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**The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory:
A Social Psychological
Evaluation**

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of
Kent, September 1998.

Abstract

The aim of the thesis is to establish the (statistical) validity and predictive utility of the Hostile Sexism (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS) subscales of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). The thesis investigates whether scores on the HS and BS scales can tell us who will discriminate against women.

An analysis of the literature suggests that, as in racism research, there is now a discrepancy between attitudes towards women (gauged on traditional measures) and discriminatory behaviour. Specifically, attitudes appear more egalitarian whilst behavioural measures still indicate discrimination. One explanation given for this discrepancy focuses on the attitude measures used. The literature suggests that if 'contemporary' attitudes are assessed then an attitude-behaviour link should be observed. One measure designed to assess these 'contemporary attitudes' is the ASI, consisting of the HS and BS scales.

The empirical work begins (Study 1, 3 samples, $N=1325$) with an assessment of the psychometric properties and the appropriateness of the ASI for use in a British context and establishes the construct validity of the measures. Studies Two ($N=61$) and Three ($N=47$) investigate hostile and benevolent sexism using experimental designs and a social cognition approach (reaction time measures). The results of these suggest that hostile and benevolent sexism may be directed towards a particular 'type' of women and that hostile sexists may engage in stereotype suppression. The fourth study ($N=58$) investigates the 'stereotype suppression' proposition within an experimental design. Studies Five to Eight (N 's=86, 85, 57 and 71) focus on the subtyping hypothesis suggested by the results of Studies Two to Four and evaluate the implications of HS and BS scale scores for more overt responses. These establish that under specific conditions the scores on the HS scale do predict who will engage in discriminatory behaviour towards women. In addition the results suggest that high hostile sexists may apply different norms to their behaviour than to other people's. Scores on the BS scale are related to more positive attitudes towards women who fit the 'traditional' subtype.

It is concluded that whilst both the HS and BS scales of the ASI are statistically valid, the HS scale has, at present, the superior predictive utility. Under specific conditions scores on the HS scale relate to a number of indices of discrimination against women. In contrast, scores on the BS scale only relate to more positive evaluations of 'traditional' women. Directions for future research are outlined.

Memorandum

The research for this dissertation was conducted at the Department of Psychology, University of Kent at Canterbury, where the author was a full time postgraduate research student (October 1995 to September 1998) on an ESRC Postgraduate Studentship (ESRC grant R00429534216).

The theoretical and empirical work herein is the independent work of the author. Intellectual debts are acknowledged in the text. The execution of the studies reported in the thesis required some limited assistance from other people. Their role consisted of helping with the practical aspects of the procedure, like recruiting participants or conducting the studies. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory is a copyrighted scale (© Peter Glick and Susan Fiske, 1996) and an acknowledgement is made to Peter Glick who authorised use of the scale for the empirical work herein.

The author has not been awarded a degree by this or any other university for the work included in this thesis.

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Introduction

This thesis examines the Hostile Sexism (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS) subscales of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Theoretical analyses of an observed discrepancy between the results of attitude surveys and behavioural indices in both racism and sexism research have suggested that it may be attributable to attitude surveys assessing the 'wrong' type of attitude. Theoretically, therefore, if the right type of attitudes are assessed then a link should be observed between attitude measures of sexism and behavioural indices.

One measure that has emerged to measure 'contemporary' attitudes is the ASI, consisting of the HS and BS subscales. The current research explores the statistical validity of these measures in a British context before considering the predictive utility of the HS and BS scales. Using both reaction time and 'overt' measures, the current research evaluates the link of hostile and benevolent sexism to stereotype endorsement, differential language use, discrimination against a female candidate, and evaluations of sexualised behaviour in a workplace scenario.

Overview

Chapter 1 provides a review of social psychological research into prejudice. It outlines the historical changes in attitudes towards ethnic groups and the observed discrepancy in results of attitude and behaviour measures of ethnic prejudice. The chapter outlines three explanations that have been proposed for the observed discrepancy. These explanations focus on social desirability biases, compunction, and the rise of a new form of 'symbolic' prejudice. The research surrounding the development of measures of this new form of prejudice is outlined. Parallel developments in sexism, or more specifically prejudice towards women, are noted and preliminary research conducted using measures of 'contemporary sexism' (derived from contemporary racism measures) is outlined.

Chapter 2 reports a three sample study to establish the statistical reliability and validity of one of the measures of contemporary sexism within Britain. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) is an American measure of 'contemporary sexism' consisting of two subscales: the Hostile Sexism (HS) scale and the Benevolent Sexism (BS) scale.

Chapter 3 focuses on establishing the convergent and discriminant validity of the HS and BS scales. The subscales of the ASI were administered to a number of samples in conjunction with other psychological measures. The relationships with paternalism, heterosexuality, gender differentiation, neo sexism, social dominance orientation, need for cognitive closure, attitudes towards women's rights, attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, humanitarian-egalitarianism and protestant ethic are examined. Hostile sexism is hypothesised to be positively related to dominative paternalism, hostile heterosexuality, competitive gender differentiation, protestant ethic, neo sexism and social dominance orientation. In addition a negative relationship between hostile sexism and humanitarian-egalitarianism, (pro) attitudes towards women and (pro) attitudes towards lesbians and gay men is predicted. Benevolent sexism is hypothesised to be positively related to protective paternalism, heterosexual intimacy, complementary gender differentiation, neo sexism, protestant ethic, need for cognitive closure and social dominance orientation. A negative relationship between benevolent sexism and (pro) attitudes towards women and (pro) attitudes towards lesbians and gay men is predicted. Differences in the magnitude or direction of the correlations for the HS and BS scales are predicted on the paternalism, heterosexuality and gender differentiation measures in addition to humanitarian-egalitarianism, neo sexism, social dominance orientation and need for cognitive closure.

Chapter 4 reviews the current social cognition literature and develops a social cognitive framework for understanding the relationship between sexism and sex-linked stereotyping.

Chapter 5 details two studies drawing on the social cognition framework developed in Chapter 4. Using a reaction time procedure to detect biases, the responses to relevant and non relevant target words following neutral/female primes are examined.

Chapter 6 details a reaction time and recall study to explore the stereotype suppression explanation posited in response to the results of the studies presented in Chapter 5. This study includes gender of experimenter as a factor to explore whether the reaction times of sexists to female (and neutral) stereotyped words differs as a function of salient contextual features.

Chapter 7 draws on the 'subtyping' hypothesis posited in response to the results of studies presented in Chapter 5 and details two studies designed to explore this proposition using more 'overt' methods. An initial study using these methods examines evaluations of traditional and non-traditional women. Hostile sexism is hypothesised to be positively associated with negative evaluations of non-traditional women. Benevolent sexism is hypothesised to be positively associated with positive evaluations of traditional women. The second study uses a sentence continuation procedure and examines the types of continuations provided for stereotype congruent and incongruent behaviours as a function of HS and BS scale scores. It is hypothesised that both hostile and benevolent sexism will be associated with using explanatory sentence continuations with female stereotype incongruent sentence stems.

Chapter 8 builds on the findings of Chapter 7 and details two studies which look at the bias associated with hostile and benevolent sexism in hypothetical workplace scenarios. The initial study examines evaluations of a female candidate applying for a management position. It is hypothesised that hostile sexism will be associated with negative evaluations of the female candidate on both traits and 'employability' dimensions. Benevolent sexism is predicted to be associated with positive trait evaluations but negative evaluations on the 'employability' dimensions. The second study focuses on the issue of sexual harassment. In a partial replication and extension of Wiener et al. (1997) evaluations of either first or third person sexual harassment case facts are made. It is hypothesised that hostile sexism will be associated with perceiving less evidence of sexual harassment in the case facts, whilst benevolent sexism will be associated with perceiving more evidence of harassment. In addition it is hypothesised that judgements of harassment in the first and third person conditions will be moderated by perceptions of sexualised behaviour at work as a positive or negative event.

Chapter 9 sums up the findings. The discussion centres around the utility of the HS and BS scales and their relationship to indices of behaviour. It is suggested that the HS scale is a valid and reliable measure of contemporary negative affect sexism towards women, under certain circumstances. Specifically the results of the current program of research suggest that hostile sexist attitudes will predict 'behaviour' if the hostile sexist perceives that the expression of prejudice is

situationally appropriate or can be done anonymously. The BS scale is concluded to be less useful as a measure of 'positive' prejudice independent of hostile sexism. Methodological considerations focus on the use of undergraduate students as participants and gender of participants. A number of directions for future research are outlined including the necessity of an exploration of the development of sexism in adulthood and an exploration of the psychological implications of holding discrepant 'would' (personal norm) and 'should' (society norm) attitudes towards members of the ingroup.

Chapter One:

Old Fashioned to Modern Prejudices

"Women, then, are only children of a larger growth; they have an entertaining tattle, and sometimes wit; but for solid reasoning, good sense, I never knew in my life one that had it, or who reasoned or acted consequentially for four and twenty hours together..."

A man of sense only trifles with them, plays with them, humours and flatters them, as he does a sprightly, forward child; but he neither consults them about, nor trusts them with serious matters; although he often makes them believe that he does both; which is the thing in the world that they are most proud of...."

C.Strachey (Ed.) (1925) *The Letters of the Earl of Chesterfield* to his son, cited in G.W.Allport (1954), p33-34

"And just when Mike Atherton thought his Winter couldn't get any worse, it's got worse. The England cricket captain was playing in a friendly knock about in New Zealand, this morning, and was out for ten. He was caught by a woman."

BBC Radio One News, 7th January 1997, 8.30am

The aim of this thesis is to examine contemporary aspects of sexism, specifically the concepts of hostile and benevolent sexism introduced in the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory of Glick and Fiske (1996). This chapter introduces the concept of prejudice and its development as a social psychological concept. It traces the progression of theories of the expression of ethnic prejudice and considers the alternative explanations that have been offered by social psychology for apparent discrepancies between the expression of ethnic prejudice and the behaviour of ethnic discrimination. The remaining part of the chapter is devoted to the recent application of these explanations to another form of prejudice; sexism. Preliminary research into contemporary sexism is outlined.

Prejudice

Prejudice, as an area of interest to the social sciences, emerged in the 1920's (Duckitt, 1992). Prior interest in intergroup relations, or more accurately the 'race problem', as it was viewed, had been limited to a focus on the comparative abilities of different races. As Duckitt (1992) notes, this had almost always been undertaken in order to bolster theories of white supremacy. During the course of the 1920's and 1930's the

focus of research changed, and the initial interest in, and study of, differences between ethnic groups changed to the study of attitudes towards ethnic groups. Research specifically focused on measuring and describing Whites' attitudes towards these groups (e.g. Katz & Braly, 1933) and consequently prejudice, as a concept, emerged. Instead of white supremacy being viewed as 'natural', the deprivations and stigmatisations that ethnic groups were subject to became seen as a function of 'unjustified', 'irrational' or 'in some way faulty' attitudes held by Whites (Duckitt, 1992). In psychology, the attitude of prejudice, or more specifically, racial prejudice, thus became defined as: *"an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed towards a group as a whole, or towards an individual because he is a member of that group"* (Allport, 1954, p9).

As with all attitudes, prejudice was posited to consist of a cognitive component (irrationally based beliefs about a target group); an affective component (dislike) and a conative component, such as a behavioural disposition to avoid the target group (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). However as Allport (1954) noted, avoidance may only be one behavioural consequence of prejudice. He suggested a continuum of behavioural possibilities for the prejudiced individual ranging from antilocution (i.e. verbal rejection of the target group), through avoidance, discrimination, physical attack to extermination, with discrimination perhaps being the behaviour most frequently associated with the attitude of prejudice (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986).

Many alternative definitions of prejudice have been proffered since the mid 1950's (e.g. Cooper & McGaugh, 1963; Jones, 1972; Klineberg, 1954; Krech, Crutchfield & Ballachey, 1962; Marden & Meyer, 1962; Newcomb, Turner & Converse, 1965; Rose, 1965; Worchel, Cooper & Goethals, 1988). As Brown (1995) notes many of these have included what could be considered the key element of any definition of prejudice; specifically an emphasis on the primarily negative social orientation towards groups or members of those groups because of their group membership (c.f. Wilson, 1996a). Brown (1995) takes issue with Allport (1954) and others' (e.g. Jones, 1972; Worchel et al., 1988) insistence on prejudice as a 'faulty generalisation' however, stating that such emphases preempt factors underlying prejudice (for example, if prejudice is a 'faulty generalisation' then there must be a correct one). In line with this, Brown (1995) defines prejudice as: *"the holding of derogatory social attitudes or cognitive beliefs, the expression of negative affect, or the display of hostile or discriminatory behaviour towards members of a group"*

on account of their membership of that group" (Brown, 1995, p8). Thus, from this definition and Allport's (1954) analysis, it may be proposed that prejudice as a derogatory social attitude towards a group will under some circumstances underlie negative behaviour (e.g. discrimination) or affect towards members of that social group (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986).

Levels of Analysis

Attempts to understand, or explain, prejudice since the 1920/30's have, like all other aspects of social psychology (e.g. Doise, 1986), been based on a number of levels of analysis. For example, Allport (1954) identifies six levels of analysis for understanding racial prejudice: historical, sociocultural; situational; personality structure and dynamics, phenomenological and the stimulus-object approach. More frequently two levels of analysis have been proposed; societal and individual (Ashmore, 1970; Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Ehrlich, 1973). Ashmore and Del Boca (1976) propose that societal levels of explanation focus on how prejudice arises and is maintained by the nature of the relationships between different groups in society - for example by the 'need' of one group to exploit another. In contrast, individual level explanations emphasise how individuals, through living in a particular culture, come to acquire and manifest prejudice. Individual level explanations explain prejudice in terms of intrapersonal (e.g. personality, cognitive or motivational processes) or interpersonal factors (e.g. socialisation, conformity and attribution processes; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

An early 'individual' level study of racial prejudice that attempted to explain prejudice in terms of motivational factors was the 'authoritarian personality' research of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford (1950). The motivational perspective views prejudice as originating and being perpetuated in order to achieve desired goals or to satisfy needs, or as occurring as a result of negative feelings or beliefs acquired during socialisation (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). In line with this, Adorno et al. (1950) proposed that individuals who had received a strict upbringing as children by parents excessively concerned with convention and conformity would possess a personality that predisposed them to prejudice. These individuals were thought to repress the hostility felt towards their strict parents, whom they idealised, and to express deferential attitudes towards figures in authority (who symbolised their parents). Because of the repression of hostility, 'psychic' energy would build up and the individuals would need to emit their pent up hostility. This

would be done by targeting it onto less threatening 'lower' status targets, such as foreigners or minority groups. Such groups were seen by the authoritarian as defective and therefore deserving of their disdain. In order to assess 'authoritarianism' in individuals, Adorno et al. (1950) developed the 'F scale' (tendency towards Fascism scale). Through clinical interviews and projective personality tests, Adorno et al. (1950) found that authoritarianism was positively associated with stricter child rearing practices and the holding of more ethnocentric or racist attitudes.

The Adorno et al. (1950) study was subject to severe methodological criticism concerning the wording of the items and the methods used to validate the scale (Brown, 1965). More generally, individual level approaches to the study of prejudice have traditionally been subject to four main criticisms. These have been summarised by Brown (1995) who states that individual approaches to prejudice have failed to a) consider the importance of the immediate social situation in shaping peoples' attitudes; b) consider prejudice as a function of broader social norms in groups; c) account for uniformity of prejudiced attitudes across whole nations at any one given time and d) account for the historical rise and fall of prejudice levels documented in history.

The emergence of such criticisms initially resulted in a shift away in prejudice research from individual level explanations to societal or cultural level ones in the 1960's/1970's (Duckitt, 1992). However, like individual level approaches, these failed to wholly account for the continuing existence of prejudice. Consequently, more recently (e.g. Duckitt, 1992; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Schaller, Boyd, Yohannes & O'Brien, 1995), integrative approaches to the study of prejudice have been proposed. For example, Duckitt (1992) proposes that all humans have a potentiality for prejudice, which is fostered by intergroup interaction to create socially shared patterns of prejudice which are characteristic of entire social groups. These shared patterns of prejudice are transmitted to individual members of the group via processes such as socialisation; however the degree to which they are accepted or endorsed by the individual is moderated by individual differences among group members.

Such integrative approaches to prejudice have resulted in a resurgence of interest in prejudice at an ostensibly individual, as opposed to societal, level (e.g. Schaller et al., 1995).

Racism: The discrepancy between surveys and behaviour

As noted, the term 'prejudice' originated in reference to attitudes against ethnic groups. In line with this, racism, or attitudes towards ethnic groups, remains one of the most commonly and consistently studied forms of prejudice (e.g. Adorno et al., 1950) both at an individual and societal level. Surveys conducted in America over the past three decades have suggested that people's intergroup attitudes, stereotypes and personal beliefs towards ethnic groups have become more positive (Brown, 1995; Devine & Elliott, 1995); in short, at an individual level, racism is declining. Surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center between 1942 and 1985 asked white respondents questions concerning their attitudes towards Blacks and their attitudes towards policies designed to eliminate social inequalities (for example: 'do you think that white students and black students should go to the same school or separate schools?' and 'do you think there should be laws against marriages between blacks and whites?'; Taylor, Sheatsley & Greeley, 1978). Other survey measures have asked respondents to select characteristics (from a list of adjectives) that are most typical of Whites and Blacks. An identical instrument has been used in surveys of white Americans from 1933 to 1990 (Dovidio & Fazio, 1992; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). The results of all these surveys suggest that racism is on the decline and that: "*white America is apparently becoming more liberal and egalitarian in its attitude towards blacks*" (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, p3).

Specifically, the percentage of respondents in the NORC surveys endorsing statements against mixed marriages fell from 69% in 1963 to 35% in 1976 and to 28% in 1985 (Dovidio & Fazio, 1992). In terms of the selection of stereotypes, Dovidio and Gaertner (1986, 1991) note that there has been a consistent decrease in the selection of negative traits to describe Blacks. Whilst Devine and Elliott (1995) disagree methodologically with the interpretation of the Princeton Trilogy studies cited by Dovidio and Gaertner (1986, 1991), they concur with Dovidio and Gaertner's sentiment stating that the evidence from the surveys shows that personal beliefs towards Blacks are becoming more positive.

Such evidence may suggest that racial prejudice is a thing of the past. However, other evidence from both the United States and Britain calls into question the validity of this claim. Turner, Fix, Steyk, Elmi, Zimmerman and Edwards (1991) from the Urban Institute in Washington claim, in a replication of Daniels (1968), that differential treatment of job applicants on the basis of ethnic origin still occurs. They found that white job

applicants in Washington and Chicago received three times as many job offers as black applicants with equivalent qualifications and two and a half the number of job offers of hispanic applicants. Using a quasi-experimental methodology, Terkildsen (1993) found that American adult respondents indicated less support for a candidate for state office when they believed the candidate to be African American rather than White. In Britain, Brown (1995) cites studies from the Commission for Racial Equality to illustrate the continuing existence of discrimination against ethnic minorities. For example, up to twenty per cent of private accommodation agencies in eleven British towns/cities still discriminated against ethnic minorities in the allocation of rented property (CRE, 1990). In a comparable study to the one carried out by the Urban Institute in Washington, Esmail and Everington (1993) found that in Britain a postal application from a doctor with an English sounding name was twice as likely to be shortlisted than one from a doctor with an Asian sounding name.

Clearly then a contradiction exists between the results of attitude surveys and the results of behavioural studies (La Piere, 1934). Attitude surveys have found evidence of a decline in racism, whilst behavioural studies, both in the US and Britain, document its continuing existence. Three forms of explanation have been offered to account for this discrepancy. Some researchers suggest that the discrepancy is accountable to social desirability concerns (e.g. Crosby, Bromley & Saxe, 1980; Sigall & Page, 1971); some suggest that the discrepancy is a transient phenomenon (e.g. Devine, 1989) whilst others suggest that the discrepancy is accountable to the rise of a qualitatively different type of prejudice not accurately assessed in the attitude surveys (e.g. Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Katz, Wackenhut & Hass, 1988; McConahay, 1986; Sears & Kinder, 1985). Each of these explanations will be explored in the following sections.

Explanations: i) Attitude surveys are subject to social desirability biases

It has been proposed by some researchers (e.g. Crosby et al., 1980; Sigall & Page, 1971) that the decrease in racial prejudice documented in survey evidence is an artefact of the methods used to gauge individual opinion. They claim that changes in social norms (influenced by, for example, anti discrimination legislation; Monteith, Deneen & Tooman, 1996) have made it unacceptable to openly endorse racially prejudiced statements. Thus the documented discrepancy between the results of attitude and behavioural studies could be wholly accountable to individuals paying 'lip service' to anti prejudicial values without

truly believing in, or endorsing, them. Those that adhere to this perspective suggest that behavioural studies are the true indicator of the (non) evolution of racial attitudes.

Evidence from a number of lines of research provides support for this perspective. Sigall and Page (1971) connected participants via skin electrodes to a machine which they were told could detect their 'true' feelings. Participants in the experimental 'pipeline' condition were presented with various measures and were asked to predict the responses that the machine would give. For example, participants were asked to rate how characteristic they thought the trait 'ignorant' was of Black and White Americans. The responses of those in the 'bogus pipeline' condition were compared with the responses of those in the control condition (who were just asked to rate the characteristics). The results showed that those in the 'bogus pipeline condition' rated Blacks significantly more negatively on a number of dimensions than those in the control condition. Similar results have been found in a number of other studies (e.g. Allen, 1975; Carver, Glass & Katz, 1978) using a similar procedure. Fazio, Jackson, Dunton and Williams (1995) obtained an unobtrusive measure of racial attitudes through the presentation of black and white stimulus faces (to automatically activate evaluations from memory). They found the unobtrusive measure to be significantly related to behaviour towards a black confederate and the assignment of responsibility to Blacks (vs. Whites) for riots in Los Angeles. Specifically those participants with more negative attitudes towards Blacks (as estimated from the unobtrusive measure) were less friendly and behaved in a less interested manner towards the black experimenter. In addition, those with negative attitudes were more likely to assign responsibility to Blacks (than Whites) for the riots. Vanman, Paul, Ito and Miller (1997) in a study of facial electromyography (EMG) and racial bias found that facial EMG activity varied as a function of the target's race. Specifically, whilst self report measures indicated favourable attitudes towards members of another race, participants EMG activity suggested the opposite. These studies suggest that when the 'truth' can be detected or participants think that the 'truth' can be detected, prejudiced attitudes or affect will be found.

Another source of evidence which suggests that racial surveys may be subject to social desirability biases comes from an analysis of helping behaviour studies. Crosby et al. (1980) considered a number of studies that had looked at helping behaviour in mostly naturalistic settings. In these studies, the dependent variable was the differential amount of aid given to Whites and Blacks. Overall in 44% of the studies, participants gave more aid

to their own race than to members of the other race. This discrimination was more likely to occur when 'remote' measures were used (e.g. requesting on a telephone that the participant makes a call for you because you have run out of money) than when the interaction was face to face. A similar review of non-verbal behaviour studies led Crosby et al. (1980) to conclude that the: *"nonverbal behavior studies of racism imply that whites still discriminate against blacks"* (Crosby et al., 1980, p556).

The final body of evidence which suggests that traditional surveys may be subject to social desirability biases has emerged from cognitive 'priming' studies (see Chapter 4). In these studies participants are traditionally primed with a category label (for example, 'Black') and are presented with a number of words, on which they are asked to make split second decisions (for example, is the word positive or negative). The social cognitive literature assumes that the faster the response to the word, the stronger the cognitive link between the category label and the positive or negative word. Numerous studies have shown stronger associations between outgroup primes and negative words (e.g. Fazio, Jackson, Dunton & Williams, 1995; Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983), than, for example, ingroup primes and negative words. Such results have been interpreted by some (e.g. Brown, 1995) as evidence of, for example, the continuing existence of negative attitudes towards ethnic groups, at least at a preconscious level; a result that appears to be inconsistent with more traditional methods of assessing attitudes (e.g. Fazio et al., 1995; c.f. Wittenbrink, Judd & Park, 1997).

Such evidence, as stated, has led some researchers to attribute the discrepancy between survey and behavioural studies to be nothing more than an artefact of the methods used to assess attitudes. Others, however, claim that what is currently being assessed is a transitory stage of a real decrease in negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities (e.g. Devine, 1989).

Explanations: ii) Compunction

Devine and colleagues (e.g. Devine, 1989; Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink & Elliot, 1991; Monteith, 1993; Monteith, Devine & Zuwerink, 1993) propose that the apparent contradiction between survey and behavioural studies is not, in reality, a contradiction. They suggest that what is being detected is evidence of genuine non or low prejudice (as found in the surveys) coupled with 'prejudice like' (e.g. stereotypic and negative) thoughts and feelings that emerge in behavioural settings.

According to Devine and colleagues, the apparent contradiction between survey and behavioural studies is a function of the transition of peoples attitudes. Following a decision to renounce prejudicial values (through, for example, personal experience or a change in societal norms) a transitional period follows for the individual where they have to learn to replace 'old' unacceptable stereotyped responses with 'new' non or low prejudiced ones. Devine (1989), in a discussion of automatic and controlled processes, suggests why this transition may not be easy or smooth. She proposes that through early socialisation experiences (Brigham, 1972; Ehrlich, 1973; Katz, 1976) high and low prejudiced individuals' knowledge of the cultural stereotype regarding certain groups (e.g. Blacks) is likely to be equal. For some, encountering a target member (or symbolic equivalent) will activate the cultural stereotype; thus this becomes a well learned, or automatic, set of associations (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991; Klinger & Beall, 1992). Personal beliefs (i.e. the decision to renounce prejudice), in contrast, are represented in a newer cognitive structure. By definition, links to this newer cognitive structure on encountering a target group member are less well learned or automatic. Consequently, overt nonprejudiced responses require intentional inhibition of the automatically activated stereotype and activation of the newer cognitive structure representing the individual's personal belief (see also Higgins & King, 1981; Kruglanski & Freund, 1983). So, for example, in completing a paper and pen attitudinal measures of prejudice, given adequate cognitive capacity and time, a prejudiced renouncer can respond in line with their personal beliefs. However, given any restriction on cognitive capacity or time (so, for example, in a behavioural setting), cultural stereotyped responses may prevail.

Devine and colleagues proposed that for those who had genuinely renounced prejudice any discrepancy between their personal standard for responding (i.e. their self-ideal) and their actual response (their behaviour) may result in an affective reaction. This proposal was based on a number of theories (i.e. Aronson, 1968; Carver & Scheier, 1990; Duval & Wicklund, 1972; Higgins, 1987; Markus & Nurius, 1986) that suggested that the transgression of a personal standard may result in psychological distress for the individual. In line with this, and with direct reference to prejudice, Allport (1954) observed that a conflict between self-ideal and actual behaviour may lead to feelings of compunction (i.e. guilt and self criticism). Thus, Devine and colleagues (e.g. Devine et al., 1991) proposed that discrepancies between behaviour and self-ideal standards for those who had internalised their new (non prejudiced) standard would result in compunction. For those

whose standards were not well internalised (e.g. those high in prejudice), only global discomfort might ensue.

In an early test of this hypothesis, Devine et al. (1991) assessed people's attitudes towards and reactions to (proposed) contact with Black people and homosexual men. Using a scenario based approach, Devine et al. (1991) assessed people's 'should' (i.e. their personal standards) and 'would' standards (actual behaviour) in regard to situations involving Black people (Study 1) and homosexual men (Study 2). Following these ratings, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which a number of affect items represented how they felt at that point in time. Using a previously obtained attitudinal measure of prejudice, participants were split into high and low prejudice categories. The results of both studies indicated that discrepancies between 'would' and 'should' ratings did have affective consequences. For high prejudiced individuals this was manifested as a global sense of discomfort, whilst for low prejudiced individuals, as predicted, such a discrepancy resulted in the experience of self directed negative affect (compunction). A third study investigated the internalisation hypothesis. Participants initially reported their personal standards and their perceptions of society's standards for how they should respond to gay men. In addition to this, participants also completed an 'internalisation' index (Abelson, 1988; Krosnick, 1988) which consisted of questions concerning how important it was, how committed they were, and how central to their self concept it was to respond firstly in line with their personal standards and secondly in line with society's standards. Participants also completed an obligation measure, which assessed their obligation to respond in line with their personal or societal standards. The results of this study indicated that for low, in comparison to high, prejudiced individuals, compunction resulted from the transgression of an internalised personal standard, which they felt more (than high prejudiced individuals) obligated to respond consistently with. These findings have consequently been replicated using Black people (e.g. Zuwerink, Monteith, Devine & Cook, 1994); homosexual men (e.g. Monteith, 1993) and women (Pressly & Devine, 1992; c.f. Masser & Abrams, 1996), although recent research (e.g. Ho & Driscoll, 1998) has suggested a problem in the assessment and operationalisation of the discrepancy between 'would' and 'should' standards.

In something of a postscript to their account of the discrepancy between survey and behavioural studies, Monteith and colleagues (e.g. Monteith, 1991; Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 1993) have suggested that discrepancies and compunction may facilitate

low prejudiced individuals' prejudice reduction efforts. Drawing on social and neuropsychological perspectives that suggest that discrepancies between 'would' and 'should' standards may motivate discrepancy reduction efforts (e.g. Aronson, 1968; Carver & Scheier, 1990; Duval & Wicklund, 1972; Festinger, 1957; Gray, 1982), Monteith (1991), adopted the premises of Gray's (1982) model of motivation and learning. Specifically, the behavioural inhibition system (BIS) arousal system is believed to provide a basis for the way discrepancies may result in prejudice reduction. Through the experience of discrepancies, individuals should establish an association between cues (e.g. group labels), and their discrepant (e.g. stereotypic) responses with discrepancy-related 'punishment' (i.e. compunction). Thus, on future occasions, when such cues are presented, the inhibitory system should be activated (to prevent experiencing compunction) thus allowing low prejudiced individuals to inhibit stereotypic responses and respond in line with their personal beliefs. Support for this theory was found in two studies (Monteith, 1991, Study 1; Monteith et al., 1993) using homosexual males as the target group. In both studies, using an elaborate experimental set up, prejudice discrepancies were activated for some participants (Study One). In Study One, participants then completed an affect questionnaire, before reading an essay on stereotyping and prejudice which communicated five ideas about why people may be prejudiced, in addition to eight ideas on how people could try to become less prejudiced. Participants in Study One then completed a thought-listing task in which they recorded all of the thoughts that they had experienced whilst reading the essay, in addition to recalling all they could about the content of the essay. Analysis of the results of Study One showed firstly that low prejudiced participants experienced self directed negative affect (compunction) as a function of the discrepancy. In addition to this, and in line with Monteith's reasoning, further analysis of the measures indicated that those who were in the low prejudiced, discrepancy activated, condition were uniquely preoccupied with their personal prejudice-related discrepancy experiences; specifically, over half of their reported self-thoughts focused on the discrepancies. In addition, participants in that condition spent longer reading the essay (than those in the low prejudice, no discrepancy activation, condition) and demonstrated superior recall for the part of the essay concerning why prejudice related discrepancies arise. Study Two was concerned with the inhibition of discrepant responses. At the end of phase one where participants' discrepancies were emphasised, they were then asked to rate a number of jokes (two of which were anti gay men) on various dimensions (e.g. funniness, wittiness

and creativeness). Analysis of composite indexes of these dimensions indicated that low prejudiced individuals rated the jokes significantly less favourably than high prejudiced individuals. Specifically low prejudiced individuals appeared to be able to self regulate their prejudiced responses to the jokes as a consequence of the prejudice-discrepancy activation. In summary, in line with her theory, Monteith (1993) found that low prejudiced individuals were able to inhibit prejudiced responses and replace them with low prejudiced responses. In contrast, among high prejudiced individuals the experience of discrepancies and the associated feelings of discomfort and low levels of guilt did not result in attempts to regulate and reduce prejudice.

The implications of Monteith's early research suggested that with practice of and motivation to self regulate low prejudiced individuals should become effective at responding in line with their personal beliefs. Thus the discrepancy between survey and behavioural studies should be transitory; existing only while 'correct' behavioural responses became automatic. However, Monteith (1996a) noted that successful self regulation is dependent on bringing one's standards to mind spontaneously in connection with one's prejudiced responses and on experiencing discrepancy-associated guilt. Monteith (1996a) reasoned that previous studies (e.g. Devine et al., 1991; Monteith et al., 1993; Pressly & Devine, 1992; Zuwerink et al., 1996) investigating this self regulation effect had included strong demand characteristics for participants to consider their personal standards. The aim of Monteith's (1996a) research was therefore to examine the level of discrepancy-related affect participants experience when their standards are either salient or not in connection with their prejudiced responses. Monteith (1996a) reasoned that: *"if low prejudiced subjects do not bring their standards to mind and experience discrepancy associated guilt when they are not explicitly prodded to think about their standards, one may infer that the self-regulation of prejudiced responses will not occur on a regular basis"* (Monteith, 1996a, p49).

In line with the standard paradigm, Monteith (1996a) asked participants to indicate their 'would' and 'should' reactions to interactions involving a gay person. Depending on experimental condition, participants were then requested to either consider their feelings about how well their would ratings matched their should ratings or to consider their feelings about their ratings of how they would respond in the situations. Participants were then asked to rate the degree to which each of a number of affect items described their feelings. After completing this, participants were reminded that some of the affect items

concerned negative feelings towards others and requested that if they'd indicated (at least) somewhat negative feeling towards others to specify to whom they felt negative.

When participants' personal standards were made salient in connection with their prejudiced responses, the findings broadly replicated those from previous studies using a similar procedure (e.g. Devine et al., 1991; Monteith et al., 1993). In contrast, when low prejudiced individuals were not asked to consider their standards in connection with their prejudiced responses, the connection between discrepancies and guilt was attenuated. Specifically, the results of the study supported Monteith's proposition (cited above), suggesting that 'spontaneous' self regulation for low prejudiced individuals does not always occur. This suggests that the 'transitory' discrepancy between surveys and behaviour may persist, unless individuals are persuaded to consider their personal standards when encountering, for example, a member of an ethnic minority.

In summary, Devine and colleagues (e.g. Devine, 1989; Devine et al., 1991; Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 1993) suggest that the apparent discrepancy between survey and behavioural studies is a transitory phenomenon caused by the detection of genuine non or low prejudice (as found in the surveys) coupled with 'prejudice like' (e.g. stereotypic and negative) thoughts and feelings that emerge in behavioural settings. Given motivation to consider this discrepancy (and the experience of self directed negative affect), Devine and colleagues propose that ultimately an inhibitory mechanism will result in behaviour coming into line with personal attitudes.

Explanations: iii) Contemporary Forms of Racism

In contrast to those who propose that 'social desirability' masks the continuing existence of old fashioned prejudice, or that what is being documented is the existence of changed attitudes with 'prejudice like' behaviour, other researchers have claimed that the discrepancy between survey and behavioural studies is accountable to the rise of a qualitatively different type of prejudice which has supplanted 'old fashioned' racism traditionally assessed in surveys (e.g. Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Katz et al., 1986; McConahay, 1986; Sears & Kinder, 1985). Allport (1954) noted that a change in social norms (governing the overt expression of prejudice) may result in its expression becoming indirect: *"Where clear conflict exists, with law and conscience on one side, and with custom and prejudice on the other, discrimination is practised chiefly in covert and indirect ways"* (Allport, 1954, p57).

As Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) note, many different terms have been used to refer to this 'qualitatively different' form of prejudice (e.g. 'a new under the skin racism'; Freriks, 1990; 'latent prejudice'; Bergmann & Erb, 1986; 'the new racism', Barker, 1984; 'everyday racism', Essed, 1984) and 'latent racism' has been documented in many different types of studies (e.g. Ward, 1985). However, in reference to racism, three predominant conceptions of contemporary racism have emerged: symbolic or modern (Sears & Kinder, 1985; McConahay & Hough, 1976); ambivalent (Katz et al., 1986) and aversive (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). All three, like Adorno et al.'s (1950) 'authoritarian personality' theory, are motivational theories of racism and begin with the basic premise that contemporary racism, unlike its declining 'old fashioned' counterpart, is symbolically or indirectly expressed. Research into symbolic/modern and ambivalent racism has primarily focused on attempting to find reliable ways of distinguishing people who score high and low on a psychometric scale of the relevant type of racism, and then examining correlates and behavioural consequences of that distinction. Research into aversive racism has concentrated on determining which characteristics of a situation will lead to the expression of prejudice (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

Symbolic/Modern Racism

The concept of symbolic racism dates back to a study conducted by Sears and Kinder (1971) in the late 1960's. They found that white affluent voters' preference for the 'white conservative' or 'black liberal' candidate in a local mayoralty contest was unrelated to personal discontent or levels of 'old fashioned' racism. Instead they found it to be independently related firstly to the participants' political conservatism and secondly to responses on items concerning social policies aimed at redressing past inequalities for minority groups (e.g. 'over the past few years, Negroes have gotten more economically than they deserve'). The link to responses on the second set of items led Sears and Kinder (1971) to propose that a new 'symbolic' form of racism was emerging. This 'new' racism, they suggested, derived from the continuing culturally socialised antiblack affect (which contributed to 'old fashioned racism') and the perceptions by Whites that Blacks were violating traditional 'core' American values, such as individualism and egalitarianism (Sears, 1988). The 'new' symbolic racist therefore justified or veiled their negative affect by highlighting the perceived contravention of core American values by Blacks.

Symbolic racism therefore manifested itself into two 'symbolic' tenets: a) antagonism towards Blacks 'pushing too hard' and b) resentment towards special favours for Blacks (Sears, 1988). In terms of modern racism (McConahay, 1986), these tenets were expanded to include a denial of continuing discrimination. Thus McConahay (1986) summarises the tenets of modern racism as: *"(1) Discrimination is a thing of the past because blacks now have the freedom to compete in the marketplace and to enjoy those things that they can afford. (2) Blacks are pushing too hard, too fast and into places where they are not wanted. (3) These tactics and demands are unfair. (4) Therefore, recent gains are undeserved and the prestige granting institutions of society are giving blacks more attention and the concomitant status than they deserve"* (p92/3).

A variety of questionnaire items have been used in the assessment of symbolic and modern¹ racism (e.g. Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1982). Respondents indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with statements designed to tap the key constructs underlying symbolic/modern racism.

For example, McConahay and Hough (1976) administered the symbolic items along with items assessing personal relative deprivation (e.g. 'Over the past few years, blacks have done better economically than I have'), fraternal deprivation (e.g. 'Over the past few years, blacks have done better than most whites have'), old fashioned racism, and political conservatism. McConahay and Hough (1976) found that the symbolic items correlated significantly with voting preferences for a black candidate competing against a white candidate in a Los Angeles mayoralty contest. This correlation remained significant even when political conservatism was partialled out. Items assessing personal and fraternal relative deprivation correlated with voting preference as well as items assessing old fashioned racism, however none of these items were found to predict voting preference.

Assessments of the concept of symbolic/modern racism have focused on issues such as 'busing' and 'affirmative action'² (e.g. McConahay, 1982; Sears, Hensler & Speer,

¹ McConahay (1978) became dissatisfied with the term 'symbolic' racism and thus began to refer to 'modern racism' in his work. McConahay (1986) states that he adopted the term 'modern' racism to emphasise the contemporary, post civil rights movement nature of the tenets underlying contemporary racism and to acknowledge the realisation that both 'old fashioned' and 'new' racism are symbolic in the sense that both are group level abstractions rooted in early socialisation and not personal experience. In contrast, Sears and colleagues have retained the term 'symbolic racism'.

² Busing refers to the policy introduced in the US to desegregate the public schools. Affirmative action refers to policies designed to counter discrimination against minority groups and women in employment and

1979) as well as in relation to other voting contests (e.g. Kinder & Sears, 1981). In all of these cases, symbolic racism has been correlated with Whites' policy preference or voting behaviour, and has, according to Sears (1988) predicted preference or behaviour better than measures of 'old fashioned racism' or 'self interest' (e.g. McConahay, 1982). In experimental settings, McConahay, Hardee and Batts (1981) and McConahay (1986) administered measures of old fashioned and modern racism via either a Black or White experimenter. McConahay and colleagues proposed that the presence of a Black experimenter may sensitise participants to respond in a more socially desirable, i.e. less prejudiced, way, if the scales were reactive³. Differences in scores due to the ethnicity of the experimenter were only found for the 'old fashioned' measure of racism, leaving McConahay and colleagues to conclude that the Modern Racism Scale (MRS) was, at that point in time, an unreactive measure of contemporary racism. In a further experimental study, McConahay (1983) used scores on the MRS to predict hiring decisions. Participants were presented with three candidates' (two white, one black) curriculum vitas and asked to make a number of ratings and decisions, including a decision to hire the candidate or not. Whilst McConahay (1983) concluded that the MRS scores predicted the hiring decisions for black candidates, others (e.g. Brown, 1995) have subsequently questioned the validity of this conclusion.

Criticisms of Symbolic/Modern racism

The concept of symbolic or modern racism has been criticised on a number of issues, the majority of which can be summarised into four main points which will now be considered. Firstly, the critics of symbolic/modern racism note that proponents of these forms of contemporary racism assume, by association, that opposition to 'symbolic' policies, such as busing or affirmative action, is equivalent to symbolic racism. This assumption is questioned by a number of theorists (e.g. Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986; Ward, 1985) who state that opposition to 'symbolic' issues, such as busing or affirmative action, cannot be taken as direct evidence of racism. Specifically, opposition to such policies may be caused by other, non race related, factors

education. Such policies are legal in, for example, America, Canada and Australia, but are currently illegal in Britain.

³ "the extent to which the items are generally recognised by survey respondents ... as measuring racial prejudice" (McConahay, 1986, p110).

(Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). In an experimental investigation of this proposition, Sniderman, Piazza, Tetlock and Kendrick (1991) considered factors such as political conservatism as well as contemporary racism in an attempt to account for opposition to government assistance. Using computer assisted interviewing, survey respondents were presented with two experiments; the 'laid off worker' experiment and the 'group opportunity' experiment. The 'laid off worker' experiment was designed to determine whether a connection existed between honouring a claim to a public benefit and the race of the potential beneficiary. Participants were (randomly) presented with descriptions of three different people who had been laid off because the company they worked for had to reduce its staff. Then participants were asked how much government assistance (if any) that person should receive. In the 'group opportunity' experiment, participants were initially presented with a statement about the government's responsibility to ensure equal opportunity. In one experimental condition, the government's responsibility to ensure equal opportunities for Blacks and minorities was understated (i.e. 'it's not really the governments job to guarantee it'), in the other experimental condition, women were the targeted group. The results of these studies led Sniderman et al. (1991) to conclude: *"The experimental results, however, pose fundamental challenges to symbolic and modern racism theories, which contend that there is a new kind of racism in America"* (Sniderman et al., 1991, p423).

They claim, in contrast to modern or symbolic racist theorists, that opposition to government assistance is not primarily related to symbolic or modern racism but rather to conservative values coupled with a perceived policy violation of traditional values. Such a conclusion appears directly at odds with the results of McConahay and Hough (1976) who found symbolic items directly related to voting preference even when political conservatism had been partialled out (see also Jacobsen, 1985; McConahay, 1982; McClendon, 1985 and Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997). In addition, the Sniderman et al. (1991) study is not without its own methodological problems. For example, the use of a within subjects design may have resulted in some participants being aware of the issues underlying the study and responding in a socially desirable, as opposed to honest, way.

The second criticism often levied at symbolic/modern racism is that the definition of 'self interest' used in research is conceptually too narrow (e.g. Bobo, 1983; Bobo, 1988) in that it focuses on the *"individuals' tangible private well being"* (Sears et al., 1979, p369). Such critics claim that if a more fraternalistic, collective or group based definition

of self interest was used then a relationship between symbolic issues and 'self' interest (regardless of prejudice) would be found (see Bobo, 1983). Those who adhere to the 'group conflict' school (e.g. Bobo, 1983; 1988; Jackman & Muha, 1984; Jackman & Senter, 1983) suggest that individuals are not only interested in their personal welfare, but are also interested in the material interests of their social groups. Thus, they propose, political ideology serves as a rationalisation, masking group interest (Sidanius, Devereux & Pratto, 1992). Little empirical investigation into this criticism for symbolic/modern racism has taken place, with the exception of McConahay and Hough (1976), who considered 'group interest' in terms of fraternal relative deprivation. As stated previously, McConahay and Hough (1976) found little relationship between this and voting preferences.

The third point of criticism of the concept of modern/symbolic racism focuses on its claim to be a 'new' form of prejudice. Bobo (1988) documents the history of racial attitudes in the US and states that racial prejudice has, for at least one hundred and fifty years, involved a blend of antiblack affect and traditional moral values; these being the key defining characteristics of new 'symbolic' prejudice. In something of an acknowledgement of this fact, as noted, McConahay (1978; 1986) revised his reference term for new racism (see Footnote 1). Critics have frequently called into question the distinction drawn by symbolic/modern racism researchers between old fashioned and contemporary racism. As Sidanius et al. (1992) state: *"Some empirical evidence indicates that what is being called symbolic racism is nothing more than old-fashioned racism elicited through less offensively worded questionnaire items"* (Sidanius et al., 1992, p378).

In support of this claim, critics (e.g. Raden, 1994; Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986) have referred to the high correlations found between old fashioned and modern measures of racism (e.g. Jacobson, 1985; McConahay, 1982; McClendon, 1985). Those who have disputed this criticism have in turn referred to the ability of only the modern racism measures (as opposed to both the old fashioned and modern measures) to predict voting behaviours or attitudes towards symbolic issues (e.g. McConahay & Hough, 1976).

The final criticism levied against symbolic, or more specifically, modern racism, concerns the reactivity of the measure used to assess it. Whilst McConahay et al., (1981) concluded, after an experimental study, that the MRS was (at the time) an unreactive measure of contemporary racism, many theorists have consequently taken issue with this claim (e.g. Fazio et al., 1995). Indeed, if the mean scores from McConahay's own studies are considered, it can be seen that they are markedly skewed towards the lower (i.e. less

prejudiced) end of the scale (e.g. McConahay et al., 1981; Range 0-24, Mean 6.7-7.8; McConahay, 1983; Range 0-28; Mean 8.31). If the MRS was completely unreactive, one would expect a (near) normal distribution with the mean/median around the scale midpoint. Whilst few would now claim that the MRS was a truly covert way of assessing contemporary racism, some have argued that it is less reactive than 'old fashioned' measures (Pedersen & Walker, 1997) and remains an accurate way of assessing contemporary prejudice in individuals (e.g. Wittinbrink et al., 1997). Wittinbrink et al. (1997) demonstrated that scores on the MRS, which they term an explicit measure of racial prejudice, correlate reliably with scores on an implicit measure of prejudice. Other researchers have also found scores on the MRS to be reliably related to other measures of prejudice (e.g. Locke, MacLeod & Walker., 1994; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Kawakami, Dion & Dovidio., 1997, Vanman et al., 1997) whilst others have failed to find such relationships (e.g. Fazio et al., 1995).

Ambivalent Racism

In contrast to the proponents of symbolic/modern racism who conceptualise contemporary racism in terms of a new form of negative affect, Katz et al. (1986) state that contemporary racism is characterised by ambivalence - that is the coexistence of positive and negative affect towards Blacks in white Americans. Accepting both the results from the survey studies and behavioural (unobtrusive) studies, Katz et al. (1986), suggest that the apparent coexistence of both pro and anti black sentiments in white Americans stems from a value duality (between egalitarianism and individualism) found in modern American culture. For the individual who embraces both values, this results in the simultaneous acceptance of the egalitarian principle of equality of opportunity (which is hypothesised to lead to feelings of sympathy and support for the 'underdog' or minority) and of the individualistic principle (e.g. devotion to work, self reliance etc.). This results in feelings of ambivalence for the individual - part friendliness/sympathy (egalitarian), part disdain/aversion (individualistic); a case of viewing Blacks as deserving help, yet as not doing enough to help themselves.

Freud (1923/1961) suggested that conflictual feelings of ambivalence could be resolved by a 'reactive displacement of cathexis' - i.e. energy being withdrawn from one impulse and added to the opposite impulse. Support for this hypothesis in terms of racism was initially found by Dienstbier (1970, cited in Katz et al., 1986), who compared the

amount of verbal liking and acceptance shown by white participants towards either socially desirable or undesirable white and black stimulus persons. When both persons were described favourably the black person was rated more positively than the white. When both were described unfavourably, the black person was rated less positively than the white. In a related paradigm, Katz, Cohen and Glass (1975) conducted three studies to investigate helping behaviour as a function of racial group membership and assertiveness. The results from these studies showed that minority help seekers were favoured over Whites when both displayed the same socially desirable characteristics, but that this bias diminished as the self presentations of both black and white help seekers became less positive (i.e. they became more assertive; see also Katz, Glass & Cohen, 1973).

Katz (1981; cited in Katz et al., 1986) therefore proposed in the theory of ambivalent racism that when cues are present to activate the conflicted attitudes (i.e. sympathy and aversion), a white person will experience psychological tension and will attempt to reduce this by polarising their reactions to members of the target group. A series of studies (e.g. Hass, Katz, Rizzo, Bailey & Moore, 1992; Katz, Glass, Lucido & Farber, 1979; Katz & Hass, 1988) have investigated this theory underlying ambivalent racism in more detail. In order to assess the precise linkage of individual racial ambivalence to behavioural differentiation, Katz et al. (1986) devised a racial attitude questionnaire. Across a number of studies (e.g. Katz et al., 1986; Katz and Hass, 1988) ambivalence was shown to be related to the constructs proposed to underlie ambivalent racism (e.g. humanitarian-egalitarianism and individualism). In addition, Katz and Hass (1988) found through correlational and priming studies that, as predicted, humanitarian-egalitarianism was positively associated with pro-Black attitudes, whilst individualism was positively associated with anti-Black attitudes. In addition, Hass et al. (1992) found that activation of the conflicted racial attitudes via an audiotape of pro and anti Black excerpts from interviews concerning an (anti Black) racial attack resulted in negative mood change (i.e. psychological tension/discomfort); the amount of which was directly related to individual differences in measured ambivalence. Further support for Katz and colleagues' theory of ambivalent racism comes from numerous demonstrations of behavioural extremity as a function of ambivalent racism (e.g. Katz et al., 1977; Katz et al., 1979; Katz et al., 1986). In an independent demonstration of this, Linville and Jones (1980) asked white college undergraduates to evaluate either academically weak or strong law school applications from black and white candidates. In line with the ambivalence hypothesis, Blacks were

rated more favourably than Whites when the applications were strong, but less favourably when the applications were weak.

Aversive Racism

Like the theory of ambivalent racism, the concept of aversive racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) accepts the survey and unobtrusive survey findings as genuine and as being indicative of ambivalence. Under the theory of aversive racism, this ambivalence arises through the coexistence in white Americans of egalitarian values which produce feelings of sympathy (not genuine problack feeling as Katz et al., 1986 propose) for black people and residual, unacknowledged, feelings of unease (negative affect) stemming from culturally socialised negative images of Blacks. This, state Gaertner and Dovidio (1986), results in the simultaneous endorsement of problack statements, and behavioural indications of avoidance or prejudice; avoidance which stems from feelings of anxiety rather than hostility. In addition, Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) posit that these behavioural indications of their anxiety will only occur when there are ambiguous or conflicting norms (as the aversive racist can justify or rationalise his or her behaviour in non racist terms). Thus aversive racists view themselves as racially tolerant, but anxiety stemming from culturally socialised negative images of Blacks will result in 'prejudice' leakage when situational norms allow.

A number of experimental studies support the theory of aversive racism (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). For example, Gaertner (1973) found in a study of helping behaviour using the 'wrong number' scenario (asking the participant to make a telephone call for you) that black callers tended to receive less helpful responses than white callers (e.g. person hanging up, or not helping). The 'remote' nature of the requested help meant that situational norms for assistance were weak. In a further 'helping behaviour' study where situational norms were varied, Frey and Gaertner (1986) found that in weak 'norm' situations, Blacks were helped significantly less than Whites; in strong 'norm' situations, there were no significant race differences. In terms of justifying apparently 'discriminatory' behaviour, Dovidio and Gaertner (1981) found, in reference to affirmative action programs, that Whites used issues such as procedural unfairness and relative competence as non race related rationalisations for objecting to programs that increased the likelihood that they would be subordinated to Blacks. In a related study, Murrell, Dietz-Uhler, Dovidio, Gaertner and Drout (1994) found that the presence of Blacks as an

affirmative action target group produced the greatest level of resistance in comparison to other target groups (e.g. the handicapped or elderly). Murrell et al. (1994) found that this resistance to affirmative action to benefit Blacks was greatest when it was coupled with an apparent violation of principles of fairness without stated justification.

As stated, aversive racists view themselves as racially tolerant. Thus Gaertner and Dovidio (1986), unlike other theorists of contemporary racism, warn against trying to create a questionnaire method for assessing aversive racism. Drawing on the findings of Dutton and Lake (1973) they claim that due to the 'fragility' and unacknowledged nature of contemporary, aversive, racism any: *"techniques directed at revealing the negative components of aversive racists' attitudes would probably produce reverse discrimination"* (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986, p85).

Summary of Contemporary Approaches to Racism

The evidence from aversive, ambivalent and symbolic conceptualisations of racism provides some varied interpretations of what constitutes 'contemporary' racism. Theories of symbolic/modern racism propose that racism now consists of negative affect expressed symbolically; ambivalent racism suggests that the attitude of racism has increased in complexity and now has positive (in terms of sympathy) and negative components. In contrast, the theory of aversive racism proposes that Whites' expressed support for egalitarian policies is genuine, but that ambiguous social norms result in the 'leakage' of culturally socialised antiblack affect. As well as differences in conceptualisations of contemporary racism, the three theories differ in the level of awareness of their prejudice that the theories attribute to the possessor. Under the theories of modern and aversive racism, the alleged 'racists' are not aware of their feelings. In contrast, ambivalent racists are thought to be aware. In addition, in terms of political ideology underlying contemporary racism, differences between the three conceptualisations also exist. In short, the theory of modern racism proposes that it originates from the political right. In contrast, Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) propose that aversive racism originates from the left. Out of the three conceptualisations of contemporary racism, the theory of symbolic/modern racism has been most heavily criticised (e.g. Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986); however as noted, the validity of some of these criticisms are themselves questionable.

In order to determine the extent of concordance between different theories of contemporary racism and whether an integrative framework would be theoretically and

practically beneficial, Monteith (1996b) undertook a comparison of the theories of modern and ambivalent racism. Using questionnaires and a mood adjective checklist, Monteith (1996b) investigated the extent of association between the measures and the affective reactions associated with each one. Analyses demonstrated that the relationship between the MRS score and the Ambivalence score was negligible. In addition modern and ambivalent racism appeared to have different affective consequences. Specifically, participants with larger ambivalence scores reported greater negative self directed affect and general discomfort than those with smaller scores. In addition, MRS scores tended to be negatively related to negative self directed affect, although this relationship was found to be dependent on other measures (for example, the ambivalence score). On the basis of such results Monteith (1996b) concluded that there was: *"virtually no evidence of overlap among the measures of conflict, and scores on each form of conflict were associated with unique patterns of affective reactions"* (Monteith, 1996b, p461) suggesting that continuing investigation into all the different conceptualisations of contemporary racism is warranted.

Subtle vs. Blatant Forms of Prejudice

Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) attempted to define a more encompassing framework for the study of ethnic or outgroup prejudice. They noted that all approaches to contemporary racism juxtapose their 'coverts' or subtleties against the directness or blatant form of traditional prejudice and thus took this as a starting point for their theory of subtle vs. blatant prejudice.

Drawing on Allport (1954) they propose that blatant prejudice stems from two primary causes; a) threat from and rejection of the outgroup and b) opposition to intimate contact with outgroup member. In contrast, subtle prejudice stems from three factors; a) defence of traditional values; b) exaggeration of cultural differences and c) denial of positive emotions towards the outgroup. Using a sample of over three thousand from four European countries (France, the Netherlands, Great Britain and the then-West Germany), Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) constructed measures of blatant and subtle prejudice. They found that whilst there was a clear distinction between the two types of prejudice, elements of the same constructs tended to underlie both forms. These were ethnocentrism, political conservatism and contact (see also Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Pettigrew, 1997). In a later analysis (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997) political conservatism was found to be equally or more strongly related to blatant rather than subtle prejudice. Pettigrew and Meertens

(1995) found that scores on the measures of blatant and subtle prejudice predicted attitudes towards immigration and immigrant-native relations. For example, those who scored high on both measures (bigots) were found to wish to restrict immigrants rights. Conversely, those who scored low on both scales (equalitarians) expressed a wish to extend immigrants' rights. Subtle racists (who scored low on the blatant scale, but high on the subtle one) were found to adopt the intermediate position, only expressing negative attitudes against immigrants if an ostensibly 'non prejudiced' justification could be found. Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) suggest an account of the evolution of prejudice in terms of Kelman's (1961) normative perspective. Specifically, they propose that a norm has evolved against blatant prejudice and that equalitarians have internalised this norm, while subtles are only compliant. Thus, like the theory of aversive racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), subtles suffer from 'prejudice leakage' when situational norms will allow.

Generalisations to other forms of prejudice: Contemporary Forms of Sexism

Whilst research into contemporary forms of racism began more than twenty years ago, the conceptual 'cross over' into research on other forms of prejudice, such as sexism, has just begun. The parallels between racism and sexism (against women) have long been drawn (e.g. de Beauvoir, 1953; Jackson, 1994). As noted by Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter (1995, citing Doyle & Paludi, 1991; Hole & Levine, 1971) the political origins of this association in the US began with the first abolition movement in the 1830's when, incited by their inability to work as equals with males, female abolitionists began speaking out against the subjugation of African Americans and women. Periodically, since then, the parallels have been redrawn (e.g. Myrdal, 1944) and though noting the differences in the status of women and African Americans (see Comaz-Diaz, 1991; Reid, 1988) Hacker (1951) concluded that sufficient parallels existed to generalise findings from one group to the other.

In terms of psychology, Allport (1954) highlighted sexism as a form of prejudice akin to racism. He stated: *"for some people - misogynists among them - the sex-grouping remains important throughout their lives. Women are viewed as a wholly different species from men, usually an inferior species. Such primary and secondary sex differences that exist are greatly exaggerated and are inflated into imaginary distinctions that justify discrimination"* (Allport, 1954, p33).

This defines sexism in terms of what Allport considered to be the two principle tenets of prejudice; denigration and overgeneralisation. More recently, in psychology, parallel perceptions of women and minorities have also been described in research concerning the role of cognitive processes in stereotyping and prejudice. For example, processes of memory and perception (e.g. confirmation biases and selective encoding and retrieval) are thought to be used to maintain stereotypical beliefs/prejudices about women and African Americans (Fiske & Taylor, 1991).

One more obvious similarity between the two forms of prejudice can be found in the evolution of social norms governing their open expression. As Tougas, Brown, Beaton and Joly (1995) note: *"as with racism, there have been normative and legislative changes in many industrialised societies, which make it less acceptable to express sexist ideas openly"* (Tougas et al., 1995, p843).

This 'social evolution' has led, as it did with racism, to apparently contradictory research findings. Whilst survey evidence suggests that fewer people now disapprove of non-traditional roles for women (Myers, 1990) and support gender equity in the workplace (e.g. Eagly, Mladinic & Otto., 1991; Kahn & Crosby, 1985), behavioural evidence suggests that gender discrimination still prevails. For example, in a sample of recently transferred male and female managers with equivalent qualifications, educational and work experience backgrounds in the top five hundred companies in America, Stroh, Brett and Reilly (1992) found differential increases in salary levels between male and female employees. In terms of more global statistics of discrimination, in the early 1990's American women still, on average, earnt only 66% of male salaries (Women's Action Collective, 1992), whilst British women currently only earn 80% of male salaries (Equal Opportunities Commission, 1998). In a clear demonstration of the disparity between attitudes and behaviour, Shore (1992) found that although a mainly male assessment centre board evaluated female candidates as better than male candidates on fourteen out of fifteen criteria, this higher evaluation failed to translate into behaviour. Specifically, female candidates were not subsequently judged to have any greater management potential than male candidates and did not progress (in terms of long term job advancement) significantly better than them.

Following the parallels traditionally drawn between racism and sexism, explanations for such inconsistent findings with regard to women have suggested that sexism has evolved as racism did (Pressly & Devine, 1992). Specifically it has been suggested that 'old fashioned' sexism has been supplanted by a contemporary form (e.g.

Beattie & Diehl, 1979; Benokraitis & Feagin, 1986; 1995; Dovidio, Mann & Gaertner, 1989). As with contemporary forms of racism, three conceptualisations of contemporary sexism have been proposed in two models. The first, neo sexism (Tougas et al., 1995) and modern sexism (Swim, et al., 1995) both draw on the theory underlying symbolic/modern racism (McConahay, 1986; Sears & Kinder, 1985). The second, ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996), draws broadly on the notions of ambivalence underlying ambivalent racism (Katz et al., 1986).

Modern Racism to Neo/Modern Sexism

Drawing on the work on symbolic and modern racism (McConahay, 1986; Sears & Kinder, 1971) Tougas et al. (1995) propose that contemporary or neo sexism can be defined as a: *"manifestation of a conflict between egalitarian values and residual negative feelings towards women"* (p843) in contrast to old fashioned, pure negative affect, sexism. Similarly, Swim et al. (1995) define modern sexism directly from the tenets of modern racism: *"while rejecting old fashioned discrimination and stereotypes, (the modern sexist) may believe that discrimination is a thing of the past, feel antagonistic towards women who are making political and economic demands, and feel resentment about special favors for women"* (p200).

Swim et al. (1995) and Tougas et al. (1995) devised measures of modern and neo sexism, in order to assess their assertion of the characterisation of contemporary sexism as akin to modern racism.

Modern Sexism

Swim et al. (1995) initially constructed a number of statements to assess modern sexism (e.g. 'discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States'; 'over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences'). In Study One an initial test of construct validity was carried out. Participants completed the Modern Sexism (MS) scale, measures of Old Fashioned Sexism (OFS), modern racism (MRS), Old Fashioned Racism (OFR), egalitarianism and individualism, in addition to a sex segregation task. In this latter task participants were requested to estimate the percentage of women and men in the United States who occupied twelve occupations. The results of this initial study suggested that modern and old fashioned sexism were

independent but related constructs, and that egalitarian/individualistic values associated in the same way with sexism as they had racism - i.e. endorsing individualistic beliefs but not egalitarian beliefs was associated with higher sexism scores. Male participants were found to score higher on the sexism scales than women. Participants overestimated the percentage of women in male dominated occupations. However participants with higher modern sexism scores tended to overestimate this percentage more than individuals with lower modern sexism scores.

In a second study, Swim et al. (1995) confirmed the factor structure of the MS scale and OFS scale and established them as independent but related constructs in addition to carrying out further construct validity tests. Specifically, they investigated the attributions offered for occupational sex segregation in addition to investigating voting preference. Those low in modern sexism were more likely (than those high in modern sexism) to attribute sex segregation to prejudice and were less likely to state that segregation was a function of tradition and to attribute segregation to biological causes. Those low in modern sexism were also more likely to indicate that they would vote for a female candidate. However, as Swim et al. (1995) note, this preference was confounded with political orientation. Consequently when party affiliation and liberalism were entered as covariates into the analysis, modern sexism was no longer a significant predictor of voting preference.

In a further assessment of modern sexism, Swim and Cohen (1997) investigated the relationship of the MS scale to the Old Fashioned Sexism (OFS) scale and a measure of sexist beliefs (the Attitudes Towards Women Scale; Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1973). In addition, the relationship of modern sexism to affective reactions to different categories of women and men and perceptions of sexual harassment were also investigated. The factor analyses confirmed the previous analyses indicating that whilst the AWS and OFS assess the same construct, this construct is distinct from the one assessed by the MS scale. The AWS and MS scale showed similar patterns of correlations with the affective reaction measures (with the exception of the category 'men in general'). Both modern and traditional sexists were more likely to have negative attitudes towards women and feminists, and were more likely to have positive attitudes toward traditional men and chauvinists. The partial correlations indicated that both the AWS and MS scale contributed unique variance to these evaluations. Swim and Cohen (1997) also found the MS scale a better predictor of responses regarding questions about sexual harassment, even after controlling for scores on the AWS (see Freedman, Swim & Silverman, 1996).

Subsequent studies have, however, questioned the construct validity and predictive utility of the MS scale. In an exploration of the factor structure of the MS scale using a small mixed race non undergraduate sample, Yoder and McDonald (1997) found little evidence of a reliable uni-dimensional factor structure for the MS scale. They concluded the MS scale to be characterised by low inter-item correlations and a low alpha coefficient when administered to a non-student sample. However, despite the poor performance of the scale as a whole, they did find the MS scale items to be reliably related to gender related personality traits, attitudes, work experiences and identity. Dunning and Sherman (1997), in an investigation of tacit inference, found that MS scores did not reliably differentiate between those who made tacit inferences based on gender stereotypes and those who did not. Specifically those who scored low on the MS scale (i.e. low sexists) were found to be as likely to make different inferences of characters based on their gender as those who were high in modern sexism.

Neo Sexism

Analogous to the approach taken by Swim et al. (1995), Tougas et al. (1995) adopted the principle tenets of McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale to be applicable to women. For example, the MRS scale item: 'over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve' was adapted by Tougas et al. (1995) to read: 'over the past few years, women have gotten more from government than they deserve'. From these adapted statements, Tougas et al. (1995) created the Neo Sexism (NS) scale.

In an initial assessment of the concept of neo sexism and the NS scale, Tougas et al. (1995) tested a predictive model of attitudes towards affirmative action with Canadian undergraduate students. In this model measures of Old Fashioned Sexism (OFS) and the NS scale were included. In addition, and responding to one of the primary criticisms of symbolic/modern racism (e.g. Bobo, 1983; 1988), a measure of group or collective interest (Sidanius et al., 1992) was also included. Neo sexism and old fashioned sexism were found to be related, although only neo sexism was reliably related to support given to affirmative action. In addition, the measure of collective interest was found to influence both types of sexism and the amount of support given to affirmative action programs. Further analyses demonstrated that both collective interest and neo sexism were better predictors of attitudes towards affirmative action than old fashioned sexism.

A second study carried out by Tougas et al. (1995) with male Canadian employees of an organisation with an Affirmative Action Program in place confirmed the results of the initial study regarding the relationship between the measures of old fashioned sexism and neo sexism. Tougas et al. (1995) assessed men's collective interests (i.e. the perceived effects of the existence of the affirmative action program on their career opportunities), their general attitudes towards affirmative action, their attitudes towards the (affirmative action) program in place, and their evaluations of the competence of women. Reactions to affirmative action (in general) and support for the program in place were significantly related to neo sexism and considerations of collective interest. In addition, evaluations of women's competence were (negatively) dependent on neo sexism and collective interest. In related research, Beaton, Tougas and Joly (1996), replicated the negative relationship between evaluations of women's competence and neo sexism. In addition, they found that feelings of threat in conjunction with a perception of an increase in female recruits into managerial positions were associated with heightened neo sexism.

In an independent assessment of the validity and the predictive utility of the NS scale in a British context, Masser (1995) assessed job candidate preference as a function of participants' NS scale score. Using a measure adapted from Linville and Jones (1980), incorporating the key components of neo sexism (e.g. a symbolic issue and a self/collective interest) participants were asked to imagine that they had been shortlisted for a job in an American college which practised affirmative action to favour female candidates. As part of the evaluation process they were asked to read an extract from another candidate's application form. The other candidate was either male or female. They then rated the candidate on a number of stereotypic traits (Spence, Helmreich & Holahan, 1979; Bem, 1981; Martin, 1987) embedded in a number of other work related trait words. In addition, participants were asked a number of questions about the candidate's application and their feelings towards the candidate. It was hypothesised that neo sexism would be positively related to discrimination against the female candidate (in comparison to the male candidate). The results indicated that neo sexism was unrelated to discrimination against female candidates.

Neo and Modern Sexism

Given the joint basis of neo and modern sexism in modern racism, researchers (e.g. Swim & Cohen, 1997) had presumed that the measures assessed identical constructs.

Recent research by Campbell, Schellenberg and Senn (1997) investigated this proposition using a sample of one hundred and six Canadian college students. Both the MS and NS scales were found to have acceptable reliability, although Campbell et al. (1978) found, in line with the criticism of Yoder and McDonald (1997), that the reliability of the MS scale was at the low end of levels traditionally considered acceptable (Nunnally, 1978). As expected (given their joint basis in modern racism) the MS and NS scales were moderately highly correlated, although Campbell et al. (1997) noted: *"most of the variance in one scale could not be explained by variance in the other scale"* (p97). The less than perfect association between the two scales was attributed to the scales' derivation from different tenets of the theory of modern racism. Specifically, Campbell et al. (1997) noted that whilst the NS scale draws on all three tenets of the theory of modern racism, the MS scale items were primarily drawn from the first tenet of McConahay's (1986) theory ('discrimination is no longer a problem'). In addition, gender differences in responding were larger on the NS scale than the MS scale. Both scales were related to attitudes towards the feminist movement, attitudes towards lesbians and gay men and egalitarian and individualistic value orientations, although the associations between these measures were generally stronger (and significant for egalitarian and individualistic value orientations) for the NS scale (in contrast to Swim et al., 1995). In sum, Campbell et al. (1997) concluded the NS scale to be a superior measure of general sexist attitudes and related constructs in comparison to the MS scale.

Ambivalent Sexism

In contrast to Tougas et al. (1995) and Swim et al. (1995) who conceptualise contemporary sexism as consisting of mainly negative affect, other theorists have suggested that sexism, and prejudice per se, may include subjectively positive aspects (e.g. Jackson, 1994; c.f. Brown, 1995). In an early conceptualisation of 'positive prejudice', Allport (1954) referred to a 'love prejudice' which he defined as: *"when a person is defending a categorical value of his own, he may do so at the expense of other people's interests or safety. If so, then we note his hate prejudice, not realizing that it springs from a reciprocal love-prejudice underneath"* (p25/26). Whilst this conceptualisation of positive prejudice is reminiscent of the later conceptualisation of ingroup bias (e.g. Rabbie & Horwitz, 1969; Tajfel, Flament, Billig & Bundy, 1971), others have subsequently noted that subjectively positive stereotypes may be applied to the outgroup. Wilson (1996a), in

an examination of Jewish stereotypes, found that two types existed; those that were clearly anti-Semitic and those that were "*ostensibly benign*" (p465), and referred to Jews in apparently positive ways (e.g. ambitious, hardworking, intelligent). Considering the data from the 1990 National Opinion Center General Social Survey where White respondents were asked to rate four minority groups (Jews, Blacks, Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans) as well as 'whites in general' on six bipolar trait scales (e.g. rich/poor), Wilson (1996a) concluded that: "*ostensibly benign Jewish stereotypes are not generally pro-Semitic but are very likely to veil underlying anti-Semitism*" (p474) and that positive stereotyping may constitute a relatively subtle way of expressing prejudice.

Jackson (1994), in an examination of class, race and gender relations, posited that positive prejudice, or as she terms it, paternalism ("*the combination of positive feeling for a group with discriminatory intentions toward the group*", p11) maybe a powerful tool for dominant groups in times in which circumstances, such as social norms, are changing. By disguising paternalism as benevolence, or genuine positive affect, Jackson (1994) claims that dominant group members can create an 'ideological cocoon' in which both dominant group members and subordinates accept the paternalistic role of the dominant group. Thus where relationships of social inequality are longstanding, Jackson (1994) proposes that the prejudice that exists between two groups may be of a subjectively positive nature in order to maintain the status quo. Specifically: "*groups who dominate social relationships strive to keep hostility out of those relationships, not in order to foster equality, but rather to deepen and secure the inequality. They have learned that persuasion is better than force*" (Jackson, 1994, p16).

With specific reference to gender relations, Nadler and Morrow (1959) initially suggested that attitudes towards women may be twofold in construct - chivalrous (placing a positive value on protecting and deferring to women) and openly subordinating (i.e. supporting of policies which restrict women or stereotyped conceptions of women as inferior). Subsequent research within (predominately American) prisons has informally documented the existence of subjectively 'positive prejudice' towards women. For example, Bowersox (1981), in an investigation of sex role conflicts in correctional institutions, found that male correctional officers perceived that female officers may need or want protection from physical assault; a view that was not shared by female officers in the same institutions. Such 'positive prejudice' appears also to be manifested in a perception of 'appropriate' or stereotypical roles for women within occupations. For

example, a recent large scale survey of the British Police Force (J. Brown, 1998) showed that female police officers perceived that they were less likely to be deployed on public order duty or to deal with violent offenders than male officers. In contrast they perceived that they were more likely to be called upon for 'inside station duty' or to deal with a sex offence victim (see also the Equal Opportunities Commission, 1990). The existence of such 'positive prejudice' (in the belief in stereotypical roles for women even within occupations) is highlighted by a comment from one of Brown's (1988) female police officers: *"I found that on numerous occasions I would be called to the station or sent to deal with incidents involving women and/or children. I personally do not like children and I do not see why I should have to deal with situations involving children when most [male] police officers on the shift are married fathers and have far greater experience than myself when dealing with them"* (p276).

