

SEXISTS OBSERVING SEXISM: CONSEQUENCES FOR FEMALE TARGETS OF
BENEVOLENT AND HOSTILE SEXISM

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Sexists Observing Sexism: Consequences for Female Targets of

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A growing body of research has documented the deleterious effects of benevolent sexism on women's performance, self-construals of competence, and acceptance of gender inequality (Barreto, Ellemers, Piebinga, & Moya, 2010; Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007; Jost & Jay, 2005). Less research has examined perceptions of women who are the victims of benevolent sexism. Notably, Good and Rudman (2010) found that hostile sexist observers were particularly likely to punish a gender atypical female job applicant when she was treated with benevolent sexism by a male interviewer as opposed to hostile sexism or no sexism. The current research builds upon this finding to test a novel Model of Incongruent Sexism (MIS), in which ambivalent sexist perceivers' evaluations of a female target vary as a function of her gender typicality and the type of sexist treatment she receives. Study 1 ($N = 281$) tested the MIS by having undergraduate participants read a job interview transcript featuring a woman applying for a gender typical vs. atypical job, who was treated with benevolent vs. hostile sexism by a male interviewer. Results did not support the MIS in its current form, but indicated that hostile sexist observers punished a female job candidate regardless of her gender typicality. In Study 2 ($N = 269$)

undergraduate participants listened to an audio recording of a job interview featuring a female applicant applying for a gender atypical job who either accepted or rejected a benevolent sexist male interviewer's treatment. Results showed that observers who evaluated the male sexist interviewer favorably tended to rate the applicant as less competent and therefore less hireable. When the applicant rejected the benevolent sexist treatment, female observers evaluated the applicant as more competent and the interviewer as less favorable; however this pattern was not found for men. Across both studies, a novel measure of appearance gender typicality was tested, showing preliminary reliability, convergent, and discriminant validity. Implications for reducing sexism in the workplace are discussed.

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I. Introduction

In preparing for a job interview, a woman may review the specific duties and requirements of the position, freshen up her resume, and prepare answers to anticipated questions. She expects to be evaluated on her experience, capabilities, and professional demeanor. She may not anticipate however, that the way she is treated by her potential boss will influence how she is perceived by coworkers. Furthermore, the way that she handles sexist or biased comments from that boss may also influence observers' evaluations of her competence and job qualifications. Past research has shown that evaluations of a female job applicant's competence and job qualifications are moderated by the type of treatment, sexist or not, shown by a male interviewer (Good & Rudman, 2010). The present research extends work on Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) to test a new model of perceived incongruence between a woman's gender typicality and the sexist way she is treated, as well as to investigate how a woman's reaction to sexist treatment influences perceptions of her capabilities.

Ambivalent Sexism

In the psychological literature, as well as in the popular press, the term *sexism* has meant negative attitudes and beliefs about one gender, usually women. Indeed, both the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) and the Modern Sexism Scale (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995) were designed to assess individuals' negatively biased views of women. The U.S. legal system has found in favor of women alleging sexual harassment, a hostile work environment, and other negative treatment directed toward women (Bundy v. Jackson, 1981; Jensen v. Eveleth Taconite Co., 1993; Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson, 1986). But what happens when sexism is wrapped in a

“softer” package? Ambivalent Sexism Theory (AST), the most current conceptualization of sexism, posits that there are two components of sexism: antipathy (negative attitudes toward women and women’s rights), and benevolence (subjectively positive views of women and pro-social treatment directed toward women; Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Researchers coined the terms hostile and benevolent sexism and have conducted extensive research demonstrating the existence of the two constructs in the U.S. and across many different cultures (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Glick et al., 2000; Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus, & Hart, 2007).

Somewhat counter-intuitively, benevolent and hostile sexism are consistently shown to be moderately positively correlated (see Glick et al., 2000). How can someone hold both negative and positive attitudes toward women? The key to understanding the relationship is to consider to what type of women each form of sexism is directed. Hostile sexism, or antipathy toward women, is directed toward women who violate traditional gender norms, such as feminists or career women (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997). These women have discarded traditional gender roles and are thus subject to “punishment” at the hands of hostile sexists. In contrast, benevolent sexism, a seemingly positive view of women, is directed toward women who fulfill traditional gender stereotypes, such as homemakers and mothers (Glick et al., 1997; Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, & Kazama, 2007). These women epitomize traditional views of femininity, staying within the confines of appropriate feminine behavior, and thus are “rewarded” with benevolent sexism. Accordingly, ambivalent sexists (high hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes) may not view themselves as sexist. By splitting women into subtypes, they can effectively maintain their non-sexist self-perceptions and reduce any felt

ambivalence (Glick et al., 1997; see also Sibley & Wilson, 2004). Men and women can believe themselves to be nonsexist because they feel positively toward traditional women (benevolent sexism), while still retaining license to derogate and punish women who violate traditional gender norms (hostile sexism). Thus, hostile and benevolent sexism can, and do, coexist peacefully within the same individual.

Through subtyping, ambivalent sexists can avoid viewing their own attitudes and behaviors as sexist. Individuals also have difficulty recognizing others' benevolent sexist attitudes and behaviors as being sexist. Undergraduate women rated a profile of a benevolent sexist man as mildly favorable, failing to perceive his attitudes as sexist or the coexistence of benevolent and hostile sexism (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998). Additionally, research has shown that benevolent sexists are viewed more favorably, and thus less sexist, than hostile sexists (Barreto & Ellemers, 2007). Because benevolent sexism is subjectively positive, allowing women to have special treatment and favor in society, many men and women fail to recognize it as sexist, and thus accept or even welcome benevolent sexist treatment.

Consequences of Experiencing Benevolent Sexism

Benevolent sexism seems positive. Benevolent sexists believe that women are morally pure and aesthetically superior to men, women are wonderful creatures who should be cherished and protected by men, and men should financially provide for the women in their lives and protect their safety (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2001). If benevolent sexism involves favorable attitudes toward women, then how can it be sexist? The simplest answer is that in placing women on a pedestal, benevolent sexism confines and restricts women's behavior. In order to receive all of the wonderful, pro-social,

benevolent treatment, women must stay inside the boundaries of traditional femininity. If women cross the gender line (advocating for women's rights, prioritizing career over family, engaging in non-marital sex, etc.), they risk losing the special treatment provided by benevolent sexism and possibly incurring the wrath of hostile sexism. For example, individuals high on benevolent sexism attributed more blame to a victim of acquaintance rape when she was described as a married woman than when her marital status was unknown (Viki & Abrams, 2004). By violating appropriate feminine gender norms through infidelity, married victims were viewed by benevolent sexists as more deserving of the ensuing rape. Similarly, higher benevolent sexism predicted greater victim blaming after reading about a female victim of acquaintance rape, but not stranger rape (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003). By flirting with and kissing a man, and therefore not appropriately guarding their sexual virtue, acquaintance rape victims were seen as violating appropriate gender roles and deserving of the rape. Thus, in order to reap the rewards of benevolent sexism women must restrict themselves to the narrow confines of the pedestal on which they are placed.

Benevolent sexism, although subjectively positive for the actor and the recipient, has large-scale negative consequences including the maintenance of gender inequality. System justification theory states that complementary stereotypes endorsed by both the advantaged and disadvantaged group serve to maintain the status quo of society (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Benevolent sexism, with its focus on the positive, complementary nature of gender stereotypes endorsed by both men (advantaged group) and women (disadvantaged group) is thought to have system-justifying effects (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Indeed, research showed that when primed with complementary

stereotypes (men as agentic, women as communal) participants' increased their support for the gender status quo (Jost & Kay, 2005).

Additionally, the combination of benevolent and hostile sexism has been proposed to contribute to system justification and gender inequality. Cross-culturally, researchers have found that nations with the highest levels of hostile and benevolent sexism also have the greatest gender inequality (Glick et al., 2000). Benevolent sexism, by rewarding women with tangible advantages for conforming to traditional roles, serves to reinforce and maintain a social system of gender inequality. Women may accept and even endorse benevolent sexism as a way of escaping hostile sexism. Women would obviously prefer to be treated favorably by the men in their lives as opposed to antagonistically; therefore they may be persuaded to conform to traditional roles, forgoing other opportunities in order to maintain positive relationships with male family members, intimate partners, and even men in general.

In cultures where the prevalence of hostile sexism is high, women may have to choose between cruel treatment at the hands of hostile sexists and conforming to traditional gender norms in order to receive the positive benefits of benevolent sexism. Consistent with this prediction, women scored highest on benevolent sexism in cultures where men scored highest on hostile sexism (Glick et al., 2000). As a test of causality, Fisher (2006) found that women endorsed benevolent sexism most when they were (mis)informed that their male peers had scored high (as opposed to low) on hostile sexism. Thus, women may seek refuge in benevolent sexist beliefs as a form of protection from hostile sexism. Indeed, women indicating greater fear of crime also reported higher levels of benevolent sexism (Phelan, Sanchez, & Broccoli, 2010). Finally, there is some

evidence that women respond positively to benevolent protectors. First, women in general submitted to a protectively justified restriction from a male romantic partner, forgoing an important career advancement opportunity when it was couched as a concern for their safety (Moya et al., 2007). Second, benevolent sexist women reacted positively to a restriction from a male partner even when no justification was given, most likely because they attributed it to protective motives (Moya et al., 2007).

Maintenance of gender inequality is an important societal consequence of benevolent sexism. The blend of hostility and benevolence, punishment and reward, leads both women and men to endorse unfair and unequal treatment and opportunities for women (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jost & Kay, 2005). According to Jackman (1994), oppression is most effective when accompanied by putatively positive beliefs about the oppressed in order to suppress revolt and encourage subordinates to accept the dominant groups' views. Accordingly, benevolent sexism leads women to conform to the gender hierarchy and accept low status roles for themselves. For example, research has shown that women who possessed implicit romantic/chivalrous fantasies were less likely to aspire to high status roles and high paying jobs (Rudman & Heppen, 2003). Termed the "glass slipper effect," the authors argue that socializing women to view men as chivalrous rescuers and providers is detrimental to their own personal achievement, presumably because they expect to be taken care of by the men in their lives (Rudman & Heppen, 2003).

The above outlined research demonstrates that benevolent sexism can be detrimental to women as a group, maintaining gender inequality and patriarchy. Importantly, research has also shown that benevolent sexism can have negative

consequences for individual women. Because benevolent sexism is often viewed as positive, chivalrous, or sometimes even well-mannered, many women may be the recipients of this type of sexism on a daily basis, without thought to how it affects them. However, research has shown that targets of benevolent sexism experience cognitive performance impairment (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2005). Women “applying” for a job through a benevolent sexist recruiter performed significantly worse on a test said to be the basis of hiring decisions than participants recruited by a nonsexist and also, importantly, by a hostile sexist recruiter. Women reported feeling more unpleasantness in the hostile and benevolent sexist recruiter conditions than in the nonsexist condition. The researchers theorize that when faced with benevolent sexism, women felt unpleasant but were unable to attribute that feeling to sexism, and thus performed worse on the cognitive test due to doubts (Dardenne et al., 2005).

Additionally, research has shown that patronizing or paternalistic behavior can impair women’s performance. When participants were assigned to a low status position, but received high praise from a superior (patronizing condition), both men and women responded with anger. However, for women, anger was associated with worse performance on a difficult math test (Vescio, Gervais, Snyder, & Hoover, 2005). Hence, being the recipient of paternalistic, benevolent sexist behavior can have real consequences for women in terms of their actual performance on cognitive tasks. Although the above mentioned research was conducted in a laboratory with contrived cognitive tasks, it is likely that the experience of benevolent sexism in a work environment might lead women to underperform on daily job-related tasks.

Consequences of Observing Benevolent Sexism

Sexism is often experienced by women, but it is even more frequently observed; 75% of undergraduate women and men reported observing some form of sexism (ranging from benevolent to hostile) in the past year (Good, Moss-Racusin, & Sanchez, 2011). Because of its subtle nature, benevolent sexism is more likely to go unnoticed as sexism, and therefore individuals may observe benevolent sexism often, without recognizing that it is sexist. For example, researchers asked women to document their own sexist experiences and found low reports of benevolent sexism unless they educated women about the phenomenon (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001). Although benevolent sexism may not always be labeled sexist, being the recipient of benevolent sexism may negatively affect impressions of women. Good and Rudman (2010) asked participants to read an interview transcript featuring a female applicant being interviewed by a male manager acting in a hostile, benevolent, or non-sexist manner. The applicants' responses were identical across conditions, but the male interviewer treated her in a neutral, hostile, or patronizing manner. The job was described as manager of a "big box" hardware store. Regardless of participants' own sexist attitudes, those who liked the hostile and benevolent sexist interviewers rated the female applicant as less competent and therefore less hireable (Good & Rudman, 2010). For women therefore, being treated in a sexist manner by a well-liked or friendly individual can have negative repercussions for evaluations of competence. Because benevolent sexism is often not viewed as sexist, and indeed is sometimes seen as having "good manners" (Good & Woodzicka, 2007), observers may be more likely to feel positively toward a benevolent sexist, leading them to doubt the competence of the sexist target.

Although Good and Rudman (2010) demonstrated consequences for victims of sexism independent of observers' sexism, it is important to remember that observers are not objective, unbiased witnesses. People interpret the world through their own biased lenses. Observers' sexist attitudes and beliefs tend to moderate their perceptions of victims of sexism in a complex manner. Past research suggested that benevolent sexism was unrelated to perceptions of women in the workplace; participants' hostile sexism predicted evaluating a female managerial job candidate unfavorably as compared to a male candidate, but benevolent sexism was unrelated to candidate evaluations (Masser & Abrams, 2004). This result is consistent with AST, which would predict that hostile sexism is directed at women who violate traditional gender norms (by applying for a managerial position) whereas benevolent sexism is reserved for women who uphold traditional gender norms (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Glick et al., 1997).

By contrast, Good and Rudman (2010) found that participants' hostile sexism moderated reactions to a female job candidate who was interviewed by a benevolent sexist. Specifically, when a non-traditional woman (applying for a blue collar, managerial position) was treated with benevolent sexism by a male interviewer, observers' hostile sexism predicted more negative ratings of the applicant's competence and hireability, plausibly because she was viewed as undeserving of the benevolent treatment she received. This suggestion is bolstered by the fact that hostile sexism was unrelated to reactions to the same applicant interviewed by a hostile sexist or non-sexist. Only when hostile sexists observed a nontraditional woman "unjustly" treated with benevolent sexism did they punish her with lower competence evaluations and recommendations to hire her (see Table 1).

Model of Incongruent Sexism (MIS)

Ample research has demonstrated that women who act in gender typical ways are the recipients of benevolent sexism, whereas those who act in gender atypical ways are the recipients of hostile sexism. In a particularly creative manipulation, researchers showed that women wearing pregnancy prostheses were treated with benevolent sexism when acting as customers in a store (gender typical role for mother-to-be), but with hostile sexism when applying for a job at the store (gender atypical role for mother-to-be), particularly when the job was masculine sex-typed (Hebl et al., 2007). But imagine yourself as a customer in the store, observing these interactions – how would your impression of the “pregnant” woman change based on the type of sexist treatment she received?

I propose that for ambivalent sexists, observers’ perceptions will be impacted both by the female target’s gender typicality and by the type of sexism the target is observed to receive (see Figure 1). The top half of the Model of Incongruent Sexism (MIS) has already been partially supported by Good and Rudman (2010). Recall that participants read about a gender atypical woman (a woman applying for a managerial, masculine position) who was treated with benevolent, hostile, or no sexism by a male interviewer. When the female target was incongruent with the type of sexism she received (gender atypical woman receiving benevolent sexism), participants’ hostile sexism predicted more negative evaluations of the target. With the MIS, I predict that when ambivalent sexists observe women receiving an incongruent form of sexism (atypical women receiving benevolent sexism, or typical women receiving hostile sexism), they perceive her as undeserving of that treatment because of her gender

typicality or atypicality, and thus sexist attitudes predict applicant evaluations in an effort to correct the incongruence. In Good and Rudman (2010) the researchers theorized that the female applicant receiving benevolent sexism was viewed as undeserving of the positive, chivalrous treatment, and thus she was penalized by hostile sexists. The MIS explicitly includes perceptions of deservingness as the mechanism through which gender typicality and sexism incongruence influence target evaluations. Observers must perceive the applicant to be gender atypical in order to recognize that she is undeserving of the incongruent benevolent sexist treatment.

Ambivalent sexists are more likely to subtype women, placing them into positive (traditional) and negative (non-traditional) categories (Glick et al., 1997). Thus, when ambivalent sexists observe a woman being interviewed, they may be more likely to attend to the gender typicality or atypicality of the position for which she is applying. Judgments of deservingness of sexist treatment should follow from judgments of gender typicality, depending on the type of sexist treatment the applicant receives. Thus, the MIS would predict that in Good and Rudman's (2010) study, hostile sexist observers were more likely to attend to the applicant's atypicality, and it was the incongruence between her typicality and the benevolent sexist treatment that led to her being seen as undeserving of that protectively paternalistic treatment.

Importantly, Good and Rudman (2010) did not include a gender typical target in their study. What happens when *gender typical* women receive an incongruent form of sexism (hostile sexism)? The MIS predicts that benevolent sexists will judge the gender typical applicant as undeserving of this hostile sexist treatment because she is gender typical, and thus evaluate her more positively to correct for this incongruence (see lower

half of Figure 1). In contrast, when ambivalent sexists observe a woman receiving a congruent form of sexism (gender atypical women receiving hostile sexism, gender typical women receiving benevolent sexism), they will judge her as deserving of the treatment she received. Thus, their sexist attitudes will less strongly predict evaluations of the candidate because there is no incongruence for which they must correct.

Previous research suggested that hostile sexist attitudes only influenced perceptions of gender atypical women, and benevolent sexist attitudes only influenced perceptions of gender typical women (Glick et al., 1997; Masser & Abrams, 2004). I propose that the situation is a bit more complex. According to the proposed MIS, the influence of hostile or benevolent sexism on target evaluations depends not just on women's gender typicality, but on the *incongruence* of gender typicality and the type of sexism observed. Thus, as shown in Good and Rudman (2010), benevolent sexism can negatively impact evaluations of gender atypical women. With the MIS I posit that this finding is due to the observed incongruence of gender atypicality and observed sexism, and I extend this previous work to also consider the consequences of a gender typical woman receiving hostile sexism.

Reactions to Sexism

Much of the work on reactions to sexism has investigated predictors of confrontation and women's expected versus actual responses to sexist situations (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Fischer, 1995; Swim, Cohen, & Hyers, 1998; Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Research focused on the perceiver perspective has shown that men liked a woman less when she confronted a sexist remark than when she did not confront it, however women liked and respected a woman more when she confronted a

sexist remark than when she did not confront it (Dodd, Giuliano, Boutell, & Moran, 2001). Other work has demonstrated that women who confronted sexism were seen as hypersensitive or overreacting (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Shelton & Stewart, 2004). More generally, individuals who attributed failure to discrimination were viewed as complainers and evaluated less favorably (Kaiser & Miller, 2001).

In an employment context, women may worry that confronting sexism from a superior may negatively impact their hiring, job retention, or promotion, and therefore choose to ignore or accept the sexist treatment. Research on perceptions of women's reactions to sexism however, has largely ignored the distinction between hostile and benevolent sexism. Only one manuscript that I am aware of has directly contrasted women's acceptance versus rejection of benevolent sexism (Glick, Becker, Marakwica, & Bohner, 2010). Participants read a scenario in which a male coworker offered benevolent sexist help to a female coworker, which she either accepted or rejected. Regardless of participants' sexist attitudes, they rated the target who accepted the help as less competent than the target who rejected help. Participants high in benevolent sexism also rated the target who accepted help as warmer than the target who rejected help. This research however, did not examine the impact of acceptance vs. rejection on observers' evaluations, as a function of *gender typicality*.

According to the MIS, when gender typicality and sexist treatment are incongruent, observers' own sexist beliefs influence perceptions of the female target, because of judgments of her typicality and therefore deservingness. I predict that women's acceptance or rejection of incongruent sexist treatment is likely to impact judgments of typicality and deservingness. For example, research on gender backlash

demonstrates that ingratiation eliminates the dominance penalty against agentic women, reducing backlash (Rudman, Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Nauts, 2010). Accepting or agreeing with sexist treatment, similar to ingratiation, may mitigate the effect of atypicality proposed in the MIS. Investigating how women's reactions to sexism influence observers' perceptions is an important next step in research on AST. In the real world, sexism does not occur in a vacuum; women's responses to sexist treatment may be just as influential as the treatment itself in determining how they are viewed by others.

