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Pregnancy, Sexism, And The Greek System

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PREGNANCY, SEXISM, AND THE GREEK SYSTEM

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This thesis, submitted by Taylor M. Walkky, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done, and is hereby approved.

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To my mother, father, and brother.

Thank you for supporting me in everything I do. You are my greatest source of comfort and encouragement.
I love you all.

To my friends,

I should probably love you all a bit less, but you help me keep my sanity.

ABSTRACT

Both hostile and benevolent sexism have been found to correlate with attitudes related to pregnancy (Terrell et al, in prep). Benevolent and hostile sexism have both been shown to correlate with attitudes towards sorority members as well (Walkky, unpublished). The goal of the present study was to expand on the knowledge of how sexism relates to pregnancy attitudes, especially how it relates to sorority membership. Participants read a scenario about a college woman, who was either in a sorority or not, who had just discovered that she was pregnant. In the scenario, she chose to either end the pregnancy, continue the pregnancy and put the child up for adoption, or continue the pregnancy and keep the child. Only an effect of pregnancy outcome was found such that participants thought that ending the pregnancy was always the worst decision compared to keeping the child and putting the child up for adoption, which did not differ from each other. Further research is needed to expand on the role that sexism and sorority membership play in attitudes towards pregnant women and their decisions.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sexism has been linked to attitudes, beliefs, and discrimination towards pregnant women. People's views of sororities have been shown to be more negative than positive, and because sorority stereotypes seem to be hyperfeminine and are correlated with sexism, it seems reasonable to assume that the same discrimination, stereotypes, and prejudice that exists towards pregnant women could be even worse for a sorority member who just found out she is pregnant. The goal of the present study was to expand on the knowledge of the specific situations where sexism could impact judgments about a pregnant woman's decision to have an abortion, continue the pregnancy and keep the child, or continue the pregnancy and put the child up for adoption. This study objective is described in detail following a review of the relevant literature.

Prejudice and Stereotyping

Prejudice can be described as the feelings, either positive or negative, towards a person based on the group of people that the person belongs to (Allport, 1954). An example of this is racial prejudice; if a prejudiced person has negative feelings about African-Americans as a group, if he or she meets an African-American person that he or she does not know, he or she will likely have a negative response. Related to prejudice are beliefs about group characteristics. These beliefs, which may or may not be true, are known as stereotypes (Allport, 1954).

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Prejudice can be implicit or explicit. Explicit prejudice is when a person is aware of his or her feelings, such as feeling negatively towards a specific group (Cunningham, Nezlek, & Banaji, 2004; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Implicit prejudice is when a person may not be aware of his or her attitudes toward a specific group of individuals. Most of the research that uses scenarios in which variables are manipulated are attempts to measure implicit prejudice. People do not like to think that they have prejudices against certain kinds of people, so when scenarios are used, the participant does not realize that he or she is admitting his or her prejudice (Cunningham, Nezlek, & Banaji, 2004; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Two possible sources of stereotyping and prejudice are categorization, which is a social cognitive source, and need for approval, which is a motivational source.

Categorization

Stereotyping and prejudice can stem from categorization, which is the tendency to group things and people that have characteristics or qualities in common (Allport, 1954). Without categories, people would have to process everything they encounter individually, which would be inefficient. By quickly categorizing something, individuals can easily make an assumption about what it does, what it is, and how they should act towards it. For example, if a person encounters a woman wearing sorority Greek letters walking towards him or her, the person might immediately categorize the woman as a "sorority girl." If that person has any prejudices or stereotypes about sorority women, he or she may make those same assumptions about the sorority woman walking towards him or her.

A special instance of categorization is overcategorization. Overcategorization occurs when a person hears one thing or encounters one person of a group with a certain characteristic and thereafter applies those characteristics to all members of that group (Allport, 1954). Overcategorization is one reason why people tend to have prejudiced beliefs and stereotypes. For example, if a person meets a member of a sorority who likes to binge drink, the person may believe that every member of a sorority is likely to be a binge drinker. The media perpetuates this overcategorization of sorority members by only reporting about certain behaviors that people are interested in, such as sexual assaults or binge drinking (Applebome, 2012a; Applebome, 2012b; Robbins, 2004). However, overcategorization only leads to prejudice and negative stereotyping if the person with the beliefs does not reverse those beliefs if shown evidence to the contrary. If a person makes an overcategorization, for example that all sorority members are binge drinkers, but then meets several sorority members who do not binge drink, he or she may change his or her categorization of sorority members or create a subcategory to maintain his or her original beliefs (Allport, 1954).

Categorization can also create an ingroup bias, a positive bias towards one's own group (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). When group members have negative attitudes towards an outgroup, this is referred to as negative intergroup bias (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). Categorization relates to ingroup bias because people categorize themselves into one group and out of another group, which creates this bias (Turner, 1985). People feel a need to categorize themselves into a social group that has a higher social status than other social groups, so by making favorable comparisons to the ingroup against the outgroup,

the person then feels better about him or herself (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and the differences between the ingroup and other groups can become overgeneralized (Tajfel, 1969).

The particular case of overcategorization when a person makes a judgment about a group of people based on something that is actually extremely rare for that group is called rare-zero differential (Allport, 1954). For example, several instances of sorority and fraternity hazing have been sensationalized in the media in the past several years (Applebome, 2012a; Applebome, 2012a; Robbins, 2004). While these instances make it obvious that hazing does happen, hazing does not occur in all fraternities or sororities in the United States. In an anonymous, self-report survey at Cornell University, 37% of participants indicated that they had been involved in what the university considered hazing, but only 12% of students actually identified as being hazed (Campo, Poulos, & Sippke, 2005). This means that the participants had engaged in activities that the university had considered hazing but they themselves did not. While this study makes it clear that hazing does occur, not all activities occur at the same rate. Seventeen percent of participants indicated they had participated in drinking games and 15% indicated they had been deprived of sleep, but only 2% indicated they had engaged or simulated sexual acts, 1% indicated they had been hit, kicked, or physically assaulted, and less than 1% indicated they had to engage in body alterations, such as branding and tattooing (Campo, Poulos, & Sippke, 2005). However, the idea that branding is a popular form of hazing is a common stereotype about fraternities and sororities (Robbins, 2004), so this is an example of rare-zero differential. In the same study, participants engaged in many positive activities as well, including doing community service (41.2%), keeping a specific

grade point average (40.5%), and organizing a fundraising event (29.7%; Campo et al., 2005). Thus, while negative stereotypes about fraternities and sororities do have some basis in reality, the negative characteristics are more prevalent to an uninformed observer than the positive characteristics (Campo et al., 2005).

Stereotypes and prejudice can lead to discrimination, or treating another person differently due to perceived group membership. An example of discrimination is sexual harassment, which is discrimination based on gender (Fitzgerald, 1993). A common form of sexual harassment is quid pro quo, or making someone perform some act to get ahead in a workplace or otherwise gain a pay raise, social status, or more power (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012). Sexual harassment is seen as more harassing if it comes from a person of power to someone beneath him or her in the power ranking, such as a boss making sexual advances towards his or her secretary (Pryor & Day, 1988; Sheets & Braver, 1993). However, sexual harassment is seen as less harassing if it comes from a person of the same rank or a very attractive person (Dill, Brown, & Collins, 2008; Pryor, LaVite, & Stoller, 1993).

Some forms of discrimination are built directly into the social and legal system, and this is called institutionalized discrimination (Feagin & Feagin, 1999). An example of institutionalized discrimination is a ban on gay marriage because the law applies specifically to one group of people. Discrimination also can have material and psychological costs. Women and minorities tend to make less money for the same amount of work than white males (Blau & Kahn, 2000; Stroh, Brett, & Reilly, 1992), and overweight women, compared to thin women, generally are paid about 7% less as well (Cawley, 2000; Crandall, 1995).

