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相依性與獨立性對善意與惡意歧視的影響

The Impacts of Interdependency and Independency on Hostile and Benevolent Discrimination

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摘要

本研究探討情境對個人支持性別歧視的影響。根據相關文獻分析與情境特性，我假設個人競爭情境會引發獨立競爭性，並使個人較傾向支持具敵意的性別歧視（如濫用型權力性別刻板印象或敵意性別歧視）；而保護式父權情境與異性戀相依情境則會引發個人的相依性，並使個人較傾向支持保護式性別歧視（如保護型權力性別刻板印象或善意性別歧視）。透過三個研究，我分別於隱性與顯性態度層面檢驗以上假設。結果顯示在隱性態度層面，台灣男性受試者於保護式父權情境展現較強的保護型權力性別刻板印象。而在顯性態度層面，台灣受試者較傾向以善意性別歧視合理化性別歧視情境，且這樣的傾向於保護式父權情境較強。異性戀相依情境未能一致地引發受試者的相依性。而旅居歐美國家的經驗未影響情境操弄對受試者於不同性別歧視的支持程度。內文將探討在台灣文化，個體支持性別歧視的影響因素與可能意涵。

Abstract

This research examined effects of two different types of contexts on individuals' support of sexism. In particular, I hypothesized that individual competition contexts would evoke individuals' independent competitiveness, whereas protective paternalism and heterosexual intimacy contexts would evoke individuals' interdependency. As a consequence, individual competition contexts were hypothesized to encourage expressions of implicit gender potency stereotypes on power *over* others, as well as endorsement of hostile sexist explanations in justifying gender inequality. Paternalism and heterosexual intimacy contexts were hypothesized to encourage expressions of implicit gender potency stereotypes on power *for* others, as well as endorsement of benevolent sexist explanations in justifying gender inequality. Three studies were conducted to test the aforementioned hypotheses. Results showed that young men in Taiwan were more likely to express implicit gender potency stereotypes *for* others in the paternalism condition, whereas both men and women were more likely to use benevolent sexist explanations in justifying gender inequality against women, especially in the paternalism condition. Levels of acculturation experiences were not found to relate to individuals' responses in the contexts. Implications for individuals' support of sexism in the Taiwanese cultural milieu were discussed.

The Impact of Interdependency and Independence on Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

Taiwan is typically classified a collectivistic culture (Hofstede, 1998) which emphasizes and values social relationships. According to Triandis' distinction of horizontal and vertical collectivism (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998), empirical evidence has shown that Taiwan is best conceptualized a vertical collectivistic society in which social relationships are structured hierarchical (Chiou, 2001). One characteristic of the interdependent social relationships in Taiwan is that they are paternalistic (Chen, 2007; Tai & Tsai, 2003).

Paternalism refers to the treatment of father-like figures to children (Suber, 1999) and can exist in interpersonal, intergroup, or institutional levels. Paternalism can be detrimental, not only because it violates liberty, but also because it presumes that certain parties deserve a higher level of liberty than do other parties (Jackman, 1994). For example, paternalism can result in institutional discrimination. As an example for paternalism, the military may refuse to offer combat jobs to women, because the military presumes that it can make better decisions than can women soldiers. Ironically, such protective policy may reduce women's chance in advancing in the military. Due to its seeming benevolence, protective paternalism is often justified and endorsed (Porter & Adside, 2001), especially in Taiwan. For example, when facing cancer patients, the family members in Taiwan are more likely to withhold the information from the patients (i.e., in order to 'protect' the patients), whereas White Americans are more likely to respect patients' autonomy and decision (Lee, 2007).

Applying protective paternalism in intergroup relations, dominant groups (e.g., White masters or men) act as the father figures for subordinate groups (e.g., Black slaves or women), whereas subordinate groups' rights and freedom are restricted in the name of

protection. In contrast to brute force or overly use of power, protective paternalism is often misguided by concerns and affection expressed by the dominants (Jackman, 1994). Paternalism differs from genuine concerns and affection for others because it evolves under the assumption that one party (i.e., the protectors) is more capable than and superior to the other party (i.e., the protected; Jackman, 1994; Kleinig, 1983). For example, paternalistic parents may prevent their daughter from pursuing advanced education for the fear that it may diminish her chance in successful marriage. In this example, the parents presume that they are more capable at setting life goals than their daughter and make the decision for their daughter's "welfare".

In contrast to the seeming benevolence of paternalism, competition has also been identified as a precursor to prejudice and discrimination. Realistic group conflict theory posits that incompatible goals and competition for scarce resources create real or perceived threat that may result in prejudice and discrimination (Campbell, 1965). Indeed, Sherif's (1966) classic field study showed that when resources are scarce, groups compete with each other and develop group boundaries that eventually result in prejudice. Experimental studies also showed that competition settings increase prejudice against outgroup members (e.g., Sassenberg, Moskowitz, Jacoby, & Hansen, 2007; Silverthorne, Chelune, & Imada, 1974; Yuki & Yokota, 2009). In particular, Sassenberg and his colleagues showed a carry-over effect of competition, in that the derogated victims need not be involved in the competition. Sassenberg and his colleagues offered a mindset explanation: cues of competition activate behavioral repertoires characterized by rigid intergroup distinction such as outgroup homogeneity and stereotype application (e.g., Corneille, Yzerbyt, Rogier, & Buidin, 2001; Spencer, Fein, Wolfe, Fong, & Dunn, 1998).

