

# Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexist Attitudes Toward Positive and Negative Sexual Female Subtypes<sup>1</sup>

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Expressions of hostile and benevolent sexism toward a female character whose behavior was consistent with either a positive (i.e., chaste) or negative (i.e., promiscuous) sexual female subtype were examined. Consistent with the theory that benevolent and hostile sexism form complementary ideologies that serve to maintain and legitimize gender-based social hierarchies, men expressed increased hostile, but decreased benevolent, sexism toward a female character who fit a negative subtype, whereas they expressed increased benevolent, but decreased hostile, sexism toward a female character who fit a positive subtype that was consistent with traditional gender roles. Furthermore, men's sexual self-schema moderated expressions of hostile sexism across subtypes, which suggests that men who think of themselves in sexual terms (i.e., those who are sexually schematic) may be predisposed to (a) interpret information about women in sexual terms and categorize women into positive or negative sexual female subtypes on the basis of limited information, which leads to (b) increased hostile sexist attributions when women are perceived as fitting a negative sexual subtype. These findings emphasize the role of both social dominance motives and the more subtle sociocognitive processes underlying gender stereotyping in the expression of ambivalent sexism.

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**KEY WORDS:** ambivalent sexism; masculinity; self-concept; prejudice.

Recent research has identified two interrelated sexist attitudes that have been termed hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2001). Glick and Fiske (2001, p. 109) defined hostile sexism as "an adversarial view of gender relations in which women are perceived as seeking to control men, whether through sexuality or feminist ideology." Benevolent sexism, in contrast, is defined as "attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling or tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviors

typically categorized as prosocial (e.g., helping) or intimacy seeking (e.g., self-disclosure)" (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 491). Men high in hostile sexism, for example, are more likely to ascribe negative feminine stereotyped traits to women, whereas men who endorse benevolent sexism are more likely to ascribe positive feminine stereotyped traits to women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). These two forms of sexism are moderately positively correlated across numerous different cultures, indicating that men who endorse benevolent sexist attitudes toward women also tend to endorse hostile sexism. This positive correlation has led Glick and Fiske to argue that hostile and benevolent sexism reflect complementary ideologies that serve to justify gender inequality (see Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2001, 2002; Masser & Abrams, 1999; Viki & Abrams, 2002; cf. Petrocelli, 2002, for discussion of this issue).

<sup>1</sup>A previous version of this manuscript was presented at the annual conference of the New Zealand Psychological Society in Wellington, New Zealand, 2004.

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According to Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, and Zhu (1997) men draw upon representations of different female subtypes when expressing hostile and benevolent sexism (see also Forbes, Adams-Curtis, White, & Holmgren, 2003). Glick et al. (1997; see also Eckes, 2001) reported that men who were higher in ambivalent sexism (i.e., high in both hostile and benevolent sexism) tended to list a more polarized range of female subtypes, which suggests that they may express hostile and benevolent sexism toward different groups of women, or in some cases toward women whose classification has changed from a positive to negative subtype. Glick et al. (1997), for example, reported that benevolent sexism was correlated with positive evaluations of women in a traditional "homemaker" role; whereas hostile sexism was correlated with negative evaluations of the nontraditional female subtype "career woman." In this sense, benevolent sexism may be considered a form of sexist objectification that idealizes women who conform to patriarchal social hierarchies, whereas hostile sexism may be seen as the other side of this two-edged sword, which expresses subjectively negative and aggressive attitudes toward women who are perceived as competing with men and are therefore seen as a threat to the social hierarchy (Glick et al., 2000; see also Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis, & Birum, 2002; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Glick et al. (1997) also reported that hostile sexism was related to negative evaluations of the subtype "sexy woman." However, as Glick et al. (1997) noted, this finding should be interpreted with caution because of the ambiguity of the term "sexy woman" and the failure to differentiate positive and negative sexual female subtypes (see Six & Eckes, 1991). On the basis of these results, Glick et al. (1997, p. 1331) speculated that "specific female subtypes activate either hostile sexism or benevolent sexism but not both." Although indicative, further research is needed to ascertain this possibility as hostile and benevolent sexism were assessed using global statements that referred to women in general (e.g., "most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist") or, in some cases, to feminists specifically (e.g., "feminists are seeking for women to have more power than men"; see also, for example, Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Consistent with Glick et al. (1997), research on female subtyping suggests that one key way in which female subtypes may be cognitively differentiated is on the basis of perceived sexuality (Carpenter & Trentham, 1998, 2001; Faludi, 1992; Six & Eckes,

