Chivalry is far from dead:

Misperceiving the link between men's benevolent and hostile sexism

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Although prejudice has traditionally been conceptualized as a univalent antipathy towards a social group, sexist prejudice represents a more nuanced ambivalent attitude that mixes both hostile and benevolent elements. Theory and research on ambivalent sexism indicates that hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes towards women reinforce one another and function together to perpetuate women's disadvantaged social status. Indeed, at both the individual and population level, endorsement of benevolent sexism tends to be positively correlated with endorsement of hostile sexism. However, because benevolent sexism has a positive veneer people may fail to recognize that a person who is high in benevolent sexism is likely to also be high in hostile sexism whereas a person who is low in benevolent sexism is likely to be low in hostile sexism. In particular, I hypothesized that because benevolent sexism is the dominant cultural model for how men should express their respect for women, a man who rejects benevolent sexism may be at risk of being misperceived as a hostile sexist who disrespects women rather than recognizing that such a man may reject benevolent sexism because he promotes women's independence and equality with men. By contrast, people may more readily understand that a woman may reject benevolent sexism for such egalitarian reasons.

To test these hypotheses I conducted a series of studies in which I experimentally manipulated a target individual's gender and then varied whether this individual endorsed or rejected either benevolent sexist beliefs or hostile sexist beliefs. After participants viewed this target's profile they were asked to estimate the target's levels of the other variety of sexism, their support for female professionals, their qualities as a spouse and parent, and their likelihood of committing domestic abuse (Studies 1-3). In addition to these perceptions of the target's sexism-related attitudes and behaviours I also measured participants' perceptions of the target's more general warmth and agreeableness, relationship qualities, and moral values (Study 3). Results showed that a male target who rejected benevolent sexism (BS) was perceived to be more hostilely sexist, less supportive of female professionals, less good as a parent and spouse, and more likely to perpetrate domestic violence compared to a male target who endorsed BS and also compared to a female target who rejected BS (Studies 1 and 2). This result suggests that people

indeed perceive an illusory negative relationship between men's BS and HS, whereas for women they recognize that low BS can go along with low HS. The results of Study 2 replicated the results of Study 1 and addressed some issues with how endorsement versus rejection was operationalized. Study 3 demonstrated that people's misunderstanding of the relationship between BS and HS in men leads them to evaluate a man who rejects BS more negatively on warmth, agreeableness, interpersonal qualities, and morality. Finally, Study 4 examined the accuracy of participants' judgments of the low BS male target from Studies 1-3 by comparing participants' predictions to the scores of real-life participants whose BS scores matched those of the target. Despite the relative rarity of univalent sexists in real life, participants were much more likely to assume that low BS men were univalent hostile sexists rather than recognizing that it is actually more likely that men who reject BS also reject HS.

Cumulatively these results indicate that people have a fundamental misunderstanding of what a man's endorsement versus rejection of benevolent sexism indicates about his gender-related attitudes and behaviour as well as his broader character. The bias to assume that a man's rejection of benevolent sexism indicates disrespect for women provides insights into the social psychological processes that help to perpetuate benevolent sexist ideology. The societal implications of these misperceptions and directions, possible moderators and cross-cultural variations, and directions for future research are discussed.

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Introduction

"They say, 'You can't say that because it's sexist.' I say: 'What's sexist about it?' I respect women more than I respect men. ...I have great respect, admiration, and I cherish women."
– Donald Trump

"I don't think women are better than men, but I do think men are a lot worse than women."
– Louis C.K.

Imagine that a woman is seeking a romantic partner and goes on a couple dates. Her first date mentions that he is looking for a special someone to complete his life. He greets the woman with flowers, hurries ahead so that he can open the door for her, pulls out her chair at the dining table, and insists on covering their restaurant bill. Her second date doesn't bring flowers, or hold open the door, or pull out her chair, and when they finish dinner he splits the restaurant bill with her, 50/50. Which of these men would the woman more likely to think would support her goals and aspirations if he became her life partner? Which of these men is more likely to have hostile opinions about women? Do the first man's chivalrous expressions of regard for women indicate that he is likely to respect and support the women in his life? By contrast, does the second man's lack of chivalry indicate that he has poor regard for women, or does it suggest that he considers women and men to be equals? In everyday life, we face many situations such as this, where we have to guess another person's broader values and attitudes towards gender and relationships based on observing samples of their behaviour. Psychological theory and research provides insights into the behaviours that might indicate that a person genuinely respects women and the behaviours that might be signals of sexism.

For many years the social psychological study of sexism prejudice was shaped by Allport's (1954) classic definition of prejudice as an antipathy, which set the course on research on sexism in social psychology from the conceptualization of old-fashioned sexism (e.g., "A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man"; Attitudes Toward Women Scale; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1978) to contemporary sexism (e.g., "Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States"; Modern Sexism Scale; Swim, Aikin, Hall, &

Hunter, 1995). Focused solely on negatively valenced attitudes toward women, social psychologists did not take into account the subjectively positive attitudes toward women, such as those expressed in the opening quotes, that can co-exist with, and even support, antipathy – until Glick and Fiske (1996) revolutionized the field with their conceptualization of sexism as a complex, mixed-valence construct consisting of two components: *hostile sexism* and *benevolent sexism*.

Ambivalent Sexism Theory

Unlike other prejudiced attitudes, which are formed in contexts of intergroup segregation and status competition, sexist attitudes are formed in a context where women and men share interdependent lives: "That a sexist might reject women at work yet fervently embrace them at home cuts to the core of how ambivalence toward women differs from racial ambivalence" (Glick & Fiske, 2014). Male dominance coupled with heterosexual interdependence create the ambivalence in men's attitudes toward women. Glick and Fiske (1996) conceptualized *hostile sexism* (HS) as negatively-valenced attitudes toward women that are more typically recognized as sexist (e.g., perceptions that feminists and women seek to overpower men and control men using their sexuality), whereas *benevolent sexism* (BS) describes subjectively positive but patronizing attitudes that promote traditional gender roles and depict women as weak, pure creatures who deserve men's protection and adoration. At its very core, benevolent sexism consists of *protective paternalism* dictating that men should protect women (e.g., rescuing women first in the event of a disaster), *complementary gender differentiation* allowing women to "level the playing field" in their social status by ascribing positive traits to women in domains that do not threaten male privilege (e.g., the perception that women are morally superior or more culturally refined than men), and *heterosexual intimacy* which romanticizes women as objects to be placed on pedestals (e.g., the love of a good woman is required for men to be whole).

Although benevolent sexism seems less problematic than hostile sexism due to its subjectively positive content, as putting women on a pedestal may be perceived as romantic or respectful gestures, social psychological research has discovered the insidious effects of benevolent sexism. Together,

benevolent sexism and hostile sexism serve to maintain inequality by respectively "rewarding" women for confining themselves to traditional gender roles and punishing those who challenge the status quo. Research has well-established the complementary nature of benevolent sexism and hostile sexism on the individual level and the international level. Hostile and benevolent sexism have been found to positively correlate in the .40 to .50 range in the United States (Glick & Fiske, 1996), such that individuals who have high benevolent sexist attitudes are also likely to have high hostile sexist attitudes. A cross-national study conducted in 19 countries found that not only did hostile and benevolent sexism correlate strongly across nations (r = .89), but national levels of hostile and benevolent sexism also predicted national gender equality using objective indices of gender-related development and women's economic and political participation published by the United Nations (Glick et al, 2000).

Social psychologists found other disturbing effects of benevolent sexism. Exposure to benevolent sexist attitudes can undermine women's engagement in collective action for social change (Becker & Wright, 2011), as well as increase support for the status quo (Jost & Kay, 2005). With its subjectively positive tone benevolent sexism can disguise signs of a controlling romantic partner, as Moya, Glick, Expósito, De Lemus, and Hart (2007) found that women were more likely to accept restrictions imposed by their male partners that were stated with a protective paternalistic justification (i.e., concerns about her safety) than restrictions stated with a hostile justification (i.e., women were less capable). Additionally, Glick, Ugurlu, Ferreira, and Aguiar de Souza (2002) found that both benevolent and hostile sexism correlate positively with attitudes that legitimize wife abuse. Individuals with high benevolent sexism (vs. low BS) are also more likely to blame women who have been sexually assaulted by an acquaintance (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003), or women who were perceived to have violated traditional gender role expectations (Viki & Abrams, 2002).

Disguised in positive overtones, benevolent sexism remains inconspicuous and unchallenged in daily situations. Indeed, Barreto and Ellemers (2005) found that benevolent sexists are evaluated more positively than hostile sexists and are also less likely to be perceived as sexist. As a result, people tend to underestimate the negative impact of benevolent sexism relative to women's reports of their real-life

experiences (Bosson, Pinel, & Vandello, 2009). Another troubling implication is that women, unaware of its negative consequences, may even endorse benevolent sexism as a reaction to avoid the wrath of hostile sexists, as simply being informed of men's hostile views (vs. neutral or positive views) toward women increased women's endorsement of benevolent sexism (Fischer, 2006).

Laypeople's Perceptions of Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

> *Cages. Consider a birdcage. If you look very closely at just one wire in the cage, you cannot see the other wires. If your conception of what is before you is determined by this myopic focus, you could look at that one wire, up and down the length of it, and be unable to see why a bird would not just fly around the wire any time it wanted to go somewhere. Furthermore, even if, one day at a time, you myopically inspected each wire, you still could not see why a bird would gave trouble going past the wires to get anywhere. There is no physical property of any one wire, nothing that the closest scrutiny could discover, that will reveal how a bird could be inhibited or harmed by it except in the most accidental way. It is only when you step back, stop looking at the wires one by one, microscopically, and take a macroscopic view of the whole cage, that you can see why the bird does not go anywhere; and then you will see it in a moment. It will require no great subtlety of mental powers. It is perfectly obvious that the bird is surrounded by a network of systematically related barriers, no one of which would be the least hindrance to its flight, but which, by their relations to each other, are as confining as the solid walls of a dungeon. – Marilyn Frye, Oppression*

Consider Frye's analogy of the birdcage: just as one cannot examine each cage wire individually to realize the full extent to which a bird is trapped in its cage, those who view benevolent sexism independently of its broader contexts and its relationship with hostile sexism may deem it a trivial and unworthy issue of contention. Yet, this seems to be a common way in which the lay public perceives benevolent sexism. An oft-used argument to criticize feminism is that feminists should be less concerned with acts of chivalry (e.g., the classically overused example of men opening doors for women, or otherwise acting in ways that are benevolently sexist) and instead should focus on "real issues" women face. When Becker and Swim (2010) published their research findings that women and men often overlook benevolent sexism as a form of sexism, it attracted the attention of the media and resulted in criticism and mocking by numerous news articles. For example, USA Today published a column titled "When 'science' looks for sexism, it finds it" (2011) and The Daily Mail published an article titled "Men

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who hold open doors for women are SEXIST not chivalrous, feminists claim" (2011). An article in The Telegraph also described the research: "If the age of chivalry is dead, it appears a group of feminist psychologists are trying to ensure it is never revived, concluding that a man who helps his wife with her heavy shopping is actually guilty of 'benevolent sexism'" (Bloxham, 2001). From these reactions to those who challenge benevolent sexism and the research of Becker and Swim (2010) it seems that people indeed do not view benevolent sexism to be as problematic as hostile sexism, suggesting that they do not perceive the link that exists between BS and HS.

Although social psychologists have demonstrated the positive association between benevolent sexism and hostile sexism time and time again (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick & Fiske, 1997; Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Glick & Fiske, 2011; Sibley & Becker, 2012), we have not yet reached a consensus on whether laypeople accurately perceive the positive association between benevolent sexism and hostile sexism. Indeed, prior investigations of this topic have reported conflicting results. Rudman and Kilianski (1998) first examined this question by presenting female participants with profiles of non-sexist (low HS and low BS), hostile sexist (high HS only), and benevolent sexist (high BS only) male targets using items from the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI), then measuring participants' ratings of each profile's likeability in a within-subjects design. As a proxy to testing whether (female) participants actually perceived a relationship between (men's) benevolent sexism and hostile sexism, Rudman and Kilianski asked participants to then rate the likelihood that the hostile sexist's responses and benevolent sexist's responses were from the same participant. Since female participants expressed that it was unlikely that both set of responses were from the same person, Rudman and Kilianski inferred that women do not perceive the positive association between hostile sexism ad benevolent sexism.

Challenging the results and conclusions of Rudman and Kilianski (1998), Bohner, Ahlborn, and Steiner (2010) conducted follow-up research that addressed several issues. Instead of first informing participants that the target profiles belonged to different people and then asking them the likelihood that two of the profiles actually belonged to the same person, Bohner et al. added a fourth target profile depicting an ambivalent sexist target, reducing logical inconsistencies and the possibility of demand

characteristics. They argued that the ambivalent sexist target condition would be critical in order to test whether women perceived a positive relationship between men's benevolent and hostile sexism – if women did perceive the association between men's benevolent and hostile sexism then they should rate the ambivalent sexist target (high BS and high HS) as the most typical of all four male targets. To maintain consistency in the contents of the target profiles as all four profiles were presented in a within-subjects design, they modified the profiles to contain the targets' responses on both the BS and HS subscales, such that the non-sexist had *low BS with low HS*, the hostile sexist had *low BS with high HS*, the benevolent sexist had *high BS with low HS*, and the ambivalent sexist had *high BS with high HS*. Bohner et al. (2010) adapted Rudman's and Kilianski's method of presenting the target profiles in a within-subjects design, in which female participants rated the likeability and typicality of the male targets. Since their results indicated that women rated the ambivalent sexist target as the most typical whereas the benevolent sexist target was rated the least typical (though most likeable), Bohner et al. (2010) concluded that women were indeed aware that men's benevolent sexist attitudes go hand in hand with hostile sexist attitudes.

While they addressed methodological ambiguities in prior research, Bohner et al.'s methods also had limitations that challenge their claim that women perceive the positive association between men's benevolent and hostile sexism. Bohner et al. (2010) employed the same within-subjects design as in Rudman and Kilianski (1998) in which female participants were presented with all four target profiles and then asked to rate the various targets on their typicality. The within-subjects nature of their studies may have led participants to reason more analytically about the issue rather than reporting their intuitive responses to each target. In general, research on social judgment and decision-making indicates that within-subjects designs often cue people to override their heuristic, intuitive responses to whatever problems they are considering (Kahneman, 2000, 2003). For this reason, between-subjects designs are the recommended methodology for studying intuitive judgments (Kahneman, 2003). Because the studies by Rudman and Kilianski (1998) and Bohner et al. (2010) used a within-subjects design and because the participants in these studies were asked to rate the "typicality" of the various targets these procedures

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may have led the participants to compare the targets to each other and think about the targets in the context of a population distribution. These features of the design may have led participants to view the task more as an analytic problem rather than as an evaluation of specific targets.

To the extent that this within-subjects design prompted participants to think more analytically about the questions, it may have led them to consider the targets in a more abstract, detached manner than they would have if they were asked to judge each target separately in a between-subjects design. Contrasting multiple targets to each other may have made it less likely that participants rely on intuitive responses connected to their readily available schemas and stereotypes. For example, seeing a low BS male target in isolation may activate the cultural stereotype of "gentleman," and the ability to relate the target to this "gentleman" schema may lead BS to be viewed favorably. However, when a low BS male target is presented alongside a non-sexist target and a hostile sexist target and an ambivalent sexist target a perceiver might reflect more carefully and deliberately on the connections between hostile and benevolent sexism, which may help them to recognize the positive association between these sexist attitudes. Thus, a between-subjects design may reveal intuitive biases in the associations that lay people perceive between BS and HS that might not be revealed if people are prompted to think more carefully through a within-subjects design.

Further, in order to maintain content consistency between the four profiles, Bohner et al. presented each target's BS and HS attitudes together, which reduced the ecological validity of their research. Being given information about a target's BS *and* HS attitudes is far removed from real-life contexts where perceivers often have to infer a target's broader attitudes from limited information, as people often infer others' attitudes using snippets that are readily available in a specific social context (e.g., a person perusing an online dating profile, going on a first date, or simply overhearing a stranger's remark on the bus) without having access to others' wide range of attitudes in multiple contexts.

The Impact of Target Gender

Most importantly, both Bohner et al. (2010) and Rudman and Kilianski (1998) asked female participants to evaluate male target profiles, meaning that they only tested the perceived association between BS and HS among female perceivers who were evaluating male targets. This is problematic because there are reasons to suspect that perceptions of targets who endorse or reject benevolent sexism might differ depending on the target's gender. In particular, a target's rejection of BS may be perceived as signalling something different about the target's attitudes, values, and personality if the target happens to be a man than if the target happens to be a woman.