Incorporating the paternalistic and competitive views into a theory of gender

relations, Glick and Fiske (1996, 1997) proposed an ambivalent sexism theory to delineate two different forms of sexism: Hostile and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism reflects the traditionally sexist view of women, in which women are treated with hostility and antipathy. Benevolent sexism reflects the paternalistic view of women, in which women are deprived of freedom in order to be protected. Empirical studies showed that hostile sexism was associated with negative feelings toward women, whereas benevolent sexism was associated with positive feelings toward women (e.g., Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Glick et al., 2000; Sibley & Wilson, 2004).

Both hostile and benevolent sexism were found to be cross-culturally valid. Using confirmatory factor analysis, Glick and his colleagues found a proper factor structure across 19 nations, which had one hostile sexism factor and three subfactors for benevolent sexism (Glick et al., 2000). The three subfactors for benevolent sexism were, complimentary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy. That is, benevolent sexists embrace the idea that men and women possess different qualities and that women are delicate and fragile (complimentary gender differentiation); because men need women to complete them (heterosexual intimacy), men need to treasure and protect women (protective paternalism) (Glick and Fiske, 1996).

The distinction of hostile and benevolent sexism was also found in their predictions of different behaviors. Hostile sexism predicted derogative behavioral tendency against women (e.g., rape proclivity, Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003) and negative evaluations against women presumed to be in competitive roles (e.g., managers of masculine-typed jobs, Masser & Abrams, 2004). Conversely, benevolent sexism predicted negative evaluations against women who presumably fail to show superior female morality and virtues (e.g., acquaintance rape victims, Abrams et al., 2003; Viki,

Abrams, & Masser, 2004). Consistent with ambivalent sexism theory's prediction, Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, & Kazama (2007) conducted a field experiment and found that pregnant applicants (presumably in competition with the participants) were more likely to receive hostile treatment (e.g., rudeness) and pregnant customers (presumably in a positive interdependent relationship with the participants) were more likely to receive benevolent treatment (e.g., touching or overfriendliness). Hostile sexism was also found to predict individuals' gender bias among those whose core cultural value was individualistic competitiveness (e.g., Americans), whereas benevolent sexism was found to predict individuals' gender bias among those whose core cultural value was interdependence (e.g., Taiwanese) (Lee, Pratto, and Li, 2007).

Different reasons for individuals' support of hostile and benevolent sexism were offered by Glick and his colleagues. First, when endorsing hierarchy enhancing ideologies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), individuals may be more inclined to support hostile and benevolent sexism. After controlling for gender equality index, Glick (2006) found a type of hierarchy-enhancing ideology, power distance index, correlated positively with hostile and benevolent sexism, respectively. Glick and Fiske (2001) also suggested that hostile and benevolent sexism may be directed at different female subtypes. For example, hostile sexism may be directed at career women, whereas benevolent sexism may be directed at babes. Lastly, Glick suggested that women's support of benevolent sexism may be a way to strategically endorse the lesser evil (benevolent sexism over hostile sexism) (Glick et al., 2000; Glick, 2006). Fischer (2006) employed an experimental design and showed that women supported benevolent sexism more when being informed of men's negative attitude toward women.

Extending from Fischer's (2006) and Sassenberg and his colleagues' (2007) findings,

I offer another possible reason for individuals' support of hostile and benevolent sexism: Different contexts elicit different mindsets that consequently support hostile and benevolent sexism, respectively. According to ambivalent sexism theory, the power struggles and competition between men and women feed into support of hostile sexism; paternalism, complimentary gender difference, and heterosexual intimacy lead to support for benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1997). According to the aforementioned statement, I focused on two contexts: Competition and paternalism.

The competition and paternalism conditions were hypothesized to elicit hostile and benevolent sexism and gender stereotypes, respectively. Extending from Sassenberg and his colleagues' (2007) mindset hypothesis, the competition condition may activate hostile sexist ideology: Both men and women might show stronger male potency stereotypes reflecting power *over* others (i.e., abusive power) (Hostile Stereotype Hypothesis). In the paternalism condition, individuals may be more aware of paternalistic norms governing gender relations. The paternalism condition may communicate the idea that men should protect women. Cognitively, paternalistic norms may encourage individuals to accept that women are weak and in need of protection from men and men are strong and women's protectors (Paternalistic Stereotype Hypothesis). Indeed, research showed that when primed with benevolent sexism, women experienced more mental intrusions such as self-doubts and performed worst than when primed with hostile sexism (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007). No research has examined how paternalistic contexts may affect men's view of gender relations.

The Present Research

To test the aforementioned hypotheses, three studies were conducted. Based in an implicit association test paradigm (IAT, Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), Study

1 and 2 were to test how different contexts influenced individuals' implicit attitudes toward men and women. Previous researchers had used the IAT paradigm to study gender stereotypes (e.g., Rudman, Greenwald, & McGhee, 2001). Unlike explicit measures, implicit attitudes were evaluated by the latencies of a pair of stimuli matched with a pair of targets and were less likely to be affected by social desirability (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003). Shorter latencies suggested that the matching of stimuli and targets was compatible. Study 1 was conducted to 1) ascertain the validity of manipulation; and 2) establish that both competition and paternalistic conditions elicited similar levels of support for gender potency and gender warmth stereotypes. Study 2 furthered distinguishing the types of gender potency stereotypes. Study 3 was conducted to test whether different contexts motivated individuals to justify derogation against women by different types of explanations. A summary of the hypotheses was listed in Table 1.

