who object to these forms of inequality affecting men

Those seeking to reduce financial pressure and parental leave disparities between men and women share my goals and c

In addition to the campaign you just read about, the Chief Delegate runs several other gender equality campaigns throughout the year. Some are geared primarily towards assisting women, some tend to focus on assisting men, while others focus on helping both men and women at the same time.

We'd like you to imagine that the Delegate has approached you directly to help with each of their campaigns. Within that context, we're interested in hearing about your thoughts regarding the below statements.

Could you please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements relating to the Chief Delegate's campaign supporting women:

Experiment 1 [Collective Action Intentions Scale– adapted from Glasford & Calcagno's (2012) Political Solidarity Subscale, combined with adapted version of van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach's (2004) Collective Action Tendencies Scale, and supervisor/student's own items]

Imagine you were approached by the Commission and asked to participate in their latest campaign for gender equality. In response, would you be willing to:

Sign a petition to stop inequality against women

Write a letter to the Prime Minister raising the issue of gender inequality

Talk to male colleagues about gender inequality

Talk to female colleagues about gender inequality

Participate in a demonstration against inequality on behalf of women

Participate in raising awareness about the injustices facing women

Do something together with other people to stop gender inequality

Participate in some form of collective action to stop gender inequality

Experiment 2 [Collective Action Intentions Scale– adapted from Calogero's (2013) Collective Action Scale, and Subašić, Hardacre, Elton, Branscombe, Ryan, & Reynolds's 2018 Collective Action Scale]

I would discuss issues related to gender equality with friends or colleagues in person or online (e.g., email, Facebook, Twitter, etc

I would participate in a demonstration against systematic gender inequality
I would sign a petition (in person or online) in support of women's rights and gender equality
I would vote for a political party that fights against gender inequality
I would contact my local member of parliament/congress to urge them to support legislation addressing gender disparities

I would tweet or post on social media about gender inequality

Experiment 6 [Collective Action Intentions Supporting Women Scale– adapted from Calogero's (2013) Collective A Scale, and Subašić et al.'s (2018) Collective Action Scale]

I would discuss issues related to women's gender equality with friends or colleagues in person or online (e.g., email, Facebook, Twitter, etc.)

I would participate in a demonstration against systematic gender inequality facing women
I would sign a petition (in person or online) in support of women's rights and gender equality
I would vote for a political party that fights against women's gender inequality
I would contact my local member of parliament to urge them to support legislation addressing gender disparities affecti women
I would tweet or post on social media about women's gender inequality

Experiment 6 [Collective Action Intentions Supporting Men Scale– adapted from Calogero's (2013) Collective Action Scale, and Subašić et al.'s (2018) Collective Action Scale]

Could you please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements relating to the Chief Delegate's campaign supporting men:

I would discuss issues related to men's gender equality with friends or colleagues in person or online (e.g., email, Facebook, Twitter, etc.)

I would participate in a demonstration against systematic gender inequality facing men
I would sign a petition (in person or online) in support of men's rights and gender equality

Experiments 1-6 [Instructional Manipulation Check – derived from supervisor/student's own item]

To show that you are paying attention, please select 'Strongly DISAGREE' (i.e., 1)
I would vote for a political party that fights against men's gender inequality
I would contact my local member of parliament to urge them to support legislation addressing gender disparities affecting men
I would tweet or post on social media about men's gender inequality

Experiment 6 [Collective Action Intentions Supporting Men Scale– adapted from Calogero's (2013) Collective Action Scale, and Subašić et al.'s (2018) Collective Action Scale]
Could you please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements relating to the Chief Delegate's campaign supporting men:
I would discuss issues related to men's gender equality with friends or colleagues in person or online (e.g., email, Facebook, Twitter, etc.)

I would participate in a demonstration against systematic gender inequality facing men
I would sign a petition (in person or online) in support of men's rights and gender equality
Experiments 1-6 [Instructional Manipulation Check – derived from supervisor/student's own item]

To show that you are paying attention, please select 'Strongly DISAGREE' (i.e., 1)
I would vote for a political party that fights against men's gender inequality
I would contact my local member of parliament to urge them to support legislation addressing gender disparities affecting men
I would tweet or post on social media about men's gender inequality

Experiment 6 [Collective Action Intentions Supporting Men and Women Scale– adapted from Calogero's (2013) Collective Action Scale, and Subašić et al.'s (2018) Collective Action Scale]
Could you please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements relating to the Chief Delegate's campaign supporting men and women:
I would discuss issues related to men's and women's gender equality with friends or colleagues in person or online (e.g., email, Facebook, Twitter, etc.)

I would participate in a demonstration against systematic gender inequality facing men and women
I would sign a petition (in person or online) in support of men's and women's rights and gender equality
I would vote for a political party that fights against men's and women's gender inequality
I would contact my local member of parliament to urge them to support legislation addressing gender disparities affecting men and women
I would tweet or post on social media about men's and women's gender inequality

Experiment 1 [Perceived Group Efficacy of Collective Action Scale – adapted from van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach's (2004) Group Efficacy Scale]
I believe if those aiming to achieve gender equality worked together collectively, it would be possible to:

Change the current situation

Stop workplace gender inequality

Successfully stand up for women's equal rights within the workplace

Really influence the current situation

Experiment 6 [Behavioural Measure – derived from supervisor/student's own items]

We'd like to know if you'd be willing to sign an anonymous online petition in support of gender equality, which will take less than 30 seconds to complete. You're welcome to sign any one of the petitions below. (Selecting a "Yes" option will take you to an external website once you have completed the survey, selecting "No" will take you to the next set of questions)

Yes, I'd like to sign the petition supporting men's and women's gender equality

Yes, I'd like to sign the petition supporting women's gender equality only
Yes, I'd like to sign the petition supporting men's gender equality only
No, I would not like to sign any of the petitions

Experiments 2-5 [Behavioural Measure – derived from supervisor/student's own items]

Would you be willing to sign an anonymous online petition in support of women's rights and gender equality? It will take less than 30 seconds to complete. (Selecting "Yes" will take you to an external website before returning you to the end of the survey, selecting "No" will take you to the end of the survey)

Yes No

Experiments 1-6 [Feminist Identification Scale – taken from Wiley, Srinivasan, Finke, Firnhaber, & Shilinsky's (2013) Feminist Solidarity Scale (adapted from Leach, van Zomeren, Zebel, Vliek, Pennekamp, Doosje, & Ouwerkerk's [2008] Group Level Self Investment Scale]

I feel a bond with feminists

I feel committed to feminism

I feel solidarity (the need to work together for a common cause) with feminists

Overall, I believe that…:

Experiments 1-6 [Perceived Legitimacy of Inequality Scale – adapted from Miron, Branscombe & Schmitt's (2006) Perceived Legitimacy of Inequality Scale]

Society has reached the point where men and women have equal opportunities for achievement

Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in society

In our society, men and women are treated equally

[REVERSE SCORED] Women do not receive the same economic benefits that men do

The existing wage gap between men and women is justified because they are doing different jobs

Men and women have different qualities that make them better suited for different jobs and roles

Women are better suited for nurturing roles than men are

Men are better suited for leadership roles than women are

Women have just as many privileges as men do

Overall, I believe that…:

Experiment 6 [Noncompetitive Victimhood Scale – taken from Sullivan, Landau, Branscombe, & Ro Noncompetitive Victimhood Scale]

In modern society, men are often discriminated against because of their gender

Overall, I believe that…:

Experiment 6 [Competitive Victimhood Scale – adapted from Sullivan, Landau, Branscombe, & Roth Competitive Victimhood Scale]

Compared with women, men experience _____ discrimination

Experiment 1 [Collective Self-Esteem Scale (as an indicator of collective threat) - Adapted from Luhtanen & Crocker's (1992) Private Collective Self-Esteem Sub-Scale]

Thinking about the information you read and the gender group you identify with, please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

[REVERSE SCORED] I often regret that I belong to the gender group I do

In general, I'm glad to be a member of the gender group I belong to

[REVERSE SCORED] Overall, I often feel that the gender group of which I am a member is not worthwhile

I feel good about the gender group I belong to

Thinking about the effects of gender inequality on women, to what extent do you feel:
Experiments 1-6 [Affective Injustice Scale (Anger [Experiments 1, 2, 3, 4, 5], Shame [Experiment 1], Sadness [Experiments 1, 2, 3, 4, 5] Guilt [Experiments 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6], Sympathy [Experiments 2, 3, 4, 5, 6], Blame [Experiments 4, 5, 6]) - adapted from Shepherd, Spears, & Manstead's (2013) Anticipated Group-Based Emotions Scale]
Angry Ashamed Guilty Upset Sympathetic Blameworthy Annoyed Uncomfortable Regret Sad Concerned Accountable Outraged Embarrassed Remorse Dismayed Compassionate Responsible

The statements below reflect different opinions and points of view. Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:
Experiments 2-6 [Shortened Ambivalent Sexism Scale (Benevolent and Hostile Sexism) – taken from Glick & Fiske's (1996) Ambivalent Sexism Inventory]
Women are too easily offended

Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess
Women seek to gain power by getting control over men
Women should be cherished and protected by men
Women exaggerate problems they have at work
Experiments 1-6 [Instructional Manipulation Check – derived from supervisor/student's own item]
To show that you are paying attention, please select 'Strongly AGREE' (i.e., 7)
Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores
Once a woman gets a man to commit to her she usually tries to put him on a tight leash
Women, compared to men, tend to have greater moral sensibility
When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against
Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste
Thinking of yourself in terms of the gender group you identify with (e.g., men, women, etc.), please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:
Experiments 1-6 [Gender (Ingroup) Identification Scale – adapted from Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears (1995) Group Identification Scale]
I feel strong ties to other members of my gender group

I am glad to be a member of my gender group
Members of my gender group have a lot in common with each other
Being a member of my gender group is an important part of how I see myself
I identify/feel connected with other members of my gender group
Experiment 1 [Gender (Ingroup) Identification Scale – adapted from Leach, van Zomeren, Zebel, Vliek, Pennekamp, Doosje, & Ouwerkerk's (2008) Group Level Self Investment Scale]
I feel a bond with members of my gender group

I feel committed to members of my gender group
I feel solidarity (the need to work together for a common cause) with members of my gender group
Experiments 1-6 [National Identification Scale –adapted from Leach, van Zomeren, Zebel, Vliek, Pennekamp, Doosje, & Ouwerkerk's (2008) Group Level Self Investment Scale]

I feel a bond with others in my nation (e.g., the UK)

I feel committed to others in my nation

I feel solidarity (the need to work together for a common cause) with others in my nation

About the information you read at the beginning of the survey…

In order to improve our research, we want to ensure the information you read at the beginning of the survey was clear and easy to understand. We would now like to ask you some questions to see what you remember about the information at the beginning of the survey. Please answer the following questions. In the article:

Experiments 1-6 [Leader Gender Manipulation Check – derived from supervisor/student's own items]

The gender of the Commission(er)/Chief Delegate was:

Male (Matthew Anderson)
Female (Jessica Anderson)
Not Stated

Experiments 1, 3, The name of the group discussed was:

Men and Women for Gender Equality

Women for Gender

Women for Gender Equality – America

American Men for Gender Equality

Men and Women fo Equality – America

American Women for Gender Equality

Experiment 6 **Thinking carefully about the information you read, to what extent did you feel it provided information that (Note that 1 = Not at all and 7 = Very much so):**

Discussed how men struggle with parental leave, breadwinner pressure, and workplace flexibility, and ALSO how women struggle with leadership promotions and retirement savings

Only discussed how women alone struggle with gender inequality (leadership promotions and retirement savings), with NO reference to men's inequality

Only discussed how men alone struggle with gender inequality (parental leave, breadwinner pressure, and workplace flexibility), with NO reference to women's inequality

Urged men and boys to "act as one" with women and girls to tackle inequality, because "together we are stronger"

Urged women and girls alone to "combine efforts" to tackle inequality, and did NOT call on men to help

Urged men and boys alone to "join forces" to tackle inequality, and did NOT call on women to help

Experiment 1 **Thinking carefully about the information you read and without referring back to it, to what extent feel it provided information regarding (Note that 1 = Not at all and 7 = Very much so):**

The need for *women alone* to stand up for equality

The need for *both men and women* to stand up for equality

Inequality being a *women's only* issue

Inequality being a *men's and women's* issue

[Demographic Information Items]

A bit about you…We would now like you to tell us a bit about yourself. Please answer the following questions.

Experiments 1-6 **Please specify the gender you identify as:** Male Female Other (Please specify)

Experiments 1-6 **How old are you? Please write in numerals, e.g., 30** _____

Experiments 1-6 **What is your nationality/citizenship?** Australian/US/U.K. citizen Australian/US/U.K. permanent resident Other (Please specify) _____

Experiments 1-6 **How many years have you lived in Australia/the United States of American/ the United Kingdom? Please write in numerals, e.g., 30** _____ years

Experiments 1-6 **Please specify the highest level of education you have completed (if currently enrolled, highest degree received):** Some High School/GCSE Level Finished High School/A-Level Trade/Technical/Vocational training Graduate/Bachelor's Degree Master's Degree Doctorate Degree Other (Please specify) _____

Experiments 1-6 **Please specify your current student status:** Not currently studying Full-time – Domestic Student Studying Part-time – Domestic Student Studying Full-time – International Student Studying Part-time – International Student Other (Please specify) _____

Experiments 1-6 **Please specify your current employment status:** Employed Full-time Employed Part-time Employed Casually Self-employed Unemployed Other (Please specify) _____

Experiment 1 **Please specify your sexual orientation:** Asexual Homosexual Heterosexual Bisexual Prefer not to respond Other (Please specify) _____

Any comments you would like to make about the survey?

[These were omitted from the original questionnaire and are included here to assist in identifying individual scales and measures]

Appendix E: Write-Up of Experiment 1 Interactions Split by Leader Gender

Perceived threat to men's gender group. Main effect of message framing showed that participants perceived the threat to men's gender group to be significantly higher when inequality was framed as a women's issue (M = 3.12, SD = 1.63) rather than a common cause (M = 2.79, SD = 1.57), $F(1, 326) = 4.808$, $p = .029$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$. A significant main effect of participant gender was also found (M_{men} = 3.27, SD = 1.64; M_{women} = 2.63, SD = 1.51), $F(1, 326) = 13.897$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .041$, as was a significant main effect of leader gender ($M_{governmentagency}$ = 3.26, SD = 1.63; $M_{maleleader}$ = 2.90, SD = 1.49; $M_{femaleleader}$ = 2.71, SD = 1.66), $F(2, 326) = 3.538$, $p = .030$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$. However, these were qualified by the significant two-way interaction between participant gender and leader gender, illustrated in Figure A1, $F(2, 326) = 3.954$, $p = .020$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$. No other main effects and interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 0.319$, ps $\geq .727$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .002$.

Simple effects were conducted at each level of leader gender, revealing a significant main effect of participant gender for male leaders ($F(1, 107 = 9.549$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .082$), and female leaders ($F(1, 114) = 12.823$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .101$), but not government agencies ($F(1, 111) = 0.011$, $p = .918$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$). Women perceived the threat to men's gender group as being significantly lower than men did under both male leaders (M_{women} = 2.45, SD = 1.28; M_{men} = 3.30, SD = 1.55) and female leaders (M_{women} = 2.23, SD = 1.46; M_{men} = 3.28, SD = 1.71). It was only under government agencies that women's (M = 3.27 SD = 1.59) and men's (M = 3.24, SD = 1.67) perceived threat to men's gender group was at similarly high levels, indicating that government agencies are perceived as being equally threatening to men's gender group for both men and women in this context. Importantly, men's perceived threat to their gender group remained stable (and relatively high in contrast to women's threat levels) under all leaders, irrespective of the leader's gender.