There are also psychological costs of discrimination. Minority groups who are often the victims of prejudice and discrimination often develop obsessive concern, or hypervigilance to prejudice or discrimination. An example from *The Nature of Prejudice* (Allport, 1954), concerns a Jewish couple at the grocery store.

'One day in the late 30's, a recently arrived refugee couple went shopping in a village grocery store in New England. The husband ordered some oranges. "For juice?" inquired the clerk. "Did you hear that," the woman whispered to her husband, "for Jews? You see, it's beginning here too"' (Allport, 1954, p. 145).

This example illustrates how the Jewish couple, highly sensitive to discrimination against their ethnic group, misheard the word "juice" for "Jews" because they were looking for any possible sign of prejudice. This is common in sorority and fraternity culture as well (Robbins, 2004). Because the Greek system tends to have a negative reputation, many national fraternities and sororities have national bans against their members talking to the media because the national headquarters believe that anything that a fraternity or sorority member may say could be taken negatively by the media (www.npswomen.org). In this way, the fraternities and sororities are remaining hypervigilant to any possible way that they might be seen negatively.

Social Approval

A second source of prejudice and stereotyping is social approval, which has a motivational basis. Social approval is associated with group identity. When pledges, or new members, first join a sorority or fraternity, there is an intense desire to fit in and impress the more senior members of the house (Robbins, 2005). Noel, Wann, and

Branscombe (1995) showed that when new members at the University of Kansas were told that the senior members of their fraternities and sororities would be told what they had said, the pledges indicated strongly that they disliked the other fraternities and sororities and that their own house was by far the best house. When the pledges were not told that the older members would not be told what they had said, they showed far more ambivalence about the various fraternities and sororities on campus (Noel et al., 1995). Prejudice can be strongly influenced by the desire to fit in, which could cause people to treat other people differently.

According to Social Identity Theory, a person gains his or her identity from whatever social group he or she belongs to, so as soon as the person belongs to a specific group, he or she automatically feels some sort of prejudice towards other groups as well as ingroup favoritism (Tajfel, Flament, Billig, & Bundy, 1971; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Hostility towards outgroups strengthens the sense of belonging to the ingroup, so negative intergroup attitudes could stem from an effort to increase the group cohesion of the ingroup (Allport, 1964; Tajfel, et al., 1971; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). People are also more likely to be prosocial towards others who they perceive as part of their group or as similar to themselves (Schroeder, Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, 1995), and negative behaviors are more likely to be assigned to outgroup members than to a person's ingroup (Hewstone, 1990).

One way to conceptualize prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination is as either hostile or benevolent. Hostile prejudice could stem from extremely negative opinions about a certain group of people (Allport, 1954). For example, if a person thinks, "I hate people who overuse the welfare system," and consequently is rude to a person because of

this belief, this would be hostile discrimination. Benevolent prejudice is when a person

has specific beliefs about a group of people that, while not necessarily negative, cause

them to believe that a group of people is not capable or willing to take care of themselves

(Allport, 1954).

The idea of positive feedback bias is another example of benevolent

discrimination. The positive feedback bias is when the dominant group in society gives

more lenient feedback or preference to a discriminated-against group (Herber, 2010). For

example, a teacher who is grading papers may grade a female student's math assignment

more leniently than a male student's paper. There are several different explanations for

the positive feedback bias, including that the teacher does not believe that female students

are as intelligent in mathematics as male students; therefore, the assignment is graded on

a less difficult scale (Biernat & Manis, 1994). The teacher may also feel sympathy for the

female student, so the assignment may be graded with less negative feedback to bolster

her self-esteem (Hastorf, Northcraft, & Piucciotto, 1979). However, the best-supported

explanation for the positive feedback bias is that by using these methods, the teacher

makes an effort to see him or herself positively. Most people are motivated to have a

positive self-image (Tesser, 1988), so by using the positive feedback bias, the teacher

views herself as helping the female student. The idea of ambivalent sexism stems from

this hostile versus benevolent prejudicial dichotomy.

Ambivalent Sexism

Ambivalent sexism refers to having conflicting feelings about women.

Sometimes they are adored, which is known as benevolent sexism, and sometimes they

are hated, which is known as hostile sexism. Hostile sexism could be thought of as the

negative attitudes, beliefs, and actions directed towards women (Glick et al, 2000) and is what most people think of when they think of sexism. Hostile sexism consists of dominative paternalism, derogatory beliefs about women, and heterosexual hostility. Dominative paternalism is the idea that men should control women, or that men should have more power than women. Competitive gender differentiation is the idea that men are the better half of the population, or that men are better than women. Heterosexual hostility is the idea that women are sexual objects that should be used (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Glick & Fiske, 1997). Hostile sexism means that women are kept firmly in their place as inferior to men. Hostile sexism is most often directed at women who are perceived to be challenging men's power, and people high in hostile sexism often believe that women use their bodies and sex to get ahead in the world (Glick et al, 2000).

However, many men also need to rely on women to fulfill their roles as housewives, mothers, and caretakers, which leads to benevolent sexism. Benevolent sexism consists of protective paternalism, idealization of women, and desire for intimate relations. Protective paternalism is the idea that men should protect and care for women because women are too fragile and gentle to care for themselves. Complementary gender differentiation is the idea that men depend on women to fulfill traditional female social roles like mother and wife. Intimate heterosexuality romanticizes women as sexual objects and views romantic intimacy as necessary to complete a man (Glick & Fiske, 1997; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Benevolent sexism is a favorable view towards women, but *only* if a woman falls into her traditional gender role of wife and mother. Benevolent sexism can be thought of as putting women on a pedestal, while hostile sexism can be seen as looking negatively down on women.

As different as they seem, hostile and benevolent sexism are correlated because both types of sexism are aimed at different subtypes of women (Glick & Fiske, 2001). "Good" women are women who fall into the traditional gender role, such as mothers, daughters, and housewives. "Bad" women are women who do not fit into traditional gender roles, such as career women, lesbians, and promiscuous women. This can also be thought of as the "Madonna Whore" dichotomy, or the idea that women are either perfect mothers that must be protected or shameful women who must be punished (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Hostile sexism is primarily aimed towards women who do not fit into the gender role of wife and mother, such as career women (Glick & Fiske, 2001). For men high in hostile sexism, career women pose a threat to what they consider the "normal" way of life: a working husband with his wife firmly in her place serving her man. Benevolent sexism is reserved for women who do fit into this traditional gender role, such as housewives and mothers. These types of women do not threaten the traditional way of life; therefore, they must be cherished and protected (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Sibley and Wilson (2004) found that when a woman acted in such a way as to personify the "bad" woman stereotype as an assertive career woman, hostile sexism increased and benevolent sexism decreased. When the same woman acted in a way as to personify the "good" woman stereotype as a mother, benevolent sexism increased and hostile sexism decreased. This study lends further support to the idea that, although correlated, hostile and benevolent sexism are distinct constructs.

Ambivalent sexism is measured by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) (Glick & Fiske, 1997), a 22-item survey measuring both benevolent and hostile sexism.

Each subscale consists of 11 items and asks questions in a way that subtly hints of sexism but is not blatantly obvious. The ASI has been validated in 19 countries, and results have consistently found that hostile sexism and benevolent sexism are correlated (Glick et al, 2000; Sibley & Wilson, 2004; Eagly et al, 2012). Research has shown that hostile sexism predicts negative attitudes towards women, such as believing that women are jealous, sly, touchy and selfish; while benevolent sexism predicts positive attitudes towards women who fit into their gender roles, such as tender, warm, sweet, and sensitive (Eagly & Karau, 2002). While women are more likely to reject hostile sexism because it is negative towards them, many women endorse benevolent sexism for its positive undertones. Although benevolent feelings towards women are positive, benevolent sexism is still prejudicial because it implies that women are still inferior to men in that a woman needs a man, in order to be a father, in her life to survive (Eagly & Karau, 2002). In countries where sexism is high, gender inequality is more likely (Glick et al, 2000; Sibley & Wilson, 2004; Eagly et al, 2012).

