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Is It Just Me or Was That Sexist? Perception of Hostile and Benevolent Sexism in the Context of Race

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BENEVOLENT SEXISM IN THE CONTEXT OF RACE

by

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School,
Marquette University,
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Science

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

December 2017

ABSTRACT
IS IT JUST ME, OR WAS THAT SEXIST? PERCEPTION OF HOSTILE AND
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Sexism is a common problem in the U.S. A major component of addressing this problem is determining the circumstances in which sexism is identified. One particular characteristic relevant to the perception of sexism is the race of the perpetrator of sexist behaviors. Using a vignette design, the current project explored whether sexism was identified at different rates or perceived as more or less sexist depending on the race of the man perpetrating sexist behaviors and whether it was hostile or benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). When a Black man engaged in sexist behavior, he was perceived as more sexist that White men when engaging in benevolent sexism – paternalistic, superficially positive sexist behaviors – and non-sexist behaviors. There were no differences based on the race of the perpetrator in the perception of hostile sexism – overtly negative and hostile forms of sexism. Women identified sexism more often and viewed it as more sexist than men did, especially in the context of hostile sexism. These findings suggest there are significant effects of perceiver gender and perpetrator race in the perception of sexism. This demonstrates the importance of examining both race- and gender-based discrimination together.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Introduction

Experiencing discrimination is an unfortunate reality for women in the United States; up to 99% of women report experiencing sexist events at some point in their life and 97% of women report experiencing sexism within the last year (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995). For example, Klonoff and Landrine (1995) found that the majority of women report sexist experiences such as being forced to listen to sexually degrading or sexist jokes (94.1% lifetime, 83.8% past year), facing discrimination from those in service positions (77% lifetime, 61.9% past year), and being treated unfairly by a boss or employer (40.4% lifetime, 32.1% past year). Further, women report experiencing about 1-2 sexist incidents in a week, and the experience of gender-based prejudice and discrimination has been associated with negative psychological and physical health outcomes (Becker & Swim, 2011; Borrell et al., 2010; Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000; Moradi & Subich, 2004; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Feguson, 2001).

Detecting instances of discrimination is necessary for women to be able to effectively interpret, respond to, and cope with these experiencing. Further, addressing long-term effects of sexism and reducing the incidence of sexist ideology and behavior requires effective identification of sexism. The goal of this study is to better understand how men and women identify sexist behaviors that occur during heterosexual encounters, taking into account the range of ways that sexism can be expressed and the race of the male actor.

Ambivalent Sexism Theory

Ambivalent sexism theory proposes that modern day sexism is expressed through hostility and benevolence (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile sexism is characterized by overtly negative and prejudicial beliefs directed toward women. This is the more salient form of sexism, including beliefs such as women are 'teases,' feminists are unreasonable, and women want more power than men. Although hostile sexism is more outwardly negative, benevolent sexism, on the surface, appears to involve intimate or prosocial behaviors. However, this type of sexism is still based on stereotypical and restricted roles for women. Benevolent sexism has three components: paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy. Paternalism implies that women need to be both protected and dominated by men. Gender differentiation suggests that men and women are fundamentally different which has important implications for gender role expectations. Finally, heterosexual intimacy indicates that men need women and sexual intimacy for their own happiness.

Hostile and benevolent sexism are positively correlated, indicating that these beliefs coexist within the same individual (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000). Whether sexist individuals express benevolent or hostile sexism is dependent on the context. Whereas hostile sexism punishes women for gender role deviance, benevolent sexism rewards women for compliance with gender role expectations. Both hostile and benevolent sexism have been linked to gender inequality, and cross-cultural research has found that higher endorsement of hostile and benevolent sexism is associated with indicators of gender inequality (Glick et al., 2000; Jost & Kay, 2005). These results suggest tangible implications for the livelihood of women in different nations in the context of both hostile and benevolent sexism.

Endorsing and Experiencing Sexism

Increased endorsement of and experiences with hostile sexism has been associated with negative outcomes for women. People who endorse hostile sexist beliefs are more likely to negatively evaluate women in managerial roles or women who are applying for a masculine job, indicating hostility is triggered when women are perceived as threats to the gender status hierarchy (Masser & Abrams, 2004; Sakalli-Ugurlu & Beydogan, 2002). Men endorsing hostile sexist attitudes are also less willing to donate to women's organization, particularly after exposure to sexist jokes (Ford, Boxer, Armstrong, & Edel, 2008). Hostile sexism is also associated with an increased likelihood to engage in sexually harassing behaviors (Begany & Milburn, 2002). Women who report experiencing hostile sexism also report more distress (e.g., binge drinking and symptoms of anxiety, depression, and somatization) than those who report fewer experiences with sexism (Klonoff et al., 2000; Zucker & Landry, 2007).