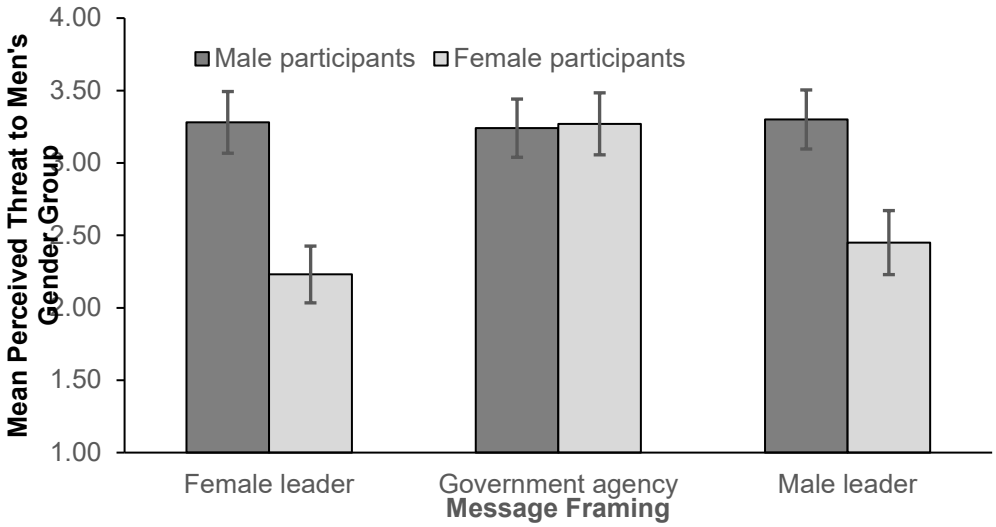

Figure A1. Mean perceived threat to men's gender group as a function of leader gender and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Perceived threat to women's gender group. A significant main effect of leader gender was found ($M_{governmentagency}$ = 3.12, *SD* = 1.76; $M_{maleleader}$ = 2.76, *SD* = 1.45; $M_{femaleleader}$ = 2.59, *SD* = 1.57), $F(2, 326) = 3.552$, $p = .030$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$, but was qualified by the significant participant gender x leader gender interaction, shown in Figure A2, $F(2, 326) = 3.851$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 2.544$, ps $\geq .102$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .014$. Replicating our findings for participants' perceived threat to men's gender group, simple effects analyses at each level of leader gender also found significant main effects of Participant Gender for Male Leader ($F(1, 107 = 4.827$, $p = .030$, $\eta_p^2 = .043$), and female leader ($F(1, 114) = 4.958$, $p = .028$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$) conditions, but not government agency conditions ($F(1, 111) = 1.364$, $p = .245$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$). Once again, based on the equality message spruiked by leaders, men perceived the threat to women's gender group as being significantly higher than women did under both male leaders (M_{men} = 3.04, *SD* = 1.49; M_{women} = 2.44, *SD* = 1.35) and female leaders (M_{men} = 2.93, *SD* = 1.47; M_{women} = 2.29, *SD* = 1.60). Under government agencies, men's (*M* = 2.93, *SD* = 1.79) and women's (*M* = 3.32, *SD* = 1.72) perceived threat to women's gender group were not significantly different, although women's were much higher in this instant.

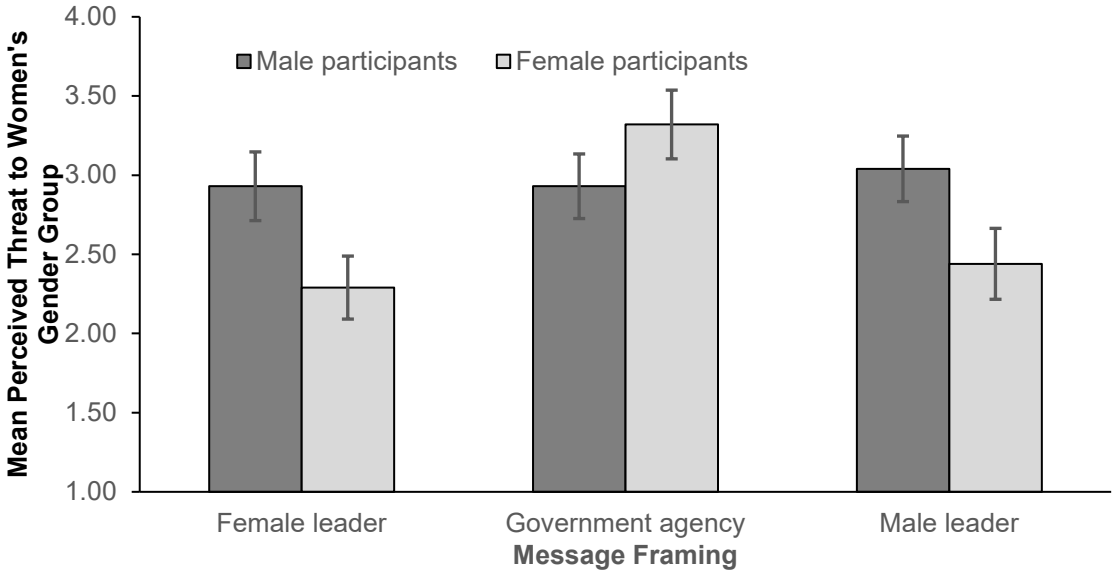

Figure A2. Mean perceived threat to women's gender group as a function of leader gender and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Appendix F: Write-Up of Experiment 2 Interactions Split by Message Framing

Leader legitimacy. Consistent with Hypothesis 1a, a significant main effect of message framing showed that leaders who employed common cause framing (M = 5.61, SD = 1.20) were viewed as significantly more legitimate than leaders who relied on meritocracy framing (M = 4.79, SD = 1.63), $F(1, 328) = 28.006$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .079$. However, this finding was qualified by the significant two-way interaction between participant gender and message framing shown in Figure A3, $F(1, 328) = 10.553$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$.

Simple effects analyses conducted at both levels of message framing showed significant main effects of participant gender for both common cause, $F(1, 168) = 5.310$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$, and merit issue framing, $F(1, 164) = 5.324$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$. When leaders framed equality as a common cause, women (M = 5.81, SD = 1.18) perceived those leaders as being more legitimate than men did (M = 5.39, SD = 1.19). However, when leaders framed equality as being an issue of merit, women (M = 4.50, SD = 1.82) viewed those leaders as being significantly less legitimate than men did (M = 5.08, SD = 1.36).

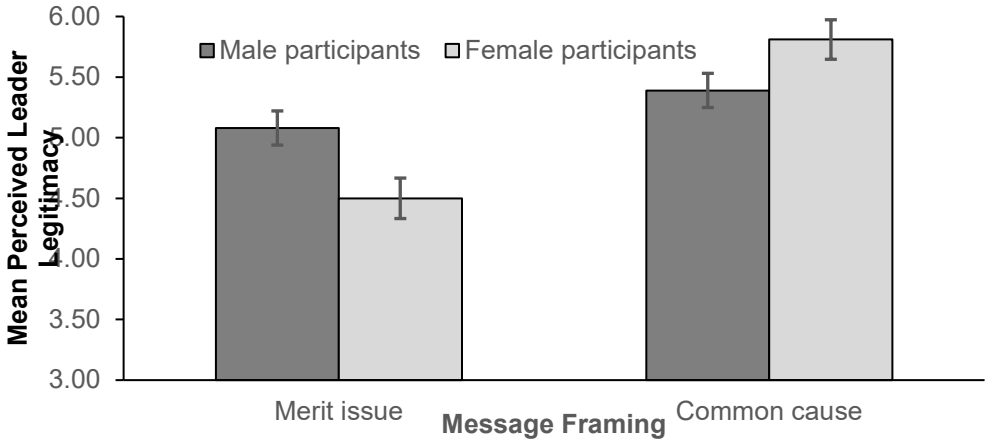

Figure A3. Mean perceived leader legitimacy as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Leader influence. Supporting Hypothesis 1a, and replicating our prototypicality and legitimacy findings, leaders who promoted gender equality as a common cause (M = 4.98, SD = 1.29) were considered significantly more influential than those who promoted it as an issue pertaining to meritocracy (M = 4.39, SD = 1.55), $F(1, 328) = 14.347$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$. However, in line with our legitimacy results, this finding was again qualified by a significant participant gender x message framing interaction, $F(1, 328) = 3.857$, $p = .050$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$ (see Figure A4).

Simple effects analyses conducted at both levels of message framing showed no significant main effects of participant gender for either common cause, $F(1, 168) = 1.850$, $p = .176$, $\eta_p^2 = .011$, or merit issue framing, $F(1, 164) = 1.916$, $p = .168$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$. Therefore, these results are not reported.

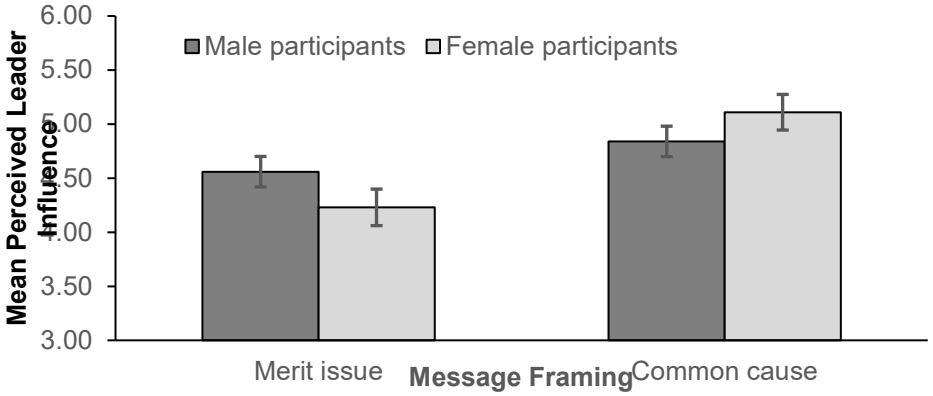

Figure A4. Mean perceived leader influence as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Collective action intentions. Contrary to Hypothesis 1b, no significant main effect of message framing was found, with participants instead expressing similar collective action intentions irrespective of how the message was framed ($M_{commoncause}$ = 4.78, *SD* = 1.72; $M_{meritissue}$ = 4.55, *SD* = 1.50; $F(1, 328)=1.78$, $p=.185$, $\eta_p^2=.005$). However, we detected a significant participant gender X message framing interaction (shown in Figure A5; $F(1, 328)=5.035$, $p=.026$, $\eta_p^2=.015$), which qualified the significant main effect of gender that was also detected (M_{women} = 5.13, *SD* = 1.46; M_{male} = 4.28, *SD* = 1.61), $F(1, 328) = 26.404$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .075$.

Simple effects were performed at both levels of Message Framing to investigate the two-way interaction. This revealed a significant main effect of Participant Gender for both Common Cause, $F(1, 168) = 25.150$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .130$, and Merit Issue framing, $F(1, 164) = 4.414$, $p = .037$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$. Under both issue frames, women (Common Cause: *M* = 5.40, *SD* = 1.44; Merit Issue: *M* = 4.80, *SD* = 1.46) reported higher collective action intentions than men (Common Cause: *M* = 4.16, *SD* = 1.76; Merit Issue: *M* = 4.31, *SD* = 1.50).

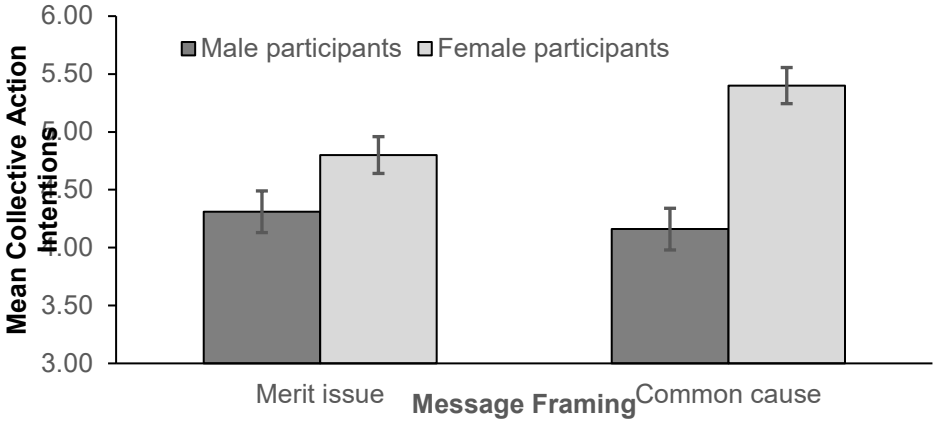

Figure A5. Mean collective action intentions as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Legitimacy of inequality. There was a significant main effect of participant gender (M_{men} = 3.80, *SD* = 1.36; M_{women} = 2.62, *SD* = 1.33), $F(1, 328) = 64.755$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .165$, but this was

qualified by the significant two-way interaction between participant gender and message framing illustrated in Figure A6, $F(1, 328) = 6.271$, $p = .013$, $\eta_p^2 = .019$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 1.727$, $ps \geq .190$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .005$.

Simple effects performed at each level of message framing showed significant main effects of participant gender for common cause, $F(1. 168) = 55.902$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .250$, and merit issue framing, $F(1, 164) = 15.168$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .085$. Under both message frames, men (Common Cause: $M = 3.98$, $SD = 1.52$; Merit Issue: $M = 3.62$, $SD = 1.18$) legitimated gender inequality significantly more than women (Common Cause: $M = 2.44$, $SD = 1.15$; Merit Issue: $M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.47$).

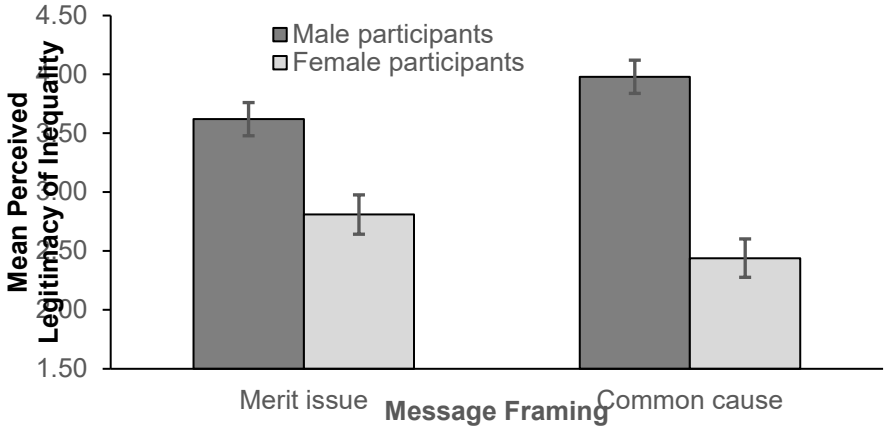

Figure A6. Mean perceived legitimacy of inequality as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

National identification. We found a significant main effect of message framing ($M_{commoncause} = 5.27$, $SD = 1.33$; $M_{meritissue} = 4.86$, $SD = 1.30$), $F(1, 328) = 8.557$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$, however this was qualified by the significant three-way interaction depicted in Figure A7, $F(1, 328) = 4.186$, $p = .042$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F \leq 2.413$, $ps \geq .121$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

The three-way interaction was explored by unpacking at each level of message framing, which revealed a significant two-way interaction between leader gender and participant gender for common cause, $F(1, 166) = 4.204$, $p = .042$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$, but not merit issue framing, $F(1, 162) = 0.711$, $p = .400$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$. Yet simple effects conducted at each level of leader gender showed no significant main effect of participant gender for male leaders, $F(1, 85) = 3.013$, $p = .086$, $\eta_p^2 = .034$, or female leaders, $F(1, 81) = 1.317$, $p = .254$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$, therefore these results are not reported.

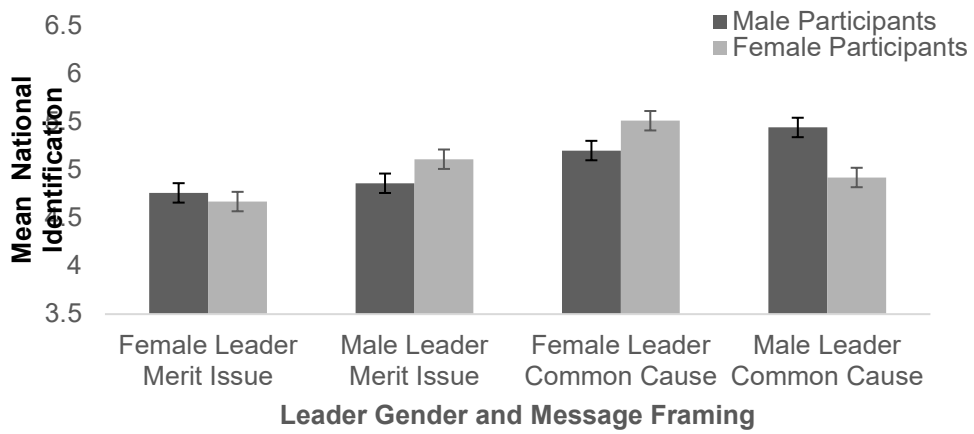

Figure A7. Mean national identification as a function of participant gender, leader gender, and message framing. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Perceived threat to men's gender group. As shown in Figure A8, we observed a significant interaction between participant gender and message framing, $F(1, 328) = 4.607$, $p = .033$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$. No other main effects or interactions were significant, all $F \leq 2.450$, $ps \geq .118$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

Simple effects analyses conducted at each level of message framing showed a significant main effect of participant gender for common cause, $F(1, 168) = 7.027$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .040$, but not merit issue framing, $F(1, 164) = 0.170$, $p = .681$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. Under common cause framing, men ($M = 2.75$, $SD = 1.68$) perceived the threat to men's gender group as being significantly greater than women did ($M = 2.14$, $SD = 1.27$), whereas under merit issue framing, men's and women's perceptions of the threat to men's gender group were similar (Men: $M = 2.54$, $SD = 1.48$; Women: $M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.53$).