Building on this documented existence of 'positive prejudice' towards women, Eagly et al. (1991) theorised that attitudes towards women may best be characterised by ambivalence; an ambivalence that they proposed came from a conflict of cognitive and emotional reactions. In a formalisation of all of these suggestions and drawing on the documented psychological evidence, Glick and Fiske (1996) proposed that contemporary sexism can be, as suggested by Nadler and Morrow (1959) and Eagly et al. (1991), characterised by ambivalence - that is the coexistence of positive and negative affect. They claim that 'old fashioned' theories of sexism have assessed only hostility, which, they state neglects the subjectively positive side of sexism; which they term benevolent. Benevolent sexism is defined as: *"a set of interrelated attitudes towards women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles, but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone"* (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p491).

The coexistence of both positive and negative affect is similar to that proposed in the theory of ambivalent racism (Katz et al., 1986; Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner & Zhu, 1997). However, unlike that and the other theories of contemporary racism, Glick and Fiske (1996) do not propose that 'benevolent' sexism stems from egalitarian beliefs, nor do they suggest that the benevolent and hostile sides of sexism are in conflict (unlike other ambivalence theories). Rather, Glick and Fiske (1996) characterise the two sets of beliefs as being ambivalent because: *"even if the beliefs about women that generate hostile and benevolent sexism are positively related, they have opposing evaluative implications, fulfilling the literal meaning of ambivalence"* (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p494).

Both aspects of ambivalent sexism are theorised to originate from contrasting aspects of the same three constructs: paternalism, gender differentiation and heterosexual intimacy. Glick and Fiske (1996) propose that hostile sexism arises through the belief in the need for domination of women (as they are incompetent adults/men are superior) and the association of dominance with sexual intimacy. In contrast, benevolent sexism is proposed to arise through the wish to be affectionate and protective towards women, the recognition of dyadic power (i.e. dependency on women as romantic objects, wives and mothers) and the genuine desire for psychological closeness.

Glick and Fiske's (1996) work on ambivalent sexism has focused on developing an individual measure of ambivalent sexism - the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). They conducted six studies in America that were designed to develop and validate the ASI using student and non student populations. Analyses indicated that, as proposed, the eventual twenty-two item ASI consisted of two main factors (hostile and benevolent). The benevolent scale consisted of three further subfactors, while the hostile factor was found to be strongly unidimensional. The hostile (HS) and benevolent (BS) scales were found to be strongly positively related in the student samples, and in all studies males scored higher on the ASI than the female respondents. This difference was found to be consistently larger for the HS scale.

The convergent and discriminant validity of the ASI was assessed using a number of measures. The ASI was found to be significantly correlated with the Impression Management scale of the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (Paulhus, 1988), although this was concluded to be due to an aggregation of many weak relationships between the two measures. In addition the ASI, like the MS scale, was found to correlate with other traditional measures of sexism (e.g. AWS; the MS scale; OFS scale and the Rape Myth Acceptance scale; Burt, 1980). For all of these measures, Glick and Fiske (1996) predicted and found that: *"the relationship between the ASI and other sexism measures....is wholly attributable to the HS (hostile sexism) subscale"* (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p503). Additionally the HS subscale of the ASI was found to correlate strongly with the MRS (McConahay, 1986) in line with findings from modern sexism (Swim et al., 1995) research⁴.

⁴ The details of the precise analyses undertaken by Glick and Fiske (1996) will be specified in Chapters Two and Three.

In addition to the development of the ASI, Glick and Fiske (1996) carried out some initial work on the predictive validity/utility of the measure. Based on theoretical reasoning, they predicted that the HS subscale would be correlated with a negative general attitude towards women and acceptance of negative stereotypes about women, whilst the BS subscale would be related to a positive general attitude and the acceptance of positive stereotypes. In addition they predicted that the total ASI score (i.e. the combined score of the HS and BS subscales) should correlate with indices of ambivalence.

Respondents were asked to rate their general attitudes towards and stereotypes about women. The attitude measure was a five item semantic differential scale (adapted from Eagly et al., 1991) developed to measure attitudes towards specific social groups. The seven point semantic differential scales included the bipolar pairs of: good-bad; positive-negative; valuable-useless; pleasant-unpleasant and nice-awful. Stereotyping of the group was measured by participants indicating the percentage of group members possessing each of thirty-two traits (Eagly & Mladinic, from Spence, Helmreich & Holahan, 1979), eight each from the categories of masculine-positive, masculine-negative, feminine-positive and feminine-negative.

Two ambivalence scores were calculated (one based on all the traits, and the second based on the stereotypically feminine traits only). Analyses of men's ambivalent attitudes to women indicated that, as predicted, although the overall ASI score did not predict general attitudes toward women, for non student males, the two subscales had opposite relationships to overall attitude - specifically HS was significantly negatively related and BS significantly positively related to favourable attitudes toward women. These relationships were non significant for the student sample. Analyses of women's ambivalent attitudes were less clear, with the results of one of the non student samples replicating the male participants' results. In the other non student sample, the correlation of overall attitude with the total ASI score and both subscale scores was negative, whilst results of the student sample showed no significant relationships between the ASI scores and the attitude measure. The results of the ambivalence measure were more consistent, with the overall ASI score tending to be associated with ambivalence towards women for the female participants.

The relationship of the ASI scales to stereotypes about women revealed that, for male participants, the HS subscale was significantly correlated with ascribing to women negative feminine traits and negative masculine traits (in the two non student samples).

The BS subscale was found to be significantly related to positive traits (in the non student samples) for male participants. For female participants (in the non student samples) HS was consistently related to ascribing both negative feminine and masculine traits to women. The relationship of the BS subscale, for female participants, was inconsistent across the samples.

In summary, Glick and Fiske (1996) developed the ASI and conducted a number of studies to establish its validity as a measure of contemporary sexism. In addition, they carried out a number of initial evaluations of the ASI's predictive utility. Whilst results from the evaluations were somewhat unclear, the two subscales appeared to be linked to opposite valenced evaluations of women. Specifically, scores on the HS scale were found to be broadly positively linked to negative evaluations of women (in terms of general attitudes and endorsement of stereotypes), whilst scores on the BS scale were found to be broadly linked to positive, but stereotypical, evaluations of women.

In an independent assessment of the predictive utility/validity of the ASI in a British context, Masser (1995) presented participants with the ASI and an experimental measure based on Beattie and Diehl (1979) and McConahay (1983) embedded in a number of other measures. Participants were presented with a curriculum vitae that they were told had been sent to a supermarket advertising for a Senior Checkout Operator. The occupation was chosen to incorporate elements of a female occupation ('shop work') and elements of a masculine occupation ('managerial'; Fiske & Glick, 1995). Participants were asked to read the curriculum vitae and then to rate the applicant, who was either male or female, on a number of measures. The first set of measures consisted of positive and negative traits (Spence, Helmreich & Holahan, 1979; Bem, 1981; Martin, 1987). In addition, participants were asked to answer a number of questions concerning the suitability of a candidate for the named post and for a higher management post (more masculine typed post; Fiske & Glick, 1995).

Following Glick and Fiske (1996) participants were classified as: hostile sexists (high HS, low BS); benevolent sexists (low HS, high BS); ambivalent sexists (high HS, high BS) or non sexists (low HS, low BS). It was predicted that the endorsement of positive and negative stereotypes would differ on the basis of 'sexist' classification. In line with Glick and Fiske's (1996) findings it was predicted that hostile sexists would rate the female candidate more negatively (in comparison to the male candidate). The reverse ratings were predicted for the benevolent sexists. Ambivalent sexists were predicted to rate

the female candidate high on all traits (both positive and negative), whilst no difference (between ratings of male and female candidates) was predicted for the non sexists. In terms of the 'job suitability' questions it was predicted that Hostiles would rate the female candidate more negatively on all the questions (in comparison to the male candidate). In line with their predicted stereotypic thinking, it was proposed that the benevolent sexists would also rate the female candidate more negatively on questions relating to the management typed positions.

The results indicated significant interactions between sexism categorisation and candidate gender on the dimension of general negative stereotypes and on a question regarding the suitability of the candidate for the lower management typed job. The differences in ratings of the candidates tended only to be significant for benevolent sexists who rated the female candidate more positively than the male candidate (see Chapter Eight). Examination of the means (even where no significant effect was found) indicated that for the majority of dimensions hostile and ambivalent sexists consistently rated the male more positively than the female candidate, whilst the reverse pattern was found for benevolent sexists. The benevolent and non sexists rated the female candidate as more suitable for the job than the male candidate. These ratings were reversed for the hostile and ambivalent sexists.

Whilst empirical research on ambivalent sexism had at the start of this thesis been limited to that documented above, Fiske and Glick (1995) proposed a theoretical relationship between forms of ambivalent sexism, gender stereotypes, occupational stereotypes and sexual harassment. They proposed that hostile and benevolent sexism may be related to two types of sexual harassment; an 'earnest' benevolent form motivated by a genuine desire for heterosexual intimacy, and a hostile form in which sexuality is motivated purely by male domination. In addition, they proposed that two types of 'ambivalent' sexual harassment may occur both motivated by benevolent sexual desire in combination with, in the first instance, hostile domination and in the second, hostile competitiveness. From their analysis of ambivalent sexism and gender/occupational stereotypes, they proposed that different motivations will underlie harassment by different subtypes of harassers, that certain types of women will be at risk of harassment from different types of harasser, and that occupational stereotypes may mediate the actual act of harassment. Thus, for example, Fiske and Glick (1995) proposed that 'vampish' (sexually

alluring) women, in traditionally female occupations may be subject to benevolent harassment.

Recent research by Glick et al. (1997) has begun to assess the assumptions outlined in the theoretical analysis of Fiske and Glick (1995). Using University students, Glick et al. (1997) hypothesised and found that ambivalent sexists (high HS, high BS) were more likely to classify women into polarised subgroups and evaluate them differently on the basis of those subgroups than non sexists. In addition, and in line with the hypotheses of Swim and Cohen (1997), Glick et al. (1997) found that hostile sexism predicted less positive evaluations of non-traditional women, whilst benevolent sexism predicted more positive feeling towards traditional women. In independent research, Wiener, Hurt, Russell, Mannen and Gasper (1997) found that those who scored above the median on the HS scale found less evidence of sexual harassment in two legal cases, than those who scored below the median (see Chapter Eight).

Aims of Thesis

Research into contemporary forms of sexism is thus still at a very early stage, and this is especially true in a British context where, at present (October 1995) no research has been conducted or formally reported using contemporary measures of sexism. Given the paucity of research into and using the ASI scales at present, this constitutes the main focus of the thesis. The thesis has two broad aims. Firstly, to validate the Hostile and Benevolent Sexism scales for use within a British context. This research will investigate the factor structure of the ASI, the interrelationships of the hostile and benevolent components of sexism, and the subscales' relationship to other related measures (e.g. individualism and egalitarianism). The second aim focuses on the predictive utility of the ASI and its subscales. Specifically research will be undertaken to determine precisely what scores on either or both of the subscales of the ASI can tell us about related attitudes and/or behaviour. Given the current unreliability of measures of sexism against men (Glick, personal communication) the research will focus on sexism against women and will be limited to a consideration of sexism as a prejudice independent of others. Specifically the 'double jeopardy' of gendered racism (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995) will not be considered in the current analysis.

Chapter Two:

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory in a British context

"This desire to eradicate sexual and gender differences in order to re-engineer men arises from a kind of feminism that has flowed in Britain from America to become the orthodoxy among social science researchers, public sector professionals and much of the chattering classes"

Melanie Phillips, 'The New Feminism: Death of the Dad', The Observer, 2/11/97, p23

This chapter presents a three sample study to evaluate the suitability of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) for use within a British population. Previous studies have indicated that attitudes towards gender issues gained from American participants may not be generalisable to participants in other countries/cultures. This preliminary evaluation of the ASI aimed to investigate this proposition in specific reference to this measure of contemporary sexism. Data were collected from three diverse samples (School, Student and Employed adults) and the analysis of Glick and Fiske (1996) on the ASI replicated. These analyses demonstrate that on a number of statistical criteria the ASI is a reliable measure of contemporary sexism within Britain. Some differences between the results of British and American samples are noted and explanations offered in terms of differences in cultural transmissions of gender attitudes.

The necessity of an evaluation of the ASI in a British context¹

As noted in Chapter One, research into contemporary forms of sexism is still at an early stage, with only a very limited number of studies conducted. In specific reference to the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) the evaluative research into the statistical properties of the ASI as a psychological tool has been primarily limited to the original research carried out by Glick and Fiske (1996) using North American student and non-student samples. Whilst their research indicated that the ASI was a statistically valid and reliable measure, it was limited to a North American context. At present, no

¹ Part of the analyses reported here are also to appear in an article by Masser & Abrams (Psychology of Women Quarterly, in press)

evaluative work on the statistical properties of the ASI has been conducted outside of North America.

Research into the 'cultural limitations' of psychological measures has shown that whilst some measures appear to be transferable between countries/cultures, others produce different results when administered in a country other than the one they were developed in, or require some modification to make them culturally appropriate. This occurs even when countries are viewed on other cultural indices to be similar (e.g. Hofstede, 1980). For example, Eysenck, Eysenck and Barrett (1995) evaluated the British developed Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (EPQ) with North American participants. In comparison to a matched British sample, the gender differences in responses were exaggerated in the American sample: American men scored higher and American women lower on the masculinity scale when compared to the British respondents. Whatley (1993) in an investigation of the 'Belief in a Just World Scale' concluded that ethnicity or culture may play a significant role in the resulting factor structure of this scale, such that responses from participants from different ethnicity's and/or cultures may produce variations on the factor structure obtained with the original sample. In reference to prejudice, and specifically racism, American measures (e.g. the Modern Racism Scale; McConahay, 1986) have been modified in order to allow their use in different countries (e.g. in Australia by Augoustinos, Innes & Ahrens, 1994; Locke et al., 1994). Alternatively some researchers (e.g. Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) have attempted to bypass the problem of cultural specificity of prejudice measures by simultaneously developing and evaluating their measures in a number of different countries. However, even within this framework, country/cultural differences have been detected. Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) found that group relative deprivation was a significant predictor of subtle prejudice in only two out of the seven samples taken from four European countries. In a secondary analysis of the same data set, Hamberger and Hewstone (1997) and Pettigrew (1997) also noted similar variations across national samples with regard to ethnic prejudice.

With specific reference to gender relations, it has been noted by a number of researchers (e.g. Davis & Robinson, 1991; Pryor, DeSouza, Fitness, Hutz, Kumpf, Lubbert, Personen & Erber, 1997) that the attitudes of American respondents to gender issues may not provide a suitable basis for generalisation to other countries/cultures. A number of researchers (e.g. Chafetz & Dworkin, 1986; Davis & Robinson, 1991) claim that the increase in awareness of issues of inequality, and the consequent rise in feminism in

America predates the resurgence of feminism in Europe in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Thus, theoretically, on an individual level, there has been a lengthier exposure to ideas of gender equality in America than in other countries² (Friend, Kalin & Giles, 1979). In addition, on a structural or societal level, the tenets of gender equality have been institutionalised through programs such as affirmative action to a greater degree within America than within other similar cultures such as Britain (Hofstede, 1980). Affirmative action programs in America originated from two sources: the 1964 Civil Rights Act and Executive Order 11246 issued in 1965. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act forbade discrimination on the basis of race, sex, colour, religion or national origin and it empowered the Courts to order affirmative action as an appropriate 'punishment' following a finding of intentional or nonaccidental discrimination. Executive Order 11246, issued shortly after, required that organisations with federal government contracts took (affirmative) action to ensure "*the just treatment of employees, and potential employees, of all races, colors, religions or national origins*" (Clayton & Crosby, 1992, p13). In 1967, under Executive Order 11375, women were added to the list of protected groups. Affirmative action has been defined officially by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) manual as: "*those results orientated action which a contractor by virtue of its contracts must take to ensure equal employment opportunity. Where appropriate, it includes goals to correct under utilization, correction of problem areas, etc. It may also include relief such as back pay, retroactive seniority, make up goals and timetables, etc.*" cited in Holloway (1989).

Adherence to affirmative action programs is assessed by the OFCCP and non-adherence is punishable by the removal of government finance (federal contracts). Whilst affirmative action has been, and remains, a controversial issue within America (e.g. Crosby & Clayton, 1990; Eberhardt & Fiske, 1994; Heliman, Lucas & Block, 1992; Loury, 1992), its presence at an institutional level within American culture has ensured the prominence of gender (and all inequality) issues within that society.

In contrast to America, other countries, such as Britain, do not have affirmative action policies. Instead equality of opportunity in these countries is attempted via Equal

² Davis and Robinson (1991) note, however, that the antifeminist backlash in the period after the mid 1970's (Kitschelt, 1985) and the comparatively low profile of gender issues in the 1980's may have resulted in the youngest generation of Americans being less aware/supportive of gender equality than the previous generation.

Opportunities legislation and the establishment of the Equal Opportunities and Race Relation Commissions. The commissions allow and facilitate aggrieved individuals to take action against employers who practice direct or indirect discrimination³. Within Britain, the Equal Opportunities Commission is also responsible for promoting equality of employment opportunities. Proponents of affirmative action perceive their policy as 'fairer' than Equal Opportunity initiatives in a number of ways (see Crosby, 1994). However, in terms of the current analysis, the key distinction to note concerns the institutionalised level of intervention and the emphasis on non-adherence. Specifically in America the company or organisation has to demonstrate its clear adherence which may increase the saliency of the issue of (non) discrimination in comparison to Britain. In addition, in the UK the onus is on the aggrieved individual to demonstrate that they have been discriminated against. As individuals tend not to perceive themselves as victims of discrimination (see Crosby, 1982) the issue of equality of opportunity may be less salient in countries or cultures that do not have an interventionist equality of opportunity program with punitive consequences.

Drawing on the premise that these divergent strategies may produce different gender equality beliefs and attitudes in American respondents in comparison to respondents from other countries, a number of studies have investigated the similarity of gender beliefs and attitudes in America and other countries. Browne (1997) investigated beliefs about gender discrimination in the workplace using samples of Australian and American business students. She found that although there were comparable gender differences across the samples (for example, in both samples men believed discrimination to be less of a problem than women), there were some notable cultural differences. Specifically, Australian women perceived less inequity between the pay of men and women, thought it less likely that there would be an increase in the participation of women in management roles over time and indicated a greater preference for visibility and assertiveness as methods for overcoming inequality in comparison to the Americans. Whilst Browne (1997) attributes some of these findings to cultural differences in tolerance of traits such as assertiveness, disagreement and conflict (Renwick, 1976), she also highlights the role of differing rates of change from traditional gender roles in Australia and the United States (MacKay, 1993) as being a key contributor to the cultural differences in perceived gender (in)equality. With

³ Indirect discrimination is defined as workpractices which although applied to everyone would be likely to affect one group more than another.

direct reference to measures of contemporary sexism, Campbell et al. (1997; see Chapter One) evaluated the American Modern Sexism (MS) scale (Swim et al., 1995) using Canadian participants. Although Campbell et al. (1997) noted minor problems with the reliability of the MS scale with a Canadian sample, subsequent American based research (e.g. Yoder & McDonald, 1997) has suggested that this was attributable to the scale items rather than cultural differences.

In specific reference to comparisons of the UK and United States, a number of studies have highlighted differences between the two countries with regard to gender equality and measures designed to assess attitudes related to these issues. Robinson and Davis (1991) investigated men and women's consciousness of gender inequality using samples from Austria, (West) Germany, Britain and America. In line with the idea of a longer history of feminism in the US they found that the middle generation of women in their American sample perceived greater equality than the older or younger sample. This was in contrast to the findings in the other countries, where perceptions of equality were more frequently found amongst the youngest generation of participants. In their analysis they found several trends in the data that were consistent across all of the samples. For example, as in Browne (1997), they found that women consistently perceived more gender inequality than men and were more supportive of efforts to combat this inequality (c.f. Alwin, Braun & Scott, 1992). However, they also noted a number of cross cultural/country differences. Specifically, in contrast to the pattern of results from the other samples, in their American sample they found that perceptions of inequality were not related to support for intervention to counter the inequality. Evans (1993) conducted a similar cross cultural survey to investigate attitudes towards gender inequality in the United States, Britain, (West) Germany, Australia and Italy. Using data from the International Social Survey Programme (see Jowell, Witherspoon & Brook, 1989), Evans (1993) was able to calculate a measure of perceived gender inequality as a function of more general beliefs about equality of opportunity. This index demonstrated that respondents in the US perceived a significantly greater equality of opportunity than respondents in the UK. In addition, and in line with the findings of Robinson and Davis (1991), participants in the US indicated the least preference for state intervention to bring about equality, whilst respondents in Britain and Italy indicated a significantly greater preference for such intervention once attitudes towards the government as an institution had been controlled for.

From these studies it appears fair to conclude that the longer history and greater prominence of (gender) equality as a social issue has had some impact in differentiating North American samples' responses from those of respondents in different countries (including Britain). Specifically, middle generation American respondents appear to perceive greater equality than younger American respondents (this is in contrast to the observed pattern in other countries) and American respondents have less favourable attitudes towards government or state intervention to bring about equality of opportunity than respondents from other countries. However it is not known what impact, if any, these cultural differences will have on responses to specific measures of an aspect of gender relations - e.g. contemporary sexism, or more specifically the ASI. In a comparable analysis of an 'old' measure of attitudes towards women (the Personal Attributes Questionnaire; Spence, Helmreich & Holahan, 1979), Keyes (1984) concluded that the PAQ (an American devised measure) performed in Britain as it had in America and that gender stereotypes in the US and Britain were generally similar, although not identical. This may be the case with the ASI. However, there may be some differences between the results of Glick and Fiske (1996) and those that may be obtained with British samples given the cultural differences between the two countries with regard to gender issues. In order to investigate the appropriateness of the ASI for use within a British context a partial replication of Glick and Fiske (1996) was undertaken to explore the statistical properties of the ASI with British samples. As noted in Chapter One, in addition to obtaining University student samples, Glick and Fiske (1996) also obtained a number of non-student 'adult' samples. In order to replicate Glick and Fiske's (1996) sampling, both a student sample and a non-student 'adult' sample were sought for the current analyses. In addition to a non-student 'adult' sample (referred to as the 'Employed' sample from hereon in), and in contrast to Glick and Fiske (1996), a younger (than University students) sample was also recruited for the current analyses. This sample will be referred to as the 'School' sample from hereon in. This sample was recruited to assess whether Glick and Fiske's (1996) conclusions about non-University students were valid for both (on average) younger and older (than University students) samples.

In summary, the current study sampled from three populations. In replication of Glick and Fiske (1996), samples were drawn from the University student population and the non-student 'adult' population. In addition, and in contrast to Glick and Fiske (1996), a younger (than university student) sample was also recruited.

Study 1a: Exploring the ASI in a British context

Method

Participants and Procedure

Sample 1 (School): Sample one consisted of 148 male and 147 female 17 year old students who were studying for University entry qualifications. All participants were recruited at an University Open Day. Each participant was approached by one of a number of male or female experimenters and asked if they would like to take part in a survey of modern attitudes. The experimenters were selected to be similar in age and status to the participants. Once consent had been obtained, participants were taken to a quiet area and asked to independently and anonymously complete a booklet containing a number of measures, including the ASI. Once participants had completed the booklet, they were requested to post it into a box provided. After this they were requested to report to an area where a full debriefing was given by a number of experimenters and any questions answered. Of those approached, 55 people (16%) declined to take part in the survey. Of those who refused the primary reason was lack of time and refusal always occurred prior to any of the measures being seen.

Sample 2 (Student): Sample two consisted of 240 male and 473 female students enrolled in undergraduate University courses who participated in the study at the start of the academic year to gain course credit. The mean age of this sample was 23 years. All participants in sample two volunteered to complete a booklet containing the ASI (embedded in other measures) in a mass 'pretest'. Booklets were distributed by a number of male and female experimenters who were similar in age and status to the participants. The experimenters emphasised the anonymity of responses and requested that the participants complete the booklets independently. All those requested to take part in the study agreed. Booklets were returned by participants via an internal mail system. After all the booklets had been returned a debriefing lecture was given to all the participants.

Sample 3 (Employed): Sample three consisted of 145 males and 172 females who were recruited via two methods. Sixty males and sixty-one females were recruited via 'snowball' sampling. Specifically a number of people employed in a diversity of public and private sector organisations in the UK were approached and asked if they would be willing to assist in the administration of a survey of modern attitudes. These assistants, who were similar in age and status to the subsequent participants, were then sent packs of

questionnaire booklets containing the ASI (embedded in other measures) and stamped addressed envelopes to the University. They were asked to recruit as many participants as possible for the survey. Each participant was initially given a booklet and a stamped addressed envelope. Between two and three weeks later, each participant was given a debriefing sheet by the experimental assistant that explained the purpose of the study. In addition, names, addresses and telephone numbers of the University administrators were provided to enable participants to contact us. A number of participants ($N=15$; 5%) did, primarily to obtain feedback information. Two hundred questionnaire packs were sent out to experimental assistants. A total of one hundred and twenty-one were returned completed (60.5%) with an additional thirty-two (16%) returned by the experimental assistants. Of those who received questionnaire packs, forty-seven (23.5%) did not complete or return them. The mean age of participants in this sub sample was thirty-five years. The remainder of the sample ($N=196$, 85 males and 111 females) were recruited via random sampling from the electoral register in an area of Kent. Nine hundred and twenty-three survey booklets (with the ASI as one of the included measures) were sent out with a stamped addressed envelope. Respondents were offered entry into a draw for cash prizes as an incentive. A total of two hundred and forty-four (26.4%) of the surveys were returned. Of these, twenty-two (2.4%) were returned uncompleted. Six hundred and seventy-nine questionnaires (73.6%) were either not completed or returned. The mean age of participants in this subsample was forty-five years. A small number ($N=20$) who did not return and/or complete the questionnaire were contacted and asked why they had not done so. Of those contacted, 50% ($N=10$) indicated that they had been too busy, 35% ($N=7$) said that they had lost the questionnaire, 5% ($N=1$) said that they had never received the questionnaire and 10% ($N=2$) indicated that they had not completed it because they perceived the questionnaire to be promotional literature⁴.

Preliminary results indicated that these two subsamples were similar on a number of indices (e.g. variation on responses to the ASI items) and thus they were merged for all subsequent analyses.

⁴ Participants who indicated that they had lost the questionnaire were asked if they would like another copy of the questionnaire to complete. All those contacted indicated that they did not.

Measures

The order of the presentation of the measures was randomised within each sample. The ASI (the focus of this chapter) was always presented embedded in a number of other measures (see Chapter Three).

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996; see Appendix B)
The ASI is a twenty-two item inventory consisting of two eleven item subscales (Hostile and Benevolent Sexism). The ASI is made up mainly of statements concerning relationships between men and women (see Table 2.2, page 54). Participants were requested to indicate their level of agreement/disagreement with the statements using, in this instance, a seven point scale⁵ (scored 1 - 7). Higher scores indicate more sexist attitudes.

Results

The aim of the current analysis was to investigate the statistical properties of the ASI within a British context in comparison to the findings of Glick and Fiske (1996). Thus a brief detailed summary of the analyses of Glick and Fiske (1996) will be given before going on replicate their analyses on the data from the current samples.

The analyses of Glick and Fiske (1996) on the ASI

Glick and Fiske (1996) devised and evaluated the ASI in six separate studies with a total of 2,250 participants. Samples 1, 2, 3 and 6 consisted of undergraduate students ($N=833$; 161, 937 and 82 respectively) drawn from a number of Universities in the US. Samples 4 and 5 consisted of non-students ($N=144$, 112) drawn from a number of locations in the United States. On the basis of an exploratory factor analysis procedure with sample one, a 22 item ASI was proposed with eleven hostile sexism items (HS subscale) and eleven benevolent sexism items (BS subscale). Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted with LISREL 8.0 (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1993) and structural models of the ASI constructed. Three models were tested: One Factor (where all items were assigned to a single sexism factor); Two Factors (each item was assigned to load on either an HS or BS

⁵ The ASI has previously been administered using a six point scale (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996). In order to increase possible variance in responses to the items and to standardise response formats across measures, a seven point response format was used in this and all studies reported in the thesis.

factor, with an assigned loading of zero on the other factor); and a 'Full Model' with a HS and BS factor and three BS subfactors - Complementary Gender Differentiation, Heterosexual Intimacy and Protective Paternalism. All items were loaded only onto their appropriate factor/subfactor and were assigned a loading of zero on all other factors/subfactors. This confirmatory procedure was repeated for samples 2-5 (Sample 6 was excluded due to low sample size). This procedure resulted in Goodness of Fit Indices, factor correlations, and item loading statistics. In all of their five studies the Two Factor Model fitted the data significantly better than the One Factor Model, suggesting that benevolent sexism is a separate entity from hostile sexism. In addition, within their samples, the Full Model (incorporating the three subfactors of benevolent sexism) provided a significantly better fit to the data than the Two Factor Model. In addition, Glick and Fiske (1996) evaluated the properties of the composite score ASI scales across the six samples, generating reliability coefficients, scale correlations and sex differences in mean scores.

Structural Equation Modelling with the ASI in a British context

In order to replicate the analyses of Glick and Fiske (1996), confirmatory factor analyses were initially undertaken with the data from the three samples. Using EQS for Windows 5.0, three structural equation models were proposed: One Factor (where all items were assigned to a single sexism factor); Two Factors (each item assigned to load on either an HS or BS factor, with an assigned loading of zero on the other factor); and a 'Full Model' with a HS and BS factor and three BS subfactors - Complementary Gender Differentiation, Heterosexual Intimacy and Protective Paternalism. All items were loaded only onto their appropriate factor/subfactor and were assigned a loading of zero on all other factors/subfactors. Such a procedure produces a number of statistical indices of the 'goodness of fit' of the model. In accordance with the procedure adopted by Glick and Fiske (1996) Goodness of Fit (GFI) and Adjusted Goodness of Fit (AGFI) statistics are cited to assess the fit of the data to the models. These measures, as opposed to chi-square, are standardised and can therefore be interpreted easily. Specifically, unlike chi-square, their values are not directly determined by sample size⁶. In addition, due to their standardised nature, GFI and AGFI are useful for making comparisons across samples of

⁶ With chi-square, even when a model fits well the small deviations between the observed and actual covariation matrices that occur will be rendered statistically significant with large sample sizes.

varying sizes. Both statistics are on a zero to one scale, where one indicates a perfect fit. Joreskog and Sorbom (1993) consider AGFI estimates of .85 and above to indicate a good fit. In addition, and in line with the procedure adopted by Glick and Fiske (1996), chi-square was employed to test differences between the fit of the alternative models through the chi-square difference test (Bollen, 1989). Fit measures for the three models are reported in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Goodness of Fit of Full and Restricted Models across the School, Student and Employed samples

| Fit Index | Sample | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| | School | Student | Employed |
| One Factor Model | | | |
| GFI | .79 | .85 | .67 |
| AGFI | .74 | .81 | .60 |
| χ^2 | 677.23** | 1009.73** | 1171.40** |
| Two Factor Model (No subfactors) | | | |
| GFI | .84 | .88 | .81 |
| AGFI | .81 | .86 | .76 |
| Decrease in χ^2 ^a | 537.28** | 816.77** | 745.89** |
| Full Factor Model | | | |
| GFI | .86 | .89 | .83 |
| AGFI | .83 | .86 | .79 |
| Decrease in χ^2 ^b | 488.07** | 797.57** | 642.97** |
| <u>N</u> | 275 | 608 | 305 |

^a Distributed as χ^2 with 1 df; ^b Distributed as χ^2 with 2df; ** $p < .01$

As can be seen from Table 2.1, in each of the three samples, the Two Factor Model presented a significantly better fit than the One Factor Model, confirming Glick and Fiske's (1996) assertion that benevolent sexism is a separate entity from hostile sexism. In addition, and again in line with the results of Glick and Fiske (1996), the Full Model represented a significant improvement over the Two Factor Model. However, in two of the samples (School and Employed), the AGFI statistic failed to meet the criterion value of .85 specified by Joreskog and Sorbom (1993). Whilst this is problematic (in that it

indicates that the proposed models do not 'fit' the observed patterns within the data⁷) it should perhaps be noted that these samples are notably smaller than the ones employed by Glick and Fiske (1996) in which they obtained AGFI statistics of .85 or above (e.g. Samples 1 and 3). Despite the standardised nature of GFI and AGFI statistics, where smaller samples were used (e.g. Samples 2, 4 and 5), Glick and Fiske (1996) obtained AGFI statistics comparable to those obtained in the current analyses (i.e. of between .75 and .83), perhaps lending some support to Marsh, Balla and MacDonald's (1988) assertion that GFI and AGFI statistics underestimate fit at small ($N < 400$) sample sizes⁸. As justification for their model, Glick and Fiske (1996) note that the item loadings on each of the factors remains high within each sample. With regard to the current analysis, the item loadings are presented in Table 2.2. As it can be seen from this table, the items loadings with the current samples are strong and consistently above .30.

Factor Correlations

In line with the analyses of Glick and Fiske (1996) correlation coefficients were calculated between the two main factors of the model (Hostile and Benevolent Sexism) and between the Benevolent Sexism subfactors and the main Benevolent Sexism factor (see Table 2.3). In their analyses, Glick and Fiske (1996) found the main Hostile (HS) and Benevolent (BS) factors to be strongly and positively related (with correlation coefficients of between .37 and .74 in Samples 4 and 2 respectively). In addition they found the BS subfactors to be strongly and positively related to the main BS factor. In this instance, the coefficients ranged from between .72 to .98 (for Sample 4 and 2 respectively). In Glick and Fiske's (1996) analyses across all samples the subfactor of Complementary Gender Differentiation consistently had the lowest correlation with the main BS factor in comparison to the other subfactors of Protective Paternalism and Heterosexual Intimacy.

⁷ It should also be noted here that the EQS analysis, and specifically the Wald and LaGrange Multiplier Tests did not recommend the adding or dropping of any parameters consistently across all samples.

⁸ As this criticism was levied at the majority of commonly cited fit indices (e.g. Bentler & Bonnett Normed Fit Index and Bollen's Incremental Fit Index) generated by EQS, other fit indices are not reported in place of the GFI and AGFI preferred by Glick and Fiske (1996).

Table 2.2: Factor Loadings for the ASI Items across the School, Student and Employed samples (Standardised Solution)

| Scale item number and essence of content | Sample | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------|---------|----------|
| | School | Student | Employed |
| Hostile Sexism | | | |
| 2. Women seek special favours under guise of equality | .57 | .45 | .80 |
| 4. Most women interpret innocent remarks as sexist | .69 | .39 | .79 |
| 5. Women are too easily offended | .73 | .43 | .84 |
| 7. Feminists not seeking more power than men* | .40 | .39 | .70 |
| 10. Women fail to appreciate all men do for them | .69 | .53 | .80 |
| 11. Women seek power by gaining control over men | .61 | .51 | .80 |
| 14. Women exaggerate problems at work | .75 | .53 | .85 |
| 15. Once man commits, she puts him on a tight leash | .79 | .57 | .83 |
| 16. When women lose fairly, they claim discrimination | .75 | .46 | .86 |
| 18. Few women tease men sexually* | .36 | .31 | .62 |
| 21. Feminists are making reasonable demands* | .39 | .38 | .60 |
| Benevolent Sexism | | | |
| <u>Protective Paternalism</u> | | | |
| 3. In a disaster, women need not be rescued first* | .60 | .58 | .77 |
| 9. Women should be cherished and protected by men | .65 | .66 | .84 |
| 17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal | .34 | .52 | .83 |
| 20. Men should sacrifice to provide for women | .57 | .67 | .85 |
| <u>Complementary Gender Differentiation</u> | | | |
| 8. Women have a quality of purity few men possess | .65 | .40 | .85 |
| 19. Women have a superior moral sensibility | .62 | .61 | .80 |
| 22. Women have a more refined sense of culture, taste | .51 | .72 | .83 |
| <u>Heterosexual Intimacy</u> | | | |
| 1. Despite accomplishment, men are incomplete without women | .67 | .54 | .83 |
| 6. People often happy without heterosexual romance* | .41 | .35 | .71 |
| 12. Every man ought to have a woman he adores | .68 | .73 | .87 |
| 13. Men are complete without women* | .42 | .48 | .64 |
| N | 275 | 608 | 305 |

*Indicates items reverse worded (and reverse scored) for all studies

Table 2.3: Correlations Among ASI Factors across the School, Student and Employed samples

| ASI Factor | Sample | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|---------|----------|
| | School | Student | Employed |
| Superordinate ASI Factors | | | |
| HS and BS | .52 | .59 | .83 |
| Loadings of Subfactors on BS Factor | | | |
| Protective Paternalism | .56 | .67 | .83 |
| Complementary Gender Differentiation | .32 | .64 | .82 |
| Heterosexual Intimacy | .98 | .86 | .96 |
| N | 275 | 608 | 305 |

In accordance with the findings of Glick and Fiske (1996), in the current analyses, BS was found to be distinct from HS. However, also in line with the findings of Glick and Fiske, BS and HS were found to be strongly positively correlated in all samples (with correlation coefficients of between .52 and .83). The correlation was weakest amongst the School sample and strongest amongst the Employed sample. This result stands in contrast to that found by Glick and Fiske (1996) who reported that the relationship between HS and BS was weakest for their non University student samples (who approximately correspond to the Employed sample in this analysis). As with Glick and Fiske's (1996) analysis the magnitude of the correlation between the HS and BS factors does not affect the fit of the models tested as this parameter was not restricted. The association between the BS subfactors and the main BS factor was consistently strong and positive. In line with the findings of Glick and Fiske (1996) the subfactor of Complementary Gender Differentiation consistently had the lowest association with the main BS factor.

Consistency of factor structure for men and women

A formal test of the consistency of factor structure between men and women (using Structural Equation Modelling) was not possible within any of the samples given insufficient numbers to perform subgroup analyses (Bentler, 1992; Cohen & Cohen, 1983). As a check to the consistency of factor structure for men and women factor loadings of items onto factors were calculated separately for men and women in each sample (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Factor Loadings by Gender for the ASI Items across the School, Student and Employed samples

| Scale Items and Number | Sample | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|---------|--------|----------|--------|
| | School | | Student | | Employed | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 2. Women seek special favours under guise of equality | .84 | .74 | .67 | .48 | .80 | .73 |
| 4. Most women interpret innocent remarks as sexist | .88 | .76 | .65 | .47 | .76 | .74 |
| 5. Women are too easily offended | .89 | .81 | .67 | .52 | .82 | .78 |
| 7. Feminists not seeking more power than men* | .79 | .65 | .10 | .32 | .70 | .65 |
| 10. Women fail to appreciate all men do for them | .92 | .74 | .66 | .58 | .80 | .74 |
| 11. Women seek power by gaining control over men | .89 | .77 | .74 | .61 | .78 | .75 |
| 14. Women exaggerate problems at work | .81 | .78 | .71 | .66 | .80 | .78 |
| 15. Once man commits, she puts him on a tight leash | .91 | .84 | .57 | .64 | .83 | .78 |
| 16. When women lose fairly, they claim discrimination | .92 | .86 | .70 | .60 | .80 | .82 |
| 18. Few women tease men sexually* | .90 | .82 | .68 | .54 | .81 | .80 |
| 21. Feminists are making reasonable demands* | .83 | .61 | .09 | .32 | .60 | .56 |
| <u>Protective Paternalism</u> | | | | | | |
| 3. In a disaster, women need not be rescued first* | .76 | .72 | .03 | .24 | .55 | .64 |
| 9. Women should be cherished and protected by men | .87 | .72 | .62 | .61 | .80 | .76 |
| 17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal | .84 | .81 | .53 | .42 | .73 | .80 |
| 20. Men should sacrifice to provide for women | .85 | .83 | .60 | .50 | .74 | .80 |
| <u>Complementary Gender Differentiation</u> | | | | | | |
| 8. Women have a quality of purity few men possess | .86 | .76 | .53 | .39 | .75 | .71 |
| 19. Women have a superior moral sensibility | .84 | .64 | .34 | .45 | .66 | .67 |
| 22. Women have a more refined sense of culture, taste | .86 | .70 | .45 | .51 | .68 | .68 |
| <u>Heterosexual Intimacy</u> | | | | | | |
| 1. Despite accomplishment, men are incomplete without women | .86 | .74 | .67 | .60 | .77 | .73 |
| 6. People often happy without heterosexual romance* | .86 | .66 | .04 | .42 | .69 | .64 |
| 12. Every man ought to have a woman he adores | .81 | .78 | .71 | .66 | .80 | .78 |
| 13. Men are complete without women* | .82 | .62 | .09 | .50 | .62 | .58 |
| N | 138 | 142 | 223 | 430 | 150 | 169 |

* Indicates items reverse worded (and reverse scored) for all studies

In general, the analysis of item loadings by gender replicated the original item loading analysis. Specifically, the majority of items for the majority of subsamples loaded onto their appropriate factor at .3 or above. The only exceptions to this arose in the analysis of the males in the Student sample. Within this subsample, five out of the twenty-two items failed to load onto their appropriate factor at .3 or above.

Properties of the Composite Score ASI Scales Across the School, Student and Employed samples

A comparison of ASI scale mean scores

A direct comparison between the ASI subscale scores obtained by Glick and Fiske (1996) and those obtained in the current study was not appropriate given the differences in scales used in each study. However, in order to evaluate whether the distribution of the scores on the scales was comparable between the samples of Glick and Fiske (1996) and those used in the current study, a series of one sample t-tests were conducted, by gender, on each subscale (see Table 2.5). Specifically, for each test, the sample mean was compared with the scale midpoint. In the analyses reported in Table 2.5, a negative t-value indicates that the sample mean was greater than the scale midpoint.

From Table 2.5, it can be seen that in reference to the HS subscale, in four out six samples, Glick and Fiske's male participants scored above the midpoint of the scale. However these differences were only significant in two out of the six samples (both student samples), where one scored significantly above the midpoint (Sample 1), whilst the other scored significantly below the midpoint (Sample 3). In contrast, in the current data, only the male School participants scored (significantly) above the scale midpoint. Male participants from the Student and Employed samples scored, on average, significantly below the HS scale midpoint. As in Glick and Fiske's (1996) analyses, all females in the current samples (School, Student and Employed) scored significantly below the scale midpoint on the HS scale.

Table 2.5: One sample t-tests on the sample means/standard deviations from the HS scale

| | df | t-value | p |
|--------------------------|-----|---------|-------|
| Glick & Fiske | | | |
| Male Participants | | | |
| Sample 1 | 343 | -9.81 | <.001 |
| Sample 2 | 76 | 0.12 | n.s. |
| Sample 3 | 395 | 3.06 | <.01 |
| Sample 4 | 71 | -1.16 | n.s. |
| Sample 5 | 35 | -1.36 | n.s. |
| Sample 6 | 43 | -0.31 | n.s. |
| Current Study | | | |
| Male Participants | | | |
| Sample 1 | 114 | -3.22 | <.01 |
| Sample 2 | 239 | 4.87 | <.001 |
| Sample 3 | 144 | 2.84 | <.01 |
| Glick & Fiske | | | |
| Female Participants | | | |
| Sample 1 | 466 | 2.73 | <.01 |
| Sample 2 | 93 | 11.12 | <.001 |
| Sample 3 | 540 | 21.32 | <.001 |
| Sample 4 | 71 | 6.84 | <.001 |
| Sample 5 | 75 | 6.98 | <.001 |
| Sample 6 | 40 | 4.11 | <.001 |
| Current Study | | | |
| Sample 1 | 135 | 8.91 | <.001 |
| Sample 2 | 472 | 18.21 | <.001 |
| Sample 3 | 171 | 10.71 | <.001 |

For the BS subscale of the ASI (see Table 2.6) Glick and Fiske (1996) found that male US participants, in three out of the six samples (all students), scored above the scale midpoint. However this was only significant for one sample (Sample 1). In contrast, all male British participants scored significantly below the scale midpoint. As with the HS subscale, all female participants in both the US and UK samples scored significantly below the midpoint of the BS subscale. This difference was significant in all the British samples and in four out of the six American samples reported by Glick and Fiske (1996). These results suggest that where direct comparisons are available between British and American samples, (i.e. with students and employed adults), British males appear to be more extreme in their opinions (e.g. diverge away from the midpoint of the scale). In addition, male participants in the current sample appear to uniformly indicate less prejudiced attitudes than male participants in Glick and Fiske's (1996) North American samples.

Reliability

Glick and Fiske (1996) assessed the reliability of the two subscales of the ASI. Within their six samples, alpha reliability coefficients ranged between .80 (Sample 3) and .92 (Sample 1) for the HS subscale and between .73 (Sample 5) and .85 (Sample 1) for the BS subscale. The lower alpha coefficients were predicted for the BS subscale given its multi-dimensional (i.e. consisting of three subfactors) nature. Alpha coefficients were not calculated for each of the BS subfactors as it was (incorrectly) posited that they consisted of too few items (three or four each) to yield acceptable reliability scores. Whilst it is acknowledged that a small number of items within a scale will increase the likelihood of the coefficient being less than perfect (i.e. 1.0; Cronbach, 1990) it is perceived that the coefficient provides sufficient information to allow an estimate of the extent to which the items within each subscale are assessing unitary constructs. Thus, in contrast to Glick and Fiske (1996) alpha coefficients were calculated for the HS and BS subscales and for each of the three subscales of the BS scale (see Table 2.7).

Table 2.6: One sample t-tests on the sample means/standard deviations from the BS scale

| | df | t-value | p |
|--------------------------|-----|---------|-------|
| Glick & Fiske | | | |
| Male Participants | | | |
| Sample 1 | 343 | -7.07 | <.001 |
| Sample 2 | 76 | -1.02 | n.s. |
| Sample 3 | 395 | -0.81 | n.s. |
| Sample 4 | 71 | 1.75 | n.s. |
| Sample 5 | 35 | 1.07 | n.s. |
| Sample 6 | 43 | 1.09 | n.s. |
| Current Study | | | |
| Male Participants | | | |
| Sample 1 | 114 | 3.03 | <.01 |
| Sample 2 | 239 | 7.46 | <.001 |
| Sample 3 | 144 | 3.44 | <.01 |
| Glick & Fiske | | | |
| Female Participants | | | |
| Sample 1 | 466 | 1.64 | n.s. |
| Sample 2 | 93 | 3.39 | <.01 |
| Sample 3 | 540 | 8.31 | <.001 |
| Sample 4 | 71 | 4.37 | <.001 |
| Sample 5 | 75 | 5.57 | <.001 |
| Sample 6 | 40 | 1.60 | n.s. |
| Current Study | | | |
| Sample 1 | 135 | 8.57 | <.001 |
| Sample 2 | 472 | 14.57 | <.001 |
| Sample 3 | 171 | 9.73 | <.001 |

Table 2.7: ASI subscale reliability across the School, Student and Employed samples

| | Sample | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | School (standardised) | Students (standardised) | Employed (standardised) |
| HS | .86 (.86) | .81 (.81) | .86 (.86) |
| BS (Total) | .70 (.70) | .76 (.76) | .82 (.82) |
| Heterosexual Intimacy | .61 (.61) | .61 (.61) | .70 (.70) |
| Protective Paternalism | .52 (.53) | .53 (.53) | .73 (.73) |
| Complementary | .57 (.57) | .70 (.70) | .70 (.70) |
| Gender Differentiation | | | |

Across the three samples the alpha coefficients for the complete HS and BS scales were found to be acceptable (i.e. above .70) and, in line with the findings of Glick and Fiske (1996), the coefficients for the BS scale were notably lower than those of the HS scale. In addition, all three subscales of the BS scale were found to have acceptable reliability within the Employed sample. Within the Student sample the Complementary Gender Differentiation subscale of the BS scale was found to be acceptably reliable. None of the subscales of the BS scale had acceptable reliability within the School sample.

In order to check for gender differences, separate reliability analyses were conducted for male and female participants within each sample (see Table 2.8). Both the HS and BS (complete) scales yielded acceptable reliability coefficients for male and female participants across the three samples. The exception to this pattern was for School males where the alpha coefficient for the BS scale fell below .7. In addition, and replicating the pattern observed with the BS subscales in the total samples analysis, the reliabilities of the BS subscales were notably low in both the School and Student samples. This problem appeared to be accentuated amongst male participants in both of these samples.

Table 2.8: ASI subscale reliability across the School, Student and Employed samples by Gender of respondent

| | Sample | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | School (standardised) | | Students (standardised) | | Employed (standardised) | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| HS | .86 (.86) | .80 (.80) | .79 (.79) | .80 (.80) | .87 (.87) | .82 (.82) |
| BS (Total) | .61 (.62) | .74 (.74) | .70 (.69) | .79 (.79) | .83 (.83) | .80 (.80) |
| Heterosexual Intimacy | .51 (.50) | .65 (.65) | .43 (.42) | .69 (.69) | .73 (.73) | .66 (.66) |
| Protective Paternalism | .14 (.15) | .53 (.53) | .41 (.42) | .56 (.56) | .71 (.71) | .68 (.69) |
| Complementary Gender Differentiation | .44 (.44) | .64 (.64) | .69 (.69) | .70 (.70) | .73 (.73) | .69 (.69) |

Relationship between the HS and BS Scales of the ASI

In their analysis of the relationship between the HS and BS scales of the ASI, Glick and Fiske (1996) noted differences in the correlations between men and women within their non student samples. Specifically in all their student samples the correlation between the HS and BS scales was significantly positive for male and female participants (although the correlation was significantly lower with male participants than with females in one sample). In their two non student samples, the correlation between HS and BS for male participants was negative (and non significant). Within the non student samples, the relationship between HS and BS remained positive and significant for female participants.

In the current analysis, as with Glick and Fiske (1996), the correlations between the HS and BS subscales of the ASI were consistently lower than the correlation between the HS and BS factors estimated in the EQS analysis reported previously⁹. In all three samples, HS and BS are significantly positively related (see Table 2.9). Examination of the correlation by gender of participant reveals that the relationship between the subscales of the ASI is notably stronger for female participants than male participants. The correlations between the scales are significantly higher for female participants in the School ($Z=-2.65$) and Student ($Z=-4.15$) samples than for male participants. The same

⁹ The EQS analysis controls for error variance that otherwise would attenuate or lessen the magnitude of the correlation.

pattern is observed within the Employed sample (although the difference in correlations is not significant). The differences in correlations appear to be driven by the low association between HS and BS scale scores with male participants. Specifically, for male participants within the youngest sample (School) HS and BS are only weakly related. Within the Student sample HS and BS are moderately, but significantly, related. In the Employed sample HS and BS are significantly related. The correlation between the HS and BS subscales for male participants within the Employed samples is significantly greater than that observed in both the School ($Z=-2.40$) and the Students ($Z=-2.18$) samples. This finding stands in direct contrast to the results of Glick and Fiske (1996) who observed the weakest association between the two subscales with male participants in their non student (i.e. Employed) samples.

Table 2.9: Correlations between HS and BS subscales across the School, Student and Employed samples by Gender of respondent

| | Sample | | |
|--------------|--------|---------|----------|
| | School | Student | Employed |
| <u>r</u> | .30** | .39** | .49** |
| <u>N</u> | 286 | 726 | 321 |
| <u>Men</u> | | | |
| <u>r</u> | .12 | .19** | .40** |
| <u>N</u> | 115 | 240 | 146 |
| <u>Women</u> | | | |
| <u>r</u> | .43** | .48** | .52** |
| <u>N</u> | 136 | 473 | 172 |

** $p < .01$

Sex differences in mean scores

As an additional test of the validity of the ASI, Glick and Fiske (1996) conducted an ANOVA on each of their samples to test for gender effects on responses. They predicted that women should score less on the ASI than men, as: "*if men were not found to be more sexist than women, the validity of the scale would be in doubt*" (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p501). Within each of their six samples they found a main effect for gender of respondent indicating that, on average, men scored higher on the ASI than women. In

addition they found a significant interaction between gender of respondent and subscale (HS or BS). This indicated that although in the majority of their samples men scored higher on the HS and BS scales, the gender differences were more extreme for the HS scale.

Sex differences for the HS and BS subscales of the ASI were examined for each of the three samples. A 2 (Gender of Respondent) x 2 (ASI subscale: HS and BS) ANOVA was performed within each sample, using the HS and BS scores as a repeated measures factor. As with Glick and Fiske's (1996) analyses, the main effect for Gender of Respondent within each analysis is equivalent to a univariate test for sex differences in the overall ASI means (as the overall ASI score is the average of the HS and BS scores). In all samples, the Gender of Respondent main effect was significant (all $F_s > 16.21$, $p < .001$), indicating that men scored higher on the ASI than women. Additional analyses revealed that men scored significantly higher than women on the both the HS and BS scales in all samples¹⁰. However, within the School ($F(1,249)=21.94$, $p < .001$) and Student ($F(1,711)=5.55$, $p < .005$) samples there was a significant two way interaction between Scale and Gender of Participant. Simple effects analysis revealed that this was caused by differences in scale scores by gender. Specifically within the School sample, male participants' scores on the HS and BS scales differed significantly ($F(1,249)=31.38$, $p < .001$). This pattern was reversed in the Student sample, where female participants' scores on the HS and BS scales differed significantly ($F(1,712)=8.47$, $p < .005$).

¹⁰ HS scale: School: $F(1,249)=65.33$, $p < .001$; Student: $F(1,712)=41.02$, $p < .001$; Employed: $F(1,315)=23.29$, $p < .001$. BS scale: School: $F(1,249)=12.83$, $p < .001$; Student: $F(1,712)=8.97$, $p < .02$; Employed: $F(1,315)=12.14$, $p < .002$.

Table 2.10: Mean Scores on the HS and BS scales of the ASI by Gender across the School, Student and Employed samples

| | Gender | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------|--------|------|--------------------|-----|
| <u>School</u> | | | | |
| Hostile Sexism | Male | 4.33 | 1.10 | 115 |
| | Female | 3.32 | 0.89 | 136 |
| Benevolent Sexism | Male | 3.78 | 0.78 | 115 |
| | Female | 3.39 | 0.83 | 136 |
| <u>Students</u> | | | | |
| Hostile Sexism | Male | 3.72 | 0.89 | 240 |
| | Female | 3.28 | 0.86 | 473 |
| Benevolent Sexism | Male | 3.61 | 0.81 | 240 |
| | Female | 3.41 | 0.88 | 473 |
| <u>Employed</u> | | | | |
| Hostile Sexism | Male | 3.75 | 1.06 | 145 |
| | Female | 3.20 | 0.98 | 172 |
| Benevolent Sexism | Male | 3.70 | 1.05 | 145 |
| | Female | 3.31 | 0.93 | 172 |

Note: Range was 1 - 7

Discussion

The analysis of the ASI using three samples of British participants suggests that on a number of dimensions the ASI performs in a British setting as it has in an American one. In line with the findings of Glick and Fiske (1996) structural equation modelling demonstrated that the 'Full Model' of the ASI (with the two main factors of Hostile and Benevolent Sexism and the three subfactors of Benevolent Sexism) provided the best 'fit' to the observed data in comparison to either a one or two (main) factor solution. Across all three samples the 'fit' statistics were comparable to those obtained by Glick and Fiske (1996) in their analyses of samples of similar size. In addition, across all three samples, all items were found to load at an acceptable level onto the appropriate factor. When broken down by gender the item loadings were still generally acceptable, demonstrating a consistency of factor structure across male and female participants. A number of items had a low factor loading within the male student sample, however this was insufficiently

(although differences between male and female responses on both scales across all samples were significant). Glick and Fiske (1996) attribute the smaller difference between male and female responding to the positive affect communicated in the BS scale items. An alternative explanation may be that women still find traditional or conventional romantic ideals attractive (Gough, 1998).

Within the British samples, the HS and BS scales were found to be consistently positively related. As with Glick and Fiske (1996), when this analysis was broken down by gender, the strong positive relationship remained for female participants. Across the three samples, the relationship between the HS and BS scales differed for men. Specifically, whilst always remaining positive, the relationship remained significant for only the Student and Employed samples. In direct contrast to the findings of Glick and Fiske (1996) who found a negative relationship in their nonstudent samples, within the British samples hostile and benevolent sexism were most strongly related within the Employed sample.

Levels of Sexism

Whilst the majority of the data from the three British samples indicates the similarity, at least with regard to the ASI, of British and American respondents, there are two interesting results to note from the current analyses. Firstly, that, at least on responses to the ASI, British participants tend to indicate comparatively less prejudiced attitudes than American respondents. Secondly, that the pattern of association found between hostile and benevolent sexism within adult, non student males appears to differ markedly between Britain and America.

A number of studies (e.g. Davis & Robinson, 1991; Evans, 1993) have suggested that gender attitudes differ in America from those demonstrated in other countries. Specifically, it has been suggested that, due to its longer history of awareness of equality issues and interventionist equality policies, Americans should be more equalitarian (i.e. less prejudiced) in their responses to gender issues than respondents from other countries/cultures. Surveys (e.g. Davis & Robinson, 1991; Evans, 1993) have generally reported evidence to support this assertion. For example, Evans (1993) found that Americans reported being more in favour of equality of opportunity than respondents in other countries. However, comparative analysis on the ASI data obtained by Glick and Fiske (1996) with American respondents and the data obtained with British respondents calls into question the more 'equalitarian' nature of American respondents. Specifically,

on average, respondents within the British samples indicated less prejudiced views than American respondents. Whilst this may be attributable to relative 'social desirability' or 'political correctness' norms within each country (i.e. the possibility that the social norm against expressing prejudiced views could be greater in Britain than within America¹¹), it may also be attributable to the anti-feminist backlash that is documented to have occurred in America since the 1980's (Kitschelt, 1985). Specifically, given the rise of anti-feminism and anti affirmative action feeling within the United States during the late 1980's and 1990's, the attitudes expressed by survey respondents in the 1990's (as in Glick & Fiske, 1996) may be less equalitarian than the attitudes expressed in the gender attitude surveys of the late 1980's (e.g. Davis & Robinson, 1991). Thus, at present, American respondents to gender attitude surveys (e.g. the ASI) may express less equalitarian (i.e. more prejudiced) views than respondents in other countries that have not experienced, or are beginning to experience, a 'backlash'¹² against gender equality (see Firebaugh & Davis, 1988; Plous & Williams, 1995 and Wilson, 1996b for a related discussion with regard to racism).

Age and Sexism

Perhaps the most interesting finding from the comparison of responses to the ASI between American and British participants concerns the relationships between the different aspects of sexism detected within the ASI, namely hostile and benevolent sexism. Obtaining data from three samples within Britain (approximately corresponding to three age groups) has allowed the detection of an apparent pattern of relationships amongst the different facets of sexism. Specifically given indices of scale reliability and factor correlation it appears that as people, and specifically males, increase in age, their conceptualisation of (what Glick & Fiske have termed) benevolent sexism and its relationship to hostile sexism becomes increasingly coherent. Within the data from the British samples, as the average age increased, responses to the individual components of benevolent sexism from male participants became more consistent/coherent (as seen from increased reliability of the measures with the older samples). Responses to the HS and BS

¹¹ This would appear unlikely given the punitive consequences of prejudice that exist in America that do not exist in the UK.

¹² The 'above median' scores on the HS subscale of the ASI demonstrated by the males in the School sample, may suggest that the 'backlash' documented in America is beginning here.

items became more 'alike' and thus the average correlation between the two subfactors of the ASI increased¹³. This 'developmental' trend within the BS subfactors data was not observed or noted within Glick and Fiske's (1996) analysis, although its existence does make intuitive sense. Specifically, whilst 'hostile' or traditional attitudes towards women may be culturally transmitted (through processes such as socialisation), benevolent, or subjectively positive attitudes may only develop, or at least 'make sense' once men begin to engage in romantic, sexual or friendship based relationships with women. It would appear logical to presume that on average men's experience in these domains with women increases with age, thus accounting for the increased coherence of benevolent sexist attitudes. The increased association between hostile and benevolent sexism observed in the British samples would follow on from this. Specifically, as men get older their psychological representation, or schema, of relationships between men and women may become more comprehensive and better integrated such that it includes both the positive and negative components of contemporary sexism. Thus to the extent it is endorsed it will be manifested in both the hostile and benevolent domains. This interpretation is consistent with the data from the British samples and what is known about the development of gender intergroup relationships as a function of age (e.g. Abrams, 1989).

Despite the intuitive appeal of such an explanation, it cannot account for the pattern of interrelationships observed between hostile and benevolent sexism with Glick and Fiske's (1996) data. Within their male student samples there was a strong positive relationship between hostile and benevolent sexism, however for males in their non student samples there was a nonsignificant negative (so effectively zero) correlation between the two factors. They proposed that this lack of relationship between the two constructs may be attributable to differing and separate motivations underlying the different forms of sexism. Specifically sexual motivations may provoke benevolent sexism without negative

¹³ Although participants within the Employed sample were asked to declare their occupation, a direct measure of educational achievement was not administered. Given the undocumented educational history of our Employed sample, it is possible that the effect observed here has more to do with education than age per se (although the majority of the Employed sample declared occupations requiring University [entry] level qualifications). Education has in other analyses been found to be consistently related with the expression of more 'subtle' forms of prejudice (e.g. Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Whilst this is to a degree problematic in that the effects observed within the Employed sample cannot be confidently attributed to age it is largely irrelevant in the current discussion. The aim of the current

affect or hostile sexism. Thus they propose that instead of attitudes towards women becoming increasingly integrated with age, a psychological separation of hostile and benevolent attitudes should take place. Such an explanation is in direct contrast to the one advanced here to explain the British results. Whilst this issue clearly requires further research, one potential explanation may lie in the relative cultural history of the American and British samples. Positive and negative attitudes towards women within American samples may become differentiated, however, instead of stemming from developing sexual motivations (which should affect all cultures equally) it is possible that it may stem from the higher profile gender equality programs that exist within America. Specifically given the contentious programs surrounding gender equality issues within America (e.g. Affirmative Action policies), men's attitudes towards women may at a very early stage become polarised - thus they either love women or hate them, but not both. In contrast, in Britain, where gender equality programs have never had such a high profile or employed such contentious methods, men's subjectively positive attitudes towards women develop and coexist with culturally transmitted traditional views of women.

Conclusions

The analyses of Glick and Fiske (1996) on the ASI were replicated using three samples of British participants. A number of studies (e.g. Davis & Robinson, 1991; Evans, 1993) have suggested that gender attitudes differ in America from those demonstrated in other countries. For example, Americans have been found to be more in favour of equality of opportunity than respondents in other countries (Evans, 1993). However, previous studies using sex stereotype measures have found the responses of British and American participants to be very similar (e.g. Keyes, 1984). The primary aim of this analysis was to determine whether the ASI performed, on statistical criteria, in a British setting as it had with American participants. On a number of indices the responses of British participants were found to be very similar to those of American respondents and the ASI was found to be, at least on the majority of statistical criteria, an appropriate measure of contemporary sexism for use in Britain. Responses to ASI items were found to be marginally less prejudiced with British respondents and the relationship between the subscales of the ASI for nonstudent males was notably different within the British sample in comparison to the

discussion is to illustrate the differences between Glick and Fiske's results with an adult sample (whose educational history is also unknown) and those obtained in the current analyses.

American sample. Explanations for these differences were proposed with reference to the different gender equality programs employed in Britain and the United States. The current analysis has therefore established the statistical reliability of the ASI for use with British samples. The next step was to establish the convergent and discriminant validity of the HS and BS subscales of the ASI.

Chapter Three:

The convergent and discriminant validity of the ASI in Britain

This chapter presents an evaluation of the convergent and discriminatory validity of the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Across a number of samples the ASI was administered in conjunction with measures of paternalism, heterosexuality, gender differentiation, neo sexism (Tougas et al., 1995), social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994), need for cognitive closure (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994), attitudes towards women's rights (Pratto et al., 1994), attitudes towards lesbians and gay men (Pratto et al., 1994), humanitarian-egalitarianism and protestant ethic (Katz & Hass, 1988). Both subscales of the ASI were found to be independently positively related to neo sexism, social dominance orientation and protestant ethic and negatively associated with humanitarian-egalitarianism, attitudes towards women's rights and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. The Hostile Sexism scale was independently associated with 'need' paternalism and heterosexual hostility. The Benevolent Sexism scale was independently associated with status/role paternalism, heterosexual intimacy and need for cognitive closure. Where multiple measures were administered to the same sample, hostile sexism was consistently significantly related to benevolent sexism, neo sexism, social dominance orientation, attitudes towards women's rights and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Benevolent sexism was not consistently related to any other measure.

Previous Research

Glick and Fiske (1996) conducted some preliminary analyses of the convergent and discriminant validity of the Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism scales of the ASI. They collected data on a number of alternative measures of sexism (e.g. Attitudes Towards Women Scale, Spence & Helmreich, 1972; Modern Sexism scale and Old-Fashioned Sexism scale, Swim et al., 1995; Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, Burt, 1980) as well as assessing the relationship of the ASI subscales to a 'recognition of discrimination' measure (based on a gendered translation of items from a 'pro-black' scale used in relation to Ambivalent Racism; Katz & Hass, 1988), the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, 1986) and the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR; Paulhus, 1988) used to assess socially desirable responding by participants.

Given their assertion that other researchers have neglected the 'benevolent' side of sexism, Glick and Fiske (1996) predicted that any correlation found between the BS scale and an alternative measure of sexism would be attributable to variance that the BS scale shared with hostile sexism. Using a gendered translation of Katz and Hass's (1988) 'pro black' scale (designed to assess subjectively positive or sympathetic attitudes towards the outgroup) Glick and Fiske (1996) predicted that it would provide evidence of discriminant validity for the subscales of the ASI. Specifically as disagreement with the items would constitute a gender equivalent of 'symbolic' or 'modern' racism (McConahay, 1986; Kinder & Sears, 1981), agreement may indicate some level of positive affect (or at least sympathy) for the outgroup. Thus they predicted a negative relationship between hostile sexism and Recognition of Discrimination and a neutral or positive relationship between Recognition of Discrimination and benevolent sexism. Given the tendencies of 'prejudices' to cluster together (e.g. racism and sexism; Allport, 1954; Adorno et al., 1950; Esses, Haddock & Zanna, 1993), Glick and Fiske (1996) predicted that the MRS (McConahay, 1986) assessing racial hostility would be positively related to hostile sexism (but at a magnitude less than that found between hostile sexism and alternative measures of sexism), whilst benevolent sexism would be unrelated (as it does not assess hostility). No specific predictions were made in relation to the BIDR.

As predicted, Glick and Fiske (1996) found that the relationship between the ASI and the alternative measures of sexism was wholly attributable to the HS scale. Low to moderate zero-order correlations between benevolent sexism and the other measures of sexism became non-significant and close to zero when the effects of hostile sexism were partialled out. In addition, Recognition of Discrimination was strongly negatively related to hostile sexism, whilst benevolent was positively (but weakly) related to Recognition of Discrimination once the effect of hostile sexism had been partialled out. The opposing direction of the relationship of the Recognition of Discrimination measure to hostile and benevolent sexism led Glick and Fiske (1996) to conclude that it provided evidence of the discriminant validity of the subscales of the ASI. The HS scale was, as predicted, more strongly correlated with alternative measures of sexism, than with modern racism. In contrast to Glick and Fiske's (1996) hypothesis a small but significant positive correlation was found between benevolent sexism and modern racism for female respondents. The Self-Deception subscale of the BIDR was found to be unrelated to both subscales of the ASI. However both the HS and BS subscales were found to be significantly correlated

with the Impression Management subscale of the BIDR. Glick and Fiske (1996) concluded that this was caused by the aggregation of a number of weak relationships.

Current research

The research conducted by Glick and Fiske (1996) is, at present, the only published research concerning the convergent and discriminant validity of the subscales of the ASI¹. The present research aimed to extend rather than directly replicate Glick and Fiske's (1996) investigation of validity issues. Thus the ASI was administered to a number of samples in conjunction with a number of different measures, specifically the Neo Sexism scale (Tougas et al., 1995), an abbreviated Need for Cognitive Closure scale (NFCC; Webster & Kruglanski, 1993), the Social Dominance Orientation scale (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994), a measure of Attitudes Towards Women's Rights (ATWR; Pratto et al., 1994), a measure of Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men (ALGR; Pratto et al., 1994), the Humanitarian-Egalitarianism scale (HE; Katz & Hass, 1988), the Protestant Ethic scale (PE; Katz & Hass, 1988) and measures of Protective and Dominative Paternalism, Heterosexual Hostility and Heterosexual Intimacy as well as a Gender Differentiation Measure. The rationale for inclusion of each of these measures is described below.

As detailed previously (see Chapter 1), Glick and Fiske (1996) propose that hostile and benevolent sexism stem from three shared components: paternalism, heterosexuality and gender differentiation. Each one of these constructs is proposed to have a hostile and a 'benevolent' aspect which feed into or underpin the relevant component of sexism as assessed by the ASI. Each component in some way justifies or explains the underlying social and biological conditions that characterise relationships between men and women. Measures of these underlying components should therefore be related to the ASI subscales. In addition, measures of the different (hostile and benevolent related) aspects of the underlying components should provide evidence of discriminant validity for the subscales of the ASI. Specifically, scores on the Hostile Sexism subscale should be positively related to the hostile components of paternalism, heterosexuality and gender differentiation, whilst scores on the Benevolent Sexism subscale should be positively related to the benevolent components of the same constructs.

¹ Part of the analyses reported here are also to appear in an article by Masser & Abrams (*Psychology of Women Quarterly*, in press)

Paternalism

Glick and Fiske (1996) define paternalism literally as: *"relating to others in the manner of a father dealing with his children"* (p493). This, they state, meshes well with the concept of ambivalence, specifically as it invokes notions of domination and of affection/protection. Thus they consider that the paternalism underlying hostile sexism is dominative, and the paternalism underlying benevolent sexism is protective. Dominative paternalism presupposes that A does X because he/she believes that S is too stupid, unintelligent or incompetent to manage the task in hand. In contrast the concept of protective paternalism presupposes that A does X because he/she wishes to protect S from something that A believes to be unpleasant. Whilst paternalism has frequently been referred to in relation to race, class and labour relations (e.g. Blumer, 1951; van den Berghe, 1967; Burawoy, 1984; Genovese, 1974; Newby 1977) general psychological research surrounding the notion of 'pure' paternalism (as opposed to its subsequent interpretation in the 'authoritarian personality' research of Adorno et al., 1950) is acknowledged to be sparse (Jackson, 1994). In a philosophical consideration of the notion of paternalism, Gert and Culver (1979) comprehensively define it as: *"A is acting paternalistically toward S if, and only if, A's behaviour (correctly) indicates that A believes that: (1) his action is for S's good; (2) he is qualified to act on S's behalf; (3) his action involves violating a moral rule (or will require him to do so) with regard to S; (4) S's good justifies him in acting on S's behalf independently of S's past, present, or immediately forthcoming (free, informed) consent and; (5) S believes (perhaps falsely) that he (S) generally knows what is for his own good"* (p199).

At present no published scale or measure exists to assess paternalism. Therefore the definitions of paternalism provided by Glick and Fiske (1996) in conjunction with the general definition of paternalism given by Gert and Culver (1979) were operationalised in the form of twenty two items (eleven dominative and eleven protective; see Appendix 3a). These were administered to a sample of one hundred and four non-psychology undergraduate students and following analysis of the results two scales were created: Dominative Paternalism (DP) and Protective Paternalism (PP). The scales were found to have marginally adequate reliability (Cronbach's alpha's of .69 and .64 for Protective and Dominative Paternalism respectively) and to be negatively related ($r(104) = -.25$, $p < .02$). The final thirteen item scale thus consisted of protective paternalism (6 items) and dominative paternalism (7 items) subscales. It was hypothesised, in line with the

theoretical reasoning proposed by Glick and Fiske (1996) that protective paternalism would be positively related to benevolent sexism, whilst dominative paternalism would be positively related to hostile sexism.

Heterosexuality

Glick and Fiske (1996) note that heterosexual relationships provide one of the strongest sources of potential ambivalence in gender relations. They claim, that by their nature, they simultaneously suggest intimacy, which in turn leads to the possibility of abuse of that intimacy (e.g. violence against women). In their differentiation of the hostile and benevolent aspects of sexism, Glick and Fiske (1996) identify heterosexual intimacy (benevolent) and heterosexual hostility (hostile) as the two key components of the concept that are related to sexism. Whilst any measure of these two components must explicitly focus on heterosexual relationships, a more complex issue is encountered when operationalisation of the link between intimacy and hostility that Glick and Fiske (1996) suggest is considered. The theory underlying ambivalent sexism suggests that both the benevolent and hostile aspects of the construct are motivational in nature (i.e. X does Y because the hostility predisposes X to do that), thus it may be that intimacy, or the desire for intimacy that underpins both forms of sexism. Even a hostile sexist may desire intimacy if that will then enable them to satisfy their more general motivational orientation. Consequently, any measure of 'heterosexuality' (in relation to the ASI) should explicitly focus on 'intimacy' in relation to heterosexual relationships and/or sexual attitudes.