Depending on the circumstances of the pregnancy, pregnancy could be viewed as either good or bad, depending on how it is interpreted. A wife becoming pregnant could be interpreted positively because a pregnancy would be considered part of the female gender role, but a pregnant student or teenager could be interpreted negatively because it is not a traditional pregnancy. Based on these interpretations, it is possible to predict that many pregnant women may be viewed as protected and cherished; however, this is not always the case.

Sexism and Pregnancy

Several studies have been conducted in regards to how different levels of hostile and benevolent sexism have led to different behaviors and attitudes toward pregnant women. Sutton, Douglas, and McClellan (2010) measured benevolent and hostile sexism in undergraduate students and asked them to rate the safety of different behaviors for pregnant women, such as drinking alcohol and engaging in oral sex. Some of these behaviors were unsafe to the fetus and mother, such as drinking alcohol, while others were perfectly safe behaviors to exhibit while pregnant, such as eating cheese. The researchers also asked them to indicate their willingness to restrict these behaviors in pregnant women, such as "Would you give a cigarette to a pregnant women if asked," or "Would you serve a pregnant woman alcohol?" They found that benevolent sexism, but not hostile sexism, was positively related to the willingness to restrict these behaviors (Sutton et al, 2011). This finding could be attributed to participants believing that they need to protect the growing fetus inside the mother, even though many of the behaviors used in the study are not actually harmful to the fetus (Sutton et al, 2010). This finding could also be related to benevolent sexism in that the participants may have had an urge to protect the mother because, as a pregnant woman, she was probably fragile (Sutton et al, 2010). However, hostile sexism was positively correlated with negative feelings towards pregnant women who do not follow generally accepted ways to avoid risks in pregnancy (Murphy, Sutton, Douglas, & McClellan, 2011). This could be related to negative feelings towards women who are not following their traditional gender roles (Murphy et al, 2011). By not following an accepted way to avoid pregnancy risks, the

woman was not being a good mother and was, therefore, a "bad" woman (Murphy et al, 2011).

Responses towards pregnant woman have also been evaluated in naturalistic settings. A study by Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, and Kazama (2007) examined attitudes towards pregnant women in traditional feminine gender roles, such as shopping, versus non-traditional gender roles, such as applying for a job. Both people high in benevolent and hostile sexism would not be likely to support a pregnant woman applying for a job; people who endorse benevolent sexism might think that the woman was harming herself and the baby, while people who endorse hostile sexism may think that she was overstepping her place in society (Hebl et al, 2007). When a female confederate entered a store wearing a pregnancy prosthesis applied for a job, she received more hostile behavior, such as rudeness, than when she entered a store to apply for a job without the pregnancy prosthesis. However, when she entered a store while wearing the pregnancy prosthesis as a customer, she received more benevolent behaviors, such as touching and overfriendliness, than when she was not wearing the pregnancy prosthesis. To reiterate, ambivalent sexism theory suggests that women are treated with either benevolent or hostile behaviors depending on whether or not they fit into traditional feminine gender roles. A pregnant woman who is going shopping, especially if she was shopping for merchandise for her future child, is behaving according her gender role because she is already starting to care for the child as a mother. However, a pregnant woman applying for a job may be viewed as rejecting her gender role because she is not acting as a traditional, "stay at home" mother. To a person high in hostile sexism,

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working while caring for a child is a violation of the maternal gender role (Hebl et al, 2007).

While previous evidence has shown that pregnant women are treated differently depending on their actions while pregnant, women who have chosen to terminate a pregnancy are likely to be perceived differently as well. Although a controversial topic, abortions remain a common medical procedure in the United States. Forty eight percent of pregnancies in the United States are unintended (the woman was not actively trying to become pregnant). Of those pregnancies, three out of ten end in abortion (Guttmacher Institute, 2012). Some researchers draw a distinction between elective versus traumatic abortions. Elective abortions are abortions that are performed for reasons that are not related to health or trauma, such as not being able to afford the child or not wanting children at that point in time. Traumatic abortions are abortions that are performed for health reasons, as a result of a rape or sexual assault, or because of a threat to the mother's health (Osborne & Davies, 2012).

Osborne and Davies (2012) found that hostile and benevolent sexism both negatively predicted elective abortion attitudes, but only benevolent sexism negatively predicted traumatic abortion attitudes. For those high in hostile sexism, elective abortions represented a woman's right to choose her own sexuality and her feminist rights, ideas which run counter to hostile sexism.

For those high in benevolent sexism, elective abortion meant that a woman was not following her traditional gender roles. For those high in benevolent sexism, traumatic abortions meant that the woman who had had an abortion had not been chaste, which

meant that she was not following her "pure" role as a woman and mother, even if she was married (Osborne & Davies, 2012).

In a similar study by Terrell et al (in prep), participants completed the Abortion Attitude Scale (Sloan, 1993), the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), and the Religious Fundamentalism scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Terrell et al found that benevolent sexism significantly negatively predicted support of legal abortions, even after controlling for religious fundamentalism (Terrell et al, in prep). They found no relationship between hostile sexism and abortion attitudes, although the lack of a specific context may be to blame.

To further examine the connection between sexism and pregnancy, Terrell et al (in prep) next examined the relationship between race and abortion attitudes. Feminist scholars have noted that African-American women often face the stereotypes of both hypersexualization and of being "welfare mothers" (Collins, 2005). Black women are also more likely to be offered and encouraged to use long-term birth control options and more likely to receive criminal sentences for using drugs during pregnancy (Roberts, 1997). A content analysis of ten years' worth of fashion magazines showed that Black female models wore the majority of animal prints fashioned after a predatory animal (Plous & Neptune, 1997). These findings suggested that people might indicate that an African-American woman versus a Caucasian woman would be more likely to continue the pregnancy and keep the baby in the event of an unintended pregnancy.

Participants read a scenario about either an African-American or Caucasian teenager who just discovered she was pregnant. Participants were asked if they thought

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the teenager in the scenario should continue the pregnancy and keep the baby, continue the pregnancy and put the baby up for adoption, or end the pregnancy. Participants also completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1997). The researchers discovered that regardless of race, participants who scored high in hostile sexism thought that the teenager in the scenario should have an abortion, and regardless of race, participants who scored high in benevolent sexism thought that the teenager in the scenario should keep the baby (Terrell et al, in prep).

Because men and women in the Greek (fraternity and sorority) system are of a similar age as the hypothetical teenager in the previously mentioned study by Terrell (in prep), and because the sorority and fraternity system seems to emphasize sexist ideals, a similar scenario using a sorority woman versus a non-Greek woman in a similar situation was expected to yield more polarizing results in the present study.

The Greek (Fraternity and Sorority) System

In the United States today, Greek-letter social organizations are not generally viewed in a positive light. Driven by television shows such as *Greek* and movies such as *Legally Blonde* and *Animal House*, the media tends to portray Greek life (i.e., fraternities and sororities) as being a life full of harsh initiations, severe hazing, alcoholism, sexual assault, unintelligent women and men, and bad grades (Applebome, 2012a; Applebome, 2012b, Robbins, 2004).

