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INSTITUTO UNIVERSITÁRIO DE LISBOA

IUL School of Social Sciences

Department of Social and Organizational Psychology

Effects of Social Power in the Development of Ambivalent Sexism in Childhood

Ana Carolina dos Santos Pereira

Dissertation submitted as partial requirement for the conferral of
Master in Social and Organizational Psychology

Supervisor:

Ricardo Borges Rodrigues, PhD, Invited Assistant Professor
ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon

Co-supervisor:

Ana Guinote, PhD, Professor
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Abstract

The present investigation explores boys' and girls' endorsement of ambivalent sexism (i.e., hostile and benevolent sexism) beliefs when they are in a situation of unequal distribution of power, while taking into consideration a developmental perspective.

This study included 218 children, with ages from six to 12-years-old, separated by sex (53.7% female) and into two age groups (i.e., younger and older groups). A power manipulation was carried out in pairs, placing one child in a high-power position and the other in a low-power condition. Among other measures, Children's Ambivalent Sexism Measure (CASM) was applied.

The results revealed significant sex differences on the endorsement of hostile sexism, with boys showing higher endorsement levels than girls. And this effect was qualified by the interaction effect between power condition, sex, age group and ambivalent sexism dimension. Significant age differences on the endorsement of hostile sexism by powerful males were found, with older boys showing higher endorsement levels than younger boys.

The findings partially confirm our hypotheses and are discussed considering practical implications.

Keywords: Children; Gender; Development; Ambivalent Sexism; Power.

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Resumo

A presente investigação explora a adesão de rapazes e raparigas a crenças de sexismo ambivalente (i.e., sexismo hostil e benevolente) quando colocados numa situação de distribuição desigual de poder, tendo sempre em consideração uma perspetiva desenvolvimental.

Este estudo contou com a participação de 218 crianças, dos seis aos 12 anos de idade, separadas por sexo (53.7% sexo feminino) e em dois grupos de idade (i.e., grupo das crianças mais novas e mais velhas). Uma manipulação de poder foi levada a cabo, colocando uma criança numa posição de alto poder e a outra na condição de baixo poder. Entre outros instrumentos, a Medida de Sexismo Ambivalente para Crianças (CASM) foi aplicada.

Os resultados revelaram diferenças de sexo significativas na adesão a crenças de sexismo hostil, com os rapazes a mostrarem níveis mais altos de adesão do que as raparigas. E este efeito foi qualificado pelo efeito de interação entre a condição de poder, sexo, grupo de idade e dimensão de sexismo ambivalente. Para além de algumas diferenças marginalmente significativas, diferenças significativas de idade na adesão a crenças de sexismo hostil por parte de rapazes na condição de poder alto foram encontradas, com os mais velhos a mostrarem níveis mais altos de adesão do que os mais novos.

Os resultados confirmam parcialmente as nossas hipóteses e são discutidos considerando implicações práticas.

Palavras-chave: Crianças; Género; Desenvolvimento; Sexismo Ambivalente; Poder.

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Introduction

Gender inequalities are an ever present issue and that is obvious through the still existing gender asymmetries (Comissão para a Cidadania e a Igualdade de Género [CIG], 2017). As Scott (1986) defended "gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power." These power relations derive from a gender hierarchy where women are generally placed in the least favorable position, and a particular type of ideal masculinity allows men to be perceived as more powerful, while simultaneously stigmatizing other kinds of less prestigious masculinities (Connell, 1987). This gender hierarchy relies on emotionally charged social relations that may arise in both hostile and sympathetic forms, precisely because society's foundation falls on power, subordination and oppression (Guenther, Humbert, & Kelan, 2018; Scott, 1986). Thus, gender has often been seen as a proxy for power (Guinote & Vescio, 2010).

However, there are instances where power relations may be more subtle and not as unilateral, because men's power is not transversal to all social spheres and may diffuse in some situations (Connell, 1987). And when women challenge male hegemony, hostile sexism emerges through men's aggressive attitudes (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Therefore, and considering how little we know about the development of gender and power relations, and also how power differences and gender jointly influence children's perceptions of gender roles, it becomes extremely relevant to understand how children perceive one of the most relevant social categories, gender, and its stereotypes. The ultimate goal of the present investigation was to learn how children identify behaviors considered normatively feminine or masculine, and if they use a harsher, or more indulgent, lens while judging those behaviors when they are put in a different power position.

This work is divided in four chapters. In the first chapter some gender asymmetries and stereotypes are presented. The ambivalent sexism theory is explained and the development of gender relations during childhood is outlined. Next, some social power approaches are introduced while also taking into consideration a gender and a developmental perspective. The second chapter includes the sample characterization, the used measures, and a detailed procedure delineation. In the third chapter the results of the investigation are reported. Finally, the fourth chapter comprises discussion of the obtained results, where the main conclusions are extrapolated, as well as a description of some of the limitations found throughout this study, and some practical implications.

Chapter I – Theoretical Framework

Sex and Gender

Gender stands out for being a relatively ambiguous construct given its strong relation to the notion of sex. These two terms seem to have been going hand in hand for a long time. In the 1960s, it was believed that the distinction between males and females was essentially rooted in biology and, therefore, the word used to portray that distinction – sex – had very firm ties with this study field. Also, because of this idea that the male and female differences stem from biology, the term sex hinted at an underlying inability to change (Nicholson, 1994).

Around the 1960s and 1970s, feminist researchers began to extend the use of the term gender as a form of refutation of this biological determinism. These researchers accepted the fact that there are biological differences that distinguish men and women in various societies. However, they argued that many differences were not of the biological type, nor direct effects of biology (Nicholson, 1994). These differentiating factors derive precisely from the process of socialization, namely the learning of the gender roles attributed by society (Bandura, 1971; Deaux, 1984). Thus, sex "refers to the feminine and masculine characteristics from an anatomical and biological (genetic and hormonal) point of view", while gender "refers to the sociocultural model that defines the social expectations of masculinity and femininity" (Borges, 2014, p. 175).

Gender asymmetries

Gender asymmetries – i.e., social, economic, and political differences between women and men deriving from social constructed gender roles – are still a reality in our days and that is visible by the occupational segregation, both vertical and horizontal (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001). In 2017, while the representation of men and women in the active population did not reveal great discrepancies, the biggest differences lie in the inactive population, more precisely in the category of domestic people, with a feminization rate of 97.6% (Comissão para a Cidadania e a Igualdade de Género [CIG], 2017). Nevertheless, in 2016, the employment rate of 20 to 64-year old's in the European Union was 76.9% for men and 65.3% for women. While in Portugal, this employment rate was 74.2% for men and 67.4% for women, with a higher rate of feminization in administrative positions (65.7%), and in personal, security and safety services and sellers (64.4%). Still, the feminization rate in positions as representatives of the legislature and executive bodies, managers, directors and executive managers was only of 35.9%. In addition, differences are also observable from a remuneration point of view.

Regarding both basic remuneration and gains, men earn on average more than women. For example, in relation to the basic remuneration, men earn on average 990.05€ and women 824.99€, translating into a difference of about 16.7%. Concerning the average monthly gain (premiums, benefits, supplementary work compensation), the difference becomes even greater (19.9%), with men earning an average of 1207.76€ and women 966.85€.

With respect to education, the evidence shows significantly more women than men to completing higher education. Data from 2014/2015 shows that women are in the majority in all levels of education of higher education, i.e., there are more women finishing bachelor's degrees, specializations, master's degrees, integrated masters and doctorates. It is also important to highlight the prevalence of the female gender in the completion of courses in Education (79.4%), Health and Social Protection (79.0%) and Social Sciences, Commerce and Law (61.8%; CIG, 2017). These gender asymmetries reveal that even though women make a bigger investment on their education, this does not seem to be enough to eliminate the existent gender gap, since women have lower employment rates and remuneration and cannot be found in higher status jobs.

Gender stereotypes

All these data refer to asymmetries that represent, and reinforce, gender stereotypes. These stereotypes emerge from the dichotomous division and distribution of men and women into different social roles (Amâncio, 1992; Deaux, 1984). According to the Stereotype Content Model, the content of these beliefs is organized in two dimensions, namely *warmth* and *competence* (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). Warmth encloses traits such as sincerity, loyalty, morality, sociability, and good intentions, while competence corresponds to traits related to ability, intelligence, assertiveness, and effectiveness. The interaction and combination of these two orthogonal dimensions allows to identity four types of stereotypes. Two are defined as ambivalent because they result from a positive evaluation in one dimension and negative in the other. That is, the content of a stereotype is ambivalent when a person or group is assessed as *warm* and *incompetent* or, at the other extreme, *hostile* and *competent*. Moreover, groups perceived as competent are consequently seen as more powerful and groups perceived as warm are seen as more cooperative (Fiske et al., 2007).

Research shows that men are stereotypically perceived as being more agentic, while women are perceived as more community-oriented (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994; Peterson, 2004). And these gender stereotypes are fueled by the societal distribution of men and women into their domestic and employee roles, since their occupational role seems to be a strong foundation

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of the perception of agentic and communal traits (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994; Eagly & Steffen, 1984). These perceptions are based on observations made in both family and organizational contexts, where the patriarchal control prevails and it is more likely for women to occupy lower levels regarding the status hierarchies (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Ingersoll, Glass, Cook, & Olsen, 2019). That is visible, for example, by the frequency with which females join community-oriented degrees (e.g., Education) or are responsible for taking care of children. Hence, it is presumed that the fundamental qualities for childcare, such as the ability to ensure children's well-being and provide affection, are representative traits of this group (Eagly & Steffen, 1984). Thereby, the view of women as domestic has been fostered for a while and it is a stereotype consistent with the high warmth and low competence quadrant of the Stereotype Content Model.

Ambivalent Sexism Theory

Sexism is a form of prejudice and discrimination based on the belief that one sex is superior to the other (Masequesmay, 2019). Beyond the unpleasant attitudes, generally targeting women, that serve to maintain the male domination, sexism also refers to the exclusion and marginalization that women face in different social, cultural, political, and economic structures (Masequesmay, 2019; Olomukoro & Aimankhu, 2017). The reinforcement of traditional gender roles, usually coupled with the manifestation of hostile attitudes towards women, represents sexism in its more recognizable form. However, and more recently, it has been shown that sexism can be positive and negative in valence, meaning that the gender roles can develop through both hostile and benevolent attitudes (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994; Glick & Fiske, 1996). That is, ambivalent sexism is based on both negative and positive evaluations of women that maintain, and even nurture, traditional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Consequently, gender inequalities remain due to the alternation between punishments and rewards or reinforcements promoted by these two types of sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

In the context of the Ambivalent Sexism Theory, *hostile sexism* refers to the beliefs and practices informed by traditional gender roles according to which a woman's place is at home, because she does not have the competence to rule over economic, legal and political institutions (Glick & Fiske, 1996). This type of sexism can be expressed by condemning women who do not conform to gender role norms and who wish to break the status quo (Glick & Fiske, 2001). It also serves to justify men's dominance as well as the devaluation and objectification of women. Therefore, people who hold and express this type of sexism consider women inferior

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to men, revealing antipathy and intolerance towards women as authority figures and as power holders.