Consider the following scenario: A woman got on a crowded bus and was offered a seat by a male passenger, but kindly declined his offer to give up his seat for her. Observers on the bus are likely to think the woman acted *against* her own self-interest for declining a comfortable seat on a full bus. However, consider this alternate scenario: A woman got on a crowded bus and the male passenger sitting closest to where she was standing did not offer her his seat. Observers on the bus are likely to think the man was acting in his own self-interest: perhaps he was unwilling to give up his seat because he cared more about his own comfort than about being a "gentleman," or the comfort of the woman standing next to him.

Whereas women's rejection of benevolent sexism may be construed as their refusal of an "advantage" given to them by men, hence less likely to stem from self-serving motivations, men's rejection of benevolent sexism may be construed as their refusal to give women the "gift" of chivalry – the way in which men have traditionally been socialized to value women – and therefore could potentially stem from self-serving motivations. The assumption that people's attitudes and behaviours are guided by self-interest is an especially prevalent notion in North America – so much that it has been extensively studied and documented as the *norm of self-interest* (Miller, 1999). People have a tendency to overestimate the influence of self-interest in others' behaviours, even when it has little influence on their own behaviour. For example, Miller and Ratner (1998) found that even though a financial incentive for blood donation had little effect on participants' self-reported willingness to give blood, they

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overestimated the impact of the financial incentive on others' willingness to donate. Similarly, although male and female students did not actually differ on their level of support for a health plan proposing full abortion coverage, they overestimated female students' (and underestimated male students') support for the plan due to the perception that women were more vested on the matter than men (Miller & Ratner, 1998). This suggests that self-interest is a commonly accessible schema for people to interpret others' behaviours, hence men who reject benevolent sexist norms may readily be interpreted as being motivated by self-interest.

The notion that people interpret BS as working in favour of women's self-interest but against men's self-interest was used by Rudman and Fetterolf (2014) to explain people's misperceptions of the rates of endorsement of BS by men versus women. Rudman and Fetterolf (2014) asked male perceivers to estimate how the typical woman would respond to items on the ASI and they asked female perceivers to estimate how the typical man would respond to the ASI. When Rudman and Fetterolf (2014) compared these metaperceptions to the average ASI scores of actual men and women they found that women underestimated men's BS scores whereas men overestimated women's BS scores. Rudman and Fetterolf (2014) applied the norm of self-interest to explain these results. Rudman and Fetterolf (2014) speculated that women underestimated men's levels of BS and men overestimated women's BS because both male and female perceivers assume that BS works in women's interest and against men's interest and the norm of self-interest leads them to assume that BS will be endorsed more strongly by the group whose interests it serves. Rudman and Fetterolf (2014) also found evidence that laypeople mistakenly believe that HS and BS are negatively correlated. Specifically, there was a negative correlation between men's ratings of the typical woman's BS and HS and there was also a negative correlation between women's ratings of the typical man's BS and HS. The negative correlation in laypeople's ratings of the typical man's and typical woman's BS and HS run counter to the consistent pattern of positive correlations that psychologists have found between actual men's and women's BS and HS scores.

Although there may be a bias to overestimate women's endorsement of BS based on an assumption that it serves women's self-interest, there are abundant cultural representations of women

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who defy benevolent sexist norms. Examples of such representations include egalitarian and feminist women who wish to be treated equitably, and independent women who refuse to be treated as damsels in distress. As a result, even though one may perceive women who reject benevolent sexism as acting against their self-interest, there may be other schemas available to perceivers that would support an alternative explanation that these women may simply value equality over chivalrous but patronizing gestures. These schemas may help lay perceivers to understand how a woman's rejection of BS may be congruent with their self-interest after all.

By contrast our culture lacks readily available positive representations of men who reject BS. Men have been traditionally socialized to express their positive regard for women by engaging in benevolently sexist acts, such as offering women their protection, affection, and financial support. While there are prevalent representations of men who value women in these traditional, chivalrous ways, cultural representations of men who value women as true equals are still relatively rare. The lack of such representations of men expressing egalitarian valuing of women may provide laypeople with no readily available schemas to understand how men's rejection of BS might indicate respect and positive regard for women. Without available schemas to interpret men's rejection of BS as something other than prioritizing their self-interest over expressing value for women, people may be biased to attribute men's rejection of BS to their devaluation of women – i.e. by assuming that these men are misogynists. Thus, men who openly reject BS may be perceived as being hostile toward women and having negative interpersonal attitudes in general, whereas men who openly endorse BS may be perceived as being pro-women and having positive interpersonal attitudes because they are assumed to have acted in accordance with norms for how men should express their valuing of women even at the sacrifice of the men's immediate self-interest.

There are thus reasons to expect that dissenting from BS will be interpreted differently depending on the gender of the dissenter. To explore this possibility it is necessary to move beyond the methods of Bohner et al. (2010) and Rudman and Kilianski (1998), which focused on women's perceptions of male

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targets, and collect data that can be used to compare social perceptions of men who endorse or reject BS to perceptions of women who endorse or reject BS.

Overview of Studies

Examining these questions about laypeople's perceptions of associations between BS and HS, a study requires a study design that: 1) moves beyond measuring female perceivers' evaluations of male targets to measure *female and male perceivers* evaluations of targets of *both* sexes, 2) directly measures perceivers' inferences about the targets' attitudes and behaviours as opposed to their typicality, and 3) presents each target profile in a between-subjects design, which should better capture intuitive judgments than previous within-subjects studies did. With the limitations of prior research in mind, this thesis explores the perceived relationship between BS and HS using a between-subjects design that directly measures female and male perceivers' inferences about female and male targets' attitudes and behaviours toward women.

Studies 1-3 were designed to empirically test whether laypeople's theories of sexism lead them to assume that men, but not women, have univalent attitudes toward women. In these studies participants, as part of a study on person perception, were presented with the survey responses of the target, who was allegedly a participant in a previous study. The target's responses serve as the study manipulation, such that the target's gender (i.e. male or female), Sexism Type (i.e., presentation of the target's responses to either the BS subscale *or* the HS subscale), and Sexism Level (i.e. either low or high sexism) were varied, resulting in 8 target conditions that were randomly assigned to participants. Upon reading a target's responses on the BS subscale *or* HS subscale, participants were asked to provide their thoughts about the target and make inferences about the target's attitudes and behaviours based on their impression of the target.

If people have misconceptions about the relationship between men's benevolent and hostile sexism, then they may falsely attribute high hostile sexism to the low BS male target and low hostile sexism to the high BS male target. Thus, I hypothesize that:

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(H1) The low BS male target (vs. the high BS male target) will be perceived to be less supportive of female professionals, less good of a spouse and parent, and more likely to perpetrate domestic violence.

Because of the more readily available schemas that can positively frame women's motivation for rejecting

BS, I further hypothesize that:

(H2a) The low BS male target (vs. the low BS female target) will be perceived to be less supportive of female professionals, less good of a spouse and parent, and more likely to perpetrate domestic violence.

(H2b) The low BS female target (vs. the high BS female target) will be not be perceived to be less supportive of female professionals, less good of a spouse and parent, and less likely to perpetrate domestic violence.

Finally, if people indeed perceive men's rejection of BS as antipathy toward women, then I predict that:

(H3) The low BS male target will be perceived to be similar to the high HS male target on his support for female professionals, quality as a spouse and parent, and propensity to perpetrate domestic violence. In other words, men's low BS will be interpreted as signalling the same negativity towards women that high HS would signal.

<center>**Study 1**</center>

In Study 1, I experimentally manipulated a target's gender (female vs. male), Sexism Type (benevolent sexism vs. hostile sexism), and Sexism Level (low vs. high) and asked participants to predict the target's attitudes on the other dimension of sexism as well as related attitudes and behaviours. I predicted that the low BS male target would be perceived as higher in HS, less supportive of female professionals, less good of a spouse and parent, and more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than the high BS male target (H1).

In contrast, since there are more readily available cultural representations of women (vs. men) who would reject benevolent sexism, I predicted that the female targets' level of BS would have a weaker effect on target evaluations, and thus the low BS female target would also be perceived as lower in HS, more supportive of female professionals, a better spouse and parent, and less likely to perpetrate domestic violence than the low BS male target (H2a). Similarly, I predict that the low BS female target (vs. high BS female target) would be perceived to be no higher in HS, no more supportive of female professionals, no worse as a spouse and parent, and no more likely to perpetrate domestic violence (H2b). Finally, if people indeed expect men to have univalent attitudes toward women, then the low BS male target would be perceived similarly to the high HS male target (H3). If Hypotheses 1-3 are supported, then I would expect the 3-way interaction between Sexism Type, Sexism Level, and Target Gender to be statistically significant in the analysis of the dependent measures.

Method

Participants. Three-hundred and ninety-six American adults (248 females, 146 males, and 2 unidentified; aged 17-65, $M = 31.6$, $SD = 10.94$) participated in the study for $0.50 USD via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Mturk), a crowdsourcing platform that is commonly used for participant recruitment in social psychological research. Research suggested that data collected through Mturk participants are more demographically diverse than typical college samples (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). No

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participants correctly guessed the purpose or hypotheses of the study when probed for suspicion, therefore no participants have been excluded from analysis.

Procedure and materials. Participants were self-selected for an online study on "how people form impressions of others and how these impressions influence their predictions of others' behaviours," in which they were given information about a single target, who was allegedly a real-life participant from a previous study. I manipulated the target's gender, as well as the level and type of sexism in the target's survey response, resulting in 8 different target profiles across conditions.

At the start of the study, participants were informed that there were two parts to the study. Specifically, they were told, "1) You will be shown survey responses from a participant in a previous study. Then, you will answer some questions about that person based on your impression. 2) You will then answer some questions about yourself." Critical instructions – such as informing participants when Part 1 (reporting the target's perceived attitudes and behaviours) ended and Part 2 (participant's own self-report) began – were placed on transition screens to ensure that participants had read the instructions prior to clicking to the next page.

Half the participants were informed that the survey responses belonged to a male target and the other half were told they belonged to a female target. Specifically, they were told, "You are being presented data from a previous study. The next page contains survey responses from a [male/female] participant in that study (Appendix A)." Level of sexism was manipulated by the target's agreement (high sexism) or disagreement (low sexism) with items from the BS subscale (e.g., "Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess"; Appendix B), or the HS subscale (e.g., "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men"; Appendix C) which were indicated through the target's response on a fully-labeled 6 point rating scale, ranging from 0 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. The BS and HS subscale items that were typically reverse-coded in the ASI were modified so that all scale items were of the same valence (such that higher scores indicate higher sexism). This was done so that all subscale items were consistently in the same valence and were more easily readable and interpretable by participants. Hence, the target's responses were designed such that they varied within subscale items but

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remained in the same valence. Specifically, low sexist targets reported *strong to slight disagreement* with subscale items (11 items; $M = 1.00$, $SD = .74$), whereas high sexist targets reported *slight to strong agreement* (11 items; $M = 4.00$, $SD = .74$).

Immediately after viewing the target's responses on one subscale of the ASI, participants had the opportunity to provide open-ended comments about the target. Specifically, the instructions indicated, "In the text box below, please provide any thoughts you have about the previous participant and [his/her] comments." This open-ended question was designed to prompt participants to integrate the information they received into an overall impression of the target. There was no time or character limit for participants' comments, allowing participants to proceed to the measures on the next page when they were ready.

Next, participants were instructed to predict the target's responses on the complementary subscale of the ASI based on their impression of the target's responses. Specifically, they were instructed, "Based on your impression of the previous participant, you will now predict [his/her] responses on some of the other survey questions. Please predict the degree to which you think [he/she] would agree or disagree with the following statements." Participants in the BS target conditions were presented items from the HS subscale (e.g., "Women exaggerate problems they have at work") and asked to select responses, on a fully-labeled 6-point rating scale, ranging from 0 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree), to indicate how they guessed the target would have responded to each item. Similarly, participants in the HS target conditions were presented items from the BS subscale (e.g., "Women should be cherished and protected by men") and asked to select responses, on the same 6-point rating scale, to indicate how they guessed the target would have responded to each item.

Next, participants were given further instructions to predict the target's behaviours using a 10-point response format to indicate his/her likelihood of engaging in different behaviours (1 = not at all likely, 10 = extremely likely). The target's support for female professionals ($\alpha = .94$; Appendix D) was measured using 5 items (e.g., "How likely is this person to vote for a policy aiming to increase women's participation in fields where they are currently underrepresented?"). The target's quality as a spouse and

parent (α = .90; Appendix E) was measured using 3 items (e.g., "How likely is this person to be a good [husband/wife]?"). The target's likelihood of perpetrating domestic violence (α = .94; Appendix F) was measured using 4 items (e.g., "How likely is this person to be physically abusive toward [his/her] spouse?").

After responding to measures assessing their impression of the target, participants were informed that the first portion of the study was completed and that in the following portion of the study they would be completing measures about themselves. They then received the full 22-item ASI and indicated their own responses to the BS subscale ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.05$; α = .89) and HS subscale ($M = 2.18$, $SD = 1.09$; α = .92). They also answered demographics questions including their age and gender, followed by a suspicion check and debriefing.

Results

The analyses for prediction of target's BS and HS scores were conducted separately, since only participants in the BS target condition predicted the target's HS and only participants in the HS target condition predicted the target's BS. I conducted separate ANOVAs for the HS and BS prediction measures in which Sexism Level and Target Gender were entered as factors[1].

Prediction of target's BS score. The Target Gender × HS Level interaction did not reach significance, $F(1, 192) = 1.99$, $p = .17$; Table 1-1). There was a main effect of Target Gender, such that the female target ($M = 3.46$, $SD = .97$) was perceived to have higher BS than the male target ($M = 3.17$, $SD = .92$), $F(1, 192) = 3.67$, $p = .057$. No other main effects or interactions reached significance (all $ps > .17$).

Table 1-1
Prediction of targets' BS scores by Target Gender and HS level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low HS	3.21	0.99	3.35	0.87
High HS	3.13	0.85	3.58	1.06

[1] Inclusion of participant gender as a factor did not impact the results of the current research, thus participant gender was not considered further.

Prediction of target's HS score. There was a main effect of Target Gender, such that the female target ($M = 2.70$, $SD = 1.00$) was rated lower on hostile sexism than the male target ($M = 3.76$, $SD = 1.16$), $F(1, 196) = 57.85$, $p < .001$. The main effect was qualified by a significant Target Gender × Target BS Level interaction, $F(1, 196) = 25.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$ (Table 1-2). No other main effects or interactions reached significance (all $ps > .58$).

Simple effects analyses revealed that the low BS male target was perceived to have higher hostile sexism than both the high BS male target ($F(1, 196) = 9.89$, $p = .002$) and the low BS female target ($F(1, 196) = 80.57$, $p < .001$), supporting H1 and H2a respectively. In contrast, the low BS female target was perceived to have lower hostile sexism than the high BS female target ($F(1, 196) = 15.75$, $p < .001$), supporting H2b.

The remaining analyses include all participants because participants in each target condition received the same dependent measures. I conducted an ANOVA in which Sexism Type, Sexism Level, and Target Gender were entered as factors.

Table 1-2
Prediction of targets' HS scores by Target Gender and BS level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	4.07	1.12	2.32	0.89
High BS	3.45	0.95	3.09	0.96

Support for female professionals. As hypothesized, I found a significant three-way interaction of Target Gender × Sexism Type × Sexism Level, $F(1, 388) = 16.80$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$ (Table 1-3). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 388) = 2418.19$, $p < .001$. Simple effects analyses revealed that, consistent with H1, the low BS male target was perceived as less supportive compared to the high BS male target, $F(1, 388) = 25.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .061$), and consistent with H2a the low BS male target was also perceived as less supportive compared to the low BS female target, $F(1, 388) = 66.86$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .147$).

Table 1-3
Target's perceived support for female professionals by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	4.27	1.70	7.13	1.59
High BS	6.04	1.89	6.88	2.06
Low HS	7.23	1.33	7.54	1.65
High HS	3.77	1.63	5.04	2.13

Consistent with H2b, the low BS female target was perceived to be no less supportive of female professionals than the high BS female target, $F(1, 388) = .528$, $p = .468$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$). Moreover, consistent with H3, no significant difference was found in support for female professionals attributed to the low BS male target and to the high HS male target, $F(1, 388) = 1.92$, $p = .17$. Additionally, the high BS male target was perceived to be more supportive than the high HS male, $F(1, 388) = 41.04$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .096$.