The Present Research

The present research describes two studies that investigated perceptions of targets of sexism. In Study 1, I tested how observers' hostile and benevolent sexism influenced perceptions of gender typical or atypical women who were targeted with either hostile or benevolent sexism. Based on the MIS, incongruence between women's typicality and the sexist treatment they receive (gender atypical women targeted with benevolent sexism, gender typical women targeted with hostile sexism) should influence how strongly participants' own sexist attitudes predict target evaluations. In Study 2, I explored how gender atypical women's acceptance or rejection of benevolent sexism influenced observers' evaluations. Overall, with these two studies I tested the predictions made by the MIS, adding to our understanding of the effects of hostile and benevolent sexism on women's lives.

II. Study 1

Study 1 examined participants' evaluations of a female job applicant who was subjected to sexist comments from a male interviewer. Previous research demonstrated that participants' hostile sexism predicted negative evaluations of a female applicant receiving benevolent sexism (Good & Rudman, 2010). The applicant in that study was gender atypical, in the sense that she was applying for a managerial position in a blue collar work environment (big box hardware store). The present study utilized the proposed MIS to test whether that finding was due to perceived deservingness, as well as extended past research by examining perceptions of a gender typical woman subjected to hostile sexism.

For the purposes of the present studies, the female target's gender typicality was manipulated through the type of job for which she was applying. In Study 1, participants read an interview transcript about a woman applying for a gender typical or atypical job, who was treated with hostile sexism or benevolent sexism by a male interviewer. The gender typical job was a female sex-typed job, or a job that is more typically held by women than by men - in this case, an elementary school teacher. The gender atypical job was a male sex-typed job, or a job that is more typically held by men than by women - in this case, an auto body technician. My hypotheses were as follows:

Hypothesis 1: When the transcript featured a woman applying for the gender atypical job who was treated with benevolent sexism (incongruence), participants' hostile sexism scores would negatively predict ratings of the applicant's competence, likeability, and hireability. These effects would be mediated by ratings of the applicant's typicality and deservingness of benevolent sexism. That is, when a woman applied for a gender

atypical position and was treated with an incongruent form of sexism (benevolent) she would be seen as undeserving of the benevolent sexist treatment she received, resulting in negative evaluations of her competence, likeability, and hireability. Judgments of deservingness would necessarily be predicated by judgments of the applicant's gender atypicality; the applicant's atypicality made her undeserving of benevolent sexism. When the same applicant was treated with hostile sexism (congruence), participants' hostile sexism scores would be a weaker predictor of applicant ratings. When the atypical applicant received hostile sexism, she would be judged as deserving of the treatment because she is atypical, and thus hostile sexists would not need to correct for any incongruence by evaluating her negatively.

Hypothesis 2: When the transcript featured a woman applying for the gender typical job who was treated with hostile sexism (incongruence), participants' benevolent sexism scores would positively predict ratings of the applicant's competence, likeability, and hireability in an effort to correct for the unjustified hostile sexism. Thus, the relationship between participants' benevolent sexism and ratings of the applicant would be mediated by ratings of the applicant's typicality and deservingness of hostile sexism. That is, when a woman applied for a gender typical position and was treated with an incongruent form of sexism (hostile) she would be seen as undeserving of the hostile sexist treatment she received, resulting in positive evaluations of her competence, likeability, and hireability. Judgments of deservingness would necessarily be predicated by judgments of the applicant's gender typicality; it was the applicant's typicality that made her undeserving of hostile sexism. When the same applicant was treated with benevolent sexism (congruence), participants' benevolent sexism scores would not

predict ratings of the applicant. When the gender typical applicant received benevolent sexism, she would be judged as deserving of the treatment because she is typical, and thus benevolent sexists would not need to correct any incongruence by rewarding her with more positive evaluations.

Hypothesis 3: Consistent with past research (Good & Rudman, 2010), participants who viewed the (sexist) interviewers favorably would assimilate to their views of women and rate the applicant more negatively, independent of their own level of hostile or benevolent sexism. Because benevolent sexism is generally viewed more favorably than hostile sexism (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998), I predicted that participants would not need to hold benevolent sexist attitudes themselves in order to view the benevolent sexist interviewer favorably.

Additionally, consistent with prior research, I expected men and women to differ more in their levels of hostile than benevolent sexism, and that hostile and benevolent sexism would be positively correlated for both genders (in support of AST; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Previous research using a similar interview paradigm showed that men rated a benevolent and a hostile sexist interviewer more favorably than women and liked the female applicant less than women (Good & Rudman, 2010). However, no gender interactions were found, meaning that the observed processes regarding perceptions of sexism operated in the same manner for men and women. Thus, based on past research I did not expect to find gender differences for the hypotheses numbered above. However, given the changes made to the present study, it was possible that gender differences would surface. I thus investigated any gender differences before proceeding with tests of my hypotheses.

Method

Participants. The participants were 281 undergraduates (161 women, 120 men) recruited from the Rutgers University Subject Pool according to subject pool guidelines. Ages ranged from 18 to 39 years ($M = 18.75$, $SD = 2.05$). Participant ethnicities were as follows: 46.3% White, 33.1% Asian, 7.1% Hispanic/Latino, 6.0% African American, 5.0% Bi/multiracial, and 2.5% Other.

Materials.

Sexism. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) was used to measure sexist beliefs (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The ASI contains two 11-item subscales that assess hostile sexism (HS) (e. g., “Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for ‘equality’”) and benevolent sexism (BS) (e.g., “Women should be cherished and protected by men”). Responses were indicated on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*), and items were averaged to form the HS (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .83$) and BS (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .73$) subscales. See Appendix A for the full measure.

Job typicality manipulation. Participants read about a female applicant who was applying for either a gender typical (elementary school teacher) or a gender atypical job (auto mechanic). Applicant responses were matched as closely as possible between the two job conditions, however some responses differed in order to fit with the requirements for each job type. Information on pretesting of job profiles appears in the preliminary data analysis section of the results.

Interviewer sexism manipulation. Participants were given an interview transcript in which a male director interviewed a female job applicant. Their names (James Martin,

Lisa Williams), as well as applicant responses, were held constant across conditions. However, interviewer questions were manipulated to describe the interviewer in a hostile sexist or benevolent sexist manner. Sexist questions were created to tap all dimensions of hostile and benevolent sexism (HS – dominative paternalism, heterosexual hostility, competitive gender differentiation; BS – protective paternalism, heterosexual intimacy, complementary gender differentiation) based on AST (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and previous operationalization of the constructs (see Good & Rudman, 2010; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998).

Applicant gender typicality. In order to measure participants' perceptions of the applicant's gender typicality, participants responded to 3 items assessing her femininity: "How feminine is Lisa?" "To what extent do you think Lisa is feminine?" and "Based on what you know about Lisa, does she seem feminine?" rated on a scale of 1 (*not at all feminine*) to 7 (*very feminine*). The femininity items were reliable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$). Participants also rated Lisa's masculinity with 3 items: "How masculine is Lisa?" "To what extent do you think Lisa is masculine?" and "Based on what you know about Lisa, does she seem masculine?" rated on a scale of 1 (*not at all masculine*) to 7 (*very masculine*). The masculinity items were reliable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .95$). Participants also rated how typical Lisa was of her gender with 3 items: "How typical is Lisa of her gender?" "How similar do you think Lisa is to other women?" and "How typical is Lisa compared to other women?" rated on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). The general typicality items were reliable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$). Additionally, participants rated how feminine they perceived the applicant's appearance to be by choosing from a series of sketches of women, ranging from less to more feminine (see Appendix B).

Participants rated how feminine they perceived Lisa's outfit, hairstyle, shoes, and overall appearance to be. The least feminine choice was assigned a score of 1, and the most feminine choice a score of 5. The appearance typicality items were reliable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$). A factor analysis of the multiple gender typicality scales can be found in the preliminary data analysis section of the results.

Applicant deservingness of sexism. Participants indicated the extent to which they believed the applicant deserved the sexist treatment she received on 3 items: "Do you think Lisa was treated fairly in the interview?" "Do you think that Lisa deserved to be treated the way she was?" "Do you think Lisa was treated in a way that was justified?" Responses were indicated on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). The three items were averaged (Cronbach's $\alpha = .95$).

Applicant competence. In keeping with past research (Good & Rudman, 2010), participants rated the applicant's competence on 4 items, using a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Items were: "How qualified do you think Lisa is for the job?" "How competent do you think Lisa is?" "How well do you think Lisa would be able to complete all the duties of the job?" and "Overall, how would you rate Lisa's strength as an applicant?" A mean rating was calculated from the 4 items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$).

Applicant likeability. As in past research (Good & Rudman, 2010), participants indicated how positively they felt about the applicant on 3 items: "How much would you like to get to know Lisa?" "How friendly do you think Lisa is?" and "How much do you like Lisa?" with responses ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). The items were averaged to form the applicant likeability index (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$).

Applicant hireability. Participants were asked to indicate their willingness to hire the applicant with 5 items: “Do you think Lisa should get a follow-up interview for this job?” “Do you think Lisa should be one of the top 3 candidates considered for this job?” “Do you think Lisa should be hired for the job?” “Do you think Lisa would be your top choice for the job?” and “If you were in charge of hiring, would you hire Lisa for the job?” Responses were indicated on a scale of 1 (*absolutely no*) to 7 (*absolutely yes*) and the items were averaged to form the applicant hireability index (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .93$).

Interviewer favorability. As in past research (Good & Rudman, 2010) participants responded to 5 items assessing how positively they felt toward the interviewer: “Overall, how would you rate James as an interviewer?” “During the interview, was James polite and professional?” “During the interview, did James ask good questions?” “How much would you like to get to know James?” and “How much do you like James?” Responses were indicated on a scale of 1 (*not at all/ not at all favorable*) to 7 (*very much/ very favorable*). These items were averaged to form the interviewer favorability index (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .91$).

Interviewer sexism. Participants rated the extent to which they viewed the interviewer as sexist on 3 items: “During the interview, did you think that James made any inappropriate comments?” “During the interview, did James discriminate against the applicant in any way?” and “During the interview, did you think James was acting sexist?” Responses were indicated on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*definitely*). A mean rating was calculated from the 3 items (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .89$).

Procedure. Participants were recruited for a study concerning interview skills, in which they evaluated different interviewing techniques and strategies ostensibly “to

improve their peers' post-graduation employment chances." Prior to coming to the lab, participants completed the ASI as part of the subject pool prescreen battery of questionnaires. At their scheduled time, participants were tested in a laboratory setting in groups ranging from 1 to 6 people. Each participant was given a stapled packet containing a job description and subsequent interview transcript. The job description presented information about a current job opening as either an elementary school teacher (gender typical) or an auto mechanic (gender atypical; see Appendix C). Below the job explanation was a description of the female job applicant, Lisa Williams. Lisa was portrayed as intelligent (GPA = 3.5) and experienced (4 years teaching experience with teaching certification or 4 years auto technician experience with ASE certification; see Appendix C).

Participants were instructed to read over the job description and applicant qualifications, and then turn the page to read a transcript of the applicant's job interview. Participants were urged to pay attention to the transcript, as they would be asked to evaluate the performance of the applicant and the interviewer after reading the transcript. The interview transcript contained the experimental manipulation; participants read an interview in which the applicant was applying for either the gender typical or atypical job opening, and the interviewer was either hostile or benevolent sexist. Based on this 2 (job typicality) by 2 (interviewer sexism) design, participants were randomly assigned to receive 1 of 4 transcripts: 1) gender typical job, benevolent sexist interviewer, 2) gender typical job, hostile sexist interviewer, 3) gender atypical job, benevolent sexist interviewer, 4) gender atypical job, hostile sexist interviewer. For each job type, applicant responses were held constant across both sexism conditions. Across sexism conditions,

interviewer questions were similar in content, but varied in phrasing. For example, for the gender typical job, the benevolent sexist interviewer said:

“I see that you have your NJ teaching license – that’s good. This position involves a lot of hard work. It is physically and mentally demanding. Do you think you can handle the workload? We have a lot of boys with behavior problems, and they could use a woman like you to smooth out their rough edges.”

The hostile sexist interviewer said:

“I see that you have your NJ teaching license – that’s good. This position involves a lot of hard work. It is physically and mentally demanding. Do you think you can handle the workload? We have a lot of boys with behavior problems, and in the past, we’ve had trouble with women teachers getting overly offended by some of the comments the boys around here make.”

In each case, the applicant answered:

“Yes, I think I can. As a 4th grade teacher at Parsons, I planned my own curriculum and dealt with a large class size, and even supervised two student teachers. So I think I am ready to take the next step and fully handle whatever issues may come up in working with the children at Grandview.”

See Appendix D for all four transcripts. Participants then responded to questions pertaining to their perception of the applicant’s gender typicality, deservingness of sexism, competence, likeability, and hireability. Next, they indicated how favorably they felt toward the interviewer and whether they viewed the interviewer as acting sexist. Following completion of all study materials, participants were fully debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Results

Pilot testing. Although the interview manipulations were based on materials used in past research (Good & Rudman, 2010), the specific questions and responses were created for the present study. Therefore, I pre-tested the job descriptions and transcripts prior to proceeding with data collection. Using an independent sample of 87 undergraduate participants (48 women, 35 men, 4 did not indicate gender), I asked each

participant to read a description of either the gender typical or atypical job opening described above, and then rate how typical the job was of men or women. Specifically, participants were asked, “Based on the job description listed above, do you think this job is more typically held by men or women?” and responded on a scale of 1 (*much more typically held by men*) to 7 (*much more typically held by women*). Participants were also asked “A typical applicant for this position would be:” with answer choices ranging from 1 (*very masculine*) to 7 (*very feminine*). A 2 (typicality condition: typical vs. atypical job) x 2 (participant gender) analysis of variance (ANOVA) confirmed the typicality manipulation, revealing that the gender typical job (elementary school teacher) was rated as more feminine ($M = 5.09$, $SD = 1.01$) than the atypical job (auto mechanic; $M = 2.23$, $SD = .84$), $F(1, 79) = 198.91$, $p < .001$. Additionally, women tended to rate the job descriptions as more feminine ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 1.84$) than did men ($M = 3.39$, $SD = 1.50$), $F(1, 79) = 4.23$, $p = .04$. I also found an interaction of participant gender and typicality condition, $F(1, 79) = 6.32$, $p = .01$, such that women tended to rate the gender typical job as more feminine ($M = 5.46$, $SD = .67$) than did men ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 1.18$), $t(39) = 3.09$, $p = .004$, however men and women rated the gender atypical job as equivalently feminine (women $M = 2.19$, $SD = .94$, men $M = 2.28$, $SD = .71$), $t(40) = .34$, $p = .74$. Overall, the job typicality manipulation appeared to be successful, although women may have attended to the typicality difference more acutely.

Next, participants were asked to read one of six possible transcripts (the four transcripts described above as well as transcripts of a non-sexist (NS) interviewer for each job type). They then rated the interviewer on several dimensions (e.g. sexist, offensive, discriminatory, rude, caring, kind, compassionate, etc.) as well as completed

the ASI as they believed the interviewer would. Separate 3 (interview condition) x 2 (job typicality) x 2 (participant gender) ANOVAs revealed that the two sexist interviewers were rated as more sexist, offensive, and discriminatory than the NS interviewer, all $ps < .01$. The HS interviewer was rated as rudier, less friendly, and more hostile toward women than the BS interviewer, who was rated higher on those traits than the NS interviewer. In addition, the BS and NS interviewers were rated as more caring, kind, and compassionate than the HS interviewer (see Table 2 for all ANOVA results). These results suggest that participants viewed the BS and HS interviewers as more sexist than the NS interviewer, but viewed the BS interviewer as enacting a more positive form of sexism. No main effects or interactions of participant gender or job typicality condition were found, indicating that both men and women rated the interviewers similarly, and the interviewers were viewed similarly regardless of the type of job for which the applicant was applying.

Using the same analytic design, I analyzed participants' ratings of how the interviewers would score on the ASI. As can be seen in Table 2, participants believed that the HS interviewer would score significantly higher on the HS subscale than the BS interviewer, who would score higher than the NS interviewer. HS is a unidimensional factor, whereas BS consists of three factors (Glick and Fiske 1996). As seen in Table 2, the BS interviewer had higher Protective Paternalism and Complementary Gender Differentiation scores than the HS and NS interviewers. Because the interviewers said nothing about close relationships, it is not surprising that Heterosexual Intimacy yielded similar scores for the BS and NS interviewers, both of whom scored higher than the HS interviewer. Additionally, a main effect of participant gender was found for Heterosexual Intimacy, such that men believed the interviewers would score higher on that subscale

than women did, $F(1, 71) = 7.61, p < .01$. I also found an interaction of participant gender and interviewer condition on Complementary Gender Differentiation; women thought the BS interviewer would score higher on this subscale than the NS interviewer, who would score higher than the HS interviewer, $F(2, 42) = 16.32, p < .01$, but men did not make distinctions between the three interviewer conditions for the Complementary Gender Differentiation subscale, $F(2, 29) = .42, p = .66$. Although there were some interactions with gender, the bulk of the pilot testing results show that the HS interviewer was seen as more hostile sexist than the BS interviewer, who was seen as kinder and more caring than the HS interviewer. Given this successful manipulation, I proceeded with data collection for Study 1.

Gender typicality scale assessment. A novel measure of gender typicality was created for this research, in which participants were asked to rate the extent to which they believed the applicant's appearance matched a series of sketches arranged in order from least feminine to most feminine. To assess how well this appearance typicality measure performed in relation to more conventional methods of measuring gender typicality, I computed bivariate correlations of the appearance typicality mean score with the mean scores for femininity, masculinity, and general gender typicality. As can be seen in Table 3, the appearance typicality measure was positively correlated with the femininity and general gender typicality measures and negatively correlated with the masculinity measure. These correlations were similar when looking at the entire sample, and looking separately at women and men (see Table 3).

Although the different measures of gender typicality were significantly correlated, the correlations were not as high as might be expected if they were all measuring the

same construct. Therefore, I computed a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), testing a 1-factor model and a 4-factor model. Masculinity items were reverse scored, and all items were standardized. Analyses were conducted with EQS 6.1 software using maximum likelihood estimation. According to past research on model fit (see Hu & Bentler, 1999), good-fitting models have comparative fit (*CFI*), normed fit (*NFI*), and nonnormed fit (*NNFI*) indices of .95 or higher, and a root mean square of approximation (*RMSEA*) value of .06 or lower. The 1-factor model (in which all of the items from all typicality subscales were set to load on one latent factor) did not fit the data well, $\chi^2 = 1216.91$, $df = 65$, $CFI = .60$, $NFI = .58$, $NNFI = .51$, $RMSEA = .25$ (.24 - .26), $AIC = 1086.91$.¹ I next tested a 4-factor model which included a femininity factor, a masculinity factor, a general gender typicality factor, and an appearance typicality factor. The 4-factor model fit the data well, $\chi^2 = 110.11$, $df = 59$, $CFI = .98$, $NFI = .96$, $NNFI = .98$, $RMSEA = .06$ (.04 - .07), $AIC = 7.89$. See Figure 2 for all factor loadings. Based on the results of the CFA, I concluded that the multiple gender typicality measures were assessing related, but distinct constructs. Therefore, I tested the measures separately in the remaining analyses.

Participants' benevolent and hostile sexism. As predicted, independent *t*-tests verified that men had higher HS scores ($M = 3.62$, $SD = .63$) than women ($M = 3.21$, $SD = .78$), $t(279) = 4.38$, $p < .01$, but there was no difference in men's ($M = 3.57$, $SD = .62$) and women's ($M = 3.62$, $SD = .75$) BS scores, $t(279) = -.56$, $p = .57$. Also consistent with predictions, HS and BS scores were positively correlated for both men ($r = .35$, $p < .01$) and women ($r = .24$, $p < .01$).