Differently, *benevolent sexism* encloses positive attitudes towards women (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997), and rewards women who conform to traditional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Benevolent sexism acknowledges the dyadic power of women and the dependence that this power generates in men. In opposition to hostile sexism, the relationships that men establish with women, including sexual relations, are romanticized. People who demonstrate this type of sexism show a more paternalistic view, considering that women need attention, are fragile, but complement men.

Both hostile and benevolent sexism can be further specified in three dimensions: *paternalism*, *gender differentiation*, and *heterosexuality*. Hostile sexism includes *dominant paternalism*, *competitive gender differentiation*, and *heterosexual hostility*, while benevolent sexism entails *protective paternalism*, *complementary gender differentiation*, and *heterosexual intimacy* (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997).

Paternalism can be defined as the system of relations based on the authority of a person, analogously to the role of the father towards a child. Generally, because the authority figure adopts either a controlling attitude or a protective one, in relationships of this type the capacities of those who are in the most vulnerable position are scorned, stagnating their development (Dworkin, 2015). Hence, paternalism can show a dominant or protective character. Dominant paternalism characterizes women as incapable and incompetent, evidencing the need for a hierarchically superior male figure to control them. On the other hand, protective paternalism portrays women as fragile, and their weaknesses justify the need for protection, care, and comfort. Given that there is a dyadic dependence of men on women – not only for reproductive purposes, but as their wives, daughters and mothers – the need for protection becomes stronger when the man feels like the women are his property and, thereby, has to embody the role of provider of the relationship (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997).

Heterosexuality is the dimension that most ambivalence generates in men, since the dyadic dependence on women implied creates an uncommon situation in which the members of the higher status group are dependent on those from the lower status group (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Heterosexual hostility entails the belief that women seduce men to manipulate them and the view of women as sexual objects. This female objectification refers to the perception of sex as a resource to which men have access only through women, which, in turn, leads to male vulnerability (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997). Thus, for some men, their sexual attraction to women may be inseparable from their desire to control and dominate them, which translates into

another form of heterosexual hostility (Bargh & Raymond, 1995; Pryor, Giedd, & Williams, 1995). On the other hand, heterosexual intimacy results from men's need to establish a close relationship, since these romantic relationships between men and women are indicated as the most psychologically intimate relationships men have (Berscheid, Snyder, & Omoto, 1989). According to Bareket, Kahalon, Shnabel and Glick (2018), the dichotomous categorization of women as "good" or "bad" also extends to their sexuality.

Gender differentiation rests on the general belief that the set of distinctive physical characteristics of each sex informs each gender group identity of their distinction at a social level. Thus, these biological differences constitute a necessary and sufficient condition for adherence to prescribed gender roles (Harris, 1991, cited by Glick & Fiske, 1996). When accepting these roles each group is automatically given a social status and, as mentioned above, women will be positioned in a lower social status more often. So, gender differentiation can present itself as competitive, viewing the man as the holder of the traits and skills necessary to govern important social institutions, and raising his self-esteem. Then it stays implicit that women's skills and competencies are insufficient to prevail in the public environment, and should therefore remain in the private sphere (Filho, Eufrásio, & Batista, 2011; Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001). On the other hand, complementary gender differentiation proposes that the positive traits presented by women compensate for their absence among men, such as men's lack of sensitivity (e.g., being sensitive to other's feelings). Thereby, due to the existing dyadic dependence, this dimension of benevolent sexism sustains that women complement men, which in turn contributes to reinforcing existing gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997).

As a result, both types of sexism serve to maintain gender differences where men are usually regarded in a higher status than women.

Development of Gender Relations in Childhood

As postulated by Bem (1981, 1983) in her Gender Schema Theory (GST), during development children learn society notions of femininity and masculinity. A schema can be defined as a set of associations built on past experiences that guide the perceptions of individuals (Bartlett, 1932; Bem, 1983). The GST proposes that children, besides learning information that is specific about each gender group, also learn to encode and organize new information in a constantly evolving gender schema. Children at an early age begin by forming these associations through nonverbal cues (Halim, Ruble, Tamis-LeMonda, Shrout, & Amodio, 2017).

Relatedly, the Developmental Intergroup Theory identifies a set of socio-psychological processes that drive the development of children's stereotypes and prejudices (Bigler & Liben, 2006, 2007). Through salient and visible attributes, like gender and race, children categorize individuals into different groups. By ages two to three years old children can categorize various stimuli, whether social or physical. Given the importance and salience of gender as a category in the perception of the self and others, children at this age can self-categorize as a 'girl' or 'boy' and can also categorize others (photographs and dolls) according to sex (Campbell, Shirley, & Caygill, 2002; Duveen & Lloyd, 1986; Edwards, 1984; Stennes, Burch, Sen, & Bauer, 2005). Still around two years of age, children begin to associate traits, such as emotionality, weakness, passivity, gentleness, and demonstration of affection to females, and aggression, strength, energy and activity to males (Kuhn, Nash, & Brucken, 1978; Miller, Lurye, Zosuls, & Ruble, 2009; Quinn, Yahr, Kuhn, Slater, & Pascalis, 2002).

In essence, categorization is often the base for social stereotyping (Bigler & Liben, 2006). It has been shown to increase the recognition of differences between groups and the similarities within-group (Doise, Deschamps, & Meyer, 1978), while also increasing the perception of outgroup homogeneity, meaning, a tendency for generalization (Park & Rothbart, 1982). Social categorization then leads to an increased inter-group bias, that is, ingroup favoritism and outgroup antagonism (Allen & Wilder, 1975). This bias may not flourish necessarily because outgroups are disliked but because they are deprived of positive sentiments (e.g., admiration, trust) since those are solely limited for the ingroup. And the segmentation between ingroup preference and outgroup prejudice is particularly intense when the category distinguishing two significant social groups is dichotomous, like sex (Brewer, 1999). So, by the age of five children already show a pretty consolidated preference for their own gender (Yee & Brown, 1994), because they begin to identify with the gender role assigned to them and start preferring activities that are considered gender-appropriate (Bem, 1983). This evidence is consistent with Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1971), according to which children adopt behaviors that are appropriate to their gender role and are able to identify behaviors inconsistent with that role while taking into consideration the rewards and punishments they receive. Although, counter-stereotypical behaviors seem to be more rewarding for girls than for boys (Coyle, Fulcher, & Trübutschek, 2016). Gender non-conforming girls may be more accepted because they have typically positive masculine traits (e.g., competitiveness), while gender non-conforming boys suffer from a bigger stigma and prejudice, considering they show female stereotypic negative traits (e.g., crying easily). Nevertheless, both non-conforming boys and girls may look for their peers' acceptance and adults' approval and non-conforming children

usually become an easier exclusion target (Koenig, 2018; Martin, 1989; Schope & Eliason, 2004).

Nonetheless, Glick and Hilt (2000) have suggested that with age there tends to be a decrease on the endorsement of hostile sexism while the endorsement of benevolent sexism tends to increase. However, recent researches have shown that both hostile and benevolent sexism seem to be present during childhood (Cavadas, 2018; Gutierrez, Halim, Martinez, & Arredondo, 2019; Richters, 2019). Gutierrez et al. (2019) have shown that the belief that girls should be taken care of emerges since very early on for girls and only during mid-childhood for boys. At the same time, the belief that boys should always be the heroes also appears very early on the childhood for boys and not until mid-childhood for girls. The authors refer that with age boys become more likely to believe that girls (instead of boys) should get special treatment while girls during mid-childhood are more likely to recognize gender inequality and because of that they tend to reject it. Similarly, while boys' beliefs regarding who should be the hero remain the same across all ages, girls become less likely to say that boys should be the heroes as they age. This means that as they get older, boys tend to show an increase, and girls show a decrease, on their endorsement of benevolent sexism.

Overall, children seem to be more aware of benevolent sexist practices and endorse higher levels of this type of sexism than hostile sexism, most likely because benevolent sexism is more normative (Richters, 2019). And Cavadas (2018) also found that the levels of benevolent sexism do not seem to increase with age but there is a decrease on hostile sexism levels.

Perspectives on Social Power

The concept of social power implies the existence of an interaction that, in turn, presupposes links that unite individuals in a social structure. These connections can be expressed through the way in which these individuals control the resources and/or results of each other, that is, they can be translated into dependency, independence, or interdependence. Social power then refers to people's ability to, under certain circumstances, influence others – through reinforcements and/or punishments – and control their resources and results (Dépret & Fiske, 1993; Fiske, 1993; Fiske & Dépret, 1996; Goodwin, Operario, & Fiske, 1998; Guinote, 2007a). Situational power is a more specific form of power. It implies a local and temporal restriction of its exercise, limiting the context in which the individual or group can operate (Goodwin et al., 1998).

The Situated Focus Theory of Power, Guinote (2007a) proposes that power affects the individual's basic cognition and self-regulation. The agency, typical of individuals with power, is mainly a result of their information processing being more focused and directed towards their goals, expectancies, needs, or affordances. For example, if someone is working on their new project – a powerful person will concentrate on work related activities, especially activities that will help them meet their goals, ignoring distracting information. Differently, a powerless person is more prone to get distracted by irrelevant information and later, at home, when they are not working, they will still be worrying about the project (Guinote, 2007a).

So, the Situated Focus Theory of Power is based on the actual process relative to the processing of the information, and not on the content of the information. Unlike other authors (e.g. Fiske, 1993; Fiske & Dépret, 1996), who claim that power stimulates the processing of specific content, such as stereotypes, Guinote (2007a) argues that power influences cognition in a way that makes information processing more selective and flexible. Powerful individuals are more selective in processing information since they block sources of information irrelevant to the factor that drove cognition, freeing them from constraints and giving them greater control over their surroundings (Guinote, 2007a). By contrast, powerless subjects are more constrained and dependent on external conditions, so they tend to be attentive to all sources of information in order to understand the surrounding environment (Fiske, 1993; Fiske & Dépret, 1996).

Individuals with power are also more cognitively flexible. Power gives the subject the possibility of adapting his attentional focus – narrowing or widening it – depending on the situational requirements. So, because of this cognitive flexibility, powerful individuals have a greater ability to seek and process both stereotypical and counter-stereotypical information. Power allows them to categorize or to individualize information more easily as it is more congruent or incongruent, respectively, with the situation. In short, cognition always adjusts to the situation so that the subject can select the most adaptive response (Guinote, 2007a).