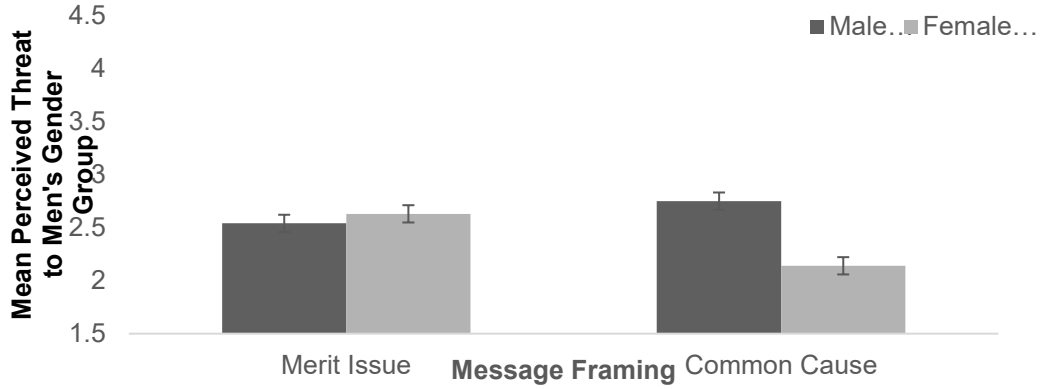

Figure A8. Mean perceived threat to men's gender group as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Perceived threat to women's gender group. We obtained significant main effects of participant gender ($M_{women} = 2.91$, $SD = 1.83$; M_{men} 2.48, $SD = 1.43$), $F(1, 328) = 6.863$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$, leader gender ($M_{maleleader} = 2.92$, $SD = 1.71$; $M_{femaleleader} = 2.46$, $SD = 1.57$), $F(1, 328) = 6.928$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$, and message framing ($M_{meritissue} = 3.12$, $SD = 1.80$; $M_{commoncause} = 2.29$, $SD = 1.40$), $F(1, 328) = 23.634$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .067$. We also found a significant interaction between

participant gender and message framing, $F(1, 328) = 7.937$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$. However, each of these findings were qualified by the significant three-way interaction shown in Figure A9, $F(1, 328) = 6.865$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$. All other interactions remained non-significant, all $F \leq 1.152$, $ps \geq .284$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

We also unpacked the three-way interaction at each level of message framing, revealing a significant two-way interaction between leader gender and participant gender for common cause, $F(1, 166) = 7.596$, $p = .007$, $\eta_p^2 = .044$, but not merit issue framing, $F(1, 162) = 1.332$, $p = .250$, $\eta_p^2 = .008$. Simple effects performed at both levels of leader gender showed a significant main effect of participant gender for female leaders, $F(1, 81) = 4.632$, $p = .034$, $\eta_p^2 = .054$, but not male leaders, $F(1, 85) = 3.143$, $p = .080$, $\eta_p^2 = .036$. When female leaders discussed gender inequality as something men and women need to address together, men ($M = 2.46$, $SD = 1.55$) perceived the threat to women's gender group to be significantly higher than women did ($M = 1.85$, $SD = 1.01$).

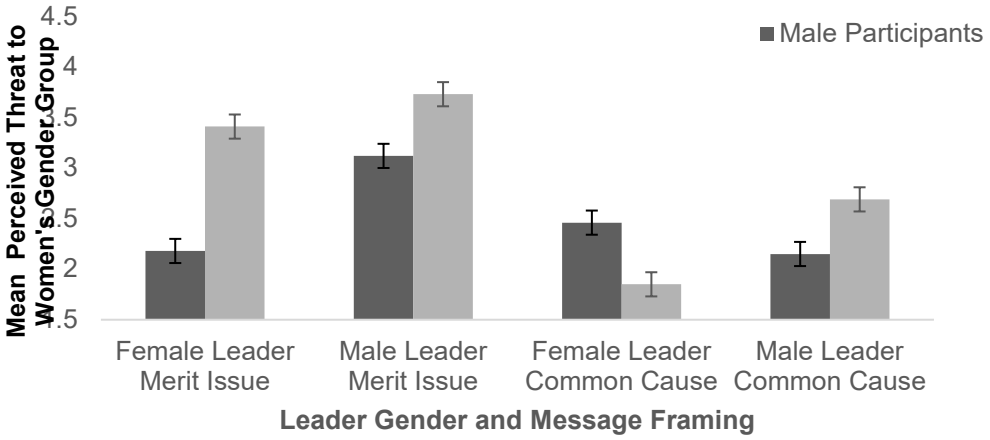

Figure A9. Mean perceived threat to women's gender group as a function of participant gender, leader gender, and message framing. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Anger. We found a significant main effect of participant gender ($M_{women} = 4.45$, $SD = 1.74$; $M_{men} = 3.22$, $SD = 1.61$), $F(1, 328) = 44.669$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .120$, but this was qualified by the significant two-way interaction between participant gender and message framing depicted in Figure A10, $F(1, 328) = 3.944$, $p = .048$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions, all $F \leq 0.541$, $ps \geq .462$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .002$.

Simple effects were performed at both levels of message framing, revealing a significant main effect of participant gender for common cause, $F(1, 168) = 37.694$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .183$, and merit issue framing, $F(1, 164) = 11.125$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .064$. Under both common cause and merit framing, women (Common Cause: $M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.64$; Merit Issue: $M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.82$) expressed significantly higher feelings of anger about the effects of gender inequality on women than men did (Common Cause: $M = 3.12$, $SD = 1.73$; Merit Issue: $M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.48$).

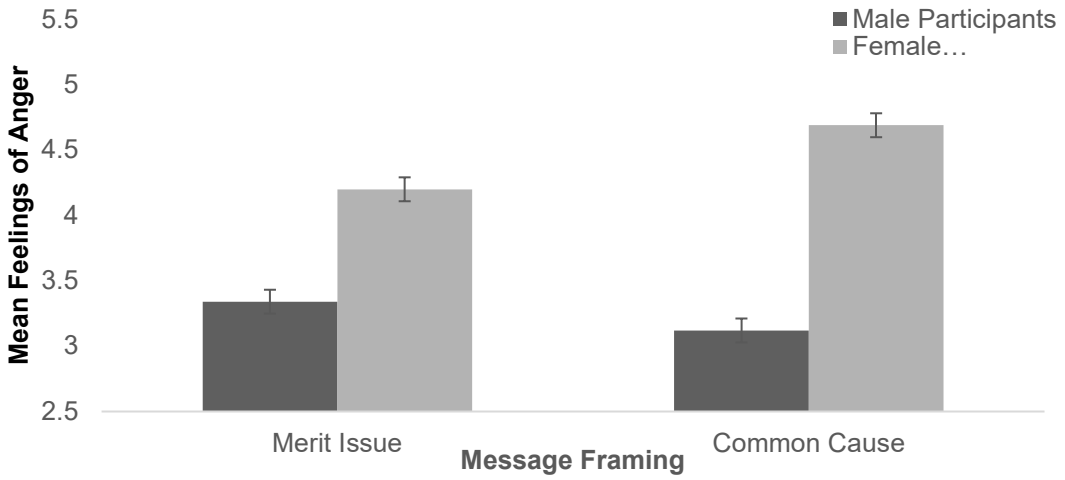

Figure A10. Mean feelings of anger as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Sadness. We detected a significant main effect of participant gender (M_{women} = 4.10, *SD* = 1.77; M_{men} = 2.97, *SD* = 1.62), $F(1, 328) = 37.591$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .103$, but this was qualified by the significant two-way interaction between participant gender and message framing depicted in Figure A11, $F(1, 328) = 4.748$, $p = .030$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions, all $F \leq 1.925$, $ps \geq .166$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .006$.

Simple effects conducted at each level of message framing revealed a significant main effect of participant gender for both message frames (Common Cause: $F(1, 168) = 33.188$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .165$; Merit Issue: $F(1, 164) = 8.076$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .047$). Under both message frames, women (Common Cause: *M* = 4.28, *SD* = 1.79; Merit Issue: *M* = 3.90, *SD* = 1.74) expressed significantly higher levels of sadness regarding the effects of gender inequality on women compared to men (Common Cause: *M* = 2.76, *SD* = 1.66; Merit Issue: *M* = 3.18, *SD* = 1.55).

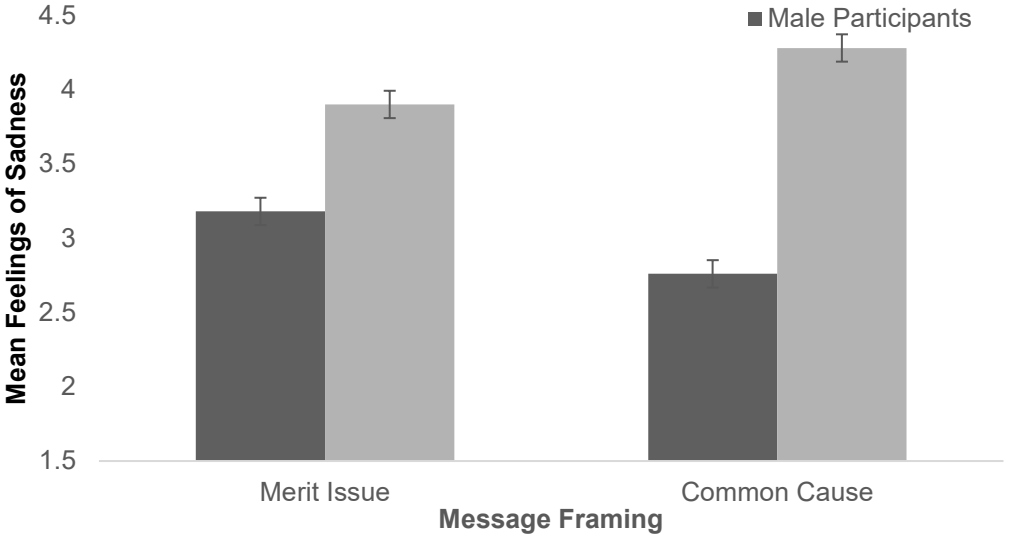

Figure A11. Mean feelings of sadness as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Benevolent sexism. We observed a significant main effect of participant gender (M_{men} = 3.36, *SD* = 1.48; M_{women} = 2.87, *SD* = 1.49), $F(1, 328) = 9.33$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .028$, which was qualified by the significant three-way interaction shown in Figure A12, $F(1, 328) = 11.658$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .034$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions, all $F \leq 2.179$, ps $\geq .141$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

We also unpacked the three-way interaction at both levels of message framing, revealing a significant two-way interaction between leader gender and participant gender for merit issue, $F(1, 162) = 9.364$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .055$, but not for common cause framing, $F(1, 166) = 3.354$, $p = .069$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$. Simple effects revealed a significant main effect of participant gender under merit framing for female leaders, $F(1, 79) = 14.642$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .156$, but not male leaders, $F(1, 83) = 0.287$, $p = .594$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$. When female leaders delivered a merit message, men (*M* = 3.58, *SD* = 1.44) reported significantly higher levels of benevolent sexism than women did (*M* = 2.42, *SD* = 1.28). However, when male leaders promoted the same merit message men (*M* = 3.09, *SD* = 1.46) reported comparable levels of benevolent sexism to women (*M* = 3.26, *SD* = 1.39).

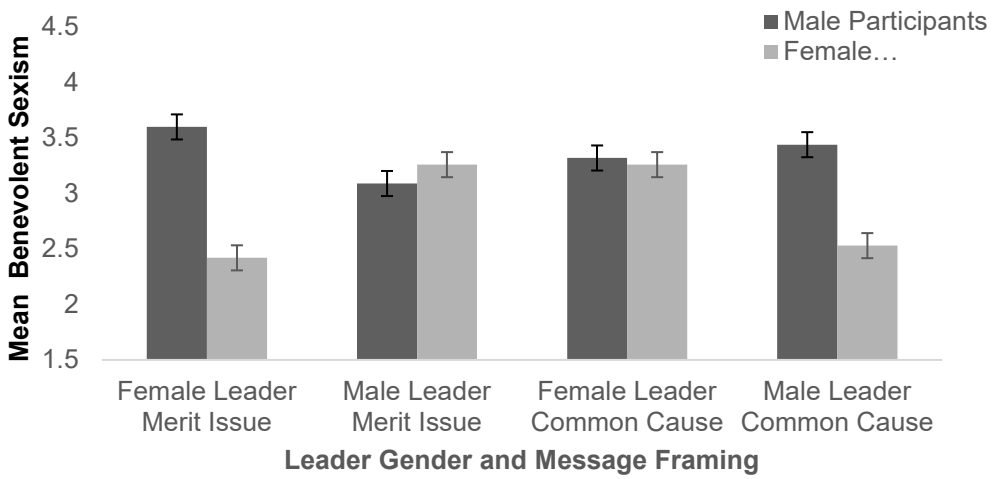

Figure A12. Mean benevolent sexism as a function of participant gender, leader gender, and message framing. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Appendix G: Write-Up of Experiment 3 Interactions Split by Leader Gender

Common Cause. There was a significant interaction found between leader gender and message framing, $F(2, 245) = 3.259$, $p = .040$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$ (see Figure A13). The remaining main effects were not significant, all $F \leq .001$, $ps \geq .999$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .000$.

Simple effects were performed at both levels of leader gender. However, this showed no significant main effects of message framing for either male leaders ($F(2, 122) = 1.576$, $p = .211$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$) or female leaders ($F(2, 123) = 1.708$, $p = .186$, $\eta_p^2 = .027$).

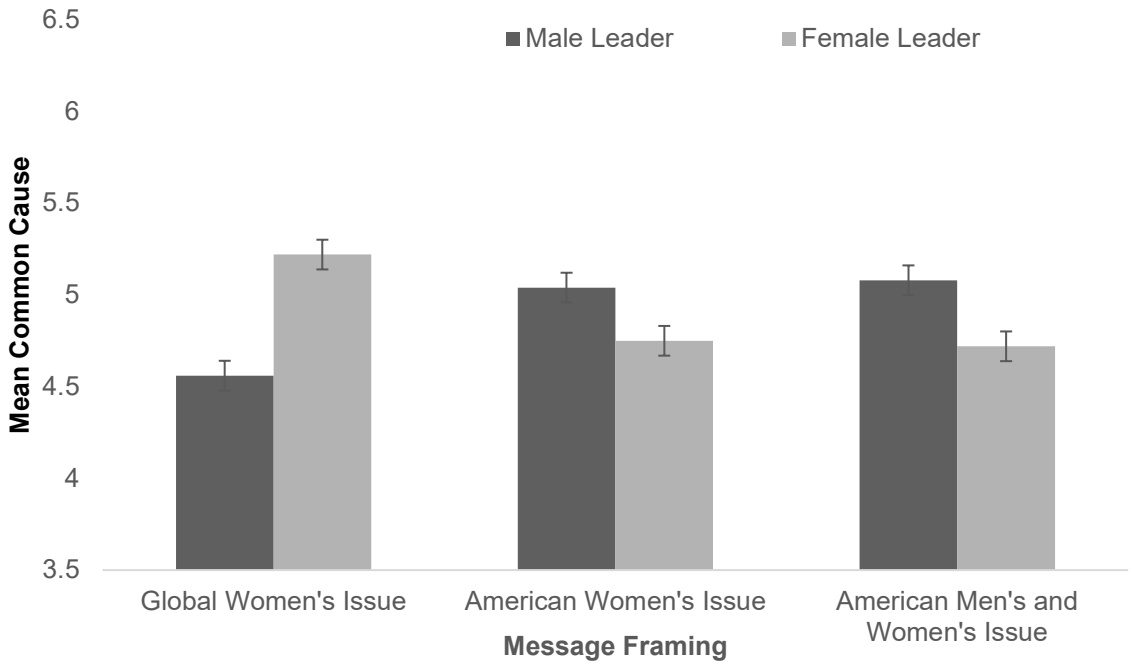

Figure A13. Mean sense of common cause as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Hostile Sexism. As shown in Figure A14, there was a significant interaction found between leader gender and message framing, $F(2, 245) = 4.554$, $p = .011$, $\eta_p^2 = .036$. All main effects were non-significant, all $F \leq 1.170$, $ps \geq .312$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$.

We also performed simple effects at each level of leader gender, revealing a significant main effect of message framing for female leaders, $F(2, 123) = 4.862$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .073$, but not male leaders, $F(2, 122) = 0.597$, $p = .552$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$. Post hoc comparisons showed that when female leaders promoted the issue of gender inequality, participants reported significantly higher levels of hostile sexism under common cause framing ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.60$) compared to under American women's issue framing ($M = 2.76$, $SD = 1.44$, $p = .023$) or global women's issue framing ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.49$, $p = .015$). However, participants' levels of hostile sexism did not differ significantly between American women's and global women's issue framing. In contrast, under male leaders participants reported similar levels of hostile sexism regardless of the way in which the equality message was promoted ($M_{Globalwomen'sissue}$: $M = 3.21$, $SD = 1.47$;

$M_{Americanwomen'sissue}$ = 3.15, *SD* = 1.58; $M_{commoncause}$ = 2.88, *SD* = 1.48).