Preliminary analyses of applicant ratings. Correlations among all study variables can be found in Table 4, presented for the entire sample and for men and

women separately. See Table 5 for means and standard deviations of all study variables, presented by interviewer sexism condition, job typicality condition, and gender. No racial or gender differences were expected for any of the study variables, however to test for any possible differences, I conducted separate analyses of variance (ANOVAs) testing the effects of participant race (White, Asian, Other Minority, Multiracial), gender (women, men), interviewer sexism condition (hostile, benevolent), and job typicality condition (typical, atypical) on ratings of applicant competence, likeability, hireability, and deservingness of sexism.

For applicants' competence, analyses revealed no main effects of race, gender, interviewer sexism condition, or job typicality condition. However, I found a significant interaction of participant gender, interviewer sexism condition, and job typicality condition, $F(1, 251) = 4.50, p = .04, \eta^2 = .02$. Separating men and women, I found a marginally significant interaction between interviewer sexism and job typicality for men, $F(1, 106) = 3.23, p = .07, \eta^2 = .03$, but no evidence of the same interaction for women, $F(1, 145) = .11, p = .74, \eta^2 < .01$. Men rated the applicant applying for a gender typical job as marginally more competent when she was interviewed by a BS rather than an HS interviewer, $F(1, 50) = 3.52, p = .07, \eta^2 = .07$; no effect of sexism condition was found for men evaluating the applicant applying for the gender atypical job.

Analyses for ratings of the applicants' likeability and hireability revealed no main effects or interactions. For ratings of the applicants' deservingness of the interviewers' treatment, I found a main effect of interviewer sexism condition, $F(1, 251) = 23.81, p < .01, \eta^2 = .09$. Participants rated the applicant as more deserving of BS treatment ($M = 3.22, SD = 1.84$) than HS treatment ($M = 1.96, SD = 1.28$). Unexpectedly, a main effect

of participant race was found, $F(3, 251) = 5.26, p < .01, \eta^2 = .06$. Asian and Multiracial participants rated the applicants as more deserving of the interviewers' treatment than did White and Other Minority participants.

Because the multiple measures of gender typicality were moderately correlated, I conducted a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), simultaneously testing the effects of interviewer sexism condition, job typicality condition, participant gender, and participant race on femininity, masculinity, general gender typicality, and appearance typicality. The MANOVA revealed a significant effect for job typicality, $F(4, 248) = 21.52, p < .01, \eta^2 = .26$, and an interaction between job typicality condition and interviewer sexism condition, $F(4, 248) = 3.44, p = .01, \eta^2 = .05$. Examining the univariate effects, I found main effects of job typicality condition for all of the typicality scales, $F_{femininity}(1, 251) = 7.83, p = .01, \eta^2 = .03$, $F_{masculinity}(1, 251) = 14.42, p < .01, \eta^2 = .05$, $F_{general\ typicality}(1, 251) = 39.61, p < .01, \eta^2 = .14$, $F_{appearance}(1, 251) = 70.76, p < .01, \eta^2 = .22$. Additionally, univariate results revealed significant interactions of sexism condition and typicality condition for ratings of femininity, $F(1, 251) = 6.03, p = .02, \eta^2 = .02$, general gender typicality, $F(1, 251) = 11.88, p < .01, \eta^2 = .05$, and appearance typicality, $F(1, 251) = 5.12, p = .03, \eta^2 = .02$. In the typical job condition, the applicant was rated as more feminine, generally gender typical, and appearance typical when she was interviewed by a BS interviewer as compared to an HS interviewer. In the atypical job condition however, there was no difference in how the applicant was rated when interviewed by an HS or BS interviewer.

Confirming the manipulation of typicality, the applicant applying for the gender typical job (teacher) was rated as more feminine, less masculine, more generally gender

typical, and more appearance typical than the applicant applying for the atypical job (mechanic). Importantly, I also found that the applicant applying for the typical job (teacher) was rated as more gender typical when she was treated with BS rather than HS. This finding contradicts my hypothesis that the typical applicant would be rated as especially gender typical in the incongruent condition (HS interviewer). Instead, these results show that being treated with BS may make women seem more gender typical, especially if they are pursuing a gender typical role.

Preliminary analyses of interviewer ratings. Although I did not make *a priori* predictions about gender or racial differences in ratings of the interviewer, I followed the same procedure as above to test for possible differences. I conducted separate ANOVAs testing the effects of participant race (White, Asian, Other Minority, Multiracial), gender (women, men), interviewer sexism condition (HS, BS), and job typicality condition (typical, atypical) on ratings of interviewer favorability and sexism.

I found main effects of interviewer sexism condition on ratings of interviewer favorability, $F(1, 251) = 18.43, p < .01, \eta^2 = .07$, and interviewer sexism, $F(1, 251) = 7.47, p = .01, \eta^2 = .03$. The BS interviewer was rated as more favorable and less sexist than the HS interviewer. I also found an interaction of gender and job typicality condition on ratings of the interviewer's favorability, $F(1, 251) = 6.45, p = .01, \eta^2 = .03$. Women tended to rate the interviewer more favorably when he was conducting an interview for the atypical job compared to the typical job, $F(1, 145) = 4.91, p = .03, \eta^2 = .03$, but there was no effect of job typicality for men, $F(1, 106) = .50, p = .48, \eta^2 = .01$.

Unexpectedly, I found main effects of participant race for both interviewer favorability, $F(3, 251) = 5.01, p < .01, \eta^2 = .06$, and interviewer sexism, $F(3, 251) = 5.93,$

$p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Asian and Multiracial participants rated the interviewers as more favorable and less sexist than did White and Other Minority participants. I also found an interaction of race and gender for ratings of interviewer sexism, $F(3, 251) = 2.80$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Looking separately at men and women, I found that the race effect above was only evidenced for women, $F(3, 145) = 9.90$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .17$, and not for men, $F(3, 106) = .35$, $p = .79$, $\eta^2 = .01$. Thus, Asian women and Multiracial women appeared to rate the interviewers more favorably and were less likely to indicate that they were sexist.

Overall these preliminary analyses confirm past research showing that BS is often evaluated more favorably than HS (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998). Although I did find some evidence of racial differences, I did not find any interactions of participant race with experimental condition. Additionally, I did not hypothesize racial differences, nor does AST predict differential responses based on racial group membership, therefore I will not test for racial differences in the remaining analyses. Refer to Table 5 for means and standard deviations of all variables tested in the preliminary analyses.

Atypical applicant ratings as a function of participant and interviewer sexism. See Table 6 for partial correlations of participants' HS and BS scores with applicant ratings, presented separately by condition and gender. Replicating Good and Rudman (2010), Hypothesis 1 stated that when a female applicant was applying for a gender atypical job and was interviewed by a benevolent sexist (incongruent), participants' HS would negatively predict ratings of the applicant. In other words, hostile sexists would penalize a woman who challenged gender norms, yet was rewarded with benevolent sexism – subjectively positive treatment reserved only for traditional women (Glick & Fiske, 1997).

To test Hypothesis 1, I separately regressed applicant ratings (atypical applicant only) of competence, likeability, hireability, gender typicality, and deservingness on participant gender (coded 0 = men, 1 = women), interviewer sexism condition (coded 0 = HS interviewer, 1 = BS interviewer), participants' HS (residual scores after accounting for relationship with BS), and participants' BS (residual scores after accounting for relationship with HS), as well as the interaction of interviewer sexism and participants' HS residual scores, interviewer sexism and participants' BS residual scores, gender and sexism condition, gender and residual HS and BS scores, and the two 3-way interactions. Because HS and BS are positively correlated, recommended procedures are to use partial correlations when assessing the predictive utility of each subscale (i.e., the partial correlation of HS with a variable, controlling for BS; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Thus, I used the residual scores in the regression equations in order to prevent errors as a result of using highly correlated predictor variables. I hypothesized a significant interaction of interviewer sexism condition and participants' HS such that participants' HS would more strongly predict ratings of the atypical applicant in the BS interviewer condition (incongruent), than in the HS interviewer condition (congruent).

I first looked at ratings of the applicants' competence. I found a main effect of HS, such that greater HS predicted lower ratings of the atypical applicants' competence, $\beta = -.19, p = .05$. As predicted, I found a significant interaction of HS and sexism condition, $\beta = .33, p = .02$, as well as an unpredicted interaction of BS and sexism condition, $\beta = .27, p = .03$. When the atypical applicant was interviewed by an HS interviewer (congruent), participants' HS scores negatively predicted ratings of her competence, $\beta = -.32, p = .01$, but HS scores did not predict competence in the

incongruent condition (BS interviewer), $\beta = .08, p = .57$. This interaction therefore contradicted my hypothesis; I predicted that HS scores would negatively predict competence only in the BS interviewer (incongruent) condition whereas the findings indicate that HS predicted lower competence in the congruent condition. Also inconsistent with predictions, participants' BS scores marginally positively predicted ratings of the atypical applicant's competence when she was interviewed by a BS interviewer, $\beta = .25, p = .07$, but not when she was interviewed by an HS interviewer, $\beta = -.11, p = .35$. I predicted that participants' BS would not predict ratings of the atypical applicant.

I next examined ratings of applicant likeability. I did not find any significant main effects or the predicted interaction of HS and sexism condition, $\beta = .12, p = .38$, however I found an unanticipated interaction of participants' BS and sexism condition, $\beta = .30, p = .02$. Again, I predicted that participants' BS would not predict ratings of the atypical applicant's likeability. Instead, I found that participants with higher BS scores marginally tended to like the atypical applicant less when she was interviewed by an HS interviewer, $\beta = -.23, p = .06$, but tended to like her more when she was interviewed by a BS interviewer, $\beta = .22, p = .09$.

The regression analysis revealed no main effects or interactions for ratings of the atypical applicant's hireability. This is contrary to my prediction that participants' HS scores would negatively predict applicant hireability when the atypical applicant was treated with BS. Additionally, I did not find the predicted interaction for any of the measures of gender typicality, $ps > .09$. Instead, I found that participants' HS scores predicted rating the atypical applicant as more masculine, $\beta = .26, p = .01$, and less

appearance typical, $\beta = -.23, p = .01$. Thus, HS participants were more likely to attend to the applicant's atypicality, but they did not make distinctions based on the way she was treated by the interviewer.

Examining ratings of the applicant's deservingness, again I did not find the predicted interaction, $\beta = .11, p = .41$. Instead, I found that participants' HS scores positively predicted deservingness of the interviewer's treatment, $\beta = .21, p = .02$. Additionally, participants rated the atypical applicant as more deserving of BS treatment than HS treatment, $\beta = .28, p < .01$. This finding directly contradicted my hypothesis that the atypical applicant would be seen as undeserving of BS.

As part of Hypothesis 1, I predicted that the relationship between participants' HS and applicant competence, likeability, and hireability in the gender atypical incongruent condition would be mediated by ratings of the applicant's typicality and deservingness of BS treatment. I had planned to use path analysis to test the model depicted in the top half of Figure 3. However, because I did not find that HS scores predicted ratings of the applicant's competence or hireability, I did not proceed with testing the mediation model.

Typical applicant ratings as a function of participant and interviewer sexism.

Hypothesis 2 stated that when the female applicant was applying for a gender typical job and received hostile sexist treatment (incongruent), participants' BS would positively predict ratings of the applicant. In other words, benevolent sexists would feel positively toward (perhaps in a protective gesture) women who conformed to traditional gender norms yet were unjustly treated with hostile sexism. To test this prediction, I followed the same steps outlined above, separately regressing applicant ratings (competence, likeability, hireability, gender typicality, deservingness of only the gender typical

applicant) on participant gender, interviewer sexism condition, participants' BS and HS residual scores, as well as interactions of sexism condition with HS and BS, gender and sexism condition, and gender and HS and BS, and finally the 3-way interactions. I predicted a significant interaction of BS and interviewer sexism condition, such that participants' BS would more strongly predict applicant ratings in the HS interviewer condition (incongruent).

I first looked at ratings of the typical applicant's competence. Contrary to predictions, I did not find a significant interaction of participants' BS scores and interviewer sexism condition, $\beta = -.15$, $p = .25$. Instead, I found that participants' HS scores negatively predicted ratings of the typical applicant's competence, $\beta = -.18$, $p = .05$. This is contrary to my prediction that participants' HS would not predict ratings of the applicant applying for the gender typical job.

Also contrary to predictions, I did not find any effects or interactions for ratings of the typical applicant's likeability. Testing hireability ratings, I did not find the expected interaction of BS and interviewer sexism, $\beta = -.21$, $p = .10$. Instead, I found that participants were more likely to hire the typical applicant when she was treated with BS as compared to HS by the interviewer, $\beta = .20$, $p = .02$. This finding is somewhat supportive of my congruence hypothesis, in that participants preferred the applicant when she was treated with a congruent form of sexism.

For the multiple measures of gender typicality, I found main effects of interviewer sexism condition such that the typical applicant was rated as more feminine, $\beta = .34$, $p < .01$, more generally gender typical, $\beta = .38$, $p < .01$, and more appearance typical, $\beta = .26$, $p < .01$, when she was treated with BS as opposed to HS from the interviewer. This is

contrary to my hypothesis that the gender typical applicant (teacher) would seem especially gender typical when she was treated with an incongruent form of sexism (HS). Additionally, I found that participants' HS scores positively predicted ratings of the typical applicant's masculinity, $\beta = .22, p = .02$. I had predicted that HS would be unrelated to perceptions of the typical applicant. Also unexpected, I found a significant interaction of HS and sexism condition for general gender typicality, $\beta = .35, p = .01$. Participants with more HS beliefs rated the applicant as less generally gender typical, $\beta = -.34, p = .01$, when she was treated with HS by the interviewer; participants' HS did not predict typicality ratings when the typical applicant was treated with BS by the interviewer, $\beta = .13, p = .32$. I did not predict that HS would influence ratings of the gender typical applicant, but these results seem to suggest that congruence buffered the typical applicant from being seen as less gender typical (although it did not buffer her from being viewed as masculine by HS participants).

Finally, I examined ratings of the typical applicant's deservingness of sexism. Contrary to hypotheses, I did not find the expected interaction of BS and sexism condition, $\beta = .15, p = .20$. Instead, I found that both participants' HS, $\beta = .17, p = .03$, and BS, $\beta = .19, p = .01$, positively predicted deservingness. Confirming my prediction, I also found that the typical applicant was rated as more deserving of BS than HS, $\beta = .43, p < .01$.

As part of Hypothesis 2, I had predicted that the relationship between participants' BS and applicant competence, likeability, and hireability in the gender typical (teacher) incongruent condition (HS interviewer) would be mediated by ratings of the applicant's typicality and deservingness of HS treatment. I had planned to use path

analysis to test the lower half of Figure 3. However, I did not find that participants' BS scores predicted competence or hireability, and thus, I did not proceed with testing the mediation model.

Mediation of interviewer favorability and hireability by competence. In Hypothesis 3, I predicted that I would replicate the mediation found in Good and Rudman (2010). Specifically, I predicted that interviewer favorability would negatively predict ratings of the applicant's competence, which would positively predict hiring. To test this prediction, I followed the Normal Theory (NT) procedure introduced by Baron & Kenny (1986), first testing the total effect by regressing applicant hireability on interviewer favorability. Consistent with predictions, interviewer favorability significantly negatively predicted applicant hireability, $\beta = -.13, p = .03$. I next regressed hireability on both interviewer favorability and applicant competence. Competence was a significant predictor of hiring, $\beta = .74, p < .01$, and interviewer favorability was reduced to nonsignificance, $\beta = .03, p = .48$. A Sobel's test confirmed significant mediation, $z = -3.55, p < .01$. Because the NT method assumes a symmetrical distribution of the mediated effect, which is often not the case, I also tested for mediation by computing confidence intervals based on an asymmetrical distribution of the mediated (indirect) effect using the PRODCLIN program (MacKinnon, Frist, Williams, & Lockwood, 2007). The resulting 95% confidence interval (-.08 to -.05) did not include zero, indicating a reliable mediated effect.

Because I had predicted different patterns of applicant evaluations in the sexism and job typicality conditions, I next tested the mediation separately for the 4 interviewer sexism and job typicality conditions. The mediational pattern held for the atypical

applicant, HS interviewer condition, Sobel's $z = -3.16$, $p < .01$, 95% asymmetrical confidence interval = $-.43$ to $-.11$, but not in the other 3 conditions. Participants' ratings of the interviewer's favorability did not significantly predict applicant hireability in the typical applicant, HS interviewer condition ($\beta = -.19$, $p = .12$), or the two BS interviewer conditions ($\beta_{\text{atypical applicant}} = -.04$, $p = .76$, $\beta_{\text{typical applicant}} = -.09$, $p = .42$). As part of Hypothesis 3, I predicted that the mediation would be independent of participants' sexism; that is, participants' HS and BS would not predict interviewer favorability. Largely consistent with predictions, participants' HS and BS scores did not predict ratings of the interviewer in most instances (see Table 7), with the exception that women's BS scores and men's HS scores positively predicted evaluating the BS interviewer favorably.²

Discussion

Study 1 tested the MIS, which predicted that when there was incongruence between a woman's gender typicality (in this case the sex-typing of the job she was applying for) and a man's sexist treatment of her, participants' sexist attitudes would influence their perceptions of the female target. For the most part, the MIS was not supported by the data. Participants' HS did not more strongly predict applicant evaluations in the gender atypical applicant, BS interviewer condition than in the atypical applicant, HS interviewer condition. Participants' BS did not more strongly predict applicant evaluations in the gender typical applicant, HS interviewer condition than in the typical applicant, BS interviewer condition. On the contrary, the data revealed that participants' HS scores negatively predicted applicant competence for the typical applicant, whereas I predicted that HS scores would not relate to perceptions of gender

typical applicants. I found some limited support for the theory that congruence may be important when considering observer perceptions of sexism. Participants tended to hire the typical applicant more when she was treated with a congruent form of sexism (BS). However, the lack of other findings consistent with the MIS leads me to conclude that the model was not supported by the data.

Unexpectedly, Study 1 did not replicate the findings of Good and Rudman (2010). For example, participants' HS scores did not significantly predict ratings of the gender atypical applicant who was interviewed by a BS hiring manager. Indeed, participants with higher levels of HS tended to see that applicant as more deserving of BS, rather than less deserving as I had predicted. Good and Rudman (2010) theorized that participants who viewed a sexist interviewer favorably would assimilate to his view of women and rated a female applicant as less competent and therefore less hireable. This finding was partially replicated in Study 1. Participants who viewed the HS interviewer favorably (when he interviewed an atypical applicant) tended to rate the applicant as less competent and therefore less hireable. Contrary to predictions however, this mediational pattern was not found for the HS interviewer, typical applicant condition, or either of the two BS interviewer conditions.

One important contribution of Study 1 was the development of a novel measure of gender typicality. Often gender typicality is measured with trait measures (e.g., PAQ, Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975), yet when we think of a "typical" woman, we may have both an image (appearance prototype) and a personality profile in mind. Study 1 showed preliminary validity for an appearance rating scale as a measure of gender typicality. Participants rated the extent to which they believed the applicant matched a

series of sketches, ranging from least to most feminine in appearance. This appearance typicality measure was highly correlated with trait measures of femininity and masculinity. A confirmatory factor analysis showed that the appearance typicality scale was measuring a related, but distinct construct than that measured by the other gender typicality scales. The appearance typicality measure needs to be further validated, but Study 1 provides preliminary evidence of its validity.

Although the deservingness of sexism measure was internally reliable, in retrospect, I question its validity. Participants were asked whether the applicant deserved the treatment she received, but not whether the applicant deserved BS or deserved HS more specifically. I designed the items as a subtle method of measuring deservingness, to prevent social desirability concerns and not alert participants to the sexism component of the study. However, it is unclear how participants interpreted the deservingness items. For example, the applicant was rated as more deserving of the treatment when she received BS compared to receiving HS. This finding makes intuitive sense; in general women deserve to be treated nicely and politely. However, participants' HS tended to positively predict deservingness, regardless of whether the applicant was typical or atypical, or interviewed by a BS or HS interviewer. This suggests that deservingness was actually measuring deservingness of sexism, not deservingness of positive sexism vs. negative sexism. Future research comparing deservingness of HS vs. BS should utilize a more clear-cut measure of the constructs.