According to the Theory of Approach/Inhibition of Power, power restrains the inhibition system and enhances the approach system due to the smaller number of threats that are present in powerful individuals' surroundings. In the context of gender relations, men act in a more uninhibited way, expressing themselves more freely (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002), and manifesting greater confidence and assertiveness in situations of group interaction. It is then expected that men will have more opportunities to speak and, consequently, people will agree more and assess their contributions more positively (Wagner & Berger, 1997). Wherefore, it is possible to perceive a cycle where the favoring of the male gender in intergroup interactions is

always present and from which results a greater number of successful attempts to influence others.

Social power and gender relations

Given the importance of situational factors in group interactions, there are scenarios where roles can be reversed, placing women in a more privileged position (Carli, 1999). Different scenarios imply different types of social power. For this reason, French and Raven (1959) developed a model of social power that makes it possible to perceive gender differences in each group's ability to influence others. The model advocates that an individual or group, O, is able to influence a person, P, to a certain extent depending on the relationship between them, especially P's perception of O. According to these authors, the ability that people have to influence others is based on different forms of social power: legitimate power, expert power, referent power, reward power, and coercive power (French & Raven, 1959).

In general, women are seen as not being able to demand respect or authority, largely due to the belief that they are less competent than men (Fiske et al., 2007; Fiske & Ruscher, 1993) and, consequently, it is considered that they are the group with the lowest levels of legitimate and expert power. Referent power is a relationship-based type of power, where O has a relatively inactive role, since P is the one who seeks to identify with O. So, referent power is perceived to be more common with women. Women may also have higher levels of reward and coercive power when it comes to the other's need to be loved or approved, because females tend to have more personal resources. Albeit, when it comes to concrete resources such as money and opportunities to apply rewards or punishments, men have higher levels of reward and coercive power (French & Raven, 1959; Johnson, 1976).

As Vescio, Schlenker and Lenes (2010) pointed out, the sexism expressed by powerful men is usually the benevolent kind and these sexist acts often generate gender differences where they formerly did not exist. In different contexts, women are often mistreated (e.g., they are exploited, or their ideas are unappreciated or misattributed to others) but, in order to soften their discontentment, these unjust episodes are presented with acts of apparent kindness like praise and encouragement. Although, while seemingly flattering, benevolent sexism is still an oppressive way of keeping women in a lower position compared to men. This way, men in powerful contexts can make use of hostile or benevolent strategies, considering the situation they are in.

Also, considering society evaluates benevolent attitudes as positive (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005), and because women's endorsement of this type sexism derives partially from

the fact that they are part of the subordinate gender group, they generally accept this kind of sexist attitudes more easily. However, when put in a powerful position, women are not so easily charmed by the sympathy typical of benevolent sexism (Napier, Thorisdottir, & Jost, 2010; Vial & Napier, 2017).

Regarding hostile sexism, in western cultures, the endorsement of this type of sexism is much less common, in particular by women, because otherwise they would be transcending other egalitarian values (Napier et al., 2010). It has also been shown that power does not affect women's endorsement of hostile sexism (Vial & Napier, 2017).

Nonetheless, because hostile sexism refers to the antipathy and hostility toward women who do not conform to gender roles and therefore challenge male power (Glick & Fiske, 1996), when men are in a situation where they have power over women, the consistency between their situational position and their baseline power facilitates the endorsing and expressing of hostile sexist beliefs. However, when they are taken away that power and put in a position where they are part of a subordinate group, men feel their masculinity threatened (Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003). If they are not constantly showing off their manhood, men feel like they failed to live up to the standards of masculinity and as a result, they adopt harsh influence strategies (e.g., coercion; Raven, Schwarzwald, & Koslowsky, 1998; Roth & Schwarzwald, 2016; Vandello, Bosson, Burnaford, Weaver, & Cohen, 2008). Among these harsh strategies, the presence of hostile sexism is expected.

The development of social power in childhood

Although somewhat explored in adulthood, French and Raven's (1959) power bases have not yet been tested with children. Nevertheless, studies show that infants with only 10 and 13 months begin to correlate the size of the actors in an interaction with their social power, associating the larger agent with greater power (Thomsen, Frankenhuis, Ingold-Smith, & Carey, 2011). Children between five and six years of age perceive nonverbal cues (e.g., correct posture) as indicators of social power (Brey & Shutts, 2015). These studies demonstrate children's early ability to perceive and process socially implicit cues related with social power. Alongside, Gülgöz and Gelman (2017) identify five explicit dimensions that characterize social power in childhood: resource control, permission, goal achievement, giving orders, and setting norms.

Resource control is one of the more evident the properties of the concept of social power and, therefore, also has been very studied and proven evolutionarily (Guinote & Vescio, 2010; Hawley, 1999). Different studies indicate that children perceive the value of resources early on through their understanding of property and ownership (e.g., Neary, Friedman, & Burnstein,

2009; Noles & Gelman, 2014; Shaw, Li, & Olson, 2012). Children from the age of four begin to demonstrate the ability to distinguish individuals who have or do not have control over certain resources (Gülgöz & Gelman, 2017; Li, Spitzer, & Olson, 2014), showing preference for those who can control resources (Li et al., 2014). As Gülgöz and Gelman (2017) pointed out, this preference suggests that the observation of how resources are operated and manipulated in social interactions allows them to infer relations of power.

The ability to grant or deny permission makes it possible to control the results of other individuals (Fiske, 1993; Gülgöz & Gelman, 2017). Thus, children will see this facet of social power through a deontic perspective, that is, how they perceive what is socially permissible, prohibited and obligatory (Dack & Astington, 2011). Children as young as three years old already understand social permissions and obligations and can make inferences about a person by means of that person granting or denying them permission (Dack & Astington, 2011; Neary et al., 2009). Children, then, experience situations in which social power is clearly present through the granting or denial of permission, since they are told what they can, should and should not do from very early on (Gülgöz & Gelman, 2017).

Over the years, several researchers have indicated that goal achievement, at the expense of other individuals, can also be considered as a manifestation of social power (Fiske, 1993; Guinote & Vescio, 2010; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003). Previous research has shown that young children can perceive intentional and goal-directed behaviors and can identify happy or sad individuals through the achievement of their goals, that is, whether or not they managed to get, or not, what they want, respectively (Gülgöz & Gelman, 2017; Rakoczy, Warneken, & Tomasello, 2007). Gülgöz and Gelman (2017) report that although children can distinguish the emotions resulting from the (un)accomplishment of goals, they have not yet gathered sufficient evidence to show that children realize that the ability to achieve goals represents a power differential. However, these authors demonstrated that three years old already express sensitivity regarding this facet of social power (Gülgöz & Gelman, 2017).

Gülgöz and Gelman (2017) also present the ability to give orders as another strand of social power. The delegation of tasks and imperative verbal orders is an exclusively human practice evident since childhood (King, Johnson, & Vugt, 2009). Earlier studies show that pre-school children and children between the ages of seven and 11 accept orders from peers and adults that they consider authority figures (Kim, 1998; Laupa, 1994). Just as the authors were uncertain about children's ability to interpret goal achievement as a manifestation of social power, the same uncertainty remained regarding the present dimension. However, their results

reveal that the understanding of the ability to give orders as a form of social power arises around the age of seven (Gülgöz & Gelman, 2017).

Finally, setting norms is the last attribute of social power emphasized by Gülgöz and Gelman (2017). Social norms can be explicitly stated (e.g., a child explains the rules of a game) or implicitly (e.g., a child's behavior/appearance is imitated by their peers). Given that children imitate other subjects whom they consider powerful, setting norms becomes a relevant aspect of social power. At about 14 months of age children begin to distinguish and choose the individuals who they will imitate upon the reliability of the model (Zmyj, Buttelmann, Carpenter, & Daum, 2010). From the age of three, children show preference for models they consider to be prestigious and that previously have served as models for other children (Chudek, Heller, Birch, & Henrich, 2012; McGuigan, 2013).

Thus, despite the sensitivity to recognize the ability to give orders and to set norms as facets of social power only emerging later in childhood, compared to the other three, with their empirical studies, Gülgöz and Gelman (2017) were able to demonstrate, from a developmental perspective, five representative dimensions of social power to children. It, then, becomes important to understand how gender affects the perception of power throughout childhood.

The Present Study

The goal of this research is to analyze the expression of ambivalent sexism beliefs in children between six and 12 years of age, while testing the effect of situationally induced power. In addition, it will also be investigated children's age as a moderating factor regarding the effect of power on the endorsement of ambivalent sexism beliefs.

Regarding the study's hypotheses, it is expected an interaction effect between sex and ambivalent sexism dimension, specifically hostile sexism, thus boys should endorse higher levels of hostile sexism than girls (H1). Differences between powerful boys and powerless boys, as well as between powerful girls and powerless girls, are not expected.

It is also expected an interaction effect between power condition, sex and ambivalent sexism dimension, specifically benevolent sexism (H2). Powerful girls should endorse lower levels of benevolent sexist beliefs than powerless girls (H2a). The endorsement of benevolent sexism by women results from the fact that they are members of the subordinate gender group (Napier et al., 2010; Vial & Napier, 2017). Consequently, when they are put in an unusual high power position, women tend to recognize the pseudo acts of sympathy characteristic of

benevolent sexism (Vial & Napier, 2017). Then, it is expected that powerful girls will endorse less benevolent sexist beliefs than powerless girls.

In addition, powerful boys should endorse higher levels of benevolent sexist beliefs than powerless boys (H2b), because if men are put in a position where their baseline power has been taken away, they are less likely to make use of pleasant strategies and more likely to lash out, using harsher strategies (Raven et al., 1998; Vandello et al., 2008). However, there is opposing evidence showing that boys in both power conditions endorse similar levels of benevolent sexist beliefs. Because according to Vial e Napier's (2017) results, power should not interfere with boys' endorsement of benevolent sexism. Thus, considering these contradictory conclusions, hopefully the present study will shed some light on the endorsement of benevolent sexism by powerful and powerless boys.

Lastly, it is expected an interaction effect between age and ambivalent sexism dimension (H3), specifically hostile sexism. Older children should endorse lower levels of hostile sexist beliefs than younger children (H3a). On the other hand, older and younger children should endorse similar levels of benevolent sexism (H3b). The findings in Gutierrez et al. (2019) study leads us to believe that with age children's endorsement levels of benevolent sexism vary with sex. Since boys show an increase and girls a decrease, they should balance each other's levels out and, thus older children should show a similar level of endorsement of this type of sexism. Also the fact that Cavadas (2018) found decrease on hostile sexism levels with age seems to support our hypothesis.

Chapter II – Methods

Participants

The present study includes a sample of 218 children (53.7% female, 46.3% male) who attended primary school in Portugal. Participant ages ranged from six to 12 years (M_{age} = 8.15, SD = 1.54), and their data was incorporated into two groups. In the first group are the six- and seven-years old participants, and in the second group are the participants aged eight and over. So, of the 117 female children, 50 are in Group 1 (6-7-year-olds) and 67 in Group 2 (8-12-year-olds). Of the 101 male participants, 38 are in Group 1 and 63 in Group 2. As for their grade, 35.8% of the sample was in the 1st grade, 12.1% was in the 2nd grade, 15.1% was in the 3rd grade and the remaining 36.2% in the 4th grade.