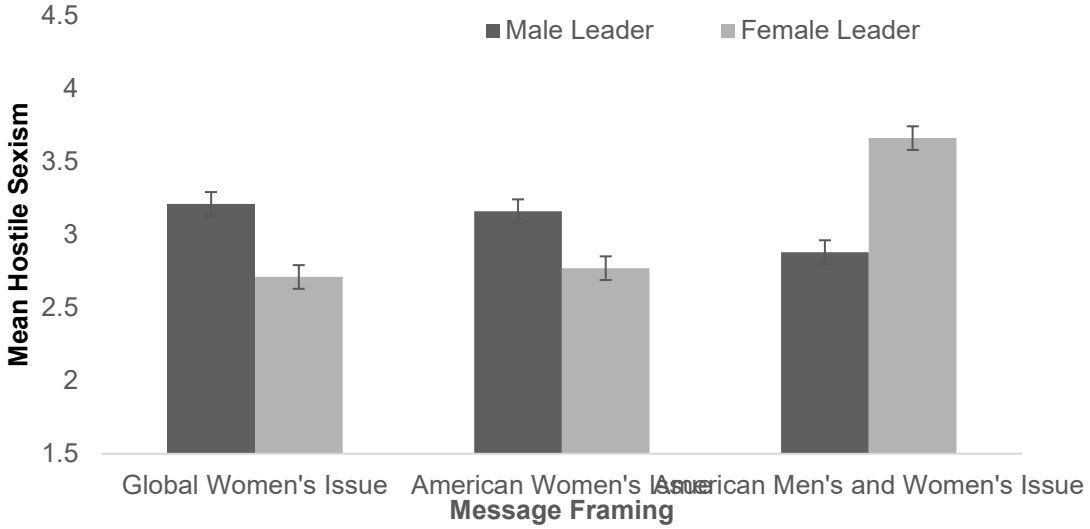

Figure A14. Mean hostile sexism as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Leadership Variables

There were significant two-way leader gender by message framing interactions for each of our leadership measures (leader prototypicality, relational identification, transformational leadership, legitimacy, and influence). Overall, our leadership findings demonstrate that male leaders benefit from more positive leadership evaluations when they frame equality as a common cause for both American men *and* women to work towards together, while female leaders experience the same benefits when they promote equality as a global women's issue. Indeed, splitting the interaction by message framing revealed that under global women's issue framing, female leaders were consistently perceived as being significantly more prototypical, transformational, legitimate, influential, and higher in relational identification than male leaders. Meanwhile, splitting the interaction by leader gender revealed that female leaders were perceived as more transformational, legitimate, and influential under global women's issue framing, compared to common cause framing, while male leaders were perceived as more prototypical and higher in relational identification under common cause framing compared to global women's issue framing. These results are expanded upon below.

Leader Prototypicality. There was a significant main effect of leader gender ($M_{femaleleader}$ = 5.58, *SD* = 0.92; $M_{maleleader}$ = 5.12, *SD* = 1.17; $F(1, 245) = 12.571$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .049$), however this was qualified by the significant interaction between leader gender and message framing shown in Figure A15, $F(2, 245) = 3.870$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$. The message framing main effect did not reach significance, all $F \leq 0.562$, ps $\geq .571$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .005$.

Simple effects were then conducted at both levels of leader gender, which showed no significant main effect of message framing for male leaders ($F(2, 122) = 2.886$, $p = .060$, $\eta_p^2 = .045$), or female leaders ($F(2, 123) = 1.389$, $p = .253$, $\eta_p^2 = .022$), thus these results are not reported

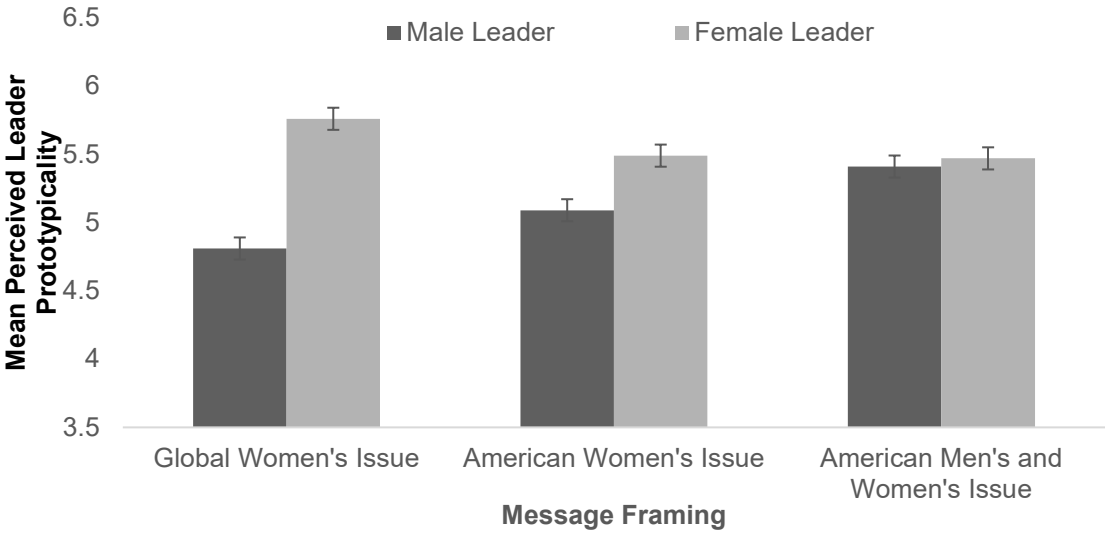

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Figure A15. Mean perceived leader prototypicality as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Leader Relational Identification. A significant main effect of leader gender was found ($M_{femaleleader}$ = 5.64, *SD* = 0.93; $M_{maleleader}$ = 5.29, *SD* = 1.07; $F(1, 245) = 8.417$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$), but this was qualified by a significant interaction between leader gender and message framing, $F(2, 245) = 5.425$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$ (see Figure A16). No other significant main effects were found, all $F \leq 0.323$, ps $\geq .724$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .003$.

Simple effects performed at each level of leader gender revealed a significant main effect of message framing for male leaders ($F(2, 122) = 3.303$, $p = .040$, $\eta_p^2 = .051$), but not female leaders ($F(2, 123) = 2.425$, $p = .093$, $\eta_p^2 = .038$). Similar to our findings for perceived leader prototypicality, post hoc testing revealed that participants viewed male leaders as being significantly higher in leader relational identification under common cause (*M* = 5.49, *SD* = 0.95), compared to global women's issue framing (*M* = 4.94, *SD* = 1.21, *p* = .040). Again, participants' ratings of male leaders' perceived relational identification under American women's issue framing (*M* = 5.39, *SD* = 0.98) did not differ significantly from the other message frames.

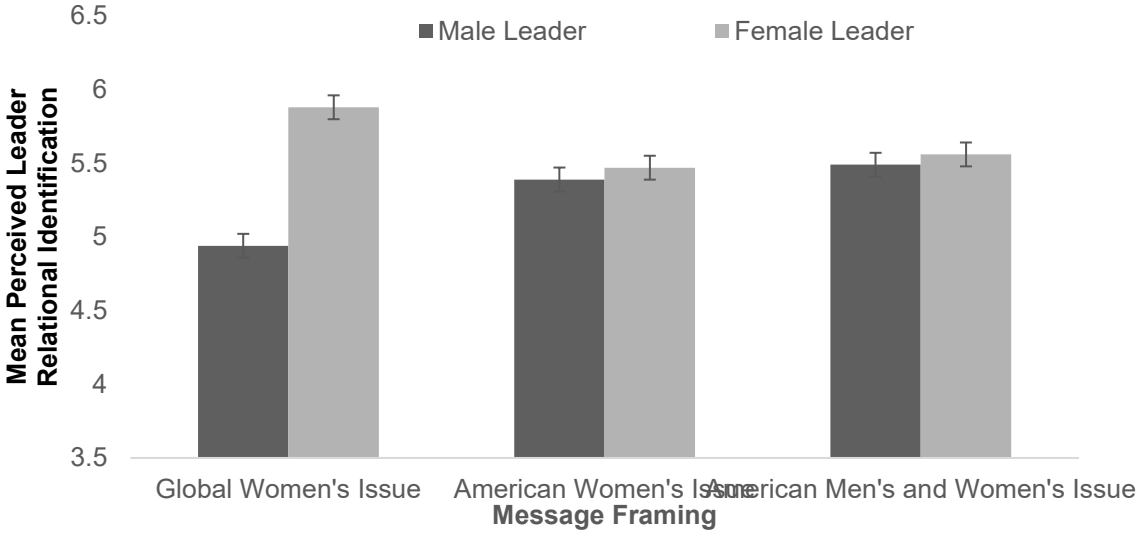

Figure A16. Mean perceived leader relational identification as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Transformational Leadership. There was a significant interaction found between leader gender and message framing, $F(2, 245) = 7.587$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .058$, as depicted in Figure A17. No other significant main effects were observed, all $F \leq 2.279$, $ps \geq .132$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$.

Simple effects made at both levels of leader gender revealed a significant main effect of message framing for female leaders ($F(2, 123) = 5.682$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .085$), but not male leaders ($F(2, 122) = 2.242$, $p = .111$, $\eta_p^2 = .035$). Post hoc comparisons showed that participants perceived female leaders as being significantly higher in transformational leadership when they framed their equality message as a global women's issue ($M = 5.90$, $SD = 0.71$), as opposed to an American women's issue ($M = 5.43$, $SD = 1.01$, $p = .040$) or a common cause involving both men and women ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 1.01$, $p = .005$). Participants' transformational leadership ratings did not differ significantly between American women's issue and common cause framing however. Additionally, participants perceived male leaders as being equally transformational regardless of the way in which they promoted their equality message ($M_{commoncause} = 5.49$, $SD = 0.92$; $M_{Americanwomen'sissue} = 5.45$, $SD = 0.75$; $M_{Globalwomen'sissue} = 5.11$, $SD = 0.94$).

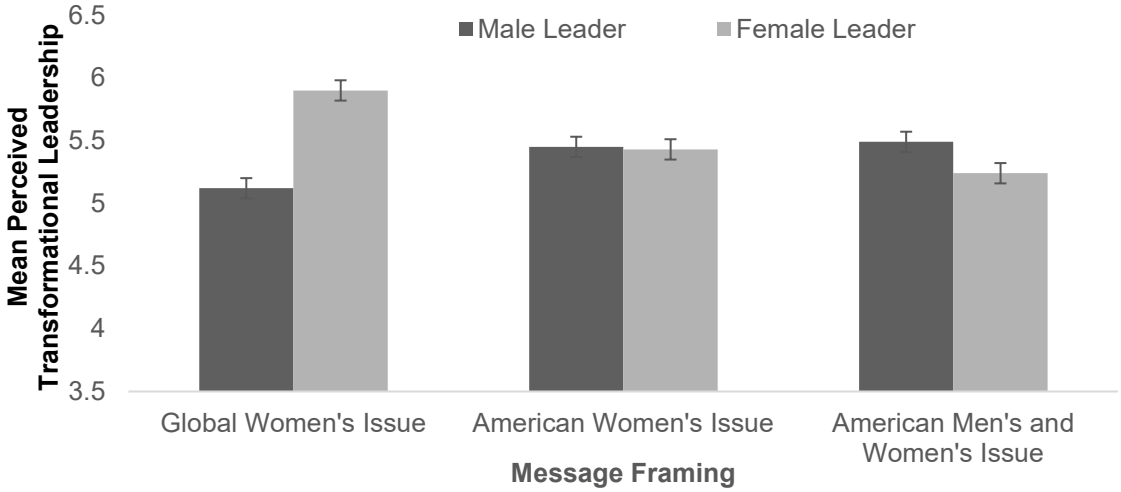

Figure A17. Mean perceived transformational leadership as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Leader Legitimacy. A significant interaction between leader gender and message framing was found, $F(2, 245) = 3.796$, $p = .024$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$, as shown in Figure A18. There were no significant main effects detected, all $F \leq 0.492$, $ps \geq .612$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

Simple effects at each level of leader gender showed a significant main effect of message framing for female leaders ($F(2, 123) = 3.130$, $p = .047$, $\eta_p^2 = .048$), but not male leaders ($F(2, 122) = 1.084$, $p = .341$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$). However, post hoc testing indicated that participants perceived female leaders as being equally legitimate under global women's issue ($M = 6.08$, $SD = 0.74$), American women's issue ($M = 5.89$, $SD = 1.29$), and common cause framing ($M = 5.52$, $SD = 1.27$). Likewise, participants viewed male leaders as being equally legitimate regardless of how they framed their message of gender inequality ($M_{commoncause} = 5.91$, $SD = 0.91$; $M_{Americanwomen'sissue} = 5.76$, $SD = 1.10$; $M_{Globalwomen'sissue} = 5.58$, $SD = 1.07$).

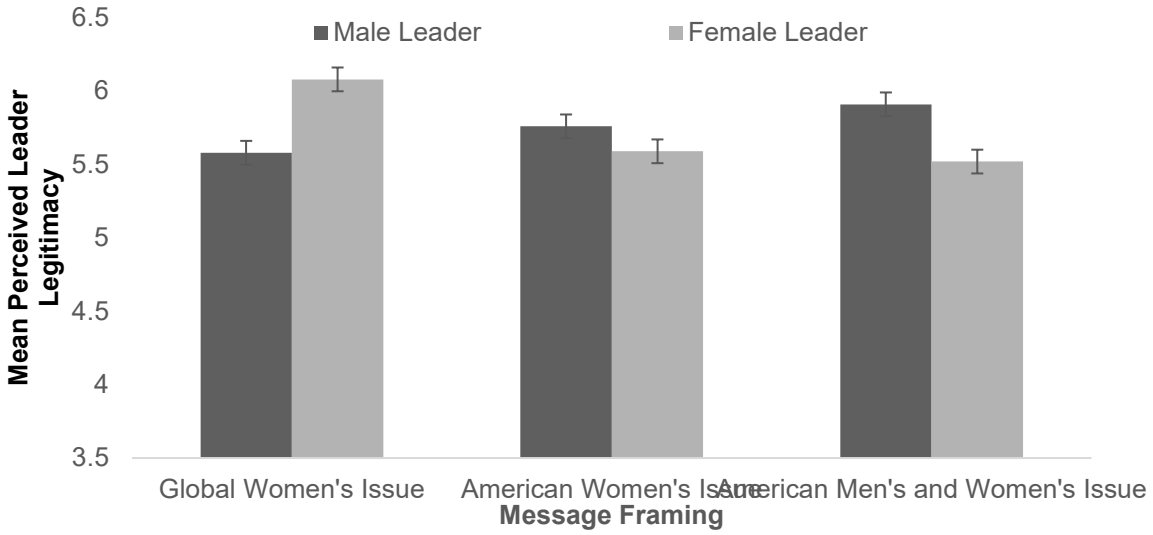

Figure A18. Mean perceived leader legitimacy as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Leader Influence. Figure A19 shows the significant interaction between leader gender and message framing, $F(2, 245) = 4.339$, $p = .014$, $\eta_p^2 = .034$. No other main effects were found to be significant, all $F \leq 0.912$, $ps \geq .403$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .007$.

Simple effects at each level of leader gender showed a significant main effect of message framing for female leaders ($F(2, 123) = 4.125$, $p = .018$, $\eta_p^2 = .063$), but not male leaders ($F(2, 122) = 0.791$, $p = .456$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$). Post hoc analyses revealed that men viewed female leaders as being significantly more influential when they promoted gender equality as a global women's issue ($M = 5.56$, $SD = 1.00$), rather than as a common cause ($M = 4.75$, $SD = 1.53$, $p = .014$). However, men's ratings did not differ significantly between American Women's Issue ($M = 5.14$, $SD = 1.26$) and the remaining message frames. Participants again perceived male leaders as being equally influential, regardless of the equality message they promoted ($M_{commoncause} = 5.32$, $SD = 1.16$; $M_{Americanwomen'sissue} = 5.28$, $SD = 1.20$; $M_{Globalwomen'sissue} = 5.01$, $SD = 1.22$).

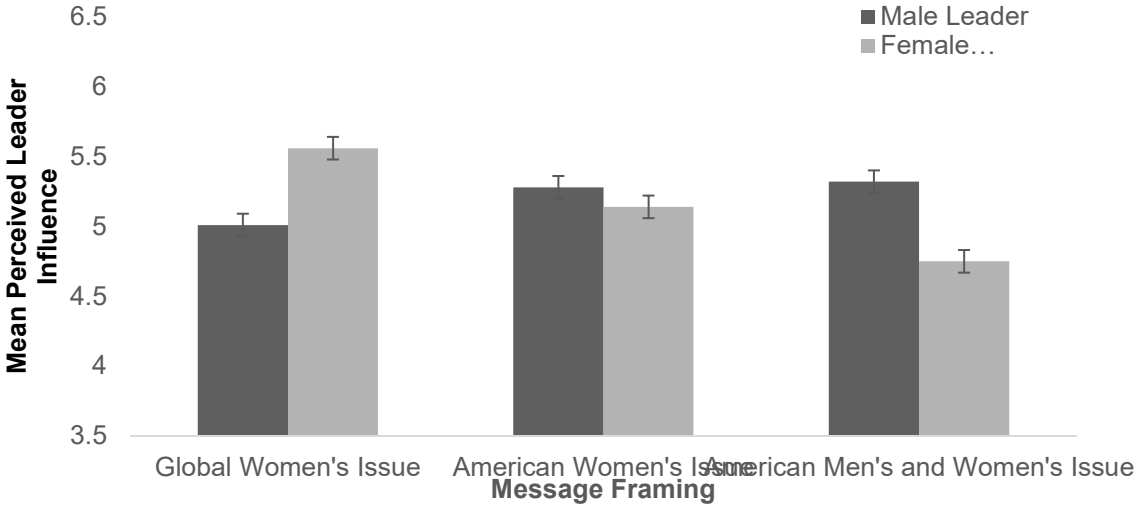

Figure A19. Mean perceived leader influence as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Appendix H: Write-Up of Experiment 4 Interactions Split by Leader Gender

National Identification. A significant interaction between leader gender and message framing was found, as shown in Figure A20, $F(1, 311) = 6.254$, $p = .013$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions detected, all $F \leq 2.675$, $ps \geq .103$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .009$.