The Greek system also seems to be stereotyped as being hyper-gendered. Where women are generally viewed as feminine and men are masculine, sororities are generally portrayed as being hyperfeminine, and fraternities are generally seen as being hypermasculine. Hypermasculinity consists of calloused sex attitudes toward women,

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viewing violence as manly, and viewing danger as exciting (Mosher & Shirkin, 1984). Hyperfemininity consists of the strong support of traditional gender roles in that a woman should be subservient to her man in every way (Murnen & Byrne, 1991). Hypermasculinity and hyperfemininity are taking the masculine and feminine gender roles to an extreme.

Several examples of this within the fraternity and sorority system come from the website TotalFratMove.com, which is a comedy website written for and by Greek students. "TFM" stands for "Total Frat Move," or a behavior that a fraternity member would do or say, and "TSM" stands for "Total Srat Move," or a behavior that a sorority member would do or say. An example of a hypermasculine fraternity stereotype from TotalFratMove.com is, "Letting a lady go first just to stare at her butt. TFM." This highlights the hypermasculine stereotype because it implies that the man who made the post objectifies women and views them as sexual objects rather than as equal people. Another example of a hypermasculine fraternity stereotype from TotalFratMove.com is, "Making sure I break at least two clipboards every intramural game. TFM." This highlights the hypermasculine stereotype of using violence and competitiveness to prove a man's masculinity to the other people around them (totalfratmove.com).

An example of a hyperfemininine sorority stereotype from TotalFratMove.com is, "My boyfriend said I could drive his Mustang, but I'd never disrespect him or his car by putting a woman in the driver's seat when a sober man is present. TSM." This highlights the hyperfeminine trait of strictly following traditional gender roles. In this case, the sorority woman in question wants her man to drive because driving his car would be disrespectful to him. Another example of a sorority stereotype that highlights a

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hyperfeminine trait is "Always baking cookies, but never licking the spoon. TSM."

(totalfratmove.com). This highlights the hyperfeminine trait that a woman should always

cook for her husband or boyfriend and be the perfect wife or girlfriend, but a woman

should always have a perfect body. These examples illustrate the ways that the Greek

system seems to emphasize hypermasculine and hyperfeminine qualities. In this way, the

Greek system seems to be pushing women in sororities into the traditional "housewife"

role.

When evaluating stereotypes of the sorority system, the stereotype content model

could help to explain how people in the United States may view the Greek system.

According to the stereotype content model, all stereotypes can be broken down into two

primary components: competence (respect) and warmth (liking) (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, &

Xu, 2002). Some stereotypes are based on a high warmth, low competence belief, such as

elderly people. Elderly people are generally viewed as being well-liked but not respected.

Other stereotypes are based on a high competence, low warmth belief, such as Asian

people. Asian people are generally viewed as well-respected but not generally well-liked

(Fiske, et al., 2002). Gender also plays a large role when people evaluate the warmth and

competence of other people. For example, housewives are generally viewed as very warm

but not very competent, while male executives are generally viewed as very competent

but not very warm. However, some stereotypes are viewed as not very warm or very

competent, which leads to contempt (Fiske et al, 2002). It is possible that sorority

members fall into this contemptuous, low warmth, and low competency category. This

would not make people who endorse benevolent or hostile sexism view them as

traditional women, who are generally seen as very warm but not very competent.

Sexism and the Greek System

To analyze the relationship between the Greek system and sexism, 220 students at the University of North Dakota were surveyed about their views on the Greek system (Walkky, unpublished). Participants also completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Participants were asked questions regarding their views on sorority women. The questions used to assess participants' stereotypes of sorority women are presented in Appendix A. After a factor analysis was conducted, three factors were revealed. The first factor was a factor that seemed to tap into antisocial characteristics. This factor seemed to reflect the negative stereotypes that people might have of sororities, such as drinking heavily and promiscuity. Samples of items that were endorsed under the first factor were, "They are more likely to have lower IQs," and "They are more likely to do drugs." The second factor revealed by the sorority survey was a factor that seemed to capture superficiality and shallow characteristics. This factor seemed to reflect the stereotype that sorority members lose their individuality by trying to act and dress alike. Samples of items that were endorsed under the second factor were, "They are more likely to be super-feminine," and "They tend to act alike." The third factor was a factor that seemed to capture leadership or prosocial characteristics. This third factor seemed to encompass the positive stereotypes that people might have about sororities, such as leadership capabilities and volunteering (Walkky, unpublished). Samples of items that were endorsed under the third factor were, "They are more likely to have more team and school spirit," and "They are more likely to be leaders on campus."

All three factors, antisocial, superficiality, and leadership, have been positively correlated with both hostile and benevolent sexism (Walkky, unpublished). The higher

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someone scores on the hostile sexism subscale of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fisk, 1997) are associated with higher scores on the sorority antisocial factor, the sorority superficiality factor, and the sorority leadership factor. A person who scores high on the hostile sexism subscale of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1997) would likely not think that a member of a sorority would make a good mother, so he or she might think that a member of a sorority who has just found out she is pregnant should choose to end the pregnancy.

The higher a person scores on the benevolent sexism subscale of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, the higher he or she will score on the sorority antisocial factor, the sorority superficiality factor, and the sorority leadership factor. A person who endorses benevolent sexism might think that a girl in a sorority should not end the pregnancy if she became pregnant because she is too fragile to handle the stress of having an abortion and choosing to end a pregnancy violates the "mother" gender role. This means that she is capable of having a baby, but she would probably not be a good mother. A person high in benevolent sexism might also think that a pregnant member of a sorority should continue the pregnancy but put the baby up for adoption.

Current Study

The goal of the current study was to further explore the way in which hostile and benevolent sexism may be related to pregnancy opinions and decisions. The procedure of the current study was similar to the previous study by Terrell et al (in prep) in that scenarios described a young woman who has just found out that she is pregnant. In the present study, the scenarios described a university student, who was either a member of a sorority or not, who had just found out she was pregnant. Scenarios varied the woman's

decision: end the pregnancy, continue the pregnancy and raise the child, or continue the

pregnancy and put the child up for adoption. Participants also completed the Ambivalent

Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1997). In the Terrell et al study (in prep), the

dependent variables were the extent to which participants indicated what the woman

should do and *would do* because the teenager in the scenario had not yet made a decision

about what to do with her pregnancy. The present study differs from the Terrell et al

study (in prep) in that in the scenarios, the woman had already made her decision, so

participants were asked questions about whether the women in the scenario had made the

correct decision.

Hypotheses

The first hypothesis was that participants who were high in hostile sexism would

indicate the college woman described in the scenario, regardless of sorority membership,

would have made the correct decision in the "end the pregnancy" condition based on the

results of the study conducted by Terrell et al (in prep). However, if she were in a

sorority, participants would indicate even more strongly that she made the correct

decision. Participants who were high in hostile sexism were thought to indicate that she

made the right decision to end the pregnancy if she is in a sorority because sorority

women are irresponsible and unfit to be mothers, based on the results of the study by

Walkky (unpublished).

The second hypothesis was that participants who are high in benevolent sexism

would indicate that, if the college woman described in the scenario is in a sorority, she

made the right decision in the "continue the pregnancy and put the baby up for adoption"

condition based on the results of the study by Walkky (unpublished). Based on the results

of the study by Terrell et al (in prep), participants who were high in benevolent sexism would not indicate that ending a pregnancy was a good idea because ending a pregnancy violates the feminine gender role. Participants in the current study were thought to indicate that if the college woman described in the scenario is in a sorority, she made the right decision in the to put the child up for adoption because if she were in a sorority, she probably already had too many responsibilities to take care of a baby and was probably too delicate to take care of a baby.