In the first two studies, I also included a heterosexual intimacy condition to contrast it with the paternalism condition. Although Glick and Fiske (1996, 1997) suggested heterosexual intimacy an important component of benevolent sexism, I suspected it was not so for the Taiwanese's support of benevolent sexism. In western societies, dating scripts are often elaborated; in Taiwan, however, marriages were used to be arranged and until today marriage is considered the union of two families (Luo, 2008). Moreover, research showed respect and politeness as the ideal interaction norms governing heterosexual couples in Taiwan (Li, T-S, & Chen, 2002). Due to the different conceptualizations of heterosexual relationships in the U.S. and Taiwan, I offered no specific prediction regarding how gender relations might be perceived in the heterosexual intimacy condition. On the one hand, participants might respond similarly as those in the paternalism condition. On the other hand, heterosexual intimacy might not readily invoke

individuals' general interdependent feelings.

Study 1

Participants.

There were 134 participants recruited from a public university in Taipei, Taiwan. They were randomly assigned to four conditions (i.e., Western Competition, Chinese Competition, Paternalism, and Heterosexual Intimacy). Among the participants, six missed an entire IAT session or failed to provide any correct response in an IAT session and were excluded from further analysis. Nine participants indicated that they had participated in previous similar experiments and were excluded. Two participants were of homosexual or bisexual and were excluded. In total, there were 61 female and 56 male participants.

Priming tasks.

Participants were asked of a thought exercise and a picture viewing task. In thought exercise, participants in the Western competition and Chinese competition conditions were asked to think of their differences and uniqueness from others. They then were asked to view pictures featuring westerners in sports (i.e., Western competition) or Chinese in sports (i.e., Chinese competition) and identified later whether the pictures had been shown before. Participants in the paternalism condition were asked to think of their positive and supportive experience with their family members; participants in the heterosexual intimacy condition were asked to think of their positive and supportive experience with their actual or ideal intimate partners. Participants in the paternalism and heterosexual intimacy conditions were asked to view a series of pictures featuring the Chinese close interactions with others. The pictures in the two competition conditions were pretested to induce feelings of competition, whereas pictures in the two

interdependence conditions were pretested to induce feelings of general interdependence. IAT stimuli.

Revised from the stimuli in Rudman and her colleagues (2001), the gender-potency IAT used 40 stimuli items: 10 popular Taiwanese names each for males and females; 10 potent-meaning words (e.g., dominance, protection, force); and 10 weak-meaning words (e.g., weak, timid, vulnerable). A half of the potent-meaning and weak-meaning words reflected abusive power, while the remaining reflected protective power. The gender-warmth IAT used the same male and female names, along with five warm-meaning words (e.g., close and welcome) and five cold-meaning words (e.g., distant and ignore).

IAT procedure.

Because Greenwald and his colleagues (2003) reported that measures including data from practice trials performed the best, Rudman and her colleagues' procedures (2001) were simplified. The IAT stimuli were administered in five blocks. For gender-warmth task: participants (a) distinguished male versus female names; (b) distinguished warm-meaning and cold-meaning words; (c) engaged in the gender warmth stereotype-compatible task (i.e., male names with cold-meaning words and female names with warm-meaning words; (d) repeated (b), with response key assignment reversed; (e) engaged in the gender warmth stereotype-incompatible task (i.e., male names with warm-meaning words and female names with cold-meaning words). For gender-potency task, (c) was replaced by gender potency stereotype compatible task (i.e., male names with potent-meaning words and female names with weak-meaning words) and (e) was replaced by gender potency stereotype incompatible task (i.e., male names with weak-meaning words and female names with potent-meaning words).

Data analysis.

Facilitation scores for gender warmth and gender potency stereotypes were calculated as *Ds* by subtracting reaction time in stereotype-consistent session divided by the standard (Greenwald et al., 2003). For example, a positive gender warmth facilitation score means that female names were associated more readily with warmth than male names, whereas male names more readily with coldness than female names.

Results

Manipulation check.

Participants responded accurately to whether the pictures were shown before in all four conditions (accurate percentage ranging from 96% to 100%), suggesting that all participants took the experiment seriously. I first tested whether the prime tasks successfully activated constructs of independent competition and interdependency in the respective conditions. To test this, participants were asked to identify wrong words (but true words) from a series of scrambled idioms. In the competition conditions, participants identified wrong words from idioms of independent competition (relevant idioms) and idioms not related to competition or interdependency (irrelevant idioms). Similarly, in the paternalism and heterosexual intimacy conditions, participants identified wrong words from idioms of interdependency (relevant idioms) and the same irrelevant idioms used in the competition condition. Relative accuracy and relative speed of the relevant idioms to the irrelevant idioms were examined. In the Western competition condition, participants responded more accurately and more quickly to the relevant idioms than the irrelevant ones ($t(1, n = 26) = 3.14, p = .004$ and $t(1, n = 26) = 4.28, p = .000$ for accurate percentage and speed); so did the participants in the Chinese competition condition ($t(1, n = 31) = 4.21, p = .000$ and $t(1, n = 31) = 3.81, p = .001$). In the paternalism condition, participants responded more accurately to the relevant idioms ($t(1, n = 30) = 3.00, p$

= .005) but not in terms of the relative speed ($p = .79$). In the heterosexual intimacy condition, participants responded similarly to the relevant and irrelevant idioms ($ps > .36$), suggesting that thinking about intimacy with dating partners did not increase participants' accessibility to general interdependency. Because the heterosexual intimacy condition did not successfully prime participants' interdependence, the results in this condition should be interpreted with caution.

Gender warmth and gender potency IATs

The correlations between the measures of gender warmth and gender potency IATs were firstly examined. Unlike Rudman and her colleagues' findings (2001), gender-warmth and gender-potency measures did not correlate with each other ($ps > .53$) among men and women.