1991; Tavis & Wade, 1984; see also Eckes, 1994a, 1994b). The dichotomy between the subjectively positive and negative sexual female subtypes has been referred to in various ways. Tavis and Wade (1984), for example, have referred to this dichotomy as the "Madonna/Whore" distinction, in which women are either placed on a pedestal or in the gutter, metaphorically speaking.

In the present research, we sought to extend research on the role of female subtyping in ambivalent sexism by assessing hostile and benevolent sexist evaluations of a female character whose behavior was consistent with either a stereotypically sexually positive (i.e., chaste, sexually pure) or negative (e.g., seductress, sexual tease, flirt) subtype. Drawing upon Glick et al. (1997, 2000; see also Haddock & Zanna, 1994), we predicted that expressions of benevolent and hostile sexism toward positive and negative sexual female subtypes would differ to the extent that these two ideologies are used subjectively to reward and punish women depending upon whether they conform to, or threaten, gender-based social hierarchies.

However, we also predicted that these effects would be further enhanced by sociocognitive processes that affect the perception and categorization of women into sexual subtypes, which are not motivated by hierarchy enhancing ideology per se (see for example, Bargh, Raymond, Pryor, & Strack, 1995). Specifically, when hostile and benevolent sexist attributions are assessed toward a *particular* female target (or subtype) rather than toward women at a *global* level (as has been done in the majority of previous research on ambivalent sexism; e.g., Glick et al., 1997; Pek & Leong, 2003; Russell & Trigg, 2004; Viki, Abrams, & Hutchison, 2003; see also Thompson, Zanna, & Griffin, 1995) we predicted that individual differences in men's sexual self-concept and gender role identification would increase stereotyped categorizations and, therefore, moderate the expression of hostile and benevolent sexism toward positive and negative sexual female subtypes.

According to Andersen, Cyranowski, and Espindle (1999), a man's sexual self-schema indicates the degree to which he thinks of himself in sexual terms. Sexual self-schemas have been shown to predict differences in the processing of sexually salient social information about the self and to correlate with measures of sexual behavior and attitudes (Andersen et al., 1999; Cyranowski & Andersen, 1998, 2000; see also García, 1999). Research on different forms of self-schema further suggests that the ways in which

people organize and process cognitive information about the self may influence the perceptions and impressions they form of other people in schema relevant domains (Fong & Markus, 1982; Kendzierski, Sheffield, & Morganstein, 2002; Lewicki, 1983, 1984; Markus, Crane, Bernstein, & Siladi, 1982; Markus & Smith, 1981; Markus, Smith, & Moreland, 1985).

Markus et al. (1985), for example, reported that men with a more masculine self-schema who observed a male actor performing masculine-related behaviors chunked those behaviors into larger units than did aschematic men. According to Markus et al. (1985), this result suggests that schematic men have more expertise in masculine-related domains, which allows them to classify and interpret larger, more complex units of behavior relevant to this domain. Thus, sexually schematic men may be more likely to form generalizations about another person on the basis of limited sexually-salient information (Markus et al., 1985; see also García & Kushnier, 1987; Hollingshead & Fraidin, 2003). Markus et al. (1985, pp. 1506–1507) identified the undesirable implications of this process when they stated that this tendency “could also lead quite naturally to stereotyping in schema relevant domains. . . . This view warrants further investigation because it suggests that one must be particularly careful of stereotyping or faulty generalizations in self-relevant areas.”

Consistent with Markus et al. (1985; see also Lewicki, 1983, 1984), we argue that sexually schematic men may have a more detailed cognitive repertoire upon which to draw when they interpret and evaluate others' sexual behavior. This cognitive framework likely includes a more detailed representation of different female subtypes, and may predispose sexually schematic men to interpret ambiguous behavior in sexual terms, which may, in turn, enhance the likelihood of a woman being categorized into either a positive or negative sexual subtype on the basis of relatively limited information (see Andersen et al., 1999; Markus et al., 1985). This may in turn facilitate attributions of hostile sexism toward women categorized into a negative sexual subtype and benevolent sexism toward women categorized into a positive sexual subtype.