Regarding nationality, 81.70% of participants (n = 178) said they were born in Portugal, 9.20% (n = 20) were from Portuguese-speaking African countries, 1.80% (n = 4) were Brazilian, 5.00% (n = 11) were born in another country and 2.30% (n = 5) did not know their country of birth. Concerning ethnicity, 68.80% of the sample (n = 150) was Caucasian, 26.10% (n = 57) was black, 3.20% (n = 7) was Asian and 1.90% (n = 4) was from another ethnicity.

Measures

Participants answered a questionnaire consisting of different measures adapted to the ages of the target population. The first part included a Social Distance measure (Lammers, Galinsky, Gordijn, & Otten, 2012), the Social Interdependence Scale (Johnson & Norem-Hebeisen, 1979) and a Perceived Self-Sufficiency measure (Lammers et al., 2012). The second part was the Children's Ambivalent Sexism Measure (CASM; Richters, 2019) and the third and final part encompassed the Family Affluence Scale III (FAS III; Torsheim et al., 2016). However, results regarding the Social Distance measure, the Social Interdependence Scale, the Perceived Self-Sufficiency measure and FAS III (Appendix A) were not interpreted because we did not obtain any significant results.

Children's Ambivalent Sexism Measure (CASM)

CASM (Richters, 2019) is an adapted version of Glick and Fiske's (1996) Ambivalent Sexism Scale. In this adaptation to a younger population, multiple illustrations are presented, with a brief story associated. In each illustration characters are portrayed in different stereotypical settings, without any indication of their gender. This measure includes 10 images, two for each sub-dimension of benevolent sexism and four for the hostile sexism dimension. That is, regarding benevolent sexism, two vignettes – with two questions each – portray the

dimension of protective paternalism (PP1_1, PP1_2, PP2_1 and PP2_2), two other vignettes – with two questions each – represent the dimension of heterosexual intimacy (HI1_1, HI1_2, HI2_1 and HI2_2), and two vignettes – with one question each – reflect the complementary gender differentiation dimension (CGD1 and CGD2). As for hostile sexism, for the sake of sensitivity to the target population concerned, the dimension of heterosexual hostility was removed. In addition, given the conceptual overlap of competitive gender differentiation and dominant paternalism (Glick & Fiske, 2001a), only four vignettes – with one question each – illustrate the hostile sexism in this measure (HS1, HS2, HS3 and HS4).

So, the images that only have one question about one character are stereotypic scenarios relative to complementary gender differentiation and hostile sexism. One example of this type of question is "In this class, the teacher asks the children to vote for a classmate who will take the position of a delegate for the class. There is one child who doesn't get any vote. Who would you like to be the child who does not get any vote?". And the images that have two questions are stereotypic scenarios relative to protective paternalism and heterosexual intimacy, where it is important to ask about both characters involved. One example of this type of question is "In this movie there is a character who travels very far and goes through many adventures to win the heart of a person. Who would you like to be the character who travels and goes through many adventures to win the heart of another person? Who would you like to be the person whose heart the first character wants to win?". In total, CASM contains 14 items.

With the applied version it is intended to access the endorsement of gender stereotypes by the participants. Children should respond accordingly with how they would like to see different situations happening. Children should, then, answer what they would like the characters in these illustrations to be using a five-point response scale. On this scale point 1 means "*I would like it to be a boy*", point 2 implies "*I am not sure, but I think I would like it to be a boy*", point 3 means "*I would like it to be a boy or a girl*", point 4 denotes "*I am not sure, but I think I would like it to be a girl*" and finally 5 reveals "*I would like it to be a girl*". The scores then range from 1 (counter-stereotypic answer) to 5 (stereotype congruent answer). Some of the items (HS1, HS4, PP1_1, PP2_1, HI1_1 and HI2_2) were reverse-coded and their index values were computed so that higher values meant higher sexism endorsement.

Study Design and Procedure

This study was a quasi-experimental study with 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design. As between-subjects variables there is power condition (powerless/workers vs. powerful/bosses),

sex (boys vs. girls) and age group (6-7-year-olds vs. 8-12-year-olds). As within-subjects variable there is ambivalent sexism dimension (hostile sexism vs. benevolent sexism).

This investigation was approved by the ISCTE-IUL Ethics Committee and was carried out with the collaboration of eight primary schools. Following contact with the schools and authorization by their principals, informed consent forms for parents and legal guardians (Appendix B) were distributed to all students of every grade. Upon the return of informed consent with the authorization of the legal guardians, data collection was initiated. This collection took place in a vacant room of the schools with the presence of a female researcher who was guiding the whole process. The recruitment of the children was done in pairs and had mandatory requirements to be of the same gender and to attend the same school year. In the room with the children, the researcher introduced herself and clarified that participation in this study was voluntary and confidential, thus acquiring the children's consent.

Power Manipulation

The power manipulation carried out in the present study was an adaptation of previous manipulations by Guinote (2007b) and Guinote et al. (2015). The children were asked to draw themselves for three minutes on a sheet of paper and with the crayons provided. When the time was up, the researcher simulated an evaluation of the drawings and randomly assigned the roles of boss and worker. Claiming that one participant had a greater ability to lead and guide and the other to work and be led, the boss was now the decision maker and the worker would have to follow the first's instructions. The boss was given a medal as a badge of his/her position, and six stickers that he/she had to keep until further notice. Then, the boss would choose one of three themes for the next assignment the worker would have to complete, those themes being: home, school, or park. After choosing one theme, the boss would stand next to the worker and instruct him for two minutes timed by the researcher. After two minutes, the boss was given an hourglass with a maximum time of three minutes. The purpose of the object was explained and now the boss could also control the time, choosing to stop the hourglass at any moment, upon his satisfaction with his colleague's work. After the drawing was completed, the boss would evaluate the worker's drawing on a short table (Appendix C) and decide how many stickers (zero, one, two, or three) he/she would give to his/her colleague as a reward. Next, the researcher claimed to have a puzzle that participants could do at the end of the session, but because of time constraints, they would start the computer activity first. The boss was the one who chose the computer he/she preferred to use, leaving the other to the worker. The

questionnaire with all the measures (Appendix D) was presented through the E-Prime program and the questions were read by an audio file with a female voice.

Participants were informed that from that moment on they would answer some questions individually. Reiterating that they would not have a final grade because there were no right or wrong answers, the researcher began the instructions for the first part of the questionnaire. The experiment was started and whenever participants finished a block of questions new instructions were given. The first block included measures of social distance, social interdependence and perceived self-sufficiency. The second block corresponded only to the measure of ambivalent sexism. And, lastly, in the third block were the measures of family affluence.

When participants completed the questionnaire, the researcher asked each child's sociodemographic questions (Appendix E) as well as the questions regarding the power manipulation check (e.g., "Who do you think decided the most?"; "Who do you think was in charge the most?"). Finally, the children were debriefed and given time to ask questions.

Chapter III – Results

Manipulation Check

To verify if bosses were perceived as the powerful figure, children were asked who they thought was able to decide more things during the experiment and who they thought was in charge the most, the boss or the worker. Out of the 174 children asked, 82.80% said the boss made more decisions than the worker, and 94.30% said the boss was more in charge, with the mode for both questions being the boss.

Children's Ambivalent Sexism Measure

Data analysis was conducted using IBM SPSS 24.0. First, an Exploratory Factorial Analysis was computed to assess the structure of the CASM, with Principal Component Analysis as a method of extraction. All items had good communalities, with .49 being the lowest for CGD2. The analysis resulted in an extraction of six factors, which were interpreted using Varimax rotation method (Table 3.1.). These six factors explain 68.21% of the model's variance. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .58 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant ($\chi2$ (91) = 658,44, $p < .001$).

All items regarding protective paternalism (PP) loaded on the same factor. The same happened with the items for complementary gender differentiation (CGD). However, the four items about heterosexual intimacy (HI) loaded on two different factors, with the items of the first vignette (HI1_1 and HI1_2) on one factor and the items about the second vignette (H2_1 and H2_2) on another factor. The same happened with the items of hostile sexism (HS). Two items (HS2 and HS3) loaded on one factor while the other two items (HS1 and HS4) loaded on another.

These loadings indicate that these items, that supposedly measure the same concepts, may be accounting for different aspects of their respective dimensions. The items HI1_1 and HI1_2 about heterosexual intimacy loaded on the same factor (HI_Act), perhaps because it reflects a situation where the first character is actively searching and fighting for someone else, while the second character has a more passive role in this scenario. On the other hand, the items H2_1 and H2_2 of the second vignette of this dimension loaded on the same factor (HI_Pass), maybe because it portrays a more passive situation, where the first character is only imagining and wishing for someone to come and win them over, therefore the second character is actually absent from this scenario's reality.

Regarding the hostile sexism dimension, conceptually the items that loaded on the same factor seem to be lined, that is, they reflect similar situations. The first factor (HS_Inc) contains the items HS1 and HS4, which measure situations where one character is exalted, by being a winner or a leader. And the second factor (HS_Exc), containing the items HS2 and HS3, measures scenarios of exclusion of one character.

Table 3.1.

Rotated Component Matrix.

	Component					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
PP1_1	.812	.067	.014	.021	-.251	-.127
PP1_2	.773	.162	-.060	-.192	.161	.044
PP2_2	.551	.126	.090	.426	.154	.123
PP2_1	.539	.086	.041	.147	.462	.136
HI1_2	.098	.926	-.010	.077	.029	-.014
HI1_1	.186	.889	-.080	.067	.070	-.046
HI2_1	-.035	.022	.929	.020	-.025	.005
HI2_2	.054	-.110	.920	.004	-.056	.015
HS4	-.022	.175	-.046	.702	.204	-.049
HS1	.052	-.038	.074	.686	-.443	.032
CGD1	.129	.073	-.051	.115	.692	.063
CGD2	-.089	-.007	-.031	-.179	.599	-.264
HS2	.075	.018	.008	-.161	.004	.862
HS3	-.080	-.123	.013	.411	-.137	.584

Note. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in 8 iterations. HS1: This school is running a competition for smart kids to solve difficult math problems. HS2: A group of children is building a wooden house. One child wants to help build, but the other children say it is very difficult for the child. HS3: In this class, the teacher asks the children to vote for a classmate who will take the position of a delegate for the class. There is one child who doesn't get any vote. HS4: A group of children is playing, pretending they are on a boat. One child is commanding the boat and making the important decisions. PP1: A dog is about to attack two children. There is no way for them to escape. One child protects the other child from being bitten. PP2: Two children are walking along a street where many cars are passing. One child insists on walking on the side where the cars are passing, in order to protect the other child. HI1: In this movie there is a character who travels very far and goes through many adventures to win the heart of a person. HI2: In this movie there is a character who sits everyday by the window, dreaming and waiting for a person who will do a big effort to win the heart and marry this character. CGD1: This family has two children. Today, a friend is coming to visit. While they are having dinner, the friend says to one of the children: "You are a very brave child!". And to the other child the friend says: "You are really well dressed!". CGD2: At a friends' gathering, two families with children get together for dinner. One parent says: "My child is always very active! Your child is always well behaved and kind!".