Both gender warmth and gender potency stereotypes were not expected to differ across the conditions. To test this, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with Participant Sex and Condition as independent variables on gender warmth and gender potency stereotypes was conducted. Replicating Rudman and her colleagues' findings (2001), a Participant Sex main effect was found for gender warmth IAT ($F(1, 109) = 95.09, p < .001$). Women more readily associated female names with warm-meaning words and male names with cold-meaning words but men did not show such a preference, $D_{\text{women}} = 0.66$ (95% CI = 0.57 to 0.75) vs. $D_{\text{men}} = 0.02$ (95% CI = -0.07 to 0.11). No other effects on gender warmth stereotypes were found ($ps > .40$).

Similarly, replicating Rudman and her colleagues' findings (2001), a Participant Sex main effect was found for gender potency IAT ($F(1, 109) = 9.43, p = .003$). Men associated male names with potency words and female names with weakness words more strongly than women, $D_{\text{men}} = 0.44$ (95% CI = 0.36 to 0.52) vs. $D_{\text{women}} = 0.26$ (95% CI =

0.18 to 0.34). No other effects on gender potency stereotypes were found ($ps > .31$). As predicted, participants' general gender potency stereotypes were not affected by the conditions.

Discussion

Implicit gender stereotypes were investigated in Study 1. Replicating previous research (e.g., Rudman et al., 2001), women showed stronger gender warmth stereotypes, whereas men showed stronger gender potency stereotypes. Rudman and her colleagues offered two explanations for the findings: 1) ingroup favoritism and 2) a reflection of self-concept. Because warmth and potency offer positive implications to women and men, respectively, men and women showed stronger bias in associating own gender group with the positive applicable stimuli. Moreover, Rudman and her colleagues found that the more individuals associated with the traits, the more they applied the traits to their gender groups. The predictions of social identity perspective on implicit gender stereotypes were replicated in a culture traditionally classified as collectivistic (Hofstede, 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

In addition, the current research examines contextual effects on gender stereotypes and bias. The first study was to establish that the competition, paternalism, and heterosexual conditions elicited similar levels of gender potency stereotypes. Indeed, there was no Condition main effect, nor interaction effects with Condition, suggesting that primed conditions did not alter gender potency stereotypes among individuals. Study 2 was conducted to test whether different contexts elicit particular types of gender potency stereotypes that resonate well with the nature of that context. Power can be used for the benefits of others; power can also be used for self and in the process of exploiting others (Chen, Lee-Chai, Bargh, 2001; Lee-Chai, Chen, & Chartrand, 2001). In the current

study, stimuli indicating power for others (e.g., protection, guidance) and power over others (e.g., dominance, abet) were balanced in each session. It might be possible that in the competition condition, individuals might endorse gender potency stereotypes more on power over others (Hostile Stereotypes Hypothesis). Conversely, in the paternalism condition, individuals might endorse gender potency stereotypes more on power for others (Paternalistic Stereotype Hypothesis).

Study 2

Participants.

A total of 182 participants were recruited from a public university in Taipei, Taiwan. Of the participants, 15 homosexual and 5 bisexual participants were excluded. Moreover, 13 participants failed to complete trials in an IAT block or did not provide any correct response in an IAT block and were excluded. There were 149 participants (73 males).

IAT stimuli.

Used as IAT stimuli, potency and weakness words were pretested to reflect power over others (e.g., dominance and exploitation for potency words and frail and inability for weakness words), power for others (e.g., protection and guidance for potency words and innocence and gentle for weakness words), and power not relevant to others (e.g., steel and hard for potency words and feathers and tiny for weakness words). The three types of power words were named: abusive power, protective power, and neutral power, respectively. In the pretest sample, participants evaluated abusive power words negatively and disliked them; they evaluated protective power words positively and favored those words. Warm-meaning and cold-meaning words were also pretested on the five bipolar dimensions (potency-weakness, good-bad, warmth-coldness, male-female, and favorable-unfavorable). The evaluations can be seen in Table 2.

Experimental design.

The experiment was a 2 (Participant Sex) x 3 (Condition: Western Competition, Paternalism, and Heterosexual Intimacy) x 3 (Power Type: Neutral Power, Protective Power, and Abusive Power) mixed-subject design. Priming procedures were identical as in Study 1. Because similar results were observed in the Western competition and Chinese competition conditions, for the simplicity of the experimental design, only the Western competition condition was included. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions (i.e., Western Competition, Paternalism, and Heterosexual Intimacy). Participant Sex and Condition were between-subject variables, whereas Power Type was a within-subject variable. All participants responded to three sets of words (i.e., neutral power, protective power, and abusive power). All of them responded to words of neutral power first; a half of them responded to words of abusive power before words of protective power while the remaining responded to words of protective power before words of abusive power. Facilitation scores were first calculated as in Study 1.

Results

Manipulation check.

As in Study 1, relative accuracy and reaction time on relevant and irrelevant idioms were calculated. Paired t-tests showed that participants in competition and paternalism conditions responded more accurately to relevant than irrelevant idioms ($ps < .002$). Participants in the Western competition and paternalism conditions also responded more quickly to relevant than irrelevant idioms ($ps < .04$), but there was no difference in the heterosexual intimacy condition in terms of accuracy ($p = .07$) or speed ($p = .43$). Moreover, a repeated measure of accuracy and response time suggested that male and female participants responded similarly to the manipulation check measures ($ps > .41$).

Similar to the conclusion drawn in Study 1, family interactions made interdependence more accessible than did heterosexual intimate interactions.

Implicit measures: Gender warmth and gender potency IATs

There was a moderate correlation between gender potency stereotypes of neutral power and those of protective power among female participants in the both experimental orders ($r_s = .34$ and $.40$, $p_s < .05$). No other correlations were significant among female ($p_s > .23$) or male participants ($p_s > .10$).