Quality as spouse and parent. Again as hypothesized, I found a significant three-way interaction of Target Gender × Sexism Type × Sexism Level, $F(1, 388) = 31.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .075$ (Table 1-4). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 388) = 4231.45$, $p < .001$. Simple effects analyses revealed that, consistent with H1, the low BS male target was perceived as a less good spouse and parent compared to the high BS male target, $F(1, 388) = 52.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$), and consistent with H2a the low BS male target was also perceived as a less good spouse and parent compared to the low BS female target, $F(1, 388) = 36.08$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .085$).

Table 1-4
Target's perceived quality as a spouse and parent by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	5.26	2.22	7.39	1.82
High BS	7.86	1.65	7.44	1.78
Low HS	8.03	1.32	7.50	1.81
High HS	5.87	1.68	6.84	1.89

Consistent with H2b, the low BS female target was perceived as no worse as a parent and spouse than the high BS female target, $F(1, 388) = .016$, $p = .90$, $\eta_\rho^2 < .001$).

Moreover, consistent with H3, a marginally significant difference was found in quality as a spouse and parent attributed to the low BS male target and to the high HS male target such that the low BS male target was perceived as a marginally worse spouse and parent, $F(1, 388)) = 2.92$ $p = .088$.

Additionally, the high BS male target was perceived to be a better spouse and parent than the high HS male target, $F(1, 388) = 30.80$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .074$.

Propensity to perpetrate domestic violence. The three-way interaction of Target Gender $\times$ Sexism Type $\times$ Sexism Level again emerged as significant, $F(1, 388) = 32.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .077$ (Table 1-5). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 388) = 9252.56$, $p < .001$.

Table 1-5
Target's perceived propensity to perpetrate domestic violence
by Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	4.96	2.30	2.55	1.69
High BS	3.74	2.15	3.76	1.96
Low HS	2.49	1.15	2.79	1.51
High HS	4.53	1.90	3.11	1.60

Consistent with H1, simple effects analyses showed that the low BS male target was perceived to have higher propensity to perpetrate domestic violence than the high BS male target, $F(1, 388) = 11.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .028$, and consistent with H2a the low BS male target was also perceived to have a higher propensity to perpetrate domestic violence than the low BS female target $F(1, 388) = 44.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .103$.

Additionally, H2b was supported as the low BS female target was not perceived to be any more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than the high BS female target. The observed pattern among the low BS and high BS female targets was the reverse of that for the male targets, such that the high BS

female target was actually perceived as more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than the low BS female target, $F(1, 388) = 11.19$, $p = .001$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .028$.

Finally, consistent with H3, there was no significant difference in the likelihood of perpetrating domestic violence attributed to the low BS male target compared to the high HS male target, $F(1, 388) = 1.36$, $p = .2.44$. Additionally, the high BS male target was perceived to be less likely to perpetrate domestic violence than the high HS male target, $F(1, 388) = 4.75$, $p = .030$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .012$.

Discussion

Consistent with my hypotheses the low BS male target was perceived to be higher in hostile sexism, less supportive of female professionals, less good of a spouse and parent, and more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than both the high BS male target (H1) and the low BS female target (H2a). In contrast, the low BS female target was perceived to have lower hostile sexism, not significantly different on support for female professionals or her quality as a spouse and parent, and less likely to be abusive than the high BS female target (H2b).

In addition, whereas the male target's rejection (vs. endorsement) of BS led to him being perceived as having a negative relationship with women and a more globally negative impression, the female target's rejection (vs. endorsement) of BS led to being perceived as having a positive relationship with women and better overall impression. Overall, Study 1's results suggest that laypeople expect men – but not women – to have univalent attitudes toward women. This expectation is so pervasive that men's rejection of benevolent sexism could lead to reputational costs.

Why do participants have such negative perceptions of the low BS male target? Participants' open-ended responses about the targets suggested that the low BS male target sparked very mixed responses. For example, he was perceived by some to be uninterested in women or hostile towards women (e.g., "I believe through his answers, he is either single and bitter, homosexual and not interested in women, or has a girlfriend or wife but does not respect her"), while some thought he was a supporter of equality (e.g., "He seems to see women as equal to men"), and others commented on their ambiguous

or conflicted views of the target (e.g., "It is hard to tell if he either does not like women, or simply sees them as equal to men"). In contrast, comments about the low BS female target were generally more favourable, conveying a more confident impression that the target was strong (e.g., "She feels a man does not have to provide for a woman. She seems to be a modern and independent woman") and endorsed egalitarian values (e.g., "Seems like she thinks men and women are quite equal, and may even be somewhat 'feminist'"). Whereas participants attributed the female target's low BS to her egalitarian attitudes, their attributions for the male target's low BS were mostly negative or ambiguous at best, suggesting that perceivers may view a man's BS attitudes as a proxy for the way he treats women, but view a woman's BS attitudes as a reflection of her independence and competence. These findings further support the idea that men who reject chivalry and other forms of benevolent sexism face reputational costs and may be misperceived as having misogynous (as opposed to egalitarian) attitudes.

Strikingly, it is women's *endorsement* of benevolent sexism and men's *rejection* of benevolent sexism that increase the perceived likelihood of them perpetrating domestic violence. This contrast may be due to women's strong endorsement of BS being perceived as their felt entitlement to BS (e.g., feeling that she is entitled to be placed on a pedestal by men), as one participant commented that "[the high BS female] seems to at least slightly think that women are better than men and should be held above men".

Moreover, when the four items from the domestic violence measure were examined individually for the female target, results showed that the item with the strongest effect was the target's likelihood of perpetrating *emotional* abuse, suggesting that people perceive women's high BS as a strong indicator of potential emotional manipulation of their spouse. The high BS male's endorsement of benevolent sexism, in contrast, seemed to be conjuring an image of a man who reveres women which may make it seem unlikely that he would harm his spouse in the eyes of perceivers who assume that men's sexism is univalent.

Interestingly, although the Target Gender × BS Level interaction was significant for participants' perceptions of the target's HS, the Target Gender × HS Level interaction was not significant for participants' perceptions of the target's benevolent sexism. This may in part be due to subtyping –

specifically, the HS subscale pertains more specifically to attitudes about non-traditional women (e.g., feminists and women who "complain" about sexism or seek to challenge male privilege). As such, participants may think that the target's attitudes toward non-traditional women are independent of their attitudes toward traditional women (e.g., mothers and homemakers). That is, whereas the low BS male target may be hostile toward *all* women (for not valuing traditional women, who are typically perceived as the most "deserving" of paternalistic protection), the high HS male target who is hostile toward non-traditional women may still value *traditional* women.

Study 2

Study 1 demonstrated that men who reject benevolent sexism were perceived to be less supportive of female professionals, less good fathers and spouses, and more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than men who endorse benevolent sexism and women who reject benevolent sexism. Study 2 was designed in order to replicate these results and to rule out a possible confound in Study 1's manipulation of Sexism Level. In Study 1, the typically reverse-coded items in the ASI (e.g., "Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men") were re-written such that all items in the BS and HS subscales were of the same valence (with higher scores indicating higher sexism). Thus, low sexism was operationalized by the target's *disagreement* with all items in the BS or HS subscale, while high sexism was operationalized by their *agreement* with all subscale items.

Since low sexism was always accompanied by disagreement (and high sexism was accompanied by agreement), it is possible that participants perceived low sexist targets in Study 1 as relatively disagreeable individuals. In order to rule out this possibility, an additional independent variable was added to Study 2 to manipulate the target's agreement vs. disagreement, creating a 2 (Target Gender) × 2 (Sexism Type) × 2 (Sexism Level) × 2 (Scale Wording : original vs. reversed) factorial design.

In the reversed wording version, the BS and HS subscale items were reworded as anti-BS and anti-HS belief statements. Thus, in this reworded version a low BS (HS) target was operationalized as expressing *agreement* with several anti-BS (anti-HS) statements, whereas a high BS (HS) target was operationalized as expressing *disagreement* with the same anti-BS (anti-HS) statements. I predicted that it would be the content of the target's beliefs – i.e. low vs. high sexism - rather than the particular form of expressing those beliefs that would influence impressions of the target. Thus, the results of Study 1 would be observed for both the original and the reversed scale wordings. Specifically, I predicted that a low BS male would be perceived as less supportive of female professionals, a less good father and spouse, and more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than a high BS male or a low BS female, regardless of whether his low BS was expressed by disagreeing with pro-BS statements, as in Study 1, or agreeing with anti-BS statements, as in the new condition of Study 2.

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Method

      Participants. Eight-hundred and two American adults (482 females, 317 males, 3 unidentified; aged 18-75, $M = 36.40$, $SD = 13.06$) participated in the study for $0.50 USD via Amazon's Mechanical Turk.

      Procedure and materials. As in Study 1, participants self-selected to take part in a study on person perception. Study 2 followed the same procedure and used the same materials with the notable addition of a reversed version of the subscale manipulation.

      When given the target's alleged responses on either the BS or HS subscale, half the participants saw responses to the original version of the subscale that was used in Study 1 (i.e. where higher agreement indicated endorsement of sexism), and the other half saw responses to a reversed version of the subscale (i.e. where higher agreement indicated rejection of sexism). For example, an item from the BS subscale in the original version was "In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men," which in the reversed version condition (Appendix G) was changed to "In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men." Another item from the original version of the HS subscale was "Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist," which in the reversed version condition (Appendix H) was changed to "Most women do not interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist."

      After reading the target's response on the assigned subscale, participants were asked to predict the target's support of female professionals, quality as a spouse and parent, and propensity to perpetrate domestic violence.

Results

      As in Study 1, the analyses for prediction of target's BS score or HS scores were conducted separately as only participants in the BS target condition predicted the target's HS and only participants in the HS target condition predicted the target's BS. I conducted ANOVAs for the HS and BS prediction measures in which Sexism Level, Target Gender, and scale wording were entered as factors.

Prediction of target's BS score. The 3-way interaction between HS Level, Target Gender, and Scale Wording was marginally significant, $F(1, 388) = 3.83$, $p = .051$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$, however simple effects analyses showed that none of the original-reversed scale wording comparisons within each Sexism Level × Target Gender cells were significant (all $ps > .095$).

Collapsing across wording condition, the HS Level and Target Gender 2-way interaction emerged as significant, $F(1, 388) = 14.29$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .036$ (Tables 2-1 and 2-2). Further analyses revealed that whereas the high HS female target was perceived to have higher BS than the low HS female target ($F(1, 388) = 4.45$, $p = .036$, $\eta_p^2 = .011$), the opposite pattern emerged for the male target such that the high HS male target was perceived to have *lower* BS than the low HS male target ($F(1, 388) = 10.45$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$). These findings suggest that participants expect men – but not women – to have univalent attitudes toward women, since participants predicted a positive association between the female target's HS and BS attitudes, but perceived a negative association between the male target's HS and BS attitudes.

Table 2-1
Prediction of targets' BS scores by Target Gender and HS level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low HS	3.46	.92	3.57	.84
High HS	3.73	1.03	3.14	.91

Table 2-2
Prediction of targets' BS scores by Target Gender, HS level, and scale wording

		Male target		Female target	
		M	SD	M	SD
Original	Low HS	3.57	.84	3.46	.92
	High HS	3.14	.91	3.74	1.03
Reversed	Low HS	4.02	1.06	3.21	1.03
	High HS	3.46	.92	3.22	.95

Prediction of target's HS score. The 3-way interaction between BS Level, Target Gender, and Scale Wording was not significant ($p = .66$). The 2-way interaction between BS Level and Target Gender was significant, $F(1, 398) = 10.35$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$ (Tables 2-3 and 2-4). Simple effects analyses showed the low BS male target was perceived to have higher HS than the high BS male target ($F(1, 398) = 9.22$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$) and the low BS female target ($F(1, 398) = 44.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .011$), thus supporting H1 and H2a. Additionally, the female target's endorsement or rejection of BS did not lead to differences in her predicted HS ($p = .14$) thus supporting H2b. These findings again suggest that participants expected men – but not women – to have univalent attitudes toward women, since participants' predictions of the female target's HS did not differ based on her BS level, but they predicted a negative association between the male target's BS and HS attitudes.

Table 2-3
Prediction of targets' HS scores by Target Gender and BS level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	2.99	1.03	3.95	1.12
High BS	3.20	1.06	3.50	.93

Table 2-4
Prediction of targets' HS scores by Target Gender, BS level, and scale wording

		Male target		Female target	
		M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Original	Low BS	3.95	1.12	2.99	1.03
	High BS	3.51	.93	3.20	1.06
Reversed	Low BS	3.54	.89	3.61	.88
	High BS	3.64	1.02	3.43	1.00

The following analyses include all participants because participants in each target condition received the same dependent measures. I conducted ANOVA analyses for each of the following measures, with Sexism Type, Sexism Level, and Target Gender entered as factors.

Support for female professionals. No main effects or higher-level interactions with Scale Wording were found (all $ps > .193$). As in Study 1, the Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction emerged as significant, $F(1, 794) = 16.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 = .020$ (Tables 2-5 and 2-6). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 794) = 7541.30$, $p < .001$.

Consistent with H1 and H2a, simple effects analyses revealed that the low BS male target was perceived to be less supportive than both the high BS male target ($F(1, 794) = 4.34$, $p = .038$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 = .005$) and the low BS female target ($F(1, 794) = 51.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 = .061$). Also consistent with H2b that the low BS female will be perceived to be no less supportive than the high BS female target, the low BS female target was perceived to be *more* supportive of female professionals than the high BS female target, $F(1,794) = 10.35$, $p = .001$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 = .013$.

The high BS male target was perceived to be more supportive of female professionals than the high HS male target $F(1,794) = 40.48$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 = .049$), as was the low BS male target ($F(1, 794) = 18.36$, $p < .001$), thus H3 was not supported.

Table 2-5
Target's perceived support for female professionals by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	4.99	2.47	7.18	2.16
High BS	5.63	2.13	6.20	2.39
Low HS	7.62	1.78	7.93	1.68
High HS	3.67	1.99	4.87	2.56

Table 2-6
Target's perceived support for female professionals by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, Sexism Level, and scale wording

		Male target		Female target	
		M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Original	Low BS	4.94	2.67	7.48	2.02
	High BS	5.54	2.13	6.00	2.54
	Low HS	7.40	1.87	7.70	1.87
	High HS	3.38	1.72	4.96	2.56
Reversed	Low BS	5.03	2.29	6.88	2.24
	High BS	5.72	2.14	6.42	2.20
	Low HS	7.81	1.66	8.16	1.45
	High HS	3.97	2.21	4.78	2.58

Quality as a spouse and parent. No main effects or higher-level interactions with scale wording were found (all $ps > .140$). As in Study 1, the Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction emerged as significant, $F(1,794) = 38.43, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .046$ (Tables 2-7 and 2-8). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 794) = 69178.04, p < .001$.

Consistent with H1 and H2a, simple effects analyses showed that the low BS male target was perceived as a less good spouse and parent than both the high BS male target ($F(1, 794) = 35.56, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .043$) and the low BS female target ($F(1, 794) = 13.63, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .017$). Additionally, consistent with H2b, the female target's rejection or endorsement of benevolent sexism had no effect on her perceived quality as a spouse and parent, $F(1, 794) = .56 \ p = .45, \eta_p^2 = .001$.

The high BS male target was perceived to be a better parent and spouse than the high HS male target, $F(1, 794) = 63.36, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .074$, as was the low BS male target, $F(1,794) = 4.05, p = .045$, thus H3 was not supported.

Table 2-7
Target's perceived quality as a spouse and parent by Target Gender,
Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	6.09	2.34	7.11	2.14
High BS	7.76	1.78	6.91	1.93
Low HS	8.02	1.82	7.72	1.76
High HS	5.53	1.93	6.84	2.09

Table 2-8
Target's perceived quality as a spouse and parent by Target Gender,
Sexism Type, Sexism Level, and scale wording

		Male target		Female target	
		M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Original	Low BS	5.87	2.50	7.22	1.94
	High BS	7.79	1.81	7.15	1.81
	Low HS	8.06	1.88	7.49	1.96
	High HS	5.55	1.87	7.05	2.06
Reversed	Low BS	6.31	2.17	7.02	2.31
	High BS	7.73	1.88	6.65	2.02
	Low HS	7.94	1.79	7.96	1.51
	High HS	5.50	2.01	6.62	2.11

Propensity to perpetrate domestic violence. No significant main effects or higher-level interactions with scale wording were found (all $ps > .105$). As in Study 1, the Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction emerged as significant, $F(1, 794) = 37.64$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .045$ (Tables 2-9 and 2-10). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 794) = 1786.82$, $p < .001$.