## OVERVIEW AND GUIDING HYPOTHESES

In order to assess expressions of hostile and benevolent sexism toward specific female subtypes, items from Glick and Fiske's (1996) Ambivalent

Sexism Inventory were reworded to assess evaluations of a female character described in a vignette. The female character's behaviors and attitudes were consistent with either a negative (promiscuous sexual temptress) or a positive (chaste, sexually pure) sexual subtype. The selection of these two sexual subtypes were guided by Tavis and Wade's (1984) Madonna/Whore distinction and Glick et al.'s (1997) speculation regarding the differentiation of positive and negative subtypes of the “sexy woman” category in their own research on female subtyping and ambivalent sexism.

### Hypothesis 1

We first predicted that men would express higher levels of hostile sexism toward the female character in the vignette when her behavior was consistent with a negative, relative to a positive, sexual female subtype (*H1a*). Benevolent sexism, however, should show the opposite trend: Men were expected to express higher levels of benevolent sexism toward the female character when her behavior was consistent with a positive, relative to a negative, sexual female subtype (*H1b*).

### Hypothesis 2

We further predicted that men's sexual self-schema would moderate these effects. Specifically, we hypothesized that, relative to aschematics, sexually schematic men would express increased *hostile sexist* evaluations of the character in the vignette when her behavior was consistent with a *negative* sexual female subtype (*H2a*). In contrast, when the female character's behavior was consistent with a *positive* sexual female subtype, sexually schematic men would express increased *benevolent sexist* evaluations toward her (*H2b*).

## METHOD

### Participants

Sixty-one male students (47 NZ European/Pakeha, 8 Maori or Pacific Nations, 5 Asian, 1 undisclosed) received partial course credit for participation. Participants ranged from 17 to 39 years of age ( $M = 20$ ,  $SD = 3.59$ ) Thirty-nine participants were

single, 21 were in a romantic relationship, and one participant was married.

### Materials and Procedure

A male experimenter blind to experimental conditions introduced the research as a study of people's ability to form impressions of others and to remember the details of social situations and events.

Men's sexual self-schema was assessed using the adjective-rating task developed by Andersen et al. (1999). Participants were asked to rate how well 35 trait adjectives described them on a 7-point scale that ranged from 0 (*not at all descriptive of me*) to 6 (*very descriptive of me*). Twenty-seven of these adjectives assessed men's sexual self-schema (e.g., powerful, sensual;  $\alpha = .77$ ), whereas the remaining eight adjectives were filler items unrelated to men's sexual self-schema (e.g., polite, excitable).<sup>4</sup> This scale provided an unobtrusive measure of the sociocognitive aspects of men's sexuality which previous research suggests is uncorrelated with both social desirability and embarrassment, but strongly positively correlated with self-reports of previous sexual behavior, attitudes toward sexual coercion, and passionate love (Andersen et al., 1999).

A vignette that described a potential sexual encounter between a male character and a female character was then distributed with instructions to: "read the following account carefully and take time to remember the details. Afterward, you will be tested on certain aspects of the story, such as your ability to remember and recreate a vivid representation of the event, and your perceptions and opinions of the characters." Participants were randomly allocated to one of two conditions.

In the negative sexual female subtype condition, participants read a narrative in which the female character (named Kate) was described as enjoying casual flings and as having had sexual relations with a number of different men. She consumed alcohol (a behavior perceived as indicative of promiscuity and sexual availability; Vélez-Blasini & Brandt, 2000), and then declined an offer of casual sex by one of the male characters. This information aimed to prime her categorization as a promiscuous sexual

temptress, traits indicative of the "Whore" category identified by Tavris and Wade (1984).

In the positive sexual female subtype condition, the female character (Kate) was described as not enjoying casual flings and as having had sexual relations with relatively few, if any, men. She consumed alcohol, and then declined an offer of casual sex by one of the male characters. This information aimed to prime her categorization as chaste and sexually pure, traits indicative of the "Madonna" category identified by Tavris and Wade (1984).<sup>5</sup> Participants read the vignette at their leisure (see the Appendix for the full text).