A preliminary literature review on measures of sexual attitudes revealed very few published studies. In a meta-analysis (Oliver & Hyde, 1993) of studies which explicitly considered gender differences in sexual attitudes, twenty-one different measures of sexual attitudes had been used. A consideration of these in relation to the definitions of heterosexual intimacy and hostility provided by Glick and Fiske (1996) suggests that many were unsuitable due to their focus on the practicalities of sexual relations rather than attitudes towards sexual relations. One exception to this was the Sexual Attitudes Questionnaire (Hendrick, Hendrick, Slapion-Foote & Foote, 1985) which consists of one hundred and two items concerning sexual permissiveness. A small number of these appear to tap into the key constructs proposed to underlie heterosexuality with regard to hostile and benevolent sexism (e.g. 'sex is mostly an act of giving oneself to another' - benevolent sexism). As no other appropriate measure of sexual attitudes could be found, a number of

other items were generated to add to those adopted from Hendrick et al. (1985) to assess the constructs of heterosexual intimacy and hostility outlined by Glick and Fiske (1996). In total thirty-two items were then pilot tested amongst one hundred and seven non psychology undergraduate students (see Appendix 3b). Analysis of this revealed two factors which corresponded to the concepts of heterosexual hostility and heterosexual intimacy outlined by Glick and Fiske (1996). Both of these factors were found to have marginally acceptable reliability (Cronbach's alpha's of .64 and .63 for heterosexual hostility and heterosexual intimacy respectively). The final fourteen item scale thus consisted of two subfactors, Heterosexual Hostility (HH; 8 items) and Heterosexual Intimacy (HI; 6 items) that were moderately positively correlated ($r(107) = .20, p < .05$). It was hypothesised that heterosexual hostility would be positively related to hostile sexism, whilst heterosexual intimacy would be positively related to benevolent sexism.

Gender Differentiation

The individual need for ingroup and outgroup distinctiveness is well established within the research literature and gender is noted for being one of the earliest and most salient means of establishing this differentiation (Maccoby, 1988). Whilst some researchers have considered the idea that gender differentiation per se may contribute to or assist the proliferation of sexism (i.e. in associating one gender with traits considered to be negative by the prevailing culture), Glick and Fiske (1996) suggest that the differentiation may originate from differing motivations, which in turn may affect the type (i.e. subjectively positive or negative) form of sexism expressed. Glick and Fiske (1996) propose that hostile sexism originates in part from competitive gender differentiation (the tendency to view only men as having the traits necessary to govern important social institutions) whilst benevolent sexism originates in part from complementary gender differentiation (the association of positive traits that are indicative of traditional female roles with women). They therefore predict that hostile sexism would be positively associated with the endorsement of a trait implying the stupidity of women, whilst benevolent sexism would be positively associated with the endorsement of traits indicative of nurturing in women.

One instrument that has commonly been used in the assessment of gender differentiation is the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974); an instrument constructed of positively valenced traits judged at the time to be indicative of males and females. In an

extension of Bem's work, Spence et al. (1979) constructed the Personal Attributes Questionnaire which contained, in addition to positively valenced traits, negatively valenced masculine and feminine traits. Although the generalisability of all of these traits has since been challenged (e.g. Martin, 1987), recent research (e.g. Masser, 1995) has demonstrated that a number of the trait words do differentiate between male and female (undergraduate) participants. Drawing on this and the validity research of Bem (1974), Spence and Helmreich (1979) and Martin (1987), sixty trait words were selected: ten positive and ten negative from the categories of male traits, female traits and neutral. In the first instance words were chosen (for the male and female categories) on the basis of previous research demonstrating a large and/or significant difference between the ratings given to male and female participants (e.g. Martin, 1987). For the neutral category, trait words were chosen in the first instance where there was no or very little discernible difference between the ratings given to male and female participants.

In order to operationalise Glick and Fiske's (1996) proposal that hostile and benevolent sexism may stem from different aspects of gender differentiation, the sixty trait words were piloted with eighteen non psychology undergraduate students. In a two stage procedure, participants were presented with the sixty trait terms (see Appendix 3c) and asked to initially rate the positivity or negativity of the words. After completing this stage the participants were then presented with the same words (in a different order) and asked to indicate whether they thought the trait was, in general, more typical of men, women or was equally typical of both genders. This procedure resulted in a number of words that were rated as being characteristic of women and as being clearly positive or negative in meaning. Via an additional pilot study ($N=18$) opposite affect synonyms were then sought for each of the words, so that each 'female' underlying trait had a positive and negative affective word associated with it (e.g. innocent and gullible). These predetermined 'female' trait terms (with two representing each underlying construct) were then presented in the main measure. It was hypothesised that hostile sexism would be positively associated with ascribing the negative affective female trait words to women, whilst benevolent sexism would be positively associated with ascribing the positive affective female trait words to women.

Neo Sexism

As noted in Chapter One, like the Modern Sexism (MS) scale, the Neo Sexism (NS) scale (Tougas et al., 1995) was derived from a method and items analogous to those used for measuring symbolic/modern racism in McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale (MRS). Whilst, the MS and NS scales differ slightly in their derivation (Campbell et al., 1997) it may be assumed that both scales principally assess the same aspect of contemporary sexism - negative affect. Thus as Glick and Fiske (1996) found a strong positive correlation between hostile sexism and modern sexism and a nonsignificant partial correlation between benevolent sexism and modern sexism, it was hypothesised that the relationship between the NS scale and the ASI subscales would be similar. Specifically whilst both subscales of the ASI should be positively related to the NS scale, the basis for this relationship should primarily be negative affect. Thus the relationship between benevolent sexism and neo sexism should be attributable to the variance shared between hostile and benevolent sexism; hostile but not benevolent sexism should be uniquely associated with neo sexism.

Social Dominance Orientation

Social Dominance Orientation theory is a general theory of group conflict and social hierarchy (Sidanius, Pratto & Mitchell, 1994). It proposes that all complex human social systems can be characterised in terms of a caste system or group based hierarchies where there exists (at least) two social groups, one dominant and one dominated (Sidanius, et al., 1992). The stability of such systems is established and maintained by three processes: institutional discrimination, individual discrimination and behavioural asymmetry. The theory proposes that at the individual level those in the dominant group will express a greater preference for group inequality, whilst those in the dominated group will express a greater preference for policies/behaviour that will counter the inequality (Pratto, Stallworth & Sidanius, 1997). The desire to have one's own primary ingroup as superior to, and dominant over, other relevant outgroups has been termed Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Sidanius, 1993) and is posited to influence any behaviour or attitude that refers to intergroup relations (Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius & Siers, 1997). Pratto et al. (1994) developed a scale to measure SDO using twelve US college student samples and this has been found to correlate positively with 'anti equalitarian' attitudes and actions such as support for the military (Pratto et al., 1994), the police force (Pratto et al.,

1994; Sidanius, Liu, Pratto & Shaw, 1994), the 1991 war against Iraq (Pratto et al., 1994, Sidanius & Liu, 1992) and negatively with 'pro equalitarian' attitudes and actions such as support for affirmative action (Pratto et al., 1994, Sidanius et al., 1992), women's rights and gay and lesbian rights (Pratto et al., 1994). In addition, and more pertinent to the current discussion, SDO has been found to correlate positively with indices of racism, sexism and chauvinism (Pratto et al., 1994), with such attitudes being seen as 'legitimising myths' (i.e. methods to maintain the status quo) within the whole social dominance framework (Pratto et al., 1997; Sidanius et al., 1992). On the basis of this, it may be hypothesised that SDO will be positively related to both hostile and benevolent sexism (benevolency could be characterised as including aspects of what was traditionally called chauvinism, see Nadler & Morrow, 1959 and Chapter One). However given that "*patriarchal control of central economic, political, and social institutions precipitates Hostile Sexism*" (Glick et al., 1997, p1323), it can be hypothesised that SDO will be more strongly positively related to hostile than benevolent sexism.

Need for Cognitive Closure

Kruglanski (1990) defines a 'need for cognitive closure' as a motivational state to obtain "*an answer on a given topic, any answer, ... compared to confusion and ambiguity*" (p337). This 'need' may be provoked by perceived costs or benefits, or by situational factors (e.g. time pressure). In addition, Kruglanski and colleagues (e.g. Kruglanski & Webster, 1996; Webster & Kruglanski, 1994) have proposed that the need for cognitive closure may constitute a relatively stable personality dimension, such that some people have a greater tendency to 'seize' on closure quickly and 'freeze' on past knowledge, to protect future knowledge, than other people (Kruglanski, Atash, DeGrada, Mannetti, Pierro and Webster, 1997). In order to assess the individual difference dimension of the need for cognitive closure, Kruglanski, Webster and Klem (1993) and Webster and Kruglanski (1994) created a Need for Cognitive Closure Scale (NFCC) consisting of forty-two items. Until recently, this had been extensively used as a uni-dimensional measure to assess individual differences in the need for cognitive closure and has been related to many behaviours, including the tendency to stereotype (e.g. Kruglanski et al., 1997)².

² At present there is heated debate in the literature between Kruglanski and colleagues (e.g. Kruglanski et al., 1997) and Neuberg and colleagues (e.g. Neuberg, Judice & West, 1997) concerning the Need for Cognitive Closure Scale. One of the predominant issues of this debate concerns the uni or multidimensionality of the

Specifically, for the person with a high need for cognitive closure, readily accessible stereotypes may provide 'short cut' ways to obtain answers. Thus, the stereotype is seized and frozen upon.

Glick and Fiske (1996) define benevolent sexism as: "*a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles, but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver)*" (p491). Thus benevolent sexists tend to employ positive stereotypes about women. An alternative conceptualisation of this tendency would be someone who is high in the need for cognitive closure and has positive affect towards women. It may be that they 'seize' on the (positive) stereotype and 'freeze' on it as their default response, thus providing positive stereotypical responses that are not motivated by sexism. If this occurs there will be a strong positive relationship between the need for cognitive closure and benevolent sexism. The lack of a relationship between the two measures will indicate that benevolent sexism is a measure of something other than just (positive) stereotyping towards women (i.e. sexism). Under the same premise, a positive relationship may also be predicted between hostile sexism and need for cognitive closure, in that hostile sexists are presumed to endorse and use negative stereotypes about women. However, given Glick and Fiske's (1996) definition of hostile sexism ("*a sexist antipathy*", p491) and its comparative lesser emphasis on the necessity of stereotyping as a defining characteristic, then the relationship between need for cognitive closure and hostile sexism may be weaker than that observed between need for cognitive closure and benevolent sexism.

Attitudes Towards Women's Rights and Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men

In an assessment of the predictive validity of the NS scale and the MS scale, Campbell et al. (1997) found that lower levels of modern and neo sexism were associated with more positive attitudes towards feminism, women's rights and lesbian and gay men's rights. Given the hypothesised joint basis in negative affect of hostile and neo sexism and the posited belief of hostile and benevolent sexists in 'heterosexuality' (Glick and Fiske, 1996) it was predicted that there would be a negative relationship between the ASI subscales and support for women's rights and lesbian and gay men's rights.

NFCC. Up until this debate, and at the time of data collection, the NFCC scale had consistently been treated and used as a uni-dimensional scale.

Humanitarian Egalitarianism

Katz and Hass (1988) define a humanitarian-egalitarian orientation as: "*adherence to the democratic ideals of equality, social justice, and concern for the others' well-being*" (p894) and this, along with a Protestant Ethic orientation, had previously been found to underlie many contemporary racist attitudes (e.g. in Katz & Hass, 1988, formulation of ambivalent racism). Swim et al. (1995) found that modern sexism was negatively related to an humanitarian-egalitarian orientation, whilst Campbell et al. (1997) found that neo sexism and humanitarianism-egalitarianism were negatively associated. It can therefore be hypothesised (given the joint basis of hostile and modern/neo sexism in negative affect) that hostile sexism will be negatively related to a humanitarian-egalitarian orientation. In contrast, Glick and Fiske (1996) propose that there should be no relationship between benevolent sexism and egalitarian beliefs. They note that Katz et al. (1986) view a desire to protect an egalitarian self image as causing the positive side of (racial) ambivalence. As this is not the motivation underlying benevolent sexism, it can be hypothesised that there will be no such relationship between benevolent sexism and egalitarian beliefs.

Protestant Ethic

The Protestant Ethic orientation is proposed to be associated with individualistic values such as self-reliance, hard work and achievement (Katz & Hass, 1988) and has been found to be positively related to contemporary forms of racism. In related research, Swim et al. (1995) found that modern sexism was positively associated with an individualistic value orientation as measured by the Protestant Ethic scale (PE; Katz & Hass, 1988). A positive relationship was also found between protestant ethic and neo sexism, although this was only significant amongst women (Campbell et al., 1997). Within the current analysis, it was hypothesised that hostile sexism (given its relationship to neo and modern sexism) would be positively related to an individualistic orientation as assessed by the PE scale (Katz & Hass, 1988). In addition, as negative affect was not posited to be fundamental to the link between protestant ethic and sexism, a positive relationship also was hypothesised between protestant ethic and benevolent sexism.

In summary, it was hypothesised that scores on the Hostile Sexism subscale of the ASI would be positively related to Dominative Paternalism, Hostile Heterosexuality,

Competitive Gender Differentiation, Protestant Ethic, Neo Sexism and Social Dominance Orientation. A negative relationship was hypothesised between Hostile Sexism and Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, (pro) Attitudes towards Women and (pro) Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men. It was predicted that benevolent sexism would be positively related to Protective Paternalism, Heterosexual Intimacy, Complementary Gender Differentiation, Neo Sexism, Protestant Ethic, Social Dominance Orientation and Need for Cognitive Closure. A negative relationship was hypothesised between Benevolent Sexism and (pro) Attitudes toward Women and (pro) Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men. Differences in the magnitude or direction of the correlations for the Hostile and Benevolent Sexism subscales of the ASI were predicted on the Paternalism, Heterosexuality and Gender Differentiation measures in addition to Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, Neo Sexism, Social Dominance Orientation and Need for Cognitive Closure.

Study 1b: The convergent and discriminant validity of the ASI in Britain

Method

Participants and Procedure

All the measures were completed by a number of subsamples of the Student sample detailed in Chapter Two. In addition, the Neo Sexism scale, Humanitarian-Egalitarian scale, Protestant Ethic scale, Need For Cognitive Closure scale, Attitudes Towards Women measure, Attitudes Towards Lesbians' and Gay Men measure and Social Dominance Orientation measure were completed by the 'Electoral' subsample of the Employed sample. The School sample completed the Neo Sexism scale in addition to the ASI. The procedure for administering these measures was as detailed in Chapter Two.

Measures

Paternalism Scale (see Appendix 3d): The Paternalism scale consists of thirteen items designed to measure two related constructs: protective paternalism (PP) and dominative paternalism (DP). One hundred and ten participants from the Student sample completed this measure. Participants responded using a one to seven scale, where higher scores indicated a more paternalistic orientation. Examples from the scale are 'Sometimes I know better than other people' (dominative paternalism) and 'I would rather lie than pass on information that would hurt one of my friends (protective paternalism).

Relationships Scale (see Appendix 3d): The Relationships scale consisted of fourteen items designed to measure two constructs: heterosexual hostility (HH) and heterosexual intimacy (HI). One hundred and ten participants from the Student sample completed this measure. Participants responded using a one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) scale. Examples from the scale are 'Most women expect the man to ask them out, rather than the other way round' (Heterosexual Intimacy) and 'In a relationship, intimacy and hostility are just flip sides of the same coin' (Heterosexual Hostility).

Gender Differentiation Measure (see Appendix 3d): The Gender Differentiation Measure consisted of eleven pairs of female associated trait terms. Each pair consisted of an affectively positive and negative term. One hundred and ten participants from the Student sample completed this measure. Participants were asked to indicate whether each of the twenty two terms were typical of neither men nor women, typical of men, typical of women or typical of both men and women by assigning a letter (A-D) to each of the presented words.

The Neo Sexism scale (Tougas et al. 1995; see Appendix 3d): An eleven item³ version of the Neo Sexism scale (NS) was administered to all participants (in the three samples). The scale consists of statements about women and work. Participants were asked to use a seven point scale to indicate their level of agreement (7) or disagreement (1) with each statement. As with the ASI, higher scores indicate more sexist attitudes. Examples of items from the scale are: 'Discrimination against women in the labour force is generally no longer a problem', and 'Women shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted'.

Social Dominance Orientation Measure (Pratto et al., 1994 see Appendix 3d):

The Social Dominance Orientation Measure (SDO; Pratto et al., 1994) consists of fourteen items designed to measure individual preference for social hierarchies, or the dominance of one group over (at least) one other. Five hundred and eighty-three participants from the Student sample and two hundred and twenty-two participants from the Employed sample completed this measure. Participants were asked to use a seven point scale to indicate their level of positivity (7) or negativity (1) towards the statement, object or event. Higher scores indicate a greater preference for the maintenance of social

³ Twelve and seventeen item versions of the Neo Sexism scale have been used in previous research (e.g. Beaton et al., 1996 and Masser & Abrams, 1997). The eleven item scale used in this and other (e.g. Tougas et al., 1995) studies has been found to perform as well as the longer versions used in the other studies.

inequality between groups. Examples of items from the scale are: 'Some people are just inferior to others', and 'To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others'.

Need for Cognitive Closure Scale (Kruglanski, et al., 1993; see Appendix 3d):

The original Need for Cognitive Closure (NFCC) measure consisted of forty-two items and was treated as a unidimensional scale. In order to obtain a more manageable and easy to administer scale, fourteen items were randomly selected from the forty-two and presented to five hundred and thirty-six participants from the Student sample and two hundred and twenty-two participants from the Employed sample. Participants were asked to rate on a one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) scale how much they agreed or disagreed with each statements. Examples from the scale are: 'I feel uncomfortable when I don't understand the reason why an event occurred in my life' and 'I usually make important decisions quickly and confidently'.

Attitudes Towards Women's Rights and Lesbian and Gay Men's Rights (Pratto et al., 1994; see Appendix 3d):

These measures consisted of a number of statements concerned with women's rights (ATWR: e.g. "Equal pay for women") and lesbian and gay men's rights attitudes (ALGR: e.g. "Gay or lesbian marriage"). Five hundred and eighty-three participants from the Student sample and two hundred and twenty-two participants from the Employed sample completed this measure. Participants were asked to indicate how positive or negative they felt towards the objects, events or statements, using a (1) very negative to (7) very positive scale. Higher scores indicated a more pro women and/or pro lesbian and gay men's rights attitude.

Humanitarian-Egalitarian scale (Katz & Hass, 1988; see Appendix 3d): The Humanitarian-Egalitarian (HE) scale consists of ten items designed to measure egalitarian value orientations. One hundred and ten participants from the Student sample and two hundred and twenty-two participants from the Employed sample completed this measure. Participants responded using a one to seven scale, where higher HE scores indicated a more humanitarian-egalitarian orientation. Examples of items from the scale are: 'One should be kind to all people', and 'Prosperous nations have a moral obligation to share some of their wealth with poor nations'.

Protestant Ethic scale (Katz & Hass, 1988; see Appendix 3d): The Protestant Ethic (PE) scale consists of eleven items which are designed to measure an individualistic value orientation. One hundred and ten participants from the Student sample and two hundred and twenty-two participants from the Employed sample completed this measure.

Participants responded using a one to seven scale, where higher PE scores indicate a more individualistic orientation. Examples from the scale are: ‘Most people spend too much time in unprofitable amusements’ and ‘Life would have very little meaning if we never had to suffer’.

Results

Internal reliability

Prior to the main analyses, the internal reliability of each of the measures was assessed (see Table 3.1). The majority of the measures were found to have adequate internal reliability. The internal reliability of the Dominative Paternalism, Heterosexual Intimacy and Heterosexual Hostility measures were marginally low, as were the reliability coefficients of the Need For Cognitive Closure and Women’s Rights measure. The Protestant Ethic scale had poor internal reliability within the Student sample, but adequate reliability within the Employed sample. Composite scale scores were created for each of the measures.

Table 3.1: Internal reliability of the measures used in Study 1b - Cronbach’s alpha (Standardised).

| Measure | Student Sample | Employed Sample |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Neo Sexism scale (NS) | .69 (.72) | .77 (.82) |
| Humanitarian-Egalitarian scale (HE) | .86 (.87) ^a | .85 (.87) ^b |
| Protestant Ethic scale (PE) | .49 (.67) ^a | .78 (.78) ^b |
| Protective Paternalism ¹ (PP) | .71 (.66) ^a | |
| Dominative Paternalism ² (DP) | .63 (.63) ^a | |
| Heterosexual Intimacy ³ (HI) | .59 (.60) ^a | |
| Heterosexual Hostility ⁴ (HH) | .57 (.58) ^a | |
| Need for Cognitive Closure (NFCC) | .54 (.54) ^d | .63 (.64) ^c |
| Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) | .86 (.87) ^c | .88 (.88) ^f |
| Attitudes Towards Women’s Rights (ATWR) | .66 (.66) ^c | .57 (.56) ^f |
| Attitudes Towards Gay and Lesbian Rights (ALGR) | .80 (.80) ^c | .85 (.85) ^f |

1: Item 4 was excluded to improve reliability; 2: Item 9 was excluded to improve reliability; 3: Items 2 and 26 were removed to improve reliability; 4: Items 6 and 13 were removed to improve reliability; a: Based on a subsample of 110 student respondents; b: Based on a subsample of 208 employed respondents; c: Based on a subsample of 258 employed respondents; d: Based on a subsample of 531 student respondents; e: Based on a subsample of 579 student respondents; f: based on a subsample of 212 employed respondents

Relationships among the scales

The ASI and Neo Sexism

The correlations among the ASI subscales and the Neo Sexism scale for each of the samples by gender can be seen in Table 3.2⁴. The relationship between neo sexism and hostile sexism was consistently strong and positive in all samples, and did not differ as a function of gender. In contrast, the relationship between benevolent sexism and neo sexism varied as a function of participants' gender. For female participants there was a moderate to strong significant positive relationship between neo sexism and benevolent sexism. For male participants the neo sexism-benevolent sexism correlation was notably weaker, and within the school and student samples the relationship was significantly lower among males than among female participants ($Z_{\text{school}}=-2.07$; $Z_{\text{student}}=-2.61$). The correlations obtained between hostile and neo sexism were significantly greater than those obtained between benevolent and neo sexism within all samples ($Z_{\text{school}}=8.73$; $Z_{\text{student}}=9.50$; $Z_{\text{employed}}=5.02$).

Table 3.2: Zero Order Correlations between the subscales of the ASI and the Neo Sexism (NS) scale

| Scale | Sample | Hostile Sexism | | | Benevolent Sexism | | |
|-------|----------|----------------|--------|--------|-------------------|--------|--------|
| | | Total | Men | Women | Total | Men | Women |
| NS | School | .64*** | .52*** | .58*** | .17** | -.04 | .22** |
| | Student | .63*** | .66*** | .59*** | .33*** | .19* | .38*** |
| | Employed | .66*** | .76*** | .56*** | .45*** | .35*** | .51*** |

School sample: $N=288$ (117 men, 136 women); Student sample: $N=731$ (240 men, 473 women); Employed sample: $N=321$ (146 men, 173 women). Note: *** $p<.001$; ** $p<.01$; * $p<.05$

⁴ Analysis between the sexism measures was broken down by gender to replicate previous analyses exploring the relationships between measures of contemporary sexism (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996; Campbell et al., 1997).

In order to determine the precise interrelationships between the measures, partial correlations were calculated. A partial correlation allows the examination of the association between two measures independent of the association of the measure with a third one (for example the association between hostile sexism and neo sexism independent of hostile sexism's association with benevolent sexism). As Table 3.3 indicates this reveals a clearer pattern of relationships between the scales. Within each of the three samples there is a significant partial correlation between hostile sexism and neo sexism with benevolent sexism accounted for. In contrast, when hostile sexism is accounted for, the relationship between benevolent sexism and neo sexism is comparatively weaker and nonsignificant for the School and Student samples. When broken down by gender the pattern of results suggested in the zero order correlation matrix remains. Specifically, for male participants the positive relationship between benevolent sexism and neo sexism is notably weaker than for female participants, significantly so in the Employed sample ($Z=-2.01$). This demonstrates that the significant zero order correlations obtained between neo sexism and benevolent sexism in the School sample and with male participants in all three samples is attributable to the relationship between the subscales of the ASI.

Table 3.3: Partial Correlations between the subscales of the ASI and the Neo Sexism (NS) scale

| | | Hostile Sexism | | | Benevolent Sexism | | |
|-------|----------|----------------|--------|--------|-------------------|------|--------|
| Scale | Sample | Total | Men | Women | Total | Men | Women |
| NS | | | | | | | |
| | School | .62*** | .53*** | .55*** | -.06 | -.13 | -.02 |
| | Student | .58*** | .64*** | .50*** | .10 | .09 | .12* |
| | Employed | .58*** | .72*** | .41*** | .19*** | .07 | .29*** |

Note: School sample: $N=288$ (117 men, 136 women); Student sample: $N=731$ (240 men, 473 women); Employed sample: $N=321$ (146 men, 173 women). The partial correlations reflect the relationship between the two variables when the relationship with the alternative predictor is accounted for. *** $p<.001$; ** $p<.01$; * $p<.05$

This pattern of results between the ASI subscales and the NS scale are comparable to those obtained by Glick and Fiske (1996) with the MS scale (Swim et al., 1995). Specifically, with a sample of one hundred and sixty-one undergraduate students, they report partial correlations of .60 between modern and hostile sexism and partial correlations of -.06 between modern and benevolent sexism. This compares with partial correlations of between .58 and .62 for hostile sexism and neo sexism and partial

correlations of between -.06 and .19 for benevolent sexism and neo sexism in the current study. This finding lends support to Glick and Fiske's (1996) expectation that the correlation found between benevolent sexism and other sexism measures would be attributable to the variance they share with hostile sexism.

The ASI and its relationship with other measures

The zero-order correlation and partial correlations between the ASI subscales and the remainder of the measures were calculated. A summary of the zero-order and partial correlations can be seen in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: A summary of the zero order and partial correlations of the measures with the subscales of the ASI

| | Student Sample | | | | Employed Sample | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| | Hostile Sexism Zero Order | Partial | Benevolent Sexism Zero Order | Partial | Hostile Sexism Zero Order | Partial | Benevolent Sexism Zero Order | Partial |
| DP | .23* ^a | .18 ^a | .27* ^a | .23* ^a | | | | |
| PP | -.22* ^a | -.23* ^a | -.02 ^a | .05 ^a | | | | |
| HH | .27* ^a | .24* ^a | .17 ^a | .12 ^a | | | | |
| HI | .20 ^a | .12 ^a | .47*** ^a | .44*** ^a | | | | |
| HE | -.16 ^a | -.11 ^a | -.25* ^a | -.21* ^a | -.21*** ^b | -.15* ^b | -.17* ^b | -.07 ^b |
| PE | .12 ^a | .08 ^a | .25* ^a | .23 ^a | .32*** ^b | .15* ^b | .41*** ^b | .29*** ^b |
| NFCC | .15* ^c | .06 ^c | .24*** ^c | .21*** ^c | .08 ^d | .01 ^d | .12 ^d | .10 ^d |
| SDO | .44*** ^e | .37*** ^e | .30*** ^e | .16*** ^e | .43*** ^f | .31*** ^f | .38*** ^f | .19*** ^f |
| ALGR | -.46*** ^e | -.38*** ^e | -.33*** ^e | -.19*** ^e | -.41*** ^f | -.31*** ^f | -.32*** ^f | -.15* ^f |
| ATWR | -.37*** ^e | -.39*** ^e | -.05 ^c | -.11* ^c | -.42*** ^f | -.38*** ^f | -.21*** ^f | .01 ^f |

Based on a: (a) subsample of the Student sample; $N=110$; (b) subsample of the Employed sample; $N=218$; (c) subsample of the Student sample; $N=536$; (d) subsample of the Employed sample; $N=218$; (e) subsample of the Student sample; $N=583$; (f) subsample of the Employed sample; $N=222$. *** $p<.001$; ** $p<.01$; * $p<.05$

Note: DP= Dominative Paternalism; PP= Protective Paternalism; HH= Heterosexual Hostility; HI= Heterosexual Intimacy; HE= Humanitarian-Egalitarianism; PE= Protestant Ethic; NFCC= Need For Cognitive Closure; SDO= Social Dominance Orientation; ALGR= Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay Rights; ATWR= Attitudes Towards Women's Rights.

The ASI and Paternalism

The correlations between the ASI scales and the Dominative Paternalism (DP) scale and Protective Paternalism (PP) scale can be seen in Table 3.4. There is a moderate, but significant, positive relationship between both HS and BS, and DP. When the effect of the alternate measure of sexism is partialled out a significant independent association between

benevolent sexism and dominative paternalism (partial $r(87)=.23$, $p<.05$) remains. The relationship between dominative paternalism and hostile sexism (with benevolent sexism partialled out) is nonsignificant. Thus, those who indicated being higher in benevolent sexism were more likely to agree with paternalistic statements such as 'Sometimes I know better than other people'. With reference to protective paternalism, there was a negative relationship between this and both hostile and benevolent sexism, although this only achieved significance with hostile sexism (and remained once the effect of benevolent sexism had been partialled out; partial $r(87)=-.23$, $p<.05$). Thus, in partial support of Glick and Fiske's theory, those high in hostile sexism were less likely to endorse statements indicative of protective paternalism (e.g. 'I would rather lie than pass on information that would hurt one of my friends'). The two paternalism scales were negatively correlated ($r(110)=-.18$, $p<.07$).

The ASI and Heterosexuality/Relationships scale

The correlations between the subscales of the ASI and the Heterosexual Intimacy (HI) and Heterosexual Hostility (HH) scales can be seen in Table 3.4. There was a moderate, but significant, positive relationship between HS and HH. This remained when the effect of the alternate sexism measure was partialled out (partial $r(87)=.24$, $p<.05$). In addition, there was a significant, positive relationship between BS and HI. Examination of the partial correlations revealed this relationship to be independent of the association between hostile and benevolent sexism (partial $r(87)=.44$, $p<.001$). The two subscales of the Relationships measure were significantly correlated ($r(110)=.48$, $p<.001$).

The ASI and Gender Differentiation

Participants scores on the BS scale and HS scale were subjected to a median split, and participants were categorised as either high or low in, firstly, benevolent sexism, and secondly, hostile sexism. The responses to the twenty two items of the gender differentiation measure were then subjected to chi-square analysis by benevolent sexism category and then hostile sexism category. This analysis was conducted in order to see whether those high in hostile sexism would indicate that more of the negative construct terms were typical of women (in comparison to those low in hostile sexism) and whether those high in benevolent sexism would indicate that more of the positive construct terms

were typical of women (in comparison to those low in benevolent sexism). There were no significant results involving hostile and/or benevolent sexism categorisation⁵.

The ASI and Social Dominance Orientation

The correlations between the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) measure and the subscales of the ASI are shown in Table 3.4. There is a consistent significant positive relationship between both the HS and BS subscales of the ASI and SDO in both the Student and Employed samples. Examination of the partial correlations reveals that the relationship between SDO and either hostile or benevolent sexism is independent of the association between the subscales of the ASI (Hostile - SDO: Student partial $r(547)=.37$, $p<.001$; Employed partial $r(200)=.31$, $p<.001$; Benevolent - SDO: Student partial $r(547)=.16$, $p<.001$; Employed partial $r(200)=.19$, $p<.05$).

The ASI and Need for Cognitive Closure

As can be seen from Table 3.4 there was a small consistent positive relationship between both subscales of the ASI and NFCC scale (Kruglanski et al., 1993). The association between NFCC and BS and NFCC and HS achieved significance within the Student sample. This relationship between benevolent sexism and need for cognitive closure was largely independent of the association between hostile and benevolent sexism (benevolent sexism - need for cognitive closure: Student partial $r(526)=.21$, $p<.001$; Employed partial $r(197)=.10$, $p=.15$), whilst the relationship between NFCC and hostile sexism appeared largely dependent on the association between hostile and benevolent sexism (hostile sexism - need for closure: Student partial $r(526)=.07$, $p=.10$; Employed partial $r(197)=.01$, $p=.87$).

The ASI and Attitudes towards Women's Rights and Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men.

In both samples, hostile and benevolent sexism were found to have a significant negative relationship with attitudes in favour of gay and lesbian rights. As with the Social Dominance Orientation, this relationship was independent of the association between the two subscales of the ASI (Hostile - ALGR: Student partial $r(547)=-.38$, $p<.001$; Employed

⁵ Significant differences were only observed in the assignment of the traits to different categories (i.e. applies equally to men and women, applies to men etc.).

partial $r(200) = -.31$, $p < .001$; Benevolent - ALGR: Student partial $r(547) = -.19$, $p < .001$; Employed partial $r(200) = -.15$, $p < .05$). Hostile sexism had a consistently significant negative relationship with attitudes towards women's rights across the two samples. The relationship between this measure and benevolent sexism was also consistently negative, although only significantly so within the Employed sample. However when the partial correlations are examined (where the effects of the alternative measure of sexism are partialled out of the specified relationship) a different picture appears. Specifically, whilst hostile sexism and the women right's measure have a significant negative relationship across the two samples (Student partial $r(547) = -.39$, $p < .001$; Employed partial $r(200) = -.38$, $p < .001$), benevolent sexism and the women's rights measure only have a significant independent relationship within the Student sample (partial $r(547) = .11$, $p < .05$). The independent association between these two measures is non-significant in the Employed sample (partial $r(200) = .01$, $p = .95$).

The ASI, Humanitarian-Egalitarianism and Protestant Ethic Scale

The correlations between the Humanitarian-Egalitarianism (HE) scale, Protestant Ethic (PE) scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) and the ASI subscales for both samples are shown in Table 3.4. Within both samples there was a negative relationship between HE and hostile and benevolent sexism. This was significant for benevolent sexism in both samples and for hostile sexism within the Employed sample. However when the effect of the alternative measure of sexism is partialled out, the relationship remains significant only for the BS scale in the Student sample (partial $r(91) = -.21$, $p < .05$) and the HS scale in the Employed sample (partial $r(218) = .15$, $p < .05$). With regard to the PE scale, there was a small positive correlation between this measure and both subscales of the ASI. This achieved significance with the BS scale in both samples and with the HS scale in the Employed sample. These remained significant even when the effect of the alternative measure of sexism was partialled out (Student Benevolent: partial $r(91) = .23$, $p < .05$; Employed Hostile: partial $r(218) = .15$, $p < .05$; Employed Benevolent: partial $r(218) = .29$, $p < .001$).

Summary of correlations across samples

In order to ascertain the pattern of relationships between the measures and hostile and benevolent sexism across samples, average correlation coefficients were computed (Chambers, 1950; see Appendix 3e) and are reported in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: A summary of the zero order and partial correlations of the measures with the subscales of the ASI across samples

| | Hostile Sexism | | Benevolent Sexism | |
|------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | Zero Order | Partial | Zero Order | Partial |
| NS | .60*** ^a | .59*** ^a | .33*** ^a | .11*** ^a |
| DP | .23* ^b | .18 ^b | .27* ^b | .23* ^b |
| PP | -.22* ^b | -.23* ^b | -.02 ^b | .05 ^b |
| HH | .27* ^b | .24* ^b | .17 ^b | .12 ^b |
| HI | .20 ^b | .12 ^b | .47*** ^b | .44*** ^b |
| HE | -.20*** ^c | -.14*** ^c | -.23*** ^c | -.11* ^c |
| PE | .26*** ^c | .13*** ^c | .37*** ^c | .27*** ^c |
| NFCC | .10*** ^d | .05 ^d | .21*** ^f | .18*** ^f |
| SDO | .44*** ^c | .35*** ^c | .33*** ^g | .17*** ^g |
| ALGR | -.45*** ^c | -.36*** ^c | -.33*** ^g | -.18*** ^g |
| ATWR | -.38*** ^c | -.38*** ^c | -.10*** ^g | -.08*** ^g |

a: N=1334; b: N=110; c: N=307; d: N=799; e: N=804; f: N=752; g: N=803; ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05

Note: DP= Dominative Paternalism; PP= Protective Paternalism; HH= Heterosexual Hostility; HI= Heterosexual Intimacy; HE= Humanitarian-Egalitarianism; PE= Protestant Ethic; NFCC= Need For Cognitive Closure; SDO= Social Dominance Orientation; ALGR= Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay Rights; ATWR= Attitudes Towards Women's Rights.

This analysis demonstrated that across all participants, neo sexism, protective paternalism, heterosexual hostility, humanitarian-egalitarianism, protestant ethic, social dominance orientation, attitudes towards lesbians and gay men and attitudes towards women's rights were significantly related to hostile sexism independent of benevolent sexism. In comparison neo sexism, dominative paternalism, heterosexual intimacy, humanitarianism-egalitarianism, protestant ethic, need for cognitive closure, social dominance orientation, attitudes towards lesbians and gay men and attitudes towards women's rights were significantly related to BS independent of hostile sexism.

Regression Models

Within three subsamples, the ASI subscales were administered in conjunction with a substantial subset of the measures detailed above. For these samples it is possible to create regression models with each of the ASI subscales as dependent variables and a number of the psychological measures (detailed previously) as predictors. This allows an

assessment of the relative importance of each of the constructs in relation to hostile and benevolent sexism.

For a subsample of the Student sample ($N=385$), the ASI subscales were administered in conjunction with the Neo Sexism scale, the Need For Cognitive Closure Scale, the Social Dominance Orientation measure, the Attitudes Towards Women's Rights measure and the Attitude to Lesbian and Gay Men's Right measure. Hierarchical regression analyses were undertaken with the Hostile Sexism or Benevolent Sexism scale as the dependent measure and the other measures as predictor variables (see Table 3.5). Due to the high level of association between the alternative sexism measures and the conceptualisation of some of the predictor variables being measures of global individual differences (e.g. SDO and NFCC), variables were entered in a predetermined order. Specifically, associated attitudes (or in SDO parlance, 'legitimising myths') were entered at Step 1, global personality constructs were entered at Step 2 whilst the alternative sexism measures were entered at Step 3 to ascertain whether they could account for any additional variance once the other measures had been entered. In the current analyses to predict hostile sexism at Step 1, ATWR and ALGR were entered, at Step Two, NFCC and SDO were entered and in the last step, the alternative measures of sexism (NS and BS) were entered⁶. Due to the non-recursive nature of the model (i.e. theoretically it is not known which variables cause others), it is inappropriate to systematically model the regression analysis (for example, using Path Analysis), although the partial correlations do allow an assessment of the relative importance of different variables within the model.

Table 3.6 demonstrates that the overall regression model was significant ($F(6,371)=55.12$, $p<.001$) accounting for 47.1% of the variance in hostile sexism. The addition of variables at each step significantly increased the variance accounted for. The variance associated with all variables entered with the exception of NFCC was significant. SDO, BS, and NS had positive relationships with hostile sexism, whilst ATWR and ALGR had a negative relationship. Examination of the partial correlations allows an assessment of the relative and independent (of each other) importance of predictors. This demonstrates

⁶ It is accepted that some debate surrounds the order of entry of variables. Tabachnick and Fidell (1989) note that it is legitimate within hierarchical regression to enter on the first step either those variables presumed to be of major importance, or those presumed to be of least importance. In order to ensure that the results reported are not an artefact of point of entry into the regression equation, additional analyses have been conducted using the opposite order of entry. The results of these analyses can be seen in Appendix 3f. Where results obtained in the additional analyses differ from the ones obtained in the main text it is noted.

that NS and SDO were most strongly positively associated with hostile sexism, whilst ATWR and ALGR were most strongly negatively associated.

Table 3.6: Hierarchical regression analysis on Hostile Sexism with Benevolent Sexism, Neo Sexism, Need for Cognitive Closure, Social Dominance, Attitudes towards Women's Rights and Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men as predictor variables.

| | | df | Sum of Squares | Mean Square | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|----------|
| Multiple R ² | .687 | Regression 6 | 172.71 | 28.78 | | |
| R ² | .471 | Residual 371 | 193.75 | 0.52 | | |
| | | F=55.12 | Sig F=.000 | | | |
| Step | Variables | β | T | Partial | R ² | F |
| | Entered | | | Corr | Change | |
| 1 | ATWR | -0.35 | -7.40*** | -.36 | .294 | 77.92*** |
| | ALGR | -0.29 | -6.06*** | -.30 | | |
| 2 | SDO | 0.25 | 4.98*** | .25 | .044 | 12.40*** |
| | NFCC | -0.02 | -0.56 | -.03 | | |
| 3 | BS | 0.19 | 4.55*** | .23 | .134 | 46.90*** |
| | NS | 0.37 | 7.32*** | .36 | | |

Note: *** $p < .001$. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: NFCC= Need For Cognitive Closure; SDO= Social Dominance Orientation; ALGR= Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay Rights; ATWR= Attitudes Towards Women's Rights; BS = Benevolent Sexism; NS = Neo Sexism

The analysis was then repeated using benevolent sexism as the dependent variable and the remaining variables as predictor variables. The variables were entered in the same order as detailed above. Table 3.7 demonstrates that the overall regression model was significant ($F(6,371)=19.03$, $p < .001$) with the predictor variables accounting for 23.5% of the variance in benevolent sexism. There was a significant increase in variance accounted for at each step of the model. All predictors, with the exception of NFCC and ATWR, were significant in relation to benevolent sexism. SDO, HS and NS had positive

relationships with benevolent sexism, whilst ALGR had a negative relationship with benevolent sexism. HS had the largest positive partial correlation with benevolent sexism⁷.

Table 3.7: Hierarchical regression analysis on Benevolent Sexism with Hostile Sexism, Neo Sexism, Need for Cognitive Closure, Social Dominance, Attitudes towards Women's Rights and Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men as predictor variables.

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|------|------------|-----|----------------|-------------|--|
| Multiple R ² | .485 | Regression | 6 | Sum of Squares | Mean Square | |
| R ² | .235 | Residual | 371 | 72.68 | 12.11 | |
| | | F=19.03 | | 236.13 | 0.64 | |
| | | | | Sig F=.000 | | |

| Step | Variables Entered | β | T | Partial Corr | R ² Change | F |
|------|-------------------|-------|----------|--------------|-----------------------|----------|
| 1 | ATWR | -0.04 | -0.73 | -.04 | .114 | 24.02*** |
| | ALGR | -0.32 | -5.96*** | -.29 | | |
| 2 | SDO | 0.21 | 3.62*** | .18 | .037 | 8.13*** |
| | NFCC | 0.06 | 1.25 | .07 | | |
| 3 | HS | 0.28 | 4.55*** | .23 | .085 | 20.57*** |
| | NS | 0.15 | 2.35*** | .12 | | |

Note: *** $p < .001$. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: NFCC= Need For Cognitive Closure; SDO= Social Dominance Orientation; ALGR= Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay Rights; ATWR= Attitudes Towards Women's Rights; HS= Hostile Sexism; NS= Neo Sexism

For a second small subsample of the Student sample ($N=91$), the ASI subscales were administered in conjunction with the NS scale, the HE Scale, the PE scale, the DP measure, the PP measure, the HI scale and the HH scale. Hierarchical regression analyses were undertaken with hostile sexism or benevolent sexism scale as the dependent measure and the other measures as predictor variables. At Step 1, HE and PE were entered. At Step Two, PP, DP, HI and HH were entered. In the last step, the alternative measures of sexism (NS and BS) were entered. Table 3.8 demonstrates that the overall model was significant ($F(8,78)=3.55$, $p<.002$) with all predictor variables accounting for 19.2% of the variance in

⁷ In the alternative analysis presented in Appendix 3f, HS and NS were significantly positively related to BS, whilst ALGR and ATWR were significantly negatively related to BS. The relationship between BS and SDO and NFCC was found to be non significant.

hostile sexism. Steps two and three of the model significantly increased the amount of variance accounted for. PP and NS were significant predictors of hostile sexism. Specifically, PP had a negative relationship with hostile sexism, whilst NS had a positive relationship⁸.

Table 3.8: Hierarchical regression analysis on Hostile Sexism with Benevolent Sexism, Neo Sexism, Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, Protestant Ethic, Dominative Paternalism, Protective Paternalism, Heterosexual Intimacy and Heterosexual Hostility as predictor variables.

| | | df | Sum of Squares | | Mean Square | |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|----------------|---------|----------------|--------|
| Multiple R ² | .517 | Regression | 8 | 15.30 | 1.91 | |
| R ² | .192 | Residual | 78 | 42.00 | 0.54 | |
| | | F=3.55 | Sig F=.001 | | | |
| Step | Variables | β | T | Partial | R ² | F |
| | Entered | | | Corr | Change | |
| 1 | HE | -0.15 | -1.37 | -.15 | .040 | 1.75 |
| | PE | 0.12 | 1.16 | .13 | | |
| 2 | DP | 0.10 | 0.89 | .10 | .141 | 3.45** |
| | PP | -0.26 | -2.35* | -.25 | | |
| | HH | 0.23 | 1.90 | .21 | | |
| | HI | 0.07 | 0.54 | .06 | | |
| 3 | BS | 0.10 | 0.91 | .10 | .086 | 4.57** |
| | NS | 0.31 | 2.81*** | .30 | | |

Note: **p<.01; p<.05. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: DP= Dominative Paternalism; PP= Protective Paternalism; HH= Heterosexual Hostility; HI= Heterosexual Intimacy; PE= Protestant Ethic; HE= Humanitarian-Egalitarianism; BS= Benevolent Sexism; NS = Neo Sexism

The analysis was then repeated using benevolent sexism as the dependent variable and the remaining variables as predictor variables. As with the hostile sexism analysis, hierarchical regression analysis was undertaken. The variables were entered in the same order as detailed above. Table 3.9 demonstrates that the overall regression model was significant ($F(8,78)=3.87, p<.002$) with the predictor variables accounting for 28.4% of the variance in benevolent sexism. Steps one and two significantly increased the amount of variance accounted for. However, in this model, the addition of the alternative sexism

⁸ In the alternative analysis presented in Appendix 3f, HH had a significant positive relationship with HS.

measures (Step 3) did not significantly increase the amount of variance accounted for. HE had a significant negative relationship with benevolent sexism. In contrast PE and HI had significant positive relationships with benevolent sexism⁹.

Table 3.9: Hierarchical regression analysis on Benevolent Sexism with Hostile Sexism, Neo Sexism, Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, Protestant Ethic, Dominative Paternalism, Protective Paternalism, Heterosexual Intimacy and Heterosexual Hostility as predictor variables.

| Multiple R ² | | df | Sum of Squares | | Mean Square | |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|----------------|------------|----------------|--------|
| R ² | .533 | Regression | 8 | 13.47 | | 1.68 |
| | .284 | Residual | 78 | 33.89 | | 0.43 |
| | | F=3.87 | | Sig F=.001 | | |
| Step | Variables | β | T | Partial | R ² | F |
| | Entered | | | Corr | Change | |
| 1 | HE | -0.23 | -2.26* | -.24 | .114 | 5.38** |
| | PE | 0.23 | 2.18* | .23 | | |
| 2 | DP | 0.13 | 1.28 | .14 | .159 | 4.38** |
| | PP | -0.02 | -0.20 | -.02 | | |
| | HH | -0.08 | -0.67 | -.07 | | |
| | HI | 0.40 | 3.40** | .36 | | |
| 3 | HS | 0.10 | 0.91 | .10 | .012 | 0.63 |
| | NS | 0.04 | 0.35 | .04 | | |

Note: ** $p < .001$; * $p < .05$. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: DP= Dominative Paternalism; PP= Protective Paternalism; HH= Heterosexual Hostility; HI= Heterosexual Intimacy; HE = Humanitarian-Egalitarianism; PE= Protestant Ethic; HS = Hostile Sexism; NS = Neo Sexism

For a subsample of the Employed sample ($N=198$), the ASI subscales were administered in conjunction with the NS scale, the NFCC scale, the SDO measure, the ATWR measure, the ALGR measure, HE scale and the PE scale. Hierarchical regression analyses were undertaken with hostile sexism or benevolent sexism as the dependent measure and the other measures as predictor variables. At Step One, ATWR, ALGR, PE and HE were entered. At Step Two, NFCC and SDO were entered. In the last step, the alternative measures of sexism (NS and BS) were entered. Table 3.10 demonstrates that the overall regression model was significant ($F(8,190)=20.92$, $p < .001$) with the predictor

⁹ In the alternative analysis, the relationship between BS and either PE or HE is non significant.

variables accounting for 44.4% of the variance in hostile sexism. Each step of the model significantly increased the amount of variance accounted for. All predictors with the exception of NFCC and HE were significant in relation to hostile sexism. SDO, PE, BS and NS had positive relationships with hostile sexism, whilst ATWR and ALGR had negative relationships. Examination of the partial correlations indicate that ATWR had the strongest negative association with hostile sexism, whilst benevolent sexism had the strongest positive association¹⁰.

Table 3.10: Hierarchical regression analysis on Hostile Sexism with Benevolent Sexism, Neo Sexism, Need for Cognitive Closure, Social Dominance, Protestant Ethic, Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, Attitudes towards Women's Rights and Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men as predictor variables.

| Multiple R ² | .667 | df | Sum of Squares | Mean Square | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|------------------------|--------|----------|
| R ² | .444 | Regression 8 | 95.85 | 11.98 | | |
| | | Residual 190 | 119.80 | 0.63 | | |
| | | F=18.82 | Sig F=.000 | | | |
| Step | Variables | β | T | Partial R ² | F | |
| | Entered | | | Corr | Change | |
| 1 | ATWR | -0.33 | -4.90*** | -.33 | .301 | 20.92*** |
| | ALGR | -0.20 | -2.88** | -.20 | | |
| | PE | 0.23 | 3.53** | .25 | | |
| | HE | 0.02 | 0.36 | .03 | | |
| 2 | SDO | 0.22 | 2.65** | .19 | .028 | 4.08* |
| | NFCC | 0.08 | 1.24 | .09 | | |
| 3 | BS | 0.25 | 3.90*** | .27 | .115 | 19.61*** |
| | NS | 0.27 | 3.66*** | .26 | | |

Note: *** $p < .001$. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: HE= Humanitarian-Egalitarianism; PE= Protestant Ethic; NFCC= Need For Cognitive Closure; SDO= Social Dominance Orientation; ALGR= Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men; ATWR= Attitudes Towards Women's Rights; BS = Benevolent Sexism; NS = Neo Sexism

The analysis was then repeated with benevolent sexism as the dependent variable and the remaining variables as predictor variables. Table 3.11 demonstrates that the overall regression model was significant ($F(8,190)=12.33$, $p < .001$) with the predictor

¹⁰ In the alternative analysis presented in Appendix 3f, PE was not significantly related to HS.

variables accounting for 34.2% of the variance in benevolent sexism. The addition of predictors at Step 1 and 3 provided significant increases in the amount of variance accounted for. PE, HS and NS were significant predictors of benevolent sexism. All were positively related to benevolent sexism.

Table 3.11: Hierarchical regression analysis on Benevolent Sexism with Hostile Sexism, Neo Sexism, Need for Cognitive Closure, Social Dominance, Protestant Ethic, Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, Attitudes towards Women's Rights and Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men as predictor variables.

| | | df | | Sum of Squares | | Mean Square | |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|----------------|----------------|-------------|--|
| Multiple R ² | .585 | Regression | 8 | 60.48 | | 7.56 | |
| R ² | .342 | Residual | 190 | 116.51 | | 0.61 | |
| | | F=12.33 | | Sig F=.000 | | | |
| Step | Variables | β | T | Partial | R ² | F | |
| | Entered | | | Corr | Change | | |
| 1 | ATWR | -0.09 | -1.26 | -.09 | .220 | 13.67*** | |
| | ALGR | -0.14 | -1.92 | -.14 | | | |
| | PE | 0.36 | 5.16*** | .35 | | | |
| | HE | -0.01 | -0.18 | -.01 | | | |
| 2 | SDO | 0.16 | 1.80 | .13 | .013 | 1.61 | |
| | NFCC | 0.01 | 0.09 | .01 | | | |
| 3 | HS | 0.30 | 3.90*** | .27 | .109 | 15.73*** | |
| | NS | 0.21 | 2.56* | .18 | | | |

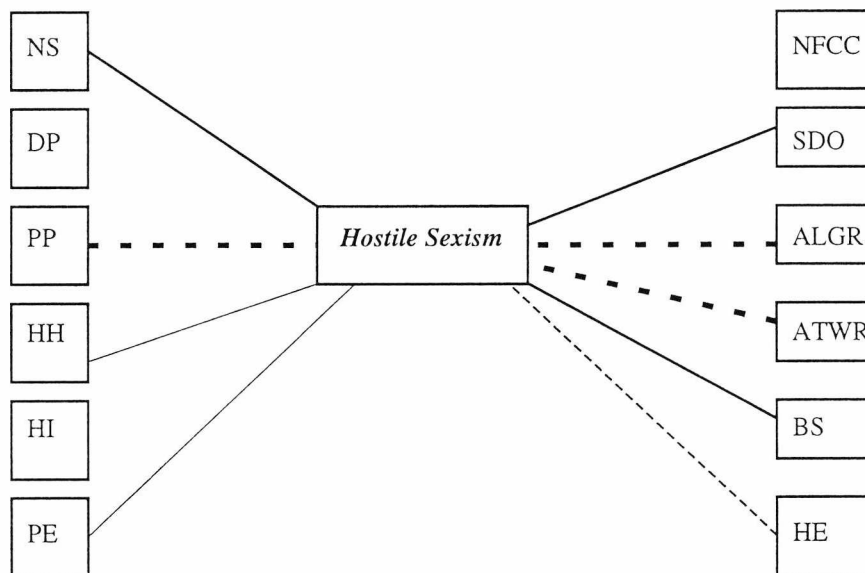
Note: *** $p < .001$. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: HE = Humanitarian-Egalitarianism; PE= Protestant Ethic; NFCC= Need For Cognitive Closure; SDO= Social Dominance Orientation; ALGR= Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men; ATWR= Attitudes Towards Women's Rights; HS = Hostile Sexism; NS = Neo Sexism

Summary of results of correlational and regression analyses

The relationship of the HS scale to all other measures across the averaged correlation and regression analyses is summarised in Figure 3.1. Figure 3.2 depicts the relationship of the BS scale to all other measures across the averaged correlation and regression analyses.

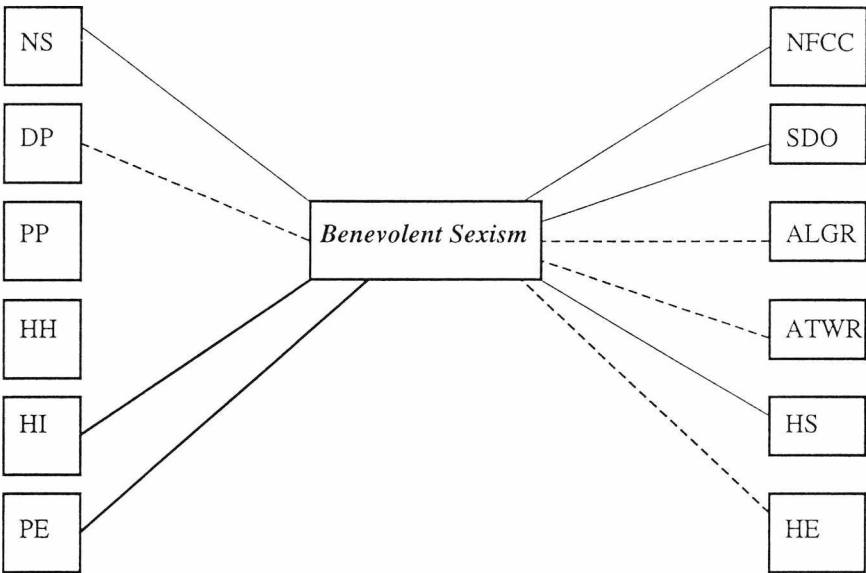
Figure 3.1: Summary of relationships between Neo Sexism, Dominative Paternalism, Protective Paternalism, Heterosexual Hostility, Heterosexual Intimacy, Protestant Ethic, Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, Need for Cognitive Closure, Social Dominance Orientation, Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men, Attitudes Towards Women's Rights, Benevolent Sexism and Hostile Sexism



Key:

- Consistent significant positive relationship in all correlation/regression analyses
- - - - Consistent significant negative relationship in all correlation/regression analyses
- Significant positive relationship in correlation analysis (based on analysis across samples)
- Significant negative relationship in correlation analysis (based on analysis across samples)

Figure 3.2: Summary of relationships between Neo Sexism, Dominative Paternalism, Protective Paternalism, Heterosexual Hostility, Heterosexual Intimacy, Protestant Ethic, Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, Need for Cognitive Closure, Social Dominance Orientation, Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men, Attitudes Towards Women’s Rights, Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism



- Key:
- Consistent significant positive relationship in all correlation/regression analyses
 - - - - Consistent significant negative relationship in all correlation/regression analyses
 - Significant positive relationship in correlation analysis (based on analysis across samples)
 - - - - Significant negative relationship in correlation analysis (based on analysis across samples)

Discussion

The analysis of the subscales of the ASI suggests that both the HS and BS scales have a number of common relationships with other psychological measures whilst being independently related to other measures. The specifics of the individual relationships of the other measures to the ASI subscales will be discussed before considering the

implications of the fuller models (where more than one of the other psychological measures were administered concurrently) for the relative importance of the measures in relation to hostile and benevolent sexism.

It was predicted that Dominative Paternalism (DP) would be positively related to hostile sexism, whilst Protective Paternalism (PP) would be positively related to benevolent sexism. An initial examination of the reliability of these measures indicated that whilst PP had adequate reliability (i.e. $>.70$), the reliability of DP was marginally low. This is somewhat problematic as it indicates some error in measurement of the construct. Examination of the partial correlations (which adjusts the zero order correlation in light of the magnitude of the association between the subscales of the ASI) between the hostile and benevolent subscales and the paternalism measures demonstrates, against the hypothesis, a positive, but non-significant, correlation between hostile sexism and dominative paternalism and a moderate, but significant, positive correlation between benevolent sexism and dominative paternalism. In addition there was a non-significant positive correlation between benevolent sexism and protective paternalism, whilst hostile sexism was significantly negatively related to protective paternalism. While these results are not directly supportive of the hypotheses, they do demonstrate association between paternalism with the subscales of the ASI. However the significant positive correlation between DP and benevolent sexism is problematic.

The measurement of paternalism in the current study represents one of the first attempts to operationalise the construct in relation to contemporary sexism. A retrospective consideration of the items suggests certain problems which may have led to the unexpected pattern of correlations. The original pool of items (see Appendix 3a) was designed to tap into the constructs of protective and dominative paternalism. The consequent scales used in the main study may, in retrospect, tap slightly different constructs than those intended. Specifically, the items on the revised DP scale appear to imply status and role paternalism rather than dominative paternalism. For example, one of the items reads: 'If I know better than one of my friends/colleagues, I would intervene to stop them making a mistake'. This suggests that a respondent who agrees with such a statement will intervene in a task if they perceive (through their role or status) that they can do the task better than the person attempting it. This will occur regardless of whether the person attempting the task could do it or not. In contrast the items in the revised PP scale appear to tap into a 'need' motivated paternalism. Specifically the respondent will agree

with a statement that details someone doing something for someone because there is a genuine need (for example, to protect them from a harsh reality). Given this the observed pattern of associations makes theoretical sense. Benevolent sexists endorse role differentiation (i.e. women should do the tasks that they are 'naturally' good at) and the maintenance of it. Consequently they are likely to endorse statements that imply intervention to 'help' someone of a lower status (regardless of whether that help is wanted or needed) as such intervention serves to maintain the status quo in terms of role differentiation. In contrast, hostile sexists are 'non altruistic'. Their belief that the status quo is inherently fair does not concur with the view that others deserve assistance or support. Thus they would be more likely to disagree with statements that suggest 'need paternalism' for anyone, regardless of status or role, (as to assist would result in unfairness) than someone who did not endorse hostile sexism. If this analysis of the items in the DP and PP scales are accurate then the significant positive association between DP and benevolent sexism, and the significant negative correlation between PP and hostile sexism makes good sense. The current research has, therefore, made some tentative progress in establishing the link between the concept of paternalism and the ASI scales, however the precise nature of the interrelationships between different aspects of the concept of paternalism and the HS and BS scales has yet to be established firmly.

As with paternalism, it was predicted that there would be specific relationships between the subscales of the ASI and the underlying dimension of heterosexuality. It was hypothesised that there would be a positive correlation between heterosexual intimacy (HI) and benevolent sexism and a positive correlation between heterosexual hostility (HH) and hostile sexism. An initial examination of the reliability of the measures indicated that both the measures of HI and HH had poor internal reliability ($<.6$), indicating that they were not pure measures of the proposed constructs. Despite this, there was a significant positive partial correlation between HH and hostile sexism and a significant positive partial correlation between HI and benevolent sexism. The correlations between HH and benevolent sexism and HI and hostile sexism were non significant. This indicates that those high in hostile sexism and those high in benevolent sexism have contrasting attitudes towards the nature of heterosexual relationships. Those who endorse benevolent sexist attitudes also endorse statements which reinforce the 'traditional', role differentiated, chivalrous model of heterosexual relationships (e.g. 'Most women expect the man to ask them out, rather than the other way round'). The focus of the consequent HI items is on

intimacy (the desire to get emotionally and physically close to women), however this intimacy has to be within traditional limits, where the man is accepted as having greater expertise and experience and the woman subordinates to him physically and emotionally. In contrast, those who endorse hostile sexist statements also endorse statements which focus on the brutal/forceful aspect of heterosexual relationships (e.g. 'In a relationship, intimacy and hostility are just flip sides of the same coin'). The focus of the HH items is on the desire to be close to women because of what they can (physically) provide - the consequent 'intimacy' is a (unpleasant) side effect of their need to negotiate with women as 'gatekeepers' of their pleasure. For hostile sexists, heterosexual relationships appear to offer a chance for men to 'get even', rather than reflecting a genuine desire for closeness (albeit within a traditional framework) apparent in those who endorse benevolent sexist statements. This demonstrates, as Glick and Fiske (1996) predicted, that with regard to heterosexual relationships, hostile and benevolent sexists have markedly different positive and negative attitudes. Although the measures constructed for this study are imprecise measures of the constructs, they have demonstrated the differentiated attitudes of hostile and benevolent sexists with regard to heterosexual relationships. Further clarification of the measures will allow this differentiation to become clearer.

Glick and Fiske (1996) proposed that in addition to heterosexuality and paternalism, gender differentiation would be an important source of hostile and benevolent sexism. They stated that hostile sexists would engage in competitive gender differentiation whilst benevolent sexists would engage in complementary gender differentiation. Through pilot testing a measure was designed to assess these two forms of gender differentiation. However, the results of the current study indicate that there was no difference in the type of gender differentiation engaged in by high hostile sexists (vs. low) and high benevolent sexists (vs. low). Given the originality of the measure, the most probable explanation for the lack of differentiation lies in the operationalisation of the construct as opposed to a theoretical problem. As noted, participants were asked to attribute each trait to being true of one of four categories (mostly women, mostly men, neither men nor women, both men and women). The majority of participants attributed all the traits to either being true of both men and women, or being true of neither. This may suggest a social desirability problem such that respondents were unwilling to explicitly attribute traits solely to one gender or the other. A restriction of the response options (to just true of women, true of men) may have circumvented this problem and allowed

differences in gender differentiation to emerge. At present, the proposed differences outlined by Glick and Fiske (1996) for hostile and benevolent sexists' gender differentiation remain untested.

In addition to investigating the relationship of the ASI subscales to the measures of the proposed underlying constructs of paternalism, heterosexuality and gender differentiation, the current study also investigated the relationships of the ASI subscales to an alternative measure of sexism (the Neo Sexism scale), other psychological constructs (social dominance orientation and need for cognitive closure) and other attitude measures (e.g. Attitudes towards Women's Rights measure). On the basis of previous research on related constructs (e.g. Campbell et al., 1997; Swim et al., 1995) it was hypothesised that neo sexism would be positively related to both subscales of the ASI, but that the basis of this relationship would be negative affect. Thus the relationship between benevolent sexism and neo sexism would be wholly accountable to the association between hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Specifically the partial correlation between neo sexism and benevolent sexism would be non significant. An initial evaluation of the reliability of the Neo Sexism scale revealed it to have adequate reliability within all the samples ($>.69$). Examination of the partial correlations revealed that across all three samples and for both genders, hostile and neo sexism were strongly positively related. In contrast, the independent relationship between benevolent and neo sexism was comparatively weaker, and only significant in one sample (and in the composite sample analysis). When broken down by gender, the relationship between neo sexism and benevolent sexism remained significant only for female participants.

The strong positive relationship between hostile and neo sexism is consistent with the strong positive relationship observed between the HS scale and Modern Sexism (MS) scale (Glick & Fiske, 1996). This suggests that although the MS scale and NS scale are derived from different tenets of McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism scale (Campbell et al., 1997) they have the same relationship with the HS subscale of the ASI. The strong positive relationship between the HS scale and NS scale suggests that they effectively evaluate the same orientation towards women, but in different domains (with the neosexism scale focusing on political attitudes towards women). The weaker relationship between the BS scale and NS scale suggests, as Glick and Fiske (1996) proposed, that the BS scale is unique in tapping the subjectively positive aspect of contemporary sexism. However, analysis by gender, which was not undertaken by Glick and Fiske (1996), reveals

this only to be true for male participants. The significant positive association between benevolent sexism and neosexism within females in the older two samples (Student and Employed) mimics the increasingly high level of association found between hostile and benevolent sexism (see Chapter 2) with respondents in the older samples. These associations suggest that within these older samples the different aspects of sexism are integrated to a greater degree, especially with women. The holding of one set of positive or negative stereotypical attitudes towards women in one domain will result in the simultaneous holding of another set of positive or negative stereotypical attitudes towards women in another domain. Thus, for older female respondents, as hostile sexism and neosexism can be significantly related, so can benevolent sexism and neosexism (or benevolent and hostile sexism, see Chapter Two). The low level of association between benevolent and neosexism for male participants suggests that their integration of the different aspects of sexism (as demonstrated by the higher association between hostile and benevolent sexism in the Student and Employed sample; see Chapter 2) is limited to one domain (i.e. relationships).

It was hypothesised that there would be a significant positive relationship between both hostile and benevolent sexism and social dominance orientation, but that this relationship would be stronger between the HS scale and SDO measure than between the BS scale and SDO measure. An evaluation of the reliability of the SDO scale revealed it to have good internal reliability with (Cronbach's) alphas of above .86 in both samples. As predicted the SDO had a strong positive relationship with both the subscales of the ASI. However this relationship was notably stronger between the HS scale and the SDO measure than the BS scale and the SDO measure. This suggests that those who endorse both forms of contemporary sexism also endorse statements that support the existence and maintenance of group based hierarchical systems where one group subordinates another group through institutional and individual means. The difference in level between correlations between the ASI subscales and SDO suggests that the maintenance of an 'unequal' society, or the illusion of the existence of one is more closely associated with hostile, negative affect, sexism. Their acceptance of the inequality of society (as demonstrated by agreement on the SDO items) theoretically concurs with their other attitudes (e.g. their anti 'need paternalism' attitudes). Specifically, if an unequal society is seen as natural, then to intervene (by assisting in anyway) is to interfere with the 'natural' order of things.

The positive correlation between benevolent sexism and SDO was predicted on the basis of previous research that has found an association between SDO and chauvinistic attitudes (Pratto et al., 1994). This association relates to the endorsement of role differentiation by benevolent sexists. However, given their positive affect predilection they are unlikely to endorse the negative tone of the SDO scale items to the extent that a hostile sexist might.

In contrast, it was predicted that there would be a strong positive association between the NFCC scale and benevolent sexism. People high in the need for cognitive closure have been found in previous research (e.g. Kruglanski et al., 1997) to seize and freeze on stereotypical information. To the extent that they felt positive towards women, it was predicted that a tendency to express benevolent sexist attitudes may just reflect a high need for cognitive closure (without a sexist motivation). The NFCC measure (Webster & Kruglanski, 1993) used in the current study had poor internal reliability. As noted, literature published since our data was collected has suggested that the NFCC is multi rather than uni dimensional (e.g. Neuberg et al., 1997). The analysis of Neuberg et al. (1997) suggests that the NFCC items used in the current study load onto different factors. Thus, the low internal reliability is to be expected. However, with that caveat, an examination of the correlations with the ASI subscales allows some estimation of the extent that benevolent sexism is just positive affect 'seizing' and 'freezing'. The BS subscale of the ASI was positively related to NFCC in all samples, however this (independent) association only achieved significance within the Student sample (and in the composite sample analysis). The magnitude of this correlation was small in both the Student sample ($<.25$) and in the composite sample ($<.18$). This suggests that although part of benevolent sexist attitudes may be motivated by a tendency to stereotype, the large majority of agreement with benevolent sexist attitudes is motivated by something other than the constructs tapped by the NFCC scale. As expected the HS scale of the ASI had a small (and smaller than that observed with benevolent sexism), but positive relationship with the NFCC scale in all samples. This reflects the emphasis on negative affect rather than stereotyping within this form of prejudice.

In addition to assessing the relationship of the subscales of the ASI to its underlying factors and to more general psychological measures, the relationship of hostile and benevolent sexism to general attitude measures was also investigated. Both hostile and benevolent sexism were correlated with a (pro) Attitudes to Women's Rights scale

(ATWR) and a (pro) Lesbian and Gay Men's Rights scale (ALGR). Following results obtained with other measures of contemporary sexism and these measures (e.g. Campbell et al., 1997) it was hypothesised that both subscales of the ASI would have a negative association with the ATWR measure. In addition, following previous research and the joint basis of hostile and benevolent sexism in (a belief in) heterosexuality, a negative relationship between the ASI subscales and the ALGR measure was predicted. An initial investigation of the internal reliability of the ALGR and ATWR measures indicated that the ALGR measure had acceptable internal reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha > .8$). However, the internal reliability of the ATWR measure was poorer (Cronbach's $\alpha < .67$). As predicted both the HS and BS subscales of the ASI were, in general, significantly independently negatively associated with the ALGR and ATWR measures, although these relationships were weaker than those reported by Campbell et al. (1997) between these measures and neo sexism. This difference in level of association is probably attributable to the different focus of the NS and ASI, where the NS scale focuses on political and policy inequity which is more akin to the focus of the items in the ATWR measure. Across both measures, the association between ATWR and ALGR was larger for the HS scale of the ASI than for the BS scale (on average the association was $< -.20$ with benevolent sexism). In relation to ATWR the independent relationship between this measure and benevolent sexism was nonsignificant in the Employed sample. Those high in benevolent sexism in this sample were no more likely to agree with discriminatory action statements than those low in benevolent sexism. Thus, in comparison to hostile sexists, benevolent sexists are comparatively in favour of, for example, equal pay for women. However one may presume, given the nature of benevolent sexism, that this lack of discrimination only occurs once role differentiation has been imposed. Specifically a benevolent sexist may agree that a woman is entitled to equal pay as long as they are in gender appropriate occupations. In contrast both subscales of the ASI were independently significantly negatively related to the ALGR measure. In support of the clustering of prejudices hypothesis (e.g. Allport, 1954) those who are contemporary sexists also support discriminatory policies towards lesbians and gay men. With specific reference to hostile and benevolent sexism as measures of contemporary sexism, this relationship is probably enhanced by their joint basis in (a belief in) heterosexuality.

It was hypothesised, based on previous research (e.g. Campbell et al., 1997; Swim et al., 1995) that there would be a negative relationship between hostile sexism and an

humanitarian-egalitarian orientation. In addition it was hypothesised that there would be no association between benevolent sexism and a humanitarian-egalitarian orientation. Initial analyses revealed the HE scale to have adequate internal reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha > .85$). Correlational analysis demonstrated that both subscales of the ASI were independently negatively related to the HE scale. This relationship achieved significance between the HS scale and the HE scale within the Employed sample, although the magnitude of the correlation was comparable to that achieved in the Student sample.