To further investigate the two-way interaction, simple effects were also performed at each level of leader gender, revealing a significant main effect of message framing for female leaders, $F(1, 152) = 7.396$, $p = .007$, $\eta_p^2 = .046$, but not male leaders, $F(1, 163) = 0.498$, $p = .482$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$. Under female leaders, men reported higher national identification under women's issue frames ($M = 5.18$, $SD = 1.54$), compared to common cause frames ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 1.85$). Alternatively, men reported similar national identification levels irrespective of the way in which male leaders framed their equality message ($M_{women'sissue} = 5.02$, $SD = 1.68$; $M_{commoncause} = 5.19$, $SD = 1.39$).

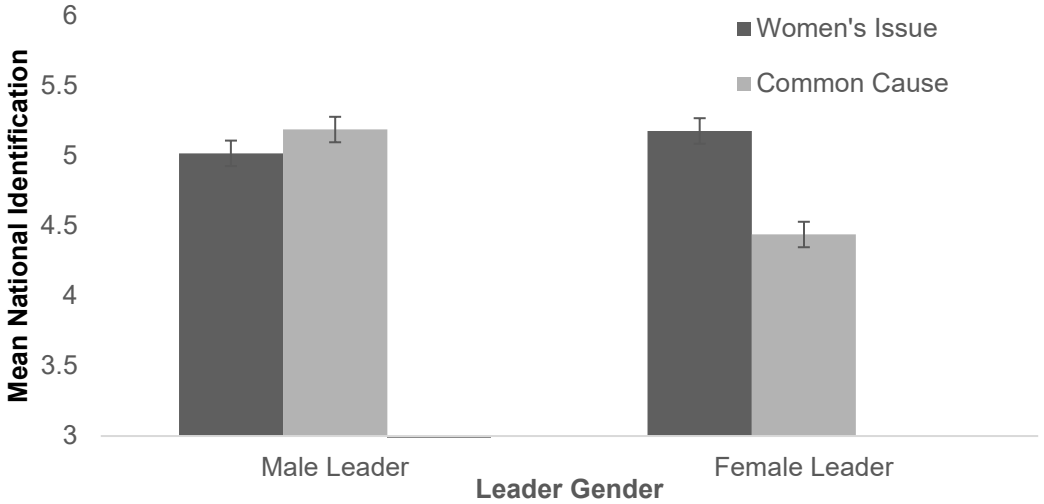

Figure A20. Mean National Identification as a function of Message Framing and Leader Gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Perceived threat to men's gender group. There was a significant three-way interaction found between leader gender, context, and message framing, as depicted in Figure A21, $F(1, 311) = 5.284$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$. No other significant main effects or interactions were found, all $F \leq 1.826$, $ps \geq .178$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .006$.

The three-way interaction was further explored by unpacking at each level of context, which showed a significant leader gender x message framing interaction under local American contexts, $F(1, 156) = 7.255$, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = .044$, but not global contexts, $F(1, 155) = 0.214$, $p = .644$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. Simple effects then performed at both levels of message framing revealed a significant main effect of leader gender under local American contexts for common cause, $F(1, 73) = 4.478$, $p = .038$, $\eta_p^2 = .058$, but not women's issue framing, $F(1, 83) = 2.808$, $p = .098$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$. When inequality was framed within a local American context, men perceived the threat to

their own gender group as being significantly higher when a common cause message was promoted by a male leader (*M* = 3.52, *SD* = 2.15) rather than a female leader (*M* = 2.54, *SD* = 1.82). However, when leaders promoted a women's issue message within the same local American context, men viewed the threat to their gender group as being equal under female leaders (*M* = 3.62, *SD* = 2.05) and male leaders (*M* = 2.90, *SD* = 1.91).

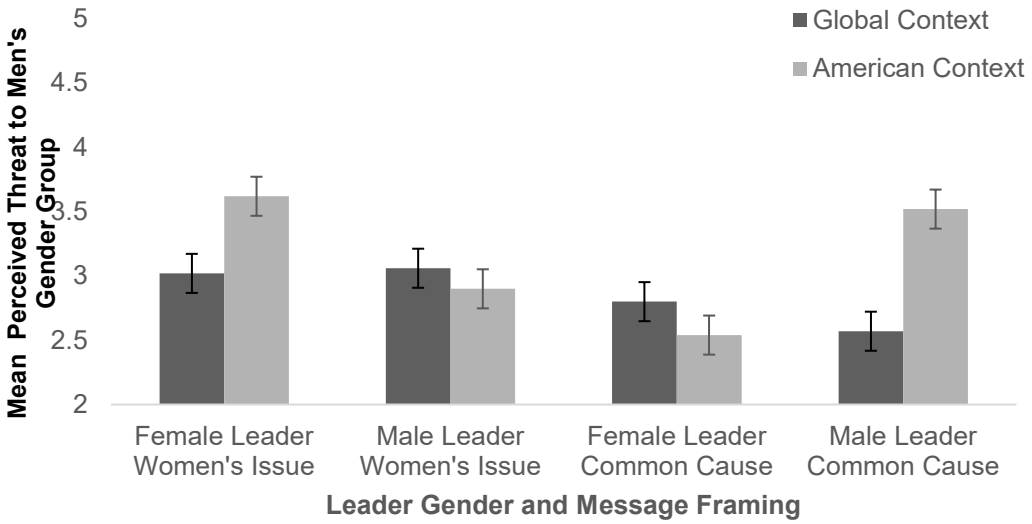

Figure A21. Mean Perceived Threat to Men's Gender Groups as a function of Leader Gender, Context, and Message Framing. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Appendix I: Write-Up of Experiment 5 Interactions Split by Leader Gender

Blame. As shown in Figure A22, a significant interaction between leader gender and message framing was found, ($F(2, 252) = 3.218$, $p = .042$, $\eta_p^2 = 025$. No significant main effects were found, all $F \leq 0.937$, $ps \geq .334$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .004$.

To further investigate the two-way interaction, simple effects were also performed at each level of leader gender. However, this revealed no significant main effects of message framing for either male leaders, $F(2, 130) = 1.507$, $p = .225$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$, or female leaders, $F(2, 122) = 1.892$, $p = .155$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$.

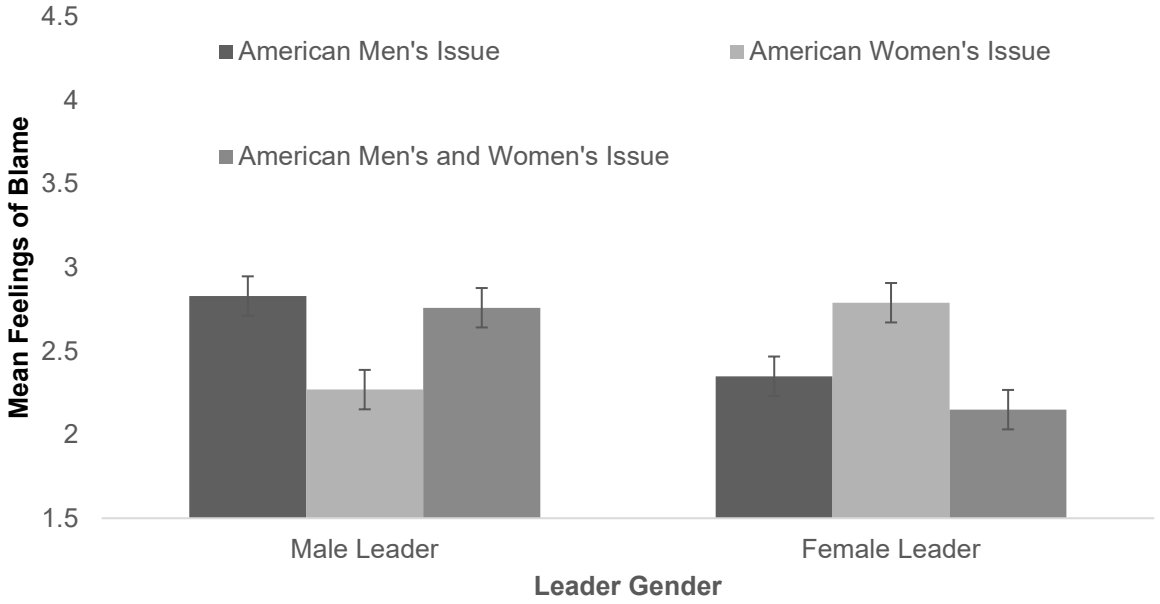

Figure A22. Mean feelings of blame as a function of message framing and leader gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Appendix J: Write-Up of Experiment 6 Interactions Split by Message Framing

Leader legitimacy. A main effect of message framing was found, $F(3, 535) = 6.831$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .037$, but was qualified by the significant interaction between participant gender and message framing, depicted in Figure A23, $F(3, 535) = 2.703$, $p = .045$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$. No other significant main effects were observed, all $F \leq 0.486$, $ps \geq .486$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .001$.

To further investigate the two-way interaction, simple effects were conducted at all levels of message framing. However, no significant main effects of participant gender were found for any of the message framing conditions, hence these results are not reported.

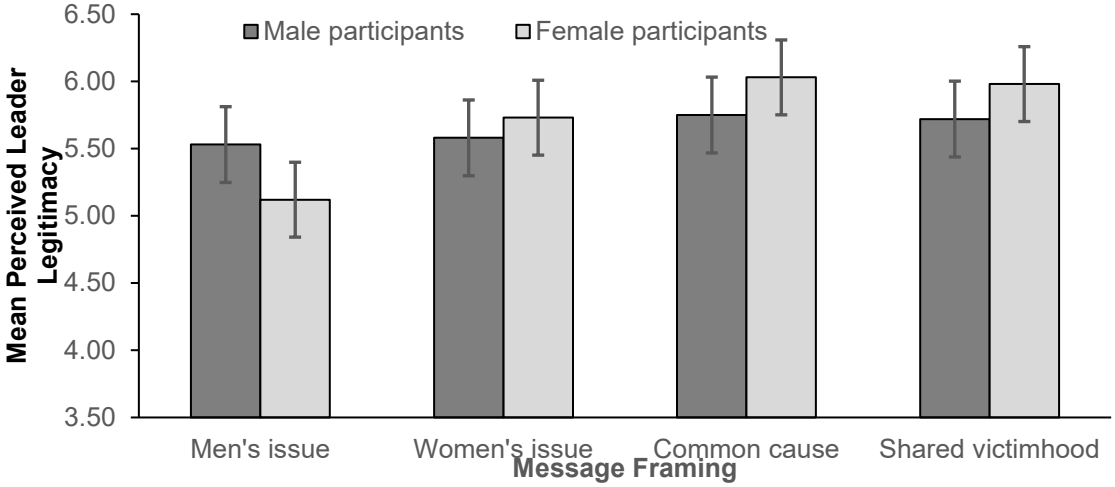

Figure A23. Mean perceived leader legitimacy as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors.

Sense of common cause with men. As depicted in Figure A24, a significant interaction between participant gender and message framing was found for sense of common cause with men, $F(3, 535) = 3.091$, $p = .027$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$. No other significant main effects or interactions were detected, all $F \leq 1.923$, $ps \geq .125$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .011$. To further investigate the two-way interaction, simple effects were conducted at all levels of message framing. This revealed a significant main effect of participant gender under men's issue framing, whereby men ($M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.09$) reported significantly higher sense of common cause with their fellow men than women did ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 1.45$) under men's issue framing, $F(3, 136) = 7.006$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .049$. There were no significant effects of participant gender found for women's issue, $F(3, 133) = 2.334$, $p = .129$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$, common cause, $F(1, 130) = 0.000$, $p = .993$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$, or shared victimhood frames, $F(3, 136) = 0.043$, $p = .837$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$.

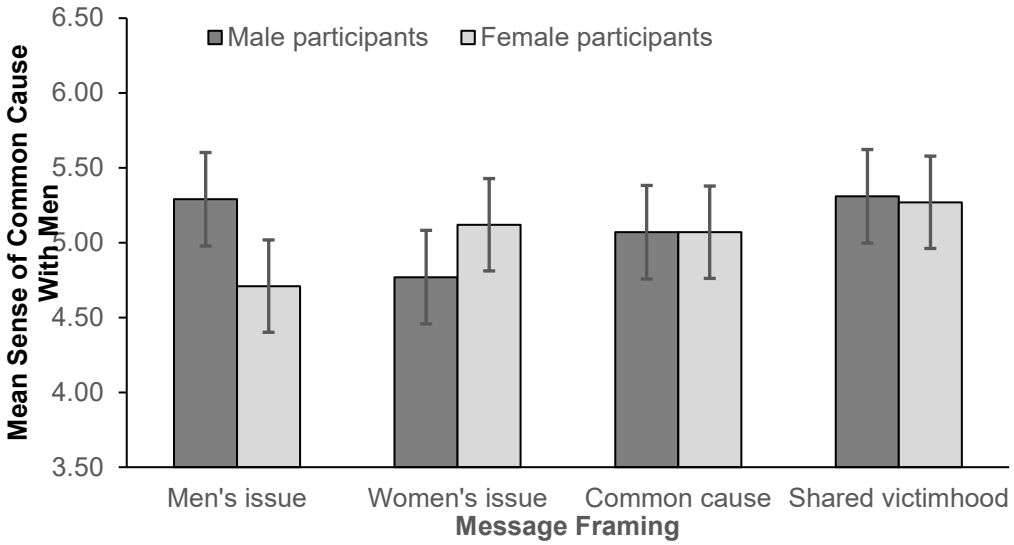

Figure A24. Mean sense of common cause with men as a function of message framing and participant gender. Error bars represent the standard errors

Appendix K: First Author Publication by Stephanie Hardacre

Hardacre, S., & Subašić, E. (**2018**). Whose issue is it anyway? The effects of leader gender and equality message framing on men's and women's mobilization toward workplace gender equality. *Frontiers in Psychology, Special Issue – Understanding Barriers to Workplace Equality: A Focus on the Target's Perspective*, *9*(2497), 1–15. doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2018.02497

The article has 5 citations (Altmetric attention score of 6 [top 25% of all research outputs ever scored by Altmetric]; 7 Tweets, 393 downloads, 2781 Frontiers website views). Frontiers in Psychology has a journal Impact Factor of 2.129 as per Journal Citation Reports 2019 (JCR). The journal is the world's #1 most-cited Multidisciplinary Psychology journal as per JCR 2019 with a 2.40 CiteScore (a metric representing average citations received in a specific year to articles published in the previous 3 years), and world's #2 most-cited General Psychology journal as per CiteScore 2018). Frontiers is also the 5th most-cited publisher among 20 largest publishers.

As per *Frontiers*, "As long as you cite the original publication with Frontiers and no third-party licenses apply within the article you are free to reprint your article. Frontiers does not provide any formal permissions for reuse." https://zendesk.frontiersin.org/hc/en-us/articles/201904562--Do-I-need-permission-to-reprint-my-article-or-parts-of-my-article-published-with-Frontiers-

Abstract

Social psychologists have not fully investigated the role of leadership in mobilising widespread support for social change, particularly gender equality. The burden of achieving gender equality is typically placed on women (particularly female leaders) - the main targets of such inequality. Traditional approaches frame workplace gender equality as either a *women's issue*, which limits men's (non-target's) involvement in the movement, or a *meritocratic non-issue* that exists due to women's (target's) tendency to pursue less intensive careers. In contrast to such work focusing on women's experiences as targets of discrimination or men's role in preserving inequality, we propose a solidarity-based approach that positions men and women as *agents of change*. This approach relies on two processes: leadership processes – particularly leadership as a form of influence based on shared identities among leaders and followers (e.g., their gender group); and political solidarity as a way to mobilise the silent majority (men) to work as allies beside a minority (women) and embrace equality as a common cause for *both* groups. In two experiments (*Ns*=338, 336) we studied how leader gender and message framing affect men's and women's support for equality by contrasting a solidarity-based framing of gender equality as a common cause for men and women, with a women's issue frame (Experiment 1) or a meritocratic frame (Experiment 2). The statement was attributed to a male or female leader (Experiments 1-2) or, additionally, to a government agency (Experiment 1). Women reported higher sense of common cause (Experiment 2) and collective action intentions than men (Experiments 1-2), and higher intentions under common cause compared to meritocracy frames (Experiment 2). Interestingly, male leaders invoked higher sense of common

cause and collective action intentions for both men *and* women regardless of framing (Experiment 2). Irrespective of leader gender however, as predicted common cause framing boosted perceived leader prototypicality, legitimacy, and influence across the board (Experiments 1-2). Yet this was qualified by women (compared to men) rating leaders as more legitimate and influential under common cause compared to meritocracy framing (Experiment 2). Women's reactions to equality messages, and the intersection of leadership and solidarity towards equality are discussed.