Ambivalent Sexism correlations

The reliability of each factor was then measured. PP showed a reliability of $\alpha = .67$. The correlations between all four items are all positive and significant, ranging from r (218) = .20, $p < .01$ to r (218) =.50, $p < .001$. CGD showed a positive and significant correlation between the two items (r (218) = .15, p = .03). The two items of HI_Act, showed a positive and significant correlation (r (218) = .73, $p < .001$), as well as the two items of HI_Pass (r (218) =.73, $p < .001$). The two items of hostile sexism that loaded on the HS_Inc factor, showed a positive and significant correlation (r (218) = .21, $p < .01$), and the same happened with the two items that loaded on HS_Exc (r (218) = .19, p = .01).

Furthermore, correlations between the resulting six factors were performed and separated by sex (Table 3.2.). For the female sample, positive and significant correlations between PP and HI_Act (r (117) = .42, $p < .001$) as well as between HI_Act and HS_Inc (r (117) = .19, p = .04) were found. For males, there are positive and significant correlations

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between PP and CGD (r (101) = .23, p = .02) and between PP and HI_Act (r (101) = .20, p = .04). CGD showed a negative but significant correlation with HI_Pass (r (101) = -.28, p < .01).

Means for each factor were compared with the scale's midpoint (3 = "*I would like it to be a boy or a girl*") which means that participants did not give stereotype congruent answers or counter-stereotypic answers. For PP (t (116) = 8.16, p < .001), CGD (t (116) = 10.01, p < .001), and HI_Act (t (116) = 13.20, p < .001), female participants' answers were significantly higher than the scale's midpoint. These results mean that girls endorse more stereotypical congruent beliefs for these factors. For HS_Inc (t (116) = -3.19, p < .01) and HS_Exc (t (116) = -3.84, p < .001) girls' answers were significantly lower than the scale's midpoint, meaning that they endorse more counter-stereotypic beliefs for these factors. Girls' answers for HI_Pass (t (116) = -.20, p = .84) did not differ significantly from the scale's midpoint, meaning that they do not endorse stereotypic congruent beliefs or counter-stereotypic beliefs. While for male participants, PP (t (100) = 12.52, p < .001), CGD (t (100) = 2.68, p = .01), HI_Act (t (100) = 11.53, p < .001), and HS_Inc (t (100) = 9.53, p < .001), their answers were significantly higher than the scale's midpoint, meaning that endorse more stereotypic congruent beliefs for these factors. Boys' answers for HI_Pass (t (100) = -1.30, p = .20) and HS_Exc (t (100) = 1.00, p = .32) did not differ significantly from the scale's midpoint.

Table 3.2.

Correlations, Means and Standard Deviations for Ambivalent Sexism Factors separated by Sex.

	PP	CGD	HI_Act	HI_Pass	HS_Inc	HS_Exc	*M*	*SD*
PP	-	.14	.42**	.10	.00	-.03	3.80**	1.06
CGD	.23*	-	.10	.09	.13	-.16	3.98**	1.06
HI_Act	.20*	.13	-	-.03	.19*	-.13	4.43**	1.17
HI_Pass	-.01	-.28**	-.18	-	.11	.03	2.97	1.64
HS_Inc	.01	-.13	.11	.07	-	.14	2.67**	1.12
HS_Exc	.07	-.02	-.02	.07	-.07	-	2.62**	1.06
M	4.15**	3.36**	4.37**	2.79	3.99**	3.12	-	-
SD	.92	1.35	1.20	1.61	1.04	1.20	-	-

Note. Correlations for girls ($N = 117$) are presented above the diagonal and correlations for boys ($N = 101$) are presented below the diagonal. For all scales, higher scores are indicative of stereotype congruent responding. PP = Protective Paternalism; CGD = Complementary Gender Differentiaton; HI_Act = Actively searching Heterosexual Intimacy; HI_Pass = Passively imagining Heterosexual Intimacy; HS_Inc = Hostile Sexism about inclusion/exaltation of one character; HS_Exc = Hostile Sexism about exclusion of one character. **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). *. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Effects of Power, Sex and Age on Ambivalent Sexist Beliefs

Multiple three-way between subjects ANOVA with power condition, sex and age group as fixed factors were performed in order to analyze the differences between conditions on each ambivalent sexism factor. To reduce the chance of type 1 errors, Bonferroni's adjustment was applied. Furthermore, because for each ambivalent sexism factor a different analysis will be performed, the original alpha level of .05 will be divided by six and the resulting alpha is .0083 (Pallant, 2010). Thereafter, simple effects analysis will only be considered significant if $p < .008$.

Starting with CGD, power condition (F (1, 210) = .13, p = .72, $\eta^2_p < .01$) did not have a significant main effect. Nevertheless, sex had a significant main effect on this factor (F (1, 210) = 17.88, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .08$), with girls (M = 3.99, SD = .11) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than boys (M = 3.29, SD = .12). Age group had a marginally significant main effect (F (1, 210) = 3.93, p = .05, $\eta^2_p = .02$), with older children (M = 3.80, SD = .10) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than younger children (M = 3.48, SD = .13).

These effects were qualified by a marginally significant interaction between power condition, sex, and age group (F (1, 210) = 3.32, p = .07, $\eta^2_p = .02$). Simple effects analysis show that there are significant sex differences between powerless younger children (F (1, 210) = 12.14, $p < .01$, $\eta^2_p = .06$), with girls (M = 4.22, SD = .25) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than boys (M = 2.95, SD = .27). There are also significant sex differences between powerful older children (F (1, 210) = 6.10, p = .01, $\eta^2_p = .03$), with girls (M = 4.22, SD = .21) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than boys (M = 3.48, SD = .21). Marginally significant sex differences were also found between powerful younger children (F (1, 210) = 3.49, p = .06, $\eta^2_p = .02$), with girls (M = 3.70, SD = .23) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than boys (M = 3.03, SD = .28). Lastly, it was found marginally significant age differences among powerless boys (F (1, 210) = 4.75, p = .03, $\eta^2_p = .02$), with older boys (M = 3.69, SD = .21) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than younger boys (M = 2.95, SD = .27).

For PP, power condition (F (1, 210) = .01, p = .92, $\eta^2_p < .001$) and age group (F (1, 210) = .12, p = .73, $\eta^2_p < .01$) did not have a significant main effect. However, it was found a significant main effect of sex (F (1, 210) = 5.00, p = .03, $\eta^2_p = .02$) on the endorsement of protective paternalism beliefs, with boys (M = 4.13, SD = .10) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than girls (M = 3.82, SD = .09).

Concerning HI_Act, no significant main effect was found for power condition (F (1, 210) = .38, p = .54, $\eta^2_p < .01$), sex (F (1, 210) = .32, p = .56, $\eta^2_p < .01$) or age group (F (1, 210) = .48, p = .49, $\eta^2_p < .01$).

As to HI_Pass, only power condition had a marginally significant main effect (F (1, 210) = 3.44, p = .07, $\eta^2_p = .02$), on the endorsement of heterosexual intimacy beliefs, with powerful children (M = 2.68, SD = .16) answering in a more counter-stereotypical way than powerless children (M = 3.10, SD = .16). For sex (F (1, 210) = .60, p = .44, $\eta^2_p < .01$) and age group (F (1, 210) = .00, p = .96, $\eta^2_p < .001$) no significant main effect was found.

Regarding HS_Inc, sex had significant main effect (F (1, 210) = 77.46, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .27$), on the endorsement of hostile sexism beliefs, with boys (M = 3.99, SD = .11) answering

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in a more stereotype congruent way than girls ($M = 2.66$, $SD = .10$). Power condition (F (1, 210) = 1.50, $p = .22$, $\eta^2_p = .01$), and age group (F (1, 210) = .65, $p = .42$, $\eta^2_p < .01$) did not have a significant main effect on this factor.

Finally, with respect to HS_Exc, only sex had significant main effect (F (1, 210) = 7.70, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .04$) on the endorsement of hostile sexism beliefs, with boys ($M = 3.06$, $SD = .12$) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than girls ($M = 2.62$, $SD = .11$). No significant main effect was found for power condition (F (1, 210) = .47, $p = .49$, $\eta^2_p < .01$) or age group (F (1, 210) = 2.37, $p = .13$, $\eta^2_p = .01$).

Effects of Power, Sex and Age on Benevolent and Hostile Sexism

A three-way repeated measures ANOVA was performed in order to analyze the effects of power condition, sex and age group (as between-subjects variables), on the dimensions of ambivalent sexism, with benevolent sexism and HS_Exc as within-subjects variables.

A significant main effect was found for ambivalent sexism dimension (F (1, 210) = 101.88, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .33$) and a significant interaction effect between ambivalent sexism dimension and sex (F (1, 210) = 7.35, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$).

Simple effects analysis show that there are no significant sex differences (F (1, 210) = 0.53, $p = .47$, $\eta^2_p = .00$) on the endorsement of benevolent sexism. However, there are significant sex differences (F (1, 210) = 7.70, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .04$) on the endorsement of hostile sexism, with boys ($M = 3.06$, $SD = .12$) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than girls ($M = 2.62$, $SD = .11$), which confirms the first hypothesis (H1).

Both effects mentioned above were qualified by a significant interaction effect (Figure 3.1. and Figure 3.2.) between ambivalent sexism dimension, power condition, sex, and age group (F (1, 210) = 4.24, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .02$).

Simple effects analysis show that there are significant power differences (F (1, 210) = 4.64, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .02$) on the endorsement of benevolent sexism by younger females, with powerless girls ($M = 4.01$, $SD = .14$) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than powerful girls ($M = 3.60$, $SD = .13$), which partially confirms our second hypothesis (H2a).