The hypotheses suggested that different conditions evoked different types of gender potency stereotypes, but did not expect to evoke different levels of gender warmth stereotypes. A univariate analysis of variance was conducted on gender warmth effect sizes with Participant Sex and Condition as independent variables in the two experiment orders (Words of protective power before or after words of abusive power), respectively. Replicating Study 1, a Participant Sex main effect was found on both experiment orders ($F(1, 67) = 11.25$ and $F(1, 70) = 10.95$, $p_s < .001$). Female participants more readily associated female names with warm-meaning words and male names with cold-meaning words, whereas men showed no such preference (both $D_{s_{women}} = 0.43$ vs. $D_{s_{men}} = 0.10$ and 0.05).

Because results in the two experiment orders were not identical, suggesting that responses to words of protective power may affect responses to words of abusive power or vice versa. Consequently, responses to power measures immediately following neutral power were reported. The Western competition condition was expected to evoke participants' gender potency stereotypes on abusive power (Hostile Stereotype Hypothesis), whereas the paternalism condition was expected to evoke participants' gender potency stereotypes on protective power (Paternalistic Stereotype Hypothesis). A

repeated measure analysis of gender potency stereotypes on neutral and abusive power was conducted with Participant Sex and Condition as between-subject variables and Power Type as within-subject variable. There was a Power Type effect ($F(1, 67) = 33.24, p < .001$), indicating that participants showed stronger gender potency stereotypes on neutral power ($D = 0.57, 95\% \text{ CI} = 0.50, 0.64$) than abusive power ($D = 0.29, 95\% \text{ CI} = 0.21, 0.37$). Replicating results of Study 1, men showed stronger gender potency stereotypes than did women ($D_s = 0.51$ vs. 0.35) ($F(1, 67) = 9.13, p = .004$). Because no condition main or interaction effects were found, Hostile Stereotype Hypothesis was not supported.

To test Paternalistic Stereotype Hypothesis, a similar repeated measure analysis of gender potency stereotypes was conducted on neutral and protective power. There was again a Power Type effect ($F(1, 70) = 15.92, p < .001$), indicating that participants showed stronger gender potency stereotypes on neutral power ($D = 0.56, 95\% \text{ CI} = 0.50, 0.62$) than on protective power ($D = 0.41, 95\% \text{ CI} = 0.35, 0.48$). Partially supporting Paternalistic Stereotype Hypothesis, men showed stronger gender potency stereotypes on protective power in Paternalism condition than Competition ($p = .054$) or Heterosexual Intimacy Condition ($p = .02$), but the same effect was not found for women ($p_s > .10$) (see Figure 1).

Discussion

Overall, the findings showed that the male participants' gender potency stereotypes differed in the Western competition and paternalism conditions. In the paternalism condition, men showed the predicted responses on gender potency stereotypes of protective power. The finding suggests that men were more likely to associate men with potency of protective power and women with weakness of protective power in the

paternalism condition.

However, the contextual effects on gender-potency stereotypes in Study 2 were not as straightforwardly predicted as in the hypotheses. One possibility is that individuals need time to process and offer legitimizing ideologies to allow for the direct contextual effects to appear. To test this possibility, Study 3 used the same priming tasks as in Study 1 and 2 and included scenarios to probe individuals' support for hostile or benevolent sexist explanations. In particular, when facing gender inequality scenarios, I predicted that participants should endorse hostile sexist explanations more strongly in the Western competition condition (Hostile Sexist Explanations). Conversely, participants should endorse benevolent sexist explanations more strongly in the paternalism condition (Benevolent Sexist Explanations).

Study 3

Participants.

A total of 110 participants were recruited from a public university in Taipei, Taiwan. They were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions (i.e., Western Competition and Paternalism). Of those participants, 74 were female and 36 male. Roughly a half of them (51%) had resided in three Western countries (i.e., United Kingdom, United States, and Canada) for an average duration of 14.6 months (ranging from one to 120 months), who were referred to as the High Westernized Group thereafter. Chi-square tests showed that men and women of the High Westernized Group were equally assigned to the two conditions ($ps > .21$).

Experimental design.

A 2 (Participant Sex) x 2 (Condition: Western competition vs. Paternalism) x 2 (Acculturation Experience: High Westernized vs. Low Westernized) experimental design

was conducted. Because the heterosexual intimacy condition in the previous two studies did not reliably promote feelings of general interdependency, for the simplicity of the design, the heterosexual intimacy condition was not included.

Experimental procedures.

Participants first completed a short questionnaire in groups. In the short questionnaire, participants indicated their acculturation experiences and endorsement of different values (e.g., independency and interdependency), and completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Then, they were led to cubicles to respond to a computer-based experiment individually. In the computer-based experiment, participants engaged in the priming tasks before asked to offer explanations for sexist scenarios one at a time. The priming procedures were identical as in Study 2.

Ambivalent Sexism Scale (ASI).

Half of the 22 items of this scale measure hostile sexism, and half assess benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Rated on a -3 (strongly disagree) to +3 (strongly agree) Likert scale, example items are “Men seek to gain power by getting control over men” (hostile) and “A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man” (benevolent). The reliabilities of the subscales were acceptable: $\alpha = .76$ for hostile sexism and $\alpha = .78$ for benevolent sexism. The correlations between the two subscales were significant, except for Low Western Acculturated men ($r = .29, p = .28$): .45 (Low Western Acculturated women), .44 (High Western Acculturated women), and .52 (High Western Acculturated men).

Sexist Scenarios.