The consequences of benevolent sexism are often more subtle. Exposure to benevolent sexism can result in women doubting their abilities and performing worse on cognitive tasks (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007). Women endorsing benevolently sexist attitudes are more likely to accept restrictions placed on their behavior by men who are romantic partners (Moya, Glick, Exposito, de Lemus, & Hart, 2007) and to describe themselves in relational terms rather than task-oriented terms (Barreto, Ellemers, Piebinga, & Moya, 2010). Women may feel pressured to accept offered help, reinforcing the stereotype that women are incompetent and possibly leading women to second-guess their abilities and whether they are overreacting to "gentlemanly" behavior (Dumont,

Sarlet, & Dardenne, 2010). Endorsement of benevolent sexism is also associated with rape myth acceptance, or generally false beliefs that simultaneously blame the victim and excuse the perpetrator of sexual violence (Chapleau, Oswald, & Russell, 2007; Viki & Abrams, 2002; Viki, Abrams, & Masser, 2004). Further, women who have experienced rape are less likely to label the experience as such if they endorse benevolently sexist attitudes (LeMaire, Oswald, & Russell, 2016).

Perception of Sexism

Despite these negative consequences, women frequently do not perceive benevolent sexism negatively. In fact, Kilianski and Rudman (1998) compared perceptions of men expressing hostile or benevolent sexist beliefs and found that women positively viewed the men expressing benevolent sexism. Benevolent sexism, on a superficial level, appears positive because it aligns with what is often considered chivalrous, gentlemanly behavior (Viki, Abrams, & Hutchison, 2003). Similar findings related to the likability of men expressing benevolent sexism have been found in Zimbabwe (Chisango & Javangwe, 2012) and Germany (Bohner, Ahlborn, & Steiner, 2010). Benevolent sexism is also less likely than hostile sexism to be judged as sexist (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Swim, Mallett, Russo-Devosa, & Stangor, 2005). Some research has indicated hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs are perceived to be at odds and unlikely to be held by the same person (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998), though others have found participants believe endorsement of both hostile and benevolent sexism to be more typical of men (Bohner et al., 2010). However, these studies have largely focused on sexist beliefs rather than the perception of sexist behavior. That is, when women experience benevolently sexist behaviors are they likely to identify it as sexist?

Impact of Individual Characteristics on Identification of Sexism

Individual characteristics are important in the identification of sexist beliefs and behaviors. For example, the perception of sexism depends in part on whether it comes from a man than from a woman (Baron, Burgess, & Kao, 1991). In a key study on the identification of sexism, Baron and colleagues had participants read a series of vignettes depicting sexist behaviors directed at women. Regardless of the gender of the participant, scenarios of sexist behavior were more likely to be labeled as such when the perpetrator was a man than when the perpetrator was a woman. Further, female participants rated sexist behavior as more sexist than male participants did overall, though both rated male perpetrators as more sexist than female perpetrators. Sexism directed at women was more readily recognized when it came from men – someone assumed to be the perpetrator of sexism – than when it came from women, presumably because women violated the stereotypic assumption of who engages in sexism. Unfortunately, this study predated ambivalent sexism theory; thus, it did not manipulate the sexist behavior to be hostile or benevolent in nature. Therefore, more research on factors associated with the identification of sexism is needed.

One potentially important factor in identifying sexism is the race or ethnicity of the person expressing sexist attitudes. In general, research indicates that White Americans often feel anxious or demonstrate a threat response in interracial interactions (Avery, Richeson, Hebl, & Ambady, 2009). This heightened response may increase awareness of actual threats, such as sexism, in comments or interactions that would not be noticed if the commenter were White. This may be indicated by the perception of Black men as more rigid in their masculinity (Rogers, Sperry, & Levant, 2015; Wong,

Horn, & Chen, 2013). This perceived rigidity could be related to dominant assumptions that Black men as more sexist or strong in their gender roles, furthering racial othering (Gianettoni & Roux, 2010). Further, the subordinate male target hypothesis proposes that discrimination against subordinate men (i.e., men of color) focuses on domination and eradication, while sexism is focused on domination and protection (Sidanius & Veneigas, 2001). The protective paternalism present specifically in benevolent sexism justifies both antipathy towards men of color and the role restriction of women (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Sidanius & Veneigas, 2001). Men, motivated by aggression and dominance, and women, motivated by fear of sexual coercion, engage in intergroup bias, consistent with the subordinate male target hypothesis (Navarrete, McDonald, Molina, & Sidanius). Thus, both sexist and racist ideologies impact one another.