Vignettes were then collected, and a manipulation check was presented under the guise of a memory test. This consisted of two multiple-choice items: What did Kate have to drink? (a) Coke, (b) wine, (c) beer, (d) Kahlua and milk; How did Joel describe Kate to his friend in the story? (a) Kate enjoyed having casual flings, (b) Kate was not interested in casual flings, (c) Kate had a serious boy friend. As a further manipulation check, participants rated the female character's promiscuity using the adjective-rating task developed by Abbey and Harnish (1995;  $\alpha = .85$ ). This scale included seven adjectives (e.g., flirtatious, seductive) that participants rated on a 7-point scale that ranged from 0 (*not at all descriptive of Kate*) to 6 (*very descriptive of Kate*).<sup>6</sup>

Sexist evaluations of the female character described in the vignette were then assessed using shortened six-item versions of the hostile ( $\alpha = .87$ ) and benevolent ( $\alpha = .78$ ) subscales of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996).<sup>7</sup> Items

<sup>5</sup>The use of a relatively detailed narrative provides opportunities for future researchers to manipulate other events of interest (e.g., alcohol consumption, gender differences in who initiated the offer for implied sex, and the possible interaction between descriptions of the female character and her subsequent choice of whether or not to go back to the male character's apartment) while maintaining a relatively high degree of consistency with the current study.

<sup>6</sup>When participants were informed afterward that there were two versions of the story, no one correctly identified the manipulation.

<sup>7</sup>A validation sample of 126 male university students completed the original version of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996). A composite of the six-items used to assess hostile sexism in the current research was highly positively correlated with the full 11-item measure,  $r(124) = .95, p < .001$ . The shortened six-item measure of benevolent sexism displayed a similarly high correlation with the full 11-item measure,  $r(124) = .82, p < .001$ . These results indicate that the shortened measures of benevolent and hostile sexism used in this research provide relatively accurate indicators of the two constructs. Consistent with previous research (e.g., Glick et al., 2000), additional

<sup>4</sup>Ten of the original filler items used by Andersen et al. (1999) were removed in order to reduce the length of time taken to complete the entire survey.

were selected that could easily be reworded to target the female character described in the vignette. Hostile sexist evaluations of the female character were assessed using reworded versions of items 2, 10, 11, 15, 16, and 18 of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, for example, the original item “once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash” was changed to “once a woman like Kate gets a man to commit to her, she will usually try to put him on a tight leash.” Benevolent sexist evaluations were assessed using items 3, 8, 9, 17, 19, and 22, for example, the original item “many women have a quality of purity that few men possess” was changed to “women like Kate have a quality of purity that few men possess.” Consistent with Glick and Fiske (1996), items were rated on a 6-point Likert scale that ranged from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Upon completion, participants placed their surveys in a locked cabinet to ensure their anonymity.

### Pilot Study to Assess the Vignette

An independent group of 50 male participants were asked to select the subtype that most accurately reflected the female character described in the vignette. Participants selected one of five subtypes: Housewife/Mother; Sexual Temptress/Flirt; Chaste/Sexually Pure Woman; Feminist; Career Woman (the category “None of the Above” was also included). Eighty percent of the men who read the promiscuous version of the vignette selected the “Sexual Temptress/Flirt” subtype. In contrast, 76% of the men who read the nonpromiscuous version of the vignette selected the “Chaste/Sexually Pure Woman” subtype. Participants also rated the accuracy of each subtype on a 7-point scale that ranged from 0 (*inaccurate description of Kate*) to 6 (*accurate description of Kate*). In the promiscuous condition, a repeated measures ANOVA with post hoc tests indicated that the “Sexual Temptress/Flirt” subtype was rated as a significantly more accurate description of the female character ( $M = 3.00, SD = 1.98$ ) than each of other four subtypes ( $M$ s ranged from 1.20 to

1.72),  $F(4, 20) = 11.01, p < .01, \eta^2 = .31$ . In the non-promiscuous condition, the “Chaste/Sexually Pure Woman” subtype was rated as a significantly more accurate description ( $M = 2.76, SD = .78$ ) than each of other four subtypes ( $M$ s ranged from 1.60 to 2.08),  $F(4, 20) = 8.36, p < .01, \eta^2 = .26$ . Taken together, these analyses suggest that the manipulation presented in the vignette reliably differentiated between positive and negative sexual female subtypes.