Key words: gender equality; leadership; solidarity action; social change; social identity; collective action; legitimacy; message framing

The burden of achieving gender equality has traditionally been placed on women (particularly female leaders), who are usually the main targets of such inequality (Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003). Typical approaches and responses to gender inequality tend to frame the issue as either the responsibility of women alone to address (e.g., 'women's work'; Mavin, 2008), or as a meritocratic 'non-issue' existing only due to women's tendency to embark on less demanding education and career trajectories (Whelen, 2013). Placing the responsibility on women alone (as both women's issue and meritocratic frames do) alleviates men's prerogative to support women affected by inequality and provides them ample rationalisation to abstain from doing so (Becker & Barreto, 2014). Meritocratic frames of gender equality imply that so long as individuals work hard, they should measure up favourably against necessary employment criteria and subsequently succeed in the workplace (Williams, 2015). When used as an explanation for why gender inequality exists, they have been shown to reduce men's understanding of inequality (de Vries, 2010) and decrease the likelihood of women acting collectively against it (Major et al., 2002).

In contrast to work focusing on women's experiences as targets of discrimination or men's role in maintaining inequality, in this paper we take a political solidarity-based approach using common cause message framing. Such framing utilises inclusive language that emphasises solidarity between men and women and makes salient (leaders' and) followers' shared social identity (Fiol, Harris, & House, 1999). This solidarity-based approach positions both men and women as 'agents of change' in a concerted effort to engage a broader audience of women *and* men (i.e., targets and non-targets; see Subašić et al., 2018). The political solidarity model (Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008) conceptualises social change as a process through which members of a majority (e.g., men) challenge the authority (e.g., male-dominated systems) in solidarity with the minority (e.g., women). In contrast to traditional frames of men as perpetrators and women as victims, this approach positions gender equality as a common cause for men and women to address together – as "comrades in struggle" (hooks, 1984, p. 67). This approach relies on two key processes. Firstly, leadership and influence processes based on shared social identity with those seeking to advance social change. The second process involves the concept of political solidarity as a way of mobilising the silent majority (i.e., men as an over-represented group within the workplace) to work as allies alongside a minority (i.e., women as an

under-represented group) and embrace gender equality as a common cause for *both* groups (i.e., men and women; Subašić et al., 2018).[3]

In line with these ideas, Seyranian (2014) found that within a renewable energy context, leaders who highlighted shared grievances of the collective group were evaluated as more prototypical, effective, trustworthy, and persuasive, and inspired greater collective action among their male and female followers. Wiley, Srinivasan, Finke, Firnhaber, and Shilinsky (2012) also found that men were more likely to participate in collective action if they believed that many men supported gender equality, which common cause framing infers. Finally, Subašić and colleagues (2018) demonstrated that framing gender equality as a common cause for both men and women (rather than a women's issue) heightened men's *and* women's collective action intentions. However, while women were mobilised by both male and female leaders, men were mobilised primarily by male leaders who espoused a common cause message (and less so by male leaders who focused on gender equality as a women's issue). This research demonstrates that not only does it matter *what* is being said (i.e., the message frame), but also *who* is saying it (i.e., the leader) and to *whom* (i.e., the target; see also Subašić, Reynolds, Reicher, & Klanderman, 2012). To the extent leaders can foster a sense of common cause or solidarity among followers by realigning their personal self-interests with broader collective goals, collective mobilisation can be expected (Turner, Reynolds, & Subašić, 2008).

This sense of common cause refers to men's and women's feelings of solidarity with those women affected by gender inequality. It involves sharing similar viewpoints, values, concerns, and goals with those people who object to and seek to reduce gender-based inequality (Subašić et al., 2018). This sense of common cause (and shared identity) most readily arises when leaders and followers share a salient ingroup (e.g., their gender group; Wiley et al., 2012; Haslam, Reicher, & Platow, 2011). Indeed, by enhancing self-categorical bonds between themselves and their relevant ingroup, ingroup leaders are more effective than outgroup leaders at influencing followers (Duck & Fielding, 2003). Finally, because gender is one of the most salient ingroups (Fiske, 1998), and arguably at its *most* salient within gender inequality contexts, people are not only conscious of their own gender in such contexts but also whether those leading the charge towards equality are men or women. Yet research has largely neglected the intricacies of gender and leadership when examining when and why female (and male) equality leaders might mobilise support for gender equality (Powell 1990).

Increased awareness of leader gender can negatively affect female equality leaders because they suffer particular disadvantage within masculine organisational contexts due to prejudicial evaluations regarding their competency (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Moreover, when female leaders *do* adopt masculine behaviours (i.e., those seen as prototypical of leaders), they violate communal expectations of women and face backlash effects (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010).

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[3] In this context the terms 'minority' and 'majority' are not referring exclusively to numerical categories but instead signify the social power available to women and men, in addition to their overall representativeness within the workplace and leadership positions. Thus women can be thought of as an under-represented group and men as an over-represented group (Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008).

Women also face accusations of self-interest (de Vries, 2015). This can destabilise their social change efforts (Eagly, Wood, & Chaiken, 1978), with female leaders typically being perceived as less legitimate and influential compared to their male counterparts who face no such accusations (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). Feminists in general also face widespread stigmatisation which can delegitimise their calls for equality (Kamen, 1991). For example, Anastosopoulos and Desmarais (2014) found undergraduates evaluated a job candidate less positively when she identified as a feminist, and feminist women are typically viewed as angry, unattractive, man-hating extremists (Faludi, 1991).

In contrast, male leaders and feminist men receive more favourable evaluations (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Anderson, 2009) and encounter positive reactions when drawing attention to gender inequality (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). However, while feminist men are viewed more positively than feminist women, they are also perceived as less stereotypically masculine or heterosexual, which can affect their readiness to identify as feminists and participate in equality efforts (Anderson, 2009). Yet sexism confrontations by men are more successful than those by women because men are seen as acting counter to group interests and as having something to lose, ultimately affording them greater legitimacy than female leaders (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Drury & Kaiser, 2014). Certainly, Cihangir, Barreto, and Ellemers (2014) found that suggestions of sexism by male sources were more beneficial to female targets than suggestions by female sources (e.g., targets exhibited increased self-confidence and greater likelihood of filing a complaint). Alternatively, Drury (2013) discovered that female observers of sexism confrontations were unaffected by confronter gender, which makes sense given confrontations by either gender aim to elevate women's social status.

Therefore it seems an asymmetry exists regarding male versus female leaders' capacity to mobilise men's and women's support for gender equality (Subašić et al., 2018). To examine this idea, we extend Subašić and colleagues' (2018) work in a novel way by assessing the psychological processes underlying leader influence and measuring whether participants' attitudes and evaluations of those leading the charge for equality differ based on leaders' gender. However, just as focusing exclusively on women is inadequate for achieving equality, viewing male leaders' engagement as the panacea for inequality is equally naïve (de Vries, 2015). Accordingly, the present research examines the role of leader gender and solidarity-based message framing in mobilising support for gender equality by men and women, to determine under what conditions these factors do or *do not* affect mobilisation towards equality.

In two experiments, we use manipulation statements attributed to either a male or female leader (Experiments 1-2) to examine whether the gender of the leader affects their capacity to mobilise support for equality, as extant literature suggests (e.g., Subašić et al., 2018; Seyranian, 2014). In Experiment 1, we additionally attribute the statement to a gender-neutral control (i.e., a government agency), against which the effects and impact of leader *gender* can be compared. It was hoped that inclusion of this control would serve as a valid baseline, allowing us to further investigate participants' responses to male and female leaders relative to a non-gendered control condition (further extending Subašić et al., 2018). We also contrast solidarity-based frames of

gender equality as a common cause with traditional approaches framing equality as a women's only issue (Experiment 1) or a meritocratic issue (Experiment 2), to determine whether the way in which the equality message is framed affects support for equality. We focus on two sets of outcome variables: mobilisation variables (including collective action intentions [Experiments 1-2] and sense of common cause [Experiment 2]), and leadership variables (including leader prototypicality, legitimacy, and influence [Experiments 1-2]).

In line with Seyranian (2014), we hypothesise that when gender equality is framed as a common cause rather than a women's issue (Experiment 1) or a meritocratic issue (Experiment 2), men and women will report higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause (Hypothesis 1a). Similarly, we also predict that when gender equality is framed as a common cause rather than a women's issue (Experiment 1) or a meritocratic issue (Experiment 2), men and women will evaluate leaders as being more prototypical, legitimate, and influential (Hypothesis 1b). Finally, as per Subašić and colleagues (2018), we hypothesise that while women's collective action intentions and sense of common cause will remain stable regardless of who promotes equality, men's intentions and sense of common cause will be higher when the equality message is attributed to a male leader rather than a female leader (Experiments 1-2) or a government agency (Experiment 1), especially under common cause compared to women's issue (Experiment 1) or meritocratic messages (Experiment 2; Hypothesis 2).

Experiment 1

Method

Participants and design

Participants were students at a large Australian university or members of the general public (*N*=480, 240 women), between 17-68 years (M_{age}=26.37, *SD*=9.41). They were recruited online via Facebook or Reddit (72%), or the university's research participation program (28%). The results did not differ between these groups. Participants comprised 44% Australians, 35.8% Americans, 5.4% Canadians, 5.2% English, and 9.6% other. They were employed on a full- (33.5%), part-time (18.5%), or casual (17.9%) basis, or identified as unemployed (26.76%) or other (3.3%). Sixty-one percent were studying full- (50.2%) or part-time (8.8%) domestically, or full-time internationally (1.7%), with the remaining 39% not currently studying. The study was a 2 (participant gender: male, female) x 3 (leader gender: male leader, female leader, government agency) x 2 (message framing: women's issue, common cause) factorial design, with equal numbers of men and women being allocated at random to one of six conditions.

An effect size of approximately *r*=.15 is typical in the field of psychology, which is equivalent to a partial eta-squared (η_p^2) of .0225 (Cafri, Kromrey, & Brannick, 2010). Thus an a priori statistical power analysis using Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, and Buchner's (2007) G*Power 3 program revealed that for a power of .80 (α=.05) the minimum sample to detect a small effect size of η_p^2=.0225 (or *f*=.151) using a 2 x 3 x 2 ANOVA is 422 (35 participants per cell). We increased this to 480 (40 per cell) to reach sufficient power after the anticipated exclusion of participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check. Sensitivity power analyses revealed that our actual obtained sample size (338) had the power to detect effect sizes of:

η_p^2=.0228 (or *f*=.152) for the participant gender and message framing main effects and participant gender X message framing interaction, and η_p^2=.0280 (or *f*=.169) for the leader gender main effect and all remaining two- and three-way interactions.

Procedure and materials

Participants completed a 15-minute online questionnaire containing the experimental manipulations and dependent measures described below. The study was conducted in accordance with the principles and recommendations of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007), as per the University of Newcastle's Human Research Ethics Committee. The protocol was approved by the University of Newcastle's Human Research Ethics Committee (Protocol Number: H-2015-0143), which is affiliated with the National Health and Medical Research Council of Australia. All participants gave electronic INFORMED CONSENT in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki. Participants were debriefed and offered the opportunity to withdraw.

Leader gender and message framing manipulations. A one-page press release ostensibly detailed the Gender Equality Commission[er]'s formation of a new group whose goal was to "address gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, and other barriers to gender equality". The vignette described gender inequality (e.g., "Women continue to earn less than men for equal work, and are less likely to be promoted to leadership positions compared to men"), and the group's progress towards their goal in an annual report (e.g., "increase the number of women in leadership positions within companies and decrease the gender pay gap"). Leader gender (male, female, government agency) was manipulated by changing the Commission[er]'s name (e.g., "Margaret [Matthew] Jamieson" vs. "The Commission") and using relevant pronouns (e.g., "her [his, our], she [he, it]"). Message framing (women's issue, common cause) was manipulated via equality group name (e.g., "[Men and] Women for Gender Equality") and message content (e.g., "it is vital [men and] women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue [together]", "[men and boys] working [together] with women and girls"). The Commission[er] communicated their pledge "to serve the [men and] women of this world" and stated their group "builds on the excellent work of all those [men and] women currently committed to achieving gender equality".

Manipulation checks. All measures used 7-point Likert scales (1=*strongly disagree/not at all*, 4=*neither agree nor disagree/somewhat*, 7=*strongly agree/very much so*). To assess the manipulation's success, participants identified the Commission[er]'s gender (male/female/not stated), and rated the extent to which the vignette provided information regarding inequality being (a) a women's only issue or (b) a common cause for men and women.

Collective action intentions. Eight items (α=.95) measured participants' collective action intentions supporting gender equality (adapted from Glasford & Calcagno, 2012; and van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Example items included: "[Imagine you were approached by the Commission and asked to participate in their latest campaign for gender equality. In response, would you be willing to…] Sign a petition to stop inequality against women", "Talk to male [female] colleagues about gender inequality".

Leader prototypicality. Five items (α=.85) measured participants' perceived prototypicality of the leader (adapted from Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001). For example, "[Thinking of the gender equality movement and people who support it, would you say the Commission:] Is representative of members of the movement", and "Stands for what people in the movement have in common".

Leader legitimacy. Four purpose-built items assessed the leader's perceived legitimacy ("…do you think the Gender Equality Commission's statement was Legitimate/Justified/Valid/Reasonable"; α=.96).

Leader influence. Four items measured the leader's perceived influence (adapted from Wiley et al., 2012; "…do you think the Gender Equality Commission's statement was Persuasive/Convincing/Compelling/Credible"; α=.92).

Results

SPSS Version 23 was used to perform between-participants ANOVA's on all dependent variables, with participant gender, leader gender, and message framing as factors.

Manipulation checks

Frequency statistics confirmed that 70% of participants correctly identified the Commission[er]'s gender (68.1% male, 72.5% female, 70% not stated). Participants who failed to correctly identify the leader's gender were excluded from further analyses, bringing the final sample to 338 (167 women). Participant exclusion distribution rates did not differ significantly by condition ($\chi(5) = 6.321$, $p = .276$), and are reported alongside final participant gender distributions for each cell in Table 1.

Participants in the women's issue conditions were significantly more likely than participants in the common cause conditions to agree that the article discussed "The need for women alone to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being a women's only issue" ($F(1, 336)=55.986$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.143$; *Ms*=3.80 and 2.53, *SDs*=1.60 and 1.50, respectively). In contrast, participants in the common cause conditions were significantly more likely than participants in the women's issue conditions to agree that the article discussed "The need for both men and women to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being a men's and women's issue" ($F(1, 336)=109.870$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.246$; *Ms*=5.90 and 4.06, *SDs*=1.40 and 1.80, respectively). No other significant effects were found, indicating that our manipulations were successful.

Correlations

Inspection of the correlations assessing relationships between the dependent variables indicated that these were measured reliably and are consistent with existing research (see Table 2).

Mobilisation variables

As reported below, contrary to Hypothesis 1a neither men nor women reported higher collective action intentions under common cause (compared to women's issue) framing. Additionally, Hypothesis 2, which predicted that men (but not women) would report higher intentions under male leaders (compared to female or government leaders), particularly under

common cause messages, was not supported. Instead, men (and women) reported similar collective action intentions irrespective of leader gender and message framing.

Collective action intentions

Absence of a significant main effect of message framing failed to provide support for Hypothesis 1a, which predicted that men and women would report higher intentions under common cause compared to women's issue framing. Instead, participants reported similar collective action intentions regardless of how the message was framed ($M_{commoncause}$=4.73, *SD*=1.68; $M_{women'sissue}$=4.52, *SD*=1.88; $F(1, 326)=2.10$, $p=.148$, $\eta_p^2=.006$).

Our three-way prediction that men would report higher collective action intentions under male leaders, particularly under common cause messages (H2), was not supported, $F(2, 326)=0.753$, $p=.472$, $\eta_p^2=.005$.

Finally, a significant main effect of gender revealed that women (*M*=5.23, *SD*=1.61) expressed higher collective action intentions than men (*M*=4.03, *SD*=1.75), $F(1, 326)=45.176$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.122$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F\leq 0.718$, $ps\geq.489$, $\eta_p^2\leq.004$.

Leadership variables

Supporting Hypothesis 1b, all participants consistently rated leaders as being significantly more prototypical, legitimate, and influential when leaders framed gender equality as a common cause for men and women to work towards together, as opposed to an issue concerning women alone (reported below).

Leader prototypicality

A main effect of message framing revealed that in line with Hypothesis 1b, participants perceived leaders as being significantly more prototypical of the gender equality movement when they promoted common cause (*M*=4.71, *SD*=0.98) rather than women's issue framing (*M*=4.43, *SD*=1.11), $F(1, 326)=5.972$, $p=.015$, $\eta_p^2=.018$. None of the remaining main effects or interactions reached significance, all $F\leq2.373$, $ps\geq.095$, $\eta_p^2\leq.014$.