The connection between this process of racial othering and sexism has been examined in only one study. Using a sample of Swiss men and women, Gianettoni and Roux (2010) found that the same act – a forced marriage – was perceived as more sexist when it came from a North African family than a Swiss family. This effect was moderated by feminist and racist beliefs. The effect was strongest among those who endorsed feminist beliefs as well as racist beliefs (i.e., those who simultaneously endorsed feminist values and racist attitudes); there was no difference in the perception of families when the participants endorsed high levels of feminism and low levels of racism. This suggests that the perception of sexism is partially dependent on the race of the perpetrator. However, there were some methodological limitations of this study. First, the vignettes described a wealthy family of either Swiss or North African origin that forced their daughter into marriage, which the authors recognized may have been confounded by

cultural expectations that North African families are generally more involved in the marriages of their children. Second, the behavior may have been considered unusual and beyond the scope of everyday sexism making it difficult to apply to more common experiences. Finally, the study included brief, explicit questions regarding the family's sexism. This direct approach has some benefits; however, it constricts the responses of participants and may result in the identification of sexism when they had not independently recognized the behavior as such.

Current Study

In the current study, we sought to better understand how people identify sexist behaviors that are hostile or benevolent in nature when the race of the perpetrator is varied. It expands existing research in two novel ways. First, this study looked specifically at whether hostile and benevolent sexist behaviors are perceived as sexist. Second, it explored how the different types of sexism relate to the concept of a racialized other. The methodology allows for free response, providing a more realistic depiction of how certain acts are perceived. It deepens the understanding of how sexism is perceived based on both racial bias and the type of sexism portrayed. Therefore, it allows for novel approaches to discrimination and the ways in which different identities impact one another, aiding in future studies emphasizing the confrontation and reduction of discrimination.

Participants read a series of 14 vignettes where a heterosexual interaction occurs. In these interactions, the type of interaction (hostile, benevolent, and filler non-sexist interactions) and race of the man (Black or White) initiating the interaction were manipulated. Participants were asked to list adjectives describing the man in each of the

scenarios and these responses were coded as identifying sexism or not. The free response

was based on the methodology of Baron et al. (1991) to reduce demand characteristics.

Participants then rated the man on several pre-selected traits, one of which is "sexist,"

and fill out several other self-report measures.

We tested five hypotheses. First, it was hypothesized that hostile sexist behaviors

will be perceived as sexist more frequently and with greater intensity than benevolent

sexist behaviors. Second, we hypothesized that Black men would be perceived as sexist

more frequently and with greater intensity than White men across types of. Third, we

hypothesized that women would more readily identify benevolent sexism compared to

men, while men and women will identify hostile sexism at similar rates (i.e., an

interaction between participant gender and sexism type). Fourth, we hypothesized that

Black men would be perceived as more sexist in the hostile sexism condition, but not in

the benevolent sexism condition (i.e., an interaction between sexism type and race).

Finally, it was hypothesized that higher endorsement of hostile sexism, benevolent

sexism, and symbolic racism would predict higher sexism ratings of Black men compared

to White men.

Methods

Pilot Testing. Fourteen vignettes were developed where there was an interaction

between a male and female. The behavior was always initiated by the male and directed

toward the female partner. Four interactions had a behavior that could be described as a

benevolently sexist interaction, 4 interactions were a hostile sexist interaction, and 6

included interactions that were not sexist. Of those non-sexist interactions, 2 were written

to be rude or negative in tone, 2 were written to reflect a more friendly, positive

interaction, and 2 were written to be more neutral in tone. The hostile and benevolent interactions were based on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), a study by Becker and Swim (2011) incorporating diaries cataloguing experiences with sexism, and modified using an existing study in our laboratory asking women about their experiences with sexism. These descriptions were used to create the short vignettes of those hostile or benevolent acts for this current project (See Appendix A).

Initial pilot testing was conducted to ensure the vignettes within each condition (i.e., hostile, benevolent, or neutral) received similar ratings of sexism before introducing perpetrator race as a variable; all analyses were run using SPSS 24.0 (IBM, 2013). A sample of 38 undergraduate participants (31 female; M_{age} = 18.45; 28 Caucasian, 2 African American, 4 Asian/Pacific Islander, 3 Hispanic/Latino, 1 Middle Eastern, 1 Biracial or Multiracial) were asked to read the entire set of developed vignettes and rate [the male actor] on the following traits where 1 indicates "*Does Not Describe"* and 7 indicates "*Very Strongly Describes*." The specific traits used are listed in Appendix B.