## RESULTS

### Manipulation Check

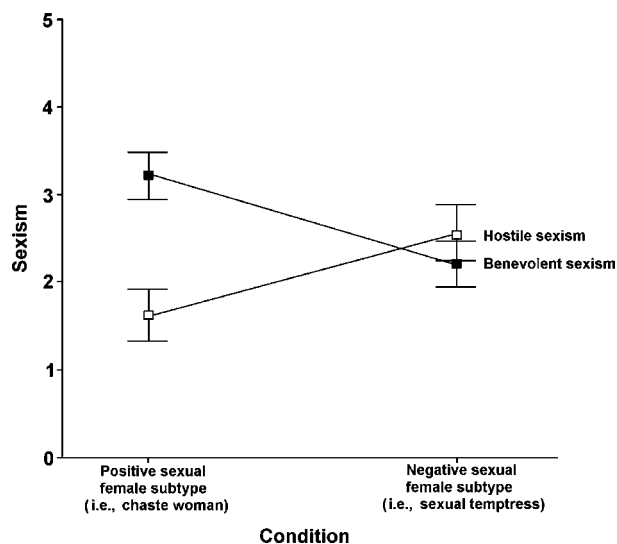
Two participants failed the manipulation check that assessed memory for details of the vignette.<sup>8</sup> Consistent with predictions, the female character was perceived as significantly more promiscuous ( $M = 4.08, SD = .82$ ) when she was described as enjoying casual flings (i.e., a negative sexual female subtype) than when she was described as not enjoying casual flings (i.e., a positive sexual female subtype;  $M = 2.79, SD = .82$ ),  $F(1, 59) = 38.00, p < .001, \eta^2 = .39$ .

### Hypothesis 1

As shown in Fig. 1, there was a significant  $2 \times 2$  interaction between condition (positive, negative female subtype) and repeated measures of sexism (hostile, benevolent),  $F(3, 57) = 29.40, p < .001$ ; *partial*  $\eta^2 = .33$ . Consistent with Hypothesis 1a, as shown in Fig. 1, men’s hostile sexist evaluations of the female character were higher when her behavior was consistent with a negative subtype ( $M = 2.50, SD = .99$ ) than when it was consistent with a positive subtype ( $M = 1.67, SD = 0.80$ ),  $F(1, 59) = 12.64, p < .001, \textit{partial} \eta^2 = .18$ . Consistent with Hypothesis 1b, the opposite trend was true of benevolent sexism (refer to Fig. 1). Men’s benevolent sexist evaluations of the female character were higher when she fitted a positive subtype ( $M = 3.18, SD = .74$ ) than when she fitted a negative subtype ( $M = 2.17, SD = .73$ ),  $F(1, 59) = 28.90, p < .001, \textit{partial} \eta^2 = .33$ . The significant, moderate, negative correlation between benevolent and hostile sexist evaluations of the

analyses showed that the full measures of benevolent ( $M = 2.61, SD = .62$ ) and hostile ( $M = 2.77, SD = .78$ ) sexism were moderately positively correlated in this sample of New Zealand men,  $r(124) = .31, p < .001$ . Hostile ( $M = 2.17, SD = .78$ ) and benevolent ( $M = 2.21, SD = .77$ ) sexism were also significantly positively correlated in a comparable sample of New Zealand women,  $r(263) = .46, p < .001$ .

<sup>8</sup>The inclusion or exclusion of these two participants’ data did not alter the significance of any reported analyses, thus we chose to include this additional data in all reported analyses.



**Fig. 1.** Interaction between the way in which the female character was described (positive, negative subtype) and expressions of hostile and benevolent sexism directed toward her.

female character in the vignette further supported this interpretation,  $r(59) = -.46, p < .001$ .