Study 1 manipulated gender typicality by comparing a woman applying for a female sex-typed position with a woman applying for a male sex-typed position. One could argue, however, that what makes a job gender typical or atypical for a woman is

not just how often women hold that position, but also the status of the position. Women tend to hold lower status positions compared to men; in 2006, only 2% of Fortune 500 CEOs were women (Catalyst, 2008). Recent research shows that backlash against agentic women is driven by female proscriptions against high status, or a ‘dominance penalty’ (Rudman et al., 2010). The Status Incongruity Hypothesis asserts that women are penalized not for losing their feminine, communal traits, but instead for taking on masculine, dominance traits (Rudman et al., 2010). Thus, to most stringently test how gender typicality interacts with sexist treatment in influencing perceptions of female targets, I initially proposed running Study 1b, in which I would manipulate gender typicality through the status of the job for which the applicant was applying.

Unfortunately I do not yet have a large enough sample to analyze these results, and based on the time constraints of applying for a 2011 degree, I have decided to remove Study 1b from my dissertation.

III. Study 2

It was important to test the MIS in Study 1, however the study was missing a key real-world element: the target's response. Women may respond differently to sexist treatment because women vary in their recognition of sexism (Baron, Burgess, & Kao, 1991; Good, Moss-Racusin, & Sanchez, 2011; Inman & Baron, 1996; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998; Stangor, Swim, Van Allen, & Sechrist, 2002; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001) and their willingness to confront or accept sexist treatment if and when it is recognized (Ayres, Friedman, & Leaper, 2009; Kaiser & Miller, 2001, 2004; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Because benevolent sexism can seem positive on the surface, women may have difficulty recognizing it. Indeed, women rated a benevolent sexist man as mildly favorable, compared to highly unfavorable ratings of a hostile sexist man (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998). Individuals also tend to be better at recognizing prejudice when the situation is more prototypical (Inman & Baron, 1996); women more often recognized a comment as sexist when the perpetrator was a man than when the perpetrator was a woman (Baron, Burgess, & Kao, 1991). People expressing benevolent sexist beliefs may not seem like prototypical sexists. The expression of positive, but stereotypic, beliefs and attitudes about women does not fit with many women's conceptualization of sexism (Good & Woodzicka, 2007), and therefore benevolent sexism may be less likely to be recognized as sexism. More broadly, individuals who express positive stereotypes about a group are less likely to be recognized as prejudiced compared to those who express negative stereotypes about a group (Mae & Carlston, 2005).

When women do recognize sexism, they may be unwilling to confront the sexist individual for fear of economic or social reprisal (Kaiser & Miller 2001; 2004). Indeed, women who confront sexism tend to be disliked, and viewed as overreacting or being overly sensitive (Dodd et al., 2001; Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Thus, women may believe that they will confront sexism when they recognize it, but in reality fail to confront because of the high social costs of confronting (Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Women may be especially unlikely to confront when they believe that confronting will not make a difference (e.g., change the outcome, prevent future sexism; Good, Moss-Racusin, & Sanchez, 2011) or when there is strong normative and social pressure to be polite and not respond to the sexist situation (Swim & Hyers, 1999).

Overall, research has shown that several factors influence whether women will recognize or confront sexism when they experience it, and those who do confront risk penalty from others. There is some evidence that women who reject BS help are perceived as more competent but less warm than women who accept BS help (Glick et al., 2010). Research has not yet considered, however, how responses to BS may interact with targets' gender typicality to influence observers' evaluations. Because responses to sexism may moderate evaluations of targets of sexism, Study 2 examined applicants' responses to BS. Benevolent sexism is less easily recognized as sexism (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998) and can even be seen as polite behavior. Therefore, norms may especially dictate that women respond in a polite or even grateful manner (Swim & Hyers, 1999). The MIS suggested that when women accept an incongruent form of sexism, they may be seen as deserving that type of sexist treatment, thereby reducing the impact of observers' sexist beliefs on target evaluations. For example, when a woman applying for a gender

atypical job accepts the benevolent sexism she receives (similar to ingratiation, Rudman et al., 2010), I predicted that she would be viewed as more gender typical. By accepting BS she is acting in a more gender typical manner. Without judgment of atypicality, she would not be judged as undeserving of the BS treatment, and thus participants' HS would be a weaker predictor of applicant evaluations (see Figure 4). If a woman applying for a gender atypical job rejects the BS treatment she receives however, she will likely be judged as atypical (gender typical women should appreciate BS), leading hostile sexists to punish her because she is undeserving of the BS treatment.

Although women experience HS in the workplace, and may even ignore it for fear of losing their jobs, it is difficult to imagine a scenario in which women would express acceptance or appreciation of HS. Benevolent sexism however, with its subjectively positive experience for women, may be more often accepted (and less often rejected than HS). Therefore, it is of primary interest to examine how women's responses to BS (when it is incongruent with their typicality) affect observers' evaluations of their typicality and deservingness, and therefore overall qualifications, as a function of observer sexism.

Research Overview

Study 2 used a similar interview paradigm as the previous study, but manipulated applicant responses rather than holding them constant. In this study the interviewer always acted in a BS manner, and the applicant responded with either acceptance or rejection of the BS treatment, as expressed through her answers to the interviewer's questions. Because target responses to sexism may impact observers' evaluations in situations of typicality-sexism incongruence, in Study 2 the applicant was always

presented as applying for a gender atypical (auto mechanic) job opening. Although the MIS was not supported in Study 1, I tested my *a priori* hypotheses in Study 2 as planned.

Hypothesis 1. Based on the MIS, I predicted that when the gender atypical target rejected the interviewer's BS, participants' HS scores would negatively predict evaluations of the applicant's competence and hireability. This relationship would be mediated by judgments of her gender atypicality and perceived deservingness of BS. In other words, when the atypical applicant rejected the interviewer's BS treatment, she would be judged as atypical, which would lead hostile sexists to view her as undeserving of BS, and punish her with lower evaluations of her qualifications.

Hypothesis 2. When the gender atypical target accepted the interviewer's BS, participants' HS scores would be a weaker predictor of the candidate's competence and hireability. When the applicant accepted the BS treatment, she would be judged as more gender typical, mitigating the effects of typicality-sexism incongruence.

Hypothesis 3: Consistent with past research (Good & Rudman, 2010), participants who viewed the BS interviewer favorably would assimilate to his views of women and rate the applicant more negatively, independent of their own level of hostile or benevolent sexism. Because benevolent sexism is generally viewed more favorably than hostile sexism (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998), I predicted that participants need not hold benevolent sexist attitudes in order to view the benevolent sexist interviewer favorably.

Method

Participants. The participants were 269 undergraduates (139 women and 130 men) recruited from Introductory Psychology courses according to guidelines specified

by the Psychology Department Research Pool. Ages ranged from 18 to 37 years ($M = 18.77$, $SD = 2.05$) and ethnicities were as follows: 42.8% White, 34.9% Asian American, 7.4% African American, 7.1% Bi/multiracial, 5.2% Hispanic/Latino, 2.2% Other, and 0.4% Native American.

Materials.

Sexism. As in Study 1, the ASI was administered to participants to measure levels of hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The HS subscale demonstrated good scale reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .85$). The BS subscale had somewhat low reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .67$), however this is only slightly lower than in past research (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Response manipulation. In the present study, each transcript featured a BS male interviewer. The applicant's response was either accepting (i.e., agreeing with the benevolent sexist treatment) or rejecting (i.e., disagreeing with the benevolent sexist treatment; see Appendix E).

Applicant gender typicality. The same items used in Study 1 were again used to measure gender typicality, specifically femininity $\alpha = .92$, masculinity $\alpha = .94$, general gender typicality $\alpha = .81$, and appearance typicality $\alpha = .76$. The masculinity scale was significantly negatively correlated with the other three measures of gender typicality, which were significantly positively correlated with each other. Consistent with Study 1, confirmatory factor analysis revealed that the 4-factor model, $\chi^2 = 125.33$, $df = 59$, $CFI = .96$, $NFI = .93$, $NNFI = .95$, $RMSEA = .07$ (.05 - .08), $AIC = 7.33$, fit the data better than the 1-factor model, $\chi^2 = 837.78$, $df = 65$, $CFI = .52$, $NFI = .50$, $NNFI = .42$, $RMSEA = .21$

(.20 - .23), $AIC = 707.78$. Therefore, I have presented tests of hypotheses separately for the multiple measures of gender typicality.

Applicant deservingness of sexism, competence, likeability, and hireability. The same items used in Study 1 were used to assess participants' ratings of the applicant, with mean scores computed for each scale. Scale reliabilities demonstrated good internal validity: deservingness $\alpha = .92$, competence $\alpha = .89$, likeability $\alpha = .80$, and hireability $\alpha = .92$.

Interviewer favorability and sexism. The same items as in Study 1 were used to measure participants' evaluations of the interviewer. Mean scores were calculated. Both scales demonstrated good scale reliability: interviewer favorability $\alpha = .90$, interviewer sexism $\alpha = .89$.

Procedure. As in the previous study, participants were recruited for a study concerning interview skills. The ASI was completed as part of a prescreen questionnaire required of all subject pool participants prior to arriving at the lab. Following the procedure outlined in Study 1, upon arrival at the lab, participants were given a description of a job opening and the applicant's qualifications. In the present study, the job description presented information about a current job opening as an auto mechanic (gender atypical; see Study 1). Below the job explanation was a description of the female job applicant, Megan Calloway. Megan was described as possessing the same qualifications outlined in Study 1. In order to strengthen the response manipulation, participants next listened to an audio recording of an interview using individual Koss UR/20 stereo headphones. Thus, although participants were tested in groups ranging from 1 to 6 people, each participant could only hear their randomly assigned audio recording.

In all interviews, the interviewer (Dave Jenkins) acted in a BS manner. The applicant's response to the BS treatment was the experimental manipulation; she either accepted or rejected the interviewer's BS. In the acceptance condition, the applicant expressed agreement with the interviewer's BS remarks; in the rejection condition, the applicant expressed disagreement. For example, the interviewer said:

"I see that you are ASE certified – that's good. This position involves a lot of hard work. It is physically and mentally demanding. Do you think you can handle the workload? We have a lot of men working here in the shop, and they could use a woman around to smooth out their rough edges."

In the acceptance condition, the applicant responded with:

"Yes, sometimes a woman's touch can go a long way. I think I can handle the workload. As a technician at the Bridgewater Collision, I handled multiple clients daily, and even advised the assistant technicians with their work. So I think I am ready to take the next step and fully handle whatever problems clients bring into the shop."

In the rejection condition, the applicant responded with:

"I'm sure the other employees could use another capable technician, regardless of gender. I think I can handle the workload. As a technician at the Bridgewater Collision, I handled multiple clients daily, and even advised the assistant technicians with their work. So I think I am ready to take the next step and fully handle whatever problems clients bring into the shop."

See Appendix E for the full transcripts from which the audio recordings were made.

Participants then responded to questions pertaining to their perception of the applicant's gender typicality, deservingness of sexism, competence, likeability, and hireability. Next, they indicated how favorably they viewed the interviewer and whether they viewed him as acting sexist. Following completion of all study materials, participants were fully debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Results

Pilot testing interview transcripts. Although the interviewer's BS comments were based on materials used in Study 1 as well as past research (Good & Rudman, 2010), the applicant's accepting vs. rejecting responses were created for the present study. Therefore, I pre-tested the transcripts prior to proceeding with data collection. Using an independent sample of 63 undergraduates (41 women, 21 men, 1 did not indicate gender), I asked participants to read one of 3 possible interview transcripts (acceptance response, rejection response, no response). They then rated the applicant on several traits (rude, unfriendly, confrontational, caring, kind, compassionate, professional, appropriate, assertive, feminist) as well as answered the following questions: "Based on Megan's answers, do you think she agreed with the interviewer's beliefs about women?" "In the interview, did Megan express that she agreed with the interviewer's beliefs about women?" "Based on Megan's answers, do you think she disagreed with the interviewer's beliefs about women?" and "In the interview, did Megan express that she disagreed with the interviewer's beliefs about women?" All questions were answered on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

Separate 3 (response condition) x 2 (participant gender) ANOVAs revealed that women rated the applicants as marginally more professional than did men, $F(1, 55) = 3.65, p = .06$. The applicant who rejected the interviewer's BS treatment was rated as less caring than the applicants who accepted and did not respond (see Table 8), but no other response condition or gender effects were found for the other traits. Thus, participants viewed the applicants similarly overall, regardless of whether they accepted or rejected BS. Confirming the manipulation however, the applicant who accepted BS was rated as agreeing with the interviewer's beliefs about women more so than the applicant who did

not respond, who was rated as agreeing more than the applicant who rejected the interviewer's BS. Additionally, the applicant who rejected the interviewer's BS was rated as disagreeing with the interviewer's beliefs about women more so than the applicants who accepted or did not respond to his sexism. See Table 8 for detailed results. Overall, pilot testing confirmed that the response condition manipulation was successful.

Audio recordings. To ensure that any response condition effects found in Study 2 were not simply an effect of a particular person's voice, I used two male voices (interviewers) and two female voices (applicants) in creating the audio recordings of the transcripts included in Appendix E. The four voices were fully crossed within each response condition (acceptance vs. rejection) yielding a total of 8 possible interviews to which participants could listen. Each voice was recorded separately using an Olympus DS-40 digital audio recorder. The questions and answers were then spliced together using Adobe Soundbooth software; this ensured that the interviewers' questions were phrased exactly the same for both applicants (because the same question recording was used), and the applicants' responses were exactly the same for the two interviewers (because the same response recording was used). I conducted a multivariate analysis simultaneously testing the effect of the four acceptance condition recordings on ratings of the applicants' competence, likeability, hireability, gender typicality, and deservingness as well as the interviewer's favorability and sexism. No differences were found between the acceptance recordings, all $F_s(3, 132) < 2.19, p_s > .10$. I conducted the same analysis with the four rejection condition recordings, and again found no significant differences, all $F_s(3, 129) < 2.15, p_s > .10$. Thus, any effects of response condition found in the following analyses are not due to any particular combination of voices in the audio recorded interviews.

Participants' benevolent and hostile sexism. As predicted, independent *t*-tests verified that men had higher HS scores ($M = 3.60$, $SD = .83$) than women ($M = 3.21$, $SD = .76$), $t(267) = 4.10$, $p < .01$. Additionally, women had marginally higher BS scores ($M = 3.81$, $SD = .62$) than men ($M = 3.67$, $SD = .65$), $t(267) = -1.85$, $p = .07$. Also consistent with predictions, HS and BS scores were positively correlated for both men ($r = .27$, $p < .01$) and women ($r = .34$, $p < .01$).

Preliminary analyses of applicant ratings. Correlations among all study variables can be found in Table 9, presented for the entire sample and separately for men and women. See Table 10 for means and standard deviations of all study variables, presented by response condition and gender. No racial or gender differences were expected for any of the study variables, however to test for any possible differences, I computed separate ANOVAs testing the effects of participant race (White, Asian, Other Minority, Multiracial), gender (women, men), and response condition (acceptance, rejection) on ratings of applicant competence, likeability, hireability, and deservingness of sexism.

Examining ratings of the applicant's competence, I found a main effect of gender such that women rated the applicants as more competent than did men, $F(1, 253) = 4.83$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .02$ (see Table 10). I also found a main effect of participant race, with Asian and White participants rating the applicants as less competent than Other Minority and Multiracial participants, $F(3, 253) = 2.67$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$. No effect of condition or interactions of any of the variables were found for competence ratings.

For likeability ratings, I found a similar main effect of gender; women liked the applicants more than men, $F(1, 253) = 8.96$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .03$. No other effects were

significant for likeability ratings. For hireability, I found that women were more likely to hire the applicants than men, $F(1, 253) = 12.24, p < .01, \eta^2 = .05$. Additionally, I found a significant interaction of gender and response condition, $F(1, 253) = 4.02, p = .05, \eta^2 = .02$. Examining the effect separately by response condition, I found that women hired the applicant more often than men when the applicant rejected the interviewer's BS, $F(1, 125) = 15.90, p < .01, \eta^2 = .11$. There was no difference in men and women's hireability ratings when the applicant accepted the interviewer's BS, $F(1, 128) = 1.07, p = .30, \eta^2 = .01$. For deservingness ratings, I found a main effect of response condition such that the applicant was rated as more deserving of the interviewer's treatment when she accepted his sexism compared to when she rejected it, $F(1, 253) = 8.99, p < .01, \eta^2 = .03$.

As in Study 1, the multiple measures of gender typicality were moderately correlated. Therefore, I computed a MANOVA simultaneously testing the effects of participant gender, race and response condition on ratings of the applicants' femininity, masculinity, general gender typicality, and appearance typicality. No multivariate main effects or interactions were found.

Overall, the preliminary analyses show that women viewed the applicants more positively than men, particularly when the applicant rejected vs. accepted the interviewer's BS (in the case of hireability). Additionally, the applicant was rated as more deserving of BS when she accepted the treatment. This is consistent with my prediction that women who accept BS are viewed as more gender typical and therefore more deserving of BS. Although I did not find any influence of response type on gender typicality, it does appear that acceptance boosted perceived deservingness.

Preliminary analyses of interviewer ratings. To test for possible racial or gender differences in evaluations of the interviewer, I conducted separate ANOVAs testing the effects of participant race (White, Asian, Other Minority, Multiracial), gender (women, men), and response condition (acceptance, rejection) on ratings of interviewer favorability and sexism. No significant main effects or interactions were found for interviewer favorability or sexism.

Applicant evaluation as function of response condition and participant sexism. To test whether applicant response (acceptance or rejection) interacted with participants' sexism scores to predict evaluations of the candidate, I performed separate hierarchical linear regressions, with applicant competence, likeability, hireability, gender typicality, and deservingness as the criterion variables. Response condition (acceptance coded 0, rejection coded 1), participant gender (men coded 0, women coded 1), participants' HS (residual scores after accounting for relationship with BS), and participants' BS (residual scores after accounting for relationship with HS) were entered as predictors at Step 1. The interactions between response condition and gender, response condition and HS, response condition and BS, gender and HS, and gender and BS were entered at Step 2. Finally, the 3-way interactions of response condition, gender, and BS and HS were entered at Step 3. In Hypotheses 1 and 2, I predicted a significant interaction of response condition and HS such that in the rejection condition, HS would negatively predict applicant evaluations, but in the acceptance condition, HS would not strongly predict applicant evaluations. See Table 11 for partial correlations of participants' HS and BS scores with applicant ratings, presented by gender and condition.

Examining the ratings of the applicant's competence, I found main effects of response condition and participants' BS and HS, as well as a marginal effect of gender. Participants rated the applicant as more competent when she rejected the interviewer's BS as compared to when she accepted the treatment, $\beta = .15, p = .01$. Participants' HS and BS negatively predicted ratings of the applicant's competence, $\beta_{HS} = -.25, p < .01$, $\beta_{BS} = -.14, p = .02$. Finally, women tended to rate the applicants as marginally more competent than did men, $\beta = .12, p = .06$. Contrary to predictions, the interaction of HS and response condition was not significant, $\beta = .02, p = .84$. No other interactions were found for competence.³

For likeability ratings, I found the same main effect of gender found in the preliminary analyses; women liked the applicants more than did men, $\beta = .17, p < .01$. Additionally, participants' HS negatively predicted liking the applicants, $\beta = -.14, p = .03$. There was no effect of response condition or participants' BS, $ps > .93$. Again, contrary to predictions I did not find a significant interaction of HS and response condition, $\beta = -.11, p = .26$. No other significant interactions were found for likeability ratings.

I next examined hireability ratings, finding a very similar pattern of results as with likeability; women were more likely to hire the applicant than men, $\beta = .20, p < .01$, and participants' HS negatively predicting hiring, $\beta = -.26, p < .01$. Again, I did not find the hypothesized HS by response condition interaction, $\beta = -.08, p = .35$. However, I did find an unexpected significant interaction of gender and response condition, $\beta = .23, p = .03$. Women were more likely to hire the applicant when she rejected versus accepted the

interviewer's BS treatment, $\beta = .18, p = .03$. For men however, there was no difference in hireability ratings between the two response conditions, $\beta = -.13, p = .15$.