Consistent with H2a, the low BS male target was perceived to be significantly more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than the low BS female target, $F(1, 794) = 12.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$. Consistent with H2b, the low BS female target was perceived as less likely to perpetrate domestic violence than the high BS female target, $F(1, 794) = 6.64$, $p = .010$, $\eta_p^2 = .008$. However, contrary to H1, the low BS male target was not perceived significantly differently on his propensity for domestic violence

than the high BS male target, though the results were trending in the predicted direction, $F(1, 794) = 2.62$,

$p = .11$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .003$.

Additionally, the low BS male target was perceived to be less abusive than the high HS male

target, $F(1, 794) = 15.09$, $p < .001$, thus H3 was not supported. The high BS male target was also

perceived to be less abusive than the high HS male target, $F(1, 794) = 30.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .037$.

Table 2-9
Target's perceived propensity to perpetrate domestic violence by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	3.01	1.71	4.05	2.34
High BS	3.77	2.08	3.58	2.30
Low HS	3.18	1.84	2.99	1.96
High HS	3.01	1.97	5.18	2.18

Table 2-10
Target's perceived propensity to perpetrate domestic violence by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, Sexism Level, and scale wording

		Male target		Female target	
		M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Original	Low BS	4.16	2.35	3.02	1.74
	High BS	3.88	2.42	3.45	2.00
	Low HS	3.24	2.18	3.17	1.97
	High HS	5.22	2.01	3.08	2.11
Reversed	Low BS	3.94	2.34	3.00	1.69
	High BS	3.28	2.15	4.08	2.13
	Low HS	2.75	1.67	3.20	1.75
	High HS	5.14	2.36	2.94	1.84

Discussion

Overall, the results of Study 2 showed that the female target's rejection or endorsement of

benevolent sexism had a smaller effect on how she was perceived by participants than the male target's

rejection or endorsement of benevolent sexism. The reversal of the target's ASI profile (agreement vs.

disagreement) did not impact the significant 3-way interaction found between Sexism Type, Sexism Level, and Target Gender, ruling out the possibility that the effects found in Study 1 were an artifact due to operationalization of low sexism as disagreement. Importantly, Study 2 was able to replicate the simple effects where the low BS male target was perceived more negatively compared to the high BS male target in two of the three dependent measures (propensity to domestic violence was non-significant, but trending in the predicted direction). Although H3 was not supported, as the low BS male target was perceived to be *less* sexist than the high HS male target, the low BS male target was still considered more sexist than the high BS male target. Across all three measures, the gap between the low BS male target and low BS female target still emerged as predicted, showing that men who reject benevolent sexism – even when they were not disagreeable in their responses – still incurred evaluative costs that women who reject benevolent sexism did not.

Study 3

Using the same factorial design and experimental manipulations as in Study 1, Study 3 was designed to further explore the impact of target profiles on participants' perceptions of the targets. In addition to the dependent measures from Study 1, this study included measures to examine participants' perceptions in domains of morality, personality, and romantic relationships. I predicted that participants' inferences about the low BS male target will permeate into broader domains of person perception, resulting in a similar pattern of results found in Study 1 and Study 2. It is worth examining how a male target's endorsement or rejection of BS and HS will influence how he is perceived by observers in broader domains – if observers readily attribute different levels of warmth, agreeableness, and interpersonal qualities based on men's benevolent sexist attitudes, then this would suggest that BS is seen to convey deep information about a man's core character. If low BS men incur social judgments and heavy interpersonal costs then it may decrease men's willingness to publicly challenge benevolent sexism they observe in real life.

Study 3 included measures of warmth and agreeableness – since BS is the way in which men are traditionally socialized to value women and violation of benevolent sexist norms may also be construed as motivated by self-interest over valuing women, men's rejection of benevolent sexism may lead perceivers to question their general warmth and agreeableness toward others. Similarly, since the low BS male target was attributed with malice toward women, a measure of the target's perceived morality (honesty-humility) was included to assess the extent to which participants think the target would manipulate or deceive others for personal gain. I hypothesized that the low BS male target will be perceived to be less warm, less agreeable, and less moral than the high BS male target (H1) and low BS female target (H2a), and that evaluations of the low BS male target will be similar to those of the high HS male target (H3).

Also included was a measure of the target's perceived competence, since open-ended data from Study 1 suggested that women who reject benevolent sexism are perceived to be more competent than women who endorse benevolent sexism. I predict that the low BS female target will receive a boost to her

perceived competence compared to the low BS male target (H2a) and the high BS female target (H2b), whereas the male target's rejection (vs. endorsement) of BS will have no effect on his perceived competence – as the open-ended comments did not suggest that participants were more concerned about the low BS male target's poor relationship with women and lack of warmth rather than his lack of competence.

Since Study 1's results suggested that men who reject benevolent sexism were rated as less good spouses and parents, measures of communal strength and relationship satisfaction were added to Study 3 to further examine participants' perceptions of the target as a romantic partner. I predict that the low BS male target will be perceived as less communal and less satisfied in his romantic relationship than the high BS male target (H1) and the low BS female target (H2a), but the low BS male target will be perceived similarly to the high HS male target (H3). I also predicted that the low BS female target will be perceived to be no less communal and no less satisfied with her romantic relationship than the high BS female target (H2b).

Finally, since low BS male target in Studies 1 and 2 were perceived to be less supportive of female professionals, which may imply a perceived lack of commitment to liberal values of equality, additional measures were included in Study 3 to directly assess perceptions of the target's moral values in the domains of care and fairness, which are relevant to liberal, individuating ethics (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009). I predicted that the low BS male target would be perceived to value the ethics of care and fairness significantly less than the high BS male target (H1) and the low BS female target (H2b), but also perceived similarly to the high HS male target (H3). In addition, I predict that the low BS female target will be perceived to value care and fairness no less than the high BS female target (H2b).

I also measured perceptions of the target's moral values in the domains of loyalty, respect for authority, and sanctity, which reflect more traditional, conservative ethics. Since BS and HS each express elements of traditional gender norms, the target's endorsement of HS and BS would be perceived as support for other traditional attitudes and values regardless of the target's gender, thus:

H4: I predicted that participants would perceive targets who are high in either HS or BS to more strongly endorse loyalty, authority, and sanctity compared to low HS and low BS targets.

Finally, since HS and BS function to legitimize and maintain status quo gender relations, I also probed participants' intuitions about the target's general support for the status quo. I predicted that participants would perceive high HS and high BS targets to more strongly support the status quo than low HS and low BS targets (H4).

Method

Participants. Two-hundred eighty-eight American adults (128 females, 159 males, and 1 unidentified; aged 18-74, $M = 35.2$, $SD = 12.56$) participated in the study for $0.50 USD via Amazon's Mechanical Turk. No participants correctly guessed the purpose or hypotheses of the study when probed for suspicion, therefore no participants have been excluded from analysis.

Procedure and materials. Study 3 followed the same procedure and used the same materials as Study 1 with one exception: rather than predicting the target's responses on the complementary ASI subscale (i.e., participants who viewed the target's BS subscale responses would predict the target's HS), I employed the same subscale in Study 3 to serve as a manipulation check, such that participants were asked to recall the target's high or low sexist attitudes. Then, participants were asked to predict the target's support for female professionals, quality as spouse and parent, propensity for domestic violence, and the following additional measures.

HEXACO Personality Inventory. The HEXACO is a six-factor model of personality (Ashton & Lee, 2009). The Honesty-humility and Agreeableness subscales were adapted to measure participants' perceptions of the target.

Honesty-humility. The Honesty-humility subscale (9 items; $\alpha = .80$) of the HEXACO measured the target's avoidance of manipulation and using deception for personal gains (e.g., "He/she wouldn't pretend to like someone just to get that person to do favors for him/her.") Participants responded using a

7-point scale (1 = extremely unlikely, 4 = neither likely nor unlikely, 7 = extremely likely) to evaluate the target's honesty-humility.

Agreeableness. The Agreeableness subscale (10 items; α = .90) of the HEXACO measured the target's propensity to be forgiving, lenient, and cooperative with others (e.g., "He/she rarely holds a grudge, even against people who have badly wronged him/her.") Participants evaluated the target's agreeableness using the same 7-point Likert scale as for Honesty-humility.

Warmth. Adopted from Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002), participants were asked how likely the target possessed the following traits: trustworthy, friendly, tolerant, honest, likeable, warm, good-natured, and sincere (8 items; α = .94), which participants responded to using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 7 = strongly agree) to evaluate the target's warmth.

Competence. Adopted from Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002), participants were asked how likely the target possessed the following traits: confident, independent, competitive, competent, intelligent, and skilled (6 items; α = .94), which participants indicated using the same 7-point Likert scale as for Warmth.

Moral foundations questionnaire (MFQ). The shortened, 20-item version of the MFQ (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2008) was administered to participants to assess their perceptions of the target's moral foundations. The questionnaire measured the participant's predictions of the target's valuation of five moral dimensions. Participants indicated how they expected the target to respond to items related to each moral dimension using a 6-point Likert scale (0 = not at all relevant / strongly disagree, 5 = extremely relevant / strongly agree).

Care. The Care foundation (4 items; α = .78) measured the participant's predictions of the compassion the target felt toward the pain of others (e.g., "Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.")

Fairness. The Fairness foundation (4 items; α = .72) measured the participant's predictions of the target's concerns about equality (e.g., "When the government makes laws, the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly.")

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Loyalty. The Loyalty foundation (4 items; α = .59) measured the participant's predictions of the target's valuation of in-group patriotism (e.g., "People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done something wrong.")

Authority. The Authority foundation (4 items; α = .66) measured the participant's predictions of the target's valuation of authority and traditions (e.g., "Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.")

Sanctity. The Sanctity foundation (4 items; α = .73) measured the participant's predictions of the target's valuation of sanctity as shaped by their aversion to disgust and contamination (e.g., "I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural.")

Communal strength. The 10-item communal strength scale (α = .91) by Mills, Clark, Ford, and Johnson (2004) was modified to assess participants' perceptions of the target's communal strength (e.g., "How far would this person be willing to go to visit his/her spouse?") Participants responded using an 11-point scale from 1 (not at all) to 11 (extremely) to indicate their perceptions of the target's communal strength.

Relationship satisfaction. Participants were given three items (α = .95) to assess their perception of the target's relationship satisfaction with their spouse ("e.g., "Based on your impression of the target, his/her level of marital satisfaction is...") Participants used a 7-point scale from 1 (very low) to 7 (very high) to indicate their perceptions of the target's satisfaction (Appendix I).

Diffused system justification scale. The diffused system justification scale (α = .81; Jost & Banaji, 1994) was adapted to measure participants' perceptions of the target's tendency to bolster the status quo and to view the systems that one depended on as fair, desirable, and legitimate (e.g., "Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve.") Participants used a 9-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = neither agree nor disagree, 9 = strongly agree) to indicate how they expected the target to respond to each item.

Results

Target manipulation check. Participants correctly recalled that the low BS targets' responses ($M = 2.70$, $SD = .849$) were less benevolently sexist than those of the high BS targets ($M = 4.56$, $SD = .674$), $F(1,147) = 223.39$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .60$, and the low HS targets' responses ($M = 2.70$, $SD = .699$) were less hostilely sexist than those of the high HS targets ($M = 4.24$, $SD = .925$), $F(1,133) = 122.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .48$. No other significant main effects or interactions were found with Target Gender (all $ps > .27$), indicating that participants' recollections were accurate.

As in Study 1, I conducted ANOVAs for each of the following measures, in which Sexism Type, Sexism Level, and Target Gender were entered as factors.

Replication of findings. As hypothesized, the Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction emerged significantly for the target's perceived support for female professionals (Table 3-1; $F(1,280) = 23.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .078$.), quality as a spouse and parent (Table 3-2; $F(1,280) = 30.02$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .097$, and propensity to perpetrate domestic violence (Table 3-3; $F(1,280) = 31.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$).

A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets on support for female professionals ($F(1, 280) = 2581.78$, $p < .001$), quality as a spouse and parent ($F(1, 280) = 1557.57$, $p < .001$), and propensity for domestic violence ($F(1, 280) = 15279.17$, $p < .001$).

Simple effects analyses revealed patterns identical to those found in Study 1. Consistent with H1 the low BS male target was perceived to be less supportive of female professionals ($F(1,280) = 19.65$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .066$), less good as a spouse and parent ($F(1,280) = 44.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$), and more likely to perpetrate domestic violence ($F(1,280) = 22.87$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .069$) than the high BS male target. In contrast, consistent with H2b the low BS female target was perceived to be more supportive of female professionals, $F(1,280) = 4.69$, $p = .031$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$, and not different in quality as a spouse and parent, $F(1,280) = 2.36$, $p = .13$, $\eta_p^2 = .008$ compared to the high BS female target. Consistent with H2b and Studies 1 and 2, the high BS female target was perceived as marginally more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than the low BS female target ($F(1,280) = 3.60$, $p = .059$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$).

Additionally, consistent with H2a, compared to the low BS female target, the low BS male target was perceived to be less supportive of female professionals, $F(1,280) = 40.04$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .125$, a less good spouse and parent, $F(1,280) = 24.26$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .080$, and more likely to perpetrate domestic violence, $F(1,280) = 10.09$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .035$.

Consistent with H3 the low BS male and the high HS male targets did not significantly differ on their perceived quality as a spouse and parent ($F(1,280) = .73$, $p = .39$), although the low BS male target was perceived to be marginally less likely to perpetrate domestic violence ($F(1,280) = 3.35$, $p = .068$) and marginally more supportive of female professionals ($F(1,280) = 2.83$, $p = .094$).

Finally, the high BS male was perceived to be more supportive of female professionals ($F(1,280) = 37.09$, $p > .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .12$), a better spouse and parent ($F(1,280) = 32.26$, $p > .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .103$), and less likely to perpetrate domestic violence ($F(1,280) = 40.66$, $p > .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .127$) than the high HS male target.

Table 3-1
Target's perceived support for female professionals by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	SD	M	SD
Low BS	4.25	2.40	7.52	1.89
High BS	6.36	2.07	6.39	2.36
Low HS	7.41	1.90	7.66	1.68
High HS	3.42	2.16	5.34	2.10

Table 3-2
Target's perceived quality as a spouse and parent by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	SD	M	SD
Low BS	5.14	2.23	7.58	1.93
High BS	8.12	1.54	6.77	2.12
Low HS	7.53	2.33	7.38	1.67
High HS	5.53	2.05	6.81	1.88

Table 3-3
Target's perceived propensity for domestic violence by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

| | Male target | | Female target | |
	M	SD	M	SD
Low BS	4.45	2.39	2.93	1.47
High BS	2.48	1.51	3.84	2.08
Low HS	2.70	1.78	3.21	1.81
High HS	5.26	2.09	3.51	1.79

HEXACO

Honesty-humility. The Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction was significant, $F(1,280) = 19.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .066$ (Table 3-4). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 280) = 1719.03$, $p < .001$.

Simple effects analyses showed that the low BS male and high BS male targets were not perceived differently on their honesty-humility, $F(1,280) = .061$, $p = .81$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$, whereas the low BS female target was perceived to be higher on honesty-humility than both the high BS female target, $F(1,280) = 37.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$, and the low BS male target, $F(1,280) = 10.24$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .035$.

The low BS male target was perceived to be marginally higher on honesty-humility than the high HS male target, $F(1,280) = 3.70$, $p = .055$, thus H3 was not supported. Finally, the high BS male target was perceived to be higher on honest-humility than the high HS male target, $F(1,280) = 4.90$, $p = .028$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$. These results suggest that women who reject benevolent sexism received a boost to their perceived honesty-humility compared to women who endorse BS and men who reject BS, which fit H2a and H2b, whereas men's endorsement of BS had no effect on their perceived honesty-humility, which did not support H1.

Table 3-4
Target's perceived honesty by Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	3.95	0.62	4.59	0.82
High BS	4.00	0.88	3.42	1.04
Low HS	4.39	0.75	4.30	0.62
High HS	3.59	0.74	4.00	0.84

Agreeableness. The Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction was

significant, $F(1,280) = 18.46$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .062$ (Table 3-5). A simple two-way interaction between

Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 280) = 12569.80$, $p < .001$.

Simple effects analyses revealed that the low BS male target was perceived to be less agreeable

than the high BS male target ($F(1,280) = 9.89$, $p = .002$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .034$) and the low BS female target

($F(1,280) = 5.07$, $p = .025$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .018$). The low BS female target was perceived to be marginally more

agreeable than the high BS female target, $F(1,278) = 3.36$, $p = .068$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .012$.