In contrast, analysis within the Student sample revealed a significant negative relationship between the BS scale and the HE scale. The association between a negative affect measure of contemporary sexism and a humanitarian-egalitarian orientation (even within the composite sample) replicates the results of Swim et al. (1995) using the MS scale and of Campbell et al. (1997) using the NS scale both in direction and magnitude. Those who adhere to a hostile sexism perspective are less supportive of policies and attitudes aimed towards equality. The significant relationship between the HE scale and the BS scale within the Student sample is contrary to the hypothesis. In contrast to the Ambivalent Racism (Katz & Hass, 1988) results, Glick and Fiske (1996) predicted that there would not be a significant association between HE and 'pro' women attitudes as 'pro' women attitudes were not motivated by a desire to protect an egalitarian self image. However, the existence of a negative correlation between the HE scale and BS scales does not automatically discount Glick and Fiske's rationalisation. Recent research by Monteith and Walters (1998) has suggested that respondents interpret the HE scale items in differing ways. Thus to the extent that benevolent sexism focuses on role differentiation and by proxy the acceptance of inequality (in that men and women are not equally suited to the same roles), benevolent sexists may disagree with the statements that make up the HE scale (e.g. 'There should be equality for everyone - because we are all human beings'). However the lack of a consistent significant relationship between the BS scale and the HE scale is somewhat problematic. The notably smaller correlation in the Employed sample in comparison to the Student sample may suggest that older respondents focus less on the 'equality' aspect of the BS scale than Student respondents.

In addition to humanitarian-egalitarian attitudes, protestant ethic, or individualistic attitudes, were also assessed. It was hypothesised, following Swim et al.'s (1995) research on modern sexism and Campbell et al.'s (1997) research using the NS scale, that both hostile and benevolent sexism would be positively related to scores on the Protestant Ethic

(PE) scale. Analysis of the internal reliability indicated that although the PE scale had poor reliability within the Student sample, it had adequate reliability within the Employed sample. Correlational analysis revealed, in line with the hypothesis, a positive independent relationship between the ASI subscales and the PE scale. This achieved significance within the Employed sample. Thus those who endorse contemporary sexist attitudes are also likely to endorse attitudes which put the emphasis of success onto the individual (as opposed to, for example, the state). Simply, if women worked hard then they would succeed.

In addition to the individual measure analysis, where multiple measures were administered to the same group, regression analyses were undertaken to determine the relative importance of the measures (via partial correlations) to hostile and benevolent sexism. Across the three samples there were a number of consistent and significant relationships between the ASI subscales and the other measures administered. Hostile sexism was consistently significantly related to neo sexism, social dominance orientation, attitudes towards women's rights and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. In the second Student sample, 'protective' paternalism was significantly associated with hostile sexism. In contrast, the level of association of the other administered measures to benevolent sexism was less consistent. In two of the three samples, hostile sexism, neosexism and protestant ethic were significantly associated with benevolent sexism. Across the three samples, other significant associations included attitudes towards lesbian and gay men's rights, social dominance orientation, humanitarian-egalitarianism and heterosexual intimacy. Hostile sexism is therefore significantly associated with other forms of contemporary sexism, a pro group hierarchy orientation and discriminatory attitudes towards 'minority' groups. In contrast benevolent sexism is a relatively unique measure of contemporary sexism which is only (relatively) consistently associated with other measures of contemporary sexism and an individualistic orientation. Dependent on 'situational' factors such as sample, and alternative measures administered, benevolent sexism does become associated with measures of attitudes more traditionally associated with prejudice (e.g. SDO). However the current analysis failed to find one measure that was consistently related to benevolent sexism across all three samples. This is interesting in that it supports Glick and Fiske's (1996) assertion of benevolent sexism as a unique measure, however, to an extent it is problematic in that it gives little away with regard to the predictive utility of BS scale.

Conclusion

In summary, the current study has established the validity of the ASI for use in a British context (Chapter Two) and extended the convergent and discriminant validity work previously carried out on the ASI subscales by Glick and Fiske (1996; current chapter). In the current analysis both hostile and benevolent sexism have been found to be independently positively associated with neo sexism, social dominance orientation and protestant ethic and negatively associated with humanitarian-egalitarianism, attitudes towards women's rights and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. In addition hostile sexism has been found to be independently negatively related to 'need' paternalism and positively related to heterosexual hostility. Independent relationships between benevolent sexism and status/role paternalism, heterosexual intimacy and need for cognitive closure have also been established. When multiple measures have been administered, hostile sexism was consistently significantly related to benevolent sexism, neosexism, social dominance orientation, attitudes towards women's rights and attitudes towards lesbian's and gay men. In contrast, in the current analysis, there were no consistent (across all samples) associations between benevolent sexism and other psychological measures. The measures most frequently associated with benevolent sexism were other measures of contemporary sexism (e.g. hostile sexism and neosexism), heterosexual intimacy and protestant ethic (assessing an individualistic orientation). Having established the validity of the ASI for use within a British context, the research program moved on to attempt to determine the predictive utility of the HS and BS subscales of the ASI.

Chapter Four:

Sexism and a Social Cognition Approach to Stereotyping

Having established the internal reliability and the convergent and discriminant validity of the ASI in a British context (see Chapters 2 and 3), the next stage of the research focuses on extending the predictive validity work previously carried out with both measures into a new domain. This chapter will briefly revisit the work that has been carried out in this area (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996; Masser, 1995), provide a short review of current social cognition literature and develop a social cognitive framework for understanding the relationship between sexism and sex-linked stereotyping.

The predictive validity of the ASI

As detailed in Chapter One, the predictive validity research carried out with the ASI is limited to a few studies. Glick and Fiske (1996) demonstrated that for some participants scores on the Hostile Sexism (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS) scales were related to the ascription of positive and negative traits to women and towards favourable and unfavourable attitudes towards women. In addition, Masser (1995) found, with a student sample, that those who scored above the median on the BS scale rated females more positively than males on a number of stereotypical dimensions. More recently, and after the current research was conducted, Glick et al. (1997) demonstrated that men who score above the median on both the HS and BS scales (Ambivalent Sexists) have greater polarisation in their responses to spontaneously generated female subtypes. In addition they found scores on the HS subscale were negatively related to evaluations of non-traditional women, whilst scores on the BS subscale were positively related to feelings towards women in traditional roles. In evaluations of sexual harassment cases, Wiener et al. (1997) found that those who scored above the median on the HS subscale found less evidence of sexual harassment in two legal cases than those who scored below the median on the HS scale (see Chapter Eight).

A New Paradigm

Work on the predictive validity of the ASI is, therefore, somewhat inconclusive. There is no reliable paradigm that consistently differentiates between those 'high' and 'low' in hostile and/or benevolent sexism. In short - the research literature has yet to establish

definitively what a 'high' hostile sexist will do that a 'low' one will not, or what, for example, being 'high' in benevolent rather than hostile sexism means in terms of behaviour, or (negative) action¹. The failure to establish 'behavioural' differentiation is problematic - it could be questioned whether it is necessary to be concerned about differences in scale scores, if these attitudes consistently fail to be translated into behaviour or action of some sort.

A useful goal then would be to establish an experimental paradigm in which attitude differentiation (as assessed by the HS and BS subscales of the ASI) will predict behavioural differentiation. As noted, early attempts at this (see Masser, 1995) have proved inconclusive, despite the previous success of similar paradigms with contemporary forms of racism (e.g. Linville & Jones, 1980). An explanation for the failure of existing paradigms with contemporary forms of sexism has focused on the evolution of social norms surrounding the expression of prejudice. Social norms have changed since the development of measures and paradigms for studying contemporary racism in which the link between attitude and behaviour measurement is overt (Lepore, 1996). Although less advanced for sexism than racism (Jackson, 1994) it may be that individuals are now sensitised to (non)discrimination in any way against certain key societal groups (Fazio et al., 1995). Thus it may be that if participants are suspicious of an experimental procedure (for example, through the presentation in the same experimental session of a prejudice inventory and a task clearly to do with members of the prejudice target group) then they will alter their responses to be in line with the social norm.

In order to ultimately verify an attitude - (overt) behaviour link, it was thought necessary first to establish a 'cognitive' link (specifically demonstrating an attitude - differential stereotype activation/application link). A review of the main features of the current social cognition account of the process of impression formation was undertaken. The aim of this review, rather than be exhaustive in its consideration of all nuances of social cognition research and of all the current debates in this area, was to establish an experimental paradigm that would allow explicit attitude differentiation to be linked to implicit cognitive differentiation. A brief review of the current perspectives on social

¹ The reference to (negative) action here refers to Allport's (1954) five stages of negative action or discrimination as noted in Chapter One.

cognition and impression formation from categorisation to stereotype expression² is followed by the development of a social cognition paradigm to investigate sexism and its relation to stereotype activation/application.

Social Cognition

Duckitt (1992) notes in his review of psychology's contribution to research on prejudice that the predominant 'model' for the understanding of prejudice is one derived from the social cognitive approach. Social cognition has been extensively defined since its emergence³ in the late 1970's and early 1980's, with definitions ranging from the simple (e.g. *"how ordinary people think about people and how they think they think about people"* Fiske & Taylor, 1984, p1) to the more complex (e.g. *"a consideration of all factors influencing the acquisition, representation, and retrieval of person information, as well as the relationship of these processes to judgements made by the perceiver"* Hamilton 1981, p136). For the purposes of the current review, one of the more appropriate definitions is provided by Sherman, Judd and Park (1989, cited in Hamilton, Devine & Ostrom, 1994). They define social cognition as: *"a conceptual and empirical approach to understanding social psychological phenomena by investigating the cognitive structures and processes by which they operate"* (Hamilton et al., 1994, p2.). In its relatively short history, social cognition research has made substantial advances in documenting the cognitive processes involved in one of the most important aspects of social psychology - the process of impression formation.

² Parts of this review have appeared in Abrams, D. & Masser, B. (1998). Context and the social self-regulation of stereotyping: Perception, judgment and behavior. In R. Wyer (Ed.). *Advances in Social Cognition*, 11, 53-69.

³ As Devine, Hamilton and Ostrom (1994) note the 'newness' of the premises underlying social cognition at this time was debated. However, it is generally accepted that the definition of social cognition used today originated from research begun in the 1970's and 1980's.

From Categorisation to Stereotype application - a brief review

“When we encounter someone and categorise him or her as a member of Group X, stereotypes about this group will tend to be activated and exert an influence on the interpretative processes involved in forming an impression of the person. Whatever impression is formed will then provide the impetus for overt responses vis-à-vis the target person.”

Bodenhausen & Macrae (1998), p7

As illustrated by the above quote, social cognitivists have conceptualised the impression formation process into four basic processes: categorisation, stereotype activation, stereotype application and stereotype expression. In this brief review, each process will be considered in turn before assessing the implications of this approach for research on sexism.

Categorisation

Categorisation has long been recognised as one of the central features of all models of stereotyping and impression formation (e.g. Brewer, 1988; Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Given our tendency to be ‘cognitive misers’ (Fiske & Taylor, 1991), ‘motivated tacticians’ or ‘good-enough perceivers’ (Fiske, 1993; c.f. Spears & Haslam, 1997) we rarely evaluate individuals as individuals. Rather we perceive, categorise and take recourse into what we know about people who fit into that category (Bodenhausen & Macrae 1998); in short, in the absence of individuating information (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990), we will activate a cognitive category that we perceive as being applicable. Cognitive categories have been defined in a number of ways. Specifically as “*an abstract structure of knowledge that groups things that hold together on the basis of coherence*” (Leynes, Yzerbyt & Schadron, 1994, p76) or alternatively as “*abstract representations of conceptually related information*” (Bargh & Pietromonaco, 1982, p437).

These ‘abstract representations’ are recognised to be flexible (‘fuzzy sets’ - Leyens et al., 1994) in that they have volatile boundaries. Some members of the category are better members than others and serve as reference points for the perceiver. These abstract exemplars or prototypes are effectively the baseline against which all new people or objects perceived are compared with to determine whether they belong in that category.

One of the central questions that has come to dominate the categorisation literature in recent years (e.g. Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998; Kunda & Thagard, 1996; Macrae et al., 1995) is the question of on which attribute does a perceiver access a category to ultimately form an impression. When meeting someone for the first time, many features are likely to be apparent to the perceiver - you may note that a new person is female (gender), in their twenties (age), Caucasian (race), a student (occupation), blonde (hair colour) and five feet, two inches tall (height), etc. All of these categories may be activated in parallel (Houghton & Tipper, 1996) and all have the potential, in addition to other types of features (e.g. behaviours, traits etc.), to influence the impression formed of the individual. In their parallel-constraint-satisfaction model, Kunda and Thagard (1996) propose that a perceiver may use all known qualities of a target (in an interaction) to determine their impression. However, it could be seen as unlikely (given the existence of categories to assist us in our role as a motivated tactician or cognitive miser; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Fiske, 1993) that this occurs. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely (see Bodenhausen et al., 1998), is that in the absence of an intrinsic motivation to form a more complex impression of the individual a number of strategies may be used to 'choose' a category to 'win' over other categories in forming the basis of an impression. Brewer (1988) and Fiske and Neuberg (1990), in their models of impression formation, both suggest that physical attributes may result in 'primitive categories' being accessed (Pendry & Macrae, 1996), such as those pertaining to age, race and gender. Biernat and Vescio (1993) found, in a series of studies, that attitude position could also influence this 'decision' of which category to access. Recently Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998; see also Macrae et al., 1995) have suggested that in addition to physical characteristics and attitude salience, a number of other factors may cause a particular category to be accessed over others. Specifically they have stated that the category accessed is likely to be a function of its contextual saliency, the recency of its activation, the perceiver's level of prejudice with regard to certain subgroups, or the degree to which the category meets the perceiver's momentary goal.

Contextual salience of a category may result in it being chosen over other competing categories. For example, if the twenty-ish, blonde female was the only Caucasian present in a room, then her race may 'win' over other competing (primitive) categories (e.g. gender) in the impression formation process. If, though, she was the only female present in a room, then this may be used as the basis of impression formation. Numerous studies (e.g. Biernat & Vescio, 1993; McGuire, McGuire, Child & Fujioka,

1978 and Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff & Ruderman, 1978) have demonstrated that contextual salience is a critical factor in determining which category 'wins' over others.

However, as detailed, contextual saliency is not the only determinant of category victory. Research into priming (e.g. Srull & Wyer, 1979) and 'chronic' category activation has shown that those categories recently or frequently activated will tend to influence social impressions more than categories not recently or chronically activated. As a category is activated more frequently (thus becoming chronic) the more accessible it becomes. Eventually it requires decreased amounts of stimulus energy to detect category congruent information (Bargh & Pietromomaco, 1982). Two main theories have been proposed to account for this phenomenon - an 'energy cell process' (Higgins & King, 1981; Higgins, Bargh & Lombardi, 1985) and the 'storage bin model' of Wyer and Srull (1980). Higgins et al. (1985) suggest that the category should be viewed as an energy cell whose energy or action potential is increased whenever the cell or category is activated (e.g. by recent or frequent exposure). Consequently any new stimulus that meets the baseline criteria for inclusion into a category will be encoded by the relevant cell with the greatest action potential. Alternatively Wyer and Srull (1980) propose the 'storage bin model' to explain priming effects. In this model, a recently primed or activated category will be placed on top of a storage bin and accessed first to encode new information (provided that the category is in some way relevant to the new information).

Factors other than the frequency of activation can make a category chronically accessible (therefore rendering it more likely to be used in forming an impression). It has been suggested (e.g. Devine, 1998a; Stangor, Lynch, Duan & Glass, 1992) that the existence of prejudice within an individual will result in the category for which the prejudice is held (e.g. race, gender, sexual orientation) becoming chronically accessible for that individual. This process becomes self fulfilling as initial prejudice-related accessibility gives way to frequency related accessibility of the category.

The final factor that may result in one category 'winning' over others is the perceiver's momentary goals (Bruner, 1957; Jones & Thibaut, 1958). In an example of 'top down' processing, one may evaluate a situation and consequently potential targets on the basis of the category most applicable to that situation. For example, given a need to stop a child crying, one may evaluate a target (as detailed above) on the basis of being female (and therefore the associated assumption of being good with children) as opposed to her age or race.

A side issue to the question of which of the activated categories will dominate impression formation, is the issue of what happens to the categories which are not chosen. For example, if through saliency and momentary goals we categorise the perceived as female, what happens to the also activated categories of Caucasian, blonde, student, twenty-ish and five feet two inches tall? Given that our motivation is to form a simple impression, researchers have suggested, drawing on Broadbent (1958), that 'also ran' categories may just gradually decay to their baseline state (e.g. Macrae et al., 1995). Alternatively inhibition based models have been suggested (e.g. Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998). Inhibition models (e.g. Neumann & DeSchepper, 1992) suggest that 'loser' categories are actively dampened down to levels below their 'normal' resting rate. Despite the lack of empirical research that has directly tested this hypothesis (see Stroessner, 1998), theoretically this process would provide an initial advantage in simple impression formation. Specifically it would prevent alternative categories disrupting the simple impression formed (Macrae et al., 1995; Tipper, 1985; Tipper & Driver, 1988). However, such an initial uni-dimensional category selection process (given low motivation in impression formation) may eventually result in impression problems, should the perceiver then become motivated to form a more accurate perception of the individual. Given the prominence of the selected category and the inhibited nature of the 'also rans', the increased motivation may merely lead to individuating information being processed in a way congruent with the winning category (Yzerbyt et al., 1994).

In summary, the process of categorisation has been described as one in which 'many are called, but few are chosen' (Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998). The decision of how to categorise a target is relatively complex and depends on issues of saliency (of physical attributes, attitudes and contextually), recency or chronicity of activation, biases in category activation and momentary goals. Once a category has 'won' the other 'also rans' may be inhibited in order to maintain a simple impression. However, what effect does mere categorisation have on the overall process of impression formation?

Stereotypes and Stereotype activation

Once a category has been activated, the content of that category (the stereotype) has the potential to be activated. Stereotypes have been defined in a number of ways, most recently by Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998) as consisting of "*descriptive concepts that are associated with membership in a social category. They are attributes that, although*

not defining of the category (i.e. their possession is neither necessary nor sufficient for assignment to the category), nevertheless tend to be thought of as characteristic of category members" (p4). Alternatively Dijksterhuis & van Knippenberg (1996) conceptualise stereotypes as "*mental representations in which a social category (e.g. professor) is associated with traits that are (stereo)typical for this category (e.g. intelligent, industrious)*" (p271).

Until recently it was thought that stereotype activation was an automatic consequence of categorisation (Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). It was presumed that on encountering an individual and categorising them in a particular way (e.g. professor) traits and behaviours associated with that category (e.g. intelligent, industrious, works at a University) would become available to the perceiver to assist in the impression formation process. In short, the probability that a stereotype consistent trait would be used to interpret behaviour increased whilst, at the same time, the probability that a stereotype inconsistent trait would be used, decreased (Dijksterhuis & van Knippenberg, 1996). However, recent research (e.g. Gilbert & Hixon, 1991) has questioned the inevitability of stereotype activation. In a series of studies Gilbert and Hixon (1991) demonstrated that without sufficient processing resources, stereotypes may never be activated despite accurate categorisation having taken place. Specifically they found that making participants cognitively busy during stereotype activation increased the tendency to apply stereotypes (if they had been activated), whereas the imposition of a cognitive load during category exposure decreased the tendency to activate (and thus apply) stereotypes. Their results led some researchers (e.g. Bargh, 1989; 1994; Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998) to conclude that stereotype activation is resource dependent and is therefore only conditionally automatic.

Spencer, Fein, Wolfe, Hodgson and Dunn (in press) explored the concept of conditional stereotype automaticity in a study where they manipulated threat to participants' self esteem. With no threat to self esteem they replicated the basic findings of Gilbert and Hixon (1991). However when self esteem was threatened, Spencer et al. (in press) found that cognitively busy participants were as likely to activate stereotypes as non busy participants. They concluded that the resource demands of stereotype activation were minimal, and thus given any motivation to do so, even cognitively busy participants would activate stereotypes. These effects emerged with subliminal priming - i.e. the participants were not consciously aware that the stereotypes had been primed (see also Wolfe, Spencer

& Fein, 1995). Thus, the 'non automaticity' of stereotype activation appears only conditionally resource driven. Given any motivation to do so, the findings of Spencer et al. (in press) suggest that even cognitively busy perceivers can take recourse to stereotypes once categorisation has occurred.

Further evidence to support this hypothesis can be found in a series of studies by Blair and Banaji (1996)⁴. Using gender stereotypes they examined the influence of a counterstereotype intention in conjunction with stereotype priming when cognitive constraints were high or low. The results of their studies (Experiments 3 & 4) demonstrated that stereotype priming could be eliminated when perceivers had an intention to process counterstereotypic information and sufficient cognitive resources were available. Specifically, when cognitive constraints were low, participants were able to show a complete reversal of stereotype priming, producing faster responses on counterstereotypical trials than on stereotypical trials. Even when cognitive constraints were high, whilst not being able to fully implement their counterstereotypical intention, participants were able to exert some control over their responses. Specifically, the stereotype priming effect produced by participants with a counterstereotype intention was statistically insignificant, even at the shortest duration of Stimulus Onset Asynchrony (SOA - i.e. the time the stimulus is present on the screen plus the duration that the blank screen proceeding the stimulus is on screen for) of two hundred and fifty milliseconds. The evidence from Spencer et al. (in press) and Blair and Banaji (1996; see also Haslam, McGarty & Brown, 1996; Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne, Thorn & Castelli, 1997) therefore demonstrates that stereotyping is not an 'automatic' consequence of categorisation. Specifically given any explicit motivation to stereotype (e.g. to protect ones self esteem; Abrams & Hogg, 1988) or not to stereotype, even under relatively high cognitive constraints, categorisation may not lead to stereotyping. In the absence of any particular motivation, however, the conclusion of Brewer (1988) and Fiske and Neuberg (1990) that stereotype activation is an automatic process that operates when the appropriate situational cue is present, is probably true.

Activation of a stereotype results in the activation of semantically related trait terms or evaluatively consistent terms (Dijksterhuis & van Knippenberg, 1996). In addition,

⁴ Despite the focus of their study on motivations after stereotype priming, Blair & Banaji (1996) state that the procedures used in their study: "are better conceptualized as assessing stereotype activation or priming" (p1143).

recent research has suggested that stereotypes are “*knives that cut both ways*” (Dijksterhuis & van Knippenberg, 1996, p272) - that is stereotype activation not only facilitates access to consistent traits but also inhibits access to inconsistent traits. Drawing on association models from cognitive psychology, Dijksterhuis and van Knippenberg (1996) propose that the retrieval probability of a stereotype inconsistent trait is lower than probability of retrieval of a stereotype consistent trait. Thus, Dijksterhuis and van Knippenberg (1996) state: “*In concrete terms, suppose that access to traits (i.e. retrieval probability) is .50 irrespective of whether these traits are consistent, neutral or inconsistent to any unprimed stereotype we might want to study. Our present argument, then, entails that activation of a specific stereotype would enhance the retrieval probability of the positively associated (stereotype consistent) traits to, say, .75, and reduce the retrieval probability of negatively associated (stereotype inconsistent) traits, to, say, .25, while retrieval probability of neutral (or irrelevant) traits would be unaffected by stereotype activation*” (p273).

Support for the proposition that stereotype activation may result in inhibition to stereotype inconsistent traits comes from studies by Perdue and Gurtman (1990) and Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman and Tyler (1990). Dijksterhuis and van Knippenberg (1996) note that in their study, Perdue and Gurtman (1990) primed participants with either the word ‘young’ or ‘old’. The shortest response latencies were found for the pairing of the word ‘young’ with positive trait terms, thus suggesting that this prime facilitated access to these trait terms. Response latencies for the pairing of the word ‘young’ with negative trait terms were slower than for either the pairing of the word ‘old’ with either positive or negative trait terms. In addition, Perdue et al. (1990) found comparable effects when using primes designating either ingroup (e.g. we) or outgroup (e.g. them) status. Specifically response latencies were longer for pairings of ingroup designators and negative terms than for either the pairing of outgroup designators with positive or negative terms. Dijksterhuis and van Knippenberg (1996) suggest that these results may be accountable to active inhibition of the negative trait words with certain categories (e.g. young and ingroup). However they note that neither of Perdue and colleagues studies contained a control condition - thus not allowing the direct testing of facilitatory and inhibitory effects of stereotype activation. In a series of three studies to directly test the ‘inhibition’ hypothesis, a meta-analysis of the results concluded that priming strongly impeded access to stereotype inconsistent traits whilst access to irrelevant traits remained unaffected; a result accountable to negative stereotype trait associations as opposed to a more general

phenomenon of access to stereotype consistent traits (Dijksterhuis & van Knippenberg, 1996).

One of the central and most interesting questions that has come to dominate the research literature concerns the nature of the stereotypical traits activated - specifically is the dominant content of everyone's stereotype the same? Some researchers (e.g. Hogg & Abrams, 1988) view the (culturally) consensual nature of stereotypes as a key factor in their definition. Other researchers (e.g. Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981) differentiate between what they term 'personal' stereotypes and 'cultural' stereotypes. Cultural stereotypes are defined as 'community wide' patterns of beliefs, whilst personal stereotypes refer to the set of beliefs held by an individual about a social group. Stangor and Schaller (1996) conceptualise this distinction in terms of a top down (cultural) and bottom up (personal) conflict. Thus one may gain, through socialisation, the cultural stereotype of a group which may be applied in the absence of any interaction with a member or members of that group, or in the absence of any meaningful or consistent variations in individual endorsement of that stereotype (Devine, 1989; Fazio et al., 1995). So, for example, if asked 'what are Inuits like', most people can draw some conclusions about Inuits even though most have never met any. However, given, for example, interaction with members of that group or other alternative motivations (e.g. prejudice), certain elements of the cultural stereotype may become more strongly endorsed than others, and it may be these 'strongly endorsed' elements that come to define the personal stereotype. Intuitively such a proposition seems appealing as it allows for cognitive development within the individual (Abrams & Masser, 1998). Thus, it may be that when encountering an individual categorised as a member of a group, the personal stereotype is accessed first (and fastest, through frequency of activation) followed by access to the cultural level stereotype (see Augoustinos et al., 1984; Kawakami et al., 1998; Lepore, 1996; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Locke et al., 1994; Wittenbrink et al., 1997; c.f. Devine, 1989). In an assessment of (racial) prejudice and stereotype content, Lepore (1996; see also Lepore & Brown, 1997) found in Experiments 7, 9 and 10 that with category primes people high in (racial) prejudice accessed different stereotypic features faster than people low in (racial) prejudice⁵. Using a response time latencies method, this result was subsequently replicated by Kawakami et al.

⁵ These results appear in contrast to those obtained by Devine (1989). However as Lepore (1996) and Lepore and Brown (1997) note, Devine's (1989) methodology used both stereotypic priming and category priming. They claim that the negative connotations of the primes may have directly cued hostility.

(1998). Kawakami et al. (1998) found that although high and low prejudiced people were equally knowledgeable about the cultural stereotype of Blacks, only those 'high' in prejudice (assessed using an overt measure) responded faster to (black) stereotypic words when preceded by a Black prime. From these studies, it appears fair to conclude that for people with different levels of (racial) prejudice the endorsed trait characteristics (personal stereotype) become more strongly associated with the category label and are accessed faster than those not endorsed (cultural stereotype).

In summary, current research suggests that in the absence of motivation not to stereotype or presence of motivation to stereotype and sufficient cognitive capacity, categorisation will lead to stereotype activation. Such activation will increase the probability that personal or cultural stereotype consistent traits will be associated with the target, whilst decreasing the probability of the use of cultural stereotype inconsistent traits.

Stereotype application

Given stereotype activation the next stage in the impression formation process is stereotype application - i.e. the cognitive processes of mentally applying the stereotype to the target. If the perceiver has the motivation to form a simple impression of a target, no motivation not to activate the stereotype and no constraints on cognitive capacity, stereotypic traits have the potential to influence his or her interaction with the target. Consequently, given a category activation of 'woman', and an overheard conversation of 'he just wouldn't stop crying all night', one may assume, given the stereotypical association of 'woman' with 'child care', that she is referring to her child, as opposed to say, her pet fox cub. As Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998) note, activated stereotypes have both direct and indirect influence on social impressions. Firstly, the direct influence comes from the activation of stereotypic beliefs which may 'add into' one's general impression of the target. Secondly, indirectly stereotypes may bias the representation constructed of outgroup members. Information that fits our expectancies may be relatively easily incorporated into the impression being formed of the individual whilst, conversely information that does not fit may be neglected.

However is stereotype activation equal to stereotype application, and are stereotypes equally likely to be applied in all circumstances? Proponents of contemporary forms of racism and sexism (e.g. Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Katz et al, 1986; McConahay, 1983; Tougas et al., 1995) have questioned the link between

stereotype activation, application and expression. In addition, a number of other authors (e.g. Blair & Banaji, 1996; Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998; Dijksterhuis & van Knippenberg, 1996) have theorised on the link between activation and application and have proposed that a number of factors have the potential to 'interfere' with this link; some that increase the dependency on stereotypes, and others that serve to decrease the dependency.

Research has demonstrated that a number of 'environmental' factors may result in stereotypes having a greater impact on impression formation, even where there may exist some motivation to obtain a more individuated impression. Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998b) propose that these factors do not interfere with activation of the stereotype, but merely increase reliance on it in comparison to information provided from the perceived. Specifically, under specified circumstances, 'top down' processing (the stereotype) takes precedence over 'bottom up' evidence in the impression formed. Both 'cognitive' and emotional factors have been found to contribute towards the constraint of processing resources which results in 'top down' bias. Specifically direct cognitive manipulations of high task demands (Macrae, Hewstone & Griffiths, 1993), time pressure (Pratto & Bargh, 1991, c.f. Blair & Banaji, 1996) and memory load (Rothbart, Fulero, Jensen, Howard & Birrell, 1978) resulted in participants making more stereotypic judgements. Adverse emotion (e.g. fear/anxiety; Baron, Inman, Kao & Logan, 1992) and judgements made at the 'wrong time of the day' (with reference to circadian arousal; Bodenhausen, 1990) have also been found to result in an increased dependency on stereotypes.

However, these factors may only be problematic where there exists a motivation not to rely on stereotypes. Where no such motivation exists and categorisation has led to stereotype activation, will application occur? Certainly any of the above factors (e.g. time pressure) will make this more likely. However other factors may act to suppress this tendency. Drawing on hierarchical control models, Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998) suggest that the process of stereotype activation to application may be controllable by higher order cognitive structures or goals which may either encourage or discourage the application of stereotypes. Specifically, Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998) propose that the holding of a higher or superordinate personal goal (for example, egalitarianism - i.e. the belief that all should be treated equally) may moderate the application of a stereotype to an individual. Thus the lower order system (stereotype activation to application) is moderated in order to serve the higher order system (belief in egalitarianism). Moreover, Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998) note that such higher order internal personal goals may be

overridden by contextually salient external factors - i.e. the need to fit in within a social group. Consequently at this stage, the activation to application of the stereotype may not occur. In laypersons's terms, on encountering a skinhead in a pub the egalitarian individual may think to ask them how the football is going (through the association of skinheads with football hooliganism), before this thought is suppressed by his/her egalitarian (to treat everyone equally) superordinate goal.

Macrae, Bodenhausen and Milne (1998) investigated the effects of heightened self focus for egalitarian individuals on spontaneous stereotype suppression. Following two studies which suggested that heightened self awareness may result in a decrease in stereotypic descriptions of a target (through the existence of a personal norm that it is wrong to stereotype), Macrae et al. (1998) conducted a third study to determine whether the decrease in stereotyping reflected a conscious decision on the part of the participants. Using a subliminal manipulation of self-focus (where participants were primed with their own surnames), Macrae et al. (1998) found that those participants with heightened self focus used fewer stereotypic responses in describing a target. Consequently, they concluded that self focus results in automatic curtailment of stereotypic responses - that is, the link between stereotype activation and application at that point becomes conditional.

Are attempts at limiting the stereotype activation and internal application link always successful? As previously noted, research (e.g. Blair & Banaji, 1996) has demonstrated that if cognitive capacity is in someway constrained or limited, then stereotype activation is likely to lead to application and expression. 'Automatic' processes are believed to require fewer cognitive resources than controlled processes and thus become the default if constraints are placed on cognitive capacity. However, even given no constraints on cognitive capacity, research by Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne and Wheeler (1996) drawing on Wegner (e.g. Wegner, 1994) suggests that what actually occurs in the apparently 'spontaneous' mediation of the stereotype activation and internal application link is not spontaneous at all, but rather requires motivation on the behalf of the perceiver which results in the suppression of the stereotype for the time the motivation is in place.

In a continuation of the 'self focus' studies, Macrae et al. (1998) investigated the effects of the imposition and then removal of heightened self focus on impression formation. In line with the results of the initial studies, Macrae et al. (1998) found that heightened self focus initially resulted in the use of less stereotypic responses. Once the motivation not to stereotype was removed, Macrae et al. (1998) found that the stereotype

rebounded, such that participants in the (stage one) high self focus - (second stage) low self focus demonstrated a greater tendency to stereotype in the second stage than participants in the control (no self focus) condition.

Drawing on Wegner's notion of hyperaccessibility (e.g. Wegner, 1994; Wegner, Schneider, Carter & White, 1987), Macrae et al.'s (1998) results appear to suggest that in order not to internally apply the activated stereotype, the stereotype has to be constantly brought to mind in order to 'ignore' it. Specifically in order not to make the link between stereotype activation and internal application, an operating system which is constantly on the look out for examples of stereotype application has to be employed - this serves to keep the representation of the stereotype constantly 'in mind', consequently repeatedly priming it. Once motivation not to stereotype diminishes, the operating system becomes compromised and the 'primed' stereotype becomes the predominant response; the activated stereotype becomes internally applied at a level greater than if the original motivation not to apply the stereotype had not been present.

In summary, present research appears to suggest that stereotype activation results in, at least, internal stereotype application. Whilst short term motivation to override this can result in the activated stereotype becoming momentarily suppressed, it appears that in the long term the activated stereotype will still become applied internally (i.e. within the head of the individual).

Stereotype expression

Once a stereotype has been internally applied its overt expression (i.e. in making, and being aware of making, overt judgements about an individual) is the next stage. If motivational constraints have allowed the individual to progress this far in a stereotype consistent impression (i.e. they have not been motivated not to stereotype) and their cognitive capacity has not been constrained (thus making potential expression a controlled as opposed to an automatic process), what factors will govern whether they overtly express the stereotype with regard to a target? Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998) amongst others (e.g. Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Katz et al., 1986; McConahay, 1983; Tougas et al., 1995) suggest that in many social contexts there may be explicit or implicit social norms which govern whether stereotypes are overtly expressed. In order to adhere to these situational or culture-wide norms the individual must obviously be aware of them. These norms may then govern whether the activated and applied stereotype is expressed. If

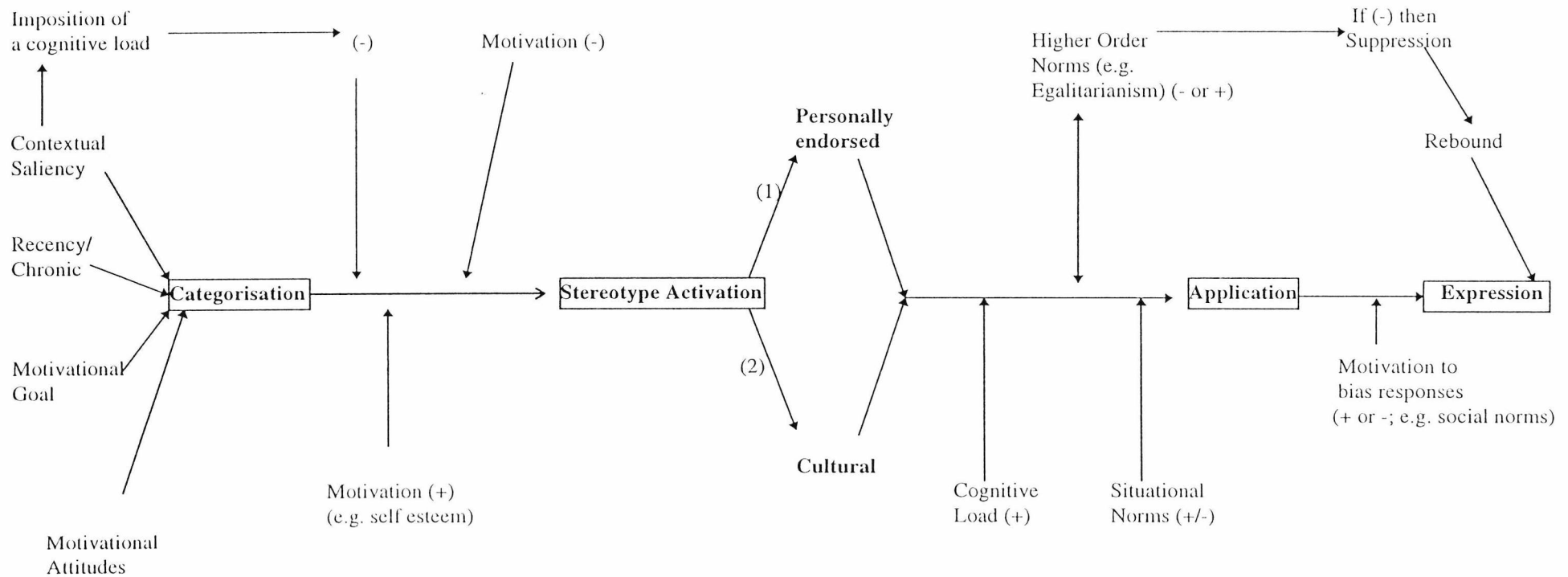
the individual suspects that such expression would be socially inappropriate, they may act to conceal their responses - either by avoiding making any judgements or by making direct adjustments to their 'immediate' judgement in the opposite direction. As a consequence of this, having overheard a woman complain 'he just wouldn't stop crying all night', one may not ask her if she had taken her child to the doctor because the expression of the presumption of child care with the category 'woman' may be socially inappropriate.

In summary, the external expression of the activated and internally applied stereotype appears to be a function of perceived social norms. An 'anti' stereotype social norm may result in the perceiver moderating their external responses (perhaps by activation of an alternative categorisation) in line with what they perceive the socially correct response to be.

In short, the process of categorisation, stereotype activation, application and expression is complex and is subject to many factors which have the potential to interrupt what was once considered automatic. A brief review of the social cognition literature, however suggests the model presented in Figure 4.1. Specifically, in the absence of (pre-categorisation) cognitive load and negative motivation, categorisation should lead to stereotype activation. At the activation stage, personally endorsed stereotypical traits and/or cultural stereotypical traits will become activated. Following, for example, Lepore and Brown (1997) one can predict that the personally endorsed aspects of the stereotype will become activated (through strength of association) prior to the eventual activation of the cultural stereotype. In the absence of moderation by either a higher order value system and/or situational norms, or if a cognitive load is present, stereotype activation will lead to application⁶. If social norms permit this application will lead to expression of the stereotype.

⁶ The differentiation by (amongst others) Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998) between stereotype activation and stereotype application may primarily be seen as a research driven difference. In the majority of instances of forming an impression of someone, the person is present and thus activation would appear to be application (as the person you wish to apply the stereotype to has activated it by their presence). One 'real life' example of their difference may be where a stereotype of a group is activated prior to a member of that group being present. Once they are present, application of the activated stereotype may or may not take place.

Figure 4.1: A Social Cognition Model of Stereotyping

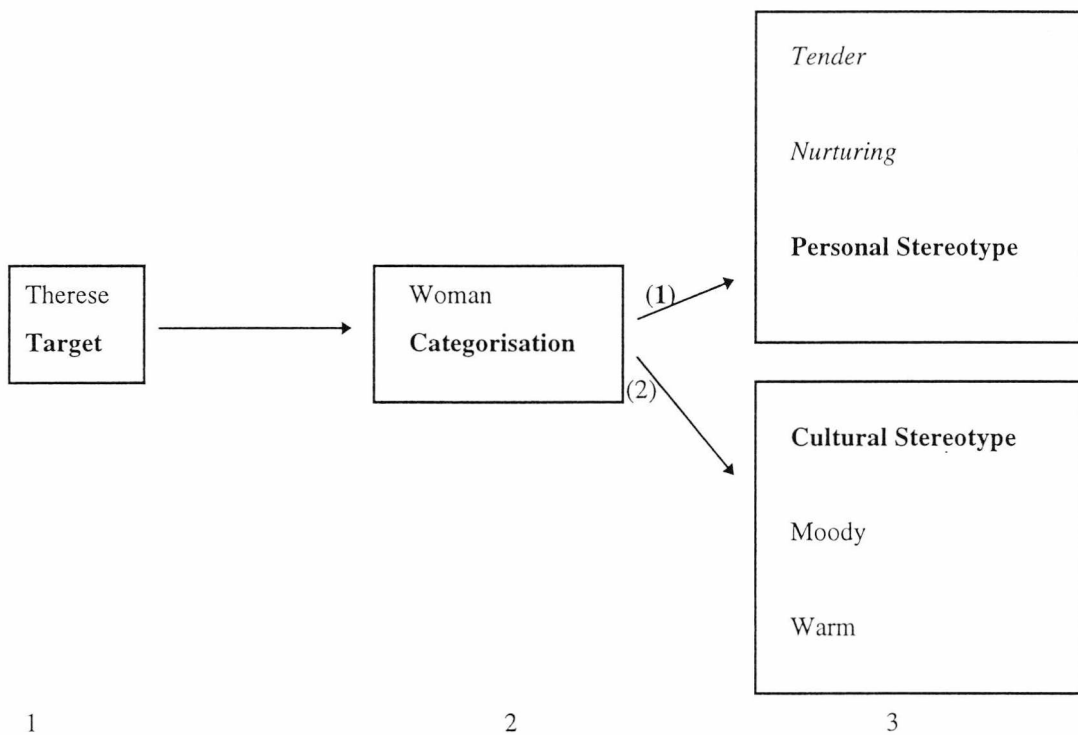


| Stage | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|-------------|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|
| Key: | - | Decreases the likelihood of proceeding to the next stage of the model | | |
| | + | Increases the likelihood of proceeding to the next stage of the model | | |

Social cognition and its relationship to sexism

If stages one and two of the model presented in Figure 4.1 are considered with regard to the stereotype of women, in the absence of mediating factors the following model may be seen to hold where a target, 'Therese', is encountered: the traits in *italics* represent the perceiver's stereotype, whilst the remaining traits represent (part of) the cultural stereotype (see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Categorisation and stereotype activation



Specifically the following is occurring: (i) activation of category (woman) results in category associated traits (stereotypes) being made available for use; (ii) through previous interactions with targets who fitted the category, or alternative motivations (e.g. prejudice) some of the category associated traits will be endorsed more (personal stereotype) than other category associated traits (cultural stereotype); (iii) following Lepore and Brown (1997; Lepore, 1996) these 'endorsed' traits (personal stereotype) will be accessed first and faster than the 'non' endorsed traits (cultural stereotype) in forming an impression about a

target (access to stereotype inconsistent traits will be inhibited). Thus, given a cultural stereotype of women, distinct and separate elements of this generic stereotype may be endorsed (and thus more frequently accessed) by different people, for example those who are high and low in a relevant form of prejudice (Lepore & Brown, 1997). In terms of the sexism classifications proposed by Glick and Fiske (1996), a social cognitive account would therefore suggest that those 'high' (versus 'low') in hostile and/or benevolent sexism should endorse different parts of the generic cultural stereotype, thus providing them with different personal stereotypes with regard to women. These personal stereotypes or 'endorsed' features of the generic stereotype should be accessible faster for the person holding that stereotype (in comparison to someone who does not) given activation of that category and the existence of no moderating factors. Specifically, given a response time task, the associations between certain words indicative of, for example, hostile sexism, and a female category label should be stronger and therefore responded to quicker by those who endorse hostile sexism statements, than, for example those who do not endorse such statements. The next chapter reports research using a social cognition paradigm to test these ideas.

Chapter Five:

A Social Cognition Paradigm and the ASI

*“While the old male chauvinist is busy on the outside of the tent
pissing in, the woman-loving man is inside the tent pissing on
your sleeping bag. The damage is more direct because they
seem at first to be so empathetic, so much one of the girls”*

Eleanor Bailey, ‘Men who love too much’, The Independent,
10th November 1996, p7

Following the approach outlined in Chapter Four, a social cognition paradigm for use with the subscales of the ASI is established. In partial replication of Blair and Banaji (1996), and following pilot research, two studies investigate the proposition that those who scored above the median on the Hostile Sexism (or Benevolent Sexism) subscale of the ASI would hold different ‘personally endorsed’ stereotypes, indicated by reaction time of responses, with regard to women than those who scored below the median on the Hostile Sexism (or Benevolent Sexism) scale. The results indicate no support for the hypothesis. Rather, across the two studies those who scored above the median on the HS scale are consistently slower to respond to all target words across all primes than those low in hostile sexism. The discussion focuses on the distinction between implicit and explicit prejudice, the selection of the target words and the level of category activation as possible explanations for the lack of support for the hypothesis. In addition, a spontaneous suppression hypothesis is proposed for the consistent slowness of ‘high’ hostile sexists.

The development of a paradigm

Following Lepore and Brown (1997) and Kawakami et al. (1998) it was proposed in Chapter Four that people who overtly endorse different levels of prejudicial attitudes towards a group would also predominately endorse or react faster to (personal) stereotypes about the group towards which they were prejudiced. Thus in a reaction time paradigm it would be expected that participants’ responses to those traits that they endorse (their personal stereotype) would be faster when the relevant category was activated than when the traits were irrelevant to the category activated. In order to test this premise with regard to contemporary forms of sexism, a paradigm was developed.

Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexists

As noted in Chapter Four, Blair and Banaji (1996) recently conducted a number of studies using gender stereotypes. Based on reasoning presented in Chapter Four and above and the consequent premise that reaction times can be taken as indicative of the strength of cognitive association between two words, Blair and Banaji (1996; Experiment 1) presented participants with primes of personality traits/nontraits followed by targets of male or female names. In order to meet 'automaticity' criteria (i.e. responses not being subject to control processes), the primes had a Stimulus Onset Asynchrony (SOA) of 350 milliseconds (ms) with the actual primes being presented for 150ms (followed by a blank screen for 200ms). Following this, participants were asked to judge as quickly and accurately as possible whether the target was a male or female name. Participants completed two blocks of twenty buffer and ninety-six experimental trials, in each block of which thirty-two were stereotypic, thirty-two were counterstereotypic and thirty-two were neutral. In each trial the prime and target were randomly selected, with the constraint that the prime be presented with a male target in one block and a female target in the other. Blair and Banaji (1996) predicted that gender stereotype priming would be demonstrated through faster responses on stereotypic trials than on counterstereotypic trials. This hypothesis was generally supported, with participants (a) responding faster to male targets following masculine primes than following feminine primes; (b) responding faster to male targets than female targets following masculine primes and (c) responding faster to female targets following feminine primes than following masculine primes. However, response times to male and female targets did not significantly differ following feminine primes. A replication (Experiment 2) with a shorter SOA (250ms) demonstrated support for all hypotheses.

In line with the basic procedure of Blair and Banaji's (1996) gender stereotype study and Lepore and Brown's (1997) and Kawakami et al.'s (1998) racial stereotypes studies, a study was designed to investigate whether reaction times to certain words following a neutral or feminine prime would differ as a function of scores on the HS and BS scales of the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Three modifications to Blair and Banaji's (1996) procedure were made. Firstly, in contrast to Blair and Banaji (1996) only the base category label 'woman' was selected as the prime as well as a neutral/control prime. This differed from Blair and Banaji (1996) in two ways. Firstly, in line with Lepore and Brown (1997) and Kawakami et al. (1998) a generic category label, as opposed to names (Blair &

Banaji, 1996) was used. Although potentially useful as target words it was thought that the use of female names as primes may result in a problematic second order category activation. Specifically, Pendry and Macrae (1996) based on Deaux, Winton, Crowley and Lewis (1985) found that associations amongst subtypes of women (e.g. businesswomen) and stereotypical traits differed. From this they concluded that subtypes acted as second order categories. It is possible that at any given time in a culture, certain names are indicative of, or are associated with, different subtypes of women (e.g. women of differing status). For example, at present in Britain, the name 'Sharon' may be more indicative of a working class housewife than the name 'Alice'. Using names as primes may therefore access second order categories rather than the superordinate category of 'women'. As the theory underlying contemporary forms of sexism is primarily (at present, late 1996/early 1997, c.f. Glick et al., 1997) focused on the superordinate category of women, the use of names as primes may be problematic. Secondly, only the category 'woman' was primed along with a control prime. As the focus of the ASI is on sexism with women as the target it was judged that the control prime would provide the most contrast in reaction times. Specifically, reaction times to masculine primes may serve to 'muddy the waters' in that the prime may activate a gender stereotype without it being strictly related to sexism towards women. The third modification focused on the target words used. In order to determine the cognitive differentiation between the categories of hostile and benevolent sexists (as determined by ASI responses), target words indicative of either hostile or benevolent sexism were chosen (see Appendix 5a).

In line with the original analysis of the hostile and benevolent subscales of the ASI by Glick and Fiske (1996), the two scales were treated as separate entities in order to determine their predictive utility. This procedure is in line with the original analyses of Glick and Fiske (1996), but differs from Glick et al. (1997)¹. Thus given the modified

¹ Theoretically and practically this procedure has a number of advantages (as well as disadvantages). Using the HS and BS scales of the ASI as separate entities allows a clearer determination of what each of these concepts means in terms of attitudes and behaviour. In addition, other procedures used with this scale (e.g. Glick et al., 1997) require the elimination of (approximately) half the sample in any one study (through the requirement that participants must score above or below the median on both scales). Whilst the examination of these 'extreme' groups is theoretically interesting (in terms of examining the concept of ambivalent sexism), it may not be practical if the ASI is aimed for use in all populations. For example, in a hypothetical scenario where the ASI is used within organisations, practitioners may need to know the independent effects of scores on each of the subscales in terms of potential behaviour (thus allowing the assessment of the whole

Blair and Banaji (1996) procedure the two main hypotheses were (a) scores on the Hostile Sexism subscale of the ASI would be associated with response times to hostile words associated with a female term. Specifically hostile sexists, or those scoring above the median on the HS subscale of the ASI, should respond faster than low hostiles to hostile words associated with a female term (woman); (b) scores on the Benevolent Sexism subscale of the ASI would be associated with response times to benevolent words associated with a female term. Specifically, high benevolent sexists, or those scoring above the median on the BS subscale of the ASI, should respond faster than lows to benevolent words associated with a female term (woman).

In addition to these two specific hypotheses it was predicted that reaction times to target words following neutral primes would not differ as a function of either hostile or benevolent sexism.

Study Two:

Method

Participants

Sixty-one psychology undergraduate students at The University of Kent (14 men and 47 women) participated in a 'Computer Based Word Judgement' study for experimental credit in partial fulfilment of a course requirement.

Materials

All participants had completed the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) in a mass pretesting session eight to ten weeks prior to the current study. During this session, all participants were given an individual identification code which allowed the linking of responses in the pretest to responses on measures administered later in the year (see Appendix 5b for a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of this procedure).

population) before considering the consequences of extreme scores on both scales. In addition examination of the HS and BS scales independently may allow a more considered program of research to be developed with regard to specific combinations of the scores on these scales.

Primes: Two equal length primes were used in this study. One corresponded to the category of woman (specifically 'x woman x'), whilst the other was a 'control' prime of a nonsense word (specifically 'x rcvse x')².

Target Words: Based on the theory underlying the ASI and the contents of the twenty-two items that currently constitute the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996), a number of words were generated and piloted (see Appendix 5a). This procedure resulted in twenty-four target words, twelve corresponding to the concept of hostile sexism and twelve corresponding to benevolent sexism.

Apparatus

The experimental task was administered on a Viglen Pentim 120Mhz (Viglen P5-120) microcomputer running Superlab Experimental Laboratory Software, Version 1 (Abboud & Sugar, 1995) through Microsoft Windows '95. The stimuli were presented as black words on a white background; all stimuli were written in 'Arial' font. The orientating stimulus was presented in the centre of the screen at 30pt. The primes and target words were presented in the corner of one of four quadrants of the screen and were written in 20pt. The online Superlab timer was used which is guaranteed to be accurate to 1ms.

Procedure

Participants worked in individual rooms. On arrival participants were presented with a page of written instructions and were allowed as much time as needed to read the instructions. In addition they were provided with several opportunities for clarification. The instructions stated that they would be involved in a word judgement task in which they would be asked to judge whether they thought a word presented on screen was positive or negative in meaning. Participants were told that that would see an orientating stimulus (+) in the centre of the screen followed by a word in one of four quadrants of the screen. They were instructed to judge whether the word was positive or negative by pressing either the key marked '+' or '-'. Participants were encouraged to respond as quickly and accurately as possible (a £10 prize was offered in the instructions as an incentive) and were instructed

² Primes were presented in this slightly masked way as early pretest trials indicated that participants suspected that a word was being flashed prior to the target word even at SOA's below those used in comparable research. The addition of an 'x' at either end of the prime eliminated this problem.

not to worry if they were required to judge the same word more than once. Once participants had read the instructions, the experimenter pointed out the '+' and '-' keys to the participants (participants placed their fingers over these keys) and made sure that the participant was sitting approximately 56cm from the computer screen (so that the stimuli were outside of the participants foveal visual field). Participants then completed twelve practice trials before going on to the main study.

For all trials, an orientating stimulus (+) was presented for 2000ms, followed by the prime for 125ms, a blank screen for 200ms, and then the target which remained on the screen until the participant made a response (i.e. 325ms SOA). Extensive piloting of the SOA using 'nonsense' primes of equal length to the experimental primes was undertaken. Using an identical procedure to the one adopted in the main study participants in the pilot study (see Appendix 5c) were asked to call out any words that they saw. In total five different SOA's were piloted. The SOA of 325ms emerged as the longest critical exposure where no participant reported seeing any of the primes. In the main study participants completed two blocks of forty-eight trials (twenty-four experimental and twenty-four control). In each block the experimental prime (e.g. 'woman') was paired with each target word in the first (or second) half of the block, in addition to the control word (e.g. 'rcvse') being paired with each target word in the second (or first) half of each block. All the primes and targets in Block 1 were repeated in Block 2. The experimenter was present throughout all trials. The experimental design was a 2 (prime: woman, neutral) x 2 (Hostile Sexism category or Benevolent Sexism category) x 4 (word type) mixed design, with prime and word type as within subjects factors.

Results

Of primary interest in these analyses was the speed with which certain categories of participants responded to the pre-classified different types of words (i.e. hostile and benevolent words). Each of the sixty-one participants completed 48 experimental trials in addition to 48 control trials resulting in a total of 5,856 data points. In line with Blair and Banaji (1996), trials on which the Reaction Time (RT) was higher or lower than three standard deviations above/below the mean ($N=20$; 3.4% of all composite variable trials, distributed evenly across all trials) were eliminated. All analyses were conducted on both

raw and log transformed data³. For ease of interpretation, for reaction time data, the raw data means are presented below.

On the basis of the experimental hypotheses it was hypothesised that hostile sexists (or those scoring above the median on the HS subscale of the ASI) would respond faster to hostile words associated with a female term than participants who did not endorse hostile sexist statements (i.e. those scoring below the median on the scale). In addition it was predicted that benevolent sexists (or those scoring above the median on the BS subscale of the ASI) would respond faster to benevolent words associated with a female term than those scoring below the median. Reaction times to words preceded by a neutral prime were not predicted to differ as a function of hostile or benevolent sexism categorisation. Thus, it was predicted that there would be a significant interaction between prime type and scores on either the hostile or benevolent subscale of the ASI.

To test these predictions it was necessary to construct a number of composite variables. As previously noted all the experimental target words had, prior to the experiment, been categorised as either hostile or benevolent. During the experimental procedure, participants were asked to rate these words as either positive or negative in meaning. All participants (regardless of their sexism categorisation) concurred in their ratings of the valence of the words, although there were some differences in the amount of agreement⁴. A comparison of the 'pre experiment' categorisations of the target words with the 'on line' valence judgements, revealed that all pre-categorised benevolent words had been rated as positive, whilst all pre-categorised hostile words had been rated as negative⁵. Thus composite 'positive' and 'negative' target words variables were created, where 'negative' corresponded to hostile sexism target words and 'positive' corresponded to benevolent sexism target words. In order to account for the differences in agreement about valences of certain words, each of the positive and negative categories were further split into two. Where there was over 90% agreement from all participants regarding the valence of the word, the word was classified as entirely positive or negative. Where there was less than 90% agreement, the word was classified as either partly positive or partly

³ Log transformation of reaction time data results in a more normally distributed data set.

⁴ These differences were also independent of sexism categorisation.

⁵ Theoretically this makes sense. As Glick and Fiske (1996) note, hostile sexism is primarily related to negative affect toward women whilst benevolent sexism is related to the acceptance of positive stereotypes about women. The link, therefore, of hostile sexism to negative stereotypes and benevolent sexism to positive stereotypes is therefore unsurprising.

negative. Response times were averaged over blocks⁶ and consequently the composite variables from Block One and Two were collapsed to create a total of four composite variables, specifically, Entirely Positive (EP), Entirely Negative (EN), Partly Positive (PP) and Partly Negative (PN). The reliability coefficients of these composite variables can be seen in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Reliability Analysis of the composite variables Entirely Positive, Partly Positive, Entirely Negative and Partly Negative

| Composite Variable | Cronbach's Alpha (standardised) |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Entirely Positive (EP) | .93 (.93) |
| Partly Positive (PP) | .82 (.83) |
| Entirely Negative (EN) | .91 (.91) |
| Partly Negative (PN) | .77 (.79) |

In line with the procedure adopted by Lepore (1996), Lepore and Brown (1997) and Kawakami et al. (1998; see also Glick et al., 1997; Wiener et al., 1997) scores on the HS and BS subscales of the ASI were subjected to a median split⁷ (see Appendix A), thus creating two categories on each scale (high and low hostile sexists and high and low benevolent sexists). In order to assess whether there was any variation in reaction times (RT) as a function of either hostile or benevolent sexism categorisation, a 2 (sexism level) x 2 (prime type) x 4 (word type) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors was conducted. In addition, scores on the alternative ASI subscale were covaried out of the analysis⁸. The grand mean response times on all variables can be seen in Appendix 5d.

⁶ All response times were faster in the second block than in the first one. Critically though analysis revealed that this did not differ as a function of either the target word or the prime type.

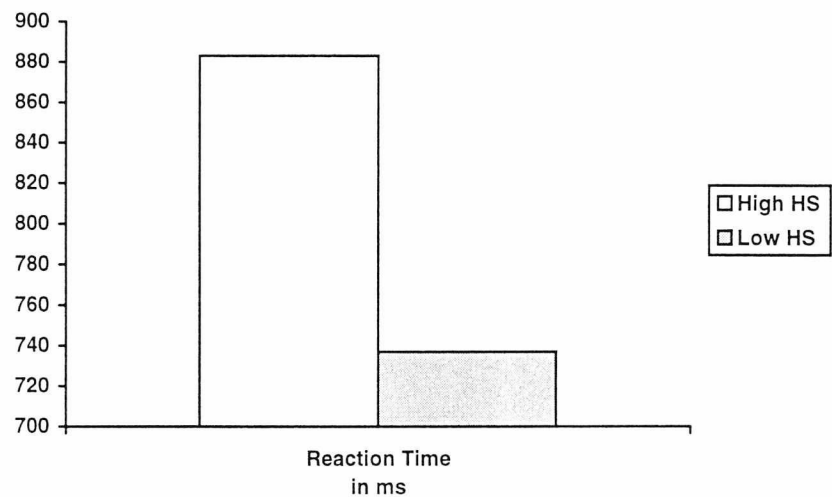
⁷ All analyses were repeated using regression. The pattern of results were the same and the decision to report the median split results was based on the procedures used in previous social cognition research and the ease of interpretation that this method affords.

⁸ Due to the significant level of association between the hostile and benevolent sexism scales within student populations (see Chapter 2), scores on the alternative scale were covaried out so that any effects observed could be attributable to, for example, hostile sexism rather than the association within that individual of hostile and benevolent sexism. Preliminary analysis of the data set suggested that it was suitable for such analyses. Specifically the assumption of homogeneity of slopes was tested (which “evaluates the interaction

Analysis by hostile sexism categories

Analysis by hostile sexism categorisation revealed a significant main effect for hostile sexism ($F(1,56)=5.51, p<.03, \eta^2=.09^9$). Participants high in hostile sexism responded significantly slower to all target words with both primes ($M_{\text{high}}=878\text{ms}$; $N=31$) than participants low in hostile sexism ($M_{\text{low}}=760\text{ms}$; $N=29$; see Figure 5.1). There were no other significant main or interaction effects.

Figure 5.1: Mean reaction time responses across all target words and prime types by hostile sexism categorisation



Analysis by benevolent sexism categories

Analysis by benevolent sexism categorisation revealed no significant effects.

between the covariate and the factor in the prediction of the dependent variable"; Green, Salkind & Akey , 1997, p232) and was not found to be violated by the data.

⁹ Eta squared is a measure of the proportion of variance in the dependent variable that is associated with levels of an independent variable. It can range from zero to one, with larger values indicating that a larger proportion of variance is accounted for in the dependent variable by the independent variable (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989).

Discussion

For the current study, it was predicted that those who scored above the median on the HS scale would respond significantly faster to hostile words associated with a female term than those who scored below the median on the same scale. In addition, it was predicted that those who scored above the median on the BS scale would respond significantly faster to benevolent words associated with a female term than those who scored below the median on the same scale. The results indicated no support for these hypotheses. With hostile sexism an alternative pattern of results emerged. Specifically those who scored above the median on the HS scale responded significantly slower to all words regardless of their association with a female or neutral prime and valence.

This pattern of results with regard to hostile sexism was unexpected. The procedure and experimental hypotheses had aimed to replicate results observed in contemporary racism studies (e.g. Lepore, 1996; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Kawakami et al., 1998) and recent social cognition studies using gender stereotypes (e.g. Blair & Banaji, 1996). The pattern of results observed in the current study had not been observed and/or reported in other studies using this paradigm, although Lepore (1996; Experiment 5) did fail to find a significant interaction between Prime type and prejudice level with reaction time data¹⁰. Due to the paradigm's success in other studies with related measures, it was proposed that the findings in the current study may be attributable or related to a specific characteristic of the sample used in the current study. In order to investigate this possibility, an exact replication was undertaken using a different sample.

Study Three:

Method

Participants

Forty-seven staff and students from The University of Kent (28 men and 19 women) participated in a 'Computer Based Word Judgement' study. They were recruited by advertisements around campus offering them a bar of chocolate for participation in a fifteen minute computer based study.

¹⁰ Analysis of the means presented by Lepore (1996; Table 6.5, p189.) show that high prejudice respondents were, on average, marginally slower in their response times ($M_{\text{high}}=1264\text{ms}$) than respondents low in prejudice ($M_{\text{low}}=1224$). However given the sample size used in Experiment Five ($N=30$) it is unlikely that this difference is significant.

Materials

All participants completed the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) after completion of the computer study as part of what they perceived to be a separate study. Aside from this the materials, apparatus and procedure were identical to that in the first priming study (detailed previously). Thus the experimental design was a 2 (sexism level) x 2 (prime type) x 4 (word type) with repeated measures on the last two factors.

Procedure

The procedure of Study Three was identical to Study Two, except for the administration of the ASI. After completion of the computer based study and as participants were moving to leave the room, the experimenter enquired whether they could spare another minute or two to help another postgraduate student in the department. If participants agreed (two refused) they were handed an envelope containing the ASI and a set of instructions which included a note of thanks from the other postgraduate student and a request that they complete the materials on their own. Participants took the packs with them and returned them to the departmental office using an internal mail system.

Results

As in the initial priming study each of the forty-seven participants (who completed both the priming study and completed/returned the ASI) completed 48 experimental trials in addition to 48 control trials resulting in a total of 4,512 data points. Trials on which the Reaction Time (RT) was higher or lower than three standard deviations above/below the mean ($N=26$; 5.8% of all composite variable trials, distributed evenly across all trials) were eliminated. All analyses were conducted on both raw and log transformed data. For ease of comprehension, where mean reaction times are reported, the results from the raw data are presented (the mean response times for all variables can be seen in Appendix 5e).

In line with the procedure adopted in the first priming study, a number of composite variables were created. As in the first study, all participants rated the target words as either positive or negative. The ratings of the participants in the second study concurred with those of the participants in the first study, thus the same composite variables were created averaged over blocks one and two¹¹, specifically Entirely Positive (EP), Partly

¹¹ Analysis revealed that as in the first study responses in Block Two were faster than in Block One.

However, crucially, and as in the first study, this did not vary as a function of target word or prime type.

Positive (PP), Entirely Negative (EN) and Partly Negative (PN). Reliability coefficients for these composite variables can be seen in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Reliability analysis of the composite variables

| Composite Variable | Cronbach's Alpha (standardised) |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Entirely Positive (EN) | .91 (.92) |
| Partly Positive (PP) | .86 (.88) |
| Entirely Negative (EN) | .89 (.89) |
| Partly Negative (PN) | .85 (.85) |

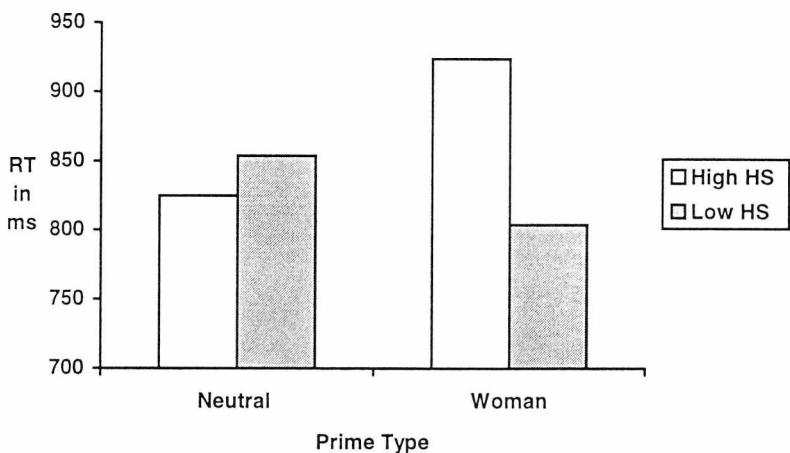
Scores on the HS scale and the BS scale were subjected to a median split to create two categories on each scale (see Appendix A). In order to assess whether there was any variation in reaction times (RT) as a function of either hostile or benevolent sexism categorisation, a 2 (sexism level) x 2 (prime type) x 4 (word type) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors was conducted. In addition, scores on the alternative ASI subscale were covaried out of the analysis¹².

Analysis by hostile sexism categories

Analysis by hostile sexism categorisation revealed a significant three way interaction between word type, prime and hostile sexism categorisation ($F(3,132)=3.48$, $p<.02$, $\eta^2=.07$). Simple effects analysis revealed that with the composite variable Entirely Negative (EN) there was a significant two way interaction between Prime and hostile sexism categorisation ($F(1,44)=13.89$, $p<.001$). Analysis of the mean response times indicated that those who scored above the median on the HS scale took significantly longer ($M_{\text{high}}=924\text{ms}$; $N=24$) to respond to the target words with a ‘woman’ prime than those who scored below the median ($M_{\text{low}}=804\text{ms}$; $N=23$; $F(1,45)=15.21$, $p<.001$, see Figure 5.2). No other significant effects were observed.

¹² Preliminary analysis of the data set suggested that it was appropriate for such analyses. Specifically the homogeneity of slopes assumption was assessed and was not found to be violated by the data.

Figure 5.2: Mean reaction time responses to Entirely Negative target words by Prime Type and hostile sexism categorisation

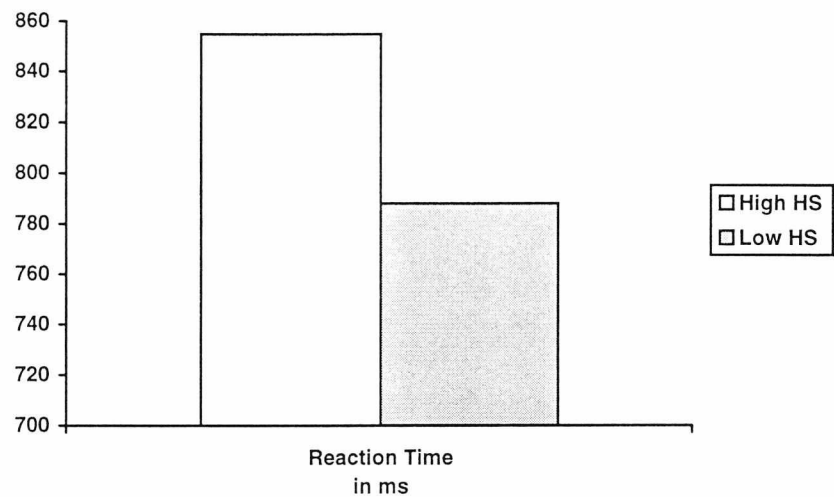


In order to determine whether the same pattern of results was observable in Study Three as had been in Study Two, the mean reaction times for ‘high’ and ‘low’ hostile sexists were calculated across prime and word type (see Figure 5.3). This demonstrated that although the differences between high and low hostile sexists were not significantly different, those who scored above the median on the hostile sexism scale of the ASI on average took longer to respond than those who scored below the median.

Analysis by benevolent sexism categories

As with Study 2, analysis by benevolent sexism category revealed no significant effects.

Figure 5.3: Mean reaction time responses across all target words and prime types by hostile sexism categorisation



Gender Differences

In order to ascertain whether any of the observed patterns of results were attributable to the gender of the participants, the results of Study Two and Study Three were merged (to give sufficient cell size) and the analyses were re-run with ‘Participant Gender’ as an additional covariate. This analysis revealed no significant effect of gender on any of the composite variables on either the hostile sexism categorisation or the benevolent sexism categorisation. The increase in sample size also rendered all the differences in response times by ‘high’ and ‘low’ hostile sexists across all primes and word types marginally significant; those who scored above the median on the HS scale took longer to respond than those who scored below the median¹³. Within the merged data set there were no significant differences in response times with regard to benevolent sexism categorisation.

¹³ Specifically: $F(1,102)=3.78, p<.06$ ($M_{\text{high}}=864\text{ms}$; $M_{\text{low}}=784\text{ms}$).

Discussion

As with Study Two it had been hypothesised that there would be a significant interaction between Prime and categorisation on the hostile and/or benevolent sexism scale. Specifically it was predicted that those who scored above the median on both scales would be significantly faster to react to (either) hostile or benevolent target words when those words were associated with a female prime than with a neutral one. In accordance with the results of Study Two there was no support for the experimental hypotheses across either hostile or benevolent sexism categorisations. Those high and low in benevolent sexism did not demonstrate any discernible differences in response times to any of the target variables. In contrast, and in replication of the results of Study Two, those who scored above the median on the HS scale responded slower to all target variables regardless of Prime (except for the EN variable) than those who scored below the median. However in Study Three these differences were not on the whole significant. Additional analyses using a merged data set (from Studies Two and Three) indicated that the inclusion of Participant Gender as a covariate did not alter the pattern of results.

General Discussion

Following Lepore and Brown (1997) and Kawakami et al. (1998) it was proposed that people 'high' and 'low' in a form of prejudice would have different personal beliefs about the group towards which they were prejudiced. In addition it was proposed that for an individual their 'endorsed' beliefs and/or traits (personal stereotype) would be accessed faster than those beliefs/traits within the cultural stereotype that were not endorsed. Consequently, in reference to sexism and the hostile and benevolent sexism categorisations, it was hypothesised that when paired with a female term words indicative of hostile sexism should be endorsed and therefore accessed faster by people 'high' in hostile sexism than for those 'low' in hostile sexism. In contrast, when paired with a female term, words indicative of benevolent sexism should be endorsed and accessed faster by those 'high' in benevolent sexism than those 'low' in benevolent sexism. If the results of the two initial social cognition studies are considered, it can be seen that there is no support for these hypotheses¹⁴. Instead, those high in hostile sexism were found to react

¹⁴ In Study 3, there was a significant interaction of prime type and hostile sexism categorisation on the Entirely Negative words, it was in the opposite direction to that predicted by the hypotheses. If the results

significantly slower to all target words regardless of prime in Study Two. This pattern of results was replicated in Study Three and was, in addition, observable in the merged data set. This unpredicted pattern of results with regard to hostile sexism will be discussed in detail following a consideration of why the results of the study failed to support the experimental hypotheses.

A preliminary consideration of the experimental procedure suggests three possible explanations for the lack of support for the experimental hypotheses. The first of these focuses on the distinction drawn by Devine (1989) and others between explicit and implicit prejudice, the second on the specific target words chosen for the current study and the third on the precise nature of the category activated within the current studies.