Simple effects analysis also show marginally significant age differences (F (1, 210) = 3.26, $p = .07$, $\eta^2_p = .02$) on the endorsement of benevolent sexism by powerless females, with younger girls ($M = 4.01$, $SD = .14$) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than older girls ($M = 3.69$, $SD = .11$). Marginally significant age differences were also found (F (1, 210) = 3.45, $p = .07$, $\eta^2_p = .02$) on the endorsement of benevolent sexism by powerful females, with older girls ($M = 3.93$, $SD = .12$) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than younger

girls ($M = 3.60$, $SD = .13$), which partially refutes our third hypothesis (H3b). Finally, there are significant age differences (F (1, 210) = 6.79, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$) on the endorsement of hostile sexism by powerful males, with older boys ($M = 3.39$, $SD = .20$) answering in a more stereotype congruent way than younger boys ($M = 2.53$, $SD = .27$), which goes partially against our third hypothesis (H3a).
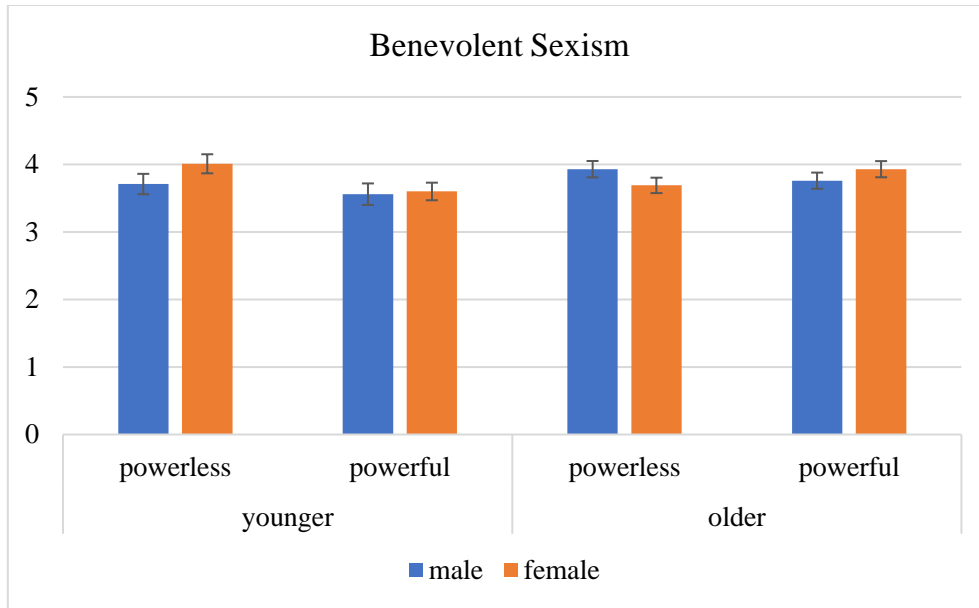
Figure 3.1. Means and Standard Deviations displayed for the benevolent sexism dimension by males and females on both younger and older age group and powerless and powerful conditions.
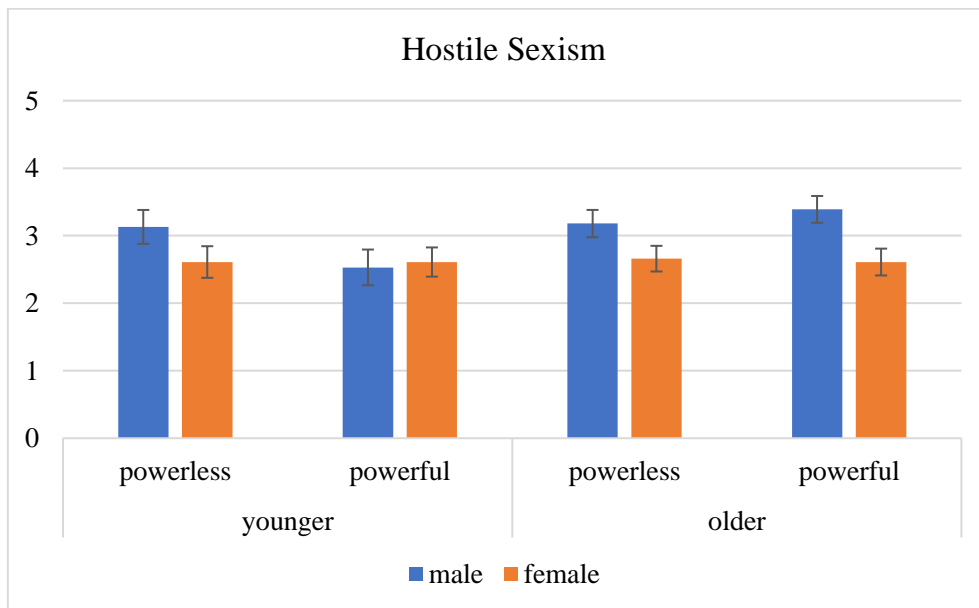

Figure 3.2. Means and Standard Deviations displayed for the hostile sexism dimension by males and females on both younger and older age group and powerless and powerful conditions.

Chapter IV – Discussion

The present dissertation served to explore the effects of unequal power placement on the endorsement of ambivalent sexism beliefs by children in the first to fourth grade, according to the Portuguese education system, while taking into account the developmental changes that children go through during these ages. This study is particularly relevant because a new measure of ambivalent sexism was applied to a big sample of children aged six to 12 years old. It also crossed important social topics that are still very understudied on childhood like the social power construct and the ambivalent sexism theory, bringing new empiric evidence to the table and simultaneously considering a developmental perspective. Given how tightly sexism is ingrained into our society it is crucial to pinpoint the moment when children start considering one gender group as superior to another and begin acting deliberately, and accordingly, with such beliefs. Also bearing in mind how power dictates nearly all, if not all, social interactions it becomes important to understand how children act when they are put in a position of power versus when they are stripped of their social influence. How children see a relatively blank slate of gender-less interactions should give us some insight of how power affects their sexist attitudes. A social hierarchy between children was formed during this study to try to recreate, as closely as possible, realistic social interactions, namely in school context, and ascertain in which situations children are more prone to endorse gender inequality. And this study is especially relevant because, as mentioned above, gender asymmetries are still a reality very much present today, and particularly in Portugal.

The results show an interaction effect between sex and ambivalent sexism dimension, specifically, there are sex differences on the endorsement of hostile sexism, with boys answering in a more stereotype congruent way than girls, which means that Hypothesis 1 was confirmed. Older children confirm what has been studied on adults before, that when men are given power the need to maintain this higher position intensifies and when they are taken away power, they feel like they are part of a subordinate group. In both situations, men can easily feel like they are being threatened (Maass et al., 2003), so their need to retaliate increases and that can be translated into hostile sexism endorsement (Raven et al., 1998; Vandello et al., 2008).

When it comes to the younger children group, the same pattern of boys answering in a more stereotype congruent way than girls in the powerless condition suggests that when younger boys are taken away their power they might feel in a similar way as their older peers and adult men do. However, younger boys' decrease on their hostile sexism endorsement levels when they are put in a position of power came as a surprising result. One possible reason for

this decrease may lay on the conducted power manipulation. While it is arguable, the five power dimensions reviewed Gülgöz & Gelman (2017) in childhood were present in this manipulation. Resource control was present through the time control and the sticker reward. Goal achievement as well as giving orders, permission and setting norms were portrayed on the second drawing task, where the worker had to draw a scenario chosen by the boss. However, since the assignment of the powerless (worker) and powerful (boss) roles to the children was administered by the investigator, it is possible that younger bosses did not know how to behave. Since they were put in a powerful position by someone who was the clear authority figure in the room, powerful younger children may have had ambivalent feelings regarding their own position, because they were told they had power over their peers but they also knew they had less power than the investigator. Therefore, they may have only recognized their resource control as a power dimension. And past studies have shown that younger children are more insensitive to contextual information when it comes to resources allocation, meaning that they allocate resources equally more often than older children (Lisi, Watkins, & Vinchur, 1994; Sigelman & Waitzman, 1991).

Benevolent sexism results show that there are significant differences between powerless and powerful younger girls, partially confirming Hypothesis 2a. Powerless girls endorsed higher levels of benevolent sexism, like it was expected, since powerful women are less likely to be charmed by the sympathy of this type of sexism (Vial & Napier, 2017). Past research has demonstrated that women's sense of powerlessness can promote a gender justified belief system (van der Toorn et al., 2015). And when put in a powerful position, women reveal an unwillingness to take part on said system thus, rejecting system-serving beliefs. The rejection of the gender system may stem from their own decreasing feelings of gender identification with their own group (Vial & Napier, 2017). Meaning that when formerly subordinate group members are put in a position where they have power, their focus switches to their own self and they become more agentic (Rucker, Dubois, & Galinsky, 2011; Rucker, Galinsky, & Dubois, 2012). So, gender stereotypic beliefs that portray women as the communal group and men as the agentic group become false in powerful women's eyes.

On the other hand, older girls did not show any significant differences across power conditions, endorsing similar levels of benevolent sexism and partially rejecting H2a. Perhaps, this result can be explained by girls' socialization process. From since very early on, girls are taught and encouraged to practice benevolent sexist ideals (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990), preparing them to the inevitable weight that their future romantic relationships will have on their lives (Viki, Abrams, & Hutchison, 2003). The constant reiteration that girls should and

will, eventually, find a Prince Charming paves the way for adolescent girls to only view their worth in terms of their attractiveness to boys (Martin, Luke, & Verduzco-Baker, 2007). Thus, as they age, girls become more aware of their desire and ability to attract the other sex's attention. Older girls also seem to face new adversities, like the fact that there's a "type" of woman they should not resemble, if they want to attract boys. That "type" of woman is an opiniated, assertive and not afraid of confront woman (Maccoby, 1998, cited by Lemus, Moya, & Glick, 2010) – all traits typical of someone in position of power. Therefore, it is possible that powerful older girls held on to their benevolent sexist ideals in an effort to appear less assertive and more attractive, which led them to endorse similar levels of benevolent sexism as powerless older girls. Also, because powerful girls were always paired with another girl, the fact that there was always a powerless girl present might have counteracted the effect of them being in a powerful position.

No significant power differences were found within the boys' groups, rejecting Hypothesis 2b. These results may be explained by participants' feelings of power which have been said to be flexible to situational and experimentally manipulated circumstances (Galinsky, Rucker, & Magee, 2015). Furthermore, recent studies have shown that men's feelings of power are usually cushioned by the general consensual take that men are the more powerful group (Fontaine & Vorauer, 2019). That is, men's feelings of power tend to not change drastically, even when they are put in an objectively lower power or higher power position, because as a group, they have a cushion that prevents them from feeling disempowered. With their results, Fontaine and Vorauer (2019) also found that men have a baseline tendency to report higher feelings of power, compared to women, which is consistent with their "cushion" hypothesis.

Lastly, the results have not shown a significant main effect of age on the endorsement of any of the ambivalent sexism dimensions, which means that the third hypothesis (H3b) is partially confirmed. The fact that there are no age differences on the endorsement of benevolent sexism confirms the hypothesis that younger and older children endorse similar levels of this type of sexism. Just like previous studies have shown, benevolent sexism is present since very early on (Gutierrez et al., 2019; Richters, 2019), and it does not seem to increase drastically with age (Cavadas, 2018). The results of the present study allow an analysis beyond benevolent sexism by exploring each factor within this dimension. Accordingly, there was no age differences on the endorsement of heterosexual intimacy beliefs and these results may be explained by today's children's exposure to media and social media, and overall access to technology (Zhang, Feng, & Shen, 2019). This greater exposure allows children to come in contact with groups that they may not be exposed to on the daily, like gays and lesbians. Herek

and Capitanio (1996) suggest that this increase in contact allows minority groups to become less stigmatized and, therefore, be targeted with more positive attitudes. Zhang et al. (2019) found exactly that in their study – greater media exposure decreases older children's levels of prejudice towards gays and lesbians. With that being said, the lack of significant age differences on the endorsement of heterosexual intimacy beliefs may be a result of older children's overall acceptance of same-sex relationships.