The third hypothesis was that participants who are high in benevolent sexism would indicate that, if the college woman described in the scenario is not a member of a sorority, the college woman described in the scenario would have made the right decision in the "continue the pregnancy and keep the child" condition. Based on the results of the study by Terrell et al (in prep), participants who were high in benevolent sexism would not indicate that ending a pregnancy was a good idea because ending a pregnancy violates the feminine gender role. Because participants who were high in benevolent sexism indicated that keeping the child was a good decision in the study by Terrell et al (in prep), participants in the present study were expected to indicate that the woman in the scenario also made the correct decision to keep the child because she would not have the additional responsibilities of sorority membership, so she should be able to take care of a baby.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 478 undergraduate students (330 female, 159 male) in psychology classes recruited at the University of North Dakota using the Sona Systems website. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 40 ($M = 20.09$, $SD = 2.73$). The vast majority of participants were Causcasian (83.1%), followed by Asian (3.5%), Native American (2.3%), African American (2.1%) and Hispanic (1.5%). Eighty-two of the participants (16.8%) indicated they were a member of a Greek organization based on the question, "Are you a member of a fraternity or sorority?" and 395 (80.8%) indicated they knew someone in a fraternity or sorority based on the question, "Do you have friends who are in a fraternity or sorority?" Participants were compensated with extra course credit for the time they spent completing this study.

Procedure

The study was a 2 (sorority member or non-Greek college student) x 3 (end the pregnancy vs. continue the pregnancy and raise the child vs. continue the pregnancy and put the child up for adoption) x 3 (levels of hostile and benevolent sexism) study. After logging into the Sona Systems website, participants were directed to fill out the survey on the Qualtrics survey website. Participants were first shown an informed consent paragraph and then indicated that they had read and understood the informed consent. Participants then completed a series of demographic questions prior to completing the

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experimental conditions and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1997). The demographic questions are presented in Appendix D. Subsequently, participants were shown a debriefing screen which completed their participation in the study.

Scenarios

Participants read a scenario about a sophomore woman from the University of North Dakota who had just found out she is pregnant. The scenarios presented to participants in the study are shown in Appendix C. A sophomore woman was chosen because a traditional student's age as a sophomore was thought to be similar to the age of the participants. Participants were randomly assigned to conditions. Eighty-three participants read the "End the Pregnancy/Sorority" scenario, 82 participants read the "End the Pregnancy/Non-Greek Member" scenario, 82 participants read the "Continue the Pregnancy and Keep the Child/Sorority" scenario, 79 participants read the "Continue the Pregnancy and Keep the Child/Non-Greek Member" scenario, 82 participants read the "Continue the Pregnancy and Put the Child Up for Adoption/Sorority" scenario, and 81 participants read the "Continue the Pregnancy and Put the Child Up for Adoption/Non-Greek Member" scenario.

Dependent Variables

"Correct Decision" Questions

The dependent variable was the extent to which the participant believed that the woman in the scenario was making the right decision. Participants answered questions about the scenario on a 7-point Likert scale. The questions for the dependent variable are presented in Appendix B. An example of a question was, "Would you make this

decision?" Questions were asked on a 1-7 Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree). Questions #3, #6, and #7 were recoded, and then the mean of all of the questions was computed to determine a total score that captured the degree to which the participant agreed with the hypothetical woman's decision. Higher scores indicate higher degree of approval.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory.

Participants then completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fisk, 1997). The questions are attached in Appendix E. \The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory assesses the extent to which the participants endorse hostile sexism ideas or benevolent sexism ideas. The ASI is composed of two subscales: hostile and benevolent sexism. The hostile sexism subscale ($\alpha = .83$ in the current study) measures prejudice against women and women's rights. The benevolent sexism subscale ($\alpha = .77$ in the current study) measures a participant's positive view of women as they fit only into traditional gender roles. Each subscale is composed of 11 statements with a response scale that includes six options that range from Disagree (0) to Agree (5). A sample item from the hostile sexism subscale is, "Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality.'" A sample item from the benevolent sexism subscale is, "A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man" (Glick & Fisk, 1997). Essentially, hostile sexism measures how much the participants hate women who do not fit into traditional gender roles, while benevolent sexism measures how much participants want to care for and cherish the women who fit into traditional gender roles. The overall mean for hostile sexism was 2.42 ($SD = .71$), and the overall mean for benevolent sexism was 2.55 ($SD = $

.66).

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

High, medium, and low score categories were created for both benevolent and hostile sexism, such that each category was composed of roughly one third of the participants. The values for these categories were determined separately for each gender, so that the same proportion of males and females would be included in each category. For men, the hostile sexism scores for the "low" category were those scores under 2.36, the "medium" scores between 2.36 and 2.81, and the "high" scores those over 2.81. For men, the benevolent sexism scores for the "low" category were those scores under 2.36, the "medium" scores were between 2.36 and 2.81, and the "high" scores over 2.81. For women, the hostile sexism scores for the "low" category were those scores under 2.18, the "medium" scores were between 2.18 and 2.72, and the "high scores were above 2.72. For women, the benevolent sexism scores for the "low" category were those scores under 2.27, the "medium" scores were between 2.27 and 2.81, and the "high" scores were over 2.81.

The creation of these three categories created more precision and sensitivity in detecting effects than a median split while also allowing for the detection of curvilinear relationships. The rationale for creating separate categories within each gender was that it would allow for better interpretation of sexism within each gender and would also maintain orthogonality between sexism and gender. When both hostile and benevolent sexism were included in the analysis as both a covariate and in a regression analysis, no

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significant results were found, and using separate categories for sexism made it easier to graph and interpret results and interactions.

A 2 (sorority member vs. non-Greek student) x 3 (end the pregnancy vs. continue the pregnancy and raise the child vs. continue the pregnancy and put the child up for adoption) x 3 (level of hostile sexism) Analysis of Variance was computed to assess the extent to which participants agreed with the decision made by the hypothetical woman in the scenario. The same ANOVA was repeated with levels of benevolent sexism, replacing levels of hostile sexism.

The ANOVA that included hostile sexism yielded a main effect of Pregnancy Outcome, $F(2, 467) = 25.68$, $p < .01$. Bonferroni's posthoc tests revealed that participants thought that ending the pregnancy ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.57$) was the worst decision ($p < .05$) compared to either keeping the child ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 1.56$) or putting the child up for adoption ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.32$), which did not differ from each other. There was no significant effect of Sorority Status, $F(1, 467) = .182$, $p = ns$, nor a significant interaction between Sorority Status and Pregnancy Outcome, $F(2, 467) = 1.07$, $p = ns$. The means and standard deviations of approval for hostile sexism and sorority status are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Mean level and (Standard Deviations) of Decision Approval based on Hostile Sexism

	End	Keep	Adopt
Low			
Sorority	3.54 (1.74)	4.04 (1.75)	4.21 (1.29)
Non-Sorority	3.16 (1.67)	4.29 (1.62)	3.86 (1.30)
Total	3.33 (1.69)	4.14 (1.68)	4.04 (1.30)
Medium			
Sorority	2.62 (1.36)	4.77 (1.70)	3.91 (1.46)
Non-Sorority	3.07 (1.55)	3.65 (1.35)	4.15 (1.35)
Total	2.82 (1.45)	4.24 (1.63)	4.04 (1.39)
High	3.38 (1.65)		
Sorority	2.96 (1.44)	4.30 (1.58)	4.20 (1.41)
Non-Sorority	2.70 (1.44	4.20 (1.33)	4.25 (1.14)
Total	3.10 (1.57)	4.21 (1.56)	4.09 (1.31)