Implicit/Explicit Sexism

One explanation for the failure of the results of the current study to support the experimental hypotheses can be derived from the work of Devine (1989) on the relationship between implicit and explicit measures of stereotyping and prejudice. As noted in Chapter One, in contrast to Lepore and Brown (1997), Wittenbrink et al. (1997) and Kawakami et al. (1998), Devine (1989) proposed that for any given individual it is the cultural stereotype which is 'automatically' accessed, and that controlled processing results in the activation of the 'personal' stereotype. Given this line of reasoning, the explicit measure of prejudice in the current study (the ASI) should reveal the personal stereotypes of respondents, whilst the implicit measure (the priming study) should reveal the cultural stereotype. The implication of this argument is, in contrast to the experimental hypotheses underlying the current study, that there should be no differences between subcategories of sexists (categorised in the basis of their personal stereotype) on the implicit measure of knowledge of the cultural stereotype. Specifically there should be no difference between 'high' and 'low' hostile and benevolent sexists (i.e. a non significant main effect for sexism categorisation). In addition, words indicative of the cultural stereotype should be accessed faster when preceded by a female prime than when preceded by a neutral prime. Specifically, within the context of the current study, there should be a significant main effect for Prime. If the results of the current studies are considered it can be seen that Devine's hypothesis does not offer a satisfactory alternative explanation. Whilst there

had provided support for the hypothesis, then participants high in hostile sexism with a female prime should have responded faster to these words than participants low in hostile sexism with a female prime.

were no significant main effects for benevolent sexism, a consistent difference in responding between 'high' and 'low' hostile sexists was observed. In addition, all the target words in the current studies were chosen to be associated (by subcategories of sexists) with the category of 'women'. Thus, regardless of sexist categorisation, reaction times to all words preceded by a female prime should have been faster than response times to the same words preceded by a neutral prime. A consideration of the mean response times suggests that this was not the case (the main effect for Prime was not significant). Indeed hostile sexists demonstrated a tendency to be slower to react to words following female primes than those following neutral primes (for 'Entirely Negative' words in Study 3). This is contrary to the experimental hypothesis, but is also incongruent with Devine's hypothesis.

Target Words

An alternative explanation for the failure of the current studies results to support the experimental hypotheses focuses on the target words used within the experimental procedure. Central to the success of the current paradigm was the premise that the words selected to represent hostile and benevolent sexism did accurately correspond to those constructs (e.g. Perdue et al., 1990). Within this study, the target words chosen to represent hostile and benevolent sexism had undergone extensive piloting (see Appendix 5a) to ensure that they corresponded to the appropriate construct whilst differentiating between hostile and benevolent sexism. Within this piloting procedure, participants who read paragraphs generated from the traits used in the two social cognition studies rated them as being significantly different on the hostile and benevolent subscales of the ASI¹⁵. In addition, previous research (Glick & Fiske, 1996) has demonstrated the association between hostile sexism and the ascription of negative stereotypical traits to women and benevolent sexism and the ascription of positive stereotypical traits to women. These results suggested that (at least at an overt level) positive and negative stereotypical traits should be associated with scores on the HS and BS scales. Even if the target words failed

¹⁵ Specifically, participants in the pilot study were told that the paragraphs had been generated by participants in a previous study who had been asked to write a paragraph about the day in the life of a woman. The participants were asked to read each paragraph and then to complete the ASI as if they were the person who had written the paragraph. Participants who read 'benevolent' paragraphs scored significantly higher on the BS scale than those who read HS paragraphs and participants who read 'hostile' paragraphs scored significantly higher on the HS scale than those who read BS paragraphs.

to differentiate between the subcategories of sexists (as defined by the ASI), as noted earlier, they should be associated with the cultural stereotype of women. Thus, if the words just failed to differentiate between the 'types' of sexists, they should at least have been more strongly associated with the category of 'women' rather than the neutral prime (i.e. a main effect for Prime). However, as noted previously, this did not occur. This suggests that the predominant reason for the failure of the current experimental paradigm may not have been the target words used in the paradigm.

Categories or subcategories and sexism

In line with previous research concerning prejudice (e.g. Lepore & Brown, 1997; Kawakami et al., 1998), a general category label was used as the prime in the current studies. Specifically, as contemporary racism studies had used the term 'Black' as a category prime, the current studies used the term 'woman' as a category prime (along with a neutral prime). One aspect of the experimental design that may have been problematic concerns the 'within subjects' nature of the prime. Despite the use of this methodology in other comparative studies (e.g. Blair & Banaji, 1996), it may have been that there were 'carry over' activation effects between the two primes, such that the effect of the 'woman' prime carried over to the words presented after the neutral primes. However this should have only affected a small percentage of the (random) trials for each participant (as they went from the experimental to neutral trials in each block or vice versa) and therefore, perhaps, cannot account for the current results. Alternatively, and in retrospect perhaps more likely, the category label of 'woman' may have been too broad to activate any, or at least the relevant, category for respondents. As Leyens et al. (1994) suggest, it is unlikely that people can possess just one theory about what women are like and one theory about what men are like (Amancio, 1991). Rather it appears more realistic to presume that individuals possess several mental representations or subtypes with regard to each gender. Subtypes are proposed to emerge when individuals encounter a member or members of a group who cannot be accommodated within the existing (stereo)type of that group. Given the interactive and intimate nature of relations between the genders, it may be proposed that subtypes within these categories are more likely to emerge than for categories where (for one reason or another) there is little opportunity to gain the level of interaction/intimacy that may result in subtyping.

The existence of gender subtypes has been shown by a number of researchers (e.g. Carpenter, 1994; Deaux, 1995; Deaux et al. 1985; Eckes, 1994, 1996; Six & Eckes, 1991). In an early demonstration of gender subtypes, Clifton, McGrath and Wick (1976) asked participants to name words that came to mind on hearing the term 'woman'. They found that participants were more likely to name labels of different subtypes of women (and traits associated with these) than to come up with traits descriptive of women in general. Subsequent research has therefore characterised gender stereotypes as cognitive structures with differing levels of abstraction (Eckes, 1996) with specific 'types' of men and women being represented at a subordinate level (e.g. Deaux et al., 1985; Haddock & Zanna, 1994).

With regard to hostile and benevolent sexism, it may be that whilst these prejudicial attitudes colour general attitudes towards women they are only strongly held against certain subtypes of women. For example, it is hard to imagine that even the most hostile of sexists would associate the sentiment of a statement such as: 'there are actually very many women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances' (a statement from the HS scale) with their mother or daughter. In terms of the current paradigm, it may be that the category activated (e.g. 'woman') was too general to be more strongly associated with the specific target words than the neutral prime. Rather if specific subtypes had been activated (e.g. career woman) through priming then the predicted interaction with hostile and benevolent sexism may have occurred. Since these results were obtained (1996/7), research by Glick et al. (1997) and Cohen and Swim has demonstrated some support for the subtyping hypothesis with regard to contemporary forms of sexism. Cohen and Swim (1997) correlated scores on the Modern Sexism scale (Swim et al., 1995) with affective reactions to a number of groups including women (as a group) and feminists. They found that although endorsing modern sexist beliefs was significantly related to negative affect towards women as a group, the endorsement of modern sexist beliefs was more strongly related to negative affect towards feminists. Glick et al. (1997) investigated the subtyping hypothesis with specific regard to hostile and benevolent sexism. Following two studies to investigate subtyping and polarisation of attitudes, Glick et al. (1997) concluded that: "*hostile sexism (is) directed at nontraditional women, whereas benevolent sexism is elicited by women who fulfil traditional roles*" (p1331). These findings add some support to the proposal that category activation was at too general a level within the current paradigm to be meaningful in terms of hostile and benevolent sexism.

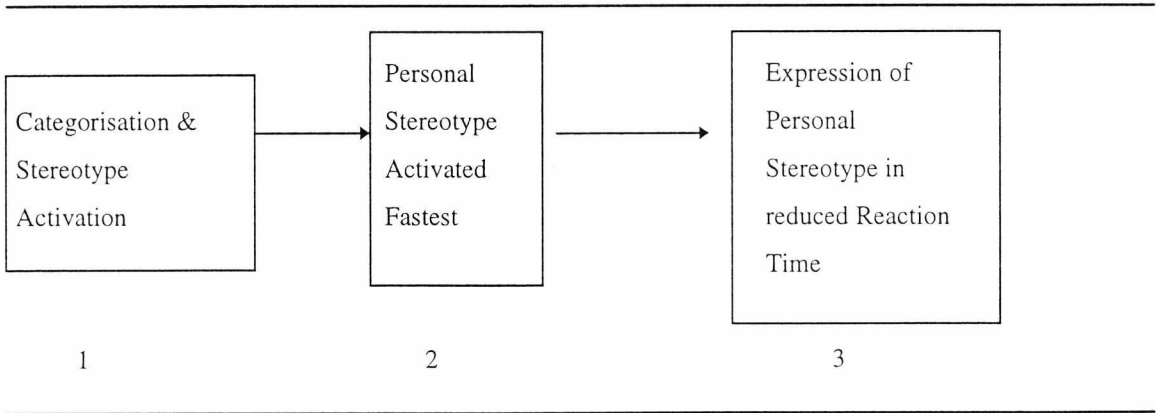
Hostile sexism and reaction times

Despite the failure to find support for the experimental hypothesis within the current paradigm, an interesting and consistent result did emerge. Specifically those participants who scored above the median on the Hostile Sexism scale took longer to respond to target words than those who scored below the median on the scale. Whilst this result was unexpected and unpredicted, it is of interest to consider why it may have occurred.

Possible Explanations

The finding that those high in hostile sexism took longer to respond to all target words suggests that something may have interfered with their cognitive processing. As noted in Chapter Four, it was expected that the model presented in Figure 5.4 would hold with regard to reaction times.

Figure 5.4: Proposed model of stereotype activation/expression



Given the lack of a significant effect for Prime within the current studies, it is arguable whether any subliminal category activation took place at all. Rather, the only thing that can be concluded with any certainty is that those who scored above the median on the hostile sexism scale took longer to make judgements about the positivity or negativity of female orientated target words. The key question is therefore why did this occur?

The influence of the situation

Recent research into stereotypes and stereotype expression has begun to consider the influence of the situation more extensively. For example, Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998) have suggested that contextually salient factors (for example, the need to fit in within a social group) may mediate even the stereotype activation to application link. Macrae et al. (1998) demonstrated by using a subliminal manipulation of self-focus, that participants with heightened self focus used fewer stereotypic responses in describing a target. Thus, they demonstrated that the link between stereotype activation and application is, whilst cognitive resources are available, conditional. Focusing on prejudice, Wyer, Sherman and Stroessner (in press) demonstrated that stereotype expression may also be situationally determined. They found that when participants believed that a study was being conducted by an African American awareness group, they spontaneously suppressed the expression of their stereotypes about that group, in comparison to participants who did not believe the study was being conducted by the awareness group. However, Macrae et al. (1998) proposed that this 'suppression' is only successful whilst the motivation is in place. Drawing on Wegner's notion of hyperaccessibility, Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998) suggest that once the motivation to suppress diminishes, the operating system becomes compromised and the 'primed' stereotype becomes the predominant response. Thus, Macrae et al. (1998) found that when the self focus manipulation was removed, participants in the previous suppression condition had a greater tendency to stereotype the second target than even participants who had never had any motivation not to express stereotypes. With specific reference to prejudice and race, Wyer, Sherman and Stroessner (1998) found that the removal of the motivation to suppress may be harder when attitudes towards the target group are subject to strong social norms. Specifically they found that the motivation to suppress may be triggered or at least maintained by the awareness of the race of an encountered person. Drawing on the premise that activated constructs are not always applied to subsequent perceptions of group members (e.g. Sedikides, 1990), they predicted that social norms against expressing prejudiced attitudes may provide sufficient motivation to maintain the suppression of the activated stereotype throughout the impression formation process. They found that even after activation of the African-American stereotype, participants were able to successfully suppress application or expression of that stereotype (on trait ratings) when their target was also African American. A second study, however, demonstrated that this was subject to cognitive constraints.

Specifically when a cognitive load was imposed participants were unable to suppress expression of the activated stereotype.

Given the results of the current studies, could situational suppression explain the slower reaction times of the 'high' hostile sexists? It is logical to presume that if cognitive load can interfere with the successful application of a suppression motivation (Wyer et al., 1998, Experiment 2) then successful suppression must require the availability of some cognitive resources which are used in the process of suppression (see Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne & Wheeler, 1996). To this extent, an alternative motivation such as suppression may be akin to a counterstereotypical intention (Blair & Banaji, 1996) in that both are intentional strategies that require cognitive resources for implementation. Blair and Banaji (1996) found that the implementation of such an intentional strategy resulted in the slowing of reaction times. In addition, Macrae et al. (1996) found that probe reaction times (i.e. reaction times to a stimulus) were significantly longer for participants engaging in suppression than for those not. In the current study then, if high hostile sexism participants were engaging in intentional monitoring to suppress an activated stereotype then this may have resulted in the slowing down of their reaction times.

This raises the question of what element of the experimental situation (given the nonsignificant effect of the prime) may have resulted in high hostile sexism participants attempting to suppress? As demonstrated by Wyer et al. (in press) participants can successfully engage in 'spontaneous suppression' of the expression of stereotypes if something in the situation provokes them to perceive that the expression of the stereotype would be inappropriate. Drawing on Asch (1956) and others (e.g. Schlenker, Britt & Pennington, 1996; Tetlock, 1992), Lambert, Cronen, Chasteen and Lickel (1996) noted that other actors in the environment can function as the 'something' in the environment. Specifically: *"the extent to which others in the immediate environmental are privy to our actions can have a powerful effect on social behavior"* (p437/8). As noted in Chapter One, McConahay et al. (1981) and McConahay (1986) tested the reactivity of the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, 1986) through varying the race of the experimenter. Specifically McConahay et al. (1981) predicted that the race of the experimenter would be sufficient to make racists suppress expression of their attitudes if the MRS was a reactive measure of racism.

In the current experimental paradigm, participants were greeted and introduced to the experimental procedure by a female experimenter. Drawing on the presumptions of

Lambert et al. (1996) and McConahay et al. (1981), this may have been sufficient in 'high' hostile sexists to trigger the activation of their 'woman' stereotype¹⁶. As Tougas et al. (1995) and others have noted, in recent years the social norms governing the overt expression of sexism have changed, such that it is now not socially acceptable to espouse negative sexist attitudes, thus the overt expression of this stereotype in front of or to a woman (i.e. the experimenter) would have been perceived by the participant as inappropriate¹⁷. In some support of this idea, Walker (1992), in a study to investigate the effects of interviewer sex on responses to the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, found that gender of interviewer had a significant effect on participants' responses to the scale items. In the current study, therefore, it may have been that 'high' hostile participants may have engaged in spontaneous stereotype suppression to ensure that their 'true' attitude did not 'leak' out. Whilst this suppression may have been successful, the additional cognitive resources that the process used may have resulted in the slowing down of reaction times of those engaged in the process.

Implications for the experimental paradigm

If the above reasoning is accurate then theoretically, in the absence of motivation to suppress, high and low hostile sexists should respond equally quickly to a set of female orientated target words. In addition, if 'spontaneous' stereotype suppression is taking place among those 'high' in hostile sexism with a female experimenter then the removal of that

¹⁶ Given the previous point in the discussion regarding subtypes, it may seem illogical to suggest that the presence of a female experimenter may have been sufficient to activate the relevant stereotype. In defence of this point, the female experimenter in the current study may have appeared to correspond to the subtype (e.g. career woman) now known to be associated with the activation of hostile sexist attitudes.

¹⁷ It may seem illogical to presume that someone who would endorse a statement such as: 'most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist' would engage in a monitoring system to prevent the open expression of their attitudes towards women. However, the critical difference may lie in the context of the expression. Specifically, participants in the current study either completed the ASI in a mass pretesting prior to the current experimental situation or in what they perceived to be a separate experiment being conducted for another anonymous postgraduate (in a subsequent manipulation check of this point during debriefing, all participants confirmed that they thought that the two parts of the study were completely unrelated). Given the relative anonymity of responding to questions on the ASI in comparison to a one to one interaction with a female, it is likely that responses on the ASI would not have been subject to the same social desirability biases that direct expression of attitudes towards a member of the target group would be.

experimenter from the situation should result in stereotype rebound. These premises are explored in Chapter Six using an adaptation of the current experimental paradigm before returning to the issue of sexism and subtypes in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Six

Situational Suppression?

The interaction of situation, stereotypes and sexism

“Unwanted thoughts can get us into trouble. Remembering a hysterically funny joke whilst attending a funeral, for example, could lead to no end of embarrassment”

Macrae et al., 1996, p1.

This chapter focuses on a study designed to investigate the results of Studies Two and Three with regard to participants high in hostile sexism. In Studies Two and Three, participants who scored above the median on the hostile sexism subscale of the ASI were found to be slower to react to all target words than participants who scored below the median. It is proposed that this may be attributable to high hostile sexists engaging in situationally induced suppression (provoked by the gender of the experimenter) which results in a loss of cognitive resources and consequent slowing of reaction times. This chapter reports a social cognition study using experimenter gender as a between subjects variable and a (suppressed) stereotype rebound task. The results of the study indicate that although gender of experimenter does affect the reaction times of high hostile sexists, whether this is attributable to situational suppression remains unclear. The implications of this for the continuation of the use of a social cognition paradigm are discussed.

Situational Suppression

Following the results of Studies Two and Three, which demonstrated that participants who scored above the median on the HS scale were notably (and significantly, in Study Two) slower to respond to all target words regardless of prime type, it was proposed that high hostile sexists' responses to target words may be delayed by the existence and activation of a stereotype suppression mechanism (see Macrae et al., 1996). This mechanism would require cognitive resources that would theoretically result in the slowing down of reaction times (Blair & Banaji, 1996; Macrae et al., 1996). Specifically, following recent research (e.g. Macrae et al., 1996; Macrae et al. 1997; Wyer et al., 1998), it was suggested that the presence of a female experimenter may be sufficient to activate a (negative) stereotype of women within high hostile sexists whilst their being aware

(through the one to one situation) that the expression of that stereotype (in any way) would be socially undesirable (see Walker, 1992). Thus the activated stereotype may have been suppressed and high hostile sexists were slower to react due to the cognitive resources used in the act of suppression (Macrae et al., 1996). If this hypothesis holds, then in the absence of the activation of the negative stereotype (and thus by default the absence of the existence of the suppression mechanism), high hostile sexists' reaction times should be comparable to those of low hostile sexists. In short, reaction times with a male experimenter should not differ as a function of hostile sexism categorisation.

As demonstrated by Wegner and colleagues (e.g. Wegner, 1994; Wegner & Erber, 1992; Wegner et al., 1987; Wegner & Schneider, 1989) one 'ironic' consequence of thought or stereotype suppression (e.g. Macrae et al., 1998) is the consequent hyperaccessibility of that thought once the motivation to suppress is removed. In an initial illustration of thought suppression Wegner (1989) demonstrated that participants were able to suppress their 'white bear' thoughts for a short time, but that eventually 'white bears' reappeared in their thought processes. Wegner and colleagues propose that successful suppression operates via two simultaneous processes, the controlled distracter search (which keeps a distracter thought 'in mind') and the automatic target search, which searches for instances of the unwanted thought to suppress. By constantly searching for instances of it, the automatic target search therefore serves to 'prime' the unwanted thought thus allowing it to flood into conscious thought once, for whatever reason, the controlled distracter search fails (Wegner & Erber, 1992). Investigating this idea with regard to stereotypes, Macrae et al. (1994) found that the motivation to suppress can diminish over time, thus allowing the suppressed stereotypes to rebound in impression formation tasks, or behavioural indicators. Participants who initially successfully suppressed their negative stereotypes about skinheads were found to consequently choose to sit further away from a skinhead and to respond significantly faster to skinhead stereotypic words in a lexical decision task (i.e. have their negative stereotype rebound). Subsequent research by Macrae and colleagues has also found support for the idea of stereotype rebound (e.g. Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998; Macrae et al., 1996; Macrae et al., 1998). Theoretically then, given the suppression hypothesis posited for the slower reaction times of high hostile sexists in Studies Two and Three, given activation of the suppression motivation (by the presence of a female experimenter), once the motivation for suppression (e.g. the female experimenter)

has been removed, then the activated (negative) stereotype of women should be observed to rebound.

A modified social cognition paradigm

Given the above analysis, a modification to the experimental paradigm outlined in Chapter Five was undertaken. In order to ascertain whether stereotype suppression due to experimenter gender could account for the slowed reactions of high hostile sexists, experimenter gender was added to the experimental design as a between subjects factor¹. In order to allow (a comparison standard) for stereotype rebound, neutral target words were added as a within subjects factor in the word judgement task. In addition to the original computer based task, a further two stages were added to the experimental design. After participants had completed a distracter task (to clear short term memory; Macrae et al., 1996), the experimenter left the room while participants engaged in a target word recall task (words presented in the first study) to allow stereotype rebound. There were two central hypotheses: (a) participants high in hostile sexism who had their 'female' stereotype activated (by the female experimenter) would engage in situationally induced stereotype suppression and would therefore take significantly longer to respond to all target words than low hostile sexists with a female experimenter. Response times for participants with a male experimenter were not predicted to vary; (b) After removal of the suppression motivation (i.e. the female experimenter) it was predicted that the suppressed stereotype would rebound. Consequently high hostile sexists who had their 'female' stereotype activated (by a female experimenter) recall for female stereotyped words (and specifically negative female stereotyped words) would be significantly greater than their recall for neutral words. Recall of female orientated and neutral target words was not predicted to differ for participants in the other three conditions.

¹ Aside from the addition of experimenter gender as an independent variable and the addition of neutral orientated target words, other aspects of the experimental design remained the same in order to provide comparability between Studies Two, Three and Four.

Study Four:

Method

Participants

Fifty-eight first year psychology undergraduate students at The University of Kent (11 men and 47 women) participated in a 'Pilot Testing Session' including a 'Computer Based Word Judgement' study for experimental credit in partial fulfilment of a course requirement. Thirty of the sessions were run by a male experimenter whilst the remaining twenty-eight were run by a female experimenter.

Materials

All participants had completed the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) in a mass pretesting session 5-7 weeks prior to the current study. During this session, all participants were given an individual identification code which allowed the linking of responses in the pretest to responses on measures administered later in the year.

Primes: In order to replicate the conditions of the first two studies precisely, two primes were used in this study, each presented to be equal length. As before one corresponded to the category of woman (specifically 'x woman x'), while the other was a 'control' prime of a nonsense word (specifically 'x rcvse x').

Target Words: The female orientated target words used in Studies Two and Three were initially chosen as the target words in the current study. The neutral target words were selected from an initial study (see Chapter 3) concerning gender differentiation. During this study, participants were asked to rate whether target words were more typical of men, women, both or neither. All the selected neutral words were words from that study rated to be either typical of both genders or typical of neither. An equal number of neutral and female orientated words were selected to be presented to the participants. Following a small pilot test to ensure that none of the target words were implicitly more memorable than others (see Appendix 6a), a number of the target words had to be eliminated. Participants in the resulting priming study were therefore presented with fifteen female orientated target words and fifteen neutral words².

² An unequal number of words from the female and neutral categories were judged as memorable. As more female than neutral words were judged memorable, some neutral words were randomly chosen to be dropped to make the categories equal. On the basis of the pilot testing ratings as positive or negative, a specific number of the neutral words were dropped to make the number of neutral words in each category (EP etc.) as close as possible to the number of female orientated target words in each of the categories.

Distracter Task: This was adopted from Macrae et al. (1996) and was designed to clear short term memory. On a blank sheet of paper, participants were requested to write down as many UK towns and cities as possible in three minutes.

Rebound Task: Based on Macrae et al.'s (1996) recall measure in Experiment Two, participants were given a sheet of instructions (asking them to recall as many of the words presented to them on the computer as possible) and a blank sheet of paper (to recall onto) with an envelope. They were requested to write down all the words that they could remember seeing come up on the computer when they completed the 'computer based judgement task' and then to seal the piece of paper into the envelope.

Apparatus

The computer apparatus was identical to that used in Studies Two and Three.

Procedure

Participants worked in individual rooms. On arrival participants were welcomed by either a male or female experimenter and told that the aim of the session was to pilot test a number of different measures for a number of lecturers and postgraduates in the department. They were told that they would be asked to do a number of different tasks, all of which were unrelated to one another. Participants were then directed to the first task which they were told was a 'computer based judgement task'. The procedure for this part of the study was identical to that detailed in Study Two. Participants completed the sixty trials and then notified the experimenter (who had remained in the room) when they had finished. Then participants completed the distracter task to clear their short term memory whilst the experimenter timed them. Following the distracter task, participants were given an unsealed envelope with the rebound task in it. Participants read the instruction sheet and were given a chance to clarify the instructions with the experimenter prior to beginning the task. After this (and prior to the participants beginning the task), the experimenters excused themselves from the room and asked the participant to come and find them in a nearby office when they had recalled all they thought they could and had sealed the envelope. Participants were then debriefed by the experimenter.

Results

Of primary interest in these analyses was the speed with which certain categories of participants responded to the pre-classified different types of words (i.e. hostile and benevolent words) and whether this varied as a function of experimenter gender. Each of the fifty-eight participants completed 30 experimental trials in addition to 30 control trials resulting in a total of 3,480 data points. In line with Blair and Banaji (1996), trials on which the Reaction Time (RT) was higher or lower than three standard deviations above/below the mean ($N=22$; 6.3% of all composite variable trials, distributed evenly across all trials) were eliminated. All analyses were conducted on both raw and log transformed data³. For ease of interpretation, the raw data means for reaction time data are presented below (see Appendix 6b for mean response times on all variables).

As in Study Two and Three, composite variables were created to correspond to the categories of Entirely Positive (EP), Partly Positive (PP), Entirely Negative (EN) and Partly Negative (PN) and were found to have adequate reliability (see Table 6.1). The 'female' composite variables corresponded to those created in Studies Two and Three. The 'neutral' composite variables were created in line with the results of 'decision task' engaged in by the participants within the current study (i.e. their judgements of whether the words were positive or negative). As before, scores on the HS scale and the BS scale were subjected to a median split to create two categories on each scale (see Appendix A).

In order to assess whether there was any variation in reaction times as a function of sexism categorisation and experimenter gender, a 2 (sexism categorisation) x 2 (experimenter gender) x 2 (prime type) x 4 (word type) Analysis of Variance was conducted. Word type and prime type were within subject independent variables whilst experimenter gender and sexism categorisation were between subject independent variables. As in previous analyses, participants' scores on the alternate ASI subscale were covaried out of each analysis⁴.

³ Log transformation of reaction time data results in a more normally distributed data set.

⁴ Preliminary analysis of the data set suggested that it was suitable for such analysis. Specifically the assumption of homogeneity of slopes was tested and was not found to be violated by the data.

Table 6.1: Reliability of the composite variables

| Composite Variable | Cronbach's Alpha (standardised) |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Female Entirely Positive | .77 (.75) |
| Female Partly Positive | .70 (.71) |
| Female Entirely Negative | .79 (.77) |
| Female Partly Negative | .76 (.77) |
| Neutral Entirely Positive | .81 (.81) |
| Neutral Partly Positive | .72 (.73) |
| Neutral Entirely Negative | .76 (.76) |
| Neutral Partly Negative | .71 (.71) |

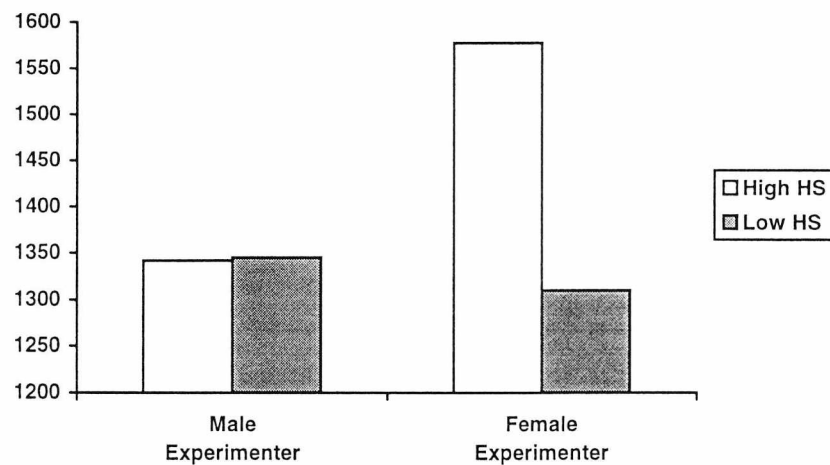
Analysis by hostile sexism categories

Analysis by hostile sexism categorisation revealed no significant effects. The overall interaction between hostile sexism and experimenter gender was non-significant ($F(1,48)=2.15$, $p=.15$, $\eta^2=.04$). However examination of the mean response times revealed that participants high in hostile sexism with a female experimenter took longer to respond to all target words ($M_{\text{high}}=1575\text{ms}$) than participants low in hostile sexism with a female experimenter ($M_{\text{low}}=1310\text{ms}$). Simple effects analysis revealed this effect to be marginally significant ($F(1,48)=3.84$, $p<.06$, $\eta^2=.07$). This interaction is depicted in Figure 6.1.

Recall by hostile sexism categories

Following the distracter task, participants were asked to recall as many of the target words they were presented with at Stage One as possible. For each participant, the total number recalled within each predetermined category (e.g. Neutral Entirely Positive) was divided by the total number presented in that category to give each participant a proportion score. Calculation of the recall proportion score in this way controls for the participants' relative exposure to words from that category. These scores were then subjected to an Analysis of Variance with word type and prime type as within subject independent variables whilst experimenter gender and sexism categorisations were between subject independent variables. This analysis revealed no significant effects.

Figure 6.1 Mean response times to all words by experimenter gender and hostile sexism categorisation



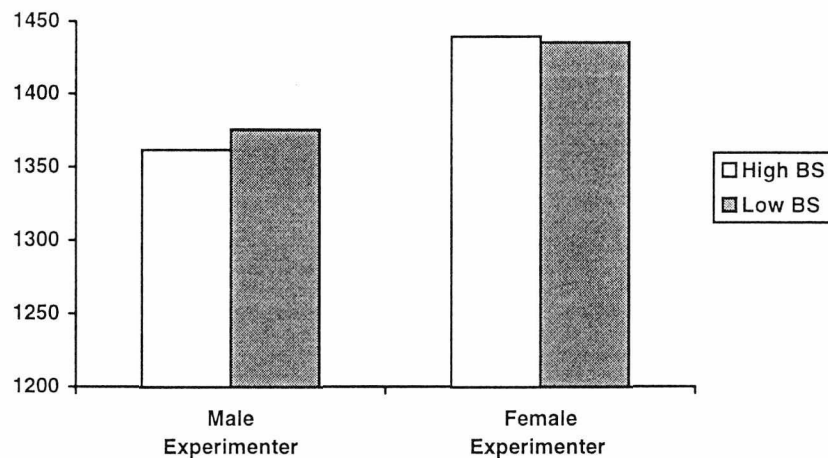
Analysis by benevolent sexism categorisation

Despite no direct hypotheses concerning the benevolent sexism categorisations, analyses were conducted to check for significant effects. Analysis by benevolent sexism categorisation revealed no significant effects. Examination of the mean response times revealed no discernible or significant effects (see Figure 6.2).

Recall by benevolent sexism categorisation

The recall scores were subjected to an Analysis of Variance with word type and prime type as within subject independent variables whilst experimenter gender and sexism categorisations were between subject independent variables. This analysis revealed no significant effects.

Figure 6.2: Mean reaction times to all target words by experimenter gender and benevolent sexism categorisation



Recall of words not presented

In addition to recalling words presented to them in the first stage of the experiment, many participants additionally 'recalled' words that had not been presented. In order to assess whether the type of words 'recalled' was a function of any of the independent variables, the words were coded by three participants as to being positive or negative in valence and as being neutral or female orientated⁵. The proportion of each type of word recalled was calculated by dividing the number of words in each category recalled by the total number of unseen word recalled (so across the four categories the total equalled one). These composite variables were subjected to Analysis of Variance with word type and prime type as within subject variables, and experimenter gender and hostile (or benevolent) sexism categorisation as between subject variables. As before, the participants score on the alternate ASI subscale was covaried out of the analysis. All analyses revealed no significant effects.

⁵ Where there was a lack of consensus over the neutral or female orientated nature of the words, the experimenter made a final decision about the orientation of the word.

Discussion

Following the results of Studies Two and Three where participants who had scored above the median on the HS scale were found to respond slower to female orientated target words than participants who had scored below the median, it was proposed that an element of the experimental procedure had resulted in the slowing down of reaction times of 'high' hostile sexists. Specifically, it was posited that the presence of a female experimenter had motivated those high in hostile sexism to suppress their negative attitudes towards women. The activation of a suppression mechanism is known to impose a cognitive load, which in turn has been shown to result in the slowing of reaction times (e.g. Blair & Banaji, 1996; Macrae et al., 1996). The current study investigated this hypothesis by an adaptation of the paradigm used within Studies Two and Three. Gender of experimenter was varied in addition to the inclusion of a 'rebound' task within the third stage of the experiment. It was predicted that those high in hostile sexism with a female would engage in suppression during the first stage word judgement task and this would be reflected in longer response times in comparison to low hostile sexists with a female experimenter. Following a distracter task and the removal of the (female) experimenter (as the suppression motivation), it was predicted that the activated but suppressed stereotype should rebound. Thus it was predicted that high hostile sexists who had a female experimenter in stage one of the study would recall significantly more of the (negative) female stereotyped words in comparison to the neutral words. The recall of female and neutral typed words was predicted not to differ for high hostile sexists who had a male experimenter. Given the lack of differentiation between high and low benevolent sexists in Studies Two and Three, no direct hypotheses were made concerning benevolent sexism.

The results of the study provided limited support for the experimental hypotheses. Although there were no significant effects within the main analysis, participants high in hostile sexism with a female experimenter took (non-significantly) longer to respond to all target words than participants low in hostile sexism with a female experimenter. This difference was in line with the results of Studies Two and Three, where those high in hostile sexism took longer to respond to female orientated target words with a female experimenter than those low in hostile sexism. However the recall data did not provide support for the 'stereotype rebound' hypothesis.

Analysis of the reaction time data by benevolent sexism category revealed, in line with the results of Studies Two and Three, no significant effects involving benevolent

sexism categorisation. In addition, recall data revealed no significant effects involving benevolent sexism.

Prior to discussing the implications of these results for the experimental paradigm, possible explanations for the lack of 'stereotype rebound' are considered.

Situational suppression and rebound?

The aim of the current study was to ascertain whether situational suppression (in line with that observed by Wyer et al., 1998) resulted in the slowing down of high hostile sexists' reaction times. The results suggest that whilst high hostile sexists with a female experimenter did slow their reactions to the target words, this did not, in the current study, appear to be due to stereotype suppression. This suggests two possible explanations. Either the slowing down of high hostile sexists' reaction times with a female experimenter is motivated by a factor other than 'situational suppression', or the task employed in the current study was inappropriate to detect the stereotype rebound. Both of these propositions will be explored.

Social Norm Monitoring?

If a simple main effect for hostile sexism had emerged in the current analyses it could have been explained in a variety of ways. Specifically, high hostile sexists could have been considered to have engaged in situational suppression regardless of experimenter gender. Alternatively they could have just been considered 'slow' in their responses to make decision about all target words (although the positive relationship between the HS scale and the Need for Cognitive Closure scale observed in Chapter Three would have suggested that this was not the case). A third possibility could have been that high hostile sexists were, as an 'emotional Stroop' paradigm, affected by the emotionality of the words presented. Critically though, none of these explanations can account for the interaction between hostile sexism and gender of experimenter observed in the current study.

An alternative explanation to the 'stereotype suppression' hypothesis that could account for the interaction effect observed in the current study is that high hostile sexists are experiencing some form of 'anxiety', either *per se*⁶, or specifically about adhering to the perceived social norm. When given a word to judge they are more prone to 'checking'

⁶Although related research by von Kluge (1992) that considered 'situational' stress/anxiety and reaction times found no significant effect of stress on reaction times.

their reaction with what they perceive to be the correct one and it is this process which results in the slowing of the reaction time. This explanation differs from the 'suppression' hypothesis in that it does not presume that high hostile sexists have had any stereotype activated. Rather it presumes that the slowing down of reaction times is caused by a general cautiousness in expressing any attitude/indication that may be seen as socially 'wrong' (e.g. evaluating a female orientated word in the 'wrong' way; Wyer et al., 1998). As such, and as suggested by Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998; and in Chapter Four), their judgements of words in the current paradigm may have been mediated (or at least slowed) by a superordinate goal⁷. Triggered by the female target words, high hostile sexists may have perceived that their judgements of the target words may be different to the judgements of the (female) experimenter/observer, and have slowed their reactions to 'check' their judgements of the words against the social norm. If this is the case then high hostile sexists may be seen as akin, in terms of prejudice expression, to Gaertner and Dovidio's (1986) characterisation of the Aversive Racist, or Katz and Hass's (1988) Ambivalent Racist, in that they will only express their attitudes towards the target group when doing so will not contravene the social norm (i.e. the decision can be attributed to something other than attitudes towards the target group). Although such an explanation may appear at odds with hostile sexists' willingness to express their attitudes on an inventory (e.g. the ASI), it could potentially be that they only engage in this social monitoring when their responses are directly traceable to them (i.e. in a one to one situation), rather than in a mass group testing session where their responses are unlikely to be challenged (see Appendix 6c).

Could stereotypes have rebounded?

An alternative explanation for the failure of stereotypes to rebound focuses on the nature of the task employed in the rebound stage of the procedure. In retrospect, even if situational suppression had taken place, it is unclear whether the stereotype recall task would have been sufficient to allow stereotypes to rebound. As an alternative to the impression formation task (e.g. Macrae et al., 1994), participants were left on their own to recall and write down as many of the target words that they thought they had seen as

⁷ Bodenhausen and Macrae (1998) suggested that egalitarianism may be such a superordinate goal. Within the context of current research it was thought unlikely that high hostile sexists would have this as a superordinate goal, given the negative relationship observed between egalitarianism and hostile sexism in Study 1b (Chapter Two).

possible. Although this was completed with the experimenter out of the room, and participants were given an envelope to seal their answers in, subsequent research (e.g. Wyer et al., 1998) has suggested that if participants had suspected that their responses may have been examined by the experimenter then stereotype rebound may not have occurred. Wyer et al. (1998, Study One) noted that stereotype suppression remained whilst participants were motivated to suppress, and that the motivation could be triggered or maintained by the presence of a member of the target group⁸. Potentially then, in the current analysis, if participants were suspicious of the 'rebound' task (in that they perceived their responses may be read by the experimenter) then the motivation to suppress may not have dissipated and rebound would not have occurred.

Implications for research

The aim of the current study was to clarify the nature of an apparent anomaly in reaction times for high hostile sexists that was observed in Studies Two and Three. It was posited that gender of experimenter may be a significant contributor to the slow reaction times of high hostile sexists, and thus in the current study this was varied. The results of the current study suggest that experimenter gender does have some impact on hostile sexists' reaction times to words. Specifically, the reaction times of high hostile sexists are slowed in comparison to low hostile sexists only when a female (rather than male) experimenter is present. Whether this is attributable to situational suppression, as suggested, remains unclear. Recall of the target words did not differ as a function of hostile (or benevolent) sexism categorisation. This suggests that either the slowed reaction times of high hostile sexists with a female experimenter are provoked by a factor other than stereotype suppression, or that the stereotype rebound task in the current study was inappropriate. It is suggested, as an alternative to situational suppression, that the observed slowed reaction times may be linked to social desirability concerns, in that the high hostile sexist is cautious in making his/her decision without confirming it against the perceived social norm. This hypothesis clearly warrants investigation.

⁸ The 'dissipation' problem noted here is not a problem in the studies conducted by Macrae and colleagues. Typically participants in the Macrae studies are asked to suppress a stereotype about a group (member) towards which no social norm against expression of the stereotype exists (e.g. skinheads, Macrae et al., 1996). If Macrae and colleagues' studies were conducted by skinheads, then the 'dissipation' problem noted above may occur.

The continuing existence and demonstration of slow reaction times (for whatever reason) is problematic within the context of the current analysis for the continuing use of a social cognition paradigm to differentiate between high and low hostile and benevolent sexists. This, in conjunction with the suggestion in Chapter Five, that subcategory activation may be more appropriate for hostile and benevolent sexism⁹, led to a move away from a social cognition paradigm for the continuation of the investigation into hostile and benevolent sexism. Chapter Seven examines the effects of hostile and benevolent sexism on overt measures of target judgements, in the context of subtypes of stereotypes of women.

⁹ Although subcategory activation is achievable within a social cognition paradigm (see Pendry & Macrae, 1996) it would involve a change in mode of stimulus activation (from words to pictures). Such a change of mode is documented to be problematic (Macrae et al., 1997). Thus, given this would involve a move away from the developed paradigm in method and given the problems observed in reaction time data from high hostile sexists, it was decided that for the continuation of the studies, alternative methods would be used.

Chapter Seven:

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and Bias

"That's an excellent suggestion, Miss Triggs.

Perhaps one of the men here would like to make it"

Caption from 'An Excellent Suggestion' cartoon

by Riana Duncan, Punch Ltd (1988)

This chapter reports two studies that were designed to differentiate between high and low hostile or benevolent sexists using 'overt' measures. Study Five focuses specifically on an evaluation of the subtyping hypothesis presented in Chapter Five. Following the results of Studies Two and Three, it is proposed that hostile and benevolent sexism may be more specifically directed towards different subtypes of women. In Study Five, participants are presented with female fictional characters who are either representative of the traditional female stereotype (nurturant) or of a non-traditional female stereotype (career woman/feminist). It is predicted that hostile sexism should be positively associated with negative evaluations of the non-traditional female stereotype characters, whilst benevolent sexism should be positively associated with positive evaluations of the traditional female stereotype characters. The results indicate that whilst benevolent sexism is associated with more positive evaluations of the traditional characters, hostile sexism is unrelated to negative evaluations of the non-traditional characters. It is proposed that this may be due to the type of measures used within the study. Study Six adopts a more established paradigm; a partial replication of the recent work on linguistic bias (e.g. Maass et al., 1989; von Hippel et al., 1995). It is hypothesised that participants high in either hostile and/or benevolent sexism should perceive stereotype incongruent sentence stems as incompatible with their conceptualisation of (traditional) roles for women and should be more likely to provide explanatory continuations of those sentences than participants low in contemporary sexism. This hypothesis is partially supported with regard to hostile sexism. Participants high in hostile sexism exhibit some linguistic bias in comparison to participants low in hostile sexism. Specifically hostile sexism positively and significantly correlated with a tendency to use explanatory sentence continuations for female stereotype incongruent behaviour sentence stems.

A change of method

Following the results of the social cognition studies (see Chapters Five and Six) and the problems encountered with regard to reaction time data and hostile sexism, it appeared appropriate to move away from a social cognition paradigm to continue the investigation into the HS and BS scales of the ASI. Overt rating measures have long been used to find attitudinal or behavioural differences between those who hold prejudicial attitudes and those who do not (e.g. Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Katz et al., 1986, 1988; Lepore, 1996; McConahay, 1986). It was decided to see whether some of these overt measures might be useful for differentiation between high and low scorers on the HS and BS scales of the ASI. In comparison to a social cognition paradigm, overt rating measures have a number of advantages. Specifically, they are not dependent on reaction times (which appear to be problematic with regard to contemporary sexism) and they can, if desired, be administered in a relatively 'context' free environment (where the participant is not directly aware who they are completing the measures for, and thus may not feel direct pressure to conform to a perceived salient social norm; Fazio et al., 1995). In addition, overt ratings often provide a closer approximation to tasks that may be undertaken within everyday life. It is perhaps easier to imagine being asked to evaluate a Curriculum Vitae than to respond to words flashed up on a computer screen. The disadvantage of overt ratings is their defining characteristic, i.e. participants are explicitly aware of having to make judgements or express attitudes. A caveat to use of such explicit measures is that if participants perceive the specific purpose of such measures (e.g. through the administration of the contemporary prejudice and outcome measure in the same experimental session) then they may moderate their (prejudiced) responses in line with the social norm (Fazio et al., 1995).

Sexism towards whom?

One suggestion that emerged out of Studies Two and Three (see Chapter Five) was that hostile and benevolent forms of sexism may be more specifically directed towards different types or subtypes of women, rather than 'women' per se. As noted in Chapter Five, subtyping is thought to occur when individuals encounter members of a group/category that do not 'fit' with their conceptualisation of that group as it stands (Leyens et al., 1994). Given the interactive and intimate nature of relations between the genders, it is realistic to presume that individuals hold many subtypes about men and women (Deaux, 1995; Eckes, 1994; Eckes, 1996; Six & Eckes, 1991). Research has

demonstrated, though, that many subtypes of the category 'women' generated by individuals cluster together in either three (e.g. Six & Eckes, 1991) or four (e.g. Noseworthy & Lott, 1984) broader categories (Eckes, 1994). Thus Noseworthy and Lott (1984) detailed the 'sex object', 'career woman', 'housewife' and 'athletic' types of women. More recently, Six and Eckes (1991) demonstrated, using a sorting and hierarchical clustering technique, that participants sorted subtypes into three distinct clusters corresponding to 'sexy' (e.g. vamp, tart, sex bomb), 'non-traditional' (e.g. career woman, feminist, women's libber) and 'traditional' (e.g. mother, housewife, housework maniac) types of women. The characteristics of these types of women were distinct. The 'sexy' type was characterised as being well groomed, superficial, extrovert, attracting men and attaching importance to her outward appearance. The non-traditional type was characterised as self confident, demanding, ambitious and independent, whilst the traditional type was characterised as conforming, submissive, dependent, passive, uncritical and stupid. Recent research (e.g. Eckes, 1994; 1996) has added to the understanding of the defining characteristics of these three types.

In a theoretical exploration of the potential relationship of these subtypes to sexual harassment, Fiske and Glick (1995) noted how hostile and benevolent sexism may interact with subtyping of women to result in (different forms of) sexual harassment. They posited that so called non-traditional females may be perceived by hostile sexists as possessing 'masculine' personality traits and as threatening male dominance in the workplace (Deaux & Lewis, 1984). Sexual harassment of such women would serve to reassert male dominance and traditional gender roles. In contrast, they theorised that 'traditional' women may be protected from sexual harassment through the protective paternalism motives of benevolent sexists. Traditional women, who accept traditional gender roles, would be shielded by benevolent sexists' motivation to protect the (so called) weaker sex. It is theoretically consistent therefore to argue that individuals who endorse hostile sexism who (theoretically) wish to harass non-traditional women 'back into their place' may feel some general negative affect towards those women who threaten traditional gender roles (Vrugt & Nauta, 1995). In contrast, individuals who endorse benevolent sexism may feel general positive affect towards those women who do not challenge the status quo - i.e. the 'traditional' type of woman. This 'affect' may be independent of any particular motivations or perceived solutions held by the individual (e.g. harassment). Thus hostile sexism may be more specifically expressed in negativity towards a non-

traditional type of woman (Friend et al., 1979), whereas benevolent sexism may be more specifically expressed in positivity towards a traditional type of woman. Such reasoning has also been made by Cohen and Swim (1997) with regard to the (negative affect) MS scale and by Glick et al. (1997) in recent papers published after the research reported in Study Five was conducted. In Study Two, Glick et al. (1997) predicted that women who embrace a traditional role would be more positively evaluated by sexist participants, whilst women who pursued a non-traditional role would be more negatively evaluated by sexist participants.

In order to verify the theoretical reasoning presented by Fiske and Glick (1995) that hostile sexism may be more specifically related to 'non-traditional' women and benevolent sexism towards 'traditional' women, a pilot study was undertaken (see Appendix 7a). The results of this study indicated that, in line with the theoretical reasoning of Fiske and Glick (1995) and the subsequent results of Glick et al. (1997) that participants who envisaged a character based on the traits thought by hostile sexists to characterise women (see Appendix 5a) were more likely to categorise her as a 'non-traditional' (Six & Eckes, 1991) woman than those who had envisaged a character based on the traits thought by benevolent sexists to characterise women. In contrast those who had envisaged a character based on the benevolent sexist traits were more likely to categorise her as a 'traditional' (Six & Eckes, 1991) woman than those who had envisaged a character based on the hostile sexist traits. This suggested, in line with the reasoning presented above and subsequently expressed by Glick et al. (1997), that hostile sexism may have a stronger relationship with a 'non-traditional' characterisation of the category 'women', whilst benevolent sexism may have a stronger relationship with a 'traditional' characterisation of the category 'women'. Specifically, hostile sexists may express greater negative affect towards, for example, a career woman than to a woman who does not fit that subtype. In addition, benevolent sexists may express greater positive affect towards a woman who fits the traditional stereotype (e.g. a mother) than towards a woman who does not fit that subtype.

A study was developed in order to test this hypothesis. Given the concern about the potential social desirability problems of using overt rating measures, two precautions were taken. Firstly, as with Studies Two and Three, the ASI was administered in a separate session prior to the main study. Secondly, the current study was framed in terms of an exploration of people's attitudes towards characters in contemporary fiction. Participants rated a number of characters, ostensibly from descriptions provided by two different

authors, on a number of different dimensions. Two of these characters had been rated in a pilot study (see Appendix 7b) to be 'traditionally' female, whilst two had been rated as 'non-traditionally' female. Following Fiske and Glick (1995 and subsequently Glick et al., 1997) it was hypothesised that participants high in hostile sexism would rate the non-traditional female characters less positively on all dimensions than those low in hostile sexism. In contrast it was predicted that those participants high in benevolent sexism would rate the traditional female characters more positively on all dimensions than participants low in benevolent sexism.

Study 5:

Method

Participants

Eighty-six psychology undergraduate students at The University of Kent (19 men and 67 women) participated in a 'Pilot Testing of Materials' study that included a questionnaire on 'Exploring People's Responses to Character Portrayal' for experimental credit in partial fulfilment of a course requirement.

Materials

All participants had completed the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) in a mass pretesting session four to eight weeks prior to the current study. During this session, all participants were given an individual identification code which allowed the linking of responses in the pretest to responses on measures administered later in the year.

Exploring People's Responses to Character Portrayal Questionnaire: This consisted of a number of descriptions of characters taken from contemporary literature. All of the characters were introduced as having been created by one of two authors. Two of these characters were 'traditionally' female and two were 'non-traditionally' female (see Appendix 7b). The order of presentation of the characters was randomised. Following the three short paragraphs presented on each character, participants were asked a number of questions about their perception of the character (see Table 7.1), all of which concerned 'positive feeling' towards the character. In addition they were requested to rate the characters on a number of attractiveness traits (Dion, Berscheid & Walster, 1972). Participants were also asked to rate the characters on a number of 'manipulation check' traits to do with the traditional vs. non-traditional differentiation of the characters (e.g.

masculine/feminine, independent/dependent etc.). At the end of the questionnaire, participants were asked a series of questions concerning literature and their perceptions of which author had been responsible for which character.

Procedure

Each participant was given an envelope with a number of different measures in it that ostensibly were being pilot tested for a number of members of the department. Included within this pack was the 'Exploring People's Responses to Character Portrayal Questionnaire'. Participants were requested to go away and complete the measures at their leisure. Included in the pack was a sheet of paper on which the participant identified themselves via a code number and indicated the order in which they completed each measure. Once participants had completed the measures they sealed the envelopes and returned them to the Department of Psychology via an internal mail system.

Table 7.1: The questions following the presentation of the passages in the 'Exploring People's Responses to Character Portrayal Questionnaire' (Subsequent variable name follows question in brackets. The positive affect response on each item is marked by a '+' at the appropriate end of the scale)

Based on the above quotes:

1. Overall, how positive or negative do you feel towards the character of X? (POSITIVE)
 Very negative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very positive +
2. How well do you think that X interacts with the other characters? (if applicable) (INTERACT)
 Not at all well 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very well +
3. How much would you like X as a friend? (FRIEND)
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much +
4. How much would you like to read a book with a character like X in it? (BOOK)
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much +
5. How much do you think most men would like X? (MEN LIKE)
 A little 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A great deal +
6. How much do you think most women would like X? (WOMEN LIKE)
 A little 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A great deal +
7. How attractive do you think most men would find X as a partner? (PARTNER)
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very +
8. To what extent do you identify/relate to the character of X? (IDENTIFY)
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A great deal +
9. Based on the quotes, please rate the character of X on the following traits:

| | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| + Poised + Strong + Warm + Intellectual + Dependent + Genuine + Feminine + Interesting + Cruel + Exciting + Cooperative + Submissive | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | Awkward Weak Cold Non intellectual Independent Artificial Masculine Boring Kind + Dull Competitive Self assertive |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Note: Within the version presented to participants 'X' represented the characters name

Results

Of the one hundred and ten questionnaire packs distributed, eighty-six were returned (a response rate of 78.2%). Of primary interest in these analyses were the comparative ratings that participants high and low in hostile (and benevolent) sexism gave

to the traditional and non-traditional female characters. In order to facilitate this analysis, a median split was carried out and thus two categories (high and low) were created on each of the ASI subscales (see Appendix A). In addition, after reliability checks, participants' ratings on the independent measures were collapsed across the two traditional female characters and the two non-traditional female characters. As responses to the questions about the character (see Table 7.1; Questions 1-8) indicated positive (or negative) feeling, the responses to these were subjected to reliability analysis. The responses were found to have adequate reliability (Cronbach's alpha: .87, standardised: .87), and thus the items were collapsed to create a composite 'positive feeling' measure. After reversal of one item ('kind'), responses to the items presented in Question 10 were subjected to reliability analysis to assess the degree to which they were measuring 'negativity' towards the character. The 'negativity' items were found to have adequate reliability (Cronbach's alpha: .70, standardised: .70)¹, and the items were collapsed to create a 'negativity' measure. Analysis of variance was conducted on these two composite variables, in addition to the manipulation check items of Question 10 (i.e. independent, masculine, competitive and self assertive) in a 2 (sexism: high/low) x 2 (traditional/non-traditional) design, with repeated measures on the last factor. In addition, the alternate ASI subscale was covaried out of the analyses.

Hostile Sexism

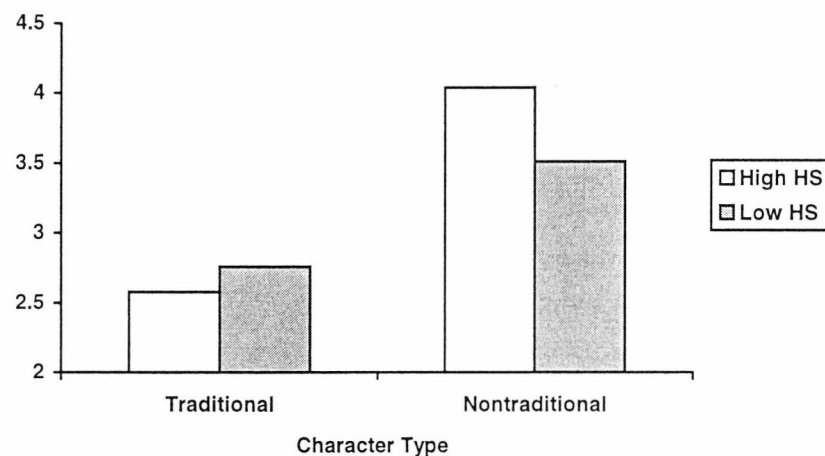
Analysis of 'positive feeling' revealed no significant effects for target or hostile sexism. Analysis of 'negativity' revealed a significant main effect for target ($F(1,83)=8.27$, $p<.006$, $\eta^2=.09$). Examination of the mean scores revealed that participants indicated greater negativity towards the traditional characters ($M_{\text{trad}}=4.14$) than towards the non-traditional characters ($M_{\text{nontrad}}=3.25$). There were no significant effects involving hostile sexism. Supplementary analyses were conducted on the individual items of the 'positive feeling' scale and the 'negativity' scale. These yielded no significant effects.

Analysis of the manipulation check items of Question 10 revealed a number of effects. Analysis of 'independent' revealed a significant main effect for target ($F(1,81)=11.58$, $p<.002$, $\eta^2=.13$). Examination of the mean scores indicated that participants rated the non-traditional character as more independent ($M_{\text{nontrad}}=4.92$) than the traditional character ($M_{\text{trad}}=3.01$). Analysis of masculine revealed a significant main effect

¹ The items 'cold' and 'kind' detracted from the reliability of the scale and were thus eliminated.

for target ($F(1,81)=5.65$, $p<.03$, $\eta^2=.07$), which was qualified by a two way interaction between target and hostile sexism ($F(1,81)=5.06$, $p<.03$, $\eta^2=.06$). Simple effects analysis revealed that whilst both high and low hostile sexists perceived the non-traditional characters to be more masculine than the traditional characters (High: $F(1,82)=49.02$, $p<.001$; Low: $F(1,82)=12.65$, $p<.002$), participants high in hostile sexism perceived the non-traditional characters to be marginally more masculine ($M_{\text{high}}=4.04$) than participants low in hostile sexism ($M_{\text{low}}=3.51$; $F(1,81)=3.11$, $p<.09$; see Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1: Mean ratings of 'masculine' for traditional and non-traditional female characters by hostile sexism categorisation

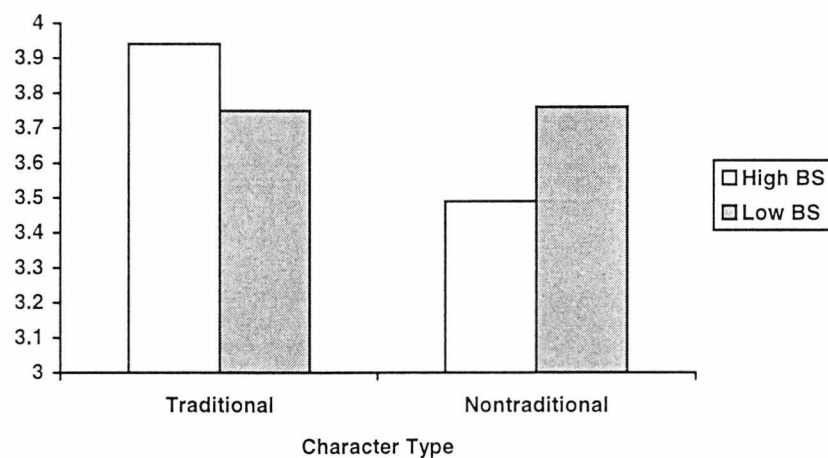


Analysis of competitive revealed a marginally significant main effect for target ($F(1,80)=3.42$, $p<.07$, $\eta^2=.04$). Participants rated the non-traditional target as more competitive ($M_{\text{nontrad}}=4.90$) than the traditional character ($M_{\text{trad}}=3.02$). There were no significant effects involving hostile sexism. Analysis of self assertive revealed a significant main effect for target ($F(1,81)=6.54$, $p<.02$, $\eta^2=.08$). Participants rated the non-traditional target as more assertive ($M_{\text{nontrad}}=5.60$) than the traditional target ($M_{\text{trad}}=3.32$). There were no significant effects of hostile sexism.

Benevolent Sexism

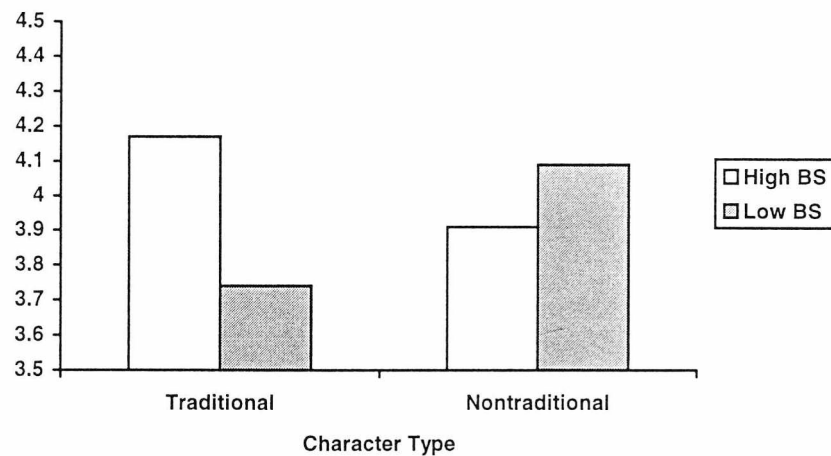
Analysis of 'positive feeling' revealed a marginally significant interaction between target and benevolent sexism ($F(1,82)=3.89$, $p<.06$, $\eta^2=.04$). Simple effects analysis revealed that participants high in benevolent sexism rated the traditional character more positively ($M_{\text{trad}}=3.94$) than the non-traditional character ($M_{\text{nontrad}}=3.49$; $F(1,83)=7.65$, $p<.01$; see Figure 7.2). Analysis of 'negativity' revealed no additional significant effects involving benevolent sexism.

Figure 7.2: Mean ratings of 'positive feeling' for traditional and non-traditional female characters by benevolent sexism categorisation



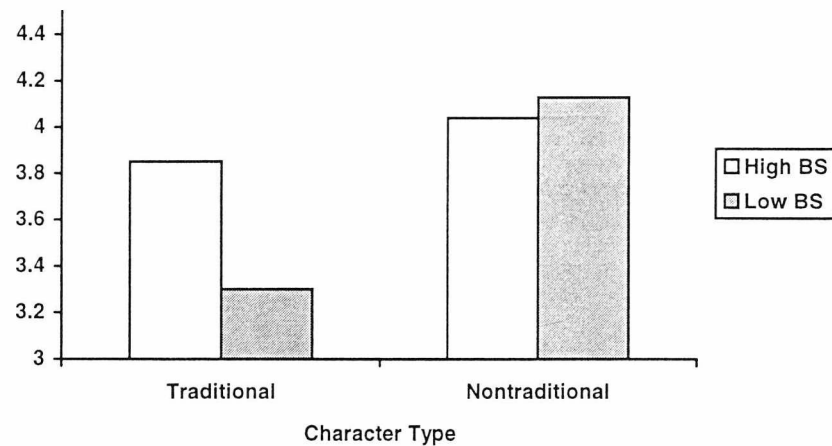
Supplementary analyses were conducted on the individual items of the 'positive feeling' scale and the 'negativity' scale. These yielded a number of significant effects. Analysis of 'positive' revealed a significant two way interaction between target and benevolent sexism ($F(1,82)=4.21$, $p<.05$; $\eta^2=.04$). Simple effects analysis revealed that participants high in benevolent sexism felt marginally more positive towards the traditional characters ($M_{\text{high}}=4.17$) than participants low in benevolent sexism ($M_{\text{low}}=3.74$; $F(1,81)=3.12$, $p<.08$; see Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3: Mean ratings of 'positive' for traditional and non-traditional female characters by benevolent sexism categorisation



Analysis of 'book' revealed a significant two way interaction between target and benevolent sexism ($F(1,80)=4.42$, $p<.04$; $\eta^2=.05$). Simple effects analysis revealed that participants high in benevolent sexism expressed a marginally greater preference for reading a book with a traditional character in it ($M_{\text{high}}=3.85$) than participants low in benevolent sexism ($M_{\text{low}}=3.30$; $F(1,80)=3.76$, $p<.06$). In addition participants low in benevolent sexism expressed a greater preference for reading a book with a non-traditional character in it ($M_{\text{nontrad}}=4.13$) than one with a traditional character in it ($M_{\text{trad}}=3.30$; $F(1,81)=11.46$, $p<.002$; see Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4: Mean ratings of 'book' for traditional and non-traditional female characters by benevolent sexism categorisation



Analysis of 'identify' revealed a significant interaction between target and benevolent sexism ($F(1,81)=5.35$, $p<.03$; $\eta^2=.06$). Simple effects analysis demonstrated that participants low in benevolent sexism identified to a greater degree with the non-traditional characters ($M_{low}=3.39$) than participants high in benevolent sexism ($M_{high}=2.81$; $F(1,81)=5.13$, $p<.03$; see Figure 7.5). Analysis of 'cold' revealed no significant effects.

Analysis of 'kind' revealed a significant main effect for benevolent sexism ($F(1,81)=4.08$, $p<.05$, $\eta^2=.05$). Participants low in benevolent sexism rated the characters as kinder ($M_{low}=4.83$) than participants high in benevolent sexism ($M_{high}=4.50$). Analysis of 'dull' revealed a significant two way interaction between target and benevolent sexism ($F(1,80)=6.85$, $p<.02$, $\eta^2=.08$). Simple effects analysis revealed that participants low in benevolent sexism rated the traditional characters as duller than the non-traditional character ($M_{traditional}=4.75$; $M_{non-traditional}=3.06$; $F(1,80)=9.98$, $p<.005$; see Figure 7.6). Analysis of the manipulation check items of Question 10 revealed no (additional) effects involving benevolent sexism.

Figure 7.5: Mean ratings of ‘identify’ for traditional and non-traditional female characters by benevolent sexism categorisation

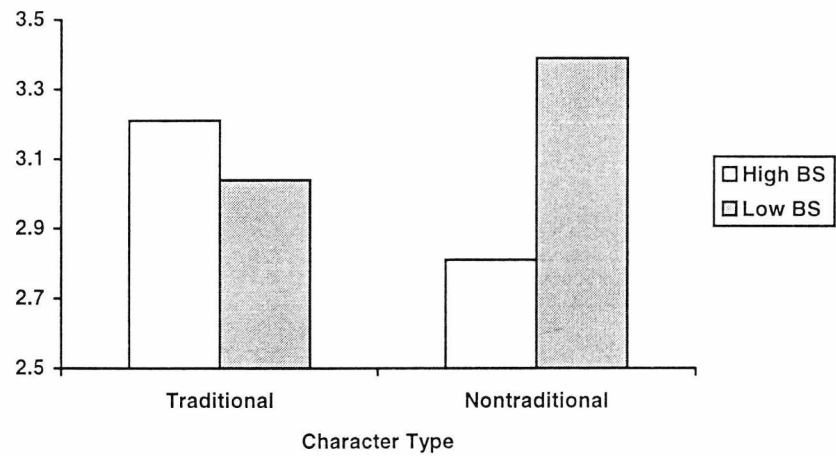
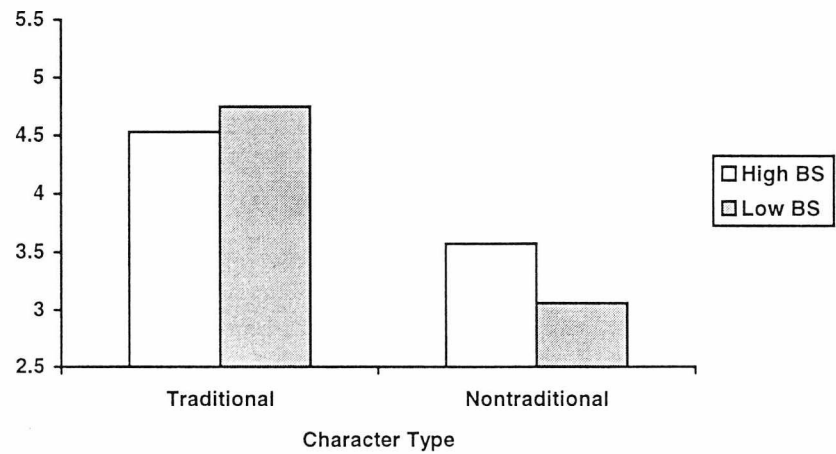


Figure 7.6: Mean ratings of ‘dull’ for traditional and non-traditional female characters by benevolent sexism categorisation



Discussion

Following the results of Studies Two and Three where presentation of a category label prime ('woman') failed to mediate responses to female typed words (see Chapter Five) it was suggested that the level of category activation may have been too broad. Specifically, following consideration of the subtyping literature with regard to gender (for example Deaux, 1985; Eckes, 1994, 1996; Six & Eckes, 1991) it was suggested that hostile and benevolent sexism may be more specifically directed towards different subtypes of women. In a theoretical exploration of this idea, Fiske and Glick (1995) presented an analysis of the relationship of gender subtypes to sexual harassment with regard to hostile and benevolent sexism. They proposed that 'non-traditional' women (e.g. career women and feminists) may 'threaten' hostile sexists and therefore induce sexual harassment through the man's desire to put the woman back in her (traditional) place. In contrast, traditional women (e.g. mothers, housewives) may be perceived as in need of protection and therefore protected from harassment from benevolent sexists. Within the current analysis it was proposed that the different types of affect proposed by Fiske and Glick (1995) to be expressed towards the subtypes of women (i.e. non-traditional and traditional) may be independent of any specific motivations of the individual (e.g. harassment). Thus, hostile sexists may express general negativity towards the subtype of non-traditional women, whilst benevolent sexists may express general positivity towards the subtype of traditional women. Following a pilot study to verify the validity of the relationship of hostile and benevolent sexism to different subtypes of women (see Appendix 7a) a preliminary study was designed to evaluate the negativity of high hostile sexists (in comparison to low hostile sexists) to non-traditional women and the positivity of high benevolent sexists (in comparison to low benevolent sexists) to traditional women. It was hypothesised that high hostile sexists would express greater negativity than low hostile sexists to non-traditional female characters. In contrast, it was hypothesised that high benevolent sexists would express greater positivity towards traditional female characters than low benevolent sexists.

The results indicated that in addition to a number of main effects for target on the manipulation check items, there were a number of significant interactions involving sexism and nature of the character. Participants high in hostile sexism regarded the non-traditional character as marginally stronger and more masculine than participants low in hostile sexism. Participants high in benevolent sexism indicated marginally more positive feeling

toward the traditional characters. Supplementary analyses revealed that high benevolent sexists felt more positive towards, and expressed a greater preference for, reading a book with traditional characters in than did participants low in benevolent sexism. In addition, participants high in benevolent sexism identified less with the non-traditional characters than participants low in benevolent sexism. Participants low in benevolent sexism expressed a greater preference for reading a book with a non-traditional character in it than a traditional one and perceived the traditional character as duller than the non-traditional one. In addition, low benevolent sexists perceived all the characters as kinder than participants high in benevolent sexism.

The results therefore demonstrate an interesting pattern with regard to the experimental hypotheses. In general, and against the hypothesis, high hostile sexists did not evaluate the non-traditional female more negatively than low hostile sexists, although their rating of the non-traditional female as more masculine than low hostile sexists does concur with a theoretical assertion made by Fiske and Glick (1995). They stated that the non-traditional woman is "*stereotyped as having masculine personality traits, often even masculine sexual traits*" (p102). The results of the current study indicate that this stereotype is more likely among those who endorse hostile sexist beliefs than among those who do not. In line with the hypothesis, high benevolent sexists did express more positivity towards traditional female characters (specifically on two of the dimensions) in comparison to low benevolent sexists. In addition, they identified less with the non-traditional character than low benevolent sexists. An unexpected, although theoretically consistent, finding was the character differentiation expressed by low benevolent sexists and their preference for the non-traditional characters in comparison to the traditional ones.

This study has provided some evidence that when presented with a particular 'type' of woman, high and low hostile (and benevolent) sexists will evaluate her differently. Research published after the current study was conducted has revealed comparable findings. Glick et al. (1997) in Study 2, found that scores on the HS scale of the ASI were a significant predictor of relatively more hostile evaluations of career women. In contrast, scores on the BS scale predicted more positive evaluations by men in terms of stereotypes and symbolic beliefs. Critically though, and in contrast to the theoretical assertions of Glick and Fiske (1996) and the results of the current study in which most participants were female, within the Glick et al. (1997) study, these relationships only achieved significance for male participants. Glick et al. (1997) note that the results for female participants in

their sample demonstrate a similar pattern to the results of the male participants with regard to hostile sexism, but that there was no relationship between benevolent sexism and positive evaluations among female participants. Glick et al. (1997) conclude from this that *"these results show no evidence that BS measures a subjectively positive component of sexism among women"* (p1331). The results of the current study therefore suggest that Glick et al.'s (1997) dismissal of the BS scale as an inappropriate measure of a subjectively positive component of sexism among women may be slightly premature.

The current study was not without its problems. Critically in contrast to Glick et al. (1997), hostile sexism was not significantly linked to negative evaluations of the non-traditional female characters. Why this occurred is not explicitly clear. Potential explanations for this and the less than consistent nature of results with benevolent sexist participants may suggest that the operationalisation, rather than the theoretical basis (Glick et al., 1997) may have been at fault. Specifically, the task may have been inappropriate.

A retrospective consideration of the task suggests a number of potential problems with it. Firstly the task (i.e. rating traditional vs. non-traditional female characters) may have been too explicit - i.e. participants were aware of the purpose of the study. This, however appears unlikely for a number of reasons. All the measures were embedded within other measures and were presented as part of an evaluation of contemporary fiction. In addition, and critically, the hypotheses (and subsequent analyses) focused on between subject differences rather than within subject differences. Even though participants may have been aware of differences in their own ratings of the traditional and non-traditional characters, they would not have been aware of the (potential) differences between participants.