Comparing the 4 hostile vignettes, there were no significant differences in the degree to which the vignettes were rated as sexist ($F(3, 34)$ = 1.07, p = .37, Partial η^2 = .09). The neutral vignettes (F (5, 32) = 2.04, p = .10, Partial η^2 = .24) were also all rated as equally (non)sexist. However, there was a significant difference in the degree to which the benevolent sexist vignettes were rated as sexist ($F(5, 33)$ = 30.08, p < .01, Partial η^2 = .82)

As the benevolently sexist vignettes were not all rated as equivalent, one vignette was deleted, two were modified to fit more closely with theoretical depictions of benevolent sexism, and one additional vignette was written. For the second test of

benevolent vignettes, 34 undergraduates (27 female; M_{age} = 19.24; 26 Caucasian, 6

Asian/Pacific Islander, 3 Hispanic/Latino) read the vignettes and again rated their level of

sexism. With the new set of vignettes there were no significant differences in the

benevolent vignettes (F (3,31) = 1.76, p = .18, Partial η^2 = .15). Therefore, the vignettes

were used for the primary study (See Appendix A for the full vignettes).

Primary Study.

Participants

One hundred and twenty-six undergraduate students were recruited from

Marquette University and participated for course credit. Three participants were excluded

from analyses due to incomplete data. Of the retained 123 participants (M_{age} = 19.41, SD

= 1.38), 71 identified as women, 51 as men, and 1 identified as a gender not listed. With

regards to ethnicity, 93 (75.6%) identified as White, 5 (4.1%) as Black, 17 (13.8%) as

Asian or Pacific Islander, 9 (7.3%) as Hispanic or Latino/a, and 5 (4.1%) identified with

another race or ethnicity. On a Likert scale measuring sexual orientation, the majority (N

= 109, 88.6%) identified as completely heterosexual, 2 (1.6%) as completely homosexual,

and 12 (9.7%) identified in between completely heterosexual and completely

homosexual.

Procedure

Participants were recruited using the psychology department recruitment pool and

received 45 minutes of course credit for their undergraduate courses. Participants were

informed that the purpose of the study was to examine how interactions are perceived.

Following informed consent, participants were asked to respond to 14 vignettes

describing an interaction between a man and a woman. The vignettes were randomly

presented. All participants read four vignettes depicting benevolent sexism (two with a White male and two with a Black male), four vignettes depicting hostile sexism (two with a Black male and two with a White male), and six non-sexist vignettes (controlling for neutral, positive, and negative interactions across White and Black men). They completed a free response to these vignettes in which they described the male actor. They were then asked to read the vignettes again and asked to rate the male actor on a number of traits. After the vignettes, they were asked to respond to self-report measures. Finally, they completed a demographics questionnaire and were thanked for their time.

Materials

    Vignettes. To manipulate the race of the man in the vignette, all vignettes included a picture of the male in the interaction that were obtained from stock photo websites. A picture of the woman in the interaction was not provided. Furthermore, the name of the male was changed to use names normed as stereotypically Black (Jamal, Tyrone, Darnell, Kareem, Tremayne, Jermaine, Leroy; Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004) or White (Joseph, Henry, Owen, Jacob, Adam, Sam, and Ethan; data.cityofnewyork.us, 2016). After reading each scenario participants, were asked, "Please list 2-3 traits that describe [the male actor] portrayed in the vignette you just read." The blank space was filled in with the name of the man in the story (See Appendix A). Responses were coded as identifying sexism or not identifying sexism, including descriptors such as sexist, chauvinistic, misogynistic, stereotypical, and traditional. Everything else was coded as non-sexist. The interrater reliability was calculated for each vignette and ranged from $\kappa = .82$ to $\kappa = .98$.

    After participants completed the free response, the vignettes were randomly presented a second time. This time, participants were presented with a list of traits

(funny, aggressive, sexist, warm, fair, intelligent, boring, and racist) and asked to rate the man using a 7-point Likert scale (where 1 = *Does Not Describe* and 7 = *Very Strongly Describes*). Analyses focused on the participants' responses for the 'sexist' trait; for the purposes of this study, the other descriptors were filler items and not analyzed as a part of the primary study. (See Appendix B).

      Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) is a 22-item questionnaire where participants respond on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*Disagree Strongly*) to 5 (*Agree Strongly*) and assess both hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs (Glick & Fiske, 1996); higher scores on this measure indicate greater endorsement of sexism. It was also found to have good convergent, discriminant, and predictive validity when compared to measures of sexism, racism, impression management, and stereotypes (Glick & Fiske, 1996). For the current study, the benevolent sexism subscale has a reliability of $\alpha = .80$ and the hostile sexism subscale had a reliability of $\alpha = .87$.