Leader legitimacy

Supporting Hypothesis 1b, a main effect of message framing demonstrated that participants viewed leaders as being significantly more legitimate when they promoted common cause (*M*=5.17, *SD*=1.55) rather than women's issue framing (*M*=4.75, *SD*=1.87), $F(1, 326)=5.874$, $p=.016$, $\eta_p^2=.018$. A main effect of gender also showed that women (*M*=5.26, *SD*=1.62) perceived leaders to be significantly more legitimate than men did (*M*=4.66, *SD*=1.79), $F(1, 326)=10.304$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.031$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F\leq1.151$, $ps\geq.318$, $\eta_p^2\leq.007$.

Leader influence

Replicating all other leadership evaluation findings and supporting Hypothesis 1b, participants perceived leaders to be significantly more influential when they promoted gender equality as a common cause (*M*=4.40, *SD*=1.44) compared to a women's issue (*M*=3.98, *SD*=1.58), $F(1, 326)=7.355$, $p=.007$, $\eta_p^2=.022$. Similar to our leader legitimacy results, a main effect of gender again showed that women (*M*=4.52, *SD*=1.39) rated leaders as more influential

than men did (M=3.84, SD=1.58), $F(1, 326)=18.028$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.052$. No other main effects or interactions were significant, all $F\leq0.932$, $ps\geq.395$, $\eta_p^2\leq.006$.

Discussion

Experiment 1 saw gender equality being promoted by either a male or a female leader, or a gender-neutral government agency, and framed as either a common cause for men and women to combat, or as an issue concerning women alone. Overall, women reported higher collective action intentions than men (addressed in the General Discussion). However, our prediction that framing equality as a common cause (rather than a women's issue) would result in increased mobilisation towards equality (H1a) was not supported. Instead, men and women reported equal collective action intentions irrespective of how equality was promoted. This is in contrast to Subašić and colleagues (2018), who found common cause framing heightened participants' collective action intent (although for men, this effect only emerged when a male leader promoted the common cause message). Indeed, a key aim was to examine whether the source of the gender equality message being a male leader (compared to a female or government leader) would increase men's mobilisation towards equality, particularly under common cause messages (H2). However, this hypothesis was not supported. Instead, men and women expressed similar collective action intentions irrespective of who promoted the equality message and how.

While our collective action findings do not reflect Subašić and colleagues' (2018), the present work extends theirs in a novel way by explicitly examining the leadership and influence processes underlying participants' mobilisation. Importantly, our prediction that solidarity-based common cause frames of gender equality would elicit more positive evaluations of leaders (as per Seyranian, 2014; H1b) was supported. Indeed, when leaders highlighted equality as a common cause rather than a women's issue, participants consistently perceived those leaders as being significantly more prototypical, legitimate, and influential – a pattern which emerged irrespective of leader gender. These novel findings are addressed in the General Discussion.

Experiment 2

Experiment 2 aimed to build upon Experiment 1 (and Subašić et al.'s 2018 paper) and manipulate the perceived legitimacy of inequality by contrasting common cause framing with meritocratic framing. In contrast to traditional women's issue approaches which subtly place the responsibility for addressing inequality onto women, meritocracy framing more blatantly assigns the blame for inequality to women. Indeed, meritocratic ideology preserves workplace inequality by implying it is partly women's fault due to their tendency to pursue less intensive career and education paths (Whelen, 2013). Such ideology argues that so long as women gain the necessary experience, they should climb the meritocratic hierarchy with ease (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2010). This framing echoes Sandberg's (2013) 'lean in' philosophy, which maintains that if only women would show up and "sit at the table" (p. 27), learn to master negotiation techniques, take advantage of mentorship and leadership opportunities, and commit to their own individual growth, they would succeed in the workplace. Essentially, this kind of meritocratic framing legitimises gender inequality by foisting blame onto the individual failings of people, rather than considering discriminatory structural factors that genuinely undermine the achievement of

equality (Major & Schmader, 2001). Understandably then, meritocracy is often proffered as an argument or excuse for abolishing affirmative action policies such as quotas or preferential treatment strategies which take into account minority or under-represented group status, because these strategies are perceived as violating meritocratic principles (Son Hing, Bobocel, & Zanna, 2002).

Meritocratic justifications of gender inequality are thus particularly troublesome given that the perceived illegitimacy of gender inequality is a key predictor for participation in collective action (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Indeed, the more one perceives gender inequality to be unjust or illegitimate, the higher one's likelihood of participating in collective action, and vice versa (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Certainly, unquestioning adherence to meritocratic ideals is known to undermine men's understanding of gender inequality (de Vries, 2010), and decrease women's likelihood of acting collectively against inequality (Major et al., 2002). For example, Jetten, Schmitt, Branscombe, Garza, and Mewse (2011) found that higher perceived legitimacy and pervasiveness appraisals of discrimination were linked to lowered collective action intentions among women in academia. McCoy and Major (2007) also showed that priming meritocratic beliefs among women (e.g., "effort leads to prosperity", p. 343) resulted in them justifying group disadvantage by reducing their perceptions of discrimination. Similarly, men and women were more likely to accept gender inequality following exposure to essentialist theories of social change, such as the belief that gender-based labour segregation is due to innate biological differences between men and women (Morton, Postmes, Haslam, & Hornsey, 2009). However, these studies relied on either providing false feedback regarding fellow female employee's legitimacy appraisals, or simply priming meritocratic and essentialist beliefs, rather than explicitly manipulating the suggested reasons behind gender inequality's existence.

In contrast, study designs that *do* experimentally manipulate the perceived legitimacy of gender inequality and measure the effects on individuals' mobilisation allow for the assumed causal direction to be tested (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Accordingly, Experiment 2 saw workplace inequality being framed either as a common cause for men and women to work towards together, or as an issue existing due to meritocratic reasons. By explicitly manipulating the perceived legitimacy of gender inequality, we hoped to examine the effects that legitimacy appraisals or explanations have on men's and (particularly) women's responses to calls for gender equality. Additionally, we expected that contrasting common cause framing with a more polarising version of women's issue framing (i.e., meritocracy) would strengthen the effects of common cause framing on participants' mobilisation. Indeed, implying that inequality exists for legitimate reasons further absolves men of any responsibility to combat it (Whelen, 2013).

Furthermore, inclusion of the government agency in Experiment 1 may have contributed to the flattening of responses we observed on our leader gender factor. Due to this, and given the importance of leadership processes to mobilisation and our desire to determine the effects of leader *gender* on mobilisation, we focused solely on male and female leaders in Experiment 2. A lack of statistical power in Experiment 1 might further explain our lack of significant findings,

given 30% of participants were excluded due to failing the leader gender manipulation check. This resulted in Experiment 1's cell size decreasing from the recruited 40 participants per cell to an average of only 28 participants per cell. Consequently, we improved Experiment 2's power by increasing the sample size from 40 to 45 per cell. We also measured participants' sense of common cause (i.e., solidarity; Subašić et al., 2018), given solidarity is of key importance to the present paper. This measure seeks to better assess men's and women's sense of solidarity with those women affected by gender inequality. Finally, belief in meritocracy is a core American ideology (Kluegel & Smith, 1986), therefore an American sample was used as it was presumed meritocratic explanations of inequality would be most familiar to Americans, regardless of whether they themselves endorse the ideology (McCoy & Major, 2007).

Method

Participants and design

Participants were 360 White Americans (180 women), aged 18-65 years (M_{age}=34.13, *SD*=11.66), who were recruited via crowdsourcing website Prolific (2017) and remunerated $1.15USD. Prolific allows recruitment of naïve participants based on specified criteria (e.g., employment status), and use of such crowdsourcing portals efficiently and appropriately produces data with similarly good reliability as found in typical undergraduate samples (Behrend, Sharek, Meade, & Wiebe, 2011). Participants were employed on a full- (63.9%), part-time (18.3%), self-employed (13.6%), casual (2.2%), or other (1.9%) basis. Students comprised 19.4% of the sample, while 80.6% were not currently studying. The study followed a 2 (participant gender: male, female) x 2 (leader gender: male leader, female leader) x 2 (message framing: meritocratic issue, common cause) factorial design with equal numbers of men and women being randomly allocated to one of the four conditions.

A G*Power analysis revealed that for a power of .80 (α=.05), the minimum sample to detect a small effect size of η_p^2=.0225 (or *f*=.151) using a 2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA should be 343 participants (approximately 42 per cell). We increased this to 360 (45 per cell) to obtain sufficient power following the expected removal of those who failed the leader gender manipulation check. Sensitivity power analyses showed that our obtained sample size (336 participants) had the power to detect effect sizes of η_p^2=.0228 (or *f*=.152) for all main effects and interactions.

Procedure and materials

Participants completed a 15-minute online questionnaire following the same procedure as in Experiment 1.

Leader gender and message framing manipulations. We imbued Experiment 2's vignette with an increased emphasis on corporate culture depictions of workplace inequality issues, given our sample consisted primarily of employed participants who presumably had greater workplace experience compared to Experiment 1's sample, which consisted primarily of younger students (M_{age}=26.37, *SD*=9.41; 61% studying; 52% employed). Accordingly, although leader gender (male, female) was manipulated in the same manner as in Experiment 1 ("Margaret [Matthew]", "her [his]"), the Gender Equality Commissioner was replaced with the Chief Delegate to the

Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development. Additionally, in both message framing conditions, the Chief Delegate first described their aspirations to address pay and leadership disparities within the business and corporate world in particular (e.g., "increase the number of women in business leadership positions", "women still comprise only 21% of board members and 9% of CEOs globally").

Our message framing manipulation consisted of one additional paragraph that framed inequality as either an issue that primarily exists due to meritocratic reasons and that women can overcome so long as they exert sufficient effort in the workplace (meritocratic issue), or a common cause for both men and women to address together (common cause). The meritocratic manipulation paragraph stated: "While gender inequality continues to be a significant social and economic issue, those women who are in senior management roles show that it is possible to move up the leadership ladder by working hard, 'leaning in', and making sacrifices. These women demonstrate that all individuals can succeed in the workplace irrespective of their gender — as long as they are prepared to invest the time, energy, and significant effort needed for such advancement. Indeed, in the business world, those who apply themselves and make sacrifices along the way reap the rewards, because business — and society more broadly — has always rewarded hard work". The common cause manipulation stated "While gender inequality continues to be a significant social and economic issue, it is now an issue that matters to both men and women. However, our report shows that progress towards this common goal has stalled, which is why it's important that both parties are engaged and committed to tackling this issue together. Admittedly, while there is no 'silver bullet', we know that men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality contributes to achieving a host of health and developmental outcomes, not just those within the business world".

Manipulation checks. Participants identified the gender of the Chief Delegate (male/female), then rated the extent to which inequality was discussed as (a) a meritocratic issue or (b) a common cause.

Collective action intentions. Six items assessed participants' collective action intentions towards achieving gender equality (α=.91; adapted from Calogero, 2013; and Subašić et al., 2018). Sample items included: "[Imagine that the Chief Delegate has approached you directly to help with their campaign for gender equality. In that context, please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements…] Sign a petition (in person or online) in support of women's rights and gender equality", "I would vote for a political party that fights against gender inequality".

Sense of common cause. Four items measured participants' sense of common cause (i.e., solidarity) with those women affected by gender inequality (α=.96; adapted from Subašić et al., 2018). Sample items included: "Those seeking to reduce income inequality and leadership disparities between men and women share my goals and concerns", "I feel solidarity with the women affected by income inequality and leadership disparities", and "I see myself as someone who shares the views of the women who object to these forms of inequality".

Leadership measures. Measures of leader prototypicality (α=.95), legitimacy (α=.95), and influence (α=.95) were identical to those used in Experiment 1.

Results

To investigate the effects of message framing on men's and women's responses, significant participant gender X message framing interactions were unpacked by performing separate one-way ANOVA's on relevant dependent variables at both levels of participant gender.

Manipulation checks

Frequency statistics revealed 93% of participants identified the Chief Delegate's gender correctly (95.6% male, 91.1% female). The 24 participants (7%) who failed this check were excluded from further analyses, hence the final sample comprised 336 (170 women). Participant exclusion distribution rates did not differ significantly by Condition ($\chi(3) = 3.571$, $p = .312$) and are reported below in Table 3 alongside final participant gender distributions for each cell. The higher percentage of participants passing the leader gender check relative to Experiment 1 is likely due to participants being remunerated via Prolific, which allows recruitment of participants who have a track record of serious study attempts (e.g., successful study completion rates over 85%).

Participants in the meritocracy conditions were significantly more likely than those in the common cause conditions to agree that the article discussed "Women in senior management roles showing it's possible to move up the leadership ladder by working hard" and "The idea that all individuals can succeed in the workplace irrespective of their gender, as long as they work hard" ($F(1, 328)=176.954$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.350$; *Ms*=5.83 and 3.53, *SDs*=1.60 and 1.27, respectively). Participants in the common cause conditions were significantly more likely than those in the meritocracy conditions to agree that the article discussed "The need for men and women to be engaged and committed to tackling gender inequality together" and "The need for men and boys to work together with women and girls to promote gender equality" ($F(1, 328)=317.891$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.492$; *Ms*=6.14 and 3.21, *SDs*=1.17 and 1.82). There was also a participant gender x message framing interaction ($F(1, 328)=9.693$, $p=.002$, $\eta_p^2=.029$), with simple effects performed at each level of message framing showing only a main effect of gender for merit conditions, $F(1, 164)=8.495$, $p=.004$, $\eta_p^2=.049$. Women were significantly *less* likely to agree with the common cause manipulation items ($M=2.81$, $SD=1.72$) than men ($M=3.61$, $SD=1.85$), indicating that women were more capable of distinguishing between the message frames. No other significant effects were observed, indicating our message framing manipulation was successful.

Correlations

Table 4 shows that the correlations between the dependent variables were again consistent with extant research.

Mobilisation variables

Hypothesis 1a predicted that men and women would report higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause under common cause compared to meritocracy message frames. Providing partial support for this hypothesis, women (but not men) reported higher intentions (but not sense of common cause) under common cause framing. Additionally,

Hypothesis 2 was not supported, which predicted that men would report higher intentions and sense of common cause under male leaders who promoted a common cause message. Instead, men reported significantly higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause under male (compared to female) leaders irrespective of message framing. Importantly, women *also* reported higher intentions and sense of common cause under the same conditions.

Collective action intentions

Contrary to Hypothesis 1a, no significant main effect of message framing was found, with participants instead expressing similar collective action intentions irrespective of how the message was framed ($M_{commoncause}$=4.78, *SD*=1.72; $M_{meritissue}$=4.55, *SD*=1.50; $F(1, 328)=1.78$, $p=.185$, $\eta_p^2=.005$). However, we detected a significant participant gender X message framing interaction (shown in Figure 1; $F(1, 328)=5.035$, $p=.026$, $\eta_p^2=.015$), which qualified the significant main effect of gender that was also detected (M_{women}=5.13, *SD*=1.46; M_{male}=4.28, *SD*=1.61), $F(1, 328)=26.404$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.075$.

Simple effects performed at both levels of participant gender revealed a significant main effect of message framing for women, $F(1, 168)=7.322$, $p=.008$, $\eta_p^2=.042$, but not men, $F(1, 164)=0.342$, $p=.560$, $\eta_p^2=.002$. Providing partial support for Hypothesis 1a (which predicted that men *and* women would report higher intentions under common cause frames), only women reported higher intentions under common cause (*M*=5.40, *SD*=1.44) compared to meritocracy frames (*M*=4.80, *SD*=1.46). Alternatively, contrary to Hypothesis 1a, men expressed similar (albeit still lower than women's) collective action intentions regardless of how the equality message was framed ($M_{meritissue}$=4.31, *SD*=1.50; $M_{commoncause}$=4.16, *SD*=1.76).

Finally, absence of a significant three-way interaction failed to provide support for Hypothesis 2 which predicted that men would report higher intentions under male leaders who promoted a common cause message, $F(1, 328)=0.480$, $p=.489$, $\eta_p^2=.001$. Instead, a significant leader gender main effect showed that irrespective of how the equality message was framed, male (and female) participants expressed significantly higher collective action intentions when male leaders discussed equality (*M*=4.86, *SD*=1.60) compared to when female leaders did (*M*=4.49, *SD*=1.62), $F(1, 328)=4.816$, $p=.029$, $\eta_p^2=.014$. This indicates that male (compared to female) leaders were better at mobilising male *and* female participants. All remaining main effects and interactions were non-significant, all $F\leq1.766$, $ps\geq.185$, $\eta_p^2\leq.005$.

Sense of common cause

No significant main effect of message framing was found, thus failing to support Hypothesis 1a. Instead, participants reported similar sense of common cause regardless of how the message was framed ($M_{commoncause}$=5.25, *SD*=1.68; $M_{meritissue}$=5.09, *SD*=1.43; $F(1, 328)=0.65$, $p=.419$, $\eta_p^2=.002$).