However, the results of the present study revealed a significant main effect of age on the endorsement of complementary gender differentiation beliefs, with older children endorsing higher levels of these beliefs than younger children. This particular result may be explained by these children being now at the age where their peers' influence is a strong reinforcement on their socialization to gender roles (Witt, 2000). Children use an array of verbal and nonverbal reinforcements, through their behaviors, that shape the development of their peers' gender roles, and often act as "gender police" (Lamb, Bigler, Liben, & Green, 2009). So, even if they are more accepting of same-sex relationships, children this age are also aware of their own gender roles and how they might dictate the success of their own eventual romantic relationships, especially considering that heterosexuality seems to be the default, that is, the "assumed sexual subjecthood available to adults and children" (Clark, 2014, p. 188).

Nevertheless, the fact that there are no age differences on the endorsement of hostile sexism refutes partially the third hypothesis (H3a), which means that younger and older children endorse similar levels of this type of sexism, contrary to what was expected. The optimistic outlook on this result would be that younger children were the ones whose average levels of hostile sexism endorsement decreased, compared to what was expected, and not older children increasing their average levels of hostile sexism. It is possible that today's media (Zhang et al., 2019) is indeed normalizing the idea of women in powerful positions or empowered women as equivalent to their male counterparts. Children's exposure to females as leading characters in movies, for example, has definitely increased over the last couple of years, especially thanks to the great contribute of superhero movies (e.g., Captain Marvel and Black Widow from the Marvel Cinematic Universe, and Wonder Woman from DC Comics; Gauntlett, 2002; Kinnunen, 2016).

Limitations, Future Studies and Strengths

When it comes to the study's limitations it is possible to point out a few. Power manipulation was artificially and randomly done by a researcher, who was clearly the person

with the most authority in the room. Thus, it is suggested that in the future this power manipulation be done without third parties' interference and in a more organic way, so the hierarchies can arise naturally. Like in Guinote, Cotzia, Sandhu and Siwa's (2015) study, children could be left in the room with a valued and a nonvalued toy and asked to choose one. They would have to compete for the valued toy and the winner would be put in a position of higher power. This way it would be the children who, unknowingly, decided who was the boss and who was the worker.

Another limitation lays on the fact that power legitimacy was not assessed thereby it is not known if the participants thought if their given roles – bosses or workers – were fair, and, if so, how fair. During the briefing it was shortly discussed with every child if they would rather have the other role, instead of the one they were assigned to, but no measure to quantify the participants answers was used during this discussion. Also, the absence of a control condition makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to discriminate if the obtained results regarding power differences are consequence of giving or withdrawing power from children.

The researchers involved in the study were able to translate every step of the process from Portuguese to English, all the way from the introduction of the study, the power manipulation, the E-Prime experiment and its instructions, to the debriefing. However, there is a possibility that foreign students' answers may have been tainted by social desirability. Considering there was no English version of the E-Prime experiment this meant that these participants had to be continually assisted by one of the researchers. Thus, their answers might not portray their real thoughts because they could have felt like they were being watched and judged by the constant presence of the researcher. Furthermore, since none of the children, or researchers, had English as their first language, it is not known the extent to which these foreign participants understood what was intended with the study and required of them. As a result, there could be gaps in children's understanding of the experiment that may have affected the overall results.

CASM is still in in its early stages of development so it might suffer some structural changes along the way. This was only the second study where this measure was applied and, in both studies that have used CASM, the factorial analysis resulted in a clean structure with separated factors. Conceptually, it was possible to attach a meaning to each resulting factor. Nonetheless, the ideal structure would aggregate both hostile factors in only one dimension and both heterosexual intimacy factors in another dimension. Provided that for this to happen the items regarding hostile sexism and heterosexual intimacy would have to be reformulated and

possibly some would have to be replaced with new ones that could translate a clear concept of the dimension in question.

However, this study also had its positive points. Children with special needs were included in the experiment, albeit they were thoroughly accompanied and helped by an investigator from the beginning to the end of the session. Children over 10 years old were also included, since they were still in the primary school. The schools in which the data was collected were located in completely different areas of Lisbon, granting a more diverse sample to the study. The fact that every dyad was formed by children of the same sex and around the same age allowed the participants to start the study with a similar power baseline. During the E-Prime experiment, children were kept apart to avoid any communication and, consequently, any influence attempts by either one.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

While this study's results confirm what has been proven before, that is, boys generally endorse higher levels of hostile sexism than girls, it also brings a particularly curious result to the table. The relatively high levels of benevolent sexism lead us to believe that gender stereotypes and traditional gender roles are still being passed on to younger generations and children keep accepting the dichotomous distribution of men and women into those roles as normative. Women are still being perceived as passive, gentle and affectionate, and despite the general consensus being that girls mature faster than boys, this never seems to give girls more positions of power and authority. It only seems to serve to justify boys' attraction to them and perpetuate the endorsement of benevolent sexism, since, according to our complementary gender differentiation results, even girls themselves adopt these sexist attitudes in order to appear more attractive.

Furthermore, the fact that there are no age differences on the endorsement of hostile sexism may be worrying. But if we were to assume the more optimistic approach for this result, this means that younger children today are endorsing less hostile sexist beliefs, meaning that they are not as intolerant as before regarding female authority figures and are not as quick to retaliate when females try to break the status quo by assuming a position of power.

It has been pointed out in the literature that younger children have no qualms of showing plain hostility toward other groups because their gender relations do not call for any kind of interdependence, in this case, of other gender peers. Their evaluations and attitudes reveal a high in-group bias but an outright out-group rejection (Powlishta, 1995). And this argument

would justify girls' low levels of hostile sexism endorsement. However, this also means that younger boys, especially powerful boys since their levels of hostile sexism were similar to powerful girls', can reveal an increasing acceptance or sympathy for girls. Since powerful people seem to show a more flexible information processing (Guinote, 2007a), their ability to look at the bigger picture could be a possible explanation for the decrease on the endorsement of hostile sexism from powerless to powerful younger boys.

Because school is an extremely strict environment when it comes to the adherence and reinforcement of traditional gender roles, it is important that young children learn since early on how to identify sexist remarks (Etaugh & Liss, 1992; Lamb et al., 2009). Gender asymmetries can start to be tackled on with school age children by encouraging their gender atypical choices in their subject preferences, job aspirations, and in play time. Both Etaugh and Liss (1992), and Richters (2019) have found that children's occupational goals are heavily tainted by their gender, that is, girls are more interested in professions considered to be higher on warmth while boys prefer professions considered to be higher on competence. This means that in nearly 30 years there has not been much progress regarding children's challenging of traditional gender roles, which in turn leads to a perseverance of gender asymmetries.

Teachers should then provide both boys and girls praise and encourage them if they show any gender atypical preference for a particular subject. Moreover, at home and at school, adults should support children who choose to play with gender atypical toys and avoid any sort of punish or negative sanction. Adults should abstain from trying to fit children into specific boxes with only a specific set of tools, so they can develop and explore their preferences freely, without fearing being reprimanded. Children should also be taught how to explicitly challenge their peers' sexist remarks. Lamb et al. (2009) have demonstrated that children who are taught how to recognize sexist comments, and practice their retorts, are more likely to actually to actually challenge sexist remarks if they ever identify one.

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Appendix A

Social Distance measure

As a means of measuring their social distance, that is, "the psychological distance one feels from others" (Smith & Trope, 2006, p. 578), participants were asked two questions, specifically if they would like to do the puzzle alone and if they would like to do the puzzle with another child ($\alpha = .93$). Responses to this measure, adapted from Lammers et al. (2012), would be given through a five-point scale that would translate participants' disagreement or agreement, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). One of the items was reverse-coded and the index value was computed so higher values indicate higher social distance.

Social Interdependence Scale

Johnson and Norem-Hebeisen's (1979) Social Interdependence Scale overall has 22 items grouped into three subdimensions: Competitive Interdependence (eight items), Cooperative Interdependence (seven items) and Individualist Independence (seven items). For the present study only six items were withdrawn from two of those subdimensions. Three of the original items chosen out of the Cooperative Interdependence subdimension (e.g., "I like to share my ideas and materials with other students") and another three out of Individualist Independence (e.g., "It bothers me when I have to work with other students"). These items were adapted to a situational perspective, so that the participant could answer according to what he/she was feeling at the moment. Participants would also have to answer on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Some of the items were then reverse-coded and their index values were computed so that higher values meant higher social interdependence. This scale contained a Cronbach's alpha ranging from .84 and .88 at the end of its development.

Perceived Self-Sufficiency measure

In order to maintain the same response scale, the children also responded to a perceived self-sufficiency measure, adapted from Lammers et al. (2012). This measure contained four items ($\alpha = .67$), "I think I can deal with most problems by myself," "I currently feel that I do not really need the help of others," "Currently, I think that I can obtain most things by myself," and "I could use some help by others, at the moment." The last item was reverse-coded so that higher values meant higher perceived self-sufficiency.

Family Affluence Scale III (FAS III)

Finally, participants responded to FAS III (Torsheim et al., 2016), which is a measure of socioeconomic status. Its formula allows the definition of three familiar affluency groups: lower, medium, higher. This scale comprises six items related to: family cars ("How many cars does your family own?"), vacations ("How many times did you travel abroad for holiday/vacation last year?"), computers ("How many computers does your family own?"), bedrooms ("Do you have your own bedroom for yourself?"), bathrooms ("How many bathrooms (room with a bath) are in your home?"), and home dishwasher ("Do you have a dishwasher?"). The reliability of this measure was tested and retested in six European countries ($r = .90$), with $\alpha \geq .76$ in all countries and $\alpha = .52$ in our study. The measure's index was computed so that higher values meant higher affluency.