      Symbolic Racism Scale. The Symbolic Racism Scale (SRS) is an 8-item scale with variable question format and response scale responses to mitigate potential response habit and encourage more reflective responses (Henry & Sears, 2002). However, because of this variable question format, the items are converted to a scale of 0 to 1, where higher scores indicate greater endorsement of symbolic racism. For example, the item "Some say that black leaders have been trying to push too fast. Others feel that they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think?" has a scale of 1 (*Trying to push very much to fast*), 2 (*Going too slowly*), and 3 (*Moving at about the right speed*). A response of 1 would be recoded as a 0, 2 as 1, and 3 as .5. For the current study, scale had a reliability of $\alpha = .76$.

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) is a 33-item true/false scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). It is used to assess the extent to which respondents attempt to exaggerate socially desirable behaviors and items are summed; higher scores indicate greater exaggeration of socially desirable behaviors. For the current study, the scale had a reliability of $\alpha = .77$.

Demographics. Demographics included age, gender identity, sexual orientation (7-point Likert scale where 1 is completely heterosexual and 7 is completely homosexual), race and ethnicity, and college class standing.

Results

Identification Frequency. First, a series of McNemar's Chi-Square tests were conducted to determine whether participants differed in their identification of sexism based on counts. For the different sexism types, responses were collapsed and dummy coded. For example, if someone identified sexism in one or both of the hostile vignettes, they received a 1 for that condition. McNemar's Chi-Square test indicated that sexism was identified in hostile vignettes more than benevolent ($p = .04$; see Table 2) and neutral vignettes ($p < .01$; see Table 3) and in benevolent vignettes than neutral ones ($p < .01$; see Table 4). The same procedure was used to determine if sexism was identified more frequently based on the race of the male actor. The neutral vignettes were excluded for this comparison as the vignettes had a different range (i.e., 3 instead of 2); hostile and benevolent vignettes were collapsed and dummy coded. Sexism was not identified with differing frequencies for Black men and White men ($p = .30$; see Table 5).

Finally, a Chi-Square test was used to determine if sexism was identified more frequently based on the gender of the participant. The neutral vignettes were excluded for

this comparison because they had a different range; hostile and benevolent vignettes were collapsed and dummy coded. Female participants identified sexism at a higher frequency than did men ($\chi^2 = 3.56$, $p < .001$).

To better understand the way the variables of interest may have interacted, the frequency with which participants was examined using an ANOVA by looking within each vignette type (e.g., vignettes depicting hostile sexism from a White man) based on the methodology used by Baron and colleagues (1991). Thus, frequencies could range from 0 (sexism not identified in any vignettes) to 2 (sexism identified in both vignettes) for the benevolent and hostile sexism conditions and 0 to 3 for the neutral conditions. These frequencies are reported in Table 1. A 2 (participant gender) x 2 (sexism type: hostile or benevolent) x 2 (male ethnicity: Black or White) mixed model ANOVA was performed to determine whether the frequency with which participants identified sexism varied depending on the race of the perpetrator and the sexism type. Because the frequencies with which sexism was identified in the neutral conditions was nearly zero and the different range (six neutral vignettes total rather than four hostile or benevolent), these vignettes were excluded from the ANOVA.

There was a main effect of sexism type ($F(1, 120) = 52.06$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .30$) such that hostile sexism ($M = 1.18$, $SD = .06$) was identified more often than benevolent sexism ($M = .75$, $SD = .05$). There was also a main effect of perpetrator race ($F(1, 120) = 16.66$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .12$) such that sexism was identified more often in Black men ($M = 1.06$, $SD = .06$) than in White men ($M = .86$, $SD = .05$). Finally, there was a main effect of participant gender ($F(1, 120) = 4.00$, $p = .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$) such that sexism was identified more often by women ($M = 1.06$, $SD = .06$) than by men ($M =$

.87, SD = .07). There were no significant interactions between sexism type and gender ($F(1, 120)$ = 3.24, p = .07, partial η^2 = .03), between perpetrator race and gender ($F(1, 120)$ = 2.37, p = .13, partial η^2 = .02), between sexism type and perpetrator race ($F(1, 120)$ = 1.02, p = .32, partial η^2 = .01), or between all three variables ($F(1, 120)$ = .17, p = .68, partial η^2 = .001).