## Hypothesis 2

As can be seen in Table I, men's sexual self-schema was not correlated with hostile and benevolent sexist evaluations of the female character across conditions. In order to test for moderation between men's sexual self-schema and female subtype condition, these scores were centered and a schema by subtype interaction variable was computed (the multiplicative product of these two scores). Hostile and benevolent sexism scores were then separately regressed against experimental condition (the positive sexual subtype condition was scored as a 0, the negative sexual subtype condition was scored as a 1), sexual self-schema (entered as a block), and the

**Table I.** Correlations Between Men's Sexual Self-Schema, Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, and Perceived Promiscuity

Scale	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Men's sexual self-schema	—	.14	-.10	.16
2. Hostile sexism		—	-.46*	.40*
3. Benevolent sexism			—	-.50*
4. Perceived promiscuity				—
<i>M</i>	3.75	2.09	2.66	3.45
<i>SD</i>	.46	.99	.87	1.04

\* $p < .001$ .

interaction variable (entered as a second block). Such an analysis indicates moderation if the interaction variable accounts for additional variance after the entry of the first two (main effect-type) variables (Baron & Kenny, 1986; see also Aiken & West, 1991, for further details on assessing interactions using multiple regression).

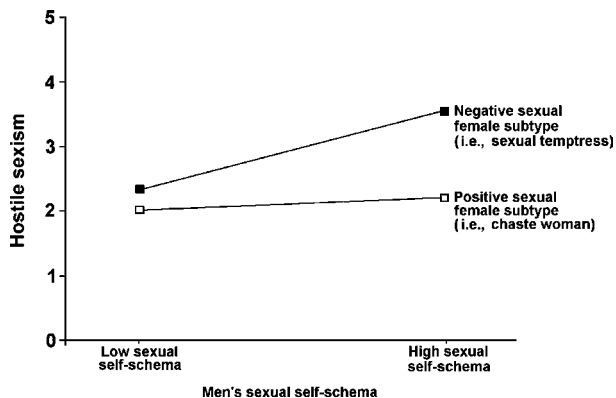
Consistent with Hypothesis 2a, both female subtype condition and the multiplicative interaction between subtype and men's sexual self-schema were significant predictors of hostile sexism,  $F(3, 57) = 6.32, p = .002; R^2$  adjusted = .16. Table II presents the results of the moderated regression, including unstandardized (with standard error) and standardized beta weights for the variables as well as the significant increase in variance accounted for by the interaction,  $\Delta R^2 = .06; F(1, 57) = 4.76, p = .03$ . In order to illustrate the nature of this moderated relationship, the interaction between men's sexual self-schema and subtype condition was plotted (refer to Fig. 2). The results displayed in Fig. 2 suggest that this interaction occurred because men with higher sexual self-schema ratings expressed increased levels of hostile sexism toward the female character when her behavior was consistent with a negative sexual female subtype (i.e., a sexual temptress), whereas men with lower sexual self-schema ratings expressed similarly low levels of hostile sexism toward the female character regardless of whether she fitted a negative or positive sexual female subtype.

**Table II.** Summary of Sequential Regression of Hostile Sexism Against Female Subtype Condition, Men's Sexual Self-schema, and the Condition by Schema Interaction

		<i>B</i>	$\beta$	$R^2$
Step 1	Female subtype	0.81 (.23)	.41**	
	Men's sexual self-schema	0.13 (.25)	.06 (ns)	.19**
Step 2	Condition–schema interaction	1.10 (.50)	.25*	.25**
	Constant	2.07 (.11)		

Note. Multiple  $R = .50, R^2$  adjusted = .21.

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



**Fig. 2.** Regression interaction between men's sexual self-schema and the way in which the female character was described (positive, negative subtype) predicting hostile sexist attributions directed toward her.

Contrary to Hypothesis 2b, the only significant predictor of benevolent sexist attitudes toward the female character described in the vignette was female subtype condition,  $B = -1.00$ ,  $\beta = -.57$ ;  $F(2, 58) = 14.40$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $R^2$  adjusted = .31. Men's sexual self-schema,  $B = -.11$ ,  $\beta = -.06$ , and the interaction between men's sexual self-schema and subtype condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ;  $F(1, 57) = .09$ ,  $p = .77$ , failed to account for additional variance once differences in the way in which the female character was described had been taken into account.