The low BS male target was not perceived significantly different on agreeableness compared to

the high HS male target ($F(1,280) = 1.59$, $p = .21$), thus supporting H3. The high BS male target was

perceived to be more agreeable than the high HS male target, $F(1,280) = 19.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .064$.

These results demonstrated that whereas men's rejection (vs. endorsement) of BS led to lower perceived

agreeableness, women who reject BS tend to receive a boost to their perceived agreeableness (vs. women

who endorse BS and men who reject BS), thus supporting H1, H2a, and H2b.

Table 3-5
Target's perceived agreeableness by Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	3.57	0.95	4.13	1.04
High BS	4.29	1.01	3.69	0.96
Low HS	4.76	1.17	4.17	0.93
High HS	3.27	1.08	3.58	0.96

Warmth. The Sexism Type $\times$ Sexism Level $\times$ Target Gender three-way interaction was significant, $F(1,280) = 20.56$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .068$ (Table 3-6). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 280) = 5103.79$, $p < .001$.

Consistent with H1 and H2a, the low BS male target was perceived to be less warm than the high BS male target ($F(1,280) = 20.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .058$) and the low BS female target ($F(1,280) = 7.83$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .027$).

Consistent with H2b, the low BS female target was not perceived to be less warm than the high BS female target, $F(1,280) = 2.22$, $p = .137$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .008$.

The high BS male target was perceived to be warmer than the high HS male target, $F(1,280) = 2522$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .083$, whereas the low BS male and high HS male targets were not perceived differently on warmth, $F(1,280) = .84$, $p = .36$, thus H3 was supported.

Similar to perceived agreeableness, these results suggest that whereas men's rejection (vs. endorsement) of BS led to lower perceived warmth, women who reject BS tend to receive a boost to their perceived warmth (vs. women who endorse BS and men who reject BS).

Table 3-6
Target's perceived warmth by Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	4.22	1.03	5.01	1.13
High BS	5.25	1.07	4.57	1.28
Low HS	5.49	0.92	5.05	0.98
High HS	3.98	1.12	4.48	1.19

Competence. The Sexism Type $\times$ Sexism Level $\times$ Target Gender three-way interaction was significant, $F(1,280) = 8.44$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .029$ (Table 3-7). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 280) = 605.69$, $p < .001$.

Consistent with my predictions, the low BS male and high BS male targets were not perceived differently on their competence, $F(1,280) = .055$, $p = .81$, $\eta_p{}^2 < .001$, whereas the low BS female target

was perceived to be more competent than the high BS female target, $F(1,280) = 35.55$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 =$ .11, and the low BS male target, $F(1,280) = 10.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 = .037$, thus supporting H2a and H2b

The high BS male and high HS male targets were not perceived differently on their competence, $F(1,280) = .070$, $p = .79$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 < .001$ and neither were the low BS male target and the high HS male target, $F(1,280) = .23$, $p = .63$.

These results confirm that whereas male targets' BS and HS had no effect on their perceived competence, female targets who reject BS received a boost to their perceived competence over female targets who endorse BS and male targets regardless of their level of BS.

Table 3-7
Target's perceived competence by Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	4.87	0.77	5.72	0.77
High BS	4.82	1.04	4.26	1.09
Low HS	5.35	0.95	5.14	0.91
High HS	4.76	0.90	4.57	1.25

Communal strength. The Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction was significant, $F(1,280) = 53.84$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 = .16$ (Table 3-8). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 280) = 3387.60$, $p < .001$.

Consistent with H1 and H2a, the low BS male target was perceived to have lower communal strength than the high BS male target ($F(1,278) = 81.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 = .22$) and the low BS female target ($F(1,280) = 19.80$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 = .066$), whereas the female target's rejection or endorsement of BS had no effect on her perceived communal strength ($F(1,280) = .41$, $p = .52$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 = .001$), thus supporting H2b.

The high BS male target was perceived to have higher communal strength than the high HS male target, $F(1,280) = 58.20$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho{}^2 = .17$. Finally, consistent with H3, the low BS male and high HS male targets were not perceived differently on their communal strength, $F(1,280) = 1.47$, $p = .23$.

Table 3-8
Target's perceived communal strength by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	5.24	2.01	7.02	1.52
High BS	8.55	1.45	6.74	1.83
Low HS	7.83	1.52	7.03	1.40
High HS	5.70	1.69	6.98	1.41

Relationship satisfaction. The Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction was significant, $F(1,280) = 41.08$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .129$ (Table 3-9). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 280) = 1559.08$, $p < .001$.

Consistent with H1 and H2a, the low BS male target was perceived to have lower relationship satisfaction than the high BS male target *($F(1,280) = 39.60$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$)* and low BS female target $(F(1,280) = 17.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .058)$, whereas the female target's rejection or endorsement of BS had no effect on her perceived relationship satisfaction, $F(1,280) = 2.05$, $p = .15$, $\eta_p^2 = .007$, thus supporting H2b.

Supporting H3, the low BS male and high HS male targets were not perceived differently on their relationship satisfaction, $F(1,280) = 1.10$, $p = .29$, whereas the high BS male target was perceived to have higher relationship satisfaction than the high HS male target, $F(1,280) = 46.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$,

These results show that whereas women's rejection or endorsement of BS had no effect on their perceived communal strength and relationship satisfaction, men who reject BS were perceived as less communal and less satisfied with their relationships than men who endorse BS.

Table 3-9
Target's perceived relationship satisfaction by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	3.09	1.48	4.45	1.56
High BS	5.50	1.10	3.97	1.37
Low HS	4.99	1.45	4.66	1.07
High HS	3.42	1.36	4.19	1.23

Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ).

Care. The Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction was significant,

$F(1,280) = 12.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .044$ (Table 3-10). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level

and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 280) = 358.58$, $p < .001$.

Supporting H1, H2a, and H2b, whereas the low BS male target was perceived lower on care than

the high BS male target ($F(1,280) = 35.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .11$) and the low BS female target ($F(1,280) =$

18.12, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .061$), the low BS female and high BS female targets were not perceived differently

on care ($F(1,280) = .68$, $p = .41$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .002$).

Consistent with H3, low BS male target and high HS male target were not perceived differently

on care, $F(1,280) = .1.12$, $p = .29$. The high BS male target was perceived to be higher on care than the

high HS male target, $F(1,280) = 22.71$, $p < .001$, $\eta_\rho^2 = .075$.

Table 3-10
Target's perceived valuation of Care (MFQ) by Target Gender,
Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	3.26	1.21	4.19	0.69
High BS	4.46	0.75	4.35	0.80
Low HS	4.55	0.83	4.30	0.77
High HS	3.49	1.04	3.73	0.93

Fairness. The Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction was significant, $F(1,280) = 7.11$, $p = .008$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .025$ (Table 3-11). A simple two-way interaction between Sexism Level and Target Gender emerged for BS targets, $F(1, 280) = 148.84$, $p < .001$.

Consistent with H1, H2a, and H2b, whereas the low BS male target was perceived lower on fairness than the high BS male target ($F(1,280) = 4.47$, $p = .035$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .016$) and the low BS female target ($F(1,280) = 7.72$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .027$), the low BS female and high BS female targets were not perceived differently on fairness ($F(1,280) = 1.67$, $p = .20$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .006$).

The high BS male target was perceived to be higher on fairness than the high HS male target, $F(1,280) = 12.30$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .042$. Consistent with H3, the low BS male target and high HS male target were not perceived differently on fairness, $F(1,280) = 1.93$, $p = .17$.

Whereas women's rejection or endorsement of BS had no effect on their perceived level of individuating ethics (care and fairness), men who reject BS were perceived to be lower on individuating ethics (care and fairness) than men who endorse benevolent sexism and women who reject BS.

Table 3-11
Target's perceived valuation of Fairness (MFQ) by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	3.92	1.00	4.52	0.66
High BS	4.32	0.64	4.23	0.84
Low HS	4.78	0.79	4.58	0.87
High HS	3.64	0.97	3.84	0.90

Loyalty. The Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction was not significant, $F(1,280) = .009$, $p = .92$, $\eta_p{}^2 < .001$ (Table 3-12). There was a significant main effect of Sexism Level, $F(1,280) = 29.34$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .095$, such that high sexist targets, of either type, were perceived to value loyalty more highly than their low sexist counterparts, thus supporting H4. There was also a main effect of Target Gender, $F(1,280) = 11.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .039$, such that male targets were

perceived to value loyalty more highly than female targets. No other main effects or interactions reached significance (all $ps > .069$).

Table 3-12
Target's perceived valuation of Loyalty (MFQ) by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	3.68	0.90	3.48	0.87
High BS	4.31	0.78	4.21	0.69
Low HS	3.87	0.86	3.35	0.68
High HS	4.18	0.85	3.72	0.77

Authority. The Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction was not significant, $F(1,280) = 1.09$, $p = .30$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$ (Table 3-13). In a pattern identical to the loyalty foundation, there was a main effect of Sexism Level, $F(1,280) = 62.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .182$, thus supporting H4, and a main effect of Target Gender, $F(1,280) = 6.50$, $p = .011$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$. No other main effects or interactions reached significance (all $ps > .33$).

Table 3-13

Target's perceived valuation of Authority (MFQ) by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	3.69	0.95	3.39	0.82
High BS	4.48	0.78	4.39	0.80
Low HS	3.65	0.95	3.44	0.76
High HS	4.45	0.78	4.02	0.95

Sanctity. Again, the Sexism Type × Sexism Level × Target Gender three-way interaction was not significant, $F(1,280) = .23$, $p = .63$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$ (Table 3-14). Similar to the loyalty and authority foundations, there was a main effect of Sexism Level, $F(1,280) = 24.32$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .080$, thus

supporting H4. Unlike the loyalty and authority foundations, there was an interaction of Sexism Type $\times$

Sexism Level, $F(1,280) = 4.70$, $p = .031$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$, such that high BS targets were perceived to value

sanctity more than low BS targets ($F(1,280) = 26.34$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .086$) and high HS targets were

perceived to value sanctity marginally more than low HS targets ($F(1,280) = 3.66$, $p = .057$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$).

No other main effects or interactions reached significance (all $ps > .13$).

As predicted, the low BS and low HS targets were perceived to value the three binding ethics

(loyalty, authority, and sanctity) less so than the high BS and high HS targets, thus supporting H4.

Table 3-14
Target's perceived valuation of Sanctity (MFQ) by
Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	3.20	1.22	3.52	0.75
High BS	4.05	0.91	4.32	0.98
Low HS	3.65	1.06	3.52	0.96
High HS	3.89	0.74	3.92	1.06

Diffused system justification scale. No main effects or interactions emerged as significant (all

$ps > .17$), thus H4 was not supported for this measure (Table 3-15).

Table 3-15
Target's perceived system justification by Target Gender, Sexism Type, and Sexism Level

	Male target		Female target	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low BS	4.70	1.50	4.90	1.03
High BS	4.70	1.52	4.50	1.19
Low HS	4.53	1.69	4.68	1.53
High HS	4.73	1.34	4.34	1.54

Discussion

Study 3 replicated the findings from Studies 1 and 2, confirming that not only was the low BS

male target perceived as less supportive of female professionals, less good of a spouse and parent, and

more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than both the high BS male and low BS female targets, he was not perceived significantly differently from the high HS male target on those measures (as compared to Study 1).

Additionally, the results of Study 3 demonstrated that participants' perceptions of the low BS male target were reflected in broader domains of person perception. Consistent with the results of the replicated measures, participants perceived the low BS male target to be lower on warmth, agreeableness, communal strength, and relationship satisfaction than both the high BS male target and low BS female target, but not significantly different from the high HS male target. These findings further demonstrate the reputational costs that men who reject benevolent sexism may incur, and that high BS men do not raise "red flags" as their hostile attitudes toward women are masked under their endorsement of benevolent sexism. It is crucial to consider these findings in the context of challenging benevolent sexism – if men experience backlash as a result of rejecting BS (and conversely, positive social evaluations for endorsing BS) then recognizing and confronting BS would be all the more difficult.

The male targets' endorsement or rejection of BS had no effect on their perceived competence, but the low BS female target received a boost to her perceived competence compared to both the high BS female target and low BS male target. Interestingly, the same pattern emerged for the target's perceived honesty-humility – the low BS female target was perceived very highly, suggesting since she would willingly refrain from the "benefits" of BS, she is thus unlikely to use manipulation or deception for personal gain.

The results for predictions of the target's moral values showed that men who reject (vs. endorse) BS were perceived to value individuating ethics to a lesser degree. Further, a consistent pattern emerged on the binding ethics (loyalty, authority, and sanctity), such that the low BS male target was perceived to be significantly lower on all three binding ethics than both the high BS male target and the high HS male target. This results in an interesting pattern when both individuating and binding ethics are observed side-by-side. Whereas the high BS male target is perceived to be high on *both* individuating and binding ethics and the high HS male target is perceived to be *low* on individuating ethics but *high* on binding ethics, the

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low BS male target is perceived to be *low on both individuating and binding ethics*. Additionally, participants attributed high individuating and low binding ethics to the low BS female target, and both high individuating and binding ethics to the high BS female target. Also, the low HS male and female targets were perceived as high in the individuating ethics. Thus, relative to all other targets, the low BS male target is seen as uniquely amoral – not concerned with the individuating *nor* the binding ethics.

Although participants rarely attributed differences between the low BS male and high HS male target (e.g., on the targets' perceived support for female professionals, quality as a spouse and parent, and propensity to domestic violence), they do not perceive the two targets to be truly identical. Perceivers could map each of the other targets' attitudes to some moral foundation – whether individuating ethics, binding ethics, or both– but they seemed to find no recognizable moral foundation for a man's rejection of BS. This suggests that people may not have the moral schema to readily understand men who reject benevolent sexism – just as participants in Study 1 whose open-ended comments indicated that they were puzzled by whether the low BS male target held egalitarian or sexist attitudes.

Study 4

When a man rejects benevolent sexism this affords two potential interpretations. It may indicate that he is a non-sexist, who has neither patronizingly positive attitudes towards traditional women nor hostile attitudes towards non-traditional women. Alternatively, a man may reject BS because he has uniformly negative attitudes towards women, viewing both traditional women and non-traditional women with contempt. One of the Study 1 participants expressed these alternative interpretations when she wrote the following to describe her impression of the low BS male target: "It is hard to tell if he either does not like women, or simply sees them as equal to men."

The results of Studies 1-3 indicate that when laypeople face the dilemma of how to interpret a man's low BS they tend to assume that he has uniformly negative attitudes towards women rather than assume that he is a non-sexist. Specifically, in Study 1 and Study 2 lay perceivers predicted that a low BS man would have higher HS than a high BS man and a low BS woman. Also, in Studies 1-3 they predicted that a low BS man would support female professionals less and would be a lower quality spouse and parent than a high BS man and a low BS woman. Further, in Studies 1 and 3 lay perceivers predicted that a low BS man would be similar to a high HS man in his lack of support for female professionals and poor qualities as a spouse and parent. Cumulatively, these findings indicate that lay perceivers leap to the conclusion that a low BS man has uniformly negative attitudes towards women, and they seem to discount the possibility that his low BS indicates that he is a non-sexist.

How reasonable is this interpretation of low BS? Are lay perceivers justified in their assumption that it is more likely that a low BS man is uniformly negative towards women than that he is a non-sexist? Previous research on the actual prevalence of different combinations of BS and HS indicates that these lay perceptions are not justified. For example, Sibley and Becker (2012) administered the ASI to a sample of Australians and used latent class analysis (LCA) to identify the relative frequencies of different combinations of BS and HS attitudes within the sample. LCA can be used to determine the number of different latent classes or types that is required to explain the data parsimoniously, thus identifying the number of different types of sexists that would best fit the data, as well as the average BS and HS scores

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of each type. The results indicated that if a man was low in BS it was 2.6 times more likely that he was a non-sexist (very low BS and HS) – and 7.3 times more likely that he was a mild ambivalent sexist (low BS and HS) – than that he was a univalent hostile sexist (low BS and high HS). These results suggest that when a man expresses low BS it is more reasonable to assume that he is low – rather than high – in HS.

However, comparing my participants' predictions to previous findings on the relations between BS and HS is questionable because these previous studies have been conducted in different cultural contexts (e.g., New Zealand vs. North America) and used different methods to recruit their participants (e.g., representative community sample vs. an Internet sample). Also, Sibley and Becker (2012) used a shortened version of the ASI in their study, and I used the full ASI in my studies. Finally, Sibley and Becker (2012) did not include some of the measures that the participants in my studies were asked to predict, for example they did not examine how ASI scores related to support for female professionals, moral foundations, and other attitudes and behaviours that my participants were asked to predict. Given these differences in sampling methods and the content of measures, it may not be valid to judge the accuracy of my participants' predictions by comparing them to the relations between BS and HS that were found in Sibley and Becker's (2012) sample. For these reasons, in Study 4 I recruited a sample drawn from the same participant pool and using the same recruitment method that was used to in my previous studies in order to provide data to conduct a more valid analysis of the accuracy of my participants' predictions about the targets.