Sexism Ratings. A 2 (participant gender) x 2 (sexism type: hostile, benevolent, or neutral) x 2 (male ethnicity: White or Black) mixed model ANOVA was used to compare the Likert ratings of sexism. There was a main effect of sexism type ($F(2,119)$ = 2019.16, p < .001, partial η^2 = .97) and post hoc tests indicate that hostile vignettes (M = 6.48, SD = .07) was perceived as significantly more sexist than benevolent (M = 4.11, SD = .13, p < .001) and neutral vignettes (M = 1.31, SD = .04, p < .001). Additionally, benevolent vignettes were perceived as significantly more sexist than neutral vignettes (p < .001). There was a main effect of perpetrator race ($F(1,120)$ = 38.81, p < .001, partial η^2 = .24); Black men (M = 4.13, SD = .07) were perceived as more sexist than White men (M = 3.81, SD = .06). Finally, there was a main effect of gender ($F(1,120)$ = 4.00, p = .05, partial η^2 = .03) such that women rated the vignettes higher in sexism than did men (M_{women} = 4.09, SD_{women} = .08, M_{men} = 3.84, SD_{men} = .10).

However, these were qualified by a significant interaction between participant gender and sexism type ($F(2,119)$ = 3.23, p = .04, partial η^2 = .05). For hostile and neutral vignettes, men and women did not differ in the intensity of perceived sexism ($F(1,120)$ = .21, p = .65, and $F(1,120)$ = .27, p = .60, respectively). For benevolent vignettes, men and women did differ in the intensity of perceived sexism; women rated benevolent sexism as more sexist than did men ($F(1,120)$ = 5.98, p = .02; see Figure 1). It is important to note

that the effect sizes related to gender were quite small. However, this is also consistent with some research suggesting men and women are more similar than different and exaggerated gender differences could be a result of alpha bias (Hyde, 2005). This should be taken into account in the interpretation of these results, though it is consistent with the anticipated subtlety in the phenomena of the interaction between race and gender bias.

There was also a significant interaction between sexism type and the race of the male actor ($F(2,119) = .11.09$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .16$). Follow-up simple main effects tests indicate that in the case of hostile vignettes, Black and White men are perceived as similarly sexist ($F(1,121) = .01$, $p = .91$, partial $\eta^2 < .01$; $M_{\text{Black Men}} = 6.49(.85)$, $M_{\text{White Men}} = 6.48(.84)$). However, in the case of benevolent and neutral vignettes, Black men are perceived as significantly more sexist than White men ($F(1,121) = 20.16$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$, $M_{\text{Black Men}} = 4.45(1.63)$, $M_{\text{White Men}} = 3.86(1.68)$ and $F(1,121) = 43.18$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .26$, $M_{\text{Black Men}} = 1.52(.77)$, $M_{\text{White Men}} = 1.11(.31)$, respectively; see Figure 2).

Predicting Sexism Ratings. Finally, three difference scores were computed. The first compared sexism ratings between White men and Black men in the hostile sexism condition; the second, sexism ratings between White men and Black men in the benevolent sexism condition; and the third, sexism ratings between White men and Black men in the non-sexist condition. In all cases, positive scores indicated White men received a higher sexism rating and negative scores indicated Black men received a higher sexism rating.

A hierarchical regression was computed predicting the difference score based on the participants' self-reported levels of hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, and racism while controlling for social desirability. For hostile sexist and non-sexist vignettes, social

desirability was not a significant predictor of the difference in sexism ratings ($F(1, 120) =$ .19, $p = .66$, adjusted $R^2 = -.01$ and $F(1, 120) = .02$, $p = .90$, adjusted $R^2 = -.01$, respectively) and the addition of self-reported hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, and racism did not significantly improve the model ($F(3, 117) = .90$, $p = .46$, R^2 Change $= .02$ and $F(3, 117) = .47$, $p = .71$, R^2 Change $= .01$, respectively; see Tables 7 and 8).

For benevolent sexism, social desirability was not a significant predictor of the difference in sexism ratings ($F(1, 120) = .36$, $p = .55$, Adjusted $R^2 = -.01$). The addition of hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, and racism significantly improved the model, though ($F(3,117) = 2.31$, $p = .03$, R^2 Change $= .08$; see Table 9). Examination of the contribution of these individual variables, though, indicated that no specific predictor variable accounted for a significant amount of the variance in the difference in sexism ratings.

Discussion

Overall, hostile sexism was perceived as sexist more frequently and with greater intensity than benevolent sexism, supporting the first hypothesis of a main effect of sexism type. The second hypothesis was also supported; Black men were perceived as sexist more frequently and with greater intensity than White men. Finally, women perceived sexism more frequently and with greater intensity than men. These findings, though, are further complicated by their interaction effects. Although women perceived sexism with greater intensity than men, this was driven specifically by benevolent sexism. That is, there were no gender differences when it comes to hostile sexism, but women perceived benevolent sexism as more sexist than men do. Additionally, Black men were perceived as more sexist than White men in the case of benevolent sexism and,

interestingly, non-sexist interactions; however, no differences arose in the case of hostile sexism suggesting that hostile sexism is perceived as sexist regardless of who engages in the behavior or who is perceiving the behavior. Because hostile sexism fits with the assumption of what sexism should be like, other factors appear to matter less in this perception.