There was a marginally significant three-way interaction between Sorority Status, Pregnancy Outcome, and Hostile Sexism, $F(4, 467) = 2.04$, $p = .08$. A Tukey test revealed the only significant difference was that if the hypothetical woman in the scenario was in a sorority, participants who scored medium in hostile sexism indicated that keeping the child ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.70$) was the best decision ($p < .01$). These results are presented in Figure 1. The first hypothesis was not supported because participants did not indicate that ending the pregnancy was the best option for either sorority or non-Greek members.
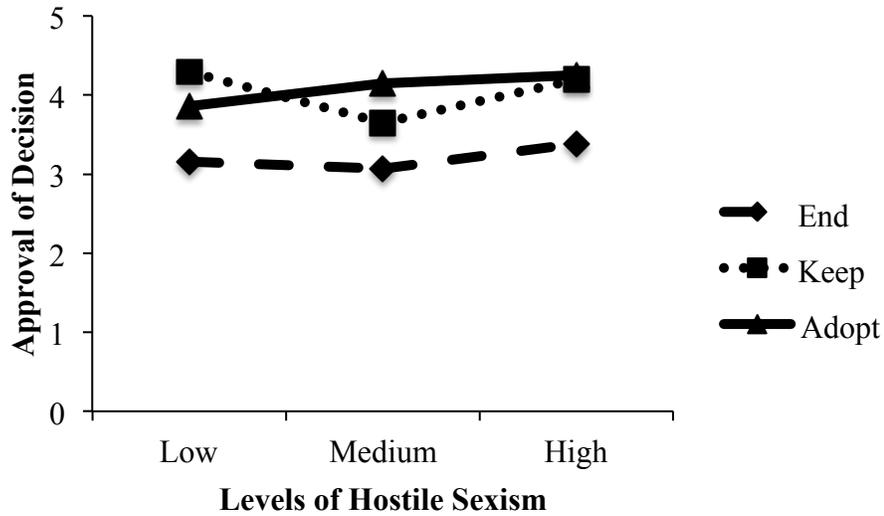
Levels of Decision Approval by Hostile Sexism Level for non - Sorority Member
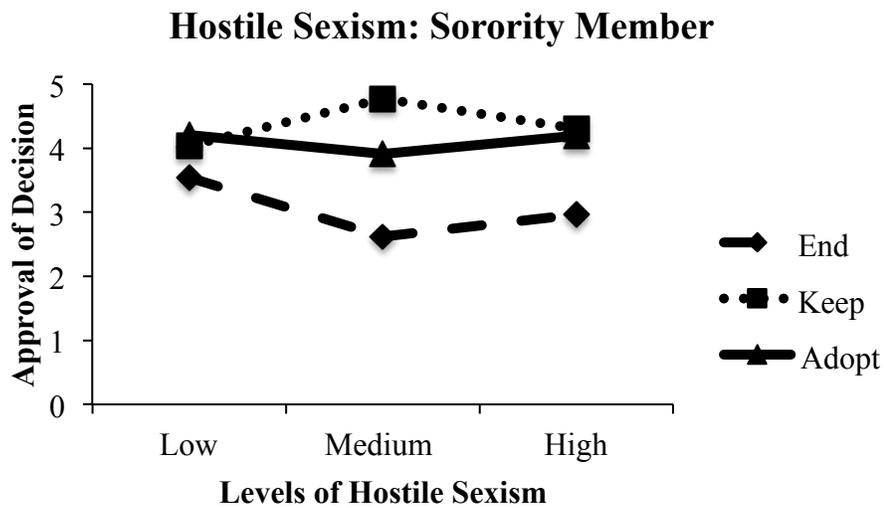
Levels of Decision Approval by Hostile Sexism Level for Sorority Member

Figure 1. Interaction between Hostile Sexism, Pregnancy Outcome, and Sorority Membership. Higher numbers indicate a higher degree of Decision approval. The only significant difference was Medium Sexism Level – Keep was the best decision.

For the ANOVA that included benevolent sexism, there was only a main effect of Pregnancy Outcome, $F(2, 467) = 23.45$, $p < .01$. A Bonferroni test revealed that participants thought that ending the pregnancy ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.57$) was the worst choice ($p < .05$) compared to continuing the pregnancy and keeping the child ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 1.56$) and continuing the pregnancy and putting the child up for adoption ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.31$), which did not differ from each other. There was no main effect of Sorority Status, $F(1, 467) = .248$, $p = ns$. The means and standard deviations of approval for benevolent sexism and sorority status are displayed in Table 2, and the results are presented in Figure 2. The second and third hypotheses in the study were not supported because there was no significant effect of Sorority Status for benevolent sexism.

Table 2. Mean level and (Standard Deviations) of Decision Approval based on Benevolent Sexism

|	End	Keep	Adopt
Low			
Sorority	3.47 (1.60)	4.39 (1.32)	3.92 (1.16)
Non-Sorority	2.92 (1.76)	3.83 (1.61)	4.44 (1.42)
Total	3.11 (1.71)	4.14 (1.47)	4.18 (1.31)
Medium			
Sorority	3.05 (1.53)	4.16 (1.66)	4.21 (1.44)
Non-Sorority	3.39 (1.34)	3.90 (1.17)	3.82 (1.23)
Total	3.18 (1.45)	4.03 (1.42)	4.01 (1.34)
High			
Sorority	2.65 (1.45)	4.53 (1.92)	4.20 (1.50)
Non-Sorority	3.43 (1.66)	4.34 (1.52)	4.04 (1.11)
Total	2.99 (1.58)	4.45 (1.73)	4.12 (1.31)
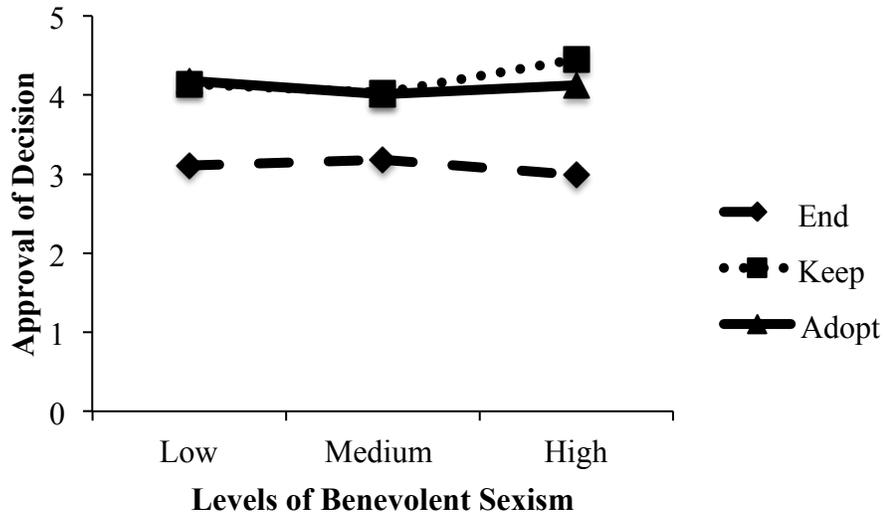
Figure 2. Main effect of Pregnancy Outcome with Benevolent Sexism. Higher numbers indicate a higher degree of Decision approval.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The goals of the present study were to further assess ways in which hostile and benevolent sexism may influence attitudes towards pregnancy and pregnant women. In that regard, the study showed that benevolent sexism did not make any significant differences. Hostile sexism seemed to make a difference for participants who had medium levels of hostile sexism in that they indicated that if the woman described in the scenario was in a sorority, keeping the child was the best option. However, a positive finding from the study was that sorority membership, besides the difference described above, did not influence the participants' judgments of pregnant women's decisions, so perhaps the negative stereotypes indicated in the study by Walkky (unpublished) may have been exaggerated.