Absence of a significant three-way interaction again failed to support Hypothesis 2 which predicted that men would report higher sense of common cause under male leaders promoting a common cause message, $F(1, 328)=0.899$, $p=.344$, $\eta_p^2=.003$. Instead, replicating our collective action findings, a significant main effect of leader gender revealed that irrespective of message framing, men *and* women reported significantly higher sense of common cause under male

leaders (M=5.33, SD=1.46) than female leaders (M=5.00, SD=1.65; F(1, 328)=4.429, p=.036, η_p^2=.013). We also observed a significant main effect of gender, with women (M=5.78, SD=1.17) expressing higher sense of common cause than men (M=4.55, SD=1.67), F(1, 328)=63.457, p<.001, η_p^2=.162. No other significant main effects or interactions were detected, all F≤3.279, ps≥.071, η_p^2≤.010.

Leadership variables

Supporting Hypothesis 1b and replicating Experiment 1's significant findings, participants evaluated leaders as being significantly higher in leader prototypicality, legitimacy, and influence when they promoted gender equality as a common cause rather than a meritocratic issue. However, this was qualified by an interaction showing that women in particular rated leaders as significantly more legitimate and influential under common cause compared to meritocracy framing.

Leader prototypicality

Consistent with Hypothesis 1b, leaders who promoted equality as a common cause (M=5.42, SD=0.99) were evaluated as being significantly more prototypical of the gender equality movement than leaders who used meritocratic explanations for inequality (M=4.29, SD=1.54), F(1, 328)=65.527, p<.001, η_p^2=.167. A significant leader gender main effect also revealed that female leaders (M=5.12, SD=1.34) were rated as being significantly more prototypical of the gender equality movement than male leaders (M=4.62, SD=1.43), F(1, 328)=12.437, p<.001, η_p^2=.037. No other main effects or interactions were detected, all F≤2.051, ps≥.153, η_p^2≤.006.

Leader legitimacy

Consistent with Hypothesis 1b, a significant main effect of message framing showed that leaders who employed common cause framing (M=5.61, SD=1.20) were viewed as significantly more legitimate than leaders who relied on meritocracy framing (M=4.79, SD=1.63), F(1, 328)=28.006, p<.001, η_p^2=.079. However, this finding was qualified by the significant two-way interaction between participant gender and message framing shown in Figure 2, F(1, 328)=10.553, p=.001, η_p^2=.031. Simple effects performed at each level of participant gender showed a significant main effect of message framing for women, F(1, 168)=31.613, p<.001, η_p^2=.158, but not men, F(1, 164)=2.576, p=.110, η_p^2=.015. Women evaluated leaders as significantly less legitimate when they framed equality as a meritocratic issue (M=4.50, SD=1.82), rather than a common cause for men and women (M=5.81, SD=1.18). In contrast, men viewed leaders as being equally legitimate regardless of how they framed their equality message ($M_{commoncause}$=5.39, SD=1.19; $M_{meritissue}$=5.08, SD=1.36). No other main effects or interactions were significant, all F≤1.389, ps≥.239, η_p^2≤.004.

Leader influence

Supporting Hypothesis 1b, and replicating our prototypicality and legitimacy findings, leaders who promoted gender equality as a common cause (M=4.98, SD=1.29) were considered significantly more influential than those who promoted it as an issue pertaining to meritocracy (M=4.39, SD=1.55), F(1, 328)=14.347, p<.001, η_p^2=.042. However, in line with our legitimacy

results, this finding was again qualified by a significant participant gender x message framing interaction, $F(1, 328)=3.857$, $p=.050$, $\eta_p^2=.012$ (see Figure 3). Simple effects examining both levels of participant gender showed message framing had a significant effect on women, $F(1, 168)=13.932$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.077$, but not men, $F(1, 164)=2.028$, $p=.156$, $\eta_p^2=.012$. Replicating our leader legitimacy findings, women viewed leaders as significantly more influential when they framed equality as a common cause ($M=5.11$, $SD=1.39$) rather than an issue of merit ($M=4.23$, $SD=1.69$). Again reflecting our leader legitimacy findings, men perceived leaders as being equally influential regardless of how they promoted equality ($M_{commoncause}=4.84$, $SD=1.17$; $M_{meritissue}=4.56$, $SD=1.38$).

Discussion

A key aim of Experiment 2 was to directly contrast male and female equality leaders (bar a gender-neutral control) to better determine whether they differ in their capacity to mobilise individuals towards gender equality. Supporting Hypothesis 1b and replicating Experiment 1's findings, participants again evaluated leaders as being significantly more prototypical, legitimate, and influential under common cause rather than meritocratic framing. However, this finding was qualified by an interaction which showed that women (but not men) evaluated all leaders as being significantly more legitimate and influential when they promoted common cause instead of meritocracy frames. These findings are addressed in the General Discussion.

Another key aim of Experiment 2 was to examine how manipulating the perceived legitimacy of gender inequality affects men's and women's responses to the issue, by contrasting common cause framing with meritocratic framing. Replicating Experiment 1's significant findings, women reported significantly higher collective action intentions than men, and the same pattern was found for women's sense of common cause with the women affected by inequality. While Hypothesis 1a was not supported in Experiment 1, in the current experiment women reported significantly higher collective action intentions (but not higher sense of common cause) under common cause compared to meritocracy message frames. Meanwhile, men's mobilisation remained unaffected by message framing. Therefore, despite all participants evaluating leaders who promoted common cause frames more positively, Hypothesis 1a was partially supported for women, but not men, and only for collective action intentions, not sense of common cause. Additionally, in regards to Hypothesis 2, men (*and* women) expressed higher collective action intentions and higher sense of common cause under male leaders compared to female leaders. This indicates that male leaders were more successful than female leaders at mobilising male *and* female participants. However contrary to Hypothesis 2 this effect was *not* enhanced under common cause messages. These findings are discussed below.

As anticipated, contrasting solidarity-based common cause framing with a more polarising and legitimating version of traditional women's issue frames (i.e., meritocracy) strengthened the effects of such framing on (women's) mobilisation. One limitation is that including a third women's issue condition would have allowed us to better determine the effects of common cause framing relative to meritocratic framing. Nevertheless, these results indicate that women, as the primary targets of gender inequality (and as compared to men, who are

typically non-targets and even perpetrators of inequality) are *particularly* sensitive to how the issue of equality is promoted, and remain differentially affected by legitimating meritocratic messages. Certainly, women's adoption of meritocratic beliefs surrounding inequality can lead them to "reconstruct the glass ceilings they have cracked" (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2010, p. 371). Our findings reflect this, given that women were significantly *less* likely to report collective action intentions or feelings of common cause under meritocratic frames. Essentially, providing women with a meritocratic explanation of inequality removed their motivation to agitate for collective action, likely as a reaction to the message's legitimating content. Ultimately, discrimination perceived as legitimate removes the impetus for collective action by "undermining the validity of the collective grievances of the group" (Jetten et al., 2011, p. 118).

General Discussion

This paper extends Subašić and colleagues' (2018) findings by explicitly examining the role of leadership and influence processes in affecting social change. As predicted (H1b), across both studies common cause framing (compared to more traditional frames of equality) enhanced leadership evaluations of all leaders irrespective of their gender. Indeed, common cause leaders were evaluated as being significantly more prototypical, legitimate, and influential by both men and women (Experiments 1-2). This indicates that solidarity-based common cause framing plays a key role in affecting support for social change towards equality. As Steffens and colleagues (2014) assert, "leaders need not only to 'be one of us'…but also to 'do it for us'…to 'craft a sense of us'…and to 'embed a sense of us'" (p. 1001). Common cause framing achieves this perception of leaders being 'one of us' by making them appear more prototypical and subsequently more legitimate and influential to followers. Certainly, prototypical leaders derive their influence partly from perceptions that they embody collective group interests, which common cause framing achieves (van Knippenberg, 2011). When (male and female) leaders position themselves as a common leader for men *and* women and thus craft a sense of common cause and shared identity, both men and women appear more favourable towards, and receptive of, these equality leaders.

Despite this, our prediction that common cause framing would also result in higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause on behalf of both men and women was not wholly supported (H1a). Instead, providing partial support for Hypothesis 1a, women (but not men) expressed increased collective action intentions (but not sense of common cause) under common cause messages compared to meritocratic messages (Experiment 2). Meanwhile, men appear less affected by *what* is being said, compared to *who* is saying it: message framing did not affect men's mobilisation in either experiment, but in Experiment 2 they (along with women) reported higher collective action intentions and sense of common cause under male leaders – irrespective of how they framed the issue. However, because this effect was not enhanced under common cause messages, our prediction that men would report higher intentions and sense of common cause under male leaders promoting common cause messages was not supported (H2).

Nevertheless, this finding that male leaders mobilised participants more effectively than female leaders (Experiment 2) signals that leader gender remains a crucial aspect of the leader-

influence process when striving to mobilise follower support towards social change. It is not sufficient to merely "walk the talk" (Kotter, 2007, p. 101) by promoting equality as a common cause for men and women – it appears leaders must also embody a shared identity with their followers. Indeed, the gender of the leader seems to greatly affect their capacity to rally supporters, with male leaders invoking significantly greater mobilisation than female leaders irrespective of *how* they framed their message, or how positively *or* negatively they were evaluated as leaders (Experiment 2). Due to male feminists being free from the stigma associated with being a female feminist, this may have contributed to their higher mobilisation of participants (Anderson, 2009). Additionally, Wiley and colleagues (2012) discovered that men exposed to positive (rather than negative) feminist portrayals demonstrated increased feminist solidarity and collective action intentions. A male leader publicly endorsing equality could be viewed by men as a positive feminist role model, likely allowing men to readily adopt feminist behaviours (i.e., collective action intentions). Certainly, it has become increasingly socially acceptable for male leaders and celebrities to publicly self-identify as feminists (e.g., Barack Obama, Justin Trudeau, and Ryan Gosling), but this acceptance is yet to extend to women (Crowe, 2018). Furthermore, seeing fellow gender ingroup members promote equality likely diminished men's status protection motives, in contrast to outgroup female members who likely threatened their status and thus decreased their willingness to combat the status quo (Branscombe, 1998).

Taken together, our mobilisation results speak to there being different mobilisation pathways for men and women, just as there exists "differing starting places and processes for women and men" (de Vries, 2010, p. 36) in their journey towards supporting gender equality. Namely, as the principal targets of workplace gender inequality, women appear particularly sensitive to the way in which leaders frame their equality messages, especially when such messages can be perceived as legitimating and therefore preserving gender inequality (e.g., meritocratic frames). Women are both demobilised by, and prone to negatively evaluating leaders who choose to adopt such legitimating messages. Furthermore, in both experiments women expressed significantly higher collective action intentions (and sense of common cause in Experiment 2) than men. This strong gender difference demonstrates that women, as the primary targets of gender inequality, are more readily invested in and mobilised for equality than are men. Certainly, women are highly motivated to act collectively against inequality because it damages their group's prospects (van Zomeren & Spears, 2009), and such feminist behaviour aims to elevate women's status relative to men, hence is likely more attractive to women than to men (Radke, Hornsey, & Barlow, 2018). This reflects extant work in related domains, for example workplace gender discrimination (Iyer & Ryan, 2009), sexism confrontations (Becker & Barreto, 2014), and women's sexual objectification (Guizzo, Cadinu, Galdi, Maass, & Latrofa, 2017).

These results have implications for the study of social change towards gender equality, specifically in regards to leadership and shared identity. Namely, our findings suggest that men are doubly advantaged in mobilising followers because they already possess a shared identity with both male and female followers: shared gender identity and dominant ingroup membership

with men, and shared cause (in the form of gender equality) with women (irrespective of how they frame the issue; Subašić et al., 2018). Essentially, male leaders signal to men *and* women that "we are all in this together" (Subašić et al., 2018, p. 7). In contrast, female leaders, who are admittedly fellow targets of inequality alongside their female followers or employees, do not yet possess a similar shared identity with their (male) followers. Future research should explore alternative message framing or leadership style strategies that female leaders could adopt in order to erode the clear disadvantage they face in gender equality contexts (and beyond).

Limitations and future research

These results should be considered in light of certain limitations. Firstly, we did not replicate Subašić and colleagues' (2018) finding that solidarity framing increased men's and women's collective action intent (an effect that only emerged for men when a male leader promoted the common cause message). One methodological explanation for this is potential weakness of our manipulation vignettes or the manipulation checks themselves. While in the correct rank order, responses of participants in the women's issue conditions to the women's issue manipulation checks in Experiment 1 were actually below the scale's midpoint, indicating a 'Neither agree nor disagree' response. The Likert-type manipulation check items may not have adequately distinguished between message framing conditions, and additionally common cause condition participants might have misinterpreted and agreed with the women's issue manipulation items too. Certainly, this condition ultimately encompassed equality as a women's (*and* a men's) issue. However, these lowered scores could also indicate disagreement that the article discussed inequality as being a women's only issue, and thus weakness of our vignette. Certainly, our manipulation differed slightly from Subašić et al.'s (2018). Whereas their manipulation specified an *Australian-based* Gender Equality Commission, our vignette focused on a supposedly *global* context and authority figure, with absence of a relevant superordinate identity to provide a localised context or initial shared identity for participants to relate to (e.g., an Australian or American Commission). Given the central role that social identity has been shown to play in the current and extant work (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2008; Banfield & Dovidio, 2013; Klandermans, 2014), future research should investigate whether the inclusion (or exclusion) of a more specific superordinate identity would differentially affect a) participants' ability to recall the manipulation's contents, and b) participants' mobilisation towards equality. For example, future studies could explicitly and orthogonally manipulate the salience of global versus American superordinate identities.

Admittedly, many of our dependent variable means also hung around the scale's midpoint. Certainly, offering a middle response category can increase the likelihood of participants disproportionately adopting a midpoint response style (Weijters, 2006). Nevertheless, this raises concerns as to whether participants properly engaged with the study materials, and whether our manipulations elicited the desired effect. The large percentage of participants (30%) who failed to correctly identify the leader's gender in Experiment 1 indicates our manipulations were perhaps too subtle for participants to effectively distinguish between the three leader gender conditions. Indeed, participants had minimal (fictitious) information to base

their appraisals on (e.g., first names and pronouns only). Future work requires improvement of the vignettes' clarity and strength to ensure the desired effect is elicited (e.g., additional biographical information, photographs, real-world leaders), and use of alternative manipulation checks, such as writing a short paragraph about the vignette's contents immediately following its presentation (Evans et al., 2015). Future research should also reconsider use of midpoint labelling and utilise larger samples.

Additionally, Subašić and colleagues' (2018) sample comprised primarily young Australian undergraduates, whereas we utilised a combined Australian and American undergraduate and general public sample (Experiment 1) and an older American employed sample (Experiment 2). Thus participants' personal experience (or lack thereof) of gender inequality may have differed, subsequently affecting their responses to different gender equality messages. Indeed, Experiment 2 used a largely employed American sample, and compared to typical undergraduate samples these working respondents had more likely been exposed to workplace gender inequality. Such familiarity could undermine women's acceptance of the meritocratic ideology used, given employed women are more likely than men or unemployed women to be cognisant of structural inequalities and thus predisposed to interpret gender inequality as being structurally-based (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2010). Despite attempts to keep the meritocracy messaging subtle, anecdotal feedback indicated some female participants did not 'buy' the meritocratic framing, particularly when attributed to female leaders (e.g., "I thought there was a subtle implication in Margaret's statement that the barrier to women holding high level management positions was they weren't working hard enough"; "It sounded like she was saying - other women can do it, so if you failed it's your own fault and there is no systemic discrimination"). Future research could utilise more naïve samples and more nuanced meritocracy messages.

Our study design also limits the causal inferences we can draw. It is possible that the interventions used have the potential to be effective, however were not intensive or long-lasting enough to engender concrete change in participants' social change behaviours towards gender equality. The use of self-report measures also makes it difficult to ascertain whether collective action intentions translate into actual engagement with equality and feminism beyond the studies. Longitudinal studies directly engaging participants in collective action for equality could determine whether the effects of our manipulations extend beyond participation in the current studies. Furthermore, this could uncover whether participating in collective action can both *shape* individuals' responses to inequality and *be shaped* by individuals' perceptions and actions concerning inequality (Iyer & Ryan, 2009).

Concluding remarks

Paradoxically, by virtue of their gender and the privileges it permits, male leaders seem to possess the ability to undertake gender equality leadership roles and mobilise men and women more effectively than female leaders (Marshall, 2007). Indeed, despite holding formal authority within the workplace, female leaders' gender appears to limit their ability to address inequality (Martin & Meyerson, 1998). Yet we have also demonstrated that leaders' influence and ability to

mobilise follower support goes beyond their gender to encompass the rhetoric they adopt when discussing gender equality, in addition to *who* they are targeting. While women (compared to men) are inexorably more invested in, and thus more readily mobilised towards gender equality, they still remain particularly sensitive to how calls for equality are framed. This is in comparison to men, who appear relatively unaffected by differing frames of gender equality. Ultimately, the current studies point to the importance of there being an intersection between leadership and solidarity processes in order to bridge the gap between women's and men's mobilisation towards gender equality. This intersection requires further unpacking to achieve a more nuanced understanding. Importantly, just as the present research highlights the existence of different mobilisation pathways for targets and non-targets of workplace gender inequality, so too might there exist different pathways for male and female equality initiative leaders to achieve successful mobilisation of followers.

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