## DISCUSSION

Glick and Fiske have presented compelling evidence that hostile and benevolent sexism represent complementary ideologies that are used to justify gender inequality. Glick et al. (2000), for example, showed that both hostile and benevolent sexism predicted levels of gender inequality across various cultures. Glick et al. (1997) provided further insight into how these subjectively positive and negative sexist ideologies complement each other by showing that ambivalent sexists tend to generate more polarized female subtypes. In the present research, we extended those results by rewording items to assess hostile and benevolent sexism toward a specific female character whose behavior was consistent with either a positive or negative sexual female subtype.

In contrast to previous researchers who have reported significant positive correlations between benevolent and hostile sexist attitudes directed

toward women as a global (i.e., nonspecific) category, hostile and benevolent sexist evaluations of a specific female character were moderately negatively correlated in the present research,  $r = -.46$ . Consistent with Hypothesis 1, men expressed increased hostile, but decreased benevolent, sexism toward the female character when her behavior was consistent with a negative sexual female subtype (that of a promiscuous sexual temptress), whereas they expressed increased benevolent, but decreased hostile, sexism toward a female character whose behavior was more consistent with a positive sexual female subtype (that of chastity and sexual purity).

These results support previous theorizing that the strong positive correlations between hostile and benevolent sexism observed across numerous cultures and different samples occur because participants draw upon their own subjective female subtypes when responding to items that refer to "women" as a general category. They also provide additional evidence to support Glick et al.'s (1997) claim that men's expressions of benevolent sexism may be used to idealize and reward women who are categorized into subtypes that conform to male-dominated social hierarchies, whereas women who defy traditional gender roles may experience more hostile and negative attitudes. Such differentiation is particularly insidious, as hostile and benevolent sexism may be used to reward women who conform to patriarchal standards and punish those who do not, while also allowing ambivalent sexists to avoid the dissonance commonly associated with holding both positive and negative beliefs about a stimulus target or group (Glick et al., 1997).

In addition to these main effects, consistent with Hypothesis 2a, the finding that men's sexual self-schema moderated expressions of hostile sexism suggests that the relatively subtle sociocognitive processes underlying gender stereotyping and subtype categorization may also facilitate expressions of sexism directed toward particular women. It is ironic that men who think of themselves in sexual terms and who tend to have greater sexual experience are the ones who also tend to express derisive attitudes toward women with levels of sexual experience similar to their own. Consistent with Markus et al. (1985; see also Lewicki, 1983, 1984), we argue that sexually schematic men may have a more detailed cognitive repertoire upon which to draw when they interpret and evaluate others' sexual behavior. This framework may include a more detailed representation of different female subtypes, which may, in,

turn facilitate generalizations on the basis of limited information about a woman's sexual behavior (see also Glick et al., 1997). Thus, the interaction between female subtype and men's sexual self-schema on subsequent expressions of hostile sexism most likely occurred because schematic men are more likely to categorize women into female subtypes on the basis of limited information and to express increased hostile sexist evaluations as a consequence of this categorization.

However, in contrast to Hypothesis 2a, men's sexual self-schema failed to moderate expressions of benevolent sexism across female subtypes. This finding suggests that benevolent sexist evaluations of positive sexual female subtypes occur at similar levels irrespective of men's sexual self-schematicity. In contrast, men's cognitive representations of the sexual aspects of their selves may be more closely associated with traditionally sexist cognitive schemata, and may be used primarily in the evaluation of negative sexual female subtypes. Although with the current research design we were unable to test this possibility formally, a comparison of the variance accounted for by the regression models which predicted hostile and benevolent sexism is consistent with this perspective. Specifically, the main effect for differences in female subtype descriptions alone predicted 31% of the variance in expressions of benevolent sexism, whereas the combined effects of subtype description and its interaction with men's sexual self-schema together accounted for only 21% of the variance in expressions of hostile sexism. Alternatively, it is possible, although we believe unlikely, that failure to support Hypothesis 2a may have been due partially to measurement error in the assessment of benevolent sexist evaluations.