For ratings of the applicants' gender typicality, I found that participants rated the applicant who rejected the interviewer's BS as less feminine, $\beta = -.15, p = .02$, and more masculine, $\beta = .18, p < .01$, than the applicant who accepted BS. Participants' HS and BS scores both positively predicted rating the applicants as more masculine, $\beta_{HS} = .15, p = .02$, $\beta_{BS} = .18, p < .01$. No main effects were found for general gender typicality or appearance typicality. Across all four measures of gender typicality, I did not find the predicted interaction of HS and response condition, $ps > .23$. For ratings of the applicants' masculinity however, I found a significant 3-way interaction of participants' HS, response condition, and gender, $\beta = .22, p = .05$. When I looked separately at men and women, I found no evidence of a response condition by HS interaction for women, $\beta = .09, p = .43$, but I did find the predicted interaction for men, $\beta = -.28, p = .05$. Contrary to my predictions however, I found that men's HS scores positively predicted the applicant's masculinity when she accepted the interviewer's BS, $\beta = .39, p < .01$, but not when she rejected BS, $\beta = .07, p = .59$. This finding directly contradicts my hypothesis; I predicted that HS would predict viewing the applicant as more gender typical (less masculine) when she accepted BS, but less gender typical (more masculine) when she rejected BS. I did not find this 3-way interaction for any of the other 3 measures of gender typicality.

Finally, examining ratings of the applicants' deservingness of BS, I found that the applicant was rated as more deserving when she accepted than when she rejected BS, $\beta = -.20, p < .01$. Both participants' HS and BS positively predicted deservingness ratings,

$\beta_{HS} = .17, p = .01, \beta_{BS} = .16, p = .01$. Additionally, men rated the applicants as marginally more deserving of BS than did women, $\beta = -.12, p = .06$. Again, I did not find the predicted interaction of HS and response condition, $\beta = .03, p = .77$. I did however find a significant interaction of gender and response condition, $\beta = -.26, p = .02$; women rated the applicant as more deserving of BS when she accepted vs. rejected the interviewer's treatment, $\beta = -.35, p < .01$, but there was no difference in men's ratings between the two response conditions, $\beta = -.04, p = .62$.

Overall, this series of results did not confirm my hypothesis, and in one case directly contradicted my hypothesis (deservingness). Participants' HS, and in some cases BS, predicted negative evaluations of the applicant regardless of whether she accepted or rejected the interviewer's BS. Thus, the response manipulation did not affect ambivalent sexist observers' evaluations. Response condition did have some effects however; controlling for sexist beliefs, participants rated the applicant as more competent when she rejected BS, and women rated her as more hireable and less deserving of BS when she rejected the interviewer's treatment.

Mediation of interviewer favorability and hireability by competence.

Hypothesis 3 states that interviewer favorability should negatively predict applicant competence, which should negatively predict applicant hireability, as was found in Good and Rudman (2010). Table 10 shows that women evaluated the interviewer more favorably when the applicant accepted vs. rejected BS, therefore I included response condition as a predictor of interviewer favorability in Good and Rudman's (2010) model. I conducted a path analysis nested within participant gender (fully constrained), with the paths specified in Figure 5. This *hypothesized model* had somewhat poor fit (see Table

12). Based on the Lagrange modification indices, I added an unconstrained path between response condition and competence, as well as released the equality constraint on the path between response condition and interviewer favorability. This *revised model* fit the data well (see Table 12 for all fit statistics), and significantly better than the hypothesized model, $\chi^2 \Delta = 10.64, p = .01$. Finally, the revised model did not fit differently than a fully *unconstrained model*, $\chi^2 \Delta = .75, p = .69$, indicating that no other constraints should be released. As can be seen in Figure 6, both women and men who viewed the interviewer favorably tended to rate the applicant as less competent and therefore less hireable. Women however, viewed the interviewer less favorably and the applicant as more competent when the applicant rejected vs. accepted BS. Men did not show any effects of response condition.

The procedure for testing for mediation in path modeling is analogous to analyses with multiple linear regressions (Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004). The revised model tested above demonstrates that the IV (interviewer favorability) significantly predicts the mediator (competence) and the mediator significantly predicts the DV (hireability). To demonstrate the remaining steps of mediation, I computed two additional models. First, I specified a *total effects model* in which the IV predicted the mediator and DV, but no path was specified between the mediator and DV (see Table 12 for fit statistics). As expected, I found a significant path between interviewer favorability and applicant hireability for both men ($\beta = -.18$) and women ($\beta = -.23$). Next, I specified a *direct effects model*, in which the IV predicted the mediator and DV, and the mediator also predicted the DV (see Table 12). As expected, with the mediating path added, interviewer favorability no longer significantly predicted applicant hireability for men ($\beta = -.05$) or

women ($\beta = -.06$). A Sobel's test confirmed significant mediation, $z = -3.40$, $p = .03$, and the 95% confidence interval for the magnitude of the indirect effect did not include zero $(-.17 \text{ to } -.05)$, indicating a reliable mediated effect.

Additionally, I predicted that participants' BS and HS scores would be unrelated to their evaluations of the interviewer's favorability. In other words, participants would not need to hold sexist beliefs in order to like a BS interviewer. Consistent with predictions, neither participants' HS nor BS significantly predicted interviewer favorability (see Table 13), with one exception: women's HS positively predicted interviewer favorability when the applicant rejected BS.

Discussion

In Study 2, I tested how gender atypical targets' responses to BS affect observers' evaluations of their qualifications. In general, women responded more positively to the applicants than men, rating them as more competent, more likeable, more hireable, and marginally less deserving of sexism. Women's evaluations were also more affected by the applicants' response than were men's. Women rated the applicant who rejected BS as more competent, more hireable, and less deserving of sexism than the applicant who accepted BS, whereas men did not make this distinction. I did not hypothesize this gender difference, but the finding does fit with previous work showing that men disliked a woman who confronted sexism, but women liked her more when she confronted (Dodd et al., 2001).

Study 2 replicated the mediation found in Good and Rudman (2010), showing that the more men and women viewed the interviewer favorably, the less competent they viewed the applicant, and therefore the less hireable. Importantly however, when the

applicant rejected BS, women rated the interviewer as less favorable, reducing his impact on evaluations of the applicant.

IV. General Discussion

The present studies explored evaluations of women in a workplace setting as a function of the gender typicality of the job for which they were applying, the type of sexist treatment they received, and observers' sexist attitudes (Study 1) as well as women's responses to sexist treatment (Study 2). Based on past research (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Good & Rudman, 2010), I proposed the MIS, which predicted that observers' sexist beliefs would particularly influence evaluations of victims of sexism when there was incongruence between a target's gender typicality and the type of sexism she received. Unfortunately this model was largely unsupported by the data collected in Study 1. Participants' HS scores tended to predict negative evaluations of the gender typical applicant regardless of the way she was treated by the interviewer (lower competence). Additionally, HS negatively predicted the gender atypical applicant's competence when she was treated with HS. This is directly contrary to Good and Rudman's (2010) finding that HS only predicted negative evaluations of an atypical applicant who was treated with BS. Also unexpected, in Study 1 participants' BS predicted greater liking and competence ratings of the gender atypical applicant who was treated with BS by the interviewer. This finding is contrary to the MIS, in which I predicted that atypical applicants would not be rewarded for benefitting from an incongruent form of sexism.

When atheoretical results are found, the fault can sometimes be found in the manipulation. However, in the present research this does not appear to be the case. Not only did pilot testing reveal that the manipulations of BS and HS interviewer treatment were effective, but the results of Study 1 showed that the interview transcripts featured

adequate experimental control. For example, I did not find any differences between job typicality conditions or interviewer sexism conditions on ratings of the applicant's competence, likeability, or hireability. This demonstrates that I successfully described the applicant as equivalently qualified and likeable across the conditions; the only difference was the typicality of the job she was applying for, and the way she was treated by the interviewer (the experimental manipulations). Confirming the conceptualization of BS as a "softer" form of sexism, participants rated the applicants as more deserving of BS than HS regardless of whether they were applying for gender typical or atypical jobs. The BS interviewer was also rated as less sexist and more favorable than the HS interviewer. Given that the manipulations were successful, it stands to reason that the theoretical model must be revised.

The basis for the MIS was AST (Glick & Fiske, 2010) as well as the findings regarding observer perceptions of an atypical woman receiving BS (Good & Rudman, 2010). Recall that Good and Rudman (2010) found that HS participants were particularly likely to punish an atypical applicant's competence and hireability when she received BS, possibly because she was seen as undeserving of this incongruent form of sexism. The researchers however, did not explicitly measure the applicant's atypicality, but assumed that observers would view her as atypical because she was applying for a stereotypically masculine job (retail managerial position involving finances, employee discipline, freight processing and warehouse operations, etc.). The applicant was presented as moderately qualified for the job, but without any particularly atypical past experiences; for example, she was described as having assistant manager experience at a department store (Macy's), which likely would not be considered gender atypical and may even be seen as a gender

typical work setting. Thus, it is possible that Good and Rudman's (2010) applicant, although applying for a gender atypical job, was not actually viewed as gender atypical herself. In contrast, the applicants in Study 1 were described as having previous work experiences that were in themselves gender typical or atypical. For example, in the typical applicant condition, she was described as a licensed elementary school teacher with previous teaching experience, while in the atypical applicant condition, she was described as Automotive Service Excellence certified with previous auto body technician experience. Study 1's applicants therefore, could be deemed typical or atypical not just due to the job they were applying for, but also due to their past experiences and interests. In contrast, Good and Rudman's (2010) applicant was described as a sort of typicality mix; her past experiences were gender typical, but the job she was applying for was gender atypical. Because the researchers did not directly measure perceived typicality, it is unknown whether their assumption of the applicant's atypicality is valid or not. A replication of Good and Rudman's (2010) study using their original applicant along with a more stringently atypical applicant would shed light upon the theoretical basis for the MIS. In other words, if there was actually no incongruence in Good and Rudman's (2010) study, the very foundation for the MIS no longer exists. If however, Good and Rudman (2010) did successfully manipulate incongruence, then a replication of the present studies with a slightly different set of materials or sample might show more support for the MIS.

Although Study 1 did not confirm the predictions of the MIS, it does make a novel contribution to the ambivalent sexism literature by being the first to specifically test perceptions of gender typicality and sexism congruence. Previous work on AST

suggests that HS should only be directed toward nontraditional women (Glick et al., 1997), however Study 1 found that participants' HS negatively predicted competence and hiring for the gender typical elementary school teacher. Thus, HS may actually predict negative evaluations of all women in a workplace setting, regardless of whether their job is gender typical or atypical. In other words, the workplace setting itself may make women appear nontraditional. For example, Masser and Abrams (2004) found that only HS, and not BS, predicted negative evaluations of women in the workplace, concluding that their findings were in support of previous AST work (ex. Glick et al., 1997). However, the researchers only used a curriculum vitae of a woman applying for a male sex-typed position. In the present study, I have shown that regardless of the gender typicality of the position, HS predicts negative evaluations of women in the workplace, which adds to our general knowledge of the consequences ambivalent sexism.

Additionally, both of the present studies utilized a novel measure of gender typicality, namely a series of sketches with increasingly gender typical appearance. For example, the least gender typical sketch featured a woman with short hair, wearing pants and a long sleeve button-front shirt, while the most gender typical sketch featured a woman with long hair, wearing a skirt, short sleeved top, and jewelry. Results showed that the appearance scale was positively correlated with measures of femininity and general gender typicality, and negatively correlated with masculinity. A factor analysis confirmed the independence of the appearance typicality construct. Although clothing and appearance norms are certainly gendered (Blakemore, 2003; Deaux & Kite, 1993), one reason for the distinction between the multiple measures of gender typicality may be that appearance typicality is more situationally determined than the other more general

measures of gender typicality. For example, individuals may use their clothing as an expression of their gender identity (Butler, 1999), but may also dress for the occasion. In the case of Study 1, wearing a skirt and high heels is not really appropriate for the job of an auto body technician – not because the job is masculine, but simply because the job requires working around dangerous equipment necessitating sturdy work boots, and working underneath cars, making a skirt impractical, etc. Thus, the new appearance typicality scale may measure gendered expression (a more malleable construct) rather than gendered personality (a more static trait). Combined, the multiple measures present a more complete picture of perceptions of gender typicality. Appearance typicality is just one indicator of a woman's overall gender typicality.

In Study 2, I built upon AST and work on confronting sexism to consider how perceptions of women who are targeted with BS may change as a function of their response to that treatment. Participants listened to an interview that featured a gender atypical female applicant who either accepted or rejected the BS treatment she received from a male interviewer. In the real world, women do not always remain calm and impassive in response to sexism; their behavior is likely affected by the sexist treatment they receive. Thus it is imperative to understand how women's reactions to sexism influence others' perceptions. Past research has shown somewhat conflicting findings. Dodd and colleagues (2001) showed that observers evaluate a woman more negatively when she confronts sexism than when she does not, whereas Glick and colleagues (2010) showed that rejecting a BS offer of help may actually improve evaluations of a woman's competence. Study 2 demonstrated that when a woman rejects BS, she is viewed as more competent, less feminine, and less deserving of that BS treatment than when she accepts

BS. Women were also more likely to hire the applicant who rejected the interviewer's BS. Replicating the mediation effect found by Good and Rudman (2010), participants who viewed the BS interviewer favorably tended to rate the applicant as less competent and therefore less hireable. New to the present work, I extended this mediation model to consider the impact of the applicant's response. I found that when the applicant rejected the interviewer's BS, women rated the interviewer less favorably and the applicant as more competent. Men did not show any effect of the response manipulation; regardless of whether the applicant accepted or rejected BS, if men liked the interviewer, they rated the applicant as less competent and less hireable. This gender difference was unpredicted, but somewhat consistent with past work. Dodd and colleagues (2001) found that women liked and respected a target woman more when she confronted a sexist remark, whereas men liked the target less when she confronted. Men showed no difference in their level of respect for a target woman who confronted vs. did not confront sexism. In Study 2, men's failure to be influenced by the response manipulation may have been due to the subtlety of the applicant's response. In order to make the audio recordings as realistic as possible, I designed the manipulation such that the applicant either slightly agreed or slightly disagreed with the interviewer. In other words, had the applicant loudly denounced the interviewer for being sexist while at the same time trying to be hired for a job, participants may have suspected that the recordings were fabricated. However, perhaps a more direct or explicit rejection of BS (e.g., telling the interviewer he was sexist) may have had more of an effect on men's perceptions of the applicant. Of some concern though, with a more overt rejection of BS targets may risk being labeled as oversensitive, and potentially disliked. Past research has shown that women who confront sexism may

be seen as overreacting (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Future research should examine whether men are more responsive to overt vs. subtle confrontations of sexism, as well as whether men's respect and evaluations of women's competence are simply unaffected by women's rejection of sexist treatment.

Based on the MIS, I predicted that in Study 2 the applicant who rejected the interviewer's BS would be evaluated more negatively by ambivalent sexists. For the most part I found that participants' sexism was unrelated to how they evaluated the rejecting vs. accepting applicant. Instead, I found more positive responses to the applicant who rejected regardless of sexist beliefs, especially from female participants. This finding is similar to work by Glick and colleagues (2010), showing that women who refused a BS offer of help were viewed as more competent. In Study 2, the BS interviewer intimated that the applicant would need help from men in order to do her job. Thus, when she rejected help, she was viewed as more competent. Another possible explanation is that by rejecting the interviewer's sexism, the applicant revealed the sexist nature of BS to witnesses. Because BS is often hard to recognize (Good & Woodzicka, 2007; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998), highlighting the interviewer's sexism through rejection or disagreement may have allowed female participants to recognize the subtle sexism and rate the interviewer as more sexist and less favorable. Research suggests that this might be the case. When a situation involves an ambiguous bias, observers look to targets' responses in order to define the situation (Crosby, Monin, & Richardson, 2008). Indeed, when a female target of sexism was expected to confront the sexist person but did not do so, observers rated the sexist person as less offensive (Czopp, 2011). In other words, if you observe an ambiguously sexist situation in which a woman who you expect to confront

does not say anything, then it must not have been offensive. In Czopp's (2011) study, confrontation expectancy was manipulated by describing the female target as either socially liberal, politically active, and someone who "stands up for what she believes in" (high confrontation expectancy) or as a neutral student with no clear description of values or political orientation (low confrontation expectancy). In the present study, participants listened to a woman applying for an auto mechanic position either reject or accept BS. As discussed earlier, BS is an ambiguously sexist situation, and one could argue that the applicant in Study 2 might be expected to confront sexism given her gender atypicality (i.e., female mechanics are likely aware of sexism). Therefore, when the applicant accepted the interviewer's BS (failed to confront), observers may have followed the applicant's supposed interpretation and concluded that the ambiguous situation must not have been that offensive. Future research should examine whether it is a confrontation expectancy violation that leads observers to rate the interviewer more favorably when the applicant accepts BS.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the present studies add to the literature on AST and confronting sexism, there are several limitations that should be mentioned. Study 1 utilized a written interview transcript manipulation. As participants read their randomly assigned transcript, they were free to "voice" the parts of the interviewer and applicant as they imagined the scene taking place. Thus, there was likely some variability in how participants "heard" the interview while reading the transcript. Study 2 attempted to correct for some of this variability by utilizing audio recordings of the interviews. Future research could also

utilize video recordings of the interviews, as acted out by trained confederates, to further test the validity of the results obtained here.

Because of the complexity of the research design, and the necessarily large sample size, a convenience sample of undergraduate participants was used. Past research with similar samples failed to obtain very high levels of ambivalent sexism (Good & Rudman, 2010; Good & Woodzicka, 2010). In the present studies, mean HS and BS scores hovered around 3.5 on a scale of 1 to 6. Conducting the studies with other samples, possibly with older adult populations, or geographic regions in which BS culture is stronger (e.g., the U.S. South), may have revealed stronger findings. Additionally, replicating the present studies with participants who work in management positions with hiring responsibilities (e.g., HR personnel) or who are training to work in management positions (MBA students) would test whether the observed effects are evidenced by individuals who actually have the power to hire job applicants based on their perceived competence and job qualifications. As the results of the present studies were largely inconsistent with the MIS and somewhat inconsistent with past research (Good & Rudman, 2010), consistency across replications would add to the understanding of the complex processes surrounding perceptions of sexism victims.

Given the small amount of research on perceptions of women who confront BS, and the failure of the U.S. legal system to recognize BS as problematic for women in the workplace (*Weinstock v. Columbia University*, 2000) it was particularly important to test responses to BS treatment in Study 2. However, Study 2 did not consider how acceptance vs. rejection responses might moderate reactions to gender atypical women who are treated with HS, or gender typical women who are treated with HS or BS. Indeed, most

research assessing confronting has not separated the two types of sexism. One must consider however, the manner in which women would indicate agreement with a hostile sexist interviewer while still attempting to be hired; perhaps simply ignoring or failing to reject HS would be a form of agreement. Future research should test how gender typical and atypical women's responses to HS influence others' evaluations, utilizing a clear operationalization of acceptance of HS.

Given the difference in subtlety of HS and BS, different strategies for confrontation may be successful for each type. For example, Study 2 showed that politely disagreeing with BS statements was sufficient to raise perceptions of target competence and lower interviewer favorability among female observers. In confronting HS however, a more overt confrontation may be needed; for example, campaign support increased for a female political candidate who labeled a sexist campaign attack as inappropriate and "sexist" (Lake, 2010). Overtly confronting BS however, by labeling the polite yet paternalistic behavior as sexist, might backfire on a target, leading observers to see her as overreacting or oversensitive. Future research is necessary to determine how best to successfully confront HS vs. BS, and what types of confrontation lead to more favorable impressions in the eyes of male as well as female observers.

An additional limitation is that Study 2 did not include a control condition in which the applicant either agreed or disagreed with the interviewer's non-sexist remarks. For example, women rated the applicant who rejected BS as more competent and more hireable. It is possible however, that it was not her rejection of BS, but simply her more assertive, confident tone that caused this difference in competence ratings. Applicants may be evaluated differently when they agree vs. disagree with an interviewer, regardless

of the content with which they agree or disagree. Future research should utilize a non-sexist control condition to account for this possibility.