Study 4's participants were asked to report their own attitudes on the ASI measure and to self-report a variety of other attitudes and behaviours that were relevant for comparing with my previous participants' predictions about targets. These data from Study 4 enable me to conduct latent class analyses that will provide a direct comparison standard for assessing the accuracy of my previous participants' predictions of target responses (from Study 3). I predict that I will replicate Sibley and Becker's (2012) finding that low BS men are more likely to belong to a low or mild HS category than they are to belong to a high HS category. However, since my previous participants viewed the low BS male target as being more hostile towards women, less supportive of female professionals for women,

and less fair and caring than the high BS male and low BS female targets – demonstrating a lack of understanding that benevolent and hostile sexism are positively associated – I hypothesize that participants' perceptions of the low BS male target (Study 3) will differ significantly from the responses of (most) real-life low BS men in Study 4. Since my participants in Studies 1 and 3 also viewed the low BS and high HS targets similarly, I also predict that perceptions of the low BS male target (Study 3) will resemble those of real-life high HS men in Study 4.

Method

Participants. One-thousand three-hundred and forty-two American adults (701 females and 641 males; aged 18-79, $M = 34.91$) participated in the study for $0.50 USD via Amazon's Mechanical Turk.

Procedure and materials. Participants signed up to participate in a study that was allegedly investigating the relationship between personality traits and people's interpersonal relationships. After reporting demographics information (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, education, marital/relationship status), participants completed a series of "personality" and "interpersonal" scales that contained my dependant measures of interest. Measures from the previous target studies (i.e., ASI, support for female professionals, honesty-humility, agreeableness, communal strength, relationship satisfaction, and the MFQ) were adapted so that instructions and items were phrased to reflect that participants were self-reporting their own attitudes and behaviours (as opposed to predicting the target's attitudes and behaviours).

The measures used in Study 3 to measure perceptions of the target's quality as spouse and parent, as well as the target's propensity for domestic violence, were not administered in Study 4 due to the way the scale items were written, as asking participants to self-report how good of a spouse or parent they are or how likely they are to abuse their spouse will lead to social desirability concerns. As an alternative to asking participants to rate their own quality as a spouse and parent, participants in Study 4 completed the communal strength scale (Mills, Clark, Ford, & Johnson, 2004), which measured their motivation to respond to the needs of their current romantic partner (or, if they are currently single, their previous romantic partner).

As an alternative to asking participants to predict the likelihood that they would abuse their spouse, I added the Attitudes toward Wife Abuse (AWA) Scale (Briere, 1987; 8 items, $\alpha = .82$) to measure male participants' attitudes toward wife abuse (e.g., "A man is entitled to sex with his wife whenever he wants it"). Items in the AWA scale were recoded such that a higher score indicates more condoning of wife abuse (1 = very false, 6 = very true). Also included was an adapted version of the Likelihood of Battering (LB) Scale (Briere, 1987; 6 items, $\alpha = .86$), in which male participants were asked under what circumstances they believe a husband would be justified in hitting his wife (e.g., "If a wife had sex with another man" and "If a wife nags her husband too much"). Items in the LB scale were recoded such that a higher score indicates stronger likelihood of perceiving wife abuse as justified under specific circumstances (1 = not at all likely to be justified, 4 = very likely to be justified). Use of the AWA and LB scales was preferable to simply asking participants to predict their likelihood of abusing their spouse, since the scales were worded to measure the extent to which participants thought abuse was justifiable under certain contexts without referring to the participant or their partner. To assess men's propensity for domestic violence, I created a composite (14 items; $\alpha = .83$) by averaging the z-scores of each item in the AWA and LB Scales (Briere, 1987).

Results

Latent Class Analysis of Sexist Types. To compare how male and female respondents of varying levels of BS and HS scored on the measures, I first grouped participants into Sexism Types by conducting latent class analysis (LCA). I used Sibley and Becker's (2012) technique where the authors modelled latent types of sexists and non-sexists using BS and HS scores in a nationally representative sample in New Zealand. Whereas Sibley and Becker (2012) used a shortened version of the ASI consisting of five BS subscale items and 5 HS subscale items, I utilized the full ASI.

I conducted the LCA using Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 2009) and examined the fit of models from 1 to 7 latent classes as did Sibley and Becker (2012). I found that the model with 5 latent classes fit the data significantly better than a four-class solution ($aLRT = 43.75$, $p = .003$) and a six-class solution

did not offer significant improvements over the five-class model ($aLRT = 32.77$, $p = .27$). The five-class solution also demonstrated high reliability – on average, the probabilities of participants in each Sexism Type being correctly classified ranged from .70 to .90, indicating low likelihood of misclassification (Table 4-1).

Table 4-1
Average Latent Class Probabilities for Most Likely Latent Class Membership (Row) by Latent Class (Column)

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Non-sexists	**.878**	.120	.000	.001	.000
2.	Low ambivalent sexists	.130	**.700**	.120	.047	.003
3.	Moderate ambivalent sexists	.000	.070	**.902**	.014	.014
4.	Univalent benevolent sexists	.002	.137	.089	**.772**	.000
5.	Univalent hostile sexists	.001	.007	.116	.000	**.877**

Values in bold represent the average probability that a participant in a latent class was correctly categorized into that class.

The five latent classes derived from the data are similar to the six-class solution Sibley and Becker found, with the exception that I did not identify a high ambivalent sexist class. This could be due to differences in our respective samples: whereas Sibley and Becker (2012) had a large, nationally-representative sample of New Zealanders (N = 6518; $M_{age} = 47.91$) and administered their survey online and via mail, I had a smaller sample of American participants (N = 1342, $M_{age} = 34.91$) who self-selected to participate in an online-only survey hosted on Mechanical Turk. Although these factors may have led to slightly different samples, the five latent groups that emerged in Study 4 are largely consistent with those that Sibley and Becker identified.

The LCA revealed that the majority of the sample (93%) had matching levels of BS and HS: moderate BS and HS (moderate ambivalent sexists), low BS and HS (low ambivalent sexists), and very low BS and HS (non-sexists). The estimated BS and HS means for each sexism class and the proportion of each class are presented in Figure 1. Also consistent with Sibley and Becker (2012) was the identification of two univalent sexist classes: high BS with low HS (univalent benevolent sexists) and low BS with high HS (univalent hostile sexists). Univalent benevolent sexists were rare (3.2% in my US

sample vs. 4.8% in their NZ sample), as were univalent hostile sexists (3.5% in my US sample vs. 2.1% in their NZ sample). The rarity of univalent sexism is important to note for later discussion for two reasons: it supports the basic tenant of Ambivalent Sexism Theory that benevolent sexism and hostile sexism are positively associated, and provides a meaningful context to examine perceivers' misperceptions of men who reject (and endorse) benevolent sexism.

Figure 1
Estimated means in benevolent and hostile sexism for a
five-class solution estimated using latent class analysis
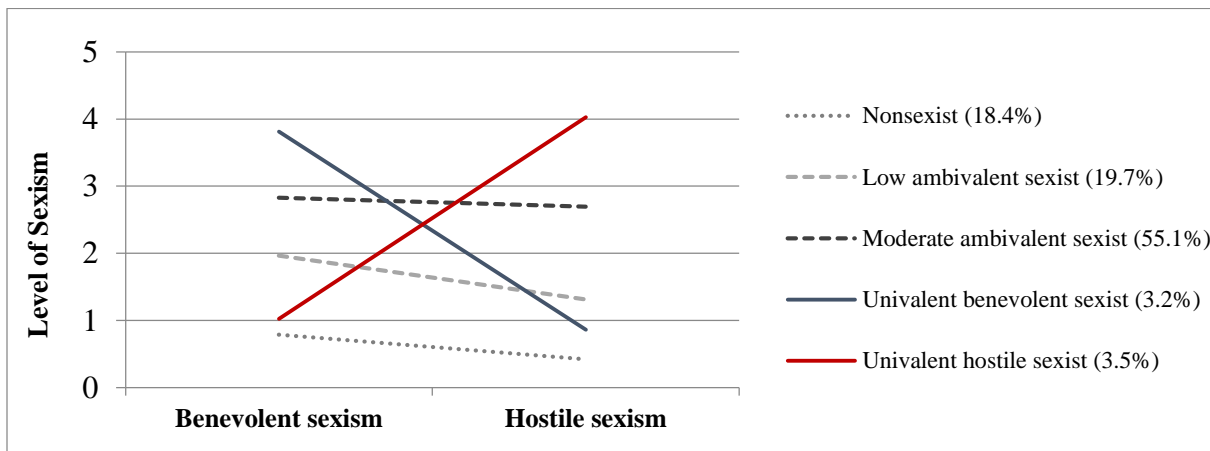
Further breaking down the sexism classes by respondent gender, I found gender differences consistent with those in Sibley and Becker (2012): men were more likely to be classified as moderate ambivalent sexists and univalent hostile sexists than women, whereas women were more likely to be classified as non-sexists, low ambivalent sexists, and univalent benevolent sexists than men (Table 4-2).

Table 4-2
Differences in the proportion of men and women in each sexism class

	Proportion of sample (%)	
	Men (641)	Women (701)
Non-sexists	10.0	26.1
Low ambivalent sexists	14.2	24.8
Moderate ambivalent sexists	67.1	44.2
Univalent benevolent sexists	2.7	3.7
Univalent hostile sexists	6.1	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0

These LCA results from Study 4 indicate that real-life low BS men were more likely to have low HS scores that would classify them under the non-sexist type (10% of sampled men) and low sexist type (14.2% of sampled men) than to have high HS scores that would classify them under the univalent hostile sexist type (only 6.1% of sampled men). These data show that univalent hostile sexists are rare – consistent with ambivalent sexism theory, the representative New Zealand sample in Sibley and Becker (2012), and Study 4's US sample. Nevertheless, participants in Studies 1 and 2 predicted that the low BS male target would have high HS, indicating that they thought it was more likely that he was a univalent hostile sexist than that he was a low sexist or non-sexist. This prediction is quite contrary to the actual frequencies of these latent classes. I conducted t-tests to compare the sample means of the targets' predicted scores in Studies 1-3 and the actual scores of real-life participants in Study 4. The real-life participants' BS and HS scores – and the predicted BS and HS scores of the targets – have been log transformed prior to analysis since the LCA's classifications heavily restricted the range and variance of the real-life scores. No other variables have been log transformed as the real-life scores and predicted scores were more comparable in range and variance.

Actual HS scores of univalent hostile sexist men (Study 4) were higher than the predicted HS scores of the low BS male targets in Study 1 (Tale 4-3) and Study 2 (Table 4-4). Moreover, the actual HS scores of non-sexist and low sexist men (Study 4) were significantly lower than the predicted HS scores of the low BS male target in both Studies 1 and 2, indicating that participants perceived the low BS male target to be more hostilely sexist than most real-life low BS men tend to be.

Table 4-3

Mean differences between perceivers' predictions of the low BS male target (Study 1) and real-life scores of univalent hostile sexist, low sexist, and non-sexist men (Study 4)

	Low BS male target (Study 1)	vs. univalent HS male participant (Study 4)	vs. low sexist male participant (Study 4)	vs. non-sexist male participant (Study 4)
Hostile sexism (HS)	.59	.70*	.38*	.16*

Notes. All scores have been log transformed. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 4-4
Mean differences between perceivers' predictions of the low BS male target (Study 2)
and real-life scores of univalent hostile sexist, low sexist, and non-sexist men (Study 4)

	Low BS male target (Study 2)	vs. univalent HS male participant (Study 4)	vs. low sexist male participant (Study 4)	vs. non-sexist male participant (Study 4)
Hostile sexism (HS)	.57	.70*	.38*	.16*

Notes. All scores have been log transformed. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

In addition, the actual HS scores of univalent benevolent sexist men (Study 4) were higher than

the predicted HS scores of the high BS male targets in Study 1 (Tale 4-5) and Study 2 (Table 4-6).

Similarly, the actual HS scores of moderate sexist men (Study 4) were also significantly higher than the

predicted HS scores of the high BS male target in both Study 1 (Table 4-5) and Study 2 (Table 4-6).

Taken together, these results demonstrate that whereas participants *overestimated* the low BS male

target's hostile sexism (compared to the real-life HS scores of low-sexist and non-sexist men), they

underestimated the high BS male target's hostile sexism (compared to the real-life HS scores of moderate

sexist and univalent benevolent sexist men).

Table 4-5
Mean differences between perceivers' predictions of the high BS male target (Study 1)
and real-life scores of univalent benevolent sexist and moderate sexist men (Study 4)

	High BS male target (Study 1)	vs. moderate sexist male participant (Study 4)	vs. univalent BS male participant (Study 4)
Hostile sexism (HS)	.48	.58*	.68*

Notes. All scores have been log transformed. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 4-6
Mean differences between perceivers' predictions of the high BS male target (Study 2)
and real-life scores of univalent benevolent sexist and moderate sexist men (Study 4)

	High BS male target (Study 2)	vs. moderate sexist male participant (Study 4)	vs. univalent BS male participant (Study 4)
Hostile sexism (HS)	.48	.58*	.68*

Notes. All scores have been log transformed. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Comparisons between predicted and actual attitude patterns. To further assess the accuracy of perceivers' predictions of the low BS male target, I again compared perceptions of the low BS male target (Study 3) to the scores of real-life men with low BS, specifically the scores of non-sexist, low sexist, and univalent hostile sexist men (Study 4). Given that perceivers in previous studies consistently perceived the low BS male target to be similar to the high HS male target, I tested the accuracy of these judgments by comparing the predicted scores of the low BS male target to actual scores of univalent hostile sexist men.

To examine the flip side of participants' negative evaluations of low BS men, I compared the perceptions of the high BS male target (Study 3) to the scores of real-life men with high BS, specifically the scores of moderate ambivalent sexist and univalent benevolent sexist men (Study 4).

Overall, predictions of the low BS male target matched the scores of real-life univalent hostile sexist men significantly better than they matched the scores of real-life non-sexist and low sexist men (Table 4-7). Consistent with my hypotheses, with the exception of communal strength, relationship composite, and the individuating moral foundations (care and fairness), the low BS male target's predicted scores did not differ from the actual scores of univalent hostile sexist men. Further, in the cases where the low BS male target's predicted scores differed from the actual scores of univalent hostile sexist men the data showed that the low BS male target was perceived to score *even more negatively* than real life univalent hostile sexist men – e.g., low BS men were judged to be lower in their endorsement of care and fairness ethics than the scores of actual univalent HS men on these measures.

Also consistent with my hypotheses, predictions of the low BS male target were significantly different from how real-life non-sexist and low sexist men responded (Table 4-7). The results indicate that the low BS male target was perceived as less honest and agreeable, less supportive of female professionals, and lower on communal strength and relationship satisfaction than the responses of real life non-sexist and low sexist men. Additionally, the low BS male target was perceived to be lower on the individuating moral foundations (care and fairness) than actual non-sexists and low sexist men, but higher on two of the binding moral foundations (loyalty and authority).

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Table 4-7
Mean differences between perceivers' predictions of the low BS male target (Study 3)
and real-life scores of univalent hostile sexist, low sexist, and non-sexist men (Study 4)

	Low BS male target (Study 3)	vs. univalent HS male participant (Study 4)	vs. low sexist male participant (Study 4)	vs. non-sexist male participant (Study 4)
Honesty-humility	3.95	3.92	4.74***	4.83***
Agreeableness	3.61	3.53	4.54***	4.60***
Support for female professionals	4.25	3.92	7.33***	8.73***
Communal strength	5.24	7.24***	8.64***	8.67***
Relationship satisfaction	3.09	4.27**	5.29***	4.96***
MFQ: Care	3.26	3.99*	4.34***	4.76***
MFQ: Fairness	3.92	4.41*	4.48**	4.94***
MFQ: Loyalty	3.68	3.46	3.20**	2.80***
MFQ: Authority	3.69	3.37	3.21*	2.38***
MFQ: Sanctity	3.20	3.53	3.11	2.21***

*$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The predicted score of the high BS male target (Table 4-8) was similar to the actual scores of real-life high BS men (moderate ambivalent sexist men and univalent benevolent sexist men). A few differences emerged in these comparisons: the high BS male target was perceived to value the ethics of loyalty and authority more highly than actual moderate sexist men did. Also, real-life univalent BS men were more supportive of female professionals and had higher communal strength than the predicted scores of the high BS male target.