A second potential problem may have been that the characters presented in the current study were not realistic enough and/or were too extreme in their behaviours. As part of the 'guise' of the study the characters were presented as fictional, and as such participants knew that there was nothing to be gained or lost through rating them. To adopt Fiske and Glick's (1995) terminology, these non-traditional women didn't need putting back in their place purely because they didn't exist. In addition, the behaviours detailed in the traditional and non-traditional paragraphs may have been too extreme (within the subtypes). Previous contemporary prejudice studies that have used descriptive paragraphs (e.g. the 'Donald' paragraph; Srull & Wyer, 1979 or the 'Michael' paragraph; Lepore, 1996) have created coherent and believable 'stories' about these characters that have, by

design, been ambiguous. Von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa and Vargas (1995) drawing on Maass, Salvi, Arcuri and Semin (1989) have suggested that studies designed to elicit differentiation on the basis of prejudice should use stimuli that whilst indicative of the (subtype) stereotype is not overly extreme. The characters in the current study were by design overly extreme (see Appendix 7b) and thus may have been 'too much' of the subtype stereotype to elicit rating differentiation.

In order to continue the investigation of hostile and benevolent sexism and its relationship to bias, a further study was planned. Given the rather innovative nature of the measures used in Study Five and the issues discussed with relation to the failure to find attitude differentiation with regard to hostile sexists, a more established methodology was adopted for Study Six. Drawing on the established preference of hostile and benevolent sexists for women portrayed to adhere to 'traditional' roles, a study was designed to investigate whether participants high and low in hostile and/or benevolent sexism would differ in the kind of continuations they used when presented with sentence stems portraying woman engaged in 'non-traditional' behaviours. Specifically would scores on the hostile and/or benevolent sexism scales predict who would engage in linguistic bias.

Linguistic Bias and Prejudice

Maass et al. (1989) proposed that language may be an important tool in the maintenance and transmission of stereotypes. Drawing on Semin and Fiedler's (1988) psycholinguistic or linguistic category model, Maass et al. (1989) theorised that intergroup biases will result in biased language use. Specifically they proposed that behavioural episodes will be interpreted and/or reported at different levels of (linguistic) abstraction dependent on the protagonist and the valence of the behaviour. In two naturalistic studies, participants were asked to view a series of cartoons (of either ingroup or outgroup members performing either desirable or undesirable ambiguous² behaviours) and either select one of four response alternatives to describe the behaviour depicted in the cartoon (Experiment One) or write their own description of the behaviour (Experiment Two). In addition participants in both experiments were asked to rate the positivity of the behaviour depicted.

² Research evidence (e.g. Maass et al., 1989; Karpinski & von Hippel, 1993 and von Hippel et al., 1995) has demonstrated that descriptions of behaviours in such studies have to be ambiguous and relatively available for reinterpretation. If behaviour or behavioural information appears clearly incongruent with people's expectancies then people will fail to make abstractions from the information provided.

In line with the hypotheses, the results of the studies demonstrated that behaviour congruent with expectancies (i.e. positive ingroup behaviour and negative outgroup behaviour) was described at a higher level of abstraction (e.g. in terms that implied stability over time and across settings/interactions; Semin & Fiedler, 1988) than behaviours that were incongruent. This effect was termed Linguistic Intergroup Bias (LIB).

LIB has subsequently been found in a number of intergroup settings (for examples, see Arcuri, Maass & Portelli, 1993; Fiedler, Semin & Finkeauer, 1993; Semin & Rubini, 1994). Recent research (e.g. Maass, Milesi, Zabbini & Stahlberg, 1995) has begun to investigate the psychological processes underlying LIB. Maass et al. (1995) investigated two explanations for the LIB effect; the differential expectancies hypothesis and the motivational perspective. The differential expectancies hypothesis posits that expectancy congruent behaviour is described in abstract (generalised) terms because it is considered an inherent (or stable/typical) feature of the protagonist. In contrast the motivational perspective, from Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Abrams & Hogg, 1988) suggests that LIB is a ingroup protection mechanism. Specifically, derogation of the outgroup in terms that imply that negative features are part of the outgroup member's personality, will allow the ingroup member to maintain a positive image of their group, and by association, themselves. Over a series of three studies, Maass et al. (1995) demonstrated that expectancy congruent behaviours were described more abstractly than expectancy incongruent behaviours. This occurred regardless of valence of behaviour and individual (vs. group) status (see also Karpinski and von Hippel, 1996). However, whilst this study provided support for the differential expectancies hypothesis, subsequent research (e.g. Maass, Ceccarelli & Rudin, 1996) has demonstrated support for the alternative 'ingroup protection' hypothesis. Maass et al. (1996) propose that LIB may in fact be a complex interaction of the two motivations.

In a related investigation of language use and expectancies, Hastie (1984) investigated the conditions under which people try to explain why an act has occurred. Drawing on several studies that had demonstrated that unexpected events instigated attributional processing (e.g. Pyszczynski & Greenberg, 1981; Wong & Weiner, 1981) Hastie (1984) hypothesised that incongruent actions of an actor were more likely to elicit attributional (or explanatory) processing than expected or congruent actions. Under the guise of a study into extemporaneous writing, participants were presented with six lists on which were phrases describing behaviours performed by hypothetical characters.

Participants were asked to write a short continuation of each phrase in his or her own words. Each set of behaviours were based on a personality trait adjective (e.g. friendly) and within each list two thirds of the behaviour descriptions were trait congruent, whilst one third were incongruent. Participants' continuations were coded into one of three categories. Explanatory responses answered the question 'why was the act performed?', elaboration responses answered the question 'what were the circumstances when the act occurred?' and temporal succession responses answered the question 'what happened after the act occurred?' (Hastie, 1984). In line with the experimental hypothesis, Hastie (1984) found that trait incongruent behaviours were significantly more likely to elicit explanatory continuations than trait congruent behaviours.

The processes underlying this were explored by von Hippel and Baker (1993, cited in von Hippel et al., 1995). In an investigation of implicit memory, von Hippel and Baker (1993) presented participants with a series of positive, negative or neutral traits words that (participants were told either) described a Nazi or a Peace Corps worker. Positive traits were presumed congruent with the Peace Corps worker and negative traits congruent with the Nazi. After presentation of the traits, participants were presented with a series of behaviours that were describable by a variety of traits. Implicit memory from such a task is measured by the extent that participants use previously presented traits to describe the behaviours. Von Hippel and Baker (1993) found that participants had better memory for incongruent traits (e.g. positive traits and the Nazi) than congruent ones. Von Hippel and Baker (1993, cited in von Hippel et al., 1995) concluded that people engage in elaborative processing when presented with incongruent information.

In sum, the results of both Hastie (1984) and von Hippel and Baker (1993, cited in von Hippel et al., 1995) suggest that when an element of a sentence or behaviour doesn't 'fit' with a preconceived idea then people will engage in elaboratory processing (to try and make the element fit; Kunda & Sherman-Williams, 1993). In turn this may result in an attempt to explain the incongruent element of the sentence/behaviour if given an opportunity to do so (e.g. in a sentence continuation task; Hastie, 1984).

Drawing on such reasoning, the suggestion by Allport (1954) that antilocution may one form of discriminatory behaviour and research conducted using discourse analysis (e.g. Weatherall, 1996; see also Gough, 1998), von Hippel et al. (1995) suggested that evaluations of bias in language use may provide a useful method to investigate prejudice. Noting the social desirability problems of self report prejudice measures and problems with

interpretation of the contemporary racism measures (see Sniderman et al., 1991; Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986), von Hippel et al. (1995) proposed that prejudice based on race (racism) and gender (sexism) may be reconceptualised in terms of encoding processes. Specifically, von Hippel et al. (1995) defined such (process) prejudice as: "*the proclivity of an individual to encode information in stereotype-congruent ways*" (p.225). Thus the tendency of an ingroup member to describe an outgroup member's negative behaviour in abstract (generalisable) terms, or the tendency to provide explanatory sentence continuations for (stereotype) incongruent descriptions of behaviour may be a more covert measure of that person's level of prejudice against a specific group than an overt measure such as the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, 1986). Thus a racist person would be more likely to provide an abstract description of negative behaviour when the protagonist was African-American than when they were Caucasian (von Hippel et al., 1995).

In a preliminary study of this proposition, von Hippel et al. (1995) conducted two experiments designed to evaluate the link between process prejudice and measures of content prejudice (e.g. the MRS; McConahay, 1986). Using an extension of Maass et al. (1989), one experiment investigated prejudice towards African-American. In this study, participants were presented with four stereotype relevant (two congruent, two incongruent) newspaper 'articles' and three filler articles. Each article was paired with either a picture of an African-American male or a Caucasian male. After reading all the articles, participants were asked to rate the extent to which each of four statements provided a good description of the behaviours portrayed in each article. In line with Maass et al. (1989) these descriptions ranged from the concrete (behaviour was a single observable event, defined by at least one physically invariant feature, Maass et al., 1989) to the abstract (generalisable). Participants' process prejudice scores were calculated³ and correlated with their MRS (McConahay, 1986) scores. The stereotype-incongruent measures were found to be unrelated to either the stereotype-congruent measure or the content measure of prejudice (the MRS). In contrast the stereotype-congruent measure was found to be moderately but significantly correlated to scores on the MRS.

³ Participants' process prejudice scores were calculated by subtracting their rating of the abstract description of the stereotype incongruent African-American article from their rating of the matched Caucasian article. Participants' abstractness rating of the stereotype congruent articles for the Caucasian target were subtracted from their ratings of the African American target. Resulting positive numbers indicate a greater preference for an abstract and generalisable description when the target was Caucasian rather than African-American

A second experiment by von Hippel et al. (1995) investigated the link between process prejudice and content measures of sexism. Using an extension of Hastie (1984), male subjects completed both mildly⁴ gender (stereotype) congruent and incongruent sentence stems in which the target of each sentence stem was either male or female. Participants also completed the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS: Spence et al., 1973) as a measure of content sexism. Von Hippel et al. (1995) hypothesised that sexist participants would be more likely than non sexists to generate explanatory continuations for the stereotype incongruent sentence stems. In partial support, von Hippel et al. (1995) found that high (vs. low) sexists were more likely to produce explanatory sentence completions for stereotype incongruent stems, but only when the sentence target was female.

Subsequent research (published after Study Six had been conducted) has investigated the link of process prejudice to content measures of prejudice⁵ and evaluations of members of the target group (either women or African Americans; von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa and Vargas, 1997). In two experiments, participants completed a Maass et al. (1989) process prejudice measure (as detailed in von Hippel et al., 1995 and previously) and the MRS (McConahay, 1986). In addition, participants completed an evaluation measure. After viewing a videotape where either an African-American or Caucasian man was seen requesting money from a Caucasian man, participants were either asked to rate how threatening the requester of the money was (Experiment One) or how meek the requester was and whether the requester touched or blocked the requestee (Experiment Two). In Experiment One, participants' ratings of the 'threat' of the requester did not differ as a function of the content prejudice measure (e.g. the MRS), and high process prejudice participants did not rate the African American requester as any more threatening than the Caucasian requester. In contrast to the results of von Hippel et al. (1995) the process prejudice measures were found to be unrelated to the content prejudice measures. In Experiment Two, some differences between subsamples emerged. Participants high in process prejudice recalled that the African-American requester was more likely than the

⁴ Maass et al. (1995) stated that strongly stereotypical sentence stems may not result in differences in types/levels of explanation becoming apparent.

⁵ Von Hippel et al. (1997) use different terminology to refer to process and content prejudice (von Hippel et al., 1995). In the 1997 paper process prejudice is referred to as implicit prejudice, whilst content prejudice is referred to as explicit prejudice. For ease of understanding the originally introduced concepts of process and content prejudice have been retained in the current discussion of the 1997 paper.

Caucasian requester to touch the requestee, whilst analysis by the content measure of prejudice revealed opposite findings. Specifically participants low in content prejudice recalled that the African-American requester was more likely than the Caucasian requester to touch the requestee. A similar pattern of results was observed with regard to the 'meekness' ratings. Participants low in process prejudice rated the African American as meeker than the Caucasian requester. Analysis by content prejudice revealed that participants high in content prejudice evaluated the African American as meeker than the Caucasian requester. As in Experiment One, the process prejudice and content prejudice measures were unrelated.

Experiment three by von Hippel et al. (1997) focused on gender and sexism. In addition to using a Maass et al. (1989) stereotype congruent process prejudice task (with gender as the focus), von Hippel et al. (1997) administered a Hastie (1984) sentence continuation task (see von Hippel et al., 1995 or previously for details) and the Attitude Towards Women Scale (AWS; Spence et al., 1973). Von Hippel et al. (1997) calculated a linguistic process prejudice score (Maass et al., 1989), an attribution process prejudice score (Hastie, 1984) and a content prejudice score based on the AWS (Spence et al., 1973). Linguistic process prejudice scores were calculated by subtracting participants rating of the most abstract description of the article describing a male target from their rating of the most abstract description of the article describing a female target. This results in positive and negative scores, and consequently scores on this measure were dichotomised, such those that scored greater than zero were considered high in linguistic implicit prejudice. Subsequently each of the scores on all the measures were dichotomised (using a median split procedure) and correlated with one another. Attributional process prejudice and linguistic process prejudice were found to be significantly positively correlated. However, in contrast to von Hippel et al. (1995), neither the attributional nor the linguistic process prejudice scores were related to the content prejudice measure⁶.

⁶ Within the analyses, von Hippel et al. (1997) averaged across the differences between the number of explanations provided for male stereotype congruent/incongruent sentences and the number of explanations provided for female stereotype congruent/incongruent sentences. Given the focus of the AWS on sexism against women, this averaging procedure may explain the non significant association between the process and content measures of prejudice.

Linguistic Bias and Contemporary Sexism

On the basis of von Hippel et al. (1995) it was proposed that an investigation of linguistic bias may be a useful way to proceed to find differentiation between high and low hostile sexists. All evaluations of linguistic bias and sexism (including von Hippel et al., 1997) have used an older measurement tool to evaluate participants' explicit or content prejudicial attitudes towards women (namely the AWS, Spence et al., 1973). Whilst this may have been instrumental for von Hippel et al. (1995, 1997), in demonstrating the social desirability problems with content measures of prejudice (and the consequent validity of using process prejudice measures instead), it ignores the evolution of content prejudice measures to (attempt to) counter the problems of social desirability and responding (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim et al., 1995; Tougas et al., 1995). The use of a contemporary measure of sexism (e.g. the HS scale of the ASI) may result in a stronger (and significant, c.f. von Hippel et al., 1997) positive relationship between content and process measures of sexism.

In addition and as demonstrated by previous research (e.g. von Hippel et al., 1995, 1997), linguistic bias provides a relatively subtle way of detecting prejudice. One of the proposed explanations for the failure to find differentiation between high and low hostile sexists in Study Five focused on the explicitness of the measure used. This is unlikely to be a problem with the use of a linguistic bias measure. Participants, in a linguistic bias study (using, for example, a Hastie, 1984 procedure), are unlikely to be aware that their responses will be coded for explanatory content and that this could be taken as an indicator of prejudice. Thus, if hostile sexism is an indicator of a belief in traditional roles for women, then anything that deviates from that should warrant explanation. Theoretically, the same pattern should be observed with benevolent sexism (as proponents of this are proposed to believe in traditional roles for women), however, as noted by Glick and Fiske (1996) and in Chapter Two, the BS scale of the ASI provides the first evaluation of the subjectively positive aspect of sexism. As previous evaluations of linguistic bias have used measures that only assessed the negative aspect of sexism, it is hard to assess whether the affect associated with the prejudice will affect the magnitude of the relationship between content and process prejudice.

In sum, a study was designed to investigate the link between process and content prejudice and to further investigate the concepts of hostile and benevolent sexism. In a partial replication of von Hippel et al. (1995, 1997), a Hastie (1984) sentence continuation

method was used to assess sexism, or belief in traditional roles for women. Within the current procedure the HS and BS scales of the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) were substituted in place of the AWS (Spence et al., 1973) as the measures of content prejudice. In line with the findings of von Hippel et al. (1995), but contrary to von Hippel et al. (1997), it was predicted that those high in hostile sexism would perceive the female stereotype incongruent sentence stems as more in need of explanation than those low in hostile sexism, and that hostile sexism would be positively related to providing explanatory sentence continuations for stereotype incongruent (vs. congruent) sentence stems. A similar pattern was predicted for those high (vs. low) in benevolent sexism.

Study 6:

Method

Participants

Eighty-five psychology undergraduate students at The University of Kent (19 men and 66 women) participated in a study on grammar in extemporaneous writing for experimental credit in partial fulfilment of a course requirement.

Materials

All participants had completed the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) in a mass pretesting session four to eight weeks prior to the current study. During this session, all participants were given an individual identification code which allowed the linking of responses in the pretest to responses on measures administered later in the year.

Each participant was given a booklet containing eighteen sentence stems. On the front page of the booklet, the following instructions were given: *"This task is part of a study currently being carried out on grammatical usage in extemporaneous writing. Over the next few pages you will be presented with eighteen phrases describing a behaviour. For each phrase describing a behaviour, please write a short continuation of the phrase in your own words."*

Participants then completed the eighteen sentence stems in their own time. As determined by a pilot study (see Appendix 7b) three sentence stems were female stereotype congruent, three female stereotype incongruent, three male stereotype congruent, three male stereotype incongruent and six were neutral filler sentence stems. The order of

presentation of the sentence stems was randomised. An example of each of the type of sentence stems can be seen in Table 7.2.

Procedure

Participants were recruited by posters and email to take part in a study on grammar in extemporaneous writing. Each participant was given an envelope with the experimental booklet in it and were requested to go away and complete the measure at their leisure. Included in the pack was a sheet of paper on which the participant identified themselves via a code number. Once participants had completed the measures they sealed the envelopes and returned them to the Department of Psychology via an internal mail system.

Table 7.2: An example of each of the sentence stems used in Study Six

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Female Stereotype Congruent: <i>Julie prepared the evening meal.....</i> |
| Female Stereotype Incongruent: <i>Sophie attended the football match....</i> |
| Male Stereotype Congruent: <i>Simon watched the sport on the television.....</i> |
| Male Stereotype Incongruent: <i>Andrew went clothes shopping.....</i> |
| Neutral: <i>Donna entered the campus bar.....</i> |

Results

In line with Hastie (1984) and von Hippel et al. (1997), the completion of the sentence stems were rated by two coders to fall into one of three categories⁷. Sentence continuations were coded by two raters as explanations (which answered the question ‘why was the act performed?’), elaborations (which answered the question ‘what were the circumstances when the act occurred?’) or temporal successions (which answered the question, ‘what happened after the act occurred?’). The raters were blind to hypotheses and agreement between the two coders was generally good, with Cohen’s kappa’s (Cohen, 1960)⁸ ranging between .78 and .90 on the gender congruent and incongruent sentence

⁷ Infrequently ($N=12$; 0.7%) participants completed the sentence stems using one form of continuation followed by another. Raters were requested only to code the first continuation.

⁸ Cohen’s kappa (Cohen, 1960) provides a chance corrected measure of agreement and ranges between 0 and +1.

stems⁹ (see Appendix 7d). Any discrepancies in categorisations were presented to and rated by a third coder who was blind to the ratings of the previous coders¹⁰. In addition, the raters were asked to note down the number of words used in each continuation. Preliminary analysis revealed that whilst this did vary as a function of the type of continuation used (in that the shortest continuations were, as in Hastie et al., 1995, 'elaborations'), it did not differ as a function of sexism categorisation.

Following von Hippel et al. (1995, 1997) the number of explanations provided by each participant within each subgroup of sentence type (e.g. female stereotype congruent) was summed, and a difference score calculated between the number of explanations used in stereotype congruent and stereotype incongruent sentence male and female sentence stems. Specifically the number of explanations for male stereotype congruent behaviour was subtracted from the number of explanations provided for male stereotype incongruent behaviours to create a 'male difference' score (MDIFF). Similarly the number of explanations for female stereotype congruent behaviour was subtracted from the number of explanations provided for female stereotype incongruent behaviours to create a 'female difference' score (FDIFF). These two difference scores were then averaged to create an 'average difference' score (AVEDIFF)¹¹. Positive numbers on these measures indicate a tendency to use explanatory sentence continuations when behaviours are stereotype incongruent rather than when they are stereotype congruent. As in previous studies, scores on the HS and BS scales were subjected to a median split¹², to create two categories (high and low) on each scale (see Appendix A).

⁹ Analysis of interrater reliability on the categorisation of responses to neutral sentence stems was also adequate, with Kappa's ranging from between .64-.85.

¹⁰ Invariably, the rating of the third coder agreed with the ratings of one of the first two coders.

¹¹ Given that both the AWS and Hostile and Benevolent Sexism scales are measures of prejudice against women, it may seem illogical to presume as von Hippel et al. (1995, 1997) did that these content measures of prejudice will be associated with a general (i.e. average) propensity to use explanatory continuations for stereotype incongruent vs. congruent sentence stems. This is acknowledged in von Hippel et al.'s (1995) results. Despite this the analysis of von Hippel et al. (1997) still focuses on the average difference score. Consequently the analysis of the current studies results will replicate the analyses of von Hippel et al. (1997) before considering the MDIFF and FDIFF scores separately.

¹² Hostile Sexism scale median: 3.36, Standard Deviation: 0.95; Benevolent Sexism scale median: 3.32, Standard Deviation: 0.93.

Analysis of Variance

Hostile Sexism

In line with von Hippel et al. (1995) propensity to use an explanatory continuation for stereotype incongruent sentence stems was explored in relation to categorisation on the basis of the HS scale score. As with von Hippel et al. (1995, 1997) initial analysis was carried out on the average difference measure (AVEDIFF) before considering male and female sentence stems separately (MDIFF and FDIFF). In accordance with the analyses of von Hippel et al. (1995) and analyses of previous studies within this thesis, AVEDIFF was subjected to an Analysis of Variance with hostile sexism as a between subjects factor (scores on the benevolent sexism scale were covaried out of the analysis¹³). MDIFF and FDIFF were subjected to a repeated measures ANOVA with hostile sexism categorisation as a between subjects factor and scores on the BS scale covaried out of the analysis.

Analysis of AVEDIFF revealed no significant effects for hostile sexism ($F(1,81)=0.04$, $p=.85$). Analysis of MDIFF and FDIFF also revealed no significant effects (Gender of sentence stem \times hostile sexism: $F(1,81)=0.62$, $p=.43$), although examination of the mean scores indicated that the tendency to use explanatory sentence continuations for stereotype congruent sentence stems was not uniform amongst the subgroups (see Figure 7.8). However, the observed differences were not significant.

Benevolent Sexism

The analysis was repeated using benevolent sexism categorisations (with scores on the HS scale covaried out of the analyses). Analysis of AVEDIFF revealed no significant differences between those who scored high and low on the BS scale ($F(1,81)=0.11$, $p=.74$). Analysis of MDIFF and FDIFF revealed no significant effects (Gender of sentence stem \times benevolent sexism: $F(1,81)=0.12$, $p=0.73$). Examination of the means again indicated a nonuniform pattern. However, again the difference were not significant (see Figure 7.9).

¹³ Preliminary analysis of the data set demonstrated that the Homogeneity of Slopes assumption had not been violated. Thus covariate analysis could proceed.

Figure 7.7: Mean tendency to use explanations for stereotype incongruent sentence stems by gender of sentence target and hostile sexism categorisation (positive numbers indicate a greater tendency to use explanations for stereotype incongruent sentences than congruent ones).

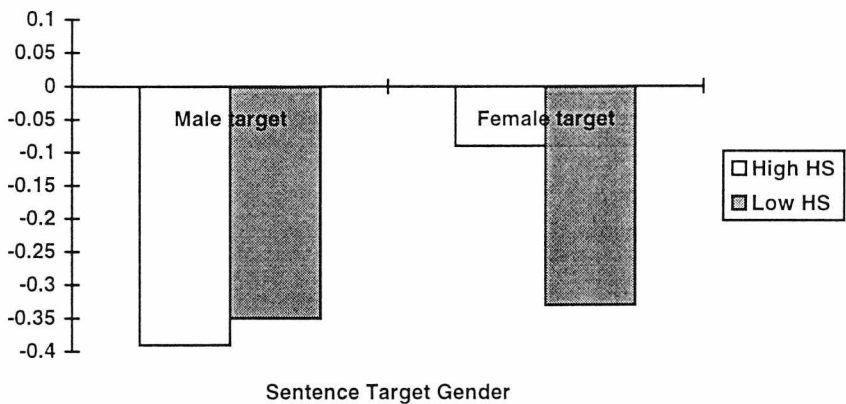
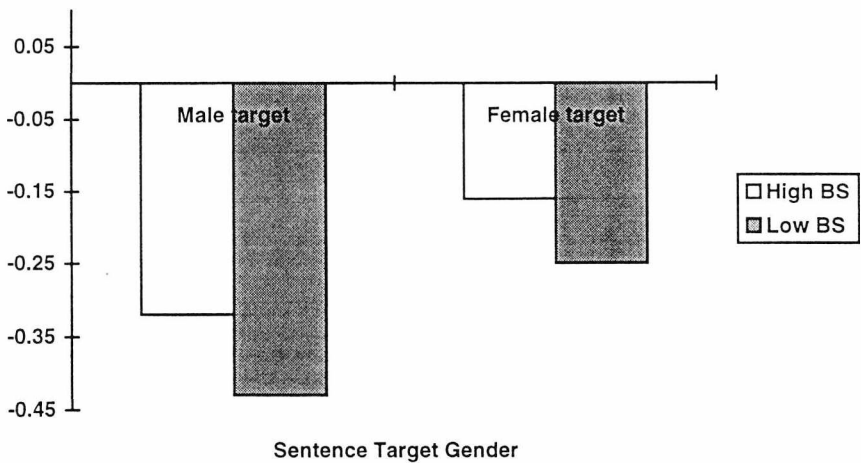


Figure 7.8: Mean tendency to use explanations for stereotype incongruent sentence stems by gender of sentence target and benevolent sexism categorisation (positive numbers indicate a greater tendency to use explanations for stereotype incongruent sentences than congruent ones).



Correlational Analysis

In line with von Hippel et al. (1997) the scores on the MDIFF, FDIFF and AVEDIFF variables were, in addition, dichotomised such that participants who had a score greater than zero were categorised as high on that variable, whilst participants who scored zero or below were categorised as low on that variable. In line with the analyses of von Hippel et al. (1997) the process prejudice measures were correlated with the two measures of content prejudice. AVEDIFF had a nonsignificant bivariate correlation with both hostile sexism ($r(85)=.12$, $p=.27$) and benevolent sexism ($r(85)=-.00$, $p=.98$). In addition MDIFF was unrelated to both hostile sexism ($r(85)=.04$, $p=.69$) and benevolent sexism ($r(85)=-.03$, $p=.80$). In contrast, hostile sexism was moderately but significantly related to FDIFF ($r(85)=.22$, $p<.05$). This relationship became marginally significant when the association between the HS and BS scales was partialled out (partial $r(81)=.21$, $p<.06$). Benevolent sexism and FDIFF were unrelated ($r(85)=.04$, $p=.69$)¹⁴.

Discussion

Following the results of Study Five, where a fictional character evaluation task had failed to find differentiation between high and low hostile sexists, recourse was taken to a recently established paradigm within prejudice research. Drawing on the linguistic bias research of Maass et al. (1989) and Hastie (1984), von Hippel et al. (1995) proposed that people high and low in relevant forms of prejudice may describe events differently dependent on the category or group membership of the protagonist of the behaviour. Specifically, following Maass et al. (1989), von Hippel et al. (1985) proposed that negative actions of a member of the group against which the prejudice is held may be described in more abstract or generalisable terms (so as to imply a stable trait of that person). Alternatively, following Hastie (1984), von Hippel et al. (1995) proposed that behaviours or actions that are seen as incongruent with preconceived ideas or expectancies (or stereotypes) may be more prone to explanations than behaviours/actions that did fit with preconceived ideas or expectancies. In an evaluation of this, von Hippel et al. (1995)

¹⁴ These relationships remained constant when the scales were treated as continuous variables. The relationship between FDIFF and hostile sexism remained significant ($r(83)= -.23$, $p<.05$). Note that the direction of the correlation differs as in this analysis higher scores on the HS scale are associated with a greater negative FDIFF score (i.e. propensity to use explanatory sentence continuations for stereotype incongruent sentence stems).

found, using a sentence continuation task (Hastie, 1984) that participants high in prejudice against women (sexism, evaluated using the AWS) were more likely than participants low in sexism to use explanatory sentence continuations for female stereotype incongruent sentence stems. On the basis of this it was hypothesised that in a replication of von Hippel et al. (1995) and Hastie (1984) that participants high in either hostile or benevolent sexism would provide more explanatory sentence continuations for female stereotype incongruent behaviours than for female stereotype congruent behaviours. In addition, and following von Hippel et al. (1997) it was hypothesised that hostile (and benevolent) sexism would be positively correlated with a tendency to provide explanatory sentence continuations for female stereotype incongruent sentence stems.

The results of the current study provide marginal support for the hypotheses. Contrary to the first hypothesis and the results of von Hippel et al. (1995), a repeated measures analysis of variance demonstrated that participants high in either hostile or benevolent sexism did not provide more explanatory sentence continuations for female stereotype incongruent sentence stems than participants low in hostile or benevolent sexism. Examination of the means showed that differences between the subsamples were not significant. However, in partial support of the second hypothesis, hostile sexism was (marginally) significantly related with the propensity to use explanatory sentence continuations for female stereotype incongruent sentence stems. Hostile sexism was not related with the tendency to use explanatory sentence continuations for male stereotype incongruent sentence stems. In addition, there was no relationship between benevolent sexism and a tendency to use explanatory sentence continuations for female or male stereotype incongruent sentence stems.

These results therefore demonstrate some tendency for high hostile sexists to explain female stereotype incongruent behaviours. Whilst this provides further evidence in high hostile sexists' 'belief' in traditional roles for women, the results of the current study do raise a number of interesting questions. Specifically, why were the results with regard to hostile sexism not stronger, why did benevolent sexism fail to be significantly related to explanatory style? Possible explanations for these will be discussed before moving on to consider the implications of these results for von Hippel et al.'s (1995) assertion regarding the worth of content measures of prejudice and the issue of linguistic bias and the perpetuation of stereotypes.

As noted previously, von Hippel et al. (1995) found that participants high in negative affect sexism were significantly more likely to provide explanatory sentence continuations for female stereotype incongruent sentence stems than participants low in sexism. The pattern of results within the current study were suggestive of this tendency, although the differences were not significant. One possible explanation for this may lie in the outgroup homogeneity effect (Lippman, 1922, see also Quattrone & Jones, 1980). The outgroup homogeneity effect is the tendency to view outgroup members as more alike (to one another) and homogenous, in comparison to members of the ingroup. In terms of the current paradigm, members of the ingroup may view stereotype incongruent behaviour as being less in need of explanation (as they are more accepting of heterogeneous patterns of behaviour within the ingroup) than if the behaviour had been demonstrated by a member of the outgroup. Von Hippel et al. (1995) used male participants and thus female targets constituted an outgroup to them. In contrast, participants in the current study were mainly female and thus they were being asked to judge ingroup members' behaviours. Consequently, independent of level of sexism, participants in the current study may have viewed the female stereotype incongruent behaviour as less in need of explanation, through their acceptance/knowledge of the heterogeneous nature of ingroup behaviour. Whilst it is impossible to vigorously test this hypothesis in the current design (due to the small number of male participants), the outgroup homogeneity effect does appear to be a feasible explanation for the weakness of the results of the current study.

A further unexpected finding of the current study was the failure of the benevolent sexism results to replicate those found with hostile sexism. Whilst neither hostile nor benevolent sexism were significant within the ANOVA, hostile sexism was found to be significantly correlated with the propensity to use explanatory continuations with female stereotype incongruent sentence stems. The correlation between benevolent sexism and the tendency to use explanatory continuations for female stereotype incongruent sentence stems was in the same direction but notably smaller. Given the results of von Hippel et al. (1995) and within the current study, this may suggest that it is the negative affect inherent in the agreement with hostile sexism and AWS statements that is critical in producing the magnitude of the relationship with linguistic bias. Alternatively it may imply that benevolent sexists are less restricted in their view of how they believe women can be. Specifically they do not find the idea of women engaging in non-traditional behaviour as 'surprising' (and in need of elaborative processing and explanation) but rather they just

feel positive affect towards or prefer those who do adhere to traditional roles (as demonstrated in Study Five).

Before considering what the current results tell us about hostile sexists and devices they may use to perpetuate traditional stereotypes of women, it is important to consider briefly the implications of the results of the methods and assertions of von Hippel et al. (1997). One of the aims of von Hippel et al.'s (1997) research was, in contrast to von Hippel et al. (1995), to demonstrate the absence of a relationship between content and process prejudice. As noted earlier, over the course of three studies and two forms of prejudice, content and process prejudice were consistently unrelated in von Hippel et al.'s (1997) research. This was attributed to the assertion that content measures of prejudice are subject to social desirability biases: respondents can see the correct (i.e. non prejudiced) way to respond and do so, regardless of their own beliefs. Why this is all too likely to be true of a measure of sexism designed twenty five years ago (i.e. the AWS, Spence et al., 1973), it is perhaps less likely to be true of a measure designed more recently (e.g. the ASI, Glick & Fiske, 1996). By using a more up to date measure of content prejudice and by clarifying the method (such that a measure of attitudes towards women is only expected to predict linguistic bias with regard to women; c.f. von Hippel et al., 1997), the current research has demonstrated a small, but significant, association between content and process prejudice, or more specifically, hostile sexism and linguistic bias. Whilst it cannot be refuted that: "*a complete understanding of prejudice can no longer be obtained simply by asking people what they think and feel about various groups*" (von Hippel et al., 1997, p508.) the results of the current study suggest that (contemporary) content measures of prejudice may not be as ineffectual as von Hippel et al. (1997) imply.

Despite the limitations of the current study in terms of results, the significant correlation between propensity to use explanatory continuations of female stereotype congruent sentence stems and high hostile sexism, indicates that hostile sexists do demonstrate a marginal bias in their language or interpretation of events. Specifically, following von Hippel and Baker (1993, cited in von Hippel et al., 1995) and Hastie (1984) it appears that high hostile sexists find non-traditional or stereotype incongruent behaviour marginally more difficult to reconcile with their preconception or stereotype of women and their behaviour in comparison to low hostile sexists. Thus they engage in elaborative processing and are more likely perceive the behaviour as in need of explanation. This, therefore, demonstrates a marginal linguistic difference between high and low hostile

sexists. The broader consequences of this, though, are unclear. Research into linguistic intergroup bias (e.g. Maass, 1989) has demonstrated that reference to negative outgroup behaviours in abstract or generalisable terms suggests a number of things about the outgroup. Specifically, abstract terms have been judged to provide more information about the actor than the situation, are perceived to refer to a stable feature of the protagonist's personality, may provoke biased interpretations of future behaviour and are considered less easy to confirm or disconfirm than more situationally determined (or concrete) behavioural references (Maass et al., 1989; Semin & Fiedler, 1988). Thus, Maass et al. (1989) conclude that such abstract communications may contribute to the perpetuation of a stereotype about a group. Within research, it has not been established whether providing explanations for stereotype incongruent behaviour will have a similar effect. Theoretically it may. By providing an explanation for an event, a communicator suggests to those he/she is communicating to that the event being described is unusual or transient (i.e. is not the norm). Thus by implication if a stereotype incongruent behaviour is explained (implying it is not the norm), then the listener may presume that stereotype congruent behaviour is the 'norm' or expected behaviour. Whilst this may be a more transient form of communication than that achieved by using abstract language, it may suggest ways in which stereotypes about a group are communicated to those, perhaps, without extensive knowledge of the group in question (e.g. children).

Summary and implications of Studies Five and Six

The current chapter has detailed two studies that were initial attempts to find differentiation between those high and low in either hostile or benevolent sexism using more explicit measures. The first study focused specifically on an evaluation of the subtyping hypothesis presented in Chapter Five. Following the results of Studies Two and Three, it was proposed that hostile and benevolent sexism may be more specifically directed towards different subtypes of women. In Study Five, participants were presented with female fictional characters who were either stereotype congruent (and thus conforming to the 'nurturant' subtype of benevolent sexists) or stereotype incongruent (conforming to the 'career woman/feminist' subtype of hostile sexists). It was predicted that high benevolent sexists would evaluate the traditional female characters more positively (than low benevolent sexists) and high hostile sexists would evaluate the non-traditional female characters less positively than low hostile sexists. Whilst there was

evidence that high benevolent sexists evaluated the traditional female characters more positively than low benevolent sexists, there was no support for the hostile sexism hypotheses. In an attempt to find differentiation between high and low hostile sexists, a different paradigm was adopted within Study Six. Following the recent work on linguistic bias (e.g. Maass et al., 1989) and prejudice (von Hippel et al., 1995, 1997) a partial replication of von Hippel et al. (1995, 1997) was undertaken. Participants were presented with sentence stems that were either (male or female) stereotype congruent or incongruent. It was hypothesised that participants high in contemporary sexism (either hostile or benevolent) should perceive female stereotype incongruent sentence stems as incongruent with their conceptualisation of (traditional) roles for women and be more likely to explain them than participants low in contemporary sexism. These hypotheses were partially supported with regard to hostile sexism. Participants high in hostile sexism exhibited some linguistic bias in comparison to low hostile sexists. Specifically hostile sexism was positively and significantly correlated with a tendency to use explanations for female stereotype incongruent behaviours.

Studies Five and Six have thus provided some preliminary explorations of the ways in which scores on the HS and BS scales of the ASI may result in differentiation on other indices. In a continuation of this exploration, it was decided, for the final two studies, to take these explorations into a slightly more applied domain. Specifically the next stage of the exploration, detailed in Chapter Eight, focused on how scores on the hostile and benevolent sexism scales of the ASI may result in differences in evaluations of women in hypothetical workplace scenarios.

Chapter Eight:

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and Workplace Bias

“Even when women are the victims, somehow they are always to blame”

Sally Weale ‘Carrying the can for men’

The Guardian, 31st March 1998, p8.

This chapter details two studies that were designed to differentiate between high and low hostile or benevolent sexists in a more ‘applied’ context. Study Seven draws on the proposition of Shore (1992) and Beattie and Diehl (1979) that those who endorse a traditional stereotype of women (e.g. hostile and benevolent sexists) may perceive a mismatch between a female candidate’s ability and her employment in a management role. Participants were presented with a curriculum vitae of a female candidate applying for a lower management position and were asked to rate her on a number of criteria, including whether they perceived her as suitable, capable and/or employable in the management role. The results indicate that those who score above the median on the HS scale rate the female candidate as less capable and employable than those who score below the median on the HS scale. Drawing on another aspect of workplace relations, Study Eight focuses on perceptions of sexual harassment. In a partial replication of Wiener et al. (1997), female participants were presented with the fact patterns from two US sexual harassment cases and were asked to make a series of judgements as to the nature of the behaviour depicted in the cases (i.e. was it sexual harassment). In an extension of Wiener et al. (1997) the cases were either presented in the first person (i.e. happened to the respondent) or third person (happened to another female). In line with Wiener et al. (1997) it was predicted that those scoring above the median on the HS scale would find less evidence (than those scoring below the median), whilst those scoring above the median on the BS scale would, through protectionist motives, find more evidence of sexual harassment (than those scoring below the median). It was thought that condition (first or third person) may interact with sexism categorisation, such that judgements of harassment in the first and third person conditions would be moderated by perceptions of the sexualised behaviour at work as a positive or negative event. In partial support of the hypotheses, the results indicate that in the first person condition high hostile sexists perceive the behaviours as less evidential of sexual harassment than low hostile sexists. In addition, some evidence was found to suggest that high and low hostile sexists apply different standards or norms

to behaviour that occurs to them as opposed to another female. The results of Study Eight suggest a link between scores on the HS scale and a disparity between personally and socially applied norms for behaviour.

Applied Bias?

The results of Studies Five and Six indicated some ways in which scores on the HS and BS scales may be related to differences in ratings of traditional female characters (benevolent sexism) and use of linguistic bias against women (hostile sexism). Whilst these are theoretically interesting (in that, for example, they suggest ways in which traditional views of women may be communicated), perhaps a more useful application of the HS and BS scales of the ASI would be in (at present, hypothetical) workplace scenarios. As noted in previous chapters, recent research conducted using the HS and BS scales (e.g. Glick et al., 1997; Wiener et al., 1997) has focused on the theoretical proposals made by Fiske and Glick (1995). In their analysis, Fiske and Glick (1995) hypothesised on the ways in which the holding of different types of sexist attitudes (as assessed by ASI scales) may be related to problematic workplace behaviour (specifically sexual harassment). Other analyses (e.g. Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995) have also posited that the workplace can engender subtle sex discriminatory behaviour.

Workplace discrimination based on gender can potentially take many forms. Benokraitis and Feagin (1995) detail examples ranging from linguistic differentiation (i.e. referring to a female colleague as a 'doll' or 'little lady') through 'benevolent exploitation' (i.e. 'dumping' - getting someone to do a job and then taking the credit for it), 'considerate domination' (e.g. exclusion from decision making processes) to sexual harassment or social/professional exclusion. These are all cited as evidence that subtle sex discrimination exists within organisations. In addition to taking many forms, gender based discrimination can also take place at any stage of the employment process, from application for a position to behaviour demonstrated within actual employment (e.g. sexual harassment). For example, as noted in Chapter One, Shore (1992) found that although a mainly male assessment centre board evaluated female candidates as better than male candidates on numerous criteria, these 'positive' attitudes failed to translate into behaviour. Within his sample female candidates were not subsequently judged to have any greater management potential than male candidates and did not progress (in terms of long term job advancement) significantly better than them. One explanation proposed for this finding

focused on the possibility that the assessors and managers in the study held stereotypical, or traditional, views of women. Thus, as the assessors and managers perceived an incongruity between the stereotypical attributes of females and the requirements of a managerial position, women were not judged to have any greater management potential.

Beattie and Diehl (1979) investigated the role of stereotyping with regard to male and female law school applicants. Within their study, Beattie and Diehl asked male and female undergraduates to evaluate and make judgements about a letter and application form ostensibly written by a law school applicant. Half of their participants believed this applicant to be female, whilst the other half believed the applicant to be male. Participants in their study were asked to rate the candidate on a number of 'overt' criteria (i.e. measures where the criteria for performance evaluation were clear) as well as on a number of indirect measures. The indirect or subtle measures required the participant to judge the candidate's personality, career orientation, and strengths and weaknesses¹. On the basis of the strength of the application it was predicted that there would be no differences in ratings of the male and female candidate on overt criteria where clear 'correct' answers existed (Pheterson, Kiesler & Goldberg, 1971). However, it was hypothesised that where ambiguity existed (as to the 'correct' response), as with the indirect measures, gender stereotyping would be evident. As predicted, analysis of the results indicated no difference in ratings of the male and female candidates on the overt measures. In contrast, analysis of the indirect measures of stereotyping indicated some differentiation on the basis of candidate gender. Specifically, the female candidate was evaluated as less (mentally) healthy and with a propensity to overestimate her own potential. In addition, participants more frequently assigned the female candidate to stereotypically female occupations (and the male candidate to stereotypically male occupations). Beattie and Diehl (1979) concluded that where no clear criteria or standard for behaviour existed, participants were willing to (subtly) discriminate against the female candidate.

The results and theorising from Shore (1992) and Beattie and Diehl (1979) suggest that subtle gender based discrimination may be demonstrated in the process of job

¹ A similar method has also been used with regard to modern racism (McConahay, 1983). McConahay (1983) asked participants to evaluate a resume of an applicant for a job. McConahay found evidence to suggest that participants who scored above the median on the MRS would discriminate against Black candidates under certain conditions (see Chapter One).

application if the evaluator perceives a mismatch between the candidate's ability and the demands of the job. Thus, if an evaluator endorses traditional views of, for example, men, they may be unlikely to appoint a male candidate in a traditionally female occupation. In contrast, if an evaluator endorses traditional views of women, then they may be unlikely to appoint a female candidate in a 'male typed' occupation.

Previous theorising (Fiske & Glick, 1995) and studies (within this thesis and Glick et al., 1997) have documented that hostile and benevolent sexism are related to endorsement of traditional stereotypes about women. On the basis of this, Masser (1995) hypothesised that hostile and benevolent sexism would be related to discrimination against a female candidate applying for a 'non stereotypical' or male typed job. Fiske and Glick (1995), drawing on Glick (1991), theorised that occupations that were not 'pink collar' (i.e. were not roles in which women utilised their feminine 'skills') may be seen as inappropriate for women by those that endorse hostile or benevolent sexist attitudes. Drawing on this and on the evidence documented by Shore (1992), Masser (1995) asked participants to evaluate a female (or male) candidate applying for a (lower) managerial position within a supermarket. Thus the role involved aspects of 'women's work' (i.e. retail; Office for National Statistics, 1996) whilst including an element (i.e. management) that may appear incompatible with hostile and benevolent sexists' perceptions of 'suitable' work for a female candidate. Participants were requested to rate the candidate on a number of positive or negative traits and then to rate the candidate on their suitability and employability in the lower management position. In addition they were asked to indicate the candidate's suitability for a management trainee scheme and the likelihood that they would place the candidate on such a scheme. It was hypothesised that those scoring above the median on the HS scale would rate the female candidate more negatively on the traits in comparison to those scoring below the median. In contrast, it was hypothesised that those who scored above the median on the BS scale would rate the female candidate more positively on the traits in comparison to those scoring below the median (thus reflecting their general positivity towards women). Moreover it was hypothesised that participants high in hostile or benevolent sexism, would rate the female candidate as less suitable and as less employable in both the lower and higher management occupations. Within the original analyses participants were put into four categories dependent on their scores on the HS and BS scales (Hostile, Benevolent, Ambivalent and Non Sexists). No consistent pattern of results emerged within the original analysis, although the pattern of mean scores

indicated that hostile sexism was associated with less positive evaluations of the female candidate, whilst benevolent sexism was associated with more positive trait evaluations of the female candidate.

Reanalysis of the 1995 data

In order to ascertain whether scores on the HS and BS scales of the ASI did result in differential evaluations of a female candidate, a reanalysis of the 1995 data was undertaken (see Appendix 8a). In this reanalysis, scores on the HS and BS scales of the ASI were subjected to a median split². Thus ANOVA was undertaken with the HS (or BS) categorisation and candidate gender as between subjects variables, with the participants' score on the alternate measure of sexism partialled out.

Analysis of the data revealed partial support for the hypotheses (in addition to a number of other effects, see Appendix 8a). Participants who scored above the median on the HS scale were significantly more likely to rate the female candidate higher on the negative traits than participants who scored below the median. With regard to the employment suitability, participants high in hostile sexism indicated the female candidate as being marginally less suitable for employment in the lower management position (as a Senior Checkout Operator) and as being less likely to employ her in that position than participants low in hostile sexism. No other significant differences on the basis of either the HS or BS scale score were observed.

Discrimination against applicants

On the basis of this reanalysis of the data from Masser (1995), a partial replication of the 'curriculum vitae' study was conducted to determine whether these results were consistent across samples and whether scores on the HS scale could consistently predict discrimination against female candidates. Within the replication the design was simplified (to exclude candidate gender) to provide a clearer picture of the impact of hostile (or benevolent) sexism scores on ratings of female candidates. As in Masser (1995), participants were asked to rate the candidate on the positive and negative traits, and to answer four questions regarding the suitability and employability of the candidate. In addition, participants were also asked to judge how capable the candidate would be in the

² Within this sample the median score for the HS scale was 3.55, whilst the median score for the BS scale was 3.18

job of Senior Checkout Operator (lower management) and as a management trainee (higher management). This question was added to determine whether (any) discrimination displayed would be attributed to a feature of the candidate. Specifically as noted by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) and McConahay (1983; see Chapter One) participants who engage in discriminatory behaviour often try to justify it by attributing it to a 'legitimate' non prejudice reason.

In line with Masser (1995) it was hypothesised that participants high in hostile sexism would rate the female candidate more negatively on the traits than participants low in hostile sexism. In addition, it was hypothesised that participants high in hostile sexism would rate the candidate as less suitable, less capable and as less 'employable' for the lower and higher management positions. It was hypothesised that participants high in benevolent sexism would rate the candidate more positively on the traits than participants low in benevolent sexism (reflecting their general positivity towards women). In addition, it was hypothesised that participants high in benevolent sexism (vs. those low in benevolent sexism) would, however, demonstrate the same pattern of discrimination with regard to the suitability, capability and employability of the candidate in a lower and higher management position as participants high in hostile sexism.

Study 7:

Method

Participants

Fifty-seven psychology undergraduate students at the University of Kent (10 men and 47 women) participated in an experimental session for another postgraduate student. As a task in that procedure, participants completed the 'Curriculum Vitae' measure for experimental credit in partial fulfilment of a course requirement.

Materials

All participants had completed the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) in a mass pretesting session ten to fourteen weeks prior to the current study. During this pretesting session, all participants were given an individual identification code which allowed the linking of responses in the pretest to responses on measures administered later in the year.

Curriculum Vitae Measure (see Figure 8.1): Based on a measure used by Beattie and Diehl (1979) and McConahay (1983) participants were presented with a curriculum

vitae that they were told had been sent to a supermarket advertising for a Senior Checkout Operator. Participants were asked to read the curriculum vitae and then to rate the applicant (who was female) on a number of job related positive and negative trait dimensions (Spence et al., 1979, Bem, 1981; Martin, 1987). Participants were asked to rate the candidate on each of these dimensions on a seven point scale. The participants were then asked to answer three questions (based on McConahay, 1983) regarding their opinion of the candidate's suitability for the Senior Checkout Operators post, the capability of the candidate for that post and the likelihood that they would appoint the candidate. In addition, participants were asked to answer three questions regarding the candidate's suitability for placement on a management trainee scheme, the capability of the candidate with regard to the higher management post and the likelihood that the participants would place the applicant on the management trainee scheme.

Procedure

All participants completed the measure as a 'filler task' during another (unrelated) experimental session. In line with the procedure adopted by McConahay (1983), each participant was told that the study concerned the presentation of information within curriculum vitae. Thus they were asked to read the information presented in the curriculum vitae carefully and complete the measures that followed it. Participants were requested to complete the measures independently. Each participant was given as much time as required to complete the measures, and the completed measures were collected in by the experimenter, prior to debriefing at the end of the experimental session.

Figure 8.1: Curriculum Vitae of applicant for Senior Checkout Operator

| <u>Curriculum Vitae</u> | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| NAME: | Christine Myersforth |
| DATE OF BIRTH: | 3rd November 1966 |
| ADDRESS: | 17 West Grange Road Colnill Kent TN25 6FC |
| TELEPHONE: | 01892 664389 |
| NATIONALITY: | British |
| EDUCATION: | <div> <div>1979-1982</div> <div> Mowray School, North Colnill 4 GCE's including English and Maths (2 'A's, 2 'B's); 5 CSE's including French (2 Grade 1's) </div> </div> <div> <div>1990-1994</div> <div> Colnill Adult Education Centre. 2 A Levels (completed part time) - Sociology (C), Economics (B) </div> </div> |
| WORK EXPERIENCE | |
| Nov. 1982-Apr 1986 | Shop Assistant for the local branch of Woolworth's. During my time here I worked on the checkout and also took on responsibility for many sections, including the audio visual section and confectionery. This involved me being responsible for the ordering of stock as well as overall presentation of that area of the store. Unfortunately in April 1986, the local branch closed and I was made redundant. |
| May 1986-July 1990 | Checkout Operator at the local branch of Safeways. This involved being responsible for the appearance of the checkout and the money that came into my till. During my time here I was often left in charge of the checkouts when the supervisor was called away from the area. |
| July 1990-present | I was given the opportunity to pursue alternative challenges and thus took this time to develop myself as a person. During this time I took a number of part time classes which led to my gaining two A levels as detailed above. In addition I took an evening class in management skills, for which I received a certificate. |
| SKILLS | |
| Full clean driving licence. Certificate in management skills. | |

Results

Of primary interest in these analyses were the ratings that participants high and low in hostile (and benevolent) sexism gave to the female candidate on the positive and negative traits, and on the employment questions. In order to facilitate this analysis, a median split was carried out on the participants' responses to the hostile (and benevolent) sexism scales of the ASI (see Appendix A), and thus two categories (high and low) were created on each of the ASI scales. In line with the reanalysis of Masser (1995) separate reliability analyses were conducted on the positive ('all positive') and negative ('all negative') traits. The reliability of the 'all positive' traits was moderate at (Cronbach's alpha) .69 (standardised: .70). The reliability of the 'all negative' traits was somewhat higher at .83 (standardised: .83). On the basis of the reliability analysis, composite 'all positive' and 'all negative' variables were created.

In order to assess whether responses to the measures differed as a function of hostile (or benevolent) sexism categorisation, ANOVA's were conducted on the composite 'all positive' and 'all negative' traits scores and the responses to the questions with sexism categorisation as a between subjects independent variable. In line with the procedure adopted in previous studies, scores on the alternate sexism measure were covaried out of the analyses³.

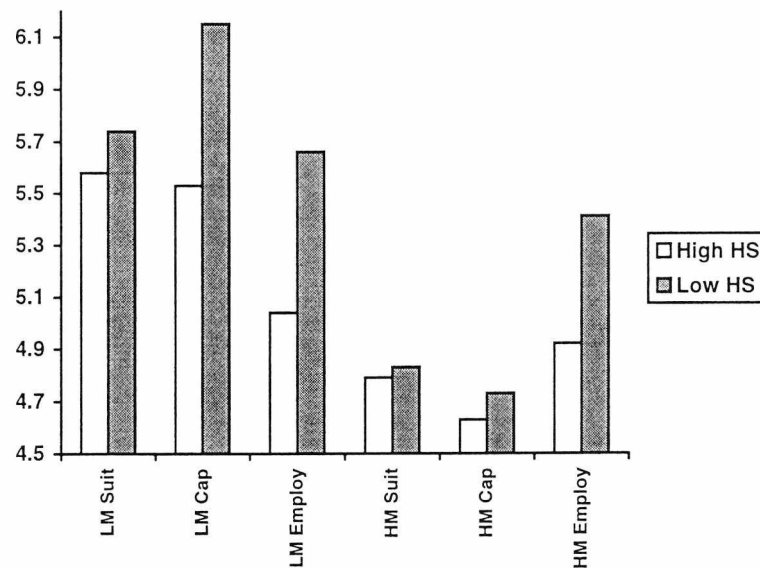
Analysis by hostile sexism categorisation

There were no significant effects of hostile sexism categorisation on all the positive and negative ratings or on the suitability of the candidate for the Senior Checkout Operator post. However, for the capability rating there was a significant effect of hostile sexism ($F(1,50)=5.35$, $p<.03$, $\eta^2=.10$). Participants high in hostile sexism rated the female candidate as significantly less capable ($M_{\text{high}}=5.44$) than participants low in hostile sexism ($M_{\text{low}}=6.19$). In addition, participants high in hostile sexism indicated that they were significantly less willing to employ the candidate as a Senior Checkout Operator ($F(1,49)=7.24$, $p<.02$; $M_{\text{high}}=4.98$, $\eta^2=.10$) than participants low in hostile sexism ($M_{\text{low}}=5.69$). Analysis of all other questions (with regard to the management trainee scheme) revealed no significant effects, although examination of the mean scores indicated

³ A preliminary evaluation of the 'homogeneity of slopes' assumption (Salkind, Akey & Green, 1997) indicated that it had not been violated and that analysis could proceed.

that participants high in hostile sexism consistently rated the female candidate lower on all the job related questions than participants low in hostile sexism (see Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2 Suitability, capability and employability ratings of the female candidate for the lower and higher management position by hostile sexism categorisation



Note: LM = Lower Management (Senior Checkout Operator); HM= Higher Management (Management Trainee)
 Suit = Suitability for the position; Cap = Capability within position; Employ = Likelihood of being hired or placed in the position. Higher ratings indicate the greater suitability, capability and employability of the candidate.

Analysis by benevolent sexism categorisation

Analysis of the composite 'all positive' and 'all negative' trait terms revealed no significant effects of benevolent sexism. In addition analysis of the responses to all the questions revealed no significant effects.

Discussion

Following Beattie and Diehl (1979) and McConahay (1983), Masser (1995) hypothesised that participants who scored above the median on the subscales of the ASI may discriminate against female applicants of a job that was incongruent with traditional roles (in comparison to participants who scored low on the scales). A reanalysis of Masser

(1995) demonstrated some support for this proposition and thus a partial replication was undertaken. The results of the current study suggest that, contrary to Masser (1995) and the experimental hypothesis, participants high and low in hostile and/or benevolent sexism did not rate female job applicants differentially on positive and negative traits. However, in partial replication of the results of Masser (1995), participants in the current study who were high in hostile sexism did differentially rate the candidate when asked direct questions about her employability in a (lower) management position. Specifically participants high in hostile sexism rated the candidate as significantly less capable (than participants low in hostile sexism). In addition, high hostile sexist participants indicated that they were significantly less willing to employ the candidate in a lower management position (as a Senior Checkout Operator) than participants low in hostile sexism.

The results of the current study (and the reanalysis of Masser, 1995) thus provide some evidence that ratings of a female job candidate will differ as a function of hostile sexism scale. The results suggest that benevolent sexism did not affect such evaluations. As with Shore (1992) the results of the current study suggest that those participants who endorse traditional or stereotypical views of women (as assessed by the HS scale) do not evaluate female candidates as any different on a number of traits, but merely indicate that they perceive her as less capable (and less employable) in a (lower) management position. The endorsement of the 'lower' capability of the candidate by high hostile sexists may indicate their belief in a mismatch of the candidate's ability and the demands of the job, as suggested by Shore (1992), or merely reflect a desire by high hostile sexists to attribute their (lower) employability rating to a 'justified' and non prejudiced motivation.

Whilst the results of the current study further extend the research into the predictive utility of the ASI scales (in that scores on the HS scale appear to be able to predict some form of discrimination against women), interpretation of the results is made less certain by a number of problems in the experimental design. These will be discussed before considering the wider implications of holding hostile (and benevolent) sexist attitudes in the workplace.

Unlike Masser (1995), participants in the current study were only asked to rate female candidates. This allowed a 'cleaner' exploration of the hypotheses underlying the study but leaves open the question of whether the differential ratings observed represent 'sexism'. An alternative hypothesis may be that participants high in hostile sexism merely discriminate against everybody, rather than just women. However, the reanalysis of

Masser (1995), presented in Appendix 8a, suggests that this is not the case. Within this analysis, participants high in hostile sexism tended to rate the male candidate more favourably than participants low in hostile sexism, whilst reversing their ratings for the female candidate. This suggests that the differential ratings observed in the current study were attributable to negative affect towards women (i.e. sexism) rather than just a propensity to give lower ratings.

A further problematic feature of the current study concerns the failure to replicate part of the results of Masser (1995). Masser (1995) found that high hostile sexist participants rated the female candidate higher on negative traits and also rated her (marginally) lower on the 'suitability' question. The failure to replicate these aspects of the results may suggest that they were a function of the specific samples used within each study, or alternatively a function of the time (i.e. year) in which the populations were sampled.

Within both Masser (1995) and the current study, no evidence was found for significant discrimination against the female candidate in terms of the 'higher management' position. These results argue against Shore's (1992) proposal that believers in traditional roles for women may perceive a mismatch between managerial roles and female capabilities. Alternatively it may reflect the design of the curriculum vitae measure and/or the occupation chosen within the studies. Within the current study (and within the reanalysis of Masser, 1995), all participants indicated that the candidates were less suitable for the higher management position than the for the lower management position⁴. This may suggest that the curriculum vitae presented as the stimulus material was, regardless of the gender of the candidate, inappropriate for a higher management position. In addition, it may be questioned as to whether the occupation chosen was the most appropriate one to provoke discrimination in hostile and/or benevolent sexists. Although, as noted, retail is considered a female occupation (Office for National Statistics, 1996), Fiske and Glick (1995) suggest that roles that more closely adhere to the traditional stereotype of women endorsed by hostile and benevolent sexists may be more appropriate. Specifically, if the curriculum vitae had been of a childcare worker trying to become a nursery manager (which would remove her from contact with the children), then discrimination against the female management candidate may have been more apparent.

⁴ Mean scores for the lower management position were: $M_{\text{suitable}}=5.69$; $M_{\text{capable}}=5.86$; $M_{\text{employable}}=5.41$. Mean scores for the higher management position: $M_{\text{suitable}}=4.91$; $M_{\text{capable}}=4.76$; $M_{\text{employable}}=5.26$.

The implications of these criticisms of the current study suggest that modifications should be made to the paradigm if the research is to be replicated and extended. With that criticism in mind, however, this study does suggest that people who hold hostile sexist attitudes may rate candidates differentially based on their gender rather than ability or aptitude. In contrast, participants who differ in their positive stereotypical views of women do not (at least within this paradigm) show any evidence of that attitude leading to discriminatory behaviour.

The wider implications of sexist attitudes

As noted previously, workplace discrimination based on gender can take many forms and can take place at any stage in the employment procedure. One of the most notable types of gender discrimination at work is sexual harassment, and this has been the focus of much recent research into discrimination within the workplace.

Sexual harassment has been defined in a variety of ways since the term was first introduced into workplace discrimination literature (Farley, 1978). In 1980, a definition was formalised by the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in their interpretative guidelines. The EEOC thus defined sexual harassment as: *“unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature that takes place under any of the following circumstances: (1) when submission to the sexual advance is a condition of keeping or getting a job, whether expressed in implicit or explicit terms; (2) when a supervisor or boss makes personnel decisions based on an employee’s submission to or rejection of sexual advances; (3) when conduct unreasonably interferes with a person’s work or creates an intimidating, hostile or work environment”*.

Recognition of sexual harassment came later within the UK. In 1983, the Trades Union Congress published its first guidelines on sexual harassment at work. However, legally, harassment is still not a term specifically defined under British law⁵. Rather it constitutes a form of ‘detriment’ under the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act. As such, many Industrial Tribunals initially refused to recognise harassment as a form of discrimination. The first successful British sexual harassment case was won (on appeal) in 1986 and as a

⁵ This, however, is likely to change. Recently the Equal Opportunities Commission has produced a discussion document entitled “Equality in the 21st Century: A New Approach” which specifically notes sexual harassment. If this document influences future law, then sexual harassment may come to be defined.

consequence Industrial Tribunals were forced to recognise harassment as a form of discrimination. Since 1991, recourse has been taken in sexual harassment cases to the 1991 European Recommendation on The Protection of Dignity of Men and Women at Work. This Recommendation⁶ states that: “conduct of a sexual nature, or other conduct based on sex affecting the dignity of women and men at work is unacceptable if it is: (1) unwanted, unreasonable and offensive to the recipient; (2) used as a basis for employment decisions, such as promotion, or is (3) used as to create an intimidating, hostile or humiliating work environment for the recipient” (Bourn & Whitmore, 1996, p155).

Despite the existence of legal definitions of sexual harassment, there exists very little consensus about the practical definition of sexual harassment (e.g. Foulis & McCabe, 1997; Roscoe, Strouse & Goodwin, 1994; Sheffey & Tindale, 1992). Whilst severe behaviours (e.g. sexual bribery, sexual coercion and sexual assault) are more universally accepted as sexual harassment (e.g. Adams, Kottke & Padgitt, 1983; Bursik, 1992; Foulis & McCabe, 1997; Terpstra & Baker, 1987; c.f. Popovich, Gehlauf, Jolton, Somers, 1992), behaviours at the other end of the continuum (e.g. stereotyped jokes, unwanted teasing, jokes or remarks, unwanted suggestive looks, unwanted sexual letter/calls etc.) are less agreed upon (Adams et al., 1983; Frazier, Cochran & Olson, 1995; Popovich, Licata, Nokovich, Martelli & Zoloty, 1986). In short, behaviour that one person may perceive as sexual harassment, may not be regarded as such by another.

One of the primary aims of research into sexual harassment has been to determine the cause of this differential perception. Many factors have been investigated, for example age (e.g. Reilly, Lott & Gallogly, 1986), experience of sexual harassment (e.g. Mazer and Percival, 1989), occupation of participants (e.g. Baker, Terpstra & Cutler, 1990) and status differences (e.g. Sheffey & Tindale, 1992). However, perhaps the predominant focus of research has been on the impact of gender on evaluations of sexual harassment. As noted by Blumenthal (1998) numerous pieces of research using a diverse set of methods have reported significant gender differences, such that women are more likely to perceive a behaviour as harassment than are men (e.g. Adams et al., 1983; Castellow, 1994; Collins & Blodgett, 1981; Fitzgerald & Omerod, 1991; Jones & Remland, 1992; Moore, Wuensch,

⁶ Theoretically member states have no legal obligation to follow European Recommendations. However in *Grimaldi vs Fonds des maladies Professionnelles*, the European Court of Justice noted that: “National courts are bound to take Recommendations into consideration in order to decide disputes submitted to them, in particular where they clarify the interpretation of national provisions adopted in order to implement them or where they are designed to supplement Community measures” (cited in Bourn & Whitmore, 1996, p155).

Hedges & Pryor, 1985). Such research prompted the acceptance of the 'reasonable woman' standard within US law. In *Ellison v. Brady* (1991) the Ninth Circuit Federal appellate court stated that: "*We hold that a female plaintiff states a prima facie case of hostile environment sexual harassment when she alleges conduct which a reasonable woman would consider sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive working environment*" (p879, cited in Blumenthal, 1998, p33; emphasis added). This standard differed from the accepted reasonable person standard (which is the only one permissible in British courts) in that it asserted that the working environment for women may be different for that of men. Specifically that different or less severe factors may constitute hostile work environment harassment for 'the reasonable women' than they do for 'the reasonable person'.

Recent research has begun to query the proposition that it is gender (or gender alone) that results in people having different perceptions of what is and what is not sexual harassment. Gutek and O'Connor (1995) and Blumenthal (1998) note that not all studies have found evidence of gender differences (e.g. Bursik, 1992; Terpstra & Baker, 1987; Thomann & Wiener, 1987) and that within those that have found them, the magnitude of difference has varied widely, such that within-sex variation can be larger than the documented between-sex variation (e.g. Kenig & Ryan, 1986). Gutek and O'Connor (1995) attribute the difference in magnitude to a number of gender unrelated factors, such as severity of portrayed behaviour, context of behaviour and specific characteristics of the study. In a meta-analysis of gender differences in perceptions of sexual harassment, Blumenthal (1998) considered eighty-three published and unpublished studies of sexual harassment that had considered the issue of gender of respondent. From this she concludes that: "*the claims of narrative reviews (Frazier et al., 1995; Gutek & O'Connor, 1995) that gender differences in perceptions of sexual harassment are relatively small was supported*" (p46). Such evidence has led Blumenthal (1998) amongst others (e.g. Gutek & O'Connor, 1995) to question whether the 'reasonable woman' standard should remain within US law.

More critical, within the terms of the current analysis, is the question that if gender is not to 'blame' for attitudes towards or tolerance of sexual harassment then what factor is? One set of factors that have been considered are those to do with gender related attitudes (e.g. gender role, gender role stereotypes, and sexist attitudes and beliefs; e.g. Bursik, 1992; Foulis & McCabe, 1995; Mazer & Percival, 1989; Powell, 1986).

Foulis and McCabe (1997) note that gender role and its effect on attitudes towards sexual harassment has received little attention in the literature. Research that has considered personal levels of masculinity or femininity has produced inconsistent results with regard to attitudes towards sexual harassment. Bursik (1992) found no evidence that gender role affected perceptions of sexual harassment, whilst Powell (1986) found that scores on femininity (as assessed by the Bem Sex Role Inventory) were positively related to perceptions of sexual harassment in women. In their own analysis, Foulis and McCabe (1997) found that gender role had an impact on attitudes towards sexual harassment, but that this influence varied as a function of sample. Specifically, within their younger samples (high school and university) masculinity significantly predicted attitudes towards sexual harassment, whilst in their employed sample, femininity predicted attitudes towards sexual harassment.

Research has also considered the impact of gender role stereotypes on attitudes towards sexual harassment. Gender role stereotypes differ from gender role perceptions as they focus on general perceptions of male-appropriate and female-appropriate behaviour as opposed to self perceptions. Mazer and Percival (1989) found that gender role stereotypes were significantly positively related to sexual harassment attitudes, such that respondents who endorsed gender role stereotypes were likely to be more tolerant and accepting of sexual harassment, whilst participants who did not endorse such stereotypes defined more behaviours as sexual harassment. Foulis and McCabe (1997) found that gender role stereotypes were the strongest predictor of attitudes towards sexual harassment when considered alongside gender, gender role, occupation and experience of sexual harassment. In line with the findings of Mazer and Percival (1989), Foulis and McCabe (1997) concluded that the endorsement of gender role stereotypes was positively associated with tolerance of behaviours that may be perceived as sexually harassing.

In addition to considering gender role and gender role stereotypes, research has also considered the relationship of 'adversarial' sexual beliefs to attitudes towards sexual harassment. Using the Burt (1980) Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale, which assesses the extent to which respondents endorse antagonistic sexual roles between males and females, Murrell and Dietz-Uhler (1993) found that the endorsement of such beliefs was a significant predictor of attitudes towards sexual harassment in both men and women. In addition, Reilly, Lott, Caldwell and DeLuca (1992) found that adversarial sexual beliefs were significantly positively related to tolerance for sexual harassment. Reilly et al. (1992)

suggest that the endorsement of adversarial sexual beliefs (or associated beliefs, e.g. rape myth beliefs; Burt, 1980) and positive attitudes towards sexual harassment are part of a continuum of measures that tap hostility towards women. On this premise, any measure that taps hostility towards women may be hypothesised to be positively related to positive attitudes towards or tolerance of sexual harassment.

As noted in Chapter One, many measures of old fashioned and contemporary sexism tap negativity or hostility towards women (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim et al., 1995; Tougas et al., 1995). As such research has begun to consider the role of hostile and benevolent sexism to attributions for harassment (e.g. Burgess & Borgida, 1997; Fiske & Glick, 1995) in addition to considering the relationship of hostile and benevolent sexism to perceptions of sexual harassment (e.g. Wiener et al., 1997). Using fact patterns from two 'hostile work environment' US legal cases, Wiener et al. (1997) hypothesised, given the established relationship between endorsement of gender role stereotypes and attitudes towards sexual harassment, that hostile and benevolent sexism would be positively associated with finding less evidence of sexual harassment. In addition, and drawing on the US 'reasonable woman standard', Wiener et al. (1997) hypothesised that this standard may impact on benevolent sexism ratings. Specifically, Wiener et al. (1997) hypothesised that the enactment of the 'reasonable woman' standard (which suggests that women may perceive actions differently from men) may provoke a protectionist motivation in participants high in benevolent sexism such that under the reasonable woman standard, high benevolent sexists would feel motivated to protect the woman from harassment. Thus Wiener et al. (1997) hypothesised that benevolent sexism and legal standard may interact such that benevolent sexists only indicated attitudes more accepting of sexual harassment under the 'reasonable person' legal standard⁷.

During the course of the study, Wiener et al. (1997) presented male and female participants with the fact patterns from two US legal cases and asked them to make a number of judgements about the behaviour portrayed in the fact patterns. Participants were asked to respond using either the 'reasonable person' or 'reasonable woman'

⁷ An alternative hypothesis may be that high benevolent sexist protectionist motivations would be provoked under the 'reasonable person' rather than the 'reasonable woman' standard. Specifically, high benevolent sexists may feel protective towards women, but perceive that the need of protection of women is met (by the law) under the 'reasonable women' standard. Thus they may be more likely to activate their protectionist motivation under the 'reasonable person' standard (where the law does not protect women) than under the 'reasonable woman' standard.

standard. The results indicated a number of effects involving participants high and low in hostile or benevolent sexism. In general support of the hypothesis, participants high in hostile sexism considered the conduct less unwelcome, less severe, less pervasive (in the reasonable person condition), less likely to have a negative effect on work performance (in the reasonable person condition), less likely to have a negative psychological effect (male participants in the reasonable women condition) and less likely to be sexual harassment, than participants low in hostile sexism. With regard to benevolent sexism, participants high in benevolent sexism considered the detailed conduct more severe (in the reasonable person condition) and as more likely to have a negative effect on work performance than participants low in benevolent sexism⁸.

In addition to these analyses, Wiener et al. (1997) carried out a preliminary investigation into the impact of self referencing on perceptions of sexual harassment. Wiener et al. (1997) and others (e.g. Blumenthal, 1998) suggested that respondents' perceptions may differ as a function of their status in the proceedings of a sexual harassment case. Specifically: "*it may be that when women place themselves in the role of plaintiff, they easily find evidence of harassment*" (Wiener et al., 1997, p75). In a basic assessment of this proposition, Wiener et al. (1997) asked participants to rate how likely that the plaintiff had been a victim of hostile work harassment and how likely it was that if they had been the plaintiff they would have been a victim of hostile work harassment. Using a regression model they found that self-referencing explained a greater amount of variance than gender in the tendency to call the behaviour sexual harassment. Critically though, this tendency was not examined as a function of hostile or benevolent sexism. Thus from Wiener et al.'s (1997) analysis it is unclear whether high and low hostile and benevolent sexists would evaluate behaviour in the same way if they were placed in the

⁸ In addition to the effects detailed, there were a number that involved factors other than direct high vs low hostile or benevolent sexism scores. Specifically female participants perceived the detailed behaviour as more unwelcome than male participants and as more severe than male participants (for those high in hostile sexism). Within the Rabidue case participants under the reasonable woman standard were more likely to indicate that the behaviour had a negative psychological impact than if they were in the reasonable person condition. High male benevolent sexists perceived that the behaviour would have a lesser negative psychological impact than female high benevolent sexists. Female participants were more likely to rate the detailed behaviour as hostile workplace sexual harassment than men. In addition, low sexism men in the reasonable woman condition were more likely to indicate that sexual harassment had taken place than men in the reasonable person condition.

role of 'victim' rather than another person. In short, would hostile and benevolent sexists apply the same standards of evaluation of behaviour to themselves as they do to others?