Conclusion

To sum up, the present studies demonstrate that both BS and HS are dangerous for women in the workplace. Women are viewed as more deserving of BS than HS, supporting the argument that BS is not viewed as sexist. Yet, when a woman receives BS, observers who feel favorably toward the BS person tend to rate her as lower in competence and be less likely to hire her. Rejecting BS by disagreeing with BS comments may mitigate some of these effects, at least in the eyes of female observers. The present work also demonstrates women in the workplace may fall victim to HS even when they occupy a gender typical role. This work has implications for hiring as well as daily workplace operations. Programs aimed at increasing office diversity and promoting women's professional achievement should counsel women to reject BS when they experience it instead of ignoring or "going along" with the sexist treatment. Additionally, employers and human resources personnel should not assume that HS is not a problem for women in traditionally feminine occupations. By testing the combined impact of gender typicality and type of sexism on perceptions of female targets as well as the effect of confronting sexism in the workplace, the present studies contribute to our understanding of ambivalent sexism as well as the ways in which sexism influences perceptions of women's behavior in the workplace.

Table 1

Reprinted from Good & Rudman (2010):

*(Partial Correlations of Participants' Hostile Sexism (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS)
on all Dependent Variables by Interviewer Condition)*

	<u>Interviewer Condition</u>					
	<u>Benevolent Sexist</u>		<u>Hostile Sexist</u>		<u>Non-Sexist</u>	
	HS	BS	HS	BS	HS	BS
Interviewer Favorability	.21	-.06	.36**	-.12	.24	.00
Applicant Competence	-.30*	.14	-.18	.04	.07	.18
Applicant Likeability	-.11	.19	-.09	.27*	.18	.02
Applicant Hireability	-.34**	.07	-.18	.04	.00	.11

Note. Correlations are second order, controlling for gender and for BS when HS is involved, and HS when BS is involved. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 2

Results of Pilot Testing Perceptions of Benevolent (BS), Hostile (HS), and Non-Sexist (NS) Interviewers for Study 1

Interviewer Rating	Interviewer Condition						<i>F</i>
	BS		HS		NS		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Sexist	5.57 _a	1.73	5.86 _a	1.73	2.17 _b	1.63	34.09**
Offensive	4.52 _a	1.88	4.39 _a	2.14	1.96 _b	1.60	12.58**
Discriminatory	4.74 _a	1.94	5.44 _a	1.80	2.13 _b	1.60	20.92**
Hostile Toward Women	4.09 _a	1.78	5.36 _b	1.62	1.63 _c	1.13	35.76**
Rude	4.13 _a	1.66	5.14 _b	1.76	1.75 _c	1.26	28.04**
Unfriendly	3.13 _a	1.49	4.67 _b	1.77	1.17 _c	0.83	32.14**
Caring	3.96 _a	1.36	2.53 _b	1.50	4.00 _a	1.57	9.16**
Kind	3.70 _a	1.58	2.53 _b	1.66	3.96 _a	1.88	6.15**
Compassionate	3.13 _a	1.36	1.86 _b	1.07	3.75 _a	1.80	12.23**
Hostile Sexism	4.19 _a	0.88	4.65 _b	0.93	3.16 _c	0.89	17.68**
Protective Paternalism ^a	4.42 _a	0.85	3.72 _b	1.03	3.68 _b	0.89	4.58**
Complementary Gender Differentiation ^a	3.78 _a	.91	2.96 _b	1.10	3.22 _b	0.68	5.45**
Heterosexual Intimacy ^a	3.96 _a	1.02	3.12 _b	0.95	3.61 _a	1.07	6.18**

Note. ^a Benevolent Sexism subfactor. Means with differing subscripts within each row differ significantly (all $ps < .05$). Interviewer traits were rated on scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Participants rated how they thought interviewers would respond to ASI items on a scale of 1 (he would *disagree strongly*) to 6 (he would *agree strongly*). *F* values represent the main effect of interview condition for separate 3 (interview condition) x 2 (job typicality) x 2 (participant gender) between-subjects ANOVAs. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 3

Bivariate Correlations Among Gender Typicality Measures in Study 1

<i>Entire Sample</i>				
	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Femininity	--			
2. Masculinity	-.39**	--		
3. General Gender Typicality	.57**	-.42**	--	
4. Appearance Typicality	.39**	-.41**	.58**	--
<i>Women vs. Men</i>				
	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Femininity	--	-.42**	.51**	.43**
2. Masculinity	-.37**	--	-.37**	-.44**
3. General Gender Typicality	.61**	-.44**	--	.57**
4. Appearance Typicality	.36**	-.39**	.59**	--

Note. Women's correlations are presented below the diagonal, men's above. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4

Study 1 Bivariate Correlations of All Study Variables

<i>Entire Sample</i>										
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Competence	--									
2. Likeability	.36**	--								
3. Hireability	.74**	.44**	--							
4. Femininity	.03	.18**	.01	--						
5. Masculinity	-.05	-.16**	-.05	-.39**	--					
6. General Gender Typicality	.05	.23**	.07	.57**	-.42**	--				
7. Appearance Typicality	-.05	.16**	-.04	.39**	-.41**	.58**	--			
8. Deservingness	-.14*	-.09	-.09	.15*	.07	.11 ⁺	.03	--		
9. Interviewer Favorability	-.21**	-.09	-.13*	.06	.16**	.03	-.05	.80**	--	
10. Interviewer Sexism	.25**	.09	.15*	-.10	-.08	-.07	-.02	-.70**	-.79**	--
<i>Women vs. Men</i>										
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Competence	--	.17 ⁺	.73**	-.07	.08	.07	-.11	.00	-.11	.07
2. Likeability	.49**	--	.36**	.19*	-.10	.20*	.15	.02	.07	-.02
3. Hireability	.74**	.49**	--	-.10	.12	.03	-.15 ⁺	.07	.03	-.03
4. Femininity	.09	.15 ⁺	.08	--	-.42**	.51**	.43**	.19*	.16 ⁺	-.18 ⁺
5. Masculinity	-.13	-.18*	-.18*	-.37**	--	-.37**	-.44**	.11	.14	-.02
6. General Gender Typicality	.04	.23**	.08	.61**	-.44**	--	.57**	.18*	.09	-.13
7. Appearance Typicality	-.01	.15*	.05	.36**	-.39**	.59**	--	.11	.04	-.11
8. Deservingness	-.25**	-.13	-.20*	.15 ⁺	.01	.11	-.01	--	.73**	-.67**
9. Interviewer Favorability	-.28**	-.15 ⁺	-.23**	.01	.14 ⁺	.02	-.11	.84**	--	-.76**
10. Interviewer Sexism	.37**	.16*	.28**	-.06	-.10	-.03	.06	-.72**	-.81**	--

Note. Women's correlations are presented below the diagonal, men's above. ⁺ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 5

Study 1 Means and Standard Deviations for All Study Variables, Presented by Gender and Condition

	Typical Job		Atypical Job	
	HS Interviewer	BS Interviewer	HS Interviewer	BS Interviewer
<i>Women</i>				
Competence	5.95 _a (.73)	5.99 _a (.85)	5.80 _a (1.10)	6.07 _a (.71)
Likeability	5.63 _a (.85)	5.79 _a (.81)	5.58 _a (1.01)	5.39 _a (.93)
Hireability	5.75 _a (.95)	6.04 _{a,b} (.92)	5.58 _{a,c} (1.31)	5.83 _a (.90)
Femininity	3.48 _a (1.16)	4.33 _b (1.24)	3.43 _a (1.11)	3.32 _a (1.15)
Masculinity	2.94 _a (1.24)	2.75 _a (1.19)	3.84 _b (.96)	3.69 _b (1.10)
General Gender Typicality	3.89 _a (1.14)	4.81 _b (1.04)	3.05 _c (1.03)	3.00 _c (1.17)
Appearance Typicality	3.04 _a (.74)	3.42 _b (.87)	1.92 _c (.64)	1.96 _c (.57)
Deservingness	1.71 _a (1.19)	2.90 _b (1.91)	1.95 _a (1.17)	2.88 _b (1.77)
Interviewer Favorability	2.11 _a (1.23)	2.73 _{b,c} (1.47)	2.57 _{a,b} (1.30)	3.24 _c (1.51)
Interviewer Sexism	6.24 _a (1.31)	5.89 _a (1.25)	5.99 _a (1.44)	5.80 _a (1.56)
<i>Men</i>				
Competence	5.51 _a (.78)	5.93 _b (.81)	6.10 _b (.61)	6.00 _b (.89)
Likeability	5.21 _a (.88)	5.46 _a (.88)	5.46 _a (1.0)	5.08 _a (.92)
Hireability	5.25 _a (1.34)	5.83 _b (.85)	5.87 _b (.82)	5.67 _{a,b} (1.12)
Femininity	3.48 _a (.91)	4.19 _b (1.10)	2.96 _a (1.09)	3.09 _a (1.09)
Masculinity	3.32 _a (1.27)	2.94 _{a,b} (1.06)	3.59 _a (1.40)	4.17 _{b,c} (1.06)
General Gender Typicality	3.70 _a (1.18)	4.54 _b (1.07)	2.81 _c (.93)	2.68 _c (1.06)
Appearance Typicality	2.78 _a (.89)	3.34 _b (.89)	2.02 _c (.69)	1.86 _c (.80)
Deservingness	1.92 _a (1.23)	3.90 _b (1.90)	2.44 _{a,c} (1.58)	3.21 _{b,c} (1.64)
Interviewer Favorability	2.53 _a (.78)	3.64 _b (1.38)	2.65 _a (1.35)	3.36 _b (1.38)
Interviewer Sexism	6.58 _a (.61)	5.20 _b (1.51)	6.03 _{a,c} (1.09)	5.65 _{b,c} (1.53)
<i>Total</i>				
Competence	5.81 _a (.77)	5.96 _a (.83)	5.91 _a (.95)	6.03 _a (.81)
Likeability	5.50 _a (.87)	5.64 _{a,b} (.86)	5.54 _{a,b} (1.0)	5.22 _{a,c} (.93)
Hireability	5.59 _a (1.10)	5.94 _b (.89)	5.69 _{a,b} (1.15)	5.74 _{a,b} (1.02)
Femininity	3.48 _a (1.08)	4.27 _b (1.17)	3.26 _a (1.12)	3.20 _a (1.12)
Masculinity	3.06 _a (1.25)	2.84 _a (1.13)	3.74 _b (1.14)	3.95 _b (1.10)

General Gender Typicality	3.83 _a (1.15)	4.68 _b (1.06)	2.96 _c (.99)	2.83 _c (1.12)
Appearance Typicality	2.96 _a (.79)	3.39 _b (.87)	1.96 _c (.66)	1.91 _c (.70)
Deservingness	1.18 _a (1.20)	3.37 _b (1.96)	2.14 _a (1.35)	3.05 _b (1.70)
Interviewer Favorability	2.25 _a (1.12)	3.16 _b (1.49)	2.60 _a (1.31)	3.30 _b (1.43)
Interviewer Sexism	6.35 _a (1.14)	5.56 _b (1.41)	6.00 _{a,c} (1.31)	5.72 _{b,c} (1.53)

Note. Standard deviations are presented in parentheses. Means with differing subscripts within each row differ significantly (all $ps < .05$).

Table 6

Study 1 Partial Correlations of Participants' HS and BS scores with Applicant Ratings,

Presented by Gender and Condition

	Women		Men	
	HS	BS	HS	BS
Atypical Job Condition				
<i>HS Interviewer</i>				
Competence	-.29 ⁺	.03	-.17	-.42*
Likeability	-.19	-.18	.04	-.24
Hireability	-.21	-.01	-.15	-.13
Femininity	-.02	.02	-.28	-.04
Masculinity	.26	-.18	.36 ⁺	.23
General Gender Typicality	-.01	-.07	-.23	.04
Appearance Typicality	.07	-.07	-.30	.08
Deservingness	.12	-.09	.05	.23
<i>BS Interviewer</i>				
Competence	-.24	.22	.23	.25
Likeability	-.09	.21	-.13	.24
Hireability	-.20	.19	.18	.06
Femininity	.18	-.15	.16	.04
Masculinity	.11	-.22	.04	.03
General Gender Typicality	-.01	-.27	-.11	-.00
Appearance Typicality	-.38*	.00	-.25	-.15
Deservingness	.30	.01	.16	-.02
Typical Job Condition				
<i>HS Interviewer</i>				
Competence	-.11	-.07	-.05	.33
Likeability	-.15	-.00	.24	.07
Hireability	-.16	.01	-.05	.43*
Femininity	-.33*	.07	-.06	.24
Masculinity	.21	-.16	.46*	.36
General Gender Typicality	-.44**	-.04	-.08	-.01
Appearance Typicality	-.13	-.32*	-.23	.02

Deservingness	.07	.09	.03	.11
<i>BS Interviewer</i>				
Competence	-.37*	-.16	-.06	.04
Likeability	-.03	-.09	.06	.13
Hireability	-.31 ⁺	-.16	-.17	.15
Femininity	.15	.00	-.13	.33
Masculinity	.18	.02	.10	-.11
General Gender Typicality	.23	.14	-.05	.02
Appearance Typicality	.07	.19	.17	-.19
Deservingness	.26	.38*	.22	-.08

Note. Partial correlations of BS (controlling for HS) and HS (controlling for BS) are presented. ⁺ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 7

*Study 1 Partial Correlations of Participants' HS and BS with Interviewer Ratings,
Presented by Gender and Condition*

	Women		Men	
	HS	BS	HS	BS
HS Interviewer				
Interviewer Favorability	.05	.02	.04	.16
Interviewer Sexism	-.02	.02	.14	-.27 ⁺
BS Interviewer				
Interviewer Favorability	.13	.29*	.27*	.03
Interviewer Sexism	-.17	-.12	-.19	.04

Note. Partial correlations of BS (controlling for HS) and HS (controlling for BS) are presented. ⁺ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$.

Table 8

Results of Pilot Testing Perceptions of Applicant's Acceptance, Rejection, or No

Response for Study 2

Applicant Rating	Response Condition						<i>F</i>
	Acceptance		Rejection		No Response		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Rude	1.32 _a	.89	1.10 _a	.30	1.21 _a	.71	1.00
Unfriendly	1.32 _a	.72	1.33 _a	.80	1.21 _a	.63	.04
Confrontational	1.95 _a	1.50	2.10 _a	1.41	2.42 _a	1.92	.05
Caring	5.00 _a	.93	3.86 _b	1.53	4.68 _a	1.57	4.55*
Kind	5.71 _a	1.31	4.81 _a	1.75	5.32 _a	1.53	2.23
Compassionate	4.50 _a	1.54	3.33 _b	1.71	4.21 _{a,b}	1.65	2.06
Professional	6.36 _a	1.22	6.85 _a	.37	6.53 _a	1.02	2.16
Appropriate	6.45 _a	1.18	6.24 _a	1.34	6.58 _a	.69	.23
Assertive	5.00 _a	1.45	5.52 _a	1.29	4.68 _a	1.86	.94
Feminist	2.45 _a	1.50	2.62 _a	1.77	1.84 _a	1.77	1.15
Agreed with Interviewer's Beliefs	3.07 _a	1.30	1.29 _b	.49	2.13 _c	1.09	17.34**
Disagreed with Interviewer's Beliefs	3.80 _a	1.54	5.19 _b	1.34	4.11 _a	1.49	5.60**

Note. Means with differing subscripts within each row differ significantly (all $ps < .05$). All items were rated on scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). *F* values represent the main effect of response condition for separate 3 (response condition) x 2 (participant gender) between-subjects ANOVAs. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 9

Study 2 Bivariate Correlations of All Study Variables

<i>Entire Sample</i>										
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Competence	--									
2. Likeability	.50**	--								
3. Hireability	.65**	.52**	--							
4. Femininity	-.05	.07	-.04	--						
5. Masculinity	-.03	-.15*	-.05	-.47**	--					
6. General Gender Typicality	.02	.10 ⁺	-.05	.43**	-.34**	--				
7. Appearance Typicality	.08	.20**	.07	.37**	-.29**	.25**	--			
8. Deservingness	-.36**	-.23**	-.31**	.14*	-.05	.08	-.01	--		
9. Interviewer Favorability	-.25**	-.10	-.20**	.10 ⁺	-.02	.06	-.02	.73**	--	
10. Interviewer Sexism	.26**	.21**	.19**	-.10	.03	-.06	.02	-.65**	-.65**	--
<i>Women vs. Men</i>										
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Competence	--	.45**	.62**	-.12	.02	-.05	-.03	-.35**	-.25**	.25**
2. Likeability	.51**	--	.54**	.07	-.11	-.04	.16 ⁺	-.26**	-.16 ⁺	.21*
3. Hireability	.66**	.46**	--	-.07	-.05	-.14	.04	-.27**	-.12	.16 ⁺
4. Femininity	-.00	.05	-.04	--	-.48**	.44**	.29**	.11	.04	-.05
5. Masculinity	-.05	-.16 ⁺	-.00	-.45**	--	-.39**	-.21*	.05	.02	.00
6. General Gender Typicality	.05	.20*	-.04	.43**	-.28**	--	.23**	.10	.04	-.07
7. Appearance Typicality	.14 ⁺	.19*	.04	.44**	-.36**	.24**	--	-.06	-.19*	.09
8. Deservingness	-.34**	-.15 ⁺	-.30**	.19*	-.17*	.09	.07	--	.67**	-.55**
9. Interviewer Favorability	-.24**	-.03	-.28**	.15 ⁺	-.07	.09	.13	.79**	--	-.59**
10. Interviewer Sexism	.24**	.18*	.18*	-.16 ⁺	.07	-.07	-.09	-.75**	-.73**	--

Note. Women's correlations are presented below the diagonal, men's above. ⁺ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 10

Study 2 Means and Standard Deviations for All Study Variables, Presented by Gender and Condition

	Acceptance Condition	Rejection Condition	<i>t</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
<i>Women</i>				
Competence	5.98 (.87)	6.44 (.56)	-3.72**	-.63
Likeability	5.82 (.98)	5.97 (.87)	-.95	-.16
Hireability	5.96 (1.04)	6.32 (.85)	-2.22*	-.40
Femininity	3.84 (1.09)	3.52 (1.33)	1.52	.26
Masculinity	3.21 (1.26)	3.62 (1.30)	-1.91 ⁺	-.32
General Gender Typicality	3.21 (1.16)	3.13 (1.02)	.43	.07
Appearance Typicality	2.28 (.66)	2.30 (.67)	-.16	-.03
Deservingness	2.77 (1.59)	1.73 (.92)	4.72**	.80
Interviewer Favorability	3.02 (1.53)	2.35 (1.02)	3.02**	.52
Interviewer Sexism	5.93 (1.44)	6.46 (.85)	-2.63**	-.45
<i>Men</i>				
Competence	5.93 (.82)	5.98 (.75)	-.39	-.06
Likeability	5.56 (.84)	5.41 (1.06)	.89	.17
Hireability	5.71 (1.03)	5.49 (1.12)	1.16	.18
Femininity	3.73 (1.04)	3.37 (1.12)	1.89 ⁺	.33
Masculinity	3.44 (1.23)	3.83 (1.30)	-1.75 ⁺	-.31
General Gender Typicality	2.98 (.97)	2.82 (1.17)	.90	.15
Appearance Typicality	2.10 (.73)	2.12 (.62)	-.16	-.03
Deservingness	2.72 (1.40)	2.56 (1.48)	.65	.11
Interviewer Favorability	2.85 (1.13)	2.73 (1.20)	.58	.10
Interviewer Sexism	5.84 (1.37)	5.99 (1.44)	-.62	-.11
<i>Total</i>				
Competence	5.96 (.84)	6.22 (.69)	-2.78**	-.33

Likeability	5.70 (.96)	5.69 (1.01)	.02	.01
Hireability	5.84 (1.04)	5.92 (1.07)	-.57	-.08
Femininity	3.79 (1.06)	3.45 (1.23)	2.34*	.30
Masculinity	3.32 (1.25)	3.72 (1.30)	-2.61**	-.31
General Gender Typicality	3.10 (1.06)	2.97 (1.10)	.95	.12
Appearance Typicality	2.20 (.70)	2.21 (.65)	-.21	-.01
Deservingness	2.75 (1.50)	2.14 (1.29)	3.60**	.43
Interviewer Favorability	2.94 (1.35)	2.54 (1.12)	2.64**	.28
Interviewer Sexism	5.88 (1.40)	6.23 (1.19)	-2.17*	-.27

Note. Standard deviations are presented in parentheses. ⁺ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 11

*Study 2 Partial Correlations of Participants' HS and BS scores with Applicant Ratings,
Presented by Gender and Condition*

	Women		Men		Total	
	HS	BS	HS	BS	HS	BS
<i>Acceptance Condition</i>						
Competence	-.23 ⁺	-.11	-.17	-.18	-.21**	-.15 ⁺
Likeability	-.00	.08	-.14	.19	-.10	.16 ⁺
Hireability	-.17	-.07	-.17	.03	-.21*	-.00
Femininity	-.07	-.03	-.23 ⁺	-.07	-.15 ⁺	-.04
Masculinity	.07	-.03	.30*	.41**	.18*	.16 ⁺
General Gender Typicality	-.07	-.00	-.07	-.12	-.10	-.03
Appearance Typicality	-.16	.11	-.11	.18	-.16 ⁺	.16 ⁺
Deservingness	.08	.11	.13	.02	.10	.07
<i>Rejection Condition</i>						
Competence	-.26*	-.05	-.31**	.10	-.33**	.07
Likeability	-.18	.02	-.17	-.10	-.23**	-.02
Hireability	-.29*	.03	-.33**	-.02	-.37**	.04
Femininity	-.05	.04	.05	-.10	-.01	-.02
Masculinity	.17	.03	.00	.22 ⁺	.09	.12
General Gender Typicality	-.25*	.13	.19	-.12	-.02	-.00
Appearance Typicality	-.13	.10	.08	-.01	-.05	.05
Deservingness	.18	.19	.17	.13	.23**	.11
<i>Total</i>						
Competence	-.19*	-.15 ⁺	-.22**	-.05	-.25**	-.08
Likeability	-.07	.02	-.18*	.03	-.18**	.06
Hireability	-.19*	-.08	-.26**	-.00	-.29**	.00
Femininity	-.07	.04	-.06	-.06	-.08	.00
Masculinity	.14	-.03	.09	.28**	.13*	.11 ⁺
General Gender Typicality	-.15 ⁺	.06	.10	-.10	-.06	-.01
Appearance Typicality	-.14	.10	-.03	.10	-.12 ⁺	.12 ⁺
Deservingness	.07	.21**	.17*	.08	.16**	.12*

Note. Partial correlations of BS (controlling for HS) and HS (controlling for BS) are presented. ⁺ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 12

Study 2 Fit Statistics for All Path Models Tested

	χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>NFI</i>	<i>NNFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i> (conf. interval)	<i>AIC</i>
Hypothesized Model	16.85	9	.94	.89	.93	.08 (.00 - .14)	-1.15
Revised Model	6.21	6	1.0	.96	1.0	.02 (.00 - .11)	-5.79
Unconstrained Model	6.96	4	.98	.95	.94	.07 (.00 - .16)	-1.04
Total Effects Model	109.5 4	6	.26	.28	-.47	.36 (.30 - .42)	97.54
Direct Effects Model	5.15	5	1.0	.97	.10	.02 (.00 - .12)	-4.85

Note. All models were nested within gender. Robust fit statistics are presented.