The themes of the sexist scenarios were developed from interviews with college students in the same public university. In each scenario, restrictions or derogations were

shown to male or/and female targets. Two types of explanations were offered: Due to the targets' "incapabilities" (i.e., hostile sexist explanations) and for the targets' "benefits" (i.e., benevolent sexist explanations). As a scenario for gender bias against men, female college students were preferred over male college students as tutors in Taiwan. Hostile sexist explanations stated that 1) male students were not as patient or thorough in teaching as female students and 2) male students usually received poorer grades than female students. Benevolent sexist explanations stated that 1) male students could get better-paid jobs than tutors and 2) the pupil was too dense and too insubordinate to deserve a male tutor. As a scenario for gender bias against women, men were preferred for expressmen (who always deliver packages or letters by scooters in Taiwan) over women. Hostile sexist explanations stated that 1) women could not carry heavy packages and 2) women were poorer scooter riders than men. Benevolent sexist explanations stated 1) the job was too taxing for women because expressmen needed to ride scooters on streets all day and 2) it was not safe for women to be expressmen because they needed to encounter with strangers all the time. Participants were asked to indicate their agreement with each explanation from a 7-Likert scale, using numbers from -3 (strongly disagree) to +3 (strongly agree). Reliabilities for the two types of explanations were acceptable, for hostile sexist explanations, $\alpha = .81$ and for benevolent sexist explanations, $\alpha = .80$.

Composite scores were computed for the two types of explanations respectively. A positive score indicates that individuals supported sexist explanations more when they were applied to female targets. Examining the composite scores showed that participants supported sexist explanations more when they were toward female targets ($ps < .05$).

Results

Manipulation check.

All participants responded to the picture identification task with great accuracy (ranging from 97.6% to 100% in the two conditions). As in the previous two studies, relative accuracy and reaction time of the idioms showed that priming was successful. In both conditions, participants responded more accurately to relevant than to irrelevant idioms ($t(N = 55) = 3.67, p < .001$ in the Western competition condition and $t(N = 55) = 2.47, p < .05$ in the paternalism condition). Participants also responded more quickly to relevant than to irrelevant idioms, in the Western competition condition ($p < .001$) and marginally in the paternalism condition ($p = .095$).

Ambivalent Sexism

Before testing hypotheses, responses of ambivalent sexism collected prior to priming tasks were investigated. Based in a multivariate analysis of variance with two sexism scores as dependent variables, the effects of Participant Sex, Acculturation Experience, and Condition were examined. A significant Acculturation Experience main effect was found on benevolent sexism, $F(1, 97) = 6.69, p < .011$. High Western Acculturated Group supported benevolent sexism (Mean = -0.49) less than Low Western Acculturated Groups (Mean = -0.10). A marginal condition effect was also found ($p = .058$), in which participants supported benevolent sexism less in the Western competition condition (Mean = -0.42) than in the paternalism condition (Mean = -0.21). No other effects were found ($ps > .10$). To control for the difference between conditions before priming tasks, benevolent sexism was entered as a covariate.

Support for Sexist Explanations

To test for Hostile Sexist Explanation and Benevolent Sexist Explanation hypotheses, support for the two kinds of explanations was examined, using a multivariate analysis of variance with Participant Sex, Acculturation Experience, and Condition as

independent variables and benevolent sexism and reaction time as covariates. Because there was no Acculturation Experience main effect ($ps > .49$), neither was there its interaction effect ($ps > .24$), this variable was dropped. Evidence was not found for Hostile Sexist Explanation Hypothesis, although a trend was consistent with the hypothesis ($p = .10$) (see Figure 2). That is, individuals in the Western competition condition (Mean = 0.48) supported hostile sexist explanations more than those in the paternalism condition (Mean = 0.13). Supporting evidence was found for Benevolent Sexist Explanation Hypothesis. Participants in the paternalism condition supported benevolent sexist explanations more strongly than those in the Western competition condition ($p = .039$; Mean = 1.99 and 1.51, respectively). There was also a Participant Sex main effect for hostile sexist explanations ($p = .002$; Mean = 0.64 for men and Mean = -0.03 for women). No interaction effect was found ($ps = .41$).

Discussion

Consistent with what was found in Study 2, individuals were more likely to use benevolent sexist explanations to justify scenarios of gender inequality, especially in the paternalism condition. Several reasons can be offered to account for the findings. For one, the endorsement of outright incapability statements may be violating Taiwanese cultural norms of harmony and close interpersonal relationships. Secondly, according to findings in Study 2, the participants did not show stronger implicit gender potency stereotypes on power *over* others in the competition condition, suggesting that explicit power usage over others may not be a script used by the participants in the competition. Even when a substantive number of participants had resided in western countries for some time, their responses in the experiment were similar to other participants, suggesting that acculturation experience did not affect change participants' responses in the competition

and paternalism conditions.

General Discussion

The present research shed light on individuals' support for gender stereotypes and sexism. Replicating Rudman and her colleagues' (2003) findings, female participants were found to support gender warmth stereotypes more than male participants, whereas male participants did not show gender warmth stereotypes. Consistent with what Rudman and her colleagues found, male and female participants showed gender potency stereotypes but male participants expressed gender potency stereotypes more strongly than their female counterpart. In particular, participants endorsed gender potency stereotypes most strongly when the words had no implications in social power, followed by words indicating power *for* others and least when the words referred to power *over* others. When in the paternalism condition, male participants showed stronger gender potency stereotypes on power *for* others. Lastly, male and female participants were more likely to endorse benevolent sexist explanations to justify scenarios of gender inequality, especially in the paternalism condition.