Appendix B

CONSENTIMENTO PARA PARTICIPAÇÃO EM ESTUDO DE INVESTIGAÇÃO

Título do Estudo: As relações entre géneros na infância
Instituição: ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (http://iscte-iul.pt/)
             Centro de Investigação e Intervenção Social (CIS-IUL, http://www.cis.iscte-iul.pt/)
Investigadores Responsáveis: Carolina Pereira, Ricardo Borges Rodrigues
Endereço eletrónico de contacto: acspa1@iscte-iul.pt

Ex.mo/a Sr./a Encarregado/a de Educação,

Vimos por este meio solicitar autorização à participação do seu educando no estudo que se encontra a decorrer no Agrupamento de Escolas XXX relativo ao desenvolvimento das relações de género na infância. Concretamente, estamos interessados em estudar a forma como as raparigas e os rapazes interagem e as suas perceções sobre os dois géneros, e de que forma essas relações e perceções se alteram com a idade. Este estudo é realizado pelo Centro de Investigação e Intervenção Social (CIS-IUL) do ISCTE-IUL e obteve a aprovação da Direção do Agrupamento. O estudo decorre no espaço da escola sob a forma de questionário aplicado em sala de aula.

A participação do seu educando neste estudo é voluntária e muito importante. Os dados recolhidos são confidenciais e serão analisados de forma agregada, isto é, os dados de cada participante não serão objeto de análise individual. Este estudo terá uma única sessão com a duração de 20 minutos. Em qualquer momento pode solicitar o acesso aos dados do seu educando contactando Carolina Pereira, através do endereço de e-mail acspa1@iscte-iul.pt. Agradecemos, desde já, a sua atenção e o interesse que este estudo lhe possa merecer. Os nossos melhores cumprimentos.

A Equipa de Investigação (ISCTE-IUL / CIS-IUL)

Consentimento

Eu, Encarregado/a de Educação do/a Aluno/a _____,
li a informação que consta deste pedido de autorização, e autorizo ☐ / não autorizo ☐ a participação do meu educando no estudo acima apresentado, sobre o desenvolvimento das relações de género ao longo da infância.

Assinatura do Encarregado de Educação: _____

Data: ___ / ___ / 2019, Localidade: _____

Appendix C

	Sim	Talvez	Não
O desenho está bonito?			
O desenho tem muita coisa?			
Desenharias alguma coisa diferente?			
De forma geral, gostas do desenho?			

Social Distance:

Gostava de fazer o puzzle sozinho.

Gostava de fazer o puzzle com outra criança.

Social Interdependence:

Estou a gostar de ajudar o meu colega nestas atividades.

Estou a gostar de partilhar as minhas ideias e materiais com o meu colega.

Gosto quando eu e o meu colega trabalhamos juntos.

Não estou a gostar de trabalhar com o meu colega.

Estou a gostar de trabalhar com o meu colega.

Estou a ficar chateado por ter de trabalhar com o meu colega.

Perceived Self-Sufficiency:

Consigo resolver a maioria dos problemas sozinho.

Neste momento, sinto que não preciso da ajuda de outras pessoas.

Neste momento, acho que consigo fazer a maioria das coisas sozinho.

Neste momento, aceitava alguma ajuda de outras pessoas.

Children's Ambivalent Sexism Measure:
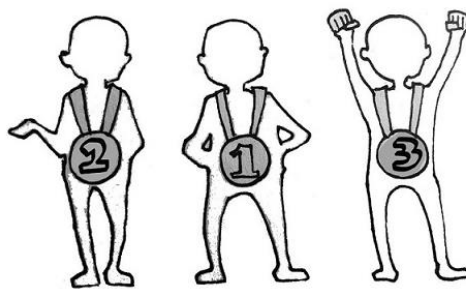
Nesta escola, está a decorrer uma competição para as crianças inteligentes resolverem problemas de matemática difíceis.

- Quem gostavas que fosse o vencedor da competição?
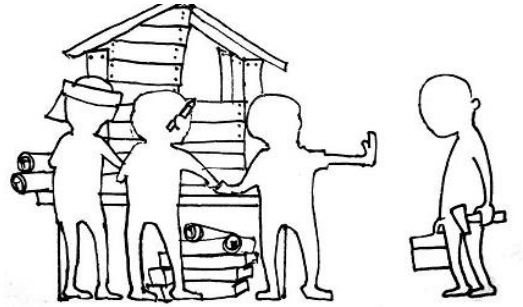
Um grupo de crianças está a construir uma casa de madeira. Uma criança quer ajudar a construir, mas as outras crianças dizem que é muito difícil para esta criança.

- Quem gostavas que fosse a criança que não deixam ajudar na construção da casa de madeira?
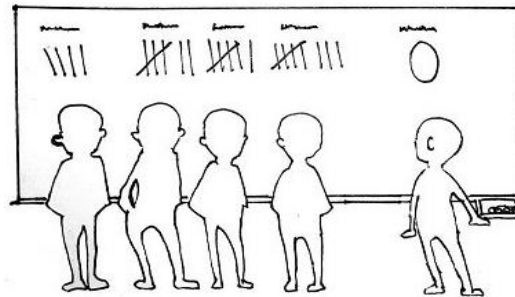

Numa turma, o professor pede aos alunos para votarem num colega para ser delegado de turma. Há uma criança que não recebe nenhum voto.

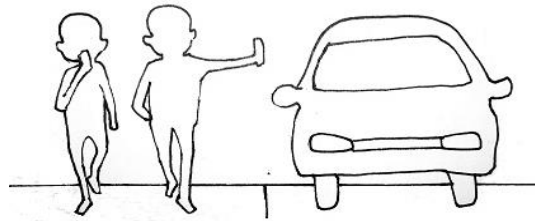- Quem gostavas que fosse a criança que não recebe nenhum voto?
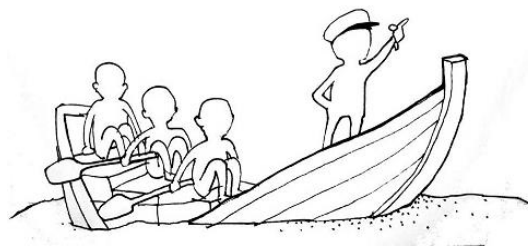
Um grupo de crianças está a brincar, a fingir que estão num barco. Uma criança comanda o barco e toma as decisões importantes.

- Quem gostavas que fosse a criança que comanda o barco?
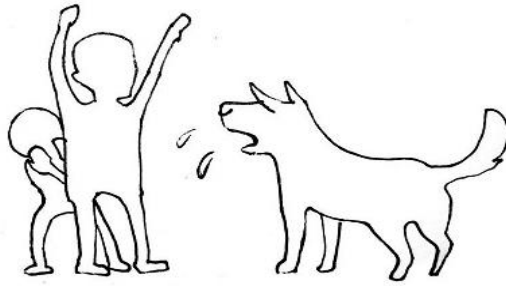
Um cão vai atacar duas crianças. E elas não têm por onde fugir. Uma criança protege a outra de ser mordida.

- Quem gostavas que fosse a criança que protege a outra de ser mordida?

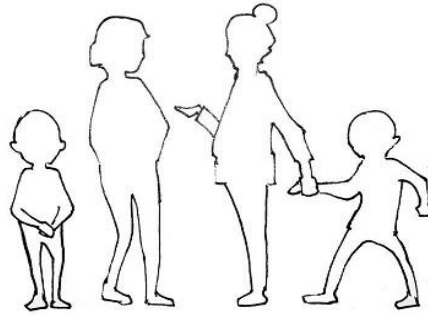- Quem gostavas que fosse a criança que é protegida pela outra criança?

Duas crianças estão a caminhar ao lado de uma estrada onde passam muitos carros. Uma criança insiste em andar do lado onde passam os carros, para proteger a outra criança.

- Quem gostavas que fosse a criança que caminha do lado dos carros, que protege a outra criança?

- Quem gostavas que fosse a criança que é protegida pela outra criança?

Esta família tem duas crianças. Hoje, uma pessoa amiga vem visitar. Enquanto estão a jantar, a pessoa amiga diz para uma das crianças: "Tu és uma criança muito corajosa!" E para a outra criança diz: "Gosto muito do que tens vestido!"

- Quem gostavas que fosse a criança que recebe o segundo elogio?

Numa reunião de amigos, duas famílias com crianças juntam-se para jantar. Um pai diz: "A minha criança é sempre muito ativa! A tua criança é sempre bem-educada e gentil!"

- Quem gostavas que fosse a criança que este pai está a elogiar como sendo bem-educada e gentil?
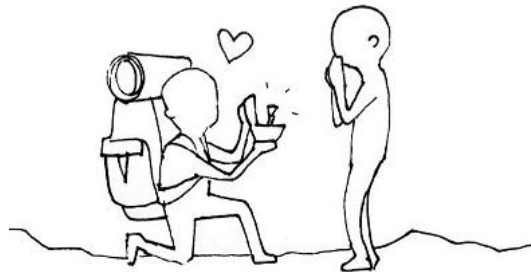
Neste filme, existe uma personagem que viaja uma longa distância e vive muitas aventuras para conquistar o coração de uma pessoa.

- Quem gostavas que fosse a personagem que vive muitas aventuras para conquistar o coração de uma pessoa?

- Quem gostavas que fosse a pessoa cujo coração a personagem quer ganhar?
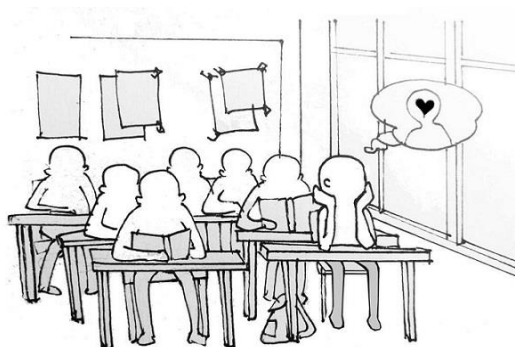
Neste filme, existe uma personagem que se senta junto à janela todos os dias, a sonhar e à espera de uma pessoa que fará um grande esforço para ganhar o seu coração e se casar com esta personagem.

- Quem gostavas que fosse a personagem que se senta e espera à janela?

- Quem gostavas que fosse a pessoa por quem a personagem está à espera?

Family Affluence Scale III (FAS III):

Quantos carros ou carrinhas tem a tua família? (Nenhum, Um carro/carrinha, Dois ou mais carros/carrinhas)

No último ano, quantas vezes viajaste de férias, para fora do país, com a tua família? (Nenhuma, Uma vez, Duas vezes, Mais do que duas vezes)

Quantos computadores tem a tua família? Caso tu também tenhas um, conta com o teu. (Nenhum, Um computador, Dois computadores, Mais do que dois computadores)

Na tua casa, tens um quarto só para ti? (Sim, Não)

Quantas casas de banho (com chuveiro/banheira) existem em tua casa? (Nenhuma ou uma; Duas ou mais)

A tua família tem máquina de lavar louça em casa? (Sim, Não)

Appendix E

Sexo: ID do participante:_____

            Feminino ☐   Masculino ☐

Idade: _____

Ano escolar atual: _____

Condição:_____

Nacionalidade: _____

Etnia:_____

Agregado Familiar: Quantas pessoas vivem em tua casa?_____

Mãe? _____

Pai? _____

Quantos irmãos tens? ___

Quantas irmãs tens? ____

Outros? _____