Table 13

*Study 2 Partial Correlations of Participants' HS and BS with Interviewer Ratings,
Presented by Gender and Condition*

	Women		Men		Total	
	HS	BS	HS	BS	HS	BS
<i>Acceptance Condition</i>						
Interviewer Favorability	.11	.11	.10	-.08	.09	.06
Interviewer Sexism	-.07	-.09	-.11	.16	-.11	.03
<i>Rejection Condition</i>						
Interviewer Favorability	.26*	.00	-.09	.15	.09	.07
Interviewer Sexism	-.03	-.03	.04	-.20	-.03	-.11
<i>Total</i>						
Interviewer Favorability	.13	.13	.02	.03	.09	.08
Interviewer Sexism	-.03	-.11	-.07	-.02	-.08	-.04

Note. Partial correlations of BS (controlling for HS) and HS (controlling for BS) are presented. * $p < .05$.

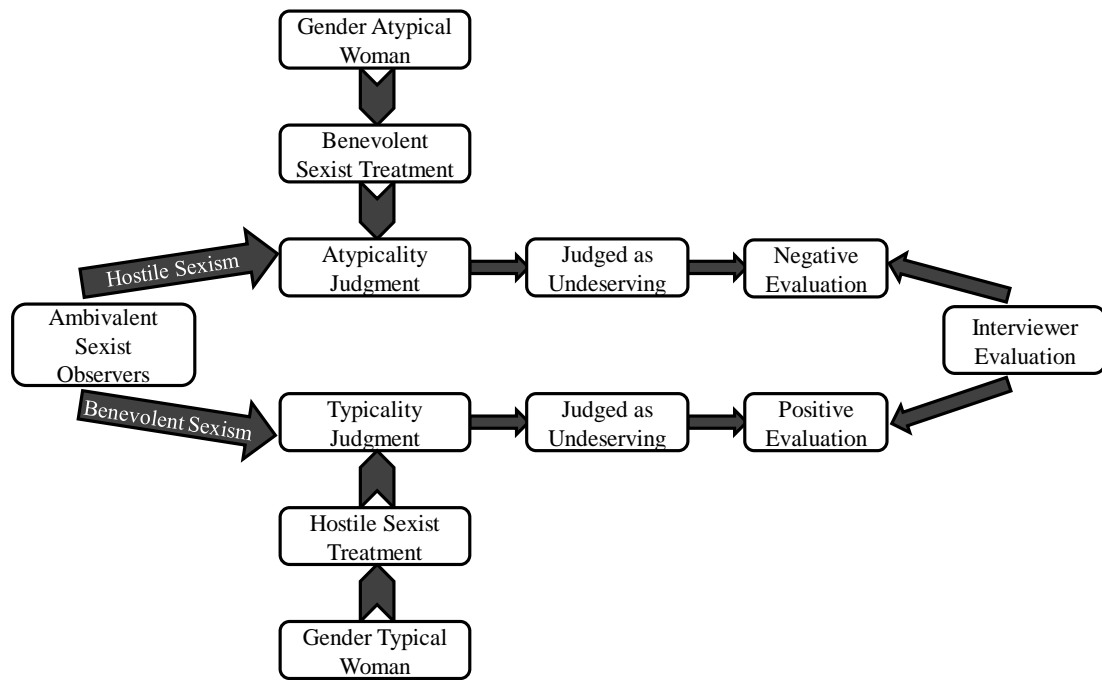


Figure 1. Model of Incongruent Sexism (MIS)

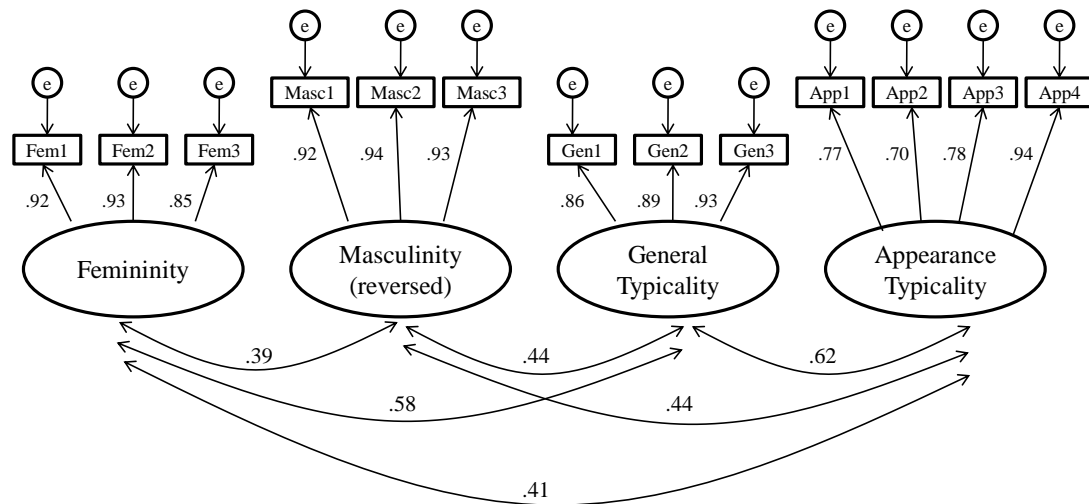
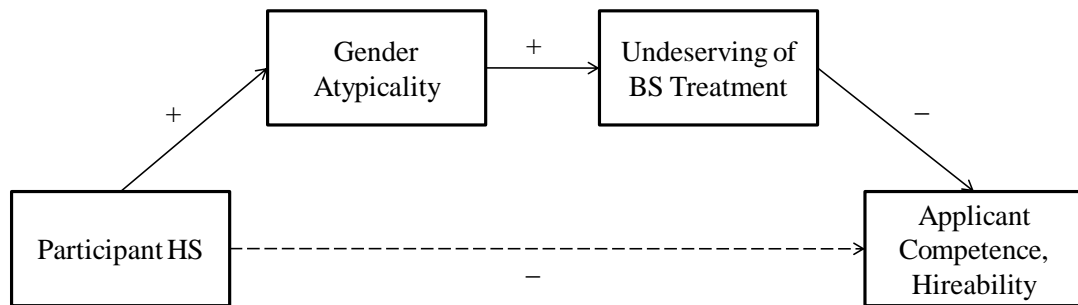


Figure 2. 4-factor confirmatory factor analysis of gender typicality measures. Standardized coefficients are presented. Coefficients are significant at $p < .05$ unless otherwise specified.

Gender Atypical Job, Benevolent Sexist Interviewer



Gender Typical Job, Hostile Sexist Interviewer

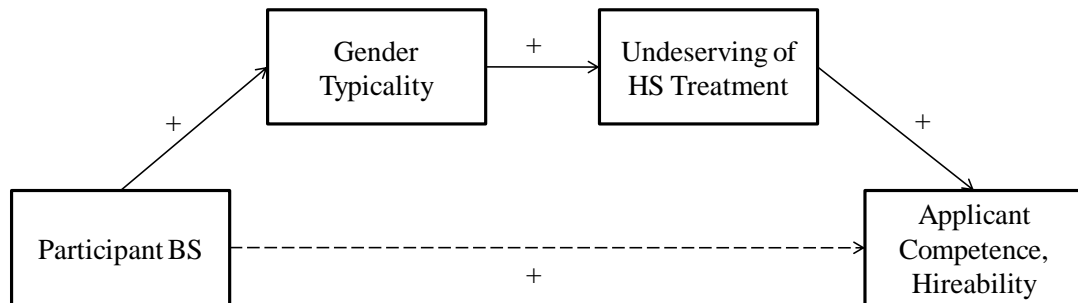


Figure 3. Anticipated path models tested in Study 1

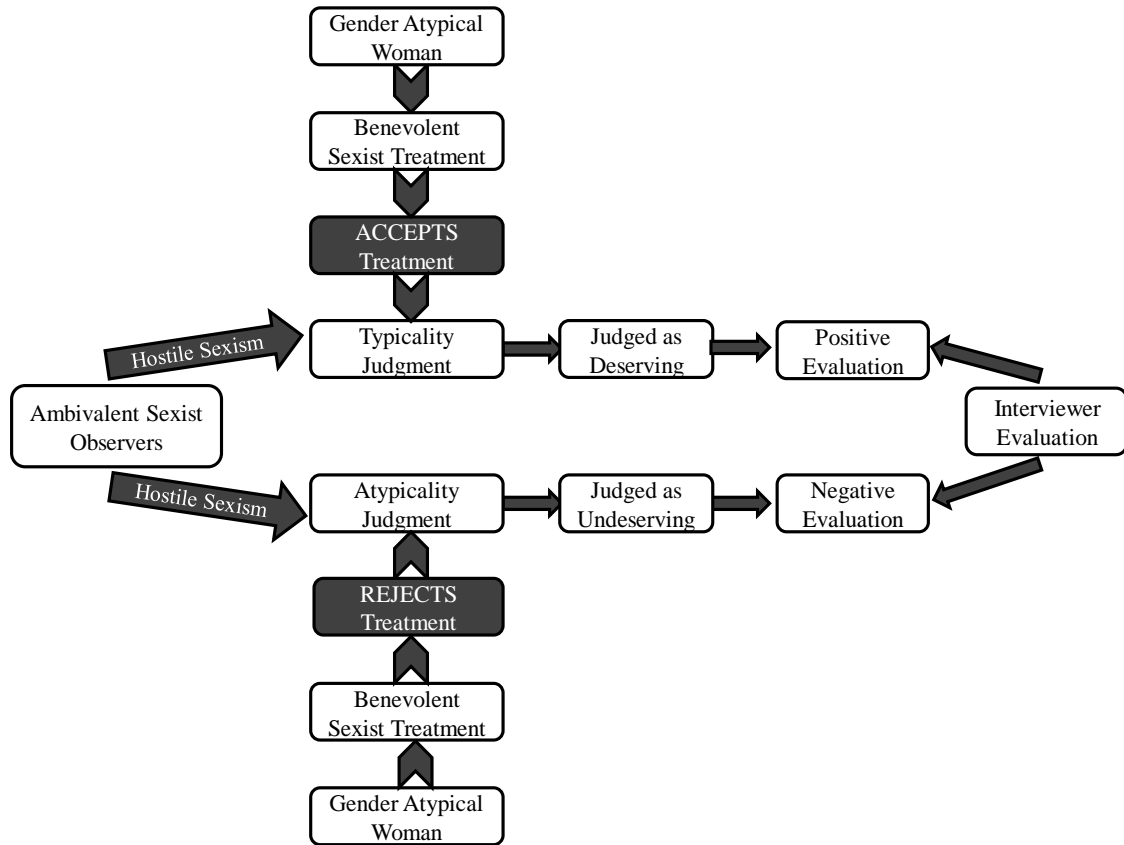


Figure 4. MIS with target response to sexist treatment added

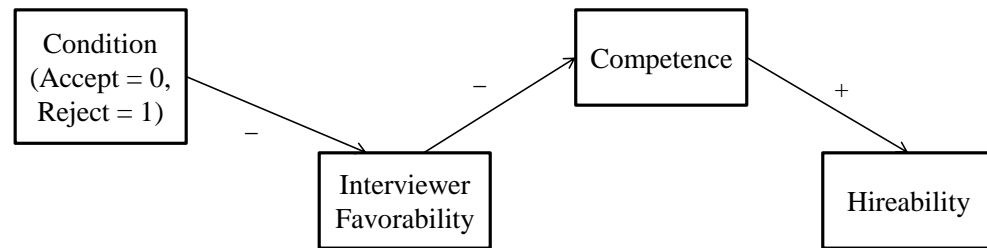


Figure 5. Paths specified in Study 2 Hypothesized Model. Note that the model was nested within gender (2 groups) and fully constrained.

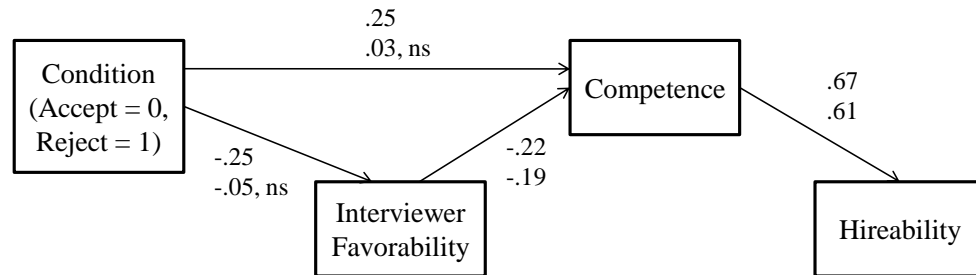


Figure 6. Results of the Study 2 Revised Model, which was nested within gender. Standardized coefficients are presented. All paths are significant ($p < .05$) unless otherwise noted. Women's path coefficients are presented above, and men's below.

Appendix A

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Relationships Between Men and Women

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree
Strongly	Somewhat	Slightly	Slightly	Somewhat	Strongly

- _____ 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 favors, such as hiring policies that favor 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 other 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.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree
Strongly	Somewhat	Slightly	Slightly	Somewhat	Strongly

- _____ 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 women 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.

Reverse scored: 3, 6, 7, 13, 18, 21

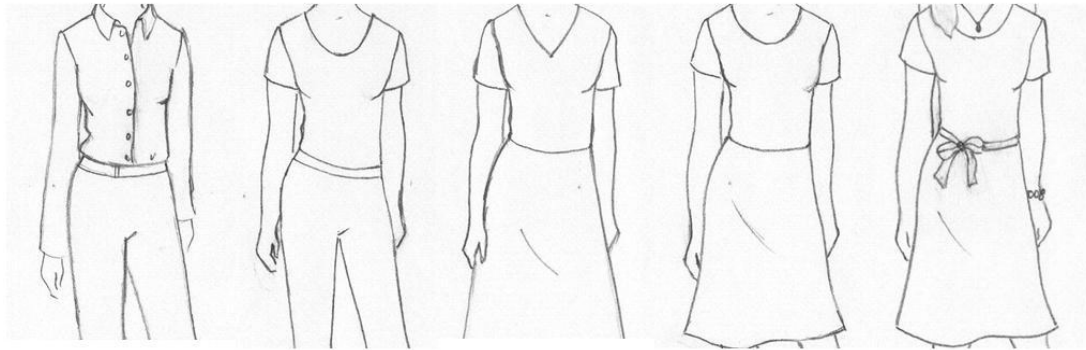
HS score = average of 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21

BS score = average of 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996)

Appendix B - Appearance Typicality Scale

1. Which of the following sketches best matches your impression of Lisa's outfit? (circle the appropriate letter)



A

B

C

D

E

2. Which of the following sketches best matches your impression of Lisa's hairstyle? (circle the appropriate letter)



A

B

C

D

E

3. Which of the following sketches best matches your impression of Lisa's shoes? (circle the appropriate letter)



A

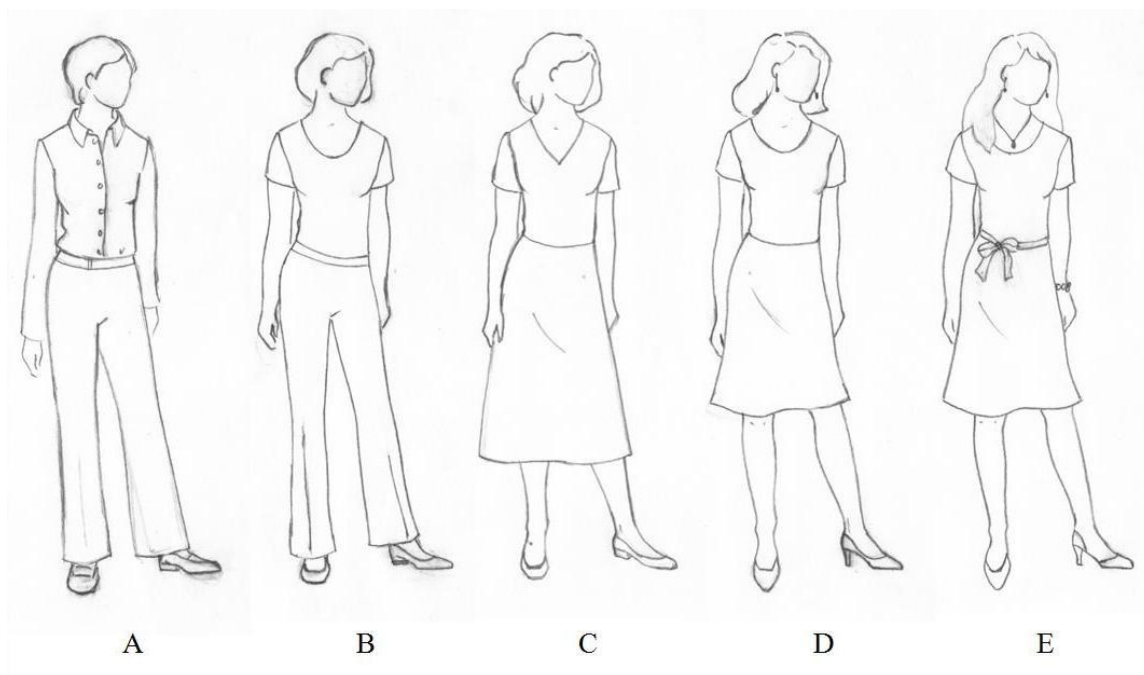
B

C

D

E

4. Which of the following sketches best matches your impression of Lisa's overall appearance? (circle the appropriate letter)



Appendix C

Study 1 Gender Typical Job Description:

The following ad was placed on a job-search website:

Grandview Elementary School, a public elementary school (grades K – 5) servicing Piscataway and the surrounding areas, is looking for a 3rd grade general education teacher. Responsibilities include teaching the assigned curriculum by preparing daily structured presentations in math, science, grammar and composition, and history and geography. Preparing, administering, and grading student tests is also required. Other responsibilities include holding parent-teacher conferences, preparing students for two musical performances each year, attending staff meetings and training workshops, and participating in occasional evening and weekend school events. Applicants should be motivated individuals with 2 to 5 years of previous teaching experience. A teaching license is required; a bachelor's degree is preferred. Piano-playing skills or other musical ability is a plus.