In contrast, women viewed benevolent sexism as more sexist than men do. Women's life experiences likely allow for a more nuanced perception of sexism in its different forms. For example, women who attended to sexist experiences view benevolent sexism as less favorable and more sexist, which does not occur for men (Becker & Swim, 2011). This suggests that, as the targets of sexism, women are more likely to view benevolent sexism as sexist. Therefore, when asked to rate benevolently sexist behaviors, women likely reflected on their own experiences to inform the ratings of sexist behaviors. The perception of benevolent sexism also varied depending on the race of the man engaging in these behaviors. Specifically, Black men were perceived as more sexist than White men when engaging in benevolently sexist behaviors and when sexism is not present. This could indicate that White men are given the benefit of the doubt when subjective interpretation plays a larger role in perception. Previous research has indicated benevolent sexism is often insidious; it is difficult to identify and associated with negative outcomes (Dardenne et al., 2007; Dumont et al., 2010; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998). However, when Black men engage in this behavior, people appear to notice benevolent sexism as such. Further, when Black men are *not* engaging in sexism, underlying stereotypes about Black men and sexist ideology may create the perception of sexism when it is not there. This othering process allows for the sexist protectiveness

directed at women and domination directed at men of color (McMahon & Kahn, 2017; Navarrete et al., 2010; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2001).

In addition to examining how sexism ratings related to the specifics in the vignette, the role of validated self-report attitude measures was important for understanding how broad attitudes were related to the perception of hostile and benevolent sexism. Sexism and racism both contribute to the difference in how Black men and White men are perceived when engaging in benevolent sexist behavior; however, these effects do not occur independently and require further study. Additionally, self-reported attitudes may be insufficient to understand how racism and sexism predict the perception of sexism. The importance of the ambiguity in these situations may play a key role in these scenarios; racist beliefs are expressed more readily when there can be another explanation and an individual has reduced risk of being viewed as racist (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Sue et al., 2007). Additionally, the symbolic racism scale used in this study was developed with the underlying framework that Black individuals in the U.S. lack work ethic and responsibility, have excessive demands, no longer face discrimination, and have received more than they deserve (Henry & Sears, 2002). This scale, thus, does not integrate the concept of a racialized other (Gianettoni & Roux, 2010). Although behaviors related to othering are linked conceptually to symbolic racism, the constructs are distinct. This difference may be related to the lack of predictive power of the symbolic racism scale. Additionally, the use of implicit measures of racial attitudes could lend an important perspective on how race impacts the perception of sexism.

Identifying Benevolent Sexism

As evidenced by the findings in the current study, benevolent sexism is less likely to be recognized as such. Though some research indicates that active efforts to track sexist experiences reduces endorsement of sexism and that it is possible to increase awareness and identification of sexism (Becker & Swim, 2011), more research is needed in this area. The findings indicate that benevolent sexism remains an insidious occurrence due to the decreased likelihood that it will be identified as sexism. Because of the numerous negative effects of benevolent sexism, furthering the research on the identification of sexism is extremely important. In addition, these findings have important implications for systemic sexism. Previous research has indicated that both hostile and benevolent sexism are associated with gender inequality, but exposure to hostile sexism motivates support of social change while exposure to benevolent sexism makes women less likely to support social change (Becker & Wright, 2011). Hostile sexism increases feelings of anger and frustration, which may motivate women to engage in social action (Lemonaki, Manstead, & Maio, 2015). Additionally, experimental research has demonstrated that men and women's exposure to benevolent sexism increases gender system justification, or the belief that unfair systems involving gender can be justified and should be maintained (Jost & Kay, 2005). Thus, benevolent sexism has negative personal and systemic consequences, possibly due to the difficulty in labeling benevolent sexism. The current findings support the importance of identifying benevolent sexism across situations in order to better address the negative effects associated with the experience of benevolent sexism.