A partial replication and extension of Wiener et al. (1997)

Following the analyses and conclusions of Wiener et al. (1997) a partial replication and extension of Wiener et al.'s (1997) study was designed. Adapting Wiener et al.'s (1997) methodology for use within Britain (i.e. the exclusion of the 'reasonable woman standard') it was proposed that high hostile sexism should be negatively related to perceptions of sexual harassment. Following Wiener et al. (1997) it was hypothesised that evidence of sexual harassment may be sufficient to provoke protectionist motives within participants high in benevolent sexism, even under the reasonable person standard (see footnote 7). Thus high benevolent sexists should rate the behaviours as more unwelcome, severe etc. than participants low in benevolent sexism. In addition, and drawing on the theory of Wiener et al. (1997) and methodological critiques of studies into sexual harassment (Blumenthal, 1998), a between-subjects factor of self-reference of the behaviour was introduced into the design. Thus participants either responded to materials detailing behaviour that had (hypothetically) occurred to them as the 'victim', or to materials that had occurred to an unknown female 'victim'. Given the lack of research combining self-referencing with other factors it is unclear what will occur with the addition of this factor. Following Wiener et al.'s (1997) suggestion that women may more easily find evidence of harassment if they place themselves in the role of plaintiff, it seems plausible to invoke the defensive attribution hypothesis posited by Shaver (1970). Specifically, given that sexual harassment is negative (to the plaintiff) then participants may be more likely to attribute externally (i.e. to someone or something in the situation) in the first person scenarios, and attribute internally in the third person scenarios. In short, participants may know that they would never have 'encouraged' the (sexually harassing) behaviour, whilst they may suspect that the plaintiff in the third person scenarios did. Evidence for support of this hypothesis would be demonstrated by a main effect for condition, such that participants will be more likely to rate the behaviour in the first person scenarios as sexually harassing (i.e. unwelcome, more severe etc.) than participants in the third person scenarios.

How might this interact with hostile and/or benevolent sexism? One possibility is that those who endorse sexist attitudes may not view sexualised behaviour at work (which

may be regarded as sexual harassment) negatively. Holloway and Jefferson (1996) argue that some women may be gratified by being viewed as sexual objects within the workplace. Such women may be those that endorse contemporary sexist attitudes. Specifically, given the underpinnings of contemporary sexist attitudes in heterosexuality, female contemporary sexists may regard sexualised behaviour as 'normal' or 'natural' in any context. Thus those high in contemporary forms of sexism may view sexualised behaviour at work relatively positively. As such they may be less likely to classify behaviour as 'harassment' in either condition. However to the extent that they are aware that their attitudes do not reflect the social norm (as suggested by the results of Studies 2 to 4) they may classify behaviour in the third person condition as more harassing than that demonstrated in the first person condition. In short, there may be an interaction between sexism and condition, such that sexists may find less evidence of sexism in the first person condition (in comparison to the third person condition), whereas those low in sexism find more evidence in the first, rather than third, person condition.

Study 8:

Method

Participants

Seventy-one female psychology undergraduate students at the University of Kent completed a 'Workplace Issues Study' questionnaire for experimental credit in partial fulfilment of a course requirement.

Materials

All participants had completed the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) in a mass pretesting session two to three months prior to the current study. During this session, all participants were given an individual identification code which allowed the linking of responses in the pretest to responses on measures administered later in the year.

Each participant was given an envelope containing the 'Workplace Issues Study' questionnaire (see Appendix 8b). On the front page they were asked to record their identification code and to indicate whether they had ever worked (full or part time) in an occupation other than a student. Participants were then given a series of instructions and presented with two sets of case facts (with 'Chris' and 'Steve' as the potential harassers

and Ms. Green, Ms Brown or themselves as the potential victims; based on Wiener et al., 1997; see Figure 8.3).

Figure 8.3 **Example of case facts presented in Study 8**

Ms. Brown has been discharged from Osceola Refining Company. After her discharge she claimed that a male co-worker, Chris X, was extremely vulgar and made crude comments about women, some of which were directed toward her, and that other male employees openly displayed pictures of nude or scantily clad women. Osceola defended its discharge of Ms. Brown stating that she was unable to get along with co-workers as well as customers. Chris X claims that his actions were merely defensive reactions to Ms. Brown's abrasive personality.

After presentation of each set of case facts, participants were given a series of legal definitions (Wiener et al., 1997) and then asked to answer a number of questions regarding the case facts. In replication of Wiener et al. (1997) participants were asked to indicate how welcome, severe and pervasive the conduct had been, whether the conduct had affected the recipient (of the behaviours') work performance or psychological well being. In addition, participants were asked to judge whether the recipient had been a victim of 'hostile work environment harassment'. To reflect the UK system of dealing with sexual harassment cases, participants were then asked to indicate how likely they would be to recommend that the case be taken to an Industrial Tribunal, and how likely they thought it was that the complaint would be upheld.

Procedure

Each participant was given an envelope containing a copy of the 'Workplace Issues Study' questionnaire. Participants were requested to complete the measures independently and in their own time. Once completed, participants were asked to seal the envelopes and return them to the Department of Psychology via an internal mail system.

Results

Of the one hundred and four questionnaire packs distributed, seventy-one were returned (a response rate of 68.3%). Preliminary analysis revealed that all participants had some workplace experience (either through current or past employment). Of primary

interest in these analyses were the comparative ratings that participants high and low in hostile (and benevolent) sexism gave to the questions following the case details. In order to facilitate this analysis, a median split was carried out on the responses to the hostile (and benevolent) sexism scales of the ASI (see Appendix A), and thus two categories (high and low) were created on each of the ASI subscales. In line with the analyses of Wiener et al. (1997), the responses to each of the questions were subjected to a 2 (hostile or benevolent sexism categorisation) x 2 (condition: first or third person) x 2 (fact pattern) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor. The effect of the alternate ASI subscale was covaried out of the analyses⁹.

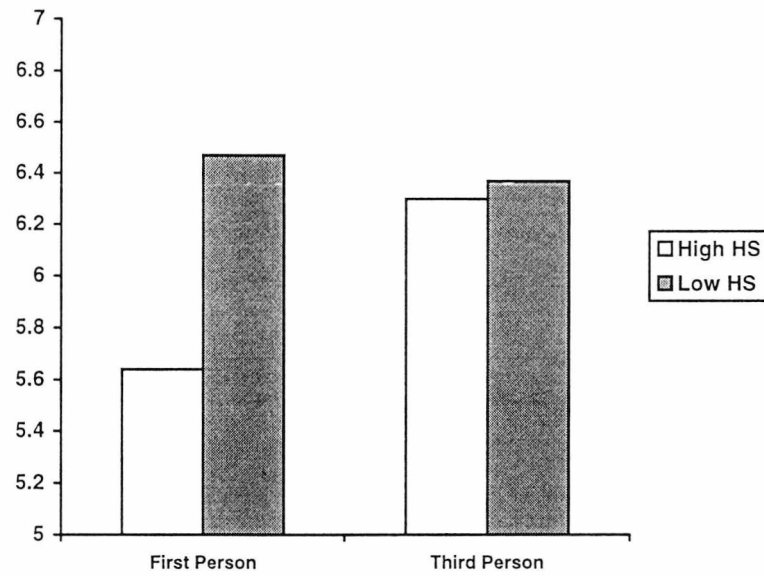
Hostile Sexism

Analysis of 'how unwelcome was the conduct' revealed a significant main effect for hostile sexism ($F(1,66)=5.43$, $p<.03$, $\eta^2=.08$) which was qualified by a significant two way interaction between hostile sexism categorisation and condition ($F(1,66)=5.04$, $p<.03$, $\eta^2=.07$). Simple effects analysis demonstrated that participants high in hostile sexism in the first person condition rated the behaviour as significantly less unwelcome ($M_{\text{high}}=5.64$) than participants low in hostile sexism in the same condition ($M_{\text{low}}=6.47$; $F(1,66)=10.14$, $p<.002$) or participants high in hostile sexism in the third person condition ($M_{\text{high}}=6.30$; $F(1,66)=6.39$, $p<.02$; see Figure 8.4). No other effects were significant.

Analysis of responses to the question 'how severe was the conduct' revealed a significant two way interaction between hostile sexism categorisation and condition ($F(1,65)=3.96$, $p=.05$, $\eta^2=.06$). Simple effects analysis demonstrated that participants high in hostile sexism in the first person condition rated the behaviour as marginally less severe ($M_{\text{high}}=4.77$) than participants low in hostile sexism in the same condition ($M_{\text{low}}=5.45$; $F(1,65)=3.38$, $p=.07$). In addition participants low in hostile sexism in the third person condition rated the behaviour as significantly less severe ($M_{\text{third}}=4.67$) than participants low in hostile sexism in the first person condition ($M_{\text{first}}=5.45$; $F(1,65)=7.49$, $p<.01$; see Figure 8.5). No other effects were significant.

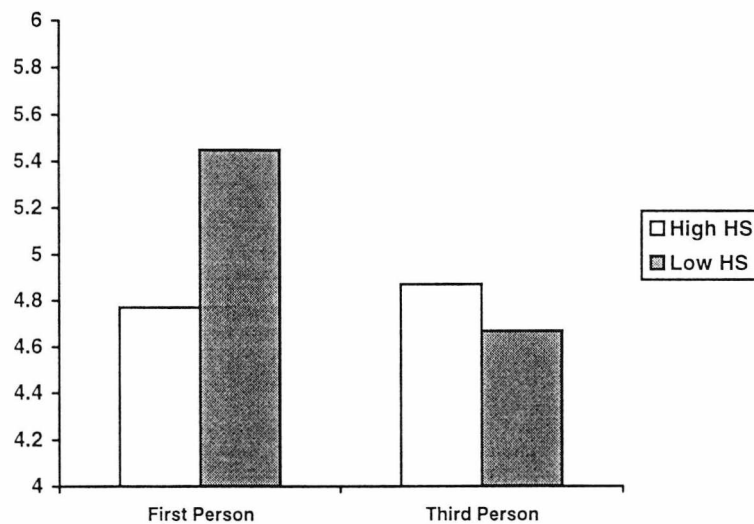
⁹ In line with Salkind et al. (1997) a preliminary evaluation of the 'homogeneity of slopes assumption' indicated that it had not been violated and analysis could proceed.

Figure 8.4 Participants rating of how unwelcome the conduct was by hostile sexism categorisation and condition (first or third person)



Note: Higher scores indicate that the conduct was more unwelcome.

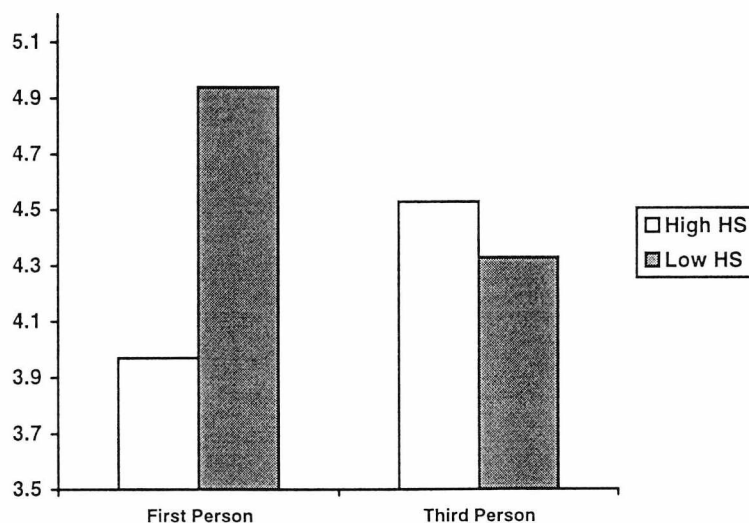
Figure 8.5 Participants rating of how severe the conduct was by hostile sexism categorisation and condition (first or third person)



Note: Higher scores indicate that the conduct was considered more severe

Analysis of 'how pervasive was the conduct', 'how likely was it that the conduct affected the work performance' and 'how likely was it that the conduct affected the psychological well being of the recipient in a negative manner' revealed no significant effects. Analysis of 'how likely would you be to recommend that this case be taken to an Industrial Tribunal' revealed a marginally significant two way interaction between hostile sexism categorisation and condition ($F(1,65)=3.77, p<.06, \eta^2=.06$). Simple effects analysis revealed that participants high in hostile sexism in the first person condition were significantly less likely to recommend that it be taken to Industrial Tribunal ($M_{\text{high}}=3.97$; $F(1,65)=5.13, p<.03$) than participants low in hostile sexism in the same condition ($M_{\text{low}}=4.94$; see Figure 8.6). Analysis of 'how likely is it that the complaint would be upheld' revealed no significant effects.

Figure 8.6 Participants recommendation that the case be taken to an Industrial Tribunal by hostile sexism categorisation and condition (first or third person)



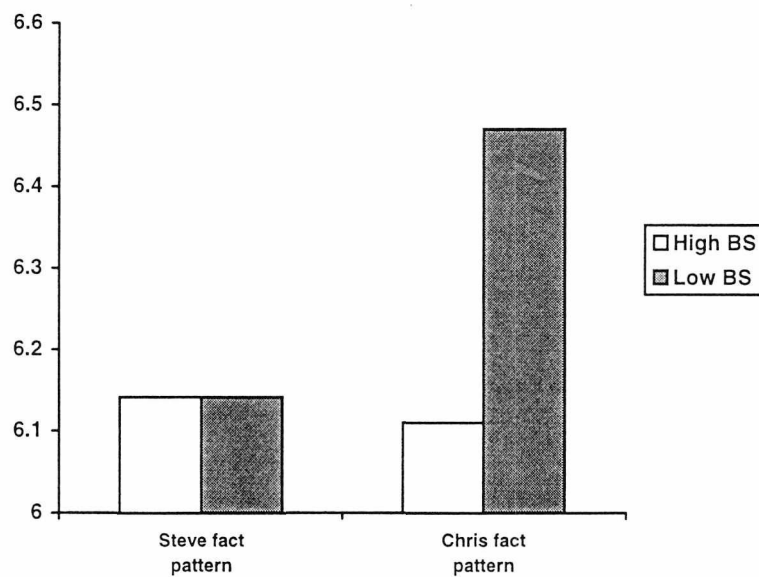
Note: Higher scores indicate a greater recommendation that the case should be taken to a Tribunal

Analysis by benevolent sexism

Analysis of 'how unwelcome was the conduct' revealed a significant two way interaction between fact pattern and benevolent sexism categorisation ($F(1,68)=4.46$,

$p < .04$, $\eta^2 = .06$). Simple effects analysis revealed that participants low in benevolent sexism had rated the behaviour in the 'Chris' fact pattern as significantly more unwelcome ($M_{\text{low}} = 6.47$) than participants high in benevolent sexism rating the same fact pattern ($M_{\text{high}} = 6.11$; $F(1,69) = 4.32$, $p < .05$), or participants high or low in benevolent sexism rating the 'Steve' fact pattern (M 's = 6.14; $F(1,69) = 4.25$, $p < .05$; see Figure 8.7).

Figure 8.7 Participants rating of how unwelcome the conduct was by benevolent sexism categorisation and case fact pattern (Steve or Chris)



Note: Higher scores indicate that the conduct was considered more unwelcome

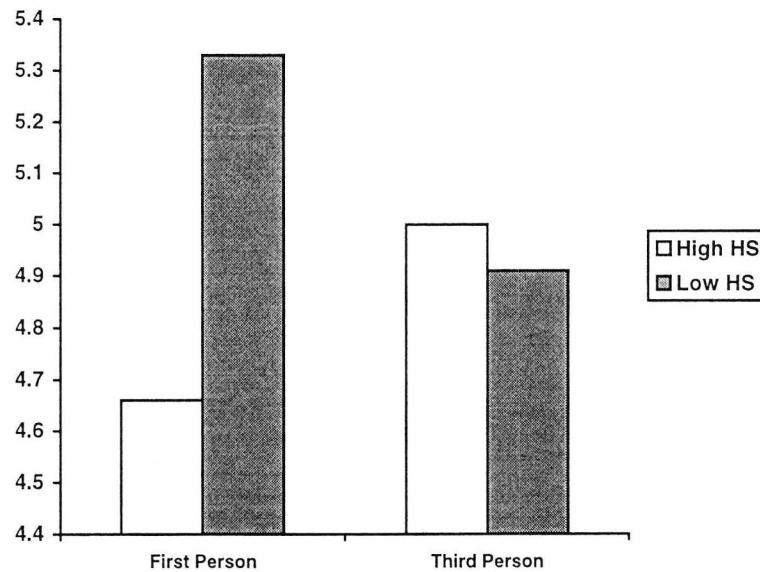
Analysis of 'how likely would you be to recommend that this case be taken to an Industrial Tribunal' revealed a significant three way interaction between benevolent sexism, condition and fact pattern ($F(1,65) = 4.89$, $p < .04$, $\eta^2 = .07$). Simple effects analysis revealed with the 'Chris' fact pattern, participants low in benevolent sexism in the first person condition were marginally significantly more likely to recommend that the case be taken to Industrial Tribunal ($M_{\text{low}} = 5.47$) than participants high in benevolent sexism in the same condition ($M_{\text{high}} = 4.53$; $F(1,69) = 3.10$, $p < .08$).

Composite variable analysis

In order to ascertain whether there was a consistent pattern among the means as a function of any of independent variables, further analysis was undertaken. All the dependent variables in the 'Workplace Issues Study' assessed attitudes that were related to considering sexual harassment a negative behaviour. Reliability analysis revealed that the responses to the items formed consistent and reliable 'anti sexual harassment' attitude scales. Thus responses to the 'Steve' scenario were collapsed to create a general measure of 'anti sexual harassment' attitudes (Cronbach's alpha: .86; standardised: .86), as were the responses to the 'Chris' scenario (Cronbach's alpha: .89; standardised: .89). These composite scales were then subjected to 2 (hostile or benevolent sexism categorisation) x 2 (condition; first or third person) x 2 (fact pattern) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor. The alternate ASI subscale score was covaried out of the analyses.

Analysis of the composite variables by hostile sexism categorisation revealed a marginally significant two way interaction between hostile sexism categorisation and condition (first or third person; $F(1,66)=3.66$, $p=.06$, $\eta^2=.06$). Simple effects analysis revealed that participants high in hostile sexism in the first person condition had significantly lower (or more positive) 'anti sexual harassment attitudes' ($M_{\text{high}}=4.66$) than participants low in hostile sexism in the same condition ($M_{\text{low}}=5.33$; $F(1,66)=4.65$, $p<.04$; see Figure 8.8). Analysis by benevolent sexism categorisation revealed no significant effects.

Figure 8.8 Participants level of 'anti sexual harassment attitudes' by hostile sexism categorisation and condition (first or third person)



Note: Higher scores indicate greater 'anti sexual harassment' attitudes

Discussion

Drawing on research that has considered the role of gender stereotypes and adversarial sexual beliefs and their link to tolerance of and attitudes towards sexual harassment, Wiener et al. (1997) proposed that hostile and benevolent forms of sexism may be significantly associated with perceptions of sexual harassment. Using fact patterns from two US 'hostile work environment' cases, Wiener et al. (1997) found that hostile sexism was generally positively associated with holding more tolerant attitudes towards sexual harassment. In contrast, against Wiener et al.'s (1997) hypothesis, benevolent sexism was found, on one variable, to be negatively associated with tolerance towards sexual harassment. In addition, Wiener et al. (1997) carried out some initial analysis on the role of self-perception and its relationship to attitudes regarding sexual harassment. Wiener et al. (1997) found self-perception to be a stronger predictor of attitudes towards sexual harassment than gender. However 'self-perception' and its relationship to attitudes towards sexual harassment were not considered in conjunction with hostile and/or benevolent sexism. The aim of the current study was therefore to partially replicate and

extend Wiener et al. (1997). Female participants were asked to consider the two fact patterns (from Wiener et al., 1997) and consider them in line with the 'reasonable person' standard. The fact patterns were either presented in the first person (i.e. the behaviour had happened to the participants) or the third person (the behaviour happened to Ms Brown or Ms Green). Drawing on Wiener et al. (1997) and others (e.g. Reilly et al., 1992), it was hypothesised that high hostile sexists would be more tolerant of sexual harassment than low hostile sexists. In addition, it was hypothesised that high benevolent sexists would be less tolerant of sexual harassment than low benevolent sexists. The potential effect of condition (first or third person) alone or in conjunction with level of contemporary sexism was unclear. Drawing on the defensive attribution hypothesis (Shaver, 1970) it was suggested that participants in the first person condition may rate the behaviours described as more evidential of sexual harassment than participants in the third person condition. However, it was also suggested, that level of sexism may moderate this. Specifically, it was suggested that participants high in hostile (or benevolent) sexism may not regard sexualised behaviour at work as a negative phenomenon. Thus participants high in sexism may perceive the behaviour as less 'sexually harassing' than participants low in sexism.

The results of the current study provide some support for the hypotheses. On the whole, participants high in hostile sexism demonstrated more positive attitudes towards sexual harassment (i.e. perceived it as less unwelcome, less severe etc.) than participants low in hostile sexism, but only in the first person condition. In line with the results of Wiener et al. (1997), benevolent sexist's attitudes did not moderate participants responses. Where benevolent sexist attitudes did appear to moderate responses in the current study, it was generally against the direction of the experimental hypothesis. Specifically, participants low in benevolent sexism indicated that they were more likely to take the case to an Industrial Tribunal than participants high in benevolent sexism (within the 'Chris' case).

There were no main effects for condition, however, as noted previously, there were a number of significant interactions between hostile sexism categorisation and condition. In a composite variable analysis of 'anti sexual harassment attitudes', participants high in hostile sexism in the first person condition had significantly lower 'anti sexual harassment' attitudes than participants low in hostile sexism in the same condition. On individual questions, simple effects analysis revealed that participants high in hostile sexism in the first person condition viewed the conducted as less unwelcome than participants low in

hostile sexism in the first person condition, or participants high and low in the third person condition. In addition participants low in hostile sexism rated the behaviour as more severe than participants high in hostile sexism in the first person condition or participants low in hostile sexism in the third person condition. Critically these results do not support a moderated (by sexism) defensive attribution explanation. For this to have been supported, participants in the third person condition would have to have rated the behaviour as less indicative of sexual harassment (than in the first person condition). Moreover this rating should have been moderated, such that participants high in hostile sexism in the first person condition would have rated the behaviour as less indicative of sexual harassment than participants high in sexual harassment in the third person condition. In short, high hostile sexist participants in the first person should have indicated lower levels of sexual harassment, whilst low hostile sexists should have indicated higher levels of sexual harassment in the first (vs. third) person condition.

Prior to considering the implications of these results for research into sexism and sexual harassment, this discussion will briefly consider why the results of the current study failed to directly replicate Wiener et al. (1997), the implications of the 'condition' results and some general problems with experimental design.

As noted, using a 'third person' design, Wiener et al. (1997) reported significant differences between high and low scorers on the hostile sexism scale, such that those high in hostile sexism displayed greater tolerance for sexually harassing behaviour than those low in hostile sexism. These differences were not observed within the 'third person' condition of the current study. There are three possible explanations for this discrepancy. The first of these focuses on cultural differences. As noted in Chapter Two and within this chapter, the US has experienced a different rate and form of gender related legislation than the UK. The acknowledgement of sexual harassment as a form of discrimination has existed for longer in the US and has been accompanied by a number of high profile cases (e.g. the allegations of Paula Jones against President Clinton). Sexual harassment has not had such a high profile in the UK, and thus it may be that American participants have more defined and differentiated (on the basis of their personal belief system) opinions (through education and case examples) on behaviour that could be perceived as sexual harassment than UK participants. As such, when presented with case facts that meet their preconceived criteria for behaviour indicative of sexual harassment, US respondents have

more rigid ideas regarding features of the case (i.e. if it was sexual harassment, then it must have been unwelcome etc.) than UK participants..

An alternative explanation for the difference in results could be found in the samples used within each study and their relative knowledge of the cases. Both studies used case facts from two well known (in the sexual harassment literature) US cases. Within the sexual harassment literature the two cases (Rabidue and Ellison) are frequently cited as examples of successful sexual harassment cases under different criteria (for example, the 'reasonable woman' standard; Ellison). Wiener et al.'s (1997) participants were drawn from: "*undergraduate psychology and business courses*" (p.76), and thus it may be that all or some of the participants in the study may have been familiar with the cases used in the current study. If this was the case then judgements made by the American participants may have been based on knowledge about the cases in addition to that presented in the stimulus material. Participants in the current study were unlikely to have been aware of the cases used (the identifying names were removed and replaced with Ms. Green and Ms. Brown) and thus had to base their judgements purely on the facts presented in the stimulus material.

A final potential explanation for the differences in results obtained in the Wiener et al. (1997) study and the current analysis is that participants in the Wiener et al. (1997) study 'automatically' (i.e. without overt instructions) responded to the stimulus material as if the harassment detailed had happened to them. As noted previously, the 'self-reference' measure contained within Wiener et al.'s (1997) study accounted for a greater amount of variance in their (third person) perceptions of harassment than gender, and thus it may be that within Wiener et al.'s (1997) sample, first and third person perceptions were not that different. If this were true then this would counter a criticism levied by Blumenthal (1998) that asking for a judgement of a situation involving another is not the same as judging a situation that you are part of. However, given the between-subjects design of the 'condition' factor within the current study it appears difficult to see why, if first and third person judgements were not disparate in the Wiener et al. (1997) study, it was not also the case in the current analysis.

Whilst it is still unclear why the results of the current study failed to directly replicate those of Wiener et al.'s (1997), it is clear that the introduction of a 'condition' (first or third person) factor interacted with hostile sexism to alter responses on the dependent variables. As noted above, whilst this is unlikely to be attributable to the

defensive attribution hypothesis (Shaver, 1970), it does appear that participants high and low in hostile sexism may apply different standards to behaviour occurring to them than they do to others. Specifically, in line with the suggestion of Holloway and Jefferson (1996), participants high in hostile sexism indicated that they would find the sexualised behaviour detailed in the case facts (crude comments, notes with references to sex) less unwelcome than they perceived an anonymous other would. In contrast, participants low in hostile sexism indicated that they found the detailed behaviour more severe when it occurred to them, than when it occurred to an anonymous other. Thus it appears that both high and low hostile sexists apply discrepant standards to their behaviour vis a vis the behaviour of an anonymous other. Given the between subjects design, it cannot be known whether high and low hostile sexists are aware of this tendency. However if they are, the current study may have demonstrated the differential application of personal (as applied to the self, or in an interpersonal situation) vs. social (general) norms.

Some problems of the experimental design have to be noted. As with the majority of research into sexual harassment, the current study used a summary of behaviour as stimulus material. Lengnick-Hall (1996) and Arvey and Cavanaugh (1995) amongst others have noted that such summaries cannot match the experience of sexual harassment. In short, reality is sacrificed to practicality. In addition, the current study only considered female participants. Whilst it is interesting and informative to consider prejudice held by members of a group against other members of the group, it is limiting. Whilst gender differences remain on issues such as sexual harassment, then clearly a superior experimental design would incorporate gender, in addition to other (potentially) important factors such as age, occupation, experience of sexual harassment etc. (Wiener et al., 1997).

In conclusion, with the limitations stated, the current study has demonstrated that hostile sexism is positively associated with acceptance of sexualised behaviour at work, if that behaviour is targeted towards the self (and not others). Against the 'protectionist' hypothesis of Wiener et al. (1997), benevolent sexism is not consistently linked to attitudes towards sexual harassment. Those that endorse benevolent sexist attitudes appear to feel no more compelled to 'protect' the victim by labelling the behaviour sexual harassment and thus instigating a process that may result in penalisation of the violator than those that do not endorse the attitudes. One interesting finding of the current study has been the demonstration that high and low hostile sexists do not apply the same standards to behaviour that involves them in comparison to behaviour that involves another female.

Whilst this may imply knowledge of the social (vs. their personal) norm, it may also imply that the hostile sexist attitude-behaviour link may only emerge consistently when the personal norm for (acceptance of) behaviour can be activated. This may occur when the behaviour directly involves the individual or within familiar interpersonal interactions where respondents feel 'safe' in expression of their true attitude. At present though, this is speculative and warrants detailed investigation. This, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Summary and implications of Studies Seven and Eight

Following the findings of Studies Five and Six which demonstrated some preliminary evidence of differentiation in related attitudes/behaviour on the basis of scores on the hostile and benevolent sexism scales of the ASI, Studies Seven and Eight aimed to replicate this differentiation using more 'applied' stimulus materials. Drawing on tasks that people may be required to do, or judgements that people may have to make during the course of the 'working' life, Studies Seven and Eight used a curriculum vitae (Study Seven) and sexual harassment case facts (Study Eight) as stimulus materials.

In Study Seven, drawing on the results of Shore (1992) and Beattie and Diehl (1979), it was hypothesised that hostile and benevolent sexists may perceive a mismatch between a female candidate's ability and the demands of a management role. Thus it was predicted that those scoring above the median on the hostile and/or benevolent scale would rate the female candidate more negatively and indicate that she was less suitable, capable or employable in a management role, than participants who scored below the median. The results of the study demonstrated some support for hypotheses with regard to hostile sexism. Specifically, those who scored above the median on the hostile sexism scale rated the female candidate as less capable and as less employable in a lower management role than participants who scored below the median on the hostile sexism scale. Scores on the benevolent scale were unrelated to differential rating of the female candidate.

In Study Eight, in a partial replication of Wiener et al. (1997), female participants were presented with fact patterns of two US hostile work environment sexual harassment cases and asked to rate the cases on a number of sexual harassment related dimensions. The case facts were either presented as if they had happened to the participant (first person) or had occurred to another female (third person). It was predicted that participants scoring above the median on the HS scale would rate the behaviours portrayed in the cases as less

evidential of sexual harassment than participants scoring below the median on the HS scale. Drawing on a proposal made by Wiener et al. (1997) it was hypothesised that those scoring above the median on the BS scale may rate the behaviours as more evidential of sexual harassment (through protection motivations). It was unclear how 'condition' (first or third person) may interact with hostile and/or benevolent sexism, although it was suggested that those high in sexism may not view sexualised behaviour at work as inappropriate and therefore the attributions (internal vs. external) made for that behaviour may differ as a function of level of sexism. In partial support of the hypothesis, the results indicated that participants high in hostile sexism perceived the behaviours depicted as less sexually harassing than participants low in hostile sexism, but only in the first person condition. Ratings of the behaviour did not differ as a function of benevolent sexism categorisation. Examination of the means indicated some evidence that participants high and low in hostile sexism applied different 'norms' when rating the same behaviour in the first and third person conditions. The results appeared to indicate that there is a discrepancy between the personal (i.e. applied to the self or in direct, safe interpersonal situations) and social (i.e. applied to others) norms of high and low hostile sexists.

Studies Seven and Eight have thus provided some further evidence as to how primarily scores on the Hostile Sexism scale of the ASI may result in differential evaluations of women. Whilst both studies are limited in their generalisability, in that, for example, they used undergraduate students as opposed to employed persons (who may have more experience in the situations depicted in Studies Seven and Eight), they do suggest some ways in which the holding of (hostile) sexist attitudes may impact on decisions within a workplace context.

Chapter Nine: Summary and Conclusions

"Either women have made remarkable headway in this century towards a genuine equality with men, or else they have achieved significant reforms but still made very little real impact on the bedrock of prejudice and inequity on which rest all the important structures of our national life."

J.Shilling 'Footloose or oppressed'

The Times, 17th March 1998, p17.

This chapter presents conclusions and suggestions for future research based on the research findings from the current research program. An outline of the aims of the thesis and a summary of the research findings are initially presented. This is followed by a more detailed consideration of the constructs of hostile and benevolent sexism in light of the findings of the current program of research. Conclusions and directions for future research are outlined.

Starting point and aim of thesis

At the outset of research for this thesis very little was known about the properties of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory or the underlying concepts of hostile and benevolent sexism. Published empirical research had been limited to the original research of Glick and Fiske (1996) in which they outlined and validated the ASI for use with American participants, and unpublished small scale research conducted by Masser (1995) in Britain. Fiske and Glick (1995) had also provided a theoretical analysis of the potential use of the Hostile Sexism (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS) scales in relation to sexual harassment. From this research and theoretical analysis it was known that the HS and BS scales of the ASI were statistically reliable for use with American participants. In addition it had been established that scores on the HS scale were, for some participants, related to ascribing to women negative traits, and that scores on the BS scale were, for some participants, related to ascribing positive traits to women. The preliminary British research had suggested that benevolent sexism was positively related, and hostile sexism negatively related to evaluations of female (job) candidates.

Given the lack of research investigating the concepts of hostile and benevolent sexism the aims of the current research were twofold. The first aim was to validate the ASI

and more specifically the HS and BS scales for use within a British context. The second aim was to investigate the predictive validity of the HS and BS scales, specifically to establish what scores on the HS and BS scales could tell us about related attitudes and/or behaviour.

The viability of the ASI for use in Britain

Scale validity

Following research investigating other psychological measures (e.g. the EPQ, Eysenck et al., 1995) and attitudes towards gender relations (e.g. Davis & Robinson, 1991; Pryor et al., 1997) it was proposed that differences in the prominence and history of politicisation of gender equality issues in the US may render findings from gender related research in the US culture specific. In order to investigate this possibility, the viability of the ASI and its subscales for use within Britain was evaluated with three diverse samples, in analyses reported in Chapter Two. The ASI was administered to a school sample, a (university) student sample and an employed sample, which roughly corresponded to three age groups. A statistical evaluation of the ASI suggested that in many ways it performed in a British setting as it had in an American one. Specifically, across all three samples, the ASI was found to consist of two main factors (HS and BS), with the BS factor consisting of three further subfactors. In addition, all items were found to have acceptable factor loadings (for male and female respondents), the HS and BS scales were statistically reliable and overall had a strong positive correlation with each other. The gender differences in mean scores found by Glick and Fiske (1996) were replicated.

However some differences between the results of Glick and Fiske (1996) and the current analyses were obtained. Firstly, British participants, and notably British male participants, were found to be less prejudiced towards women (as assessed by the ASI) than American participants. One possible explanation for this is the 'backlash' against equality documented to have occurred in America in the late 1980's. The second, and perhaps more notable difference, involved the relationship between the HS and BS scales across samples. Through sampling from three populations (which roughly corresponded to three age groups) a 'developmental' pattern was noted in the coherence of responses to the BS scale items and the relationship between the HS and BS scale of the ASI. Specifically, the internal reliability of the BS scale and its subfactors increased as the average age of the sample increased. This pattern was accentuated among male respondents. In addition, the

level of association between the HS and BS scales for male respondents differed amongst samples. Responses to the HS and BS scale items were increasingly related for male participants as the average age of the sample increased.

This pattern of relationships suggests a 'developmental' trend within the holding of hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes. The low internal reliability of the BS scale and subscales suggests that the concepts tapped by the BS scale items do not 'make sense' to younger respondents. In addition, the increasing level of association between responses to HS and BS scale items suggest a growing coherence in attitudes towards women (especially among men) with age. Specifically, while 'hostile' or traditional attitudes are a coherent construct in all age groups, benevolent attitudes 'emerge' with age, or perhaps more specifically, with experience of women. Thus as experience of women increases, men's psychological schema of relationships between men and women becomes more comprehensive and better integrated (involving both positive and negative aspects). To the extent that sexism, and particularly acceptance of traditional roles for women, is endorsed it will be manifested in both the hostile and benevolent domains.

Although such an explanation makes intuitive sense, it cannot account for the pattern of interrelationships observed between hostile and benevolent sexism within Glick and Fiske's (1996) data. This may be accountable to cultural factors, but the discrepancy between Glick and Fiske's (1996) findings and the results of the current analyses clearly warrants further investigation. Given the apparent existence of the 'subjectively positive' sexism, research should be undertaken to clarify the nature of the development of positive and negative stereotypical attitudes towards women, and their integration or disassociation with age.

Convergent and discriminant validity

Chapter Three examined the relationship of the HS and BS scales to other psychological measures. Glick and Fiske (1996) reported the relationship of the HS and BS scales to a number of alternative measures of sexism (e.g. Attitudes Towards Women Scale, Spence & Helmreich, 1972; Modern Sexism scale and Old-Fashioned Sexism scale, Swim et al., 1995; Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, Burt, 1980) in addition to assessing the relationship of the ASI subscales to a recognition of discrimination measure (Katz & Hass, 1988), the Modern Racism scale (McConahay, 1986) and the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (Paulhus, 1988). The research reported in Chapter Three extended

the evaluation of the ASI by examining the subscales' relationship to neo sexism (Tougas et al., 1995), need for cognitive closure (Webster & Kruglanski, 1993), social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994), attitudes towards women's rights, attitudes towards lesbian and gay men's rights (Pratto et al., 1994), humanitarian-egalitarianism, protestant ethic (Katz & Hass, 1988) and (the proposed underlying constructs of) paternalism, heterosexuality and gender differentiation. Each measure was administered to one or more of the school, student or employed samples, and multiple measures were administered to one or more samples.

Analyses revealed a number of consistent significant relationships between hostile sexism and other psychological constructs. Specifically, across all samples and all forms of analyses (regression and correlation), hostile sexism was positively related to social dominance orientation, benevolent sexism and neo sexism. In addition, hostile sexism was consistently negatively related to 'need' or protective paternalism, and pro-women's rights and pro-lesbian and gay men's rights attitudes. In short, hostile sexism was found to be significantly associated with other forms of contemporary sexism, a pro-group hierarchy orientation, a non-interventionist orientation and discriminatory attitudes towards 'minority' groups. In contrast, benevolent sexism demonstrated no consistent significant relationships across all samples/forms of analysis. In individual analyses, and in some samples, benevolent sexism was found to be positively related to neo sexism, heterosexual intimacy, protestant ethic, need for cognitive closure and hostile sexism. Negative relationships were observed between benevolent sexism and dominative paternalism, humanitarian-egalitarianism, attitudes towards women's rights and attitudes towards lesbian and gay men's rights within some analyses/samples. The most consistent relationships were observed between benevolent sexism, heterosexual intimacy and protestant ethic (individualistic orientation). As such those who endorse benevolent sexist statements are more likely to endorse traditional roles in a relationship and to adhere to an 'individual achievement' perspective on life. The lack of consistent relationships between benevolent sexism and other psychological measures suggests that, unlike hostile sexism, its association with other psychological measures is 'fluid' dependent on factors such as the sample and the other measures administered. To this extent, the benevolent sexism scale is, as Glick and Fiske (1996) asserted 'unique'. However its failure to associate consistently with measures of attitudes traditionally associated with prejudice or sexism (e.g. social dominance, attitudes towards women's rights, etc.) is problematic in that,

whilst it behaves as a measure of 'positive prejudice' (as demonstrated in Chapter Two), the lack of consistent relationships with other psychological measures gives little away to what benevolent sexism means in practicality.

Summary

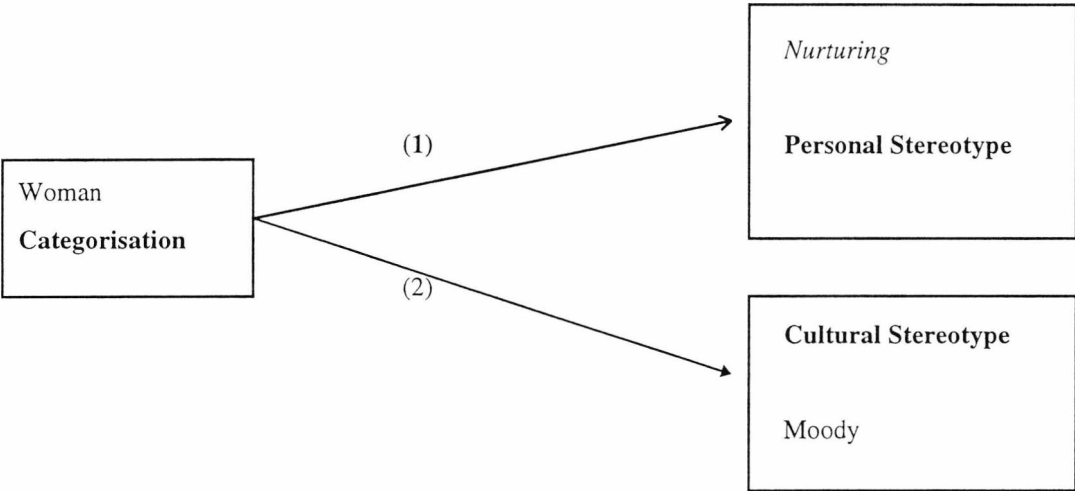
Following evaluation with three diverse samples, the ASI was found to be a statistically valid and reliable inventory for use within a British population. Two key differences from the results of research with American participants were noted. Firstly that British respondents, and notably male respondents, reported less prejudiced views (as assessed by the ASI) than those obtained from American respondents. Secondly that the items assessing benevolent sexism only appeared to 'make sense' to older respondents, and that the negative (hostile) and positive (benevolent) aspects of sexism became increasingly integrated as a function of age to constitute a psychological schema of attitudes towards women. In an analysis of the convergent and discriminant validity of the HS and BS scales, hostile sexism was consistently associated with other forms of contemporary sexism, a pro-group hierarchy orientation, a non-interventionist orientation and discriminatory attitudes towards 'minority' groups. In contrast, benevolent sexism demonstrated no consistent significant relationship with any of the assessed measures.

Sexism and social cognition

Having established the statistical validity of the HS and BS scales of the ASI, Chapter Four outlined a social cognition methodology and established an experimental paradigm. Following recent research by Lepore and Brown (1997) and Kawakami et al. (1998) it was proposed that people who overtly endorse different levels of prejudicial attitudes towards a group would hold different 'personal' stereotypes about group members. It was hypothesised that the traits endorsed by the individual (their 'personal' stereotype) would be accessed faster in a reaction time paradigm when the relevant category was activated than when the traits were irrelevant to the category activated (see Figure 9.1). Consequently, in Study Two, words indicative of hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes were selected and participants had to indicate as fast as possible whether the words were positive or negative following a female ('woman') and then a neutral prime (or vice versa). It was hypothesised that participants scoring above the median on the hostile sexism scale would respond faster to 'hostile sexist words' than those scoring below the

median following a female prime. In addition, it was hypothesised that participants scoring above the median on the benevolent sexism scale would respond faster to ‘benevolent sexist words’ following a female prime than those scoring below the median (see Figure 9.1).

Figure 9.1: Example of stereotype activation for a benevolent sexist



The results of Study Two indicated no support for the hypotheses. Instead, participants who scored above the median on the HS scale were consistently slower to respond to all target words (across all primes) than those who scored below the median. In order to corroborate this finding, a direct replication was undertaken with a different sample in Study Three. The same pattern of results was observed in Study Three as in Study Two.

The results of these studies produced two research questions for consideration. Firstly, why did the results fail to support the experimental hypothesis, and secondly, why were high hostile sexists consistently slower to respond to all target words than low hostile sexists? A retrospective consideration of the research methodology suggested that the category activation attempted within the paradigm may have been too broad. Specifically, drawing on Leyens et al.’s (1994) suggestion that people may hold several mental

representations of women (and men), it was proposed that hostile and benevolent sexism may be more specifically directed towards particular 'types' of women, rather than women *per se*. This proposition was returned to in Study Five.

With reference to the consistently slow response times of high hostile sexists, it was proposed, given recent work by Wyer et al. (in press) and drawing on the racism research of McConahay et al. (1981), that the gender of the experimenter may have affected the response times of high hostile sexists in some way. Specifically, it was suggested that the presence of a female experimenter may have activated a negative stereotype within high hostile sexists. Perceiving that expression of this may be inappropriate it was proposed that high hostile sexists engaged in stereotype suppression, which, by taking up cognitive resources, resulted in their slower response times.

On the basis of the 'ironic' consequence of stereotype suppression (i.e. stereotype rebound, once the motivation to suppress is removed), Study Four investigated this explanation. Using a modified procedure, participants were presented with female and neutral target words and asked to judge the valence of the word as quickly as possible. Participants then completed a distracter task, before recalling in private as many of the words they had been presented with in the first stage of the study. Each session was run by a male or female experimenter. It was hypothesised that in the female experimenter condition (where participants should have been motivated to suppress), the reaction times of high hostile sexists would be significantly slower than those of low hostile sexists, but that in the recall task the suppressed stereotype would rebound (given removal of the motivation to suppress), such that high hostile sexists would recall more of the female stereotyped words than the neutral ones. Reaction times and recall were not presumed to differ as a function of hostile sexism categorisation in the male experimenter condition.

The results provided partial support for the hypotheses. As in Studies Two and Three, participants in the female experimenter condition who were high in hostile sexism were slower to react to the target words than participants low in hostile sexism. Reaction times in the male experimenter condition did not differ as a function of hostile sexism categorisation. There was, however, no support for the 'rebound' hypothesis. Participants who were high in hostile sexism with a female experimenter did not recall significantly more of the 'female' typed words than the neutral ones. Whilst this might have been attributable to the nature of the rebound task (in that the motivation to suppress may not have dissipated), it may indicate that suppression was not taking place. Rather, high

hostile sexists with a female experimenter may have felt anxious or wary about their reactions to the female and neutral words. As such the slowing down of their reaction times was caused by a process of 'checking' their reactions (to the words) with the 'correct' (i.e. socially acceptable) response given the salient social norm (i.e. presence of a female experimenter).

Summary

The results of the preliminary studies into the predictive utility of the HS and BS scales suggested two main conclusions and directions for research. The results of Studies Two and Three suggested that hostile and/or benevolent sexism may be (more specifically) directed towards subtypes of women, rather than women per se. Secondly the results of Studies Two, Three and Four suggested that the continuing use of a reaction time paradigm, or any paradigm where the participant was aware of the (gender of their) observer, may be problematic. For whatever motivation (suppression, or awareness of a salient social norm) high hostile sexists appeared 'distracted' by the presence of a female experimenter, which resulted in the slowing of their reaction times, potentially through a monitoring of their responses.

Sexism and bias

Given the problems encountered with regard to a reaction time data and hostile sexism, it appeared appropriate to move away from a social cognition paradigm to continue the investigation into the predictive utility of the HS and BS scales. The final four studies used 'overt' measures (i.e. where participants were asked to make overt ratings). It was thought that the use of such measures may circumvent some of the potential problems encountered in the social cognition studies (i.e. explicit awareness of who was asking their opinions), whilst being a closer approximation to tasks that may be undertaken in everyday life.

Study Five focused specifically on an evaluation of the 'subtyping' hypothesis as an explanation for the results of Studies Two and Three. A consideration of the theoretical analysis of Fiske and Glick (1995), and the results of a pilot study, suggested that hostile sexism may be manifested in the form of negative affect towards 'non-traditional' women (i.e. feminists/career women), whilst benevolent sexism may be displayed in the form of positive affect towards women who fit the 'traditional' subtype. In order to test this

hypothesis, participants in Study Five were asked to evaluate female characters from fiction, who either corresponded to the traditional or non-traditional subtype. Participants were asked a series of questions which either reflected positivity or negativity towards the characters. Hostile sexism had no significant effects. In contrast, and in support of the hypothesis, participants high in benevolent sexism evaluated the traditional female characters more positively than the non-traditional characters. Specifically high benevolent sexists felt more positive towards traditional characters, indicated a greater preference for reading a book with traditional characters in and identified less with non-traditional characters than participants low in benevolent sexism.

One potential explanation for the failure of Study Five to find differentiation between high and low hostile sexists focused on the nature of the task and its explicitness/artificiality. In order to counter this, Study Six drew on a more established methodology, whilst retaining a focus on hostile and benevolent sexists preferences for women in 'traditional' roles. Focusing on linguistic bias and the research of von Hippel et al. (1995, 1997) it was hypothesised that high hostile and benevolent sexists would perceive sentence stems detailing female stereotype incongruent behaviour as in need of explanation (as these are contrary to expectation) and would be more likely to provide explanatory continuations for those sentence stems than for stems detailing female stereotype congruent behaviour. The results provided some support for the hypothesis. Specifically, scores on the HS scale were positively associated with providing explanatory sentence continuations for female stereotype incongruent sentence stems in comparison to female stereotype congruent sentence stems. This result suggested that hostile sexism is positively associated with the acceptance or expectancy of women in traditional roles, and that this may have implications for the communication of stereotypes. It was proposed that the failure of benevolent sexists to use language differentially may suggest that whilst benevolent sexists feel more positive towards 'traditional' women (as demonstrated by the results of Study Five) they do not find the idea of women engaging in non-traditional behaviour surprising.

Studies Seven and Eight investigated the biases of hostile and benevolent sexists in a (hypothetically) more applied domain. Drawing on the work of Shore (1992) and Beattie and Diehl (1979) and in partial replication of Masser (1995), Study Seven required participants to evaluate the curriculum vitae of a female applicant for a lower management position. It was hypothesised that those participants who endorsed hostile and benevolent

sexist statements may perceive a mismatch between the female candidate's ability (by viewing her stereotypically) and her employment in a male-typed position. Consequently it was hypothesised that high hostile and benevolent sexists may rate her as less suitable for the position than low hostile and benevolent sexists. In support of the hypothesis, participants high in hostile sexism rated the candidate as less capable and employable than low hostile sexists. However, benevolent sexists did not differ in their evaluations of the candidate.

Study Eight focused on sexual harassment and involved a partial replication and extension of Wiener et al. (1997). Female participants read the fact patterns from two sexual harassment cases and answered a series of questions regarding the behaviour detailed in the cases (e.g. was it sexual harassment). In an extension of Wiener et al. (1997) and drawing on the results of Studies Two, Three and Four (which suggested that high hostile sexists may perceive differences in their norms vs. other people's norms for behaviour) the information was presented in either the third or the first person. The results indicated that in the first person condition high hostile sexists perceived less evidence of sexual harassment in the case facts than participants low in hostile sexism. In addition, high hostile sexists in the first person condition perceived the sexualised behaviour at work as less unwelcome than high hostile sexists in the third person condition. In short, high hostile sexists appear to apply different norms to behaviour demonstrated towards them, than they perceive 'other' women would. High benevolent sexists were less likely to recommend that one of the cases be taken to an Industrial Tribunal than participants low in benevolent sexism.

Summary

Following the problems encountered with the social cognition paradigm, the final four studies used more 'overt' measures to detect differentiation between high and low hostile and/or benevolent sexists. Drawing on the subtyping hypothesis suggested by the results of Studies Two and Three, Study Five established the link between benevolent sexism and preference for 'traditional' women characters and Study Six demonstrated a positive association between hostile sexism and linguistic bias. Those who endorsed hostile sexist statements generated more explanatory statements for female stereotype incongruent behaviour. Studies Seven and Eight demonstrated some potential consequences of hostile sexist attitudes within the workplace. In Study Seven, high hostile

sexists rated a female candidate for a lower management as less capable and employable than low hostile sexist. In Study Eight, high hostile sexist were less likely to see sexualised behaviour at work as unwelcome or problematic, but interestingly, only when the behaviour was directed towards themselves, rather than towards an unknown female.

The results of these 'overt' studies suggest a number of conclusions with regard to hostile and benevolent sexism. As predicted, Studies Five and Six (and associated pilot studies) linked hostile and benevolent sexism to subtypes of women, rather than women per se, and demonstrated the preference for (Study Five) and expectation of (Study Six) the behaviour of 'traditional' women. Studies Seven and Eight established how the bias of hostile sexist may have problematic consequences in the workplace. An interesting additional finding of Study Eight was the apparent difference in 'norms' for acceptable behaviour that high hostile sexist applied to behaviour directed towards themselves vs. another female. This suggests that female high hostile sexist apply different standards to themselves than to others. Whether they are aware of this discrepancy is, from the results of this study, unclear. However, linking back to the results of Study Four, where high hostile sexist reaction times were slowed by the presence of a female experimenter, it may be suggested that they are.

What do scores on the Hostile Sexism scale tell us?

Scores on the Hostile Sexism scale of the ASI are associated with endorsing other forms of sexism in a variety of domains, a pro group hierarchy orientation, a belief in non-intervention (to assist others) and holding discriminatory attitudes towards 'minority' groups. Scores are also positively related to slower reaction times when judging whether stereotypical female words are positive or negative in meaning. Critically, though, this only occurs in the presence of a female experimenter. Using more 'overt' but (to use Dovidio and Gaertner's, 1986 and Crosby et al.'s, 1980 terminology), more 'remote' measures (where the participant isn't fully aware of who they are completing the measure for and/or they are not aware what aspect the task they are being assessed on), hostile sexism is related to a number of behavioural indices. Specifically, linguistic bias (in a tendency to explain stereotype incongruent behaviour by a female), lower ratings of a female candidate for a male-typed job and lower 'anti sexual harassment' attitudes. Females who endorse hostile sexism statements also perceive sexualised behaviour at work as less unwelcome than they perceive another female may.

The findings from the current program of research suggest that the Hostile Sexism scale of the ASI may be a relatively useful contemporary measure of negative affect sexism. It consistently relates to indices which theory would suggest that it should (e.g. anti women's rights statements) and does, under certain circumstances, relate to indices of discrimination against women, or more specifically, women who do not adhere to the traditional stereotype. Whether it is just 'old fashioned sexism' "*elicited through less offensively worded questionnaire items*" (Sidanius et al., 1992, p378) is unclear, however it does appear to measure an attitude which does relate to (at least indications of) the behaviour of discrimination. This link however, is not always observable. Where it is perceived that expression of such an attitude may be inappropriate (i.e. in front of a woman; Studies Two, Three and Four), where direct comparisons of different 'types' of women are being made (Study Seven) or where a judgement is being made for someone else (Study Eight), the results suggest that high hostile sexists may 'monitor' their responses. This results in a slowing of reaction times (Studies Two, Three and Four) or the application of different 'norms' for behaviour directed towards them in comparison to others (Study Eight) and responses in line with what they perceive to be a socially appropriate way. Where no norm or baseline is apparent (Study Seven), where it is unclear to the respondent what is being assessed (Study Five) and where they are asked to respond as if the behaviour was directed towards themselves (Study Eight), hostile sexism is related to differences in responding. The attitudes expressed in the 'anonymity' of responding to the ASI in a mass pretest (as the majority of participants in Studies Two to Eight did) are reflected in indications of behaviour, only when the same 'anonymity' appears to be present in the response context. As such, and as alluded to in Chapter Six, hostile sexists seem to express prejudice in the ways of Gaertner and Dovidio's (1986) aversive racist and the ambivalent racist of Katz and Hass (1988). As in Crosby et al.'s (1980) study of non-verbal behaviour and racism, if the prejudiced person perceives that the situational norms allow, or that expression is 'cost free' (i.e. relatively anonymous) then prejudice will be expressed.

What do scores on the Benevolent Sexism scale tell us?

The Benevolent Sexism scale had poor internal reliability within the younger samples, and especially younger males, in Study 1a. This suggests, perhaps, that the concepts underlying benevolent sexism are not very meaningful for younger

respondents/men. As the age of the respondents increased the BS scale became increasingly reliable and its association with the HS scale became more stable, suggesting that it represents part of an integrated schema (of attitudes towards women) within women and older men. As an independent measure, the BS scale had no consistent association with any other psychological measure administered across all samples. The associations between the BS scale and other measures thus appeared to be dependent on characteristics of the samples in addition to the characteristics of the other measures administered in conjunction with the BS scale. The most consistent relationships were observed between benevolent sexism and heterosexual intimacy (a measure of acceptance of traditional role differentiation in heterosexual relationships) and protestant ethic (a measure of individualistic orientation).

In terms of the predictive utility of the BS scale, the only significant relationships observed across the eight studies as a function of scores on the BS scale concerned more positive evaluations of traditional female characters by 'high' benevolent sexists in comparison to 'low' benevolent sexists, and less willingness to recommend a sexual harassment case be taken to industrial tribunal by high benevolent sexists than low benevolent sexists. Critically, scores on the benevolent sexism scale demonstrated no relationship to use of linguistic bias (indicating perhaps that female stereotype incongruent behaviour was not perceived as in need of explanation), bias against female candidates for a male typed job or (general) evaluations of sexually harassing behaviour.

The findings from the current program of research suggest that whilst benevolent sexism may be a construct of 'positive prejudice', the BS scale fails to tap a coherent attitude towards women in younger samples, and especially in samples of younger men. It fails to consistently relate to other attitudes that it may be expected a measure of prejudice against women would (e.g. anti-women's rights attitudes), although it appears to be more than just a measure of positive affect and stereotyping (as assessed by the NFCC scale). As with hostile sexism, benevolent sexism is expressed towards a subtype of women. Specifically, benevolent sexists feel positive affect towards women who appear to fit the traditional subtype. However this positive affect does not appear to preclude acceptance of non-traditional behaviour (in that it was not perceived to be in need of explanation - Study Six) or to manifest itself in any bias against a female candidate applying for a male typed job (Study Seven). In addition, within the current analysis, benevolent sexism was unrelated to perceptions of (potentially) sexually harassing behaviour either when the

behaviour was directed towards them or another. The current analysis appears to suggest that whilst benevolent sexists prefer 'traditional' women, this does not prevent acceptance of women in different roles or provoke discrimination in them (against women who do not fit their preferred subtype). Such negativity and bias may only come with the apparent integration of hostile and benevolent sexism in older men and women. With the integration of hostile and benevolent attitudes, to the extent that traditional roles for women are endorsed, benevolent sexism will provoke positive affect towards those who fit the traditional subtype, whilst hostile sexism will provoke negative affect and discriminatory attitudes/behaviour towards those women who do not fit the traditional subtype.

Developments since research began

Since the outset of the current research program, other researchers have conducted and published research concerning the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick and Fiske, 1996). As noted throughout the thesis, Glick et al. (1997) recently published an analysis of hostile and benevolent sexism and their relationship to subtyping of women. Using the scales in conjunction with one another, Glick et al. (1997) found that ambivalent sexism (being high in both hostile and benevolent sexism) predicted greater polarisation in men's evaluations of subtypes of women that they had generated. In an additional study, Glick et al. (1997) found that hostile sexism was positively related to less favourable evaluations of 'non-traditional' women, whilst benevolent sexism was positively related to favourable feelings towards traditional women. These results partially replicate the results of the Study Five pilot study and the results of Study Five reported in the current analysis.

In addition to the research of Glick et al. (1997), as noted in Study Eight, Wiener et al. (1997) investigated the relationship of hostile and benevolent sexism to perceptions of (potentially) sexually harassing behaviour. With specific reference to hostile and benevolent sexism they found hostile sexism positively associated with 'anti sexual harassment' attitudes, and benevolent sexism positively associated with perceiving the detailed behaviour as more severe and as more likely to have a negative effect on work performance. These results were broadly replicated (but only in the first person condition of Study Eight) and extended in the final study of the current research. Explanations for the differences between Wiener et al.'s (1997) results and the results of Study Eight, focused on potential sample and cultural differences.

Methodological considerations and directions for future research

Given the comparatively recent emergence of the concepts of hostile and benevolent sexism and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), research into these concepts and their predictive utility is still at a very early stage and is far from complete. With some exceptions, both in the current analyses and the previous work of Glick and Fiske (1996), research has used undergraduate students. As frequently noted, these are a very 'select' population from which to sample, and truly generalisable research requires hypothesis testing outside of this population. Unusually for prejudice research (but akin to Glick & Fiske, 1996) the current analyses have evaluated the attitudes of members of the ingroup towards other members of their group. At the outset, the preliminary research suggested that attitudes towards women, as assessed by the ASI were qualitatively, if not quantitatively, uniform across gender (Glick & Fiske, 1996). As such the holding of sexist attitudes (as assessed by the ASI) against women should result in the same behaviour (if not quantity of behaviour) regardless of the gender of the holder of that attitude. Thus, samples in the current analyses were not specifically restricted by gender (in that they involved only men) and the examination of women's attitudes towards women has, in itself, produced some interesting results (see Study Eight). Examination of gender differences within the current analysis (see Chapter Five) and other research (Glick et al., 1997) have yet to demonstrate that sexist attitudes (against women) held by women or by men are qualitatively different.

With those potential limitations noted the current research program has extended the research into the statistical validity of the scales of the ASI, by exploring the performance of the ASI in a different country/culture and its association with a variety of measures of other (related) psychological constructs. In addition, the current research (and subsequent research; Glick et al., 1997) has demonstrated how the holding of hostile or benevolent sexist attitudes can result in positive (benevolent) or negative (hostile) bias against particular types of women, even within hypothetical workplace scenarios. Whilst the research undertaken in the current analysis is not fault free (in, for example, its extensive use of undergraduate students as participants), the current analysis has, as with all research, produced more questions than answers. Future research therefore needs to address a number of issues. A number of these are outlined below.

The development of hostile and benevolent sexism in adulthood

The first issue that needs to be addressed concerns the development of prejudice against women through adulthood. Preliminary research in the current analysis suggested that benevolent sexism (as a concept) is not a coherent attitude within younger (male) participants. Rather, the attitude of benevolent sexism appears to develop and become coherent through early adulthood. In addition, the current analysis suggested that benevolent sexism becomes increasingly associated with hostile sexism as a function of age. Thus to the extent that a person endorses stereotypical attitudes towards women, it will be manifested in both positive (towards women who do not violate the traditional roles) and negative (towards women who do violate traditional roles) affect. This association is in direct contrast to that observed with American participants whose hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes tended to become increasingly disassociated with age. Research should investigate this discrepancy and attempt to map the development of benevolent sexism throughout adulthood, specifically with male participants. Questions that need to be addressed include a consideration of the origin of both hostile and benevolent sexism (i.e. are they both culturally transmitted, or does benevolent sexism emerge as a function of 'experience' with women?) and the cultural hypothesis with regard to the discrepancy between the results of the current analysis and those obtained by Glick and Fiske (1996). Can the difference in attitudes towards women documented in the US and UK be attributed to the difference in profiles of equality programs in the two countries?

Subtyping and social cognition

The second issue for consideration for future research concerns the subtyping hypothesis posited in response to the results of Studies Two, Three and Four and evaluated in Studies Five and Six. There now exists evidence from a theoretical analysis (Fiske & Glick, 1995), the current analysis and independent research (e.g. Glick et al., 1997) that hostile and benevolent sexism is more specifically focused towards women who do or do not fit the traditional subtype. Specifically, hostile sexism appears to be directed towards women who are 'non-traditional' (i.e. career women or feminists), whilst benevolent sexism is expressed in a positivity towards or preference for women who are accepting of 'traditional' roles. Drawing on this, future research may focus on the refinement of a social cognition paradigm to differentiate between high and low hostile and/or benevolent sexists.

Recent research into racism (e.g. Lepore, 1996; Kawakami et al., 1998) has begun to document the relationship of overt (e.g. questionnaire) measures to covert measures or automatic processes, and this would be an interesting direction for future research into 'contemporary' forms of sexism. Within the methodology outlined in Chapter Four, priming with the relevant subtype (perhaps using pictures) may result in a similar relationship between overt and covert measures being established in sexism as it has in racism. Such evidence may help to bolster the validity of the measures of contemporary sexism.

When and how is negative affect prejudice expressed?

A third issue for future research to consider is the issue of hostile sexists' expression of their prejudice and a more detailed consideration of factors that result in inhibition and those that result in expression. The results of Study Four and of Study Eight, suggest that hostile sexists may be aware that their attitudes are not the 'socially desirable' or politically correct ones, and thus may, under certain circumstances, inhibit their responses in line with the perceived social norm. The implication of this is the hypothesis (and preliminary evidence to show) that if high hostile sexists think that they 'can get away with it', then they will express their prejudice. The ultimate aim of any 'attitude' research is to see that attitude clearly, reliably and consistently translate into behaviour. Thus an issue for future research involves mapping clearly when, in relation to hostile sexism, attitude will and will not lead to behaviour. This clearly, given the slow development of contemporary racism research in pursuit of this goal, will not happen quickly, however it should remain a predominant goal. As stated in Chapter One, if attitude does not lead to any form of behaviour, then why is the holding of that attitude problematic?

Discrepant 'would' and 'should' attitudes for members of the ingroup

A fourth issue for future research leads on from the issue of prejudice expression. The results of Study Eight suggest, as noted, that high hostile sexists hold different attitudes towards behaviour (e.g. sexualised behaviour at work) when the behaviour is directed towards them as opposed to another female. Potential research questions surrounding such an observation are numerous. For example, are those women who endorse sexist statements about themselves aware that they apply discrepant standards to

behaviour directed towards them in comparison to behaviour directed towards another female and what are the psychological consequences of this? To a degree it appears reminiscent of Devine and colleagues' work on racism and compunction. For women high in hostile sexism there appears to be a discrepancy between their actual (would) standard (e.g. that sexualised behaviour at work would not be unwelcome) and should standard (e.g. society/other women would find that sexualised behaviour at work unwelcome). Does such a discrepancy produce global discomfort if you as a member of the ingroup experience this discrepancy? Devine and colleagues' research does not provide the answer (their research always considered ingroup members feelings following a detected discrepancy between their would and should feelings towards the outgroup). Future research should consider more explicitly the effects and consequences of holding prejudicial attitudes towards members of your own group.

Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

A final consideration for future research concerns the titled aim of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996). In their original analysis, Glick and Fiske (1996) specifically and explicitly considered the two subscales of the ASI in isolation from one another, and the current research followed their lead. Subsequent research (e.g. Glick et al., 1997) has tended to use the scales in conjunction with one another, investigating those that score above the median on both scales (ambivalent sexists), and those that score below the median on both scales (non sexists). Whilst this may be viewed as problematic (see Chapter Five), the current research has demonstrated that on its own, the BS scale only shares weak relationships with other measures and has poor predictive utility. In conjunction with hostile sexism, the utility of the BS scale may become more easily apparent. Whilst the separate use of the scales is less problematic in University student and older samples (in that Study 1b demonstrated that the extent to which older respondents are likely to endorse hostile sexist statements is strongly associated with their likelihood to endorse benevolent sexist statements), for younger respondents, the endorsement of statements on one scale may tell nothing about responses to items on the alternate scale. The explicit consideration of the scales in conjunction with one another will allow a clearer examination of the implications of endorsing different types of sexist beliefs.

Concluding remarks

The current program of research began with some scepticism that such an overt or obvious measure of contemporary sexist attitudes as the ASI could tell us anything about discriminatory behaviour. In some ways the scepticism was justified, in others, it was not. It turns out that men and, perhaps surprisingly women, are still willing to endorse statements such as *“many women are actually seeking special favours under the guise of asking for equality”*. For some, under certain circumstances and towards specific female targets, this will lead to differential language use, biases in the evaluation of female candidates and the acceptance of sexualised behaviour in the workplace. Although one can agree with von Hippel et al. (1997) that: *“a complete understanding of prejudice can no longer be obtained by simply asking people what they think and feel about various groups”* (p508), it is perhaps reassuring that such ‘simple’ questions do elicit answers that have some bearing on prejudiced judgements. After all, if sexism was routinely hidden in covert and subtle acts it seems unlikely that it would be a highly significant social problem. The present research shows that the ASI provides an insight into the structure of sexist attitudes and has implications for sexist judgements and decisions.

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General Appendices

Appendix A: Median scores on the HS and BS scales of the ASI for all samples used in Studies 2-8

| | Hostile Sexism scale | Benevolent Sexism scale |
|---------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Study 2 | 3.45 | 3.18 |
| Study 3 | 3.27 | 3.73 |
| Study 4 | 3.55 | 3.55 |
| Study 5 | 3.35 | 3.28 |
| Study 6 | 3.38 | 3.32 |
| Study 7 | 3.55 | 3.55 |
| Study 8 | 3.27 | 3.36 |

Appendix A: Number of participants above and below the median on the HS and BS scales

| | Hostile Sexism scale | | Benevolent Sexism scale | |
|---------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | Number scoring above median | Number scoring below median | Number scoring above median | Number scoring below median |
| Study 2 | 31 | 29 | 35 | 27 |
| Study 3 | 24 | 23 | 20 | 27 |
| Study 4 | 26 | 27 | 25 | 28 |
| Study 5 | 43 | 42 | 44 | 41 |
| Study 6 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 44 |
| Study 7 | 25 | 26 | 25 | 26 |
| Study 8 | 31 | 40 | 34 | 37 |

Appendix A: Additional descriptive statistics on the HS scale of the ASI for all samples used in Studies 2-8 (scale range 1-7)

| | Mean | Standard Deviation | Minimum Score | Maximum Score |
|---------|------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Study 2 | 3.32 | 0.95 | 1.18 | 5.55 |
| Study 3 | 3.54 | 1.15 | 1.64 | 6.09 |
| Study 4 | 3.50 | 0.97 | 1.36 | 6.09 |
| Study 5 | 3.35 | 0.96 | 1.18 | 5.73 |
| Study 6 | 3.38 | 0.95 | 1.08 | 5.77 |
| Study 7 | 3.51 | 0.94 | 1.26 | 6.10 |
| Study 8 | 3.25 | 0.96 | 1.18 | 5.00 |

Appendix A: Additional descriptive statistics on the BS scale of the ASI for all samples used in Studies 2-8 (scale range 1-7)

| | Mean | Standard Deviation | Minimum Score | Maximum Score |
|---------|------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Study 2 | 3.26 | 0.80 | 1.45 | 4.91 |
| Study 3 | 3.61 | 0.87 | 1.73 | 5.27 |
| Study 4 | 3.57 | 0.83 | 2.09 | 5.09 |
| Study 5 | 3.29 | 0.94 | 1.45 | 6.00 |
| Study 6 | 3.32 | 0.93 | 1.35 | 5.94 |
| Study 7 | 3.56 | 0.85 | 2.05 | 5.29 |
| Study 8 | 3.32 | 0.79 | 1.27 | 4.73 |

Appendix B: The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (©Glick & Fiske, 1996)

Below are some statements about men and women and their relationships. Please show how much you agree or disagree by writing a number next to each statement, using the scale below.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Slightly Disagree | Neither one nor the other | Slightly Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
| _____ 1. | | | | | | |
| | No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman. | | | | | |
| _____ 2. | | | | | | |
| | Many women are actually seeking special favours, such as hiring policies that favour them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality". | | | | | |
| _____ 3. | | | | | | |
| | In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men. | | | | | |
| _____ 4. | | | | | | |
| | Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist. | | | | | |
| _____ 5. | | | | | | |
| | Women are too easily offended. | | | | | |
| _____ 6. | | | | | | |
| | People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the opposite sex. | | | | | |
| _____ 7. | | | | | | |
| | Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men. | | | | | |
| _____ 8. | | | | | | |
| | Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess. | | | | | |
| _____ 9. | | | | | | |
| | Women should be cherished and protected by men. | | | | | |
| _____ 10. | | | | | | |
| | Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them. | | | | | |
| _____ 11. | | | | | | |
| | Women seek to gain power by getting control over men. | | | | | |
| _____ 12. | | | | | | |
| | Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores. | | | | | |
| _____ 13. | | | | | | |
| | Men are complete without women. | | | | | |
| _____ 14. | | | | | | |
| | Women exaggerate problems they have at work. | | | | | |
| _____ 15. | | | | | | |
| | Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash. | | | | | |
| _____ 16. | | | | | | |
| | When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against. | | | | | |
| _____ 17. | | | | | | |
| | A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man. | | | | | |
| _____ 18. | | | | | | |
| | There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances. | | | | | |
| _____ 19. | | | | | | |
| | Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility. | | | | | |
| _____ 20. | | | | | | |
| | Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the woman in their lives. | | | | | |
| _____ 21. | | | | | | |
| | Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men. | | | | | |
| _____ 22. | | | | | | |
| | Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste. | | | | | |

Hostile Sexism subscale: Items 2,4,5,7,10,11,14,15,18 & 21

Benevolent Sexism subscale: Items 1,3,6,8,9,12,13,17,19,20 & 22

Items 3,6,7,13,18 & 21 should be reverse coded.

Chapter Appendices

Chapter 3

Appendix 3: Pilot research on the factors underlying the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996)

Glick and Fiske (1996) proposed that three factors underpin contemporary sexism as assessed by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996): paternalism, gender differentiation and heterosexuality. Each of these constructs is proposed to have a hostile and benevolent component, which feed into the relevant component of sexism as assessed by the ASI. At the time of research, the theoretical link between these constructs and the different forms of sexism had not been assessed, and suitable measures were not available. Thus, pilot work was undertaken to devise measures of the three constructs that could be administered, in a questionnaire form, alongside the ASI.