The first hypothesis was that participants who were high in hostile sexism would indicate that the college woman, regardless of sorority membership, described in the scenario would have made the correct decision in the "end the pregnancy" condition; however, if she is in a sorority, participants would indicate even more strongly that she made the correct decision. However, participants, regardless of sexism level, indicated that the worst possible choice the woman could make was to end the pregnancy. For participants who had moderate levels of hostile sexism, continuing the pregnancy and keeping the child was the best possible decision if she was in a sorority, but for the non-Greek member, putting the child up for adoption was the best decision.

The findings of the current study were not consistent with current research for hostile sexism. In the study by Terrell et al (in prep), participants who were high in hostile sexism indicated that the hypothetical teenager in the study should end the pregnancy, while the participants in the present study indicated that ending the pregnancy was the worst decision, regardless of sorority membership or sexism level. It is possible that for participants who highly endorse hostile sexism, sorority women may be perceived as a "housewife" and "good" type of woman, contrary to the predicted results. Those participants high in hostile sexism were predicted to indicate that the sorority woman was a "bad" woman because of the survey factors that indicated that participants high in hostile sexism endorsed the factors that tapped into antisocial and superficial characteristics. Therefore, they were predicted to indicate that she made the correct decision to end the pregnancy.

However, sorority members also are perceived as responsible and leaders on campus, so participants may have thought that the hypothetical sorority woman would have made a good mother. Sorority women are also perceived to be hyperfeminine (Walkky, unpublished), and hyperfemininity consists of a strong subservient need to support her husband and family (Murnen & Byrne, 1991). It is possible that participants who were high in hostile sexism thought that the hypothetical woman in the scenario would make an excellent, caring mother because she would already know how to cook, be responsible, date monogamously, have money, and to get married after graduation, based on the study by Walkky (unpublished). Participants may have thought that the woman would make an excellent mother *because* of her sorority membership, rather than in spite of it. A future study is needed to assess the attitudes that participants might have

towards sorority women while also assessing their attitudes towards pregnancy and abortion. Participants could take the survey by Walkky (unpublished) as well as the Abortion Attitudes Scale (Sloan, 1983) to discover if there is a relationship.

The second hypothesis was that participants who were high in benevolent sexism would express that, if the college woman described in the scenario is in a sorority, she made the right decision in the "continue the pregnancy and put the baby up for adoption" condition. The third hypothesis was that participants who were high in benevolent sexism would indicate that, if the college woman described in the scenario was not a member of a sorority, the college woman described in the scenario would have made the right decision in the "continue the pregnancy and keep the baby" condition. However, no significant differences were found for sorority membership, which suggests that sorority membership does not make a difference as far as how participants view a pregnant woman as either a main effect or as part of an interaction. Participants who strongly endorsed benevolent sexism indicated that keeping the child was the best decision, regardless of sorority membership. However, the scenario used in the present study may not have been sensitive enough to detect an effect of sorority member. A different scenario could be used in the future to address this concern.

It is possible that for participants who strongly endorse benevolent sexism, ending a pregnancy is always a bad decision because the mother is too fragile to handle such an ordeal. Because putting a child up for adoption means bonding with an unborn child over nine months only to give it away, participants who endorse benevolent sexism may have thought that giving the child up for adoption would be too hard of a decision for a woman. Putting a child up for adoption and ending a pregnancy both are also behaviors

that a traditional woman should not do, so they may have rejected this decision for that reason. Traditional feminine gender roles personify motherhood, and *only* keeping the child would be consistent with this role. In the future, a study in which participants in North Dakota take both the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 2001) and the Abortion Attitudes Scale (Sloane, 1983) may shed lights on these results.

No major differences were found between whether or not the woman described in the scenario was a member of a sorority. However, the existence of superordinate categories may have negated any possible sorority membership effects. A superordinate category is a category in which other basic categories fall (Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Weber, 2003). Regardless of Sorority condition, the scenario read, "…I'm a 20 year old sophomore at the University of North Dakota." Even if the woman described in the scenario was in a sorority, the superordinate category of "University of North Dakota student" may have made the participants overlook the fact that she was in a sorority, which would have been an outgroup (Waldzus et al, 2003). By placing her into a category of "all University of North Dakota students," participants may have failed to see her as different from other students. This may have accounted for the lack of Sorority Status results.

The nature of the sample may also have influenced the results. The state of North Dakota is generally conservative. For example, in the 2012 election, 58.3% of North Dakota residents voted for the Republican party (ND Voices, 2012), which traditionally does not support a woman's right to choose to terminate a pregnancy. North Dakota also has very strict abortion laws (Eligon & Eckholm, 2013; MacPherson, 2013), including a ban on all abortions that occur after 6 weeks, or when the fetal heartbeat can be detected

(Gordan, 2013). North Dakota also only has one clinic that offers abortion in the state (prochoiceamerica.org, 2013). No exceptions are made in the cases of rape or incest. In North Dakota in 2012, 41-49 out of 1000 pregnancies were unplanned, which is a total of 4-9%. Nationwide, about half of the women in the United States will have had an unintended pregnancy by the time they are 45 (Guttmacher Institute, 2012). In 2008, only 1,400 women (out of 12,300 pregnancies) in North Dakota made the choice to have an abortion, which is a total of 11%. In the United States as a whole, 19% of the 6.4 million pregnancies were terminated (Guttmacher Institute, 2013). Abortion in North Dakota only represent 0.1% of all the abortions that take place in the United States (State Facts about Abortion: North Dakota, 2013) so it is possible that the participants in the current study were opposed to abortion in general, regardless of the situation described in the study. Therefore, they may have endorsed continuing the pregnancy over ending the pregnancy in every instance. A ceiling effect may have been found in the present study such that most people in North Dakota are not in favor of ending a pregnancy, regardless of sorority membership or levels of hostile or benevolent sexism endorsement. A future study in which participants take the Abortion Attitudes Scale (Sloane, 1983) may help to address this issue.

Although data related to the stereotype content model (Fiske et al, 2002) were not collected as it pertains to sororities, this could be a future area of study. Based on the results of the sorority stereotype survey (Walkky, unpublished), sorority members appear to be neither warm nor competent. Participants indicated that two of the factors were related to partying and superficiality, neither of which are traits that indicate warmth or competence. However, participants did endorse a factor that seemed to tap into

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responsibility, which could hint at that sorority members are competent. However, if sorority members are also perceived to be hyperfeminine, the feminine traits may override the antisocial and superficial characteristics. Hyperfeminine traits may be seen as very warm, and housewives are generally seen as very warm and liked. Following this line of logic, a sorority member may be viewed as a good mother, which may be the reason why participants in the present study indicated that keeping the child was the best option. If participants who strongly endorse benevolent sexism view sorority women are warm and competent, this could explain why the participants in the present study indicated that keeping the child was the best option. A future study could assess warmth and competence (Fiske et al, 2002) as well as sorority attitudes (Walkky, unpublished) to see if this is the case.

The present study was also not evenly split by gender. Three hundred thirty women and 159 men participated in the study, and gender differences were not the focus of the study. In the future, gender differences will have to be assessed in terms of attitudes towards abortion and pregnancy. College students were also the primary participants in this study, and it is possible that a broader participant base would have yielded different results. Older participants may have had more experience with pregnancy, abortions, and sexism, so they may be more open to the idea of ending a pregnancy compared to a younger sample. A future study could examine perceived perceptions of the college woman if she was pregnant across ages and cultures. The results of the present study indicate that further research is needed to explore the role that hostile and benevolent sexism plays in how our society views pregnancy women and their reproductive decisions.

APPENDICES

Factor 1

They are more likely to get raped.

They are more likely to get sexually assaulted.

They are more likely to have lower IQs.

They are more likely to do drugs.

 They study less.

They have a lower GPA.

They are more physically aggressive.

They are more verbally aggressive.

They are more likely to pick easy majors.

They are more likely to be insensitive.