Job Applicant:

Lisa Williams

B.A. (2007) Rutgers University

GPA: 3.5

1 year student teaching experience, Randolphville Elementary, Piscataway

1 year substitute teaching experience, Randolphville Elementary, Piscataway

2 years 4th grade general education teaching experience, Parsons Elementary, North Brunswick

NJ teaching license (2007)

Study 1 Gender Atypical Job Description:

The following ad was placed on a job-search website:

New Brunswick Auto Repair, a local automotive repair facility servicing the New Brunswick area for over 15 years, is looking for a skilled auto body technician. Responsibilities include assisting other technicians in performing technical activities, explaining technical diagnoses and needed repairs to non-mechanical individuals which may include other teammates and customers as required, learning new technical information and techniques in formal training sessions in order to stay abreast with rapidly changing automotive technology, keeping store management aware of mechanical repair problems as they occur, and maintaining an organized service department. Applicants should be motivated individuals with 2 to 5 years of automotive mechanical diagnosis, problem-solving and repair experience. A valid driver's license

and high school diploma are required; a bachelor's degree is preferred. Must have excellent customer service skills as well as computer skills. I-Car training, ASE certification is a plus.

Job Applicant:

Lisa Williams

B.A. (2007) Rutgers University

GPA: 3.5

1 year lube technician, Jiffy Lube of Edison

1 year assistant technician experience, Bridgewater Collision

2 years auto body technician experience, Bridgewater Collision

Automotive Service Excellence (ASE) certification (2008)

Appendix D

Interview Transcript (Gender Typical Job, Benevolent Sexist Interviewer)

Interviewer: Hello there, Miss Williams, come on in. My name is James Martin and I'm the director of hiring here at Grandview Elementary. Let me get you a seat.

Lisa: It's nice to meet you. Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today.

Interviewer: Very nice to meet you too, sweetheart. Ok, let's get started. First, why are you interested in the 3rd grade general education position? Are you sure you want this kind of job - because it can be tough on a young lady.

Lisa: Well, I've spent the last 4 years working part-time and then full-time at Randolphville and then Parsons elementary, and now I'd like to broaden my experiences and work for a larger school that handles a wider age range of students.

Interviewer: Right – I see that you have a good deal of teaching experience. That's good. But Randolphville and Parsons are different types of schools, you know. At Grandview, a lady's softness and charm are wasted. We deal with a wide range of students, in terms of their previous academic preparation and skills, and we focus on individualized learning. Maybe you wouldn't like being stuck as a disciplinarian and not getting to enjoy the lighter aspects of teaching.

Lisa: Yes, I realize Grandview is different from the other schools I've worked at, and I am fully prepared to make that transition. I have been tutoring children in a one-on-one setting for years, so I feel ready to take on this new challenge.

Interviewer: I see that you have your NJ teaching license – that's good. This position involves a lot of hard work. It is physically and mentally demanding. Do you think you can handle the workload? We have a lot of boys with behavior problems, and they could use a woman like you to smooth out their rough edges.

Lisa: Yes, I think I can. As a 4th grade teacher at Parsons, I planned my own curriculum and dealt with a large class size, and even supervised two student teachers. So I think I am ready to take the next step and fully handle whatever issues may come up in working with the children at Grandview.

Interviewer: Do you have any musical experience? Our students really enjoy creative experiences, so we ask all of our teachers to plan a musical or dramatic presentation to be performed at the school assemblies. It can be tough to keep the kids in line – the male teachers would probably be happy to help a nice young lady like you if they start acting out though.

Lisa: I used to play the piano when I was younger, so hopefully I can pick it up again well enough to work with the students. I am sure that I could learn any skills necessary to prepare an appropriate class performance for the school.

Interviewer: Ok, great. Lastly, I need to know if you're comfortable coming in early and leaving late, when it may be dark outside. We haven't had much trouble with crime, but to be honest I'm not sure that I feel comfortable asking a woman to be the last one in the parking lot late at night. Of course one of the security officers would accompany you, but I don't want you to feel scared.

Lisa: Although I don't think it would be my favorite part of the job, I think that I would be able to handle that responsibility.

Interviewer: Well honey, thank you very much for coming in today. We have a couple more candidates to interview, but I'll be in touch in a few days.

Lisa: Thanks for the opportunity. Have a good day.

Interview Transcript (Gender Typical Job, Hostile Sexist Interviewer)

Interviewer: Please come in and take a seat. My name is James Martin and I'm the director of hiring here at Grandview Elementary. Go ahead and sit right there.

Lisa: It's nice to meet you. Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today.

Interviewer: Nice to meet you too. Ok, let's get started. First, why are you interested in 3rd grade general education position? Why would a woman want to work in this environment?

Lisa: Well, I've spent the last 4 years working part-time and then full-time at Randolphville and then Parsons elementary, and now I'd like to broaden my experiences and work for a larger school that handles a wider age range of students.

Interviewer: Right – I see that you have a good deal of teaching experience. That's good. But Randolphville and Parsons are different types of schools. At Grandview, we deal with a wide range of students, in terms of their previous academic preparation and skills, and we focus on individualized learning. I'm not sure a woman can be as effective as a man at getting things done in this kind of environment.

Lisa: Yes, I realize Grandview is different from the other schools I've worked at, and I am fully prepared to make that transition. I have been tutoring children in a one-on-one setting for years, so I feel ready to take on this new challenge.

Interviewer: I see that you have your NJ teaching license – that's good. This position involves a lot of hard work. It is physically and mentally demanding. Do you think you can handle the workload better than the men already working here? We have a lot of boys with behavior problems, and in the past, we've had trouble with women teachers getting overly offended and making a big deal about some of the comments the boys around here make even though they're all in good fun.

Lisa: Yes, I think I can. As a 4th grade teacher at Parsons, I planned my own curriculum and dealt with a large class size, and even supervised two student teachers. So I think I am ready to take the next step and fully handle whatever issues may come up in working with the children at Grandview.

Interviewer: Do you have any musical experience? Our students really enjoy creative experiences, so we ask all of our teachers to plan a musical or dramatic presentation to be performed at the school assemblies. To be frank, it seems like most of the women we hire simply aren't cut out to handle the disciplining that comes with trying to keep the kids in line during rehearsals.

Lisa: I used to play the piano when I was younger, so hopefully I can pick it up again well enough to work with the students. I am sure that I could learn any skills necessary to prepare an appropriate class performance for the school.

Interviewer: Lastly, I need to know if you're comfortable coming in early and leaving late, when it may be dark outside. We haven't had much trouble with crime, but I know a woman might be scared to be the last one in a parking lot late at night. Just because you're scared though, that doesn't mean I'm going to take a security guard off his post to escort you to your car.

Lisa: Although I don't think it would be my favorite part of the job, I think that I would be able to handle that responsibility.

Interviewer: Well, thanks for coming in today. We have a couple more guys to interview, but I'll be in touch in a few days.

Lisa: Thanks for the opportunity. Have a good day.

Interview Transcript (Gender Atypical Job, Benevolent Sexist Interviewer)

Interviewer: Hello there, Miss Williams, come on in. My name is James Martin and I'm the director of hiring here at New Brunswick Auto Body. Let me get you a seat.

Lisa: It's nice to meet you. Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today.

Interviewer: Very nice to meet you too, sweetheart. Ok, let's get started. First, why are you interested in the auto technician position? Are you sure you want this kind of job - because it can be tough on a young lady.

Lisa: Well, I've spent the last 4 years working part-time and then full-time at a collision center, and now I'd like to broaden my experiences and work for a company that works on a wider variety of mechanical issues and reaches a larger customer base.

Interviewer: Right – I see that you have a good deal of auto experience. That's good. But a collision center is a different type of shop, you know. At New Brunswick Auto Body, a lady's softness and charm are wasted. We focus on handling a variety of complex mechanical and technical problems, as well as do a good deal of custom work for our clients. Maybe you wouldn't like being stuck in the garage and not getting to enjoy the lighter aspects of customer relations.

Lisa: Yes, I realize New Brunswick Auto Body is different from the collision center, and I am fully prepared to make that transition. I have been doing custom detail work on my own car and friends' vehicles for years, so I feel ready to take on this new challenge.

Interviewer: I see that you are ASE certified – that's good. This position involves a lot of hard work. It is physically and mentally demanding. Do you think you can handle the workload? We have a lot of men working here in the shop, and they could use a woman around to smooth out their rough edges.

Lisa: Yes, I think I can. As a technician at the Bridgewater Collision, I handled multiple clients daily, and even advised the assistant technicians with their work. So I think I am ready to take the next step and fully handle whatever problems clients bring into the shop.

Interviewer: Do you have any computer experience? At times this job requires familiarity with billing and organizational software that we use to keep the shop running smoothly. But that can be a little complicated – the guys would probably be happy to help a nice young lady like you do whatever you need, though.

Lisa: I do not have specific experience with billing software, but I am familiar with basic computer operations such as Word, Excel, the internet, etc. I am sure that I could learn any skills necessary for understanding the protocol employed at New Brunswick Auto Body.

Interviewer: Ok, great. Lastly, I need to know if you're comfortable opening and closing the shop. We haven't had much trouble with crime, but to be honest I'm not sure that I feel comfortable assigning a woman to be the last one in the parking lot late at night. Of course one of the security officers would accompany you, but I don't want you to feel scared.

Lisa: Although I don't think it would be my favorite part of the job, I think that I would be able to handle that responsibility.

Interviewer: Well honey, thank you very much for coming in today. We have a couple more candidates to interview, but I'll be in touch in a few days.

Lisa: Thanks for the opportunity. Have a good day.

Interview Transcript (Gender Atypical Job, Hostile Sexist Interviewer)

Interviewer: Please come in and take a seat. My name is James Martin and I'm the director of hiring here at New Brunswick Auto Body. Go ahead and sit right there.

Lisa: It's nice to meet you. Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today.

Interviewer: Nice to meet you too. Ok, let's get started. First, why are you interested in the auto technician position? Why would a woman want to work in this environment?

Lisa: Well, I've spent the last 4 years working part-time and then full-time at a collision center, and now I'd like to broaden my experiences and work for a company that works on a wider variety of mechanical issues and reaches a larger customer base.

Interviewer: Right – I see that you have a good deal of auto experience. That's good. But a collision center is a different type of shop. At Costco, we don't care about presentation. At New Brunswick Auto Body, our guys focus on a variety of mechanical and technical problems as well as do a good deal of custom work for our clients. I'm not sure a woman can be as effective as a man at getting things done in this kind of environment.

Lisa: Yes, I realize New Brunswick Auto Body is different from the collision center, and I am fully prepared to make that transition. I have been doing custom detail work on my own car and friends' vehicles for years, so I feel ready to take on this new challenge.

Interviewer: I see that you are ASE certified – that's good. This position involves a lot of hard work. It is physically and mentally demanding. Do you think you can handle the workload better than the men already working here? In the past, we've had trouble with women mechanics getting overly offended and making a big deal about some of the comments the guys around here make, even though they're all in good fun.

Lisa: Yes, I think I can. As a technician at the Bridgewater Collision, I handled multiple clients daily, and even advised the assistant technicians with their work. So I think I am ready to take the next step and fully handle whatever problems clients bring into the shop.

Interviewer: Do you have any computer experience? At times this job requires familiarity with billing and organizational software that we use to keep the shop running smoothly. To be frank, it seems like most women simply aren't cut out to handle the business side of things.

Lisa: I do not have specific experience with billing software, but I am familiar with basic computer operations such as Word, Excel, the internet, etc. I am sure that I could learn any skills necessary for understanding the protocol employed at New Brunswick Auto Body.

Interviewer: Lastly, I need to know if you're comfortable opening and closing the shop. We haven't had much trouble with crime, but I know a woman might be scared to be the last one in the parking lot late at night. Just because you're scared though, that doesn't mean I'm going to take a security guard off his post to escort you to your car.

Lisa: Although I don't think it would be my favorite part of the job, I think that I would be able to handle that responsibility.

Interviewer: Well, thanks for coming in today. We have a couple more guys to interview, but I'll be in touch in a few days.

Lisa: Thanks for the opportunity. Have a good day.

Appendix E

*bolded sections represent differing applicant responses by response condition (acceptance vs. rejection)

Interview Transcript (Acceptance of BS treatment)

Interviewer: Hello there, Miss Calloway, come on in. My name is Dave Jenkins and I'm the director of hiring here at New Brunswick Auto Body. Let me get you a seat.

Megan: It's nice to meet you. Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today.

Interviewer: Very nice to meet you too, sweetheart. Ok, let's get started. First, why are you interested in the auto technician position? Are you sure you want this kind of job - because it can be tough on a young lady.

Megan: I appreciate the concern – **It was tough at first**, but I've spent the last 4 years working part-time and then full-time at a collision center, and now I'd like to broaden my experiences and work for a company that works on a wider variety of mechanical issues and reaches a larger customer base.

Interviewer: Right – I see that you have a good deal of auto experience. That's good. But a collision center is a different type of shop, you know. At New Brunswick Auto Body, a lady's softness and charm are wasted. We focus on handling a variety of complex mechanical and technical problems, as well as do a good deal of custom work for our clients. Maybe you wouldn't like being stuck in the garage and not getting to enjoy the lighter aspects of customer relations.

Megan: **You're right, I do tend to prefer interacting with clients.** I do realize New Brunswick Auto Body is different from the collision center, but I am fully prepared to make that transition. I have been doing custom detail work on my own car and friends' vehicles for years, so I feel ready to take on this new challenge.

Interviewer: I see that you are ASE certified – that's good. This position involves a lot of hard work. It is physically and mentally demanding. Do you think you can handle the workload? We have a lot of men working here in the shop, and they could use a woman around to smooth out their rough edges.

Megan: **Yes, sometimes a woman's touch can go a long way.** I think I can handle the workload. As a technician at the Bridgewater Collision, I handled multiple clients daily, and even advised the assistant technicians with their work. So I think I am ready to take the next step and fully handle whatever problems clients bring into the shop.

Interviewer: Do you have any computer experience? At times this job requires familiarity with billing and organizational software that we use to keep the shop running smoothly. But that can be a little complicated – the guys would probably be happy to help a nice young lady like you do whatever you need, though.

Megan: I do not have specific experience with billing software, but I am familiar with basic computer operations such as Word, Excel, the internet, etc. I am sure that I could learn any skills necessary for understanding the protocol employed at New Brunswick Auto Body. **Of course I always appreciate all the help I can get.**

Interviewer: Ok, great. Lastly, I need to know if you're comfortable opening and closing the shop. We haven't had much trouble with crime, but to be honest I'm not sure that I feel comfortable assigning a woman to be the last one in the parking lot late at night. Of course one of the security officers would accompany you, but I don't want you to feel scared.

Megan: Although I don't think it would be my favorite part of the job, I think that I would be able to handle that responsibility. **I would certainly take you up on your offer of having a security officer accompany me though.**

Interviewer: Well honey, thank you very much for coming in today. We have a couple more candidates to interview, but I'll be in touch in a few days.

Megan: Thanks for the opportunity. Have a good day.

Interview Transcript (Rejection of BS treatment)

Interviewer: Hello there, Miss Calloway, come on in. My name is Dave Jenkins and I'm the director of hiring here at New Brunswick Auto Body. Let me get you a seat.

Megan: It's nice to meet you. Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today.

Interviewer: Very nice to meet you too, sweetheart. Ok, let's get started. First, why are you interested in the auto technician position? Are you sure you want this kind of job - because it can be tough on a young lady.

Megan: **Well, to be honest I have not found it to be difficult as a woman.** I've spent the last 4 years working part-time and then full-time at a collision center, and now I'd like to broaden my experiences and work for a company that works on a wider variety of mechanical issues and reaches a larger customer base.

Interviewer: Right – I see that you have a good deal of auto experience. That's good. But a collision center is a different type of shop, you know. At New Brunswick Auto Body, a lady's softness and charm are wasted. We focus on handling a variety of complex mechanical and technical problems, as well as do a good deal of custom work for our clients. Maybe you wouldn't like being stuck in the garage and not getting to enjoy the lighter aspects of customer relations.

Megan: **I enjoy all aspects of the business, and am capable of performing technical work as well as any mechanic.** I do realize New Brunswick Auto Body is different from the collision center, but I am fully prepared to make that transition. I have been doing custom detail work on my own car and friends' vehicles for years, so I feel ready to take on this new challenge.

Interviewer: I see that you are ASE certified – that's good. This position involves a lot of hard work. It is physically and mentally demanding. Do you think you can handle the workload? We have a lot of men working here in the shop, and they could use a woman around to smooth out their rough edges.

Megan: I'm sure the other employees could use another capable technician, regardless of gender. I think I can handle the workload. As a technician at the Bridgewater Collision, I handled multiple clients daily, and even advised the assistant technicians with their work. So I think I am ready to take the next step and fully handle whatever problems clients bring into the shop.

Interviewer: Do you have any computer experience? At times this job requires familiarity with billing and organizational software that we use to keep the shop running smoothly. But that can be a little complicated – the guys would probably be happy to help a nice young lady like you do whatever you need, though.

Megan: I do not have specific experience with billing software, but I am familiar with basic computer operations such as Word, Excel, the internet, etc. I am sure that I could learn any skills necessary for understanding the protocol employed at New Brunswick Auto Body. **I'm sure I won't need any help with day to day operations.**

Interviewer: Ok, great. Lastly, I need to know if you're comfortable opening and closing the shop. We haven't had much trouble with crime, but to be honest I'm not sure that I feel comfortable assigning a woman to be the last one in the parking lot late at night. Of course one of the security officers would accompany you, but I don't want you to feel scared.

Megan: Although I don't think it would be my favorite part of the job, I think that I would be able to handle that responsibility. **I wouldn't want to take a security guard off his or her post just to walk me to my car.**

Interviewer: Well honey, thank you very much for coming in today. We have a couple more candidates to interview, but I'll be in touch in a few days.

Megan: Thanks for the opportunity. Have a good day.

Endnotes

¹ I also computed a 2 factor model with femininity, general gender typicality and appearance typicality loading on one factor, and masculinity on a second factor, $\chi^2 = 713.15$, $df = 64$, $CFI = .77$, $NFI = .76$, $NNFI = .72$, $RMSEA = .19$ (.18 - .20), $AIC = 585.15$, which did not fit the data adequately. Additionally, I computed two 3 factor models with: 1) femininity and general gender typicality loading on one factor, appearance typicality on a second factor, and masculinity on a third, $\chi^2 = 463.57$, $df = 62$, $CFI = .86$, $NFI = .84$, $NNFI = .82$, $RMSEA = .16$ (.14 - .17), $AIC = 349.57$, and 2) femininity loading on one factor, general gender typicality and appearance typicality on a second factor, and masculinity on a third, $\chi^2 = 322.28$, $df = 61$, $CFI = .91$, $NFI = .89$, $NNFI = .88$, $RMSEA = .12$ (.11 - .14), $AIC = 200.28$. None of these models fit the data well; therefore the 4-factor model presented in text is preferred.

² Because the preliminary analyses in Study 1 showed a significant main effect of participant race on evaluations of the interviewer, I tested the relationship between participants' sexism scores and interviewer ratings controlling for participant race. Specifically, I computed separate regression equations with participants' HS, BS, and 3 dummy variables fully representing the 4 racial categories, predicting interviewer favorability and sexism. The pattern of results observed in Table 7 did not change as a result of adding participant race to the equation. Men's HS and women's BS positively predicted interviewer favorability in the BS interviewer condition, whether or not participant race was accounted for.

³ Because the preliminary analyses in Study 2 showed a significant main effect of participant race on applicant competence, I tested the relationships between response condition, participant sexism and applicant competence, controlling for race using 3 dummy variables that fully represented the 4 racial categories. Results were the same regardless of whether or not race was included in the regression model.

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