We chose to use reduced item sets to assess hostile and benevolent sexism rather than to risk excessively altering the wording of items that could not be easily changed to refer to a specific female character. Thus, items which refer to heterosexual intimacy in the benevolent sexism scale were not included in our measure because of concerns that rewording these items (all of which referred to men as the subject of the sentence) may have notably altered their original meaning. The measure of benevolent sexism used in this research therefore reflects only two (protective paternalism and gender differentiation) of the three factors that Glick and Fiske (1996) hypothesized underlie this construct. Although benevolent sexism has been assessed at a

superordinate level in which items from the different factors are collapsed to provide an overall aggregate (see Bagozzi & Heatherton, 1994, for discussion of this issue), our analyses may not generalize to benevolent sexist evaluations driven primarily by heterosexual intimacy needs. However, we believe that the shortened measures used in this study provide acceptable indicators of benevolent and hostile sexism at a superordinate level given the high correlation of our six-item composites with the original 11-item versions reported in a validation sample, hostile sexism  $r = .95$ ; benevolent sexism  $r = .82$ .

The results of the present research provide an initial step in the assessment of the processes and antecedents that underlie hostile and benevolent sexist attributions and ideology. Future research could elaborate upon the findings presented here by using alternative vignettes that include sexual subtypes along with subtypes identified in other research (e.g., housewives, feminists, career women; Eckes, 1994a, 1994b; Haddock & Zanna, 1994; Six & Eckes, 1991). The methodology developed here could also be used to assess the moderating effects of both social attitudes and ideology, such as social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism (see Duckitt et al., 2002), and sociocognitive variables, such as men's sexual self-schema, in order to provide a more detailed picture of these two processes which are hypothesized to underlie expressions of benevolent and hostile sexism toward traditional and nontraditional female subtypes.

## APPENDIX

### Vignette

Ed and Joel would quite often go into town and have a few beers in the weekends. They were down in town having a few beers when Ed first met Kate. Ed had seen Kate in a few lectures before, but he had never really talked to her too much—just the occasional meaningless “how's it going?” from time to time. Joel had known Kate for about a year. He had been out clubbing with her a couple of times, and when Ed had asked him what she was like, he had said that she *enjoyed having casual flings and had been with quite a few different guys that he knew of. [didn't enjoy casual flings and hadn't been with any guys that he knew of.]*

Kate walked in and saw Ed and Joel having a beer. She smiled and wandered over toward them.



“How’s it going guys?” she asked. “Yeah good,” Ed replied, while at the same time Joel asked, “what are you up to tonight?” “Not a lot,” Kate replied as she pulled up a chair and sat down next to them. “I’m supposed to be meeting up with a friend but it doesn’t look like she’s going to show up,” she continued. “Do you want a drink or something?” Ed offered. “Yeah, cheers, a kaluaha and milk would be cool,” Kate smiled.

Ed and Kate really hit it off. As the night continued, they got into more and more intense conversation, while Joel sat there and continued to drink. “Get out of here, you’re from Gisborne as well?—where’d you go to school?”, Kate asked Ed. “Gisborne Boys High School,” Ed replied. “No way! I went to Champion College in Gisborne,” she replied. As the night continued, and the music got louder, Ed and Kate continued to talk. “Come on, do you want to dance?”, Kate asked Ed. “Yeah sure,” Ed said as he got up. Kate beckoned to Joel as she and Ed stood up. “Come on Joel, come and dance with us,” she said. “Nah, I’m cool, I don’t really dance,” Joel shouted back over the music. “Are you sure?”, asked Ed. “Yeah” Joel replied. Joel soon lost sight of Ed and Kate as they headed off into the seething mass of people on the dance floor.

Ed and Kate were both having a really good time and danced for quite a while. When they got back to the table Joel was gone, and it was quite late at night. “I wonder where Joel is?”, Ed remarked, “I guess he’ll find his own way home.” “I’m pretty tired, what have you got planned for the rest of the night?”, Kate asked as they wandered out of the club and onto Courtney Place. “Yeah me too, I might head home. Do you want to share a cab?”, asked Ed. “Yeah, that sounds good to me,” replied Kate. On the way home in the cab they continued to chat. “Well this is me,” said Ed as the cab pulled up at his flat. “Ok, I had a cool time tonight,” said Kate smiling over at him. There was a brief silence between them, and then Ed asked “Do you want to come in for a coffee or something?”, Kate looked back at him. “No, I better not,” she replied.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors thank Andrew Robertson, Adele Bradshaw, John McClure, Brook Powell, and Emmett Gracie for helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

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