I offer several possible future directions that can further clarify the contextual effects on gender relations. For one, the current research relied on a mind-set hypothesis of the contextual effects. Future studies should examine whether direct competition manipulation is able to increase participants' endorsement of hostile sexist explanations and gender potency stereotypes of power *over* others in Taiwan. Secondly, acculturation experiences were not found to relate to participants' responses in the two conditions. It is important to examine other bicultural samples (e.g., Asian American) to see if they also show the similar response pattern. If a similar response pattern is found, we can then conclude that individuals of collectivistic culture origin may not develop strong

associations of competition and gender potency stereotypes on power *over* others because such stereotypes violate collectivistic cultural norms. Or, individuals who endorse collectivistic culture values may be less likely to endorse hostile sexist explanations to justify scenarios of gender inequality.

Overall, the current research suggests a need to examine different types of sexist ideology and potential causes for the endorsement of those types of sexist ideology. By revealing potential causes for different types of sexist ideology, training for awareness of gender inequality and social movement for gender equality can be developed to challenge the fundamental discriminatory ideology.

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intergroup discrimination in men but not women. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45, 271-274.

Table 1. Summary of Hypotheses

Hypothesis	Prediction	Evidence
Hostile Stereotype	Participants supported more gender potency stereotypes on abusive power in competition conditions than in other conditions.	No
Paternalistic Stereotype	Participants demonstrated more gender potency stereotypes on protective power in paternalistic condition	Partially
Hostile Sexist Explanations	Participants supported hostile sexist explanations against female targets more strongly in the competition condition.	No
Benevolent Sexist Explanations	Participants supported benevolent sexist explanations against female targets more strongly in the paternalism condition.	Yes

Table 2. IAT stimuli used in Study 2: Pretest results

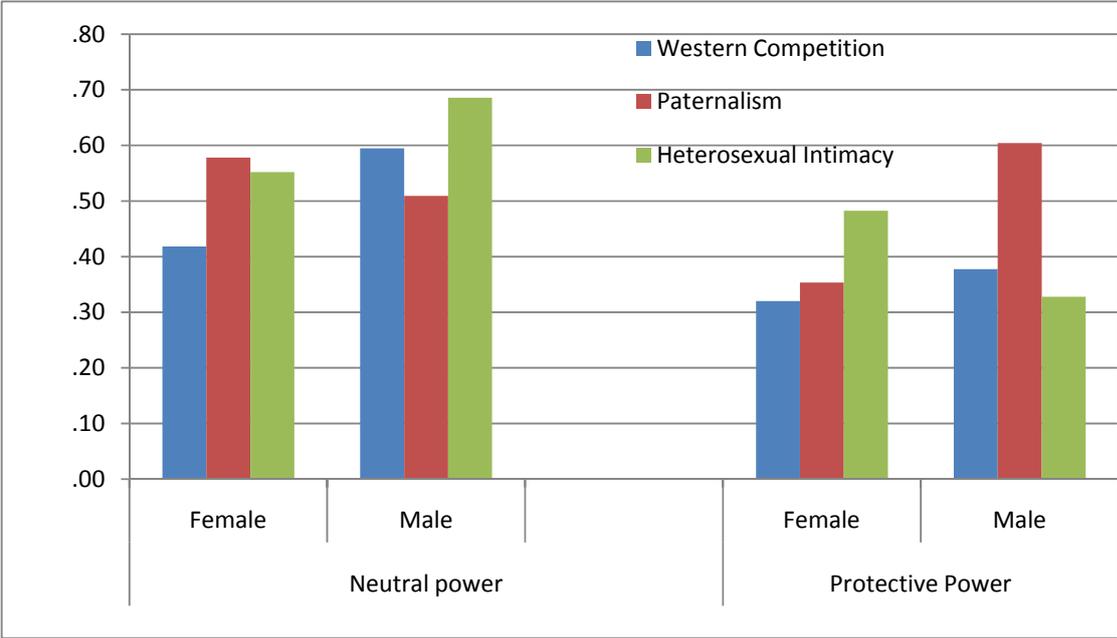
Type of words	Potency (+3) – Weakness (-3)	Good (+3) – Bad (-3)	Warmth (+3) – Coldness (-3)	Male (+3) – Female (-3)	Favorable (+3) – Unfavorable (-3)
Warmth	0.96	1.24	1.53	0.04	1.42
Coldness	0.48	-1.03	-1.24	-0.03	-1.04
Potency					
- Neutral	1.82	0.36	-0.31	1.33	0.03
- Over others	1.19	-1.22	-1.10	0.92	-1.52
- For others	1.32	1.76	1.23	0.81	1.69
Weakness					
- Neutral	-0.62	-0.14	-0.16	-0.71	-0.09
- Over others	-0.69	-1.48	-1.12	-0.69	-1.51
- For others	-0.10	0.89	0.99	-1.20	1.17