Table 4-8
Mean differences between perceivers' predictions of the high BS male target (Study 3)
and real-life scores of univalent benevolent sexist and moderate sexist men (Study 4)

	High BS male target (Study 3)	vs. moderate sexist male participant (Study 4)	vs. univalent BS male participant (Study 4)
Honesty-humility	4.00	4.28†	4.51
Agreeableness	4.29	4.28	4.62
Support for female professionals	6.36	6.63	8.11*
Communal strength	8.55	8.35	9.53*
Relationship satisfaction	5.50	5.24	5.84
MFQ: Care	4.46	4.27	4.75
MFQ: Fairness	4.32	4.39	4.47
MFQ: Loyalty	4.31	3.98*	3.98
MFQ: Authority	4.48	3.98***	4.10

MFQ: Sanctity	4.05	3.89	3.79

† .05 < p < .10, * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Propensity for perpetrating domestic violence. I conducted a one-way ANOVA to test the effect of sexism class on men's propensity for domestic violence using a composite calculated by averaging the AWA and LB scale items.

There was a main effect of sexism class on men's propensity toward domestic violence, *Welch's F*(4, 88.28) = 59.55, *p* < .001. Comparisons between the sexism classes showed no significant differences in scores of non-sexist men and univalent benevolent sexist men, both of which had lower propensity for domestic violence than low ambivalent sexist men (Table 4-9). Moderate ambivalent sexist men and univalent hostile sexist men did not significantly differ from one another, and both scored higher than low sexist men. Univalent benevolent sexist men were lower in propensity for domestic violence than univalent hostile sexist men.

Table 4-9
Mean difference on propensity for domestic violence by sexism class among male respondents

	Non-sexist (n = 64)	Low sexist (n = 91)	Moderate sexist (n = 430)	Univalent BS (n = 17)	Univalent HS (n = 39)
Propensity for domestic violence (composite z-score)	-.50[a]	-.30[b]	.13[cd]	-.48[abd]	.28[c]

Notes. Means in the same row with different subscripts differed from each other (Dunnett's T3, *p* < .01).

In Studies 1 and 3 the low BS male and high HS male targets were not perceived differently on their likelihood of perpetrating domestic violence. To test the accuracy of perceivers' target predictions, I compared perceivers' predictions of the low BS male target in Study 3 to responses of real-life, low BS men. Specifically, I tested the predicted scores of the low BS male target against the scores of univalent hostile sexist men (who have low BS with *high* HS) and low sexist men (who have low BS with *low* HS)

and non-sexist men (who have very low BS with very *low* HS). First, I converted all male target scores on the 4-item propensity for domestic violence scale in Study 3 to z-scores then compared the z-scores of low BS male targets to the z-scores of the composite consisting of the AWA and LB scales in Study 4. Results indicated that the low BS male target's perceived propensity for domestic violence was not different from univalent hostile sexist men's self-reported propensity for domestic violence, and was significantly higher than the scores of non-sexist and low sexist men (Table 4-10).

Table 4-10
Mean difference on z-scores of the low BS male target's (Study 3) perceived propensity for domestic violence and real-life scores of univalent hostile sexist men and non-sexist men (Study 4)

Low BS male target (Study 3)	vs. univalent HS male participant (Study 4)	vs. low sexist male participant (Study 4)	vs. non-sexist male participant (Study 4)
M = .33	*M* = .28	*M* = -.30***	*M* = -.50***
SD = 1.05	*SD* = .84	*SD* = .44	*SD* = .25

*** *p* ≤ .001

Using the same method, I compared perceivers' predictions of the high BS male target in Study 3 to responses of real-life, high BS men – men who are moderate ambivalent sexists (high BS with high HS) and men who are univalent benevolent sexists (high BS with low HS). Results indicated that the high BS male target's perceived propensity for domestic violence was not significantly different from actual univalent benevolent sexist men's self-reported propensity for domestic violence, but was significantly lower than the scores of actual moderate sexist men (Table 4-11).

Table 4-11
Mean difference on z-scores of the high BS male target's (Study 3) perceived propensity for domestic violence and real-life scores of moderate sexist men and univalent benevolent sexist men (Study 4)

High BS male target (Study 3)	vs. moderate sexist male participant (Study 4)	vs. univalent BS male participant (Study 4)
M = -.54	*M* = .13***	*M* = -.48
SD = .67	*SD* = .65	*SD* = .24

*** *p* ≤ .001

Discussion

Study 4 demonstrated that univalent hostile sexism and univalent benevolent sexism is rare by replicating the results of Sibley and Becker (2012) in an American sample. Additionally, comparisons with real-life scores of different sexist types (derived from LCA) showed that the low BS male target was perceived to be higher in HS, less honest, less agreeable, less supportive of female professionals, and lower on communal strength and relationship satisfaction than most real-life low BS men.

More alarmingly, the low BS male target was perceived to be no different in his propensity for domestic violence compared to real-life univalent hostile sexist men, while being perceived as significantly more likely to be abusive than the real-life non-sexist and low sexist men. In contrast, the high BS male target was perceived to be as unlikely to perpetrate domestic violence as real-life univalent benevolent sexist men and significantly less likely be abusive as real-life moderate sexist men, despite the fact that a high BS male is actually more likely to belong to the latter category than the former category. Taken together, these results demonstrate the problematic consequences of people's misunderstanding about men's benevolent sexism. Although a low BS man is 1.6 times more likely to be a non-sexist than a univalent hostile sexist, and 2.3 times more likely to be a low sexist than a univalent hostile sexist, perceivers are much more likely to view him as a univalent hostile sexist, whereas a high BS man – although 24.8 times more likely to be a moderate sexist than to be a univalent benevolent sexist – is much more likely to be perceived as a univalent benevolent sexist.

Overall, these results suggest that perceivers tend to overestimate the prevalence of univalent sexism in men, as seen by the low BS male and high BS male targets' predicted scores (that resemble univalent hostile sexists and univalent benevolent sexists, respectively).

General Discussion

The current research presented four studies examining laypeople's perceptions of the link between men's and women's benevolent sexism and hostile sexism. To examine these perceptions study participants viewed a male or female target who was either high or low in BS or HS and then reported their predictions of the target's other beliefs and behaviours. First, Study 1 demonstrated that the low BS male target was perceived to be more hostilely sexist, less supportive of female professionals, less good as a parent and spouse, and more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than the high BS male target (H1) and low BS female target (H2a). The results suggested that people indeed perceived a negative relationship between men's BS and HS, as the low BS male target was perceived to be no different in his support for female professionals and propensity for domestic violence compared to the high HS target. In contrast, the low BS female target did not incur these negative judgments, as she was perceived to be no less negative than the high BS female target (H2b), who was perceived as more likely to perpetrate domestic violence. The results of Study 2 showed that the patterns in Study 1 were fairly robust and not attributable to the valence of the target profile manipulation. Study 3 was conducted to further examine broader person perception measures that may be impacted by people's misunderstanding of the relationship between BS and HS, and demonstrated that the low BS male target was also judged negatively on his perceived warmth, agreeableness, interpersonal qualities, and morality. Finally, Study 4 examined the accuracy of participants' judgments of the low BS male target from Studies 1-3 by comparing participants' predictions to the scores of real-life participants of similar sexism scores. Despite the relative rarity of univalent sexists in real life (i.e., people who have high BS with low HS, or low BS with high HS), participants were much more likely to assume that low BS men were univalent hostile sexists rather than non-sexists and low-sexists, even though the latter are much more common in the population. On the flip side, participants were much more likely to assume that high BS men were univalent benevolent sexists rather than moderate or high sexists, even though univalent benevolent sexists are much more rare in the population than moderate or high sexists. Taken together, these results

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strongly illustrate people's assumptions that men (but not women) have univalent attitudes toward women – a misconception that can lead to costly errors.

Implications for Understanding and Studying Sexism

Although social psychologists have repeatedly demonstrated the positive relationship between benevolent sexism and hostile sexism, as well as documented the insidious effects of BS, little research has examines laypeople's perceptions of the relationship between BS and HS. The research that had been conducted on this topic has been limited in scope – relying on within-subjects designs that challenge the validity of their findings and do not closely mirror real-life contexts (e.g., Rudman & Kilianski, 1998; Bohner et al., 2010). Even more problematic, these previous studies have only measured female observers' perceptions of male targets with varying levels of sexism, and have thus not examined the effects of different levels of sexism on impressions of male targets compared to female targets. The present studies contribute to research on sexism by demonstrating that laypeople expect men (but not women) to have univalent attitudes toward women – leading them to inaccurately perceive men who reject BS as misogynists and men who endorse BS as "gentlemen" who value women.

Whereas there are abundant cultural representations of non-traditional women who would reject benevolent sexism that readily come to mind, such representations for men are limited and do not serve as readily available schema to illustrate that men's rejection of BS can be motivated by their respect for women, especially since BS is ingrained in our culture as the standard way that men should value and treat women and failing to do can bring men's character into question. The consistent finding that low BS men are perceived less positively than high BS men and low BS women – and at times even as negative as high HS men -- contributes to our understanding of sexism by demonstrating that observers' attributions of others' benevolent sexist attitudes are highly dependent on the target's gender.

Another important contribution of the present studies to the literature is the evidence that observers believe that information about a target man's BS has rich inductive potential, carrying information not just about his gender-related attitudes and behaviours but also about broader character

traits, including his general warmth, agreeableness, and moral values. Previous research has primarily focused on assessing the perceived typicality and attractiveness of men with different levels of BS and HS (Rudman & Kilianski, 1998; Bohner et al., 2010). By extending the research to study attributions regarding a variety of other personality traits and moral values my work demonstrates that a man's level of BS is taken to be a powerful lens into his character. Study 4 shows that the broader attributions that people make about low versus high BS men are not valid, given what we know about the actual association between these attitudes and relevant measures. However, the fact that participants readily make these diagnoses based only on information about a man's level of BS suggests that they believe that a man's level of BS is a useful basis to make these judgments. I hypothesized that perceivers would take a man's level of BS as a useful indicator of his more general character because BS is the dominant idiom in which men are normatively expected to express respect for women. This norm is so dominant that when a man voices opposition to BS he will be heard as voicing disrespect for women. The expectation that men should enact BS is such a deeply rooted norm that a man's choice to step out of this normative system will inevitably captivate an observer's attention and have a pervasive effect on the man's reputation.

It is particularly noteworthy that low BS men were perceived to lack both liberal types of moral values (care and fairness) and conservative types of moral values (loyalty, respect for authority, and purity). All other targets, even high HS men, were attributed some recognizable moral value. The perception that low BS men lacked all of the major types of moral values may reflect the role that BS is perceived to play in providing a moral orientation to men's lives. Prevalent cultural representations, from classic chivalrous narratives to modern romantic dramas, convey a message that men become morally civilized by devoting themselves to the love of a "good woman." These representations often suggest that the motivation to revere and protect women functions to help men control their baser selfish and aggressive desires. Popular culture is replete with examples of men whose love of women and children motivated them to overcome destructive lifestyles and steered them onto a righteous path. The influence

of these cultural tropes may explain why low BS men who reject these traditional modes of revering women are perceived as lacking moral character.

Moderators of Perceptions of Benevolent Sexism in Men

Are egalitarian men who reject benevolent sexism doomed to be mistaken for misogynists and receiving negative evaluations? How robust is the effect found in the present research, or in other words, what characteristics may lead one to erroneously attribute hostile sexism to low BS men? To investigate these questions, I pooled the BS-target condition data from Studies 1, 2 (original scale wording condition only), and Study 3 in order to obtain a sufficient sample size to test for moderators of this effect ($N =$ 1008). Then, I conducted hierarchal regression analyses for each of the three main dependent measures, in which Target's BS Level (low vs. high BS), Target Gender (female vs. male), Participant BS (centered), along with their second and third level interaction terms were entered into the model. Participant gender was entered into the first step of the model.

The results suggested that this effect may be moderated by participants' own BS attitudes, such that participants with high BS showed a stronger effect than those with low BS. The 3-way interaction between Target's BS Level × Target Gender × Participant BS was significant for target's perceived support for female professionals ($B = .165$, $\beta = .072$, $t(999) = 2.55$, $p = .011$) and propensity for domestic violence ($B = -.119$, $\beta = -.059$, $t(999) = -2.034$, $p = .042$). Even though both low BS and high BS participants perceived the low BS male target (vs. the high BS male target and low BS female target) to be less supportive of female professionals, the effect was stronger among those with high BS ($B = .631$, $\beta = .266$, $t(999) = 6.71$, $p < .001$) than those with low BS ($B = .287$, $\beta = .121$, $t(999) = 2.96$, $p = .003$).

Similarly, although both low BS and high BS participants perceived the low BS male target (vs. the high BS male target and low BS female target) to be more likely to perpetrate domestic violence, the effect was stronger among those with high BS ($B = -.473$, $\beta = -.221$, $t(999) = -5.53$, $p < .001$) than those with low BS ($B = -.223$, $\beta = -.104$, $t(999) = -2.54$, $p = .011$).

These results are consistent with the reasoning that low BS men may be perceived negatively in part due to the lack of cultural representations of men with low BS and low HS – participants with low BS may be able to use their own attitudes as a schema to interpret the attitudes of the low BS male target, whereas participants with high BS would be less likely to have such an available schema. However, caution must be used in the interpretation of this preliminary finding due to limitations in the present research. Specifically, in order to avoid participants' own attitudes from biasing their perceptions of the target, the ASI was administered after participants had seen the target profile manipulation and had completed DVs on their perception of the target. As such, participants' responses may have been contaminated through viewing the target profile manipulation or the DVs. To examine the impact of participants' BS attitudes on their perception of the target profiles, future studies should 1) measure participants' ASI separately in a pre-test that is administered separately from the DVs, and 2) collect a large enough sample to test whether participants' BS interacts with the IVs of the present research.

Perceptions of Benevolent Sexism in Women

Even though the low BS female target was perceived more positively than the low BS male target, no more negative than the high BS female target (e.g., on her quality as a spouse and parent, warmth, communal strength), and actually more positive than the high BS female target (e.g., on her support for female professionals, competence, honesty-humility), these findings do not necessarily mean that women's rejection of BS will be viewed positively in everyday life contexts. Becker, Glick, Ilic, and Bohner (2011) found that whereas women who accept men's benevolent sexist help were perceived as warm but *incompetent* (and therefore less suitable for a competence-related job), women who declined help and asserted their independence were perceived as competent but *cold* (and therefore less suitable for a warmth-related job). This demonstrates the dilemma that women face when offered patronizing help by men: acceptance of the offer leads them to be perceived as incompetent but refusal of the offer leads them to be perceived as cold. Caution must be applied when interpreting the results of the current research, as the female target's rejection of BS was presented in the form of her survey responses –

perceptions of the low BS female target may very well differ if she rejected BS through declining a man's patronizing help or "romantic" gestures, as Frye (1983) astutely stated:

> *What women experience is a world in which gallant princes charming commonly make a fuss about being helpful and providing small services when help and service are of little or no use, but in which there are rarely ingenious and adroit princes at hand when substantial assistance is really wanted either in mundane affairs or in situations of threat, assault, or terror. There is no help with the (his) laundry; no help typing a report at 4:00 A.M... The gallant gestures have no practical meaning. Their meaning is symbolic. The door-opening and similar services provided are services which really are needed by people who are for one reason or another incapacitated – unwell, burdened with parcels, etc. So the message is that women are incapable. The detachment of the acts from the concrete realities of what women need and do not need is a vehicle for the message that women's actual needs and interests are unimportant or irrelevant. (p. 13)*

Perceptions of women who reject BS can vary depending on the context and tone of their refusal, as men's "gift" of benevolent sexism may be more about men's adherence to masculinity norms, and assertion – and maintenance – of power rather than women's *actual* needs, interests, or well-being.

Additionally, although researchers have investigated the relationship between (men's and women's) benevolent sexism and domestic violence against women (e.g., Allen, Swan, & Raghavan, 2012; Capezza & Arriaga, 2008; Expósito, Herrera, Moya, & Glick, 2010; Glick, Sakallı –Ugurlu, Ferreira, & Aguiar de Souza, 2002), no studies to date (to the best of my knowledge) have studied the relationship between women's benevolent sexism and domestic violence against men. In the current research, high BS women were perceived to be more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than low BS women, possibly due to their feeling of entitlement over how they ought to be treated by their male partner. This is consistent with Hammond, Sibley, and Overall's (2014) finding that women's psychological entitlement predicted their endorsement of BS and also increased their BS over time. Women with high BS may also be more likely to be abusive due to their expectations about how they ought to be treated by male partners and their attitudes toward men – this is especially troubling in the context of research on ambivalence toward men.

The Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (AMI; Glick & Fiske, 1999) was created to measure women's hostile and benevolent attitudes toward men. Similar to the ASI, it consists of a Hostility

Toward Men (HM) subscale and a Benevolence Toward Men (BM) subscale. On one hand, the HM subscale captures three components of hostility toward men: 1) Resentment of Paternalism (e.g., "Most men pay lip service to equality for women, but can't handle having a woman as an equal"), 2) Compensatory Gender Differentiation (e.g., "When it comes down to it, most men are really like children"), and 3) Heterosexual Hostility (e.g., "When men act to 'help' women, they are often trying to prove they are better than women"). The BM subscale, on the other hand, measures three components of benevolence toward men: 1) Maternalism (e.g., "Women ought to take care of their men at home, because men would fall apart if they had to fend for themselves"), 2) Complementary Gender Differentiation (e.g., "Men are more willing to put themselves in danger to protect others"), and 3) Heterosexual Intimacy (e.g., "Every woman needs a male partner who will cherish her"). Glick and Fiske (1999, 2004) have validated the AMI and found it to correlate strongly with the ASI both on the individual level and the national level, such that HS, BS, HM, and BM are all positively correlated attitudes. Thus, women with high BS are also likely to hold hostile and benevolent attitudes toward men – making it plausible that women with high BS may be abusive toward their male partner if they do not act in accordance to traditional gender roles (e.g., providing for the family, protecting and cherishing women). Future research should examine whether there may be truth to the perception that women who exhibit strong BS are more likely to be abusive to their male partners, especially in light of the reality that male victims report abuse at a rate lower than female victims (Britton, 2001; Watson & Parsons, 2005), in part due to masculinity norms and the social stigma of male victimization.

Implications for Interpersonal Relationships

> *"His attentive treatment of her had nothing to do with the presumption that she was weak, and everything to do with the conviction that she was valuable." - Angela Blount, Once Upon a Road Trip*

Returning to the scenario in the introduction where a woman is seeking a romantic partner and is evaluating her two dates, one who acted chivalrously and another who did not. Based on the current research, the woman (and any friends she might talk to about her dates) would likely have a more positive

impression of the first date than the second one due to the first date's display of benevolent sexism. This is consistent with Rudman and Kilianski (1998) and Bohner et al. (2010), as both found that women find benevolent sexist men extremely likeable. Unfortunately, women's misunderstanding of the relationship between men's BS and HS can lead to costly errors, as it does not only influences who they date but also has far-reaching consequences to the quality of their romantic relationships and their pursuit of personal goals.

One of the reasons that women find benevolent sexism appealing is the notion that women ought to be cherished and protected by men. Cross, Overall, and Hammond (2016) found that women higher in attachment anxiety were more likely to be attracted to and show preference for high BS men, as "the promise of a chivalrous protective partner" is especially appealing to their relationship security needs. However, whereas men's endorsement of BS was unrelated to perceptions of their female partners' endorsement of BS – *again* suggesting that men's BS attitudes are not based on their female partners' actual needs and wants – women who perceive their partner to endorse (vs. reject) BS became more (less) benevolently sexist over time (Hammond, Overall, & Cross, 2016).

How would women's BS attitudes impact the quality of their romantic relationships? Since benevolent sexism is about men's deference to women in romantic relationships (e.g., "Happy wife, happy life"), women who highly endorse BS may be met with disappointment if they perceive that their partner's actions are inconsistent with benevolent sexist values. Indeed, Hammond and Overall (2014) found that women (but not men) who more strongly endorse BS experienced sharper declines in relationship satisfaction when faced with relationship difficulties and hurtful partner behaviour – suggesting that high BS women's satisfaction in their relationship is contingent on the extent to which they feel revered and cherished by their partner. This is consistent with the current research's finding that low BS men (vs. high BS men) are perceived to be less ideal romantic partners, and is powerfully illustrated in participants' comments regarding the low BS male target:

> *"I thought that maybe he either just was dumped, or he's gay. Nobody can hate women THAT much." - Female participant, Study 1*

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"Either he is a homosexual, or he's had his heartbroken. Or possibly even, he just has no respect for women and views them as objects." - Female participant, Study 1

"This man is definitely not one who wants to provide for his woman or who values the relationship a man can have with a good woman. He's probably a man's man and likes to display masculine tendencies, acting like he doesn't need a woman to be happy in his life." - Female participant, Study 1

"This is a man I would not want to ever date! While he may either be gay or just believe in equal rights, he is not at all attractive to me! (Even if he looked like Brad Pitt!)" - Female participant, Study 1

These comments from female participants illustrate how men's rejection of BS is interpreted by women who have a vested interest in the promises of benevolent sexism. To women who endorse BS, a man's lack of reverence may convey that he does not value her as a woman and romantic partner, which is particularly threatening for women who strongly endorse BS. Thus, women's benevolent sexist attitudes not only impact who they might find attractive, but also have negative effects on their expectations in a relationship and their relationship satisfaction.

Even if high BS women find male partners who also endorse BS, both partners' endorsement of benevolent sexism can also have negative effects on the stability of their romantic relationship. When men and women who endorse BS perceive their partner to fall short on prescriptive relationship standards (i.e., in the face of partner-ideal discrepancy such that high BS women and men perceive their partner to be less warm than they *ought* to be) they report much greater willingness to dissolve the relationship than did low BS women and men (Hammond & Overall, 2014). Additionally, male partners of high BS women were able to perceive their partner's greater willingness to leave the relationship. Ultimately, endorsement of benevolent sexist attitudes impact men's and women's expectations in romantic relationships and can have detrimental effects to their relationship satisfaction and stability.

In addition, a romantic partner's endorsement of benevolent sexism can also have negative effects outside of one's relationship. Hammond and Overall (2013) found that men with high BS were more likely to provide dependency-oriented support (e.g., telling their partner how to pursue their goal,

overhelping with their partner's goal pursuit, and underestimating their partner's ability to pursue their goal) which led their female partners to feel less competent towards pursuing their goal. This is consistent with research outside of the relationship domain suggesting that exposure to BS can have more negative on women's competence than exposure to HS (Dardenne & Bollier, 2007; Dunmont, Sarlet, & Dardenne, 2010).

Generalizing to Other Cultural Settings

A key limitation of the present studies is that they only studied perceptions of sexist attitudes in a North American cultural context. Research on ambivalent sexism indicates that the dynamic interplay between benevolent and hostile sexism generalizes across a broad range of cultures (Glick et al., 2000). It is critical to extend the present studies to test whether the patterns of biased perceptions of benevolent and hostile sexism in men and women generalize to other cultural context because previous research has found that other biases in social perception that have been documented in North American cultures are not found in cultures that are less individualistic than the dominant culture within North America (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). As a preliminary investigation of the cross-cultural generalizability of my findings, I ran a version of the experiment from Study 3 with a sample of 240 Indian participants (M_{age} = 29.52, SD_{age} = 8.18; 93 females, 147 males, and 2 unidentified) who were recruited through the same online data collection platform, Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk. In this study the target's gender, Sexism Type (BS or HS), and Sexism Level (low or high) were manipulated, and participants were asked to make inferences about the target based on their impressions as in the current research.

I replicated the pattern that low BS men were perceived to be less supportive of female professionals, lower quality spouses and fathers, and more abusive than high BS men. I also found that low BS men were attributed low levels of both liberal and conservative moral values. However, some interesting cultural differences emerged in comparisons of low vs. high BS women. Whereas in the North American sample low BS women were perceived to have higher quality relationships with their families

than high BS women, in the Indian sample low BS women were perceived to have lower quality relationships with their families than high BS women. This cultural difference may be due to the fact that whereas in North American culture BS is primarily conceived as the norm for how men should respect women, in Indian culture BS may also function to regulate women's respect for higher status women within their households. Specifically, in traditional Indian households a daughter-in-law is expected to revere her mother-in-law. So, in North American culture since women are portrayed as purely the beneficiaries of BS, then individual women may be seen to be entitled to opt out of these benefits by rejecting BS. However, if in India women are not just the beneficiaries of BS but also the providers of BS to higher status women, then individual women who opt out of BS may be seen to be shirking a moral responsibility similar to how low BS men are perceived in both cultures. If this explanation is correct, then the cultural differences in perceptions of low BS women may support the more general interpretation that rejection of BS is perceived negatively when it is likely to be interpreted as prioritizing self-interest over respecting women, as in the case of low BS men in North America and India, and low BS women in India but not North America.

Limitations and Future Directions

A limitation in the current research is that support vs. opposition of benevolent sexism was operationalized through the target's alleged responses on the BS subscale. Future research should explore ways to operationalize BS level through behavioural expressions that are more ecologically valid. It is also important to consider the effects of different contexts in which targets express their endorsement or rejection of BS (e.g., a target stating "I don't open doors for women", as opposed to "I open doors for men and women" or "I don't open doors for men or women". While the low BS female target was perceived positively in the current research, this may be limited to certain forms of expressions that do not threaten the system, as women who reject men's offer of benevolent sexism (in the form of patronizing help) incurred costs in observers' perceptions of their warmth (Becker et al., 2011). A target's endorsement or rejection of BS may be interpreted differently depending on the context in which it

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occurs, such that perceptions of men and women who endorse or reject benevolent sexism may be further magnified in a romantic context (vs. in a professional context).

If benevolent sexism is a "gift" from men to women that ultimately serves to justify and maintain the status quo, then men's offering and women's rejection of BS would both be threatening to the status quo. However, because men have higher social status and ultimately decide which women are worthy of their reverence (e.g., women who fulfill traditional gender norms such as homemakers and mothers), men's rejection of BS should be perceived as to be more threatening than women's rejection of BS – which may contribute the current research's finding that people perceive the low BS male target much more negatively than the low BS female target. To test this possibility, I conducted a preliminary study in which the gender-specific system justification scale (Jost & Kay, 2005) was administered to participants immediately after viewing responses of a male or female target who either endorses or rejects BS. Whereas the female target's endorsement or rejection of BS had no effect on participants' system justification, participants who viewed the responses of the high BS male target (vs. low BS male target) reported higher levels of system justification. This suggests that men's continual offering of BS is crucial to the maintenance of the system and that *men's* rejection of BS is more threatening to the system then *women's* rejection of BS, for if men no longer revere even those women who embody traditional gender norms then the stability of the status quo would be in peril.

Conclusions

The current research demonstrated that although social psychologists have reliably established the positive association between benevolent and hostile sexist attitudes, laypeople's understanding of sexism assume that men's – but not women's – attitudes toward women are univalent, and thus perceivers attribute men's rejection of BS to reflect misogyny and men's endorsement of BS to signal reverence. Although a man who rejects BS is more likely to be a non-sexist or low sexist than a univalent hostile sexist, participants are more likely to assume that the low BS male target was a hostile sexist. Moreover, this effect was so strong that participants' perceptions of the low benevolent sexist male target were as

negative as – or even more negative than – the scores of real-life high hostile sexist men. This misconception of men's benevolent sexism leads to derogation of men who challenge BS – another way in which the status quo is justified and maintained.

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APPENDIX A

Target gender manipulation (female target):

You are being presented data from a previous study. The next page contains survey responses from a **female** participant in that study.

Please read the survey responses carefully. You will answer a series of surveys about the participant based on your impression in the next part of the study.

Target gender manipulation (male target):

You are being presented data from a previous study. The next page contains survey responses from a **male** participant in that study.

Please read the survey responses carefully. You will answer a series of surveys about the participant based on your impression in the next part of the study.

Low BS Target Profile

Instructions: Below are 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.

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

2. In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

3. People are rarely truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

4. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

5. Women should be cherished and protected by men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly	Somewhat	Slightly	Slightly	Somewhat	Strongly

6. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

7. Men are incomplete without women.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

8. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

9. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

10. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

11. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

High BS Target Profile

Instructions: Below are 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.

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	**Somewhat agree**	Strongly agree

2. In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	**Somewhat agree**	Strongly agree

3. People are rarely truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	**Strongly agree**

4. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	**Slightly agree**	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

5. Women should be cherished and protected by men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	**Somewhat agree**	Strongly agree

6. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	**Slightly agree**	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

7. Men are incomplete without women.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	**Strongly agree**

8. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	**Somewhat agree**	Strongly agree

9. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	**Somewhat agree**	Strongly agree

10. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	**Slightly agree**	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

11. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	**Strongly agree**

APPENDIX C

Low HS Target Profile

Instructions: Below are 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.

1. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

2. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

3. Women are too easily offended.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

4. Feminists are seeking for women to have more power than men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

5. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

6. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

7. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

8. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

9. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

10. There are actually quite a few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

11. Feminists are making entirely unreasonable demands of men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

Instructions: Below are 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.

1. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

2. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

3. Women are too easily offended.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly	Somewhat	Slightly	Slightly	Somewhat	Strongly

6. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

7. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

8. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

9. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

10. There are actually quite a few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

11. Feminists are making entirely unreasonable demands of men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

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APPENDIX D

Target's Support for Female Professionals

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not at all likely									Extremely likely

1. How likely is this person to vote for a policy aiming to increase women's participation in fields where they are currently underrepresented?

2. How likely is this person to vote for a policy aiming to help stay-at-home moms return to the workforce?

3. How likely is this person to vote for a policy that provides incentives and loans to women who wish to start a business?

4. How likely is this person to vote for a policy aiming to increase women's average wage to match men's average wage?

5. How likely is this person to vote for a female candidate in an election?

APPENDIX E

Target's Quality as a Spouse and Parent

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not at all likely									Extremely likely

1. How likely is this person to be a good [mother/father] to a son?

2. How likely is this person to be a good [mother/father] to a daughter?

3. How likely is this person to be a good [wife/husband]?

APPENDIX F

Target's Propensity to Perpetrate Domestic Violence

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not at all likely									Extremely likely

1. How likely is this person to be a perpetrator of domestic violence?

2. How likely is this person to be physically violent toward [her/his] spouse?

3. How likely is this person to be emotionally abusive toward [her/his] spouse?

4. How likely is this person to sexually abuse [her/his] spouse?

Low BS target (Scale Wording: reversed)

Instructions: Below are 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.

1. A man can be truly complete as a person without the love of a woman.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

2. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

3. Many people can be truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the opposite sex.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

4. Men and women are equally likely to possess a quality of purity.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

5. Women should not be cherished and protected by men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

6. Every man does not need to have a woman whom he adores.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

7. Men can be complete without women.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

8. A good woman should not be set on a pedestal by her man.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

9. Women, compared to men, do not tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

10. Women, compared to men, do not tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

11. Men should not have to be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

High BS target (Scale Wording: reversed)

Instructions: Below are 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.

1. A man can be truly complete as a person without the love of a woman.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

2. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

3. Many people can be truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the opposite sex.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

4. Men and women are equally likely to possess a quality of purity.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

5. Women should not be cherished and protected by men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly	Somewhat	Strongly

6. Every man does not need to have a woman whom he adores.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

7. Men can be complete without women.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

8. A good woman should not be set on a pedestal by her man.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

9. Women, compared to men, do not tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

10. Women, compared to men, do not tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

11. Men should not have to be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

Low HS target (Scale Wording: reversed)

Instructions: Below are 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.

1. Very few women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

2. Very few women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

3. Women are not too easily offended.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

4. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

5. Most women appreciate fully all that men do for them.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

6. Women do not seek to gain power by getting control over men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

7. Women do not exaggerate problems they have at work.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

8. When a man commits to a woman it is very rare that she tries to put him on a tight leash.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

9. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they very rarely complain about being discriminated against.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

10. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

11. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

Instructions: Below are 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.

1. Very few women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

2. Very few women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

3. Women are not too easily offended.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

4. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

5. Most women appreciate fully all that men do for them.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

6. Women do not seek to gain power by getting control over men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

7. Women do not exaggerate problems they have at work.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

8. When a man commits to a woman it is very rare that she tries to put him on a tight leash.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

9. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they very rarely complain about being discriminated against.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

10. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

11. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

Target's Perceived Relationship Satisfaction

Based on your impression of the participant, his/her level of marital satisfaction is

very low 1	2	3	4	5	6	very high 7
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Based on your impression of the participant, his/her partner's level of marital satisfaction is

very low 1	2	3	4	5	6	very high 7
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Based on your impression, the participant's relationship with his/her partner is

very bad 1	2	3	4	5	6	very good 7
○	○	○	○	○	○	○