Role of Race in Identifying Sexism

Finally, in the vignettes read by participants, there is a degree of ambiguity related to whether describing an individual as sexist constitutes racial bias. That is, the vignettes depicting hostile sexism are unambiguous; most people tended to be consistent in their ratings regardless of race. However, in the case of benevolent sexism, the ambiguity is increased. Thus, there may be more opportunity to express underlying stereotypes about Black men's masculinity in a way that is socially acceptable in the case of benevolent sexism and may be inclined to see sexism that is not there, though it fits with stereotypes about Black men, in the case of non-sexist interactions (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Thus, in these instances, individuals are able to express racist beliefs while maintaining the ability to appear non-racist and explain their actions as based on factors other than racism. In addition, research has indicated that, in interracial interactions, both White people and people of color have heightened anxiety (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). Specifically, White people experience arousal related to avoidance of appearing prejudiced while people of color experience arousal related to concern about experiencing prejudice or confirming stereotypes. This heightened arousal may lead to an increased awareness of sexist behavior, which is key in identifying sexism (Swim et al., 2001). Individuals may view the identification of benevolent sexism in Black men as an inherently feminist act; unfortunately, this may not be the case. Because these ratings are supplied inconsistently as a function of race, this indicates that sexism and racism are interacting in a way that allows for sexist and racist ideologies to be maintained in a way that superficially appears unbiased towards Black men and actively pro-feminist. This finding is also consistent with ambivalent sexism theory and the subordinate male target

hypothesis. Because women are regarded paternalistically and in need of protection and Black men are viewed as targets for domination and male-on-male competition, discrepant identification of sexism unites these perspectives (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2001). Thus, a nuanced approached to race- and gender-based bias is necessary.

Limitations

There are several important limitations to consider in the interpretation of these findings. First, the current study was focused exclusively on how perpetrator race impacts perception of sexism. Examining the perception of intra- and interracial sexism is an important area for future study, but was not the focus of the current study. Second, only perceptions of Black and White men were examined in this study. Stereotypes about men of different racial groups vary. Third, the sample was predominantly White; thus, there was insufficient power to explore the race or ethnicity of the participant in relation to the perception of sexism. More nuanced exploration of participant characteristics related to race and ethnicity were not possible within the current study.

Future Directions

There are a number of areas future research can expand the findings of the currents study. Future research should examine the specific factors related to the race of the perpetrator and target of sexist behavior to elucidate the unique interaction between these variables. Similarly, future research should explore other race-based stereotypes regarding sexism and gender role attitudes in the context of both perpetrator and victim race beyond Black and White individuals. Another variable worthy of future exploration is the gender of the perpetrator of sexism. Because Baron and colleagues (1991) found

that the perception of perpetrators of sexism were viewed differently depending on their gender, future research focused on how the perception of perpetrators may vary as a function of their race and gender. Finally, future research should examine how participant race may play a role in perception of sexism when race of the perpetrator is varied. In particular, the role of stereotype internalization may be particularly interesting to explore in this context.

Conclusion

Overall, the findings of this study support the theory that Black men are punished more for behaviors similar to those of White men. This suggests that the perception of sexism and gender role ideology is not isolated from race-based bias. Therefore, the process of racial othering occurs within the context of gender-based discrimination as well. This lends support for the theory that different forms of prejudice are related and can be better understood by studying them in conjunction rather than in isolation (Zick et al., 2008). A more nuanced understanding of the perception of sexism in general, and benevolent sexism specifically, in the context of race can inform future research seeking to study the identification, confrontation, and reduction of sexist behaviors. This study also provides evidence for an interrelated approach to understanding prejudice. Race- and gender-based stereotypes impact one another, as demonstrated by these findings. Thus, future research should emphasize the multifaceted role of different prejudices and biases.

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Table 1. *Participant Identification of Sexism in Vignettes Across Sexism Type and Actor Race*

	White Men			Black Men		
	Hostile Sexism	Benevolent Sexism	Neutral*	Hostile Sexism	Benevolent Sexism	Neutral
Sexism Not Identified	25	56	121	26	40	121
Sexism Identified	97	66	0	96	60	1

*one participant did not have a response to this vignette

Table 2. *McNemar's Chi-Square Test comparing Hostile and Benevolent Sexism Identification*

		Hostile		
		Sexism Identified	Sexism not Identified	Total
Benevolent	Sexism Identified	89	6	95
	Sexism not Identified	17	10	27
	Total	106	16	122

p = .04

Table 3. *McNemar's Chi-Square Test comparing Hostile and Neutral Sexism Identification*

		Hostile		
		Sexism Identified	Sexism not Identified	Total
Neutral	Sexism Identified	1	0	1
	Sexism not Identified	104	16	120
	Total	105	16	121

p < .01

Table 4. *McNemar's Chi-Square Test comparing Benevolent and Neutral Sexism Identification*

		Benevolent		
		Sexism Identified	Sexism not Identified	Total
Neutral	Sexism Identified	1	0	1
	Sexism not Identified	93	27	120
	Total	94	27	121

p < .01

Table 5. *McNemar's Chi-Square Test comparing Sexism Identification of Black and White men*

		White Actor		Total
		Sexism Identified	Sexism not Identified	