Appendix 3a: Paternalism

Drawing on the definitions of paternalism provided by Glick and Fiske (1996) and Gert and Culver (1979), twenty-two original items for a measure of paternalism were constructed (see Table A3.1). Of these items 2,3,6,8,10,12,14,15,17,19 and 20 were theorised to represent dominative paternalism and so be related to the Hostile Sexism subscale of the ASI. The remainder of the items (1,4,5,7,9,11,13,16,18,21 and 22) were theorised to represent protective paternalism and thus be related to the Benevolent Sexism subscale of the ASI. This measure was subsequently pilot tested.

Data was collected from one hundred and four non psychology undergraduate students who participated in a group decision making task. The twenty two item paternalism measure was used as a filler task within the main procedure. In order to assess the structure of the items and the scale as a coherent measure exploratory principle components analysis with varimax rotation was undertaken. This provided a eight factor solution, which accounted for 63.2% of the variance. After consideration of the items, the first four of these factors appeared to make theoretical sense (corresponding broadly to the paternalistic ideals of honesty (items 13, 16, 18 and 21), intervention (items 1,2, 3 and 14), sacrifice (items 9 and 22) and superior knowledge (items 10, 12, and 15) and all had adequate reliability. Consequently the revised paternalism scale consisted of thirteen

items, where items 9, 13, 16, 18, 21 and 22 were proposed to represent protective paternalism, and the remaining items were proposed to represent dominative paternalism.

Table A3.1: Original Paternalism Scale Items - ® indicates reverse scoring

1. If I know better than one of my friends/colleagues, I would intervene to stop them making a mistake
2. If someone is emotionally fragile and decisions need to be made, it is better to take control and make decisions for them.
3. Sometimes if someone can't see the stupidity of their action, it is better to prevent them carrying out the action, than to let them make their own mistakes
4. If rumours of redundancies are going around at work, it is better not to tell your workers of the rumours and to let them continue to enjoy their work
5. Sometimes it is better to protect individuals from painful news
6. If someone is employed to do a job and they subsequently struggle with aspects of that job, it is better to let them struggle and let them be seen in their true colours than to help ®
7. If there is bad news, people should be told immediately ®
8. If people are too unintelligent to see the benefit of training in an employment context, then they should be made to do it because it is for their long term good
9. When my colleagues can't do part of their job, I will unofficially intervene to help them
10. Sometimes I know better than other people
11. I will act to protect my friends and colleagues from news I think that they shouldn't hear
12. There is nothing wrong in not following someone's wishes if you know better
13. Individuals should always be told the absolute truth, no matter what ®
14. Even if someone is about to make a mistake, they should be left to do it ®
15. You should always follow someone's wishes, even if you think that they are wrong ®
16. Honesty is always the best policy - even if the truth may hurt a friend or colleague you care about ®
17. Each person has superior knowledge concerning themselves and their own situation ®
18. People are entitled to the truth, no matter what the emotional consequences are for them.
19. It is better to only give information that the person receiving it can understand, even if that means not telling the whole truth or story
20. People should be allowed to learn things via trial and error. You should not intervene just because you know how to do something ®
21. I would rather lie than pass on information that would hurt one of my friends
22. I will act to protect my friends, even if that means personal sacrifice

Participants indicated their agreement with items using a one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) scale.

Appendix 3b: Heterosexuality/Relationships

Thirty-two items were generated and adapted from Hendrick et al. (1985). These items were proposed to tap into the constructs thought to underlie the heterosexual component of ASI (see Table A3.2).

The thirty-two items were piloted amongst eighty-nine non psychology undergraduate students. The results from this were subjected to a principal components analysis with varimax rotation. This provided a four factor solution accounting for 42.7% of the variance. The first two of these factors appeared to make theoretical sense with regard to the heterosexual component proposed to underlie the ASI, with Factor 1 (items 3,6,9,11,13,17, 18 and 30) consisting of items to do with heterosexual hostility (Hostile Sexism) and Factor 2 consisting of items to do with heterosexual intimacy (Benevolent Sexism - items 2, 7, 16, 19, 26 and 29). Both of these factors were found to have acceptable reliability. Consequently the revised relationships scale consisted of fourteen items; six benevolent and eight hostile.

Table A3.2: Original Relationship Scale Items - ® indicates reverse scoring

1. Men enjoy sex more than women
2. It is good that generally in a relationship one partner will have more sexual experience than the other
3. Friendship is an important part of sex ®
4. People should be free to have sexual relationships with people of their own sex
5. In a relationship, the spiritual side is more important to me than the physical side
6. I rank physical needs before emotional needs in any sexual relationship
7. It would seem rude to ask a new partner about their sex life
8. I would have sex with someone I didn't really like
9. Sex doesn't have to be enjoyed by both parties to be good.
10. It is up to a woman to make themselves attractive to men.
11. Sex is a game where one partner relishes the chance to conquer the other
12. I have a need for physical intimacy
13. I enjoy the ability to deny my partner sexual pleasure
14. Even if I didn't enjoy sex, I would still go through with it to please my partner.
15. Familiarity is better than novelty in relationships with partners.
16. Most women expect the man to ask them out, rather than the other way round.
17. In a relationship, intimacy and hostility are just flip sides of the same coin
18. Sex is more important to men than women
19. In terms of the physical act of sex, it is usual for the man to dominate the woman
20. I could enjoy a close relationship with a partner if they denied me sexual pleasure
21. Sex is only a physical act
22. In terms of sex, respect is more important than immediate gratification
23. One partner is always the gatekeeper to the other's sexual pleasure
24. It is important to a relationship to ensure that a partner's sexual needs are satisfied before one's own
25. Affection, familiarity and closeness are the best parts of a sexual relationship
26. Sexual intimacy is primarily about emotion; the ability to 'give' yourself to another
27. I would expect to have sex with a partner by about the third 'date'
28. I would find someone who was sexually more experienced more attractive
29. I would only have sex with someone I was married to.
30. It is alright to have sex with someone if you have been going out with them for a few weeks ®
31. It is a good idea to get sexual experience before settling down
32. Most people are a mixture of both heterosexual and homosexual.

Participants indicated their agreement with items using a one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) scale.

Appendix 3c: Gender Differentiation

Drawing on the research of Bem (1974), Spence and Helmreich (1978) Masser (1995) and Martin (1987), sixty trait words were chosen for the pilot study; ten each from the categories of masculine, feminine, neutral positive and negative. In the first instance words were chosen (for the male and female categories) on the basis of previous research demonstrating a large and/or significant difference between the ratings given to male and female participants (e.g. Martin, 1987). For the neutral categories, trait words were chosen in the first instance where there was no or very little discernible difference between the ratings given to male and female participants. Trait words that had mixed loadings (i.e. loading on two different factors) were omitted from the list.

In order to operationalise Glick and Fiske's (1996) proposal that hostile and benevolent sexism may stem from different aspects of complementary gender differentiation, the trait words (see Table A3.3) were presented to participants twice. In the first rating round, participants were asked to rate the positivity or negativity of the words. In the second round (where the order of the words had been changed to minimise demand characteristics), participants were asked to indicate whether they thought the trait was in general more typical of men, women or was equally typical of both genders.

The two stage gender differentiation measure was piloted with 18 non psychology undergraduate students who were taking part in a group decision making task. The gender differentiation measure was included as a filler task within the main procedure. Analysis of the data indicated a number of words that were rated as being characteristic of women and as being clearly positive or negative in meaning. Via an additional pilot study ($N=18$) opposite affect synonyms were then sought for each of those words, so that each construct had a positive and negative affective word associated with it. These items were then used to construct the main gender differentiation task.

Table A3.3: Gender Differentiation Measure - Trait Terms

| | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Self-reliant | Yielding | Helpful |
| Defends Own Beliefs | Cheerful | Moody |
| Independent | Shy | Conscientious |
| Athletic | Affectionate | Theatrical |
| Assertive | Flatterable | Happy |
| Strong Personality | Loyal | Unpredictable |
| Forceful | Feminine | Reliable |
| Analytical | Makes Decisions Easily | Compassionate |
| Sincere | Self Sufficient | Eager to soothe |
| Conceited | Soft Spoken | Likeable |
| Masculine | Warm | Solemn |
| Willing to take a stand | Tender | Friendly |
| Aggressive | Gullible | Inefficient |
| Acts as a leader | Childlike | Adaptable |
| Individualistic | Sympathetic | Jealous |
| Leadership abilities | Sensitive to others | Truthful |
| Willing to take risks | Understanding | Secretive |
| No harsh language | Unsystematic | Competitive |
| Loves children | Tactful | Ambitious |
| Gentle | Conventional | Sad |

In stage one, participants were asked to rate on a one (very negative) to seven (very positive) scale how positive or negative they thought each term was. In stage two they were asked to indicate whether they thought each term was indicative of a man, woman, or was indicative of neither.

Appendix 3d: The rest of the measures used in Study 1b

Table A3.4: The Neo Sexism scale (Tougas et al., 1995) - ® indicates reverse scoring

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Discrimination against women in the labour force is generally no longer a problem |
| I consider the present employment system to be unfair to women ® |
| Women shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted |
| Women will make more progress by being patient and not pushing too hard for change |
| It is difficult to work for a female boss |
| Women's requests in terms of equality between the sexes are simply exaggerated |
| Over the past few years, women have gotten more from the government than they deserve |
| Universities are wrong to admit women to costly programs such as medicine, when in fact, a large number of women will leave their jobs after a few years to raise their children |
| In order not to appear sexist, many men are inclined to overcompensate women |
| Due to social pressures, firms frequently have to hire underqualified women |
| In a fair employment system, men and women would be considered equal ®. |

Participants indicated their agreement with items using a one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) scale.

Table A3.5: Social Dominance Orientation Measure (Pratto et al., 1994) - ® indicates reverse scoring

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Some people are just more worthy than others |
| Some groups of people are simply not the equal of others |
| Equality ® |
| If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country ® |
| Some people are just inferior to others |
| It is important that we treat other countries as equals ® |
| This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were |
| Some people are just more deserving than others |
| In an ideal world, all nations would be equal ® |
| All humans should be treated equally ® |
| Increased economic equality ®. |
| Increased social equality ® |
| To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others |
| It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others |

Participants indicated their agreement with items using a one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) scale.

Table A3.6: Need for Cognitive Closure (Kruglanski et al., 1993) - ® indicates reverse scoring

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I feel uncomfortable when I don't understand the reason why an event occurred in my life |
| I usually make important decisions quickly and confidently |
| I would describe myself as indecisive ® |
| I enjoy the uncertainty of going into a new situation and without knowing what might happen ® |
| I tend to struggle with most decisions ® |
| When considering most conflict situations I can usually see how both sides could be right ® |
| When thinking about a problem I consider as many different opinions on the issue as possible ® |
| I dislike it when a person's statement could mean many different things ® |
| I find that establishing a consistent routine enables me to enjoy life more |
| I enjoy having a clear and structured mode of life |
| I like to have a place for everything and everything in its place |
| I feel uncomfortable when someone's meaning or intention is unclear to me |
| I always see many possible solutions to problems I face ® |
| I dislike unpredictable situations |

Participants indicated their agreement with items using a one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) scale.

Table A3.7: Attitudes Towards Women's Rights (Pratto et al., 1994) - ® indicates reverse scoring

| |
|-----------------------------------------------|
| Equal pay for women |
| More women judges |
| Stiffer penalties for wife beating |
| Guaranteed job securing after maternity leave |

Participants indicated their agreement with items using a one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) scale.

Table A3.8: Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay Men's Rights (Pratto et al., 1994)
 - ® indicates reverse scoring

Gay or lesbian rights

Gay or lesbian marriages

Participants indicated their agreement with items using a one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) scale.

Table A3.9: Humanitarian-Egalitarianism scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) - ® indicates reverse scoring

One should be kind to all people

One should find ways to help others less fortunate than oneself

A person should be concerned about the well-being of others

There should be equality for everyone - because we are all human beings

Those who are unable to provide for their basic needs should be helped by others

A good society is one in which people feel responsible for one another

Everyone should have an equal chance and an equal say in most things

Acting to protect the rights and interests of other members of the community is a major obligation for all persons

In dealing with criminals the courts should recognise that many are victims of circumstances

Prosperous nations have a moral obligation to share some of their wealth with poor nations

Participants indicated their agreement with items using a one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) scale.

Table A3.10: Protestant Ethic Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) - ® indicates reverse scoring

| |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Most people spend too much time in unprofitable amusements |
| Our society would have few problems if people had less leisure time |
| Money acquired easily is usually spent unwisely |
| People should have more leisure time to spend in relaxation ® |
| Most people who don't succeed in life are just plain lazy |
| Anyone who is willing and able to work hard has a good chance of succeeding |
| People who fail at a job have usually not tried hard enough |
| Hard work offers little guarantee of success ® |
| Life would have very little meaning if we never had to suffer |
| The person who can approach an unpleasant task with enthusiasm is the person who gets ahead |
| If people work hard enough they are likely to make a good life for themselves |
| I feel uneasy when there is little work for me to do |
| Life would be more meaningful if we had more leisure time ® |
| A distaste for hard work usually reflects a weakness of character |
| Participants indicated their agreement with items using a one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) scale. |

Appendix 3e: Calculation of mean of several values of *r*

Chambers (1950) states that to average several values of *r*, use can be made of the *z* transformation. To average several values of *r*, *r* must be initially transformed into *z* and then the product should be multiplied by *N*-3, where *N* is the number of pairs in the original *r*. The products of this should be summed, and the total divided by the sum of the (*N*-3)'s, giving a mean value of *z*. Finally *z* is transformed back into *r*, and this gives the correct values for the mean of the original correlation coefficients.

Appendix 3f: Alternative Regression Models

The result of regression analyses with the variables with the highest level of association with the DV entered at Step 1 (the alternative sexism measures), global personality constructs entered at Step 2 and the associated attitudes entered at Step 3.

Student sample (N=385)

Table A3.11: Hierarchical regression analysis on Hostile Sexism with Benevolent Sexism, Neo Sexism, Need for Cognitive Closure, Social Dominance, Attitudes towards Women's Rights and Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men as predictor variables.

| | | df | Sum of Squares | Mean Square |
|-------------------------|------|--------------|----------------|-------------|
| Multiple R ² | .687 | Regression 6 | 172.71 | 28.78 |
| R ² | .471 | Residual 371 | 193.75 | 0.52 |
| | | F=55.12 | Sig F=.000 | |

| Step | Variables Entered | β | T | Partial Corr | R ² Change | F |
|------|-------------------|---------|----------|--------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| 1 | BS | 0.21 | 5.02*** | .25 | .426 | 139.21*** |
| | NS | 0.54 | 12.88*** | .55 | | |
| 2 | SDO | 0.16 | 3.35*** | .17 | .017 | 5.62** |
| | NFCC | -0.02 | -0.44 | -.02 | | |
| 3 | ATWR | -0.17 | -3.61*** | -.18 | .028 | 9.97*** |
| | ATLG | -0.09 | -1.93* | -.10 | | |

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .06$. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: NFCC= Need For Cognitive Closure; SDO= Social Dominance Orientation; ALGR= Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men's Rights; ATWR= Attitudes Towards Women's Rights; BS = Benevolent Sexism; NS = Neo Sexism

Table A3.12: Hierarchical regression analysis on Benevolent Sexism with Hostile Sexism, Neo Sexism, Need for Cognitive Closure, Social Dominance, Attitudes towards Women's Rights and Attitudes towards Lesbians' and Gay Men as predictor variables.

| Multiple R ² | | df | Sum of Squares | | Mean Square | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|----------|
| .485 | | Regression 6 | 72.68 | | 12.11 | |
| R ² .235 | | Residual 371 | 236.13 | | 0.64 | |
| | | F=19.03 | Sig F=.000 | | | |
| Step | Variables Entered | β | T | Partial Corr | R ² Change | F |
| 1 | HS | 0.30 | 5.02*** | .25 | .194 | 45.10*** |
| | NS | 0.19 | 3.18** | .16 | | |
| 2 | SDO | 0.10 | 1.72 | .09 | .016 | 3.84* |
| | NFCC | 0.09 | 1.82 | .09 | | |
| 3 | ATWR | -0.15 | -2.67** | -.14 | .025 | 6.12** |
| | ALGR | -0.15 | -2.62** | -.14 | | |

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: NFCC= Need For Cognitive Closure; SDO= Social Dominance Orientation; ALGR= Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men's Rights; ATWR= Attitudes Towards Women's Rights; HS= Hostile Sexism; NS= Neo Sexism

Student sample (N=91)

Table A3.13: Hierarchical regression analysis on Hostile Sexism with Benevolent Sexism, Neo Sexism, Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, Protestant Ethic, Dominative Paternalism, Protective Paternalism, Heterosexual Intimacy and Heterosexual Hostility as predictor variables.

| Multiple R ² | | df | Sum of Squares | | Mean Square | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------|
| .517 | | Regression 8 | 15.30 | | 1.91 | |
| R ² .192 | | Residual 78 | 42.00 | | 0.54 | |
| | | F=3.55 | Sig F=.001 | | | |
| Step | Variables Entered | β | T | Partial Corr | R ² Change | F |
| 1 | BS | 0.14 | 1.36 | .15 | .167 | 8.43*** |
| | NS | 0.35 | 3.36*** | .34 | | |
| 2 | DP | 0.10 | 0.09 | .01 | .091 | 2.45* |
| | PP | -0.20 | -2.05* | -.22 | | |
| | HH | 0.26 | 2.23* | .24 | | |
| | HI | 0.06 | 0.49 | .05 | | |
| 3 | HE | -0.10 | -0.97 | -.11 | .009 | 0.47 |
| | PE | 0.01 | 0.12 | .01 | | |

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: DP= Dominative Paternalism; PP= Protective Paternalism; HH= Heterosexual Hostility; HI= Heterosexual Intimacy; PE= Protestant Ethic; HE= Humanitarian-Egalitarianism; BS= Benevolent Sexism; NS = Neo Sexism

Table A3.14: Hierarchical regression analysis on Benevolent Sexism with Hostile Sexism, Neo Sexism, Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, Protestant Ethic, Dominative Paternalism, Protective Paternalism, Heterosexual Intimacy and Heterosexual Hostility as predictor variables.

| Multiple R ² | | df | Sum of Squares | | Mean Square | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------|
| R ² | | Regression | 8 | 13.47 | 1.68 | |
| | | Residual | 78 | 33.89 | 0.43 | |
| | | F=3.87 | | Sig F=.001 | | |
| Step | Variables Entered | β | T | Partial Corr | R ² Change | F |
| 1 | HS | 0.15 | 1.36 | .15 | 0.09 | 4.38** |
| | NS | 0.21 | 1.90 | .20 | | |
| 2 | DP | 0.12 | 1.10 | .12 | .159 | 4.23** |
| | PP | 0.01 | 0.07 | .01 | | |
| | HH | -0.10 | -0.87 | -.10 | | |
| | HI | 0.43 | 3.58*** | .37 | | |
| 3 | HE | -0.14 | -1.31 | .14 | .031 | 1.69 |
| | PE | 0.12 | 1.14 | .13 | | |

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: DP= Dominative Paternalism; PP= Protective Paternalism; HH= Heterosexual Hostility; HI= Heterosexual Intimacy; HE = Humanitarian-Egalitarianism; PE= Protestant Ethic; HS = Hostile Sexism; NS = Neo Sexism

Employed sample (N=198)

Table A3.15: Hierarchical regression analysis on Hostile Sexism with Benevolent Sexism, Neo Sexism, Need for Cognitive Closure, Social Dominance, Protestant Ethic, Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, Attitudes towards Women's Rights and Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men as predictor variables.

| | | df | Sum of Squares | Mean Square | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Multiple R ² | .667 | Regression 8 | 95.85 | 11.98 | | |
| R ² | .444 | Residual 190 | 119.80 | 0.63 | | |
| | | F=18.82 | Sig F=.000 | | | |
| Step | Variables Entered | β | T | Partial Corr | R ² Change | F |
| 1 | BS | 0.28 | 4.51*** | .31 | .385 | 61.37*** |
| | NS | 0.44 | 6.90*** | .44 | | |
| 2 | SDO | 0.16 | 2.46* | .17 | .022 | 3.66* |
| | NFCC | 0.02 | 0.36 | .04 | | |
| 3 | HE | 0.09 | 1.15 | .08 | | 2.94* |
| | PE | 0.01 | 0.15 | .01 | | |
| | ATWR | -0.18 | -2.76** | -.20 | .035 | |
| | ALGR | -0.10 | -1.54 | -.11 | | |

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: HE= Humanitarian-Egalitarianism; PE= Protestant Ethic; NFCC= Need For Cognitive Closure; SDO= Social Dominance Orientation; ALGR= Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men's Rights; ATWR= Attitudes Towards Women's Rights; BS = Benevolent Sexism; NS = Neo Sexism

Table A3.16: Hierarchical regression analysis on Benevolent Sexism with Hostile Sexism, Neo Sexism, Need for Cognitive Closure, Social Dominance, Protestant Ethic, Humanitarian-Egalitarianism, Attitudes towards Women's Rights and Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men as predictor variables.

| | | df | Sum of Squares | Mean Square | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Multiple R ² | .585 | Regression 8 | 60.48 | 7.56 | | |
| R ² | .342 | Residual 190 | 116.51 | 0.61 | | |
| | | F=12.33 | Sig F=.000 | | | |
| Step | Variables | β | T | Partial Corr | R ² Change | F |
| 1 | Entered | | | | | |
| | HS | 0.33 | 4.51*** | .31 | .286 | 39.35*** |
| 2 | NS | 0.27 | 3.74*** | .26 | | |
| | SDO | 0.09 | 1.18 | .08 | .007 | 0.95 |
| 3 | NFCC | 0.03 | 0.52 | .04 | | |
| | HE | -0.03 | -0.35 | -.03 | | |
| | PE | 0.19 | 2.81** | .20 | | |
| | ATWR | -0.11 | -1.54 | -.11 | .041 | 2.95* |
| | ALGR | -0.03 | -0.37 | -.03 | | |

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Regression statistics are taken from the step on which the variable was entered.

Note: HE = Humanitarian-Egalitarianism; PE = Protestant Ethic; NFCC = Need For Cognitive Closure; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation; ALGR = Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men's Rights; ATWR = Attitudes Towards Women's Rights; HS = Hostile Sexism; NS = Neo Sexism

Chapter 5

Appendix 5a: Development of Trait Target Words for the Priming Paradigm

In order to develop a social cognition paradigm for use with the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) it was essential to devise a battery of words that should, theoretically, be differentially associated with the category 'women' for those high and low in hostile and/or benevolent sexism. At the time the studies in this section were conducted (1996-1997), experimental research using the ASI was extremely limited, and the only real suggestion of what factors may differentiate between the two forms of sexism came from the subscales themselves. Due to this, pilot work on the target words went through a number of stages to ensure that the words chosen did differentiate between the two concepts.

Selection of the target words

After consideration of the theoretical basis of hostile and benevolent sexism, a number of words (traits and nontraits) were generated that were thought to characterise the key elements of hostile and benevolent sexism. All these words were then presented to

three independent judges who had been briefed in the theory underlying the concepts of hostile and benevolent sexism. Each of the three judges then rated each word (using a one to seven scale) as to the extent that they perceived it was representative of the concepts of hostile and benevolent sexism. Separate ratings were undertaken for the concept of hostile sexism and the concept of benevolent sexism. This procedure resulted in a total of forty-six words (see Table A5.1) that were judged to be representative of either hostile or benevolent sexism. As it was essential to the experimental procedure that the words were comprehensible to everyone, the forty-six words were then presented to (another) twelve participants who rated each of the words for ease of understanding on a one (easy to understand) to seven (difficult to understand) scale. The 'easiest to understand' twenty-four traits/nontraits were then selected for further pilot testing. Twelve of these traits/nontraits were perceived to be related to hostile sexism, whilst the other twelve were perceived to be related to benevolent sexism.

Table A5.1: The initial pool of forty-six HS and BS stereotypical words

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| Love | Romantic | Pure |
| Cherished | Protected | Adored |
| Revered | Moral | Inferior |
| Emasculating | Manipulative | Stupid |
| Servile | Vacuous | Hard |
| Incompetent | Feeble | Subordinate |
| Sympathetic | Favourite | Offendable |
| Touchy | Powerful | Unappreciating |
| Controlling | Teasing | Demanding |
| Weak | Cultured | Intimate |
| Vacant | Vulnerable | Fussy |
| Complaining | Unreasonable | Childlike |
| Chaste | Dependent | Protected |
| Soppy | Helpless | Caring |
| Unreasonable | Emotional | Fragile |
| Feisty | | |

Note: Words in bold represent the subsequent benevolent sexism target words; words in italics represent the subsequent hostile sexism words

The relation of the target word to the ASI subscales

In order to check whether the selected words were independently related to the Hostile and Benevolent subscales of the ASI and differentiated between them, fifty-three participants were recruited to take part in an 'impression formation' task. Each participant were presented with a list of traits that they were told described a woman. Twenty-five participants were presented with the hostile traits, whilst twenty-eight participants were presented with the benevolent traits. On the basis of these traits, participants were requested to write a paragraph about their general impression of the woman and to describe what her typical day might be like. Each participant successfully completed this task. This resulted in twenty-five 'hostile' paragraphs and twenty-eight 'benevolent' paragraphs.

Following this an additional sixteen participants were recruited (who had not taken part in the previous phase of the study). Each of the sixteen participants were presented with ten of the paragraphs generated in the previous phase (approximately five hostile, five benevolent). They were requested to read each of the paragraphs carefully, and then to complete the an ASI for each paragraph as if they were the person that had written the paragraph. On average, therefore, each paragraph was rated by three independent participants. In order to assess whether the hostile sexism trait generated paragraphs resulted in higher hostile sexism subscale scores in comparison to those who had read and rated benevolent sexism trait generated paragraphs (and vice versa for benevolent sexism) ratings were averaged and related samples t-tests conducted. On the Hostile Sexism subscale of the ASI, participants who had rated hostile sexism paragraphs scored 5.14 (on a seven point scale) in agreement with the hostile sexism statements. This compared with 3.59 for those who had rated benevolent sexism paragraphs ($t(16)=5.89$, $p<.001$). On the Benevolent Sexism subscales of the ASI, participants who had rated benevolent sexism paragraphs scored 5.17 (on a seven point scale) in agreement with benevolent sexism statements. This compared with 3.28 for those who had rated hostile sexism statements ($t(16)=-8.37$, $p<.001$). This preliminary study indicated that the hostile and benevolent traits generated in phase one of the pilot study resulted in paragraphs that were judged to be significantly more indicative of either hostile or benevolent sexism. Specifically and crucially for the social cognition paradigm, the pilot study had established a number of words that appeared to be differentially related to hostile and benevolent sexism - i.e. when these traits were applied to a woman, the person endorsing those traits were judged to be significantly more hostile or benevolently sexist.

Appendix 5b: Test-retest validity of the ASI

Many studies that have investigated the link between overt and covert measures of prejudice have administered the overt measure within the same experimental session as the covert measure. As Fazio, Jackson, Dunton and Williams (1995) note this may exaggerate or accentuate any social desirability problems that may exist with the overt measure, as the respondent is aware of the person for whom they are completing the measure. In addition, such measures may make explicit the purpose of an experimental session, which may be undesirable prior to debriefing. There are, therefore, clear advantages to administering the overt measure of prejudice in a separate experimental session. However these only remain if the measure of prejudice is stable over time. As the test-retest reliability of the ASI had not been established, a small pilot study was undertaken prior to Study 2. Thirty-six second year psychology undergraduates who had completed the ASI a year previously completed the ASI in an experimental session for course credit. Their responses at Time Two were matched and correlated with their responses at Time One. The Time One and Time Two correlations can be seen in Table A5.2, and were judged adequate.

Table A5.2: Test-retest correlations for the HS and BS subscales of the ASI (one year interval).

| | Time One HS | Time One BS |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Time Two HS | .76*** | |
| Time Two BS | | .78*** |

N=36; *** $p < .001$

Appendix 5c: Establishing the SOA

In order to establish an Stimulus Onset Asynchrony at which no participant would be able to consciously recognise the prime a number of different SOA's were piloted. Using identical target words to the ones used in the main studies, participants were 'primed' with a number of five letter words (so to be equal in length to 'woman') including 'mouse', 'their', 'which', 'point' and 'these'. For the pilot study, participants were told: *"Over the course of the next few minutes a number of words will flash up on the computer screen. I would simply like you to tell me what you think the words are; some will be surrounded by other letters, you have to work out and tell me what the word is. The*

procedure for the words appearing will normally be two appearing in one place in quick succession. Please tell me, if you can, what both words are. You will start with a few practice trials."

As with the main study, participants were seated 56cm from the computer screen to ensure that the stimuli were outside of their foveal visual field. Five different SOA's were piloted (see Table A5.3) with a total of twenty five participants (five at each SOA).

Table A5.3: Piloted SOA's

| Test SOA | Prime exposure | Blank Screen | Total SOA |
|----------|----------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1 | 500ms | 200ms | 750ms |
| 2 | 250ms | 200ms | 450ms |
| 3 | 200ms | 200ms | 400ms |
| 4 | 125ms | 200ms | 325ms |
| 5 | 100ms | 150ms | 250ms |

The results indicated that at both SOA's four and five, all participants accurately called out the target words, but critically no participant indicated seeing a flash or the prime word.

Appendix 5d: Mean Response Times for Study Two

Hostile Sexism

All female orientated target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|--------|--------------------|----|
| Female Prime | High HS | 792.41 | 192.97 | 31 |
| | Low HS | 677.62 | 138.43 | 28 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 788.52 | 201.47 | 31 |
| | Low HS | 675.85 | 142.73 | 28 |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 912.22 | 220.36 | 31 |
| | Low HS | 798.02 | 203.17 | 29 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 917.27 | 262.56 | 31 |
| | Low HS | 774.47 | 154.77 | 29 |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 861.99 | 256.00 | 31 |
| | Low HS | 806.98 | 208.32 | 28 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 872.59 | 217.08 | 31 |
| | Low HS | 793.64 | 228.10 | 28 |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 887.95 | 228.81 | 31 |
| | Low HS | 841.48 | 230.31 | 29 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 941.94 | 296.63 | 31 |
| | Low HS | 859.52 | 271.04 | 29 |

Benevolent Sexism

All female orientated target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|--------|--------------------|----|
| Female Prime | High BS | 722.71 | 183.64 | 33 |
| | Low BS | 757.26 | 171.09 | 26 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 747.06 | 210.78 | 33 |
| | Low BS | 719.81 | 144.49 | 26 |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 861.04 | 236.56 | 33 |
| | Low BS | 852.11 | 197.67 | 27 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 837.93 | 255.06 | 33 |
| | Low BS | 860.87 | 191.63 | 27 |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 811.78 | 247.59 | 33 |
| | Low BS | 866.46 | 217.00 | 26 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 815.45 | 226.50 | 33 |
| | Low BS | 860.10 | 222.67 | 26 |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 845.08 | 218.21 | 33 |
| | Low BS | 890.44 | 242.89 | 27 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 902.36 | 299.70 | 33 |
| | Low BS | 901.79 | 272.05 | 27 |

Appendix 5e: Mean Response Times for Study Three

Hostile Sexism

All female orientated target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|--------|--------------------|----|
| Female Prime | High HS | 752.71 | 197.86 | 24 |
| | Low HS | 699.08 | 164.61 | 23 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 749.00 | 234.72 | 24 |
| | Low HS | 688.67 | 158.44 | 23 |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 868.59 | 235.91 | 24 |
| | Low HS | 829.41 | 251.77 | 23 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 863.33 | 271.67 | 24 |
| | Low HS | 782.50 | 203.07 | 23 |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 924.05 | 287.42 | 24 |
| | Low HS | 803.77 | 239.08 | 23 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 825.17 | 257.98 | 24 |
| | Low HS | 853.63 | 331.34 | 23 |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 928.14 | 348.39 | 24 |
| | Low HS | 801.85 | 210.51 | 23 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 949.97 | 342.31 | 24 |
| | Low HS | 822.40 | 227.08 | 23 |

Benevolent Sexism

All female orientated target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|--------|--------------------|----|
| Female Prime | High BS | 751.33 | 211.54 | 20 |
| | Low BS | 708.04 | 159.15 | 27 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 701.82 | 151.22 | 20 |
| | Low BS | 732.56 | 233.44 | 27 |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 883.16 | 249.12 | 20 |
| | Low BS | 824.43 | 238.08 | 27 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 861.31 | 261.46 | 20 |
| | Low BS | 795.97 | 226.48 | 27 |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 894.09 | 331.72 | 20 |
| | Low BS | 798.36 | 257.32 | 27 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 903.43 | 223.46 | 20 |
| | Low BS | 836.86 | 299.21 | 27 |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 864.83 | 254.23 | 20 |
| | Low BS | 867.46 | 323.78 | 27 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 895.74 | 257.19 | 20 |
| | Low BS | 881.40 | 325.87 | 27 |

Chapter 6

Appendix 6a: Assessing the memorability of words

In order to ensure that any recall in the second stage of the experiment was not just due to the inherent memorability of some words, a small pilot study was conducted. Twelve participants (six men and six women) took part in a computer based task where all the potential target words (forty-eight) were flashed onto the screen in a random order. Participants were asked, as in the main study, to judge if the words were positive or negative in meaning. After being given the distracter task (as in the main study) participants were then asked to recall as many of the words that had been flashed up on the computer screen as possible. A number of the female orientated target words appeared in the recall of three or more people (twenty five percent of the sample or more; see Table A6.1 below). As these words appeared to be particularly memorable, they were eliminated from the main priming study.

Table A6.1: Eliminated Target Words from Experiment Four

| | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| Emotional | Sympathetic | Soppy |
| Touchy | Powerful | Fussy |
| Complaining | Feisty | Unreasonable |

Appendix 6b: Mean Response Times for Study Four

Hostile Sexism

All female orientated target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|--------------------|----|
| Male Experimenter | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 1217.39 | 378.66 | 13 |
| | Low HS | 1221.84 | 291.29 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 1066.81 | 358.33 | 13 |
| | Low HS | 1129.45 | 312.91 | 13 |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 1618.15 | 427.81 | 13 |
| | Low HS | 1518.70 | 485.76 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 1348.60 | 381.14 | 13 |
| | Low HS | 1430.22 | 627.83 | 13 |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 1591.73 | 688.68 | 13 |
| | Low HS | 1469.07 | 328.14 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 1382.76 | 572.41 | 13 |
| | Low HS | 1161.71 | 226.78 | 13 |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 1355.92 | 491.10 | 13 |
| | Low HS | 1266.14 | 262.04 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 1285.43 | 431.85 | 13 |
| | Low HS | 1123.14 | 567.25 | 13 |

Hostile Sexism

All neutral target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|---------|--------------------|---|
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 1279.86 | 246.30 | 13 | |
| | Low HS | 1370.67 | 360.78 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 1055.96 | 126.79 | 13 | |
| | Low HS | 993.33 | 184.64 | 13 | |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 1944.21 | 1031.50 | 13 | |
| | Low HS | 1764.43 | 361.07 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 1210.29 | 315.45 | 13 | |
| | Low HS | 1547.19 | 624.76 | 13 | |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 1327.28 | 453.44 | 13 | |
| | Low HS | 1489.05 | 444.45 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 1120.71 | 150.94 | 13 | |
| | Low HS | 1133.89 | 405.92 | 13 | |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | 1380.78 | 399.45 | 13 | |
| | Low HS | 1600.48 | 545.58 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | 1430.96 | 476.81 | 13 | |
| | Low HS | 1139.50 | 237.59 | 13 | |

Hostile Sexism

All female orientated target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|--|---------|--------------------|----|
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | | 1324.76 | 445.10 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 981.50 | 152.65 | 14 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | | 1644.68 | 702.63 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1065.86 | 354.51 | 14 |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | | 1536.57 | 633.94 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1466.47 | 238.56 | 14 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | | 1908.25 | 769.69 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1484.64 | 758.01 | 14 |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | | 1504.86 | 347.17 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1418.79 | 552.05 | 14 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | | 1671.13 | 542.62 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1133.36 | 309.78 | 14 |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | | 1461.26 | 644.71 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1506.69 | 733.21 | 14 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | | 1575.75 | 637.38 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1418.74 | 668.28 | 14 |

Hostile Sexism

All neutral target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|--|---------|--------------------|----|
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | | 1180.43 | 307.94 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1109.25 | 215.35 | 14 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | | 1594.21 | 667.43 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1087.40 | 385.20 | 14 |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | | 1875.22 | 655.08 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1446.65 | 475.65 | 14 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | | 1853.44 | 483.87 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1465.91 | 582.34 | 14 |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | | 1621.41 | 725.27 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1336.60 | 410.47 | 14 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | | 1284.58 | 224.95 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1245.52 | 364.81 | 14 |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High HS | | 1656.78 | 643.65 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1342.07 | 224.51 | 14 |
| Neutral Prime | High HS | | 2049.68 | 582.26 | 13 |
| | Low HS | | 1507.48 | 592.08 | 14 |

Benevolent Sexism

All female orientated target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|--------|--------------------|---|
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1111.40 | 199.78 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1346.23 | 402.11 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 943.67 | 150.07 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1163.30 | 365.97 | 13 | |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1587.22 | 538.23 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1538.21 | 351.27 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 1511.97 | 448.77 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1330.41 | 520.64 | 13 | |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1357.86 | 440.46 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1721.48 | 543.11 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 1211.44 | 281.71 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1311.54 | 514.19 | 13 | |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1309.52 | 434.08 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1720.22 | 461.33 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 1330.50 | 240.61 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1281.30 | 466.42 | 13 | |

Benevolent Sexism

All neutral target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|---------|--------------------|---|
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1238.18 | 210.35 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1434.42 | 379.73 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 1003.39 | 100.59 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1037.57 | 175.57 | 13 | |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1540.68 | 443.360 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 2205.25 | 848.56 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 1253.63 | 342.06 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1415.63 | 558.09 | 13 | |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1418.48 | 521.33 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1409.61 | 365.20 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 1201.67 | 199.38 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1093.52 | 335.25 | 13 | |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | | |
| Male Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1309.52 | 434.08 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1720.22 | 461.34 | 13 | |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 1330.50 | 240.61 | 13 | |
| | Low BS | 1281.30 | 466.42 | 13 | |

Benevolent Sexism

All female orientated target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|--------------------|----|
| Female Experimenter | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1163.06 | 279.34 | 13 |
| | Low BS | 1272.57 | 590.34 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 1254.98 | 447.34 | 13 |
| | Low BS | 1237.07 | 610.95 | 13 |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1670.68 | 551.65 | 13 |
| | Low BS | 1225.07 | 310.51 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 1896.95 | 890.89 | 13 |
| | Low BS | 1438.75 | 660.09 | 13 |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1384.39 | 399.72 | 13 |
| | Low BS | 1635.64 | 426.02 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 1382.90 | 461.80 | 13 |
| | Low BS | 1246.28 | 469.25 | 13 |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | 1531.52 | 492.53 | 13 |
| | Low BS | 1567.53 | 687.27 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | 2035.81 | 509.73 | 13 |
| | Low BS | 1448.38 | 601.73 | 13 |

Benevolent Sexism

All neutral target words

| Entirely Positive Words | | | Mean | Standard Deviation | N |
|-------------------------|---------|--|---------|--------------------|----|
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | | 1174.70 | 304.68 | 13 |
| | Low BS | | 1119.57 | 228.05 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | | 1145.20 | 149.45 | 13 |
| | Low BS | | 1304.68 | 661.94 | 13 |
| Partly Positive Words | | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | | 1647.08 | 342.12 | 13 |
| | Low BS | | 1857.30 | 981.07 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | | 1593.30 | 258.26 | 13 |
| | Low BS | | 1580.05 | 713.53 | 13 |
| Entirely Negative Words | | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | | 1405.70 | 593.53 | 13 |
| | Low BS | | 1724.87 | 706.62 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | | 1279.27 | 149.96 | 13 |
| | Low BS | | 1243.96 | 401.24 | 13 |
| Partly Negative Words | | | | | |
| Female Experimenter | | | | | |
| Female Prime | High BS | | 1531.52 | 492.53 | 13 |
| | Low BS | | 1367.53 | 687.27 | 13 |
| Neutral Prime | High BS | | 2035.81 | 509.73 | 13 |
| | Low BS | | 1448.38 | 601.73 | 13 |

Appendix 6c: Motivation to Control Prejudiced Responses

Shortly after completion of Study 4, Dunton and Fazio (1997) published a paper detailing their Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions (MCPR) Scale. As the central premise of Study 4 had concerned high hostile sexist motivations to control their responding, it was thought interesting to see whether this new scale would correlate with participants scores on the HS and BS scales. Forty one of the participants who completed Study 4 were recontacted and/or agreed to complete an additional measure. Sixteen of the seventeen MCPR scale items were administered after being modified to focus on general prejudice rather than ethnic prejudice. For example, item twelve of Dunton and Fazio's (1997) scale reads: "*When speaking to a Black person it's important to me that he/she not think I'm prejudiced*". Within the current study this was altered to read: "*When speaking to people, its important to me that they don't think I'm prejudiced*". The modified scale

had acceptable internal reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha of .76 (standardised alpha=.77). This compared with alpha's of between .74 and .77 reported by Dunton and Fazio (1997). The composite scale score was then correlated with respondents scores on the HS and BS subscales of the ASI (see Table A6.1). All the scales were positively related, but the association between the MCPR scale and both the HS and BS scales were non significant.

Table 6.2: Correlations between the HS and BS subscales of the ASI and a modified Motivation to Control Prejudiced Responses Scale

| | Hostile Sexism score | Benevolent Sexism score |
|-------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| MCPR Scale | .20 | .19 |
| <u>N=41</u> | | |

These results suggest that although participants who score highly on the HS and BS subscales of the ASI are more motivated to control their prejudiced responses, this relationship is not significant. This, cannot however be definitively concluded. The current research is flawed in a number of ways. Firstly the current pilot study had only a small number of respondents and secondly it used a modified scale. Once a modified scale (either for use with all prejudices or sexism specifically) has been designed and validated, the current results suggest that the relationship between HS, BS and a MCPR scale warrants further investigation.

Chapter 7

Appendix 7a: The Natalie Study: hostile and benevolent sexism and their relationship to subtypes

Following the suggestion in Chapter Five that hostile and benevolent sexism may be more specifically related to subcategories of the female stereotype rather than a generic stereotype, a preliminary pilot study was conducted prior to the main study to assess this possibility. Fifty four participants were presented with either the hostile or benevolent traits developed in an earlier pilot study (see Appendix 5a) and were told that these traits characterised a woman called Natalie. They were asked to spend some time thinking about Natalie and the kind of person that she might be. After they had formed an impression of Natalie, they were asked to answer a series of questions about Natalie. These questions concerned Natalie's age and what 'type' of woman Natalie was. In addition participants were asked to rate Natalie on a series of traits, including glamorous, attractive, efficient, maternal, beautiful and organised.

With regard to Natalie's age, participants were asked to select one of six age ranges for Natalie (under 20, 20-30, 30-40, 40-50, 50-60, Over 60). Initial analysis demonstrated that whilst there was little agreement over Natalie's age within the hostile sexism condition (twelve participants rated her as under 30, whilst thirteen rated her as above 30), the majority of participants in the benevolent sexism condition rated Natalie as being under 30 years of age (twenty three participants). Only six participants rated 'benevolent' Natalie as above 30. The discrepancies between the expected and observed frequencies produced a significant chi-square analysis (Pearson χ^2 (1, $N=54$)=5.77, $p=.016$, Cramer's $V = .33$). Follow-up pairwise comparisons using the Holm's sequential Bonferroni method (to control for Type I error) demonstrated that the significant chi-square was attributable to significantly more participants (than expected) perceiving Natalie to be under 30 years of age than above 30 (χ^2 (1, $N=29$)=9.97, $p=.002$).

Participants in the current study were also asked to classify Natalie as a 'type' of woman. Following Deaux (1985) and Six and Eckes (1991), amongst others, participants were offered eight categories to place Natalie into (as well as being given the option to create their own 'type'). As Six and Eckes (1991) noted many subtypes of women form three distinct clusters: 'sexy', 'non-traditional' and 'traditional' and so two 'types' from the non-traditional (career woman, feminist) and traditional (homemaker, mother) were included in the offered categories. Given the focus of hostile and benevolent sexism onto

relationships the category of 'sexy' was subdivided into positive and negative terms (for example Babe vs. Slut), and two types from each were included within the eight categories.

Preliminary analysis revealed that only two participants created 'types' other than those listed. As neither of the 'types' fitted into the aforementioned clusters, this data was excluded from further analysis. Only a few participants classified Natalie as a 'sexual' type and this did not differ as a function of hostile or benevolent sexism (seven hostile participants classified Natalie as a sexual type, six benevolent) or of positivity or negativity of term. In contrast seventeen participants classified 'hostile' Natalie as a non-traditional woman (in comparison to four participants who rated 'benevolent' Natalie), whilst seventeen participants rated 'benevolent' Natalie as a traditional woman (in comparison to one participant who rated 'hostile' Natalie as a traditional woman). The differences between observed and expected cell counts produced a significant chi-square analysis (Pearson χ^2 (1, $N=39$)=22.17, $p=.000$, Cramer's $V = .75$). Follow-up pairwise comparisons using the Holm's sequential Bonferroni method (to control for Type I error) demonstrated that significantly more participants perceived 'benevolent' Natalie to be a traditional women than those who rated 'hostile' Natalie (χ^2 (1, $N=18$)=14.22, $p=.000$), whilst significantly more participants who rated 'hostile' Natalie perceived her to be a non-traditional woman than those who rated 'benevolent' Natalie (χ^2 (1, $N=21$)=8.05, $p=.005$).

In addition to categorising Natalie for age and 'type', participants were also asked to rate Natalie on a number of dimensions using a one to seven scale. Analysis of 'glamorous', 'efficient' and 'organised' produced no significant effects. In contrast participants rated 'benevolent' Natalie as more attractive ($F(1,52)=10.94$, $p<.001$; $M_{\text{hostile}}=5.59$, $M_{\text{benevolent}}=4.56$), maternal ($F(1,52)=42.91$, $p<.001$; $M_{\text{hostile}}=3.00$, $M_{\text{benevolent}}=4.55$) and beautiful ($F(1,52)=7.35$, $p<.001$; $M_{\text{hostile}}=4.90$, $M_{\text{benevolent}}=4.04$) than 'hostile' Natalie.

Appendix 7b: Development of the Traditional and Non-Traditional passages for Study Five

In order to make the premise for Study Four plausible, passages were chosen from books by two different authors. Passages were selected from a book by Enid Blyton and one by E.M.Forster. The 'Famous Five' characters of Enid Blyton have frequently been acknowledged (e.g. Palmer, 1997) to include female characters who are stereotypically female (e.g. Anne) and one who is not (Georgina). In addition, E.M.Forster is

acknowledged (e.g. Stape, 1998) to include portrayals of traditional (e.g. Evie Wilcox and Mrs Bast) and non-traditional women (e.g. Margaret Schlegel) within his novel, 'Howards End'. Two passages were selected from each author (one portraying a 'traditional' female, and one portraying a 'non-traditional' female) and pretested (after having the names of the characters changed) with twenty participants.

Each of the twenty participants were asked to read each of the four passages (see Tables 7a to 7d) and rate how 'traditional' the woman within the passage was. In order to provide continuity between the results of the first pilot study and the current one, 'traditional' was defined to mean, in this context 'like a homemaker or mother', whereas 'non-traditional' was defined to mean 'like a career woman or feminist'. The passages can be seen in Tables A7.1 to A7.4. The mean ratings of each of the four passages can be seen in Table A7.5.

Analysis by paired samples t-test with Bonferroni adjustment to control for Type I errors indicated that the two traditional passages did not differ significantly from one another ($t(19)=.346$, $p=.73$). In addition the two non-traditional passages also did not differ significantly from each other ($t(19)=-.384$, $p=.71$). Critically, though, both the Blyton and Forster traditional and non-traditional passages differed from each other (Blyton: $t(19)=14.33$, $p<.001$; Forster: $t(19)=14.64$, $p<.001$)¹.

¹ In addition the Forster traditional and Blyton non-traditional passages differed significantly ($t(19)=15.15$, $p<.001$) as did the Blyton traditional and Forster non-traditional passages ($t(19)=12.76$, $p<.001$).

Table A7.1: Traditional Female Passage One (quotes were presented without the reference).

Traditional Female Passage One

"Sarah hugged her knees as she waited for her wine. To think that they were all going to stay here for days and days. All by themselves. When the meal was over, Sarah and Kelly washed up in the sink. 'Oh, don't wash up - just give the things a quick wipe over!' said Rob. 'Like this!'. 'Oh no!' said Sarah. 'That's just like a bloke!'"

Blyton, E.B. (1961). Five Go To Demon's Rock. Hodder Children's Books, p67.

"And with that such a battle of words followed that they were almost deafened, especially as the echo repeated everything really loudly. The three visitors fled away up the tunnel, fearing a fight. Sarah was very frightened, and clung to Rob"

Blyton, E.B. (1961). Five Go To Demon's Rock. Hodder Children's Books, p109.

"He's got an awful bruise here,' she said at last, and the others bent down to see. 'Something must have hurt his back down in that hole. And Sarah must have hurt one of his legs when she held on to them and dragged him out. I told you not to hold onto his legs, Sarah.' 'Well, how were we to get him out if I didn't?' demanded Sarah, feeling cross but rather guilty. 'Did you want him to stick there for days and days?' 'I don't think that there's much damage done,' said Rob feeling the hind leg.

Blyton, E.B. (1951). Five On a Hike Together. Hodder Children's Books, p30.

Table A7.2: Traditional Female Passage Two (quotes were presented without the reference).

Traditional Female Passage Two

All from: Forster, E.M. (1910) Howards End. Penguin Books.

"Steve - 'What is it?' he asked, a little wearily, for she only had one topic of conversation when she sat upon his knee. 'You do love me?' 'Catherine, you know that I do. How can you ask such questions?' 'But you do love me, Steve, don't you?' 'Of course I do.' A pause The other remark was still due. 'Steve - 'Well, what is it?' 'Steve, you will make it all right?" p65.

"Catherine was still in the garden; the husband and Wendy had left her there to finish her meal while they went to engage rooms. For there was no malice in Catherine. There she sat, a piece of cake in one hand, an empty champagne glass in the other, doing no harm to anybody" p229

"No, after houses,' said Catherine, edging past him into the box. 'I'm hungry, not tired; I want to eat heaps.' 'That's good. What'll you have?' 'Fish pie,' said she, with a glance at the menu. 'Fish pie! Fancy coming for fish pie to Simpson's. It's not a bit the thing to go for here,' said Steve. 'Go for something for me, then,' said Catherine, pulling off her gloves. 'What's that? Gruyere or Stilton? 'Gruyere, please' said Catherine. 'Better have Stilton,' said Steve. 'Stilton.' p158

Table A7.3: Nontraditional Female Passage One (quotes were presented without the reference).

Nontraditional Female Passage One

"Susan saw a man give the dog a sharp smack. She raced indoors and gave the man a smack as sharp as the one he had given the dog! Then she glared at him angrily. 'What are you doing here? How dare you hit my dog?'" p15

Blyton, E.B. (1961). Five Go To Demon's Rock. Hodder Children's Books, p15.

"Sophie observed Susan. Susan was wearing trousers and had a jacket draped round her shoulders. She was also wearing sunglasses, and smoking a cigarette. She walked quickly and they could hear her voice. It was sharp and determined."

Blyton, E.B. (1951). Five On a Hike Together. Hodder Children's Books, p102.

"'That's right - but after you unlocked it you ran straight down the steps with Sophie, and the rest of us followed,' said Gary. 'Susan was last. Did you lock the door after you Susan?' 'No, I never thought of it!' said Susan. 'I just shut the door with a bang and ran after you all! So the key must still be on the other side of the door!'" p87

Blyton, E.B. (1961). Five Go To Demon's Rock. Hodder Children's Books, p87.

Table A7.4: Nontraditional Female Passage One (quotes were presented without the reference).

Nontraditional Female Passage Two

All from: Forster, E.M. (1910) Howards End. Penguin Books.

"On one occasion they had met, and Linda with clasped hands had implored them to argue the subject out in her presence. Whereat they blushed, and began to talk about the weather. 'Papa,' she cried - she was a most offensive child - 'why will they not discuss this most clear question?' Her father, surveying the parties grimly, replied that he did not know. A hateful little girl... Her brain darted up and down; it grew pliant and strong" p44

"Linda was fascinated by Hilton. She has said that she loved it, but it was rather its romantic tension that held her. The rounded Druids of whom she had caught glimpses in her drive, the rivers hurrying down from them to England, the carelessly modelled masses of the lower hills, thrilled her with poetry. The house was insignificant, but the prospect from it would be an eternal joy, and the thought of all the friends she would have to stop in it" p216

"Peter took no notice. The motor, loaded with refugees, continued to travel very slowly down the hill. 'The men are there' chorused the others. 'Men will see to it.' 'The men can't see to it. Oh! this is ridiculous!' retorted Linda. 'Peter, I ask you to stop.' 'Stopping's no good,' drawled Peter. 'Isn't it?' said Linda, and jumped straight out of the car. She fell on her knees, cut her gloves, shook her hat over her ear. Cries of alarm followed her. 'You've hurt yourself,' exclaimed Peter, jumping after her. 'Oh course I've hurt myself!' she retorted." p212

Table A7.5: Mean ratings of the four passages on a one (non-traditional) to seven (traditional) scale.

| | Mean Rating (SD) |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| Enid Blyton Traditional | 6.05 (1.10) |
| E.M.Forster Traditional | 5.95 (0.83) |
| Enid Blyton Non Traditional | 1.75 (0.79) |
| E.M. Forster Non Traditional | 1.85 (0.93) |

Appendix 7c: Pilot testing of sentences for Linguistic Intergroup Bias Study

As the stimulus sentences used by von Hippel et al. (1995) and/or Hastie (1984) were not detailed in the text of their papers and as a check that the behaviours detailed were characteristic of male and female behaviour, a pilot study was carried out. Fifty sentences describing gender appropriate/stereotypical behaviour were constructed, drawing on research on gender stereotypes (e.g. Bem, 1977; Martin, 1987; Masser, 1995) and on

general knowledge of behaviours thought to typify and differentiate the genders. All the behaviours were presented in the form of 'X did Y' where X is the target person and Y the target behaviour. Half the participants in the pilot study (10) were asked to indicate using a seven point scale how likely they thought it was that X was male, and half were asked to indicate how likely they thought it was that X was female. Participants were twenty history undergraduates at the University of Kent.

The male and female target means were calculated for each of the fifty sentences. On the basis of this a (male or female) stereotype label was attached to the sentence and a male-female difference score calculated. On the basis of the difference score, a rank was attached to each of the fifty sentences for male and female behaviours separately. As von Hippel et al. (1995) drawing on Maass et al. (1989) stated that the behaviours detailed in such an assessment of prejudice should not be too extreme (as that may result in the inhibition of attributional processing), those ranking 9-14 (out of 1-25 that were either male or female stereotypical) were selected as being mildly stereotypically congruent (these can be seen in Table A7.6). Six 'actions' ranked around the midpoint (three male and three female), indicating that they were neither likely nor unlikely were selected for the control sentence stems (these can also be seen in Table A7.6).

**Table A7.6: Sentence Stems for Hastie (1984) and von Hippel et al. (1995)
replication**

Male Stereotype

X applied to go into the army
X attended a car maintenance course
X attended a football match
X enjoyed playing hockey
X proposed marriage
X watched the sport on the television

Female Stereotype

X prepared the evening meal
X went to the café to have coffee with friends
X never missed an episode of Coronation Street
X went clothes shopping
X spent a long time getting ready to go out for the evening
X changed the baby's nappy

Neutral

X entered the campus bar
X swore when then stubbed their toe
X shouted at their friend
X decorated the flat
X went to the night-club
X annoyed Y with their persistent fault finding

Appendix 7d

Table A7.7: Inter-rater reliability analysis for completion of sentence stems by LIB categories

| Sentence Stem | Kappa | Approximate t* |
|----------------------|-------|----------------|
| Katy (Congruent) | .87 | 12.19 |
| Amy (Congruent) | .86 | 11.18 |
| Julie (Congruent) | .87 | 11.86 |
| Sophie (Incongruent) | .81 | 11.45 |
| Sarah (Incongruent) | .86 | 12.13 |
| Sally (Incongruent) | .90 | 12.63 |
| Mark (Congruent) | .85 | 11.67 |
| James (Congruent) | .78 | 10.34 |
| Simon (Congruent) | .84 | 10.89 |
| Andrew (Incongruent) | .84 | 12.15 |
| David (Incongruent) | .78 | 11.24 |
| Peter (Incongruent) | .81 | 11.77 |
| Stewart (Neutral) | .85 | 12.32 |
| Petra (Neutral) | .83 | 12.18 |
| Donna (Neutral) | .80 | 11.59 |
| Caroline (Neutral) | .87 | 11.65 |
| Anthony (Neutral) | .64 | 7.65 |
| Richard (Neutral) | .80 | 10.31 |

*Note: all t's $p < .001$

Chapter 8

Appendix 8a: Reanalysis of the results of Masser (1995)

In order to ascertain whether evaluations of male and female candidates did differ as a function of scores on the HS and BS scales of the ASI, a reanalysis of the 1995 was undertaken. In this reanalysis, participants scores on the HS and BS scales of the ASI were subjected to a median split². Thus Analysis of Variance was undertaken with HS (or BS) categorisation and candidate gender as between subjects factors, with the participants score

² Within this sample the median score for the HS scale was 3.55, whilst the median score for the BS scale was 3.18

on the alternate measure of sexism partialled out. It was hypothesised that high hostile sexists would rate the female candidate more negatively on the traits and also rate her as less suitable for, and less likely to be employed in, the SCO position and the management position. In addition, it was hypothesised that high benevolent sexists would rate the female candidate more positively than low benevolent sexists and that high benevolent sexists would rate her as less suitable for, and less likely to be employed in, the Senior Checkout Operator (SCO) position and the management position. In addition, it was predicted that the differences in the means (between high and low sexists) would be greater for the management position than the SCO position, as the management position would be seen as more incongruent with hostile and benevolent sexists perception of suitable roles for women.

Trait ratings

Twelve traits were presented to participants. On the basis of previous research these had been classified as positive or negative in valence. Reliability analysis of the all negative traits revealed them to have adequate reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha=.71$, standardised $\alpha=.71$) and thus ratings of these were collapsed into a single 'negative trait' scores. Analysis of the 'all positive' traits revealed them also to have adequate reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha=.85$; standardised $\alpha=.85$) and thus ratings of these were also collapsed to create a single 'positive trait' score. The negative trait score and positive trait score were subjected to an Analysis of Variance with hostile sexism categorisation (or benevolent sexism categorisation) and candidate gender as the independent variables. Scores on the alternate scale (either BS or HS) were covaried out of the analyses.

Hostile sexism analyses

Analysis of the 'all positive' traits by hostile sexism categorisation revealed a marginally significant two way interaction between hostile sexism categorisation and candidate gender ($F(1,139)=2.85$, $p=.09$, $\eta^2=.02$). Simple effects analysis revealed that participants high in hostile sexism rated the male candidate significantly higher on these traits ($M_{\text{high}}=4.53$) than participants low in hostile sexism ($M_{\text{low}}=4.14$; $F(1,139)=5.46$, $p<.03$). Analysis of the 'all negative' traits by hostile sexism categorisation revealed a significant interaction between hostile sexism categorisation and candidate gender ($F(1,139)=6.01$, $p<.02$, $\eta^2=.04$). Simple effects analysis demonstrated that in addition to

participants low in hostile sexism rating the male candidate higher ($M_{\text{male}}=2.97$) on these traits than the female candidate ($M_{\text{female}}=2.53$; $F(1,139)=5.76$, $p<.02$), participants high in hostile sexism rated the female candidate significantly higher on these traits ($M_{\text{high}}=3.07$) than participants low in hostile sexism ($M_{\text{low}}=2.53$; $F(1,139)=5.81$, $p<.02$).

In addition to rating the candidates on traits, participants were asked to rate how suitable they thought the candidate was for the job (higher scores indicated that they thought her more suitable). Analysis revealed a significant two way interaction between hostile sexism categorisation and candidate gender ($F(1,138)=9.73$, $p<.003$, $\eta^2=.07$). Simple effects analysis demonstrated a number of (marginally) significant effects. Specifically, participants high in hostile sexism rated the male candidate ($M_{\text{male}}=5.61$) as marginally more suitable for the job than the female candidate ($M_{\text{female}}=5.19$; $F(1,138)=3.00$, $p<.09$). In contrast, participants low in hostile sexism rated the female candidate ($M_{\text{female}}=5.67$) as more suitable for the job than the male candidate ($M_{\text{male}}=5.05$; $F(1,138)=7.59$, $p<.008$). In accordance with this, participants high in hostile sexism rated the male candidate as more suitable ($M_{\text{high}}=5.61$) than participants low in hostile sexism ($M_{\text{low}}=5.05$; $F(1,138)=7.17$, $p<.009$; see Figure A8.1).

Analysis of the question 'would you hire this candidate as a Senior Checkout Operator' revealed a significant two way interaction between hostile sexism categorisation and candidate gender ($F(1,138)=7.35$, $p<.009$, $\eta^2=.05$). Simple effects analysis revealed that participants low in hostile sexism were significantly more likely to indicate that they would hire the female candidate ($M_{\text{female}}=5.60$) than the male candidate ($M_{\text{male}}=4.95$; $F(1,138)=5.89$, $p<.02$). In addition participants high in hostile sexism indicated that they would be marginally significantly less likely to hire the female candidate ($M_{\text{high}}=4.85$) than participants low in hostile sexism ($M_{\text{low}}=4.85$; $F(1,138)=3.86$, $p<.06$; see Figure A8.2).

Figure A8.1: Ratings of suitability of candidate for post of Senior Checkout Operator by hostile sexism categorisation and candidate gender.

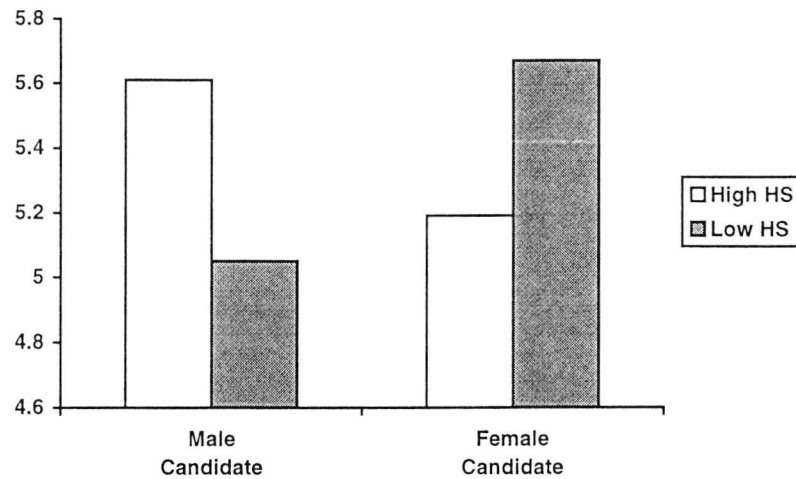
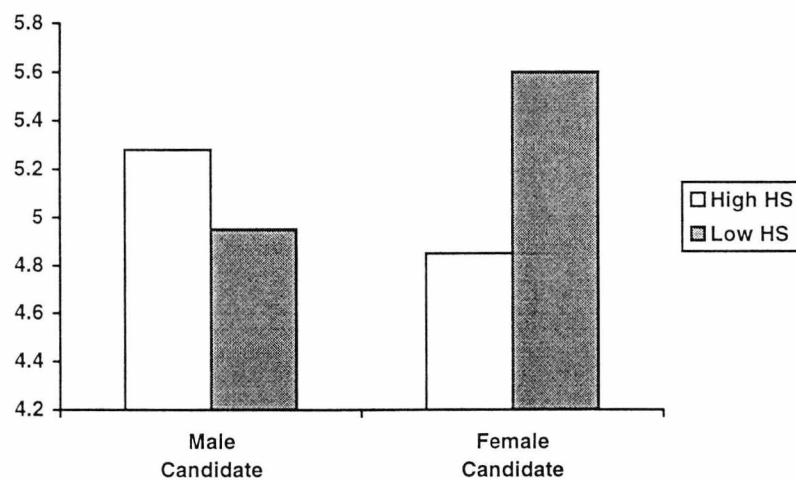


Figure A8.2: Ratings of employability of candidate for post of Senior Checkout Operator by hostile sexism categorisation and candidate gender.



Analysis of the 'suitability for management training' question revealed a significant main effect for candidate gender ($F(1,138)=6.93$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.05$; $M_{\text{male}}=4.54$; $M_{\text{female}}=5.20$) which was qualified by a marginally significant two way interaction between hostile sexism categorisation and candidate gender ($F(1,138)=3.46$, $p<.07$). Simple effects analysis revealed that participants low in hostile sexism rated the female candidate as significantly more suitable for management training ($M_{\text{female}}=5.38$) than male candidates ($M_{\text{male}}=4.37$; $F(1,138)=11.58$, $p<.002$). Analysis of the question regarding placement on the management trainee scheme revealed no significant effects for hostile sexism categorisation or candidate gender.

Benevolent sexism analyses

Analysis of the 'all positive' and 'all negative' traits by benevolent sexism categorisation and candidate gender revealed no significant effects. In addition, analysis of all the questions revealed no significant effects.

Summary

In summary, the reanalysis of data from Masser (1995) revealed marginal support for the experimental hypotheses. In partial support of the experimental hypothesis, participants who scored above the median on the hostile sexism scale rated the female candidate higher on negative traits than participants who scored below the median. Against the hypothesis, ratings of the female candidate on the traits did not differ as a function of benevolent sexism categorisation. In partial support of the hypothesis, participants high in hostile sexism indicated that they would consider the female candidate marginally less suitable (than participants low in hostile sexism) and that they would be significantly less likely to employ the female candidate as a Senior Checkout Operator than participants low in hostile sexism. No differences were observed on any of employment questions on the basis of benevolent sexism, or on the 'management trainee' questions on the basis of hostile sexism.

Appendix 8b: Workplace Issues Study Instructions and Questions

Participants were given one of two possible questionnaires. In the first person condition, participants were provided with the following information: *"In the next few pages you will be presented with two cases of workplace behaviour. Please read each case*

as if the behaviour detailed had happened to you. Please read each case and the accompanying definitions clearly before going on to answer the questions that follow. Please complete this questionnaire on your own". Participants were then given details of two cases (see Figure A8.3), which were presented in a randomised order. Participants read about Chris X (or Steve X), then read the definitions provided and then completed the measures that followed (see Figure A8.4) before reading about Steve X (or Chris X) and repeating the rating process.

Figure A8.3: Case facts for the Workplace Issues Study and the legal definitions provided (first person condition)

You are employed as an Internal Revenue Service employee. You have shared a casual lunch with a male co-worker, Steven X, and he now subjects you to persistent and unwelcome requests for dates as well as notes with references to sex. You have refused the dates and have had other co-workers explain to Steven X that you are not interested. Steven X claims that he was just expressing normal romantic interest and that he means no harm.

You have been discharged from Osceola Refining Company. After your discharge you claim that whilst you were working there a male co-worker, Chris X, was extremely vulgar and made crude comments about women, some of which were directed towards you. Other male employees openly displayed pictures of nude or scantily clad women. Osceola have defended their discharge of you, stating that you were unable to get along with co-workers as well as customers. Chris X claims that his actions were merely defensive reactions to your abrasive personality

YOUR TASK IS TO DECIDE WHETHER A COMPLAINT SHOULD BE MADE TO AN INDUSTRIAL TRIBUNAL

Some technical definitions that you may find useful:

Hostile work environment sexual harassment results when an employee is subjected to unwelcome sexual conduct that a 'reasonable person' would view as sufficiently 'severe' or 'pervasive' to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive work environment.

The views of a 'reasonable person': The views that a worker, acting within the bounds of common sense, would have in a similar environment under essentially like or similar conditions experienced by the complaining employee

- 'Severe':** Unsparing and harsh in treating others
 - 'Pervasive':** Spread throughout
 - 'Abusive':** Pertaining to hurt or injury by maltreatment
-

Figure A8.4 Questions that followed the presentation of the case facts and definitions (the name was varied to be appropriate to the case name). First person condition

Was the sexual conduct of Steven X unwelcome?

| | | | | | | |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Welcome | | | | | | Unwelcome |

How severe was the sexual conduct of Steven X?

| | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Not severe | | | | | | Severe |

How pervasive was the sexual conduct of Steven X?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Not Pervasive | | | | | | Pervasive |

How likely is it that the sexual conduct of Steven X affected your work performance in a negative manner?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Very unlikely | | | | | | Very likely |

How likely is it that the sexual conduct of Steven X affected your psychological well being in a negative manner?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Very unlikely | | | | | | Very likely |

How likely is it that you were the victim of 'hostile work environment sexual harassment'?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Very unlikely | | | | | | Very likely |

Given the details of the case, how likely is it that you would recommend that this case be taken to an Industrial Tribunal?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Very unlikely | | | | | | Very likely |

In your opinion, if this case was taken to an Industrial Tribunal, how likely is it that your complaint would be upheld?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Very unlikely | | | | | | Very likely |

In the third person condition, participants were given the following instructions: “*In the next few pages you will be presented with two cases of workplace behaviour. One of the cases details behaviour that involved Ms Green and the other details behaviour that involved Ms Brown. Please read each case and the accompanying definitions clearly before going on to answer the questions that follow. Please complete this questionnaire on your own*”. Participants were then given details of two cases (see Figure A8.5), which were presented in a randomised order. Participants read about Chris X (or Steve X), then read the definitions provided and then completed the measures that followed (see Figure A8.6) before reading about Steve X (or Chris X) and repeating the rating process.

Figure A8.5: Case facts for the Workplace Issues Study and the legal definitions provided (third person condition)

Ms Green, an Internal Revenue Service employee, claims that a male co-worker, Steven X, with whom she had shared a casual lunch subjected her to persistent and unwelcome requests for dates as well as notes with references to sex. Ms. Green refused the dates and had other co-workers explain to Steven X that she was not interested. Steven X claims that he was just expressing normal romantic interest and that he means no harm.

Ms. Brown has been discharged from Osceola Refining Company. After her discharge she claimed that a male co-worker, Chris X, was extremely vulgar and made crude comments about women, some of which were directed toward her, and that other male employees openly displayed pictures of nude or scantily clad women. Osceola defended its discharge of Ms. Brown stating that she was unable to get along with co-workers as well as customers. Chris X claims that his actions were merely defensive reactions to Ms. Brown's abrasive personality.

YOUR TASK IS TO DECIDE WHETHER A COMPLAINT SHOULD BE MADE TO AN INDUSTRIAL TRIBUNAL

Some technical definitions that you may find useful:

Hostile work environment sexual harassment results when an employee is subjected to unwelcome sexual conduct that a ‘reasonable person’ would view as sufficiently ‘severe’ or ‘pervasive’ to alter the conditions of employment and create an abusive work environment.

The views of a ‘reasonable person’: The views that a worker, acting within the bounds of common sense, would have in a similar environment under essentially like or similar conditions experienced by the complaining employee

‘Severe’: Unsparing and harsh in treating others

‘Pervasive’: Spread throughout

‘Abusive’: Pertaining to hurt or injury by maltreatment

Figure A8.6 Questions that followed the presentation of the case facts and definitions (the name was varied to be appropriate to the case name). Third person condition

Was the sexual conduct of Steven X unwelcome?

| | | | | | | |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Welcome | | | | | | Unwelcome |

How severe was the sexual conduct of Steven X?

| | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Not severe | | | | | | Severe |

How pervasive was the sexual conduct of Steven X?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Not Pervasive | | | | | | Pervasive |

How likely is it that the sexual conduct of Steven X affected Ms. Green's work performance in a negative manner?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Very unlikely | | | | | | Very likely |

How likely is it that the alleged sexual conduct of Steven X affected Ms Green's psychological well being in a negative manner?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Very unlikely | | | | | | Very likely |

How likely is it that Ms. Green was the victim of 'hostile work environment sexual harassment'?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Very unlikely | | | | | | Very likely |

Given the details of the case, how likely is it that you would recommend that this case be taken to an Industrial Tribunal?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Very unlikely | | | | | | Very likely |

In your opinion, if this case was taken to an Industrial Tribunal, how likely is it that the complaint of Ms Green would be upheld?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Very unlikely | | | | | | Very likely |