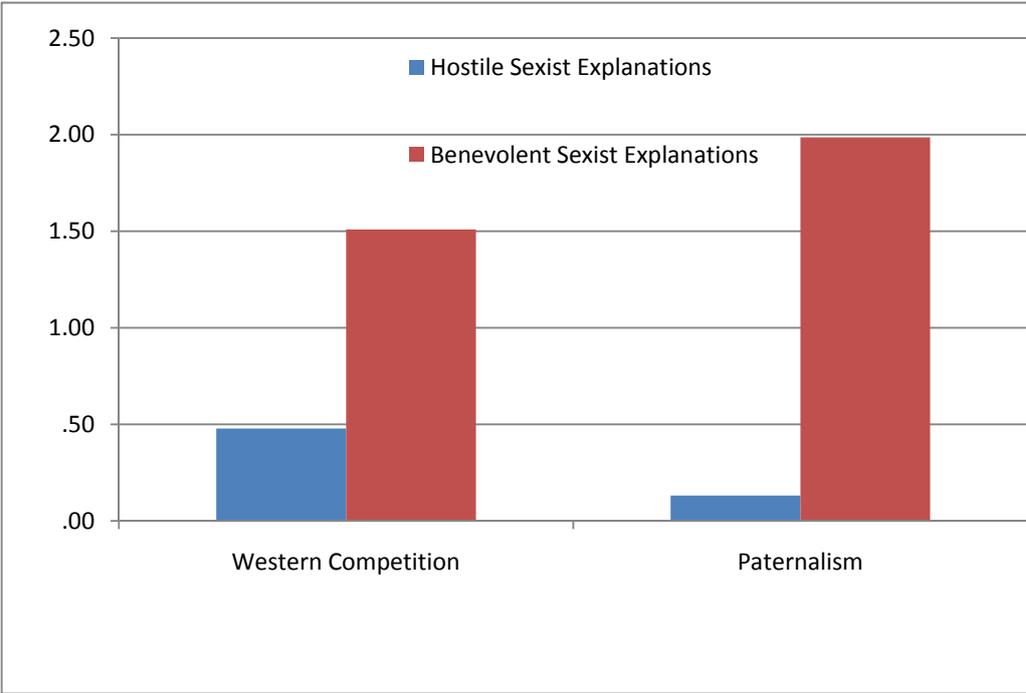
Note. N = 20.

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Gender Potency Stereotypes (Ds) of Neutral and Protective Power.

Figure 2. Support for Sexist Explanation Against Women over Men.





參與國際學術組織會議報告

2009 年 2 月 14 日

報告人姓名	李怡青	服務機構	國立政治大學心理系	職稱	助理教授
會議正式名稱	中文：				
	英文：Annual meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology				
會議時間	自 2009 年 2 月 4 日至 2009 年 2 月 8 日	地點（國、州、城市）		Tampa, Florida, US	
<p>參加會議經過與與會心得</p> <p>性格與社會心理學年會(Annual Meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology)為美國社會心理學年度最大的會議，每年均於二月舉行，地點通常選擇在美國南方天候較佳的地點舉行。SPSP 與會人數與年劇增，目前已有超過千人與會。雖然主要與會者為北美心理學者，也有來自歐洲、亞洲（如新加坡）、澳洲等學者。國內參與學者比較少，只有我一位。</p> <p>我參加這個會議，除了發表之外，為吸收新知，透過會議的發表成果，了解目前最熱門的課題與目前最重要的研究方法。另一個目的則是思考國內社會心理學的走向，我認為社會心理學要能發揮最大影響力，必須從關心社會著手，我參加幾個相關議題的 symposiums，以了解與會者的意見。</p> <p>我參加的 symposiums，包括以政治心理學為議題的“presidential symposium”，與群際衝突有關的 “attracted to conflict symposium”，獲獎的 C. Dweck 的 “Changing the world like a social psychologist” Donald Campbell award reception speech，和神經科學對話的 “motivational neuroscience symposium”，與親密關係有關的議題 “new insights on social support processes in close relationships”，及探討自由意志的 keynote speech。</p>					

這幾個 symposiums 有兩個共通點，第一是與現實議題結合，如政治歷史事件(Obama 勝選、以巴關係、美國境內的種族與性別議題)；第二則是反思使用的研究方法，包括內隱實驗法與神經科學測量法。例如，三位心理學者(Drew Westen, Anthony Greenwald, & Jon Krosnick) 嘗試檢驗影響美國大選的心理因素。三位學者皆探討了外顯因素(如信念)與內隱因素對選舉投票的可能影響。我認為最有趣的是 Jon Krosnick 嘗試檢驗並比較外顯與內隱因素對選舉行爲的預測，外顯信念對選舉行爲的預測力可優於內隱因素。Drew Westen 則顯示大選中採用的邊緣取向訴求策略，往往可見奇功，讓我們警覺民主制度運作可能的缺失。在另一個 symposium，Dweck 則以其研究說明社會心理學理論與研究的重要性。Dweck 本人的研究橫跨性格、社會、認知、發展、諮商等領域，從個人的潛在世界觀(entity vs. incremental)，Dweck 說明世界觀對個人訊息解讀與理解的影響。透過實驗操弄，Dweck 發現增益論訊息有助個人抗拒偏見論點，且有助於降低族群對立。

最後我要介紹的是與神經科學對話的動機神經科學，發表的幾位學者皆提到，雖然神經科學在現今有長足的發展，但是人腦並非固定不變的生理構造。其中最有趣的發表是 Cunningham 解析 amygdala，他發現過往研究總將 amygdala 視為對刺激價值的反應，如 amygdala 對負向刺激的反應大於正向刺激。但是透過他的研究，將受試者置於不同的促發情境，Cunningham 發現 amygdala 針對個人目標(實驗促發情境)有動態的處理歷程。當受試者被要求思考極端性時，amygdala 對正負向的反應相仿；但受試者於 prevention mode (關注負向刺激)，amygdala 對負面刺激反應的活躍度大於正面刺激；反之，若於 promotion model (關注正向刺激)，amygdala 則對正面刺激反應的活躍度大於負面刺激。這說明了現今發展的神經科學不能只有關心個人內的生理反應，而必須注意個人與環境的互動。

我在會議結束後，還短暫停留康州(2/8 ~ 2/11)，與我的研究合作者討論資料蒐集事務與合寫文章的細節問題。雖然只是短暫停留，對我們的合作進度有相當的助益。