They use relationships to hurt people.

They joined sororities because they can't make friends.

They are more likely to tell inappropriate and distasteful jokes.

They are more likely to have racist attitudes.

They are more likely to have sexist attitudes.

They are more likely to cheat in their classes.

They are obsessed with exercising.

They are more likely to cheat on their partner.

They are more likely to tell sexist jokes.

They are less likely to go to graduate school.

They are more likely to have a mental health problem.

They are more likely to have an STI (sexually transmitted infection).

They are more likely to pass on an STI (sexually transmitted infection).

They don't follow the rules that they made for themselves.

They are deceitful.

They have poor impulse control.

They lack social skills.

They have problems getting along with other people.

Factor 2

They are more likely to party hard.

They party too much.

They are more likely to be arrogant.

They are more likely to be super-feminine.

They are more likely to shop a lot.

They tend to look like each other.

They tend to act alike.

They tend to be clones of each other.

They are more likely to conform.

They are overly concerned with physical appearances.

They are superficial.

They think they're better than everyone else.

They are more likely to gossip.

They are catty.

They are more likely to sleep around.

They are overly concerned with their image.

They have superficial relationships.

Factor 3

They are more likely to attend athletic events.

They are more likely to have more team and school spirit.

They are more likely to get involved in extracurricular activities.

They are more likely to be leaders on campus.

They do more philanthropy work.

They are more loyal to their friends.

They are well-adjusted.

Appendix B
Approval Questions for Dependent Variable

1. Do you think she made the right decision?

2. Do you think this was a good decision for her in the long run?

3. Do you think she will regret this decision? **R**

4. Is this the decision you would make?

5. Would you advise a friend in a similar situation to make this decision?

6. Do you think this is a bad decision for her in the long run? **R**

7. Do you think she made the wrong decision? **R**

8. Would you have made the same decision?

(**R** = Recoded)

Scenarios

Sorority/End Pregnancy Condition: "Hi! My name is Caitlin, and I'm a 20 year old sophomore at the University of North Dakota. I have a huge problem. I just found out I'm pregnant…I think I'm about 8 weeks along. I haven't told my parents, friends, or sorority yet. I think I'm going to end the pregnancy. If I decide to continue the pregnancy and have the child, I will have to move out of my sorority's house. I don't want anyone else to know. Do you think I am making the right decision?"

Non-Greek/End Pregnancy Condition: "Hi! My name is Caitlin, and I'm a 20 year old sophomore at the University of North Dakota. I have a huge problem. I just found out I'm pregnant…I think I'm about 8 weeks along. I haven't told my parents or friends yet. I think I'm going to end the pregnancy. If I decide to continue the pregnancy and have the child, I will have to move out of my dorm. I don't want anyone else to know. Do you think I am making the right decision?"

Sorority/Continue Pregnancy and Raise Child Condition: "Hi! My name is Caitlin, and I'm a 20 year old sophomore at the University of North Dakota. I have a huge problem. I just found out I'm pregnant…I think I'm about 8 weeks along. I haven't told my parents, friends, or sorority yet. I think I'm going to continue the pregnancy and raise the child, even though having the child means I will have to move out of my sorority's house. I don't want anyone else to know. Do you think I am making the right decision?"

Non-Greek/Continue Pregnancy and Raise Child Condition: "Hi! My name is Caitlin, and I'm a 20 year old sophomore at the University of North Dakota. I have a huge problem. I just found out I'm pregnant…I think I'm about 8 weeks along. I haven't

told my parents or friends yet. I think I'm going to continue the pregnancy and raise the child, even though having the child means I will have to move out of my dorm. I don't want anyone else to know. Do you think I am making the right decision?"

Sorority/Continue Pregnancy and Put Child Up for Adoption Condition:

"Hi! My name is Caitlin, and I'm a 20 year old sophomore at the University of North Dakota. I have a huge problem. I just found out I'm pregnant…I think I'm about 8 weeks along. I haven't told my parents, friends, or sorority yet. I think I'm going to continue the pregnancy and give the child up for adoption. If I decide to have the child, I will have to move out of my sorority's house. I don't want anyone else to know. Do you think I am making the right decision?"

Non-Greek/Continue Pregnancy and Put Child Up for Adoption Condition:

"Hi! My name is Caitlin, and I'm a 20 year old sophomore at the University of North Dakota. I have a huge problem. I just found out I'm pregnant…I think I'm about 8 weeks along. I haven't told my parents or friends yet. I think I'm going to continue the pregnancy and give the child up for adoption. If I decide to have the child, I will have to move out of my dorm. I don't want anyone else to know. Do you think I am making the right decision?"

Appendix D
Demographic Questions

1. Gender (Female, Male)

2. What was your last year's grade point average?

   (0.0 - 0.5, 0.5 - 1.0, 1.5 - 2.0, 2.0 – 2.5, 2.5 – 3.0, 3.0 – 3.5, 3.5 – 4.0, 4.0)

3. How old are you?

4. What is your class standing?

   (Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, Senior, Senior +)

5. Height (in inches)

6. Weight (in pounds)

7. Ethnicity

   (Caucasian, African-American, Asian, Hispanic, Native American, Other)

8. Are you adopted? (Yes/No)

   If you were adopted, please answer all questions based on your adoptive parents.

9. Were your parents ever divorced from each other?

   (Yes/No)

10. Number of years of education

    (Less than 8th grade, Some high school, High school graduate, Some college or

    technical school, College graduate, Some post-graduate education, Post-graduate

    degree)

11. Occupation

    (unemployed, unskilled worker, clerical worker, small business owner or

    manager, skilled worker, corporate manager, government administrator,

    professional)

12. What was your family's yearly income during most of the time you were growing up?

13. What is your current political affiliation?

    (Democrat, Republican, Independent, Other, None)

14. What is your current relationship status?

    (Single not dating, Single dating, In a Relationship, Cohabiting, Married or

    equivalent, Divorced/Separated)

15. How many hours per week are you employed?

16. What is your current place of residence?

    (With Parents, Apartment/House/Condo, Residence Hall/Dorm,

    Fraternity/Sorority House, Boarding House, Other)

17. How often did you attend religious services in the past year?

    (2-3 Times a Month, Once a Week, 2-3 Times a Week, Daily, Not at all in the

past year)

18. What is your religious affiliation?

    (Roman Catholic, Protestant, other "Christian," Jewish, Latter Day Saints

    (Mormon), Other, Atheist, Agnostic)

19. Are you a member of a fraternity or sorority?

    (Yes/No)

20. Do you have friends who are in a fraternity or sorority?

    (Yes/No)

Appendix E
Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement using the following scale: 0 = disagree strongly; 1 = disagree somewhat; 2 = disagree slightly; 3 = agree slightly; 4 = agree somewhat; 5 = agree strongly.

1) No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.   0 1 2 3 4 5

2) 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

3) In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.   0 1 2 3 4 5

4) Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.   0 1 2 3 4 5

5) Women are too easily offended.   0 1 2 3 4 5

6) People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.   0 1 2 3 4 5

7) Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.   0 1 2 3 4 5

8) Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.   0 1 2 3 4 5

9) Women should be cherished and protected by men.   0 1 2 3 4 5

10) Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.   0 1 2 3 4 5

11) Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.   0 1 2 3 4 5

12) Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.   0 1 2 3 4 5

13) Men are complete without women.   0 1 2 3 4 5

14) Women exaggerate problems they have at work.   0 1 2 3 4 5

15) 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

16) When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.   0 1 2 3 4 5

17) A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.   0 1 2 3 4 5

18) 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

19) Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.   0 1 2 3 4 5

20) 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

21) Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.   0 1 2 3 4 5

22) Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of
    culture and good taste.   0 1 2 3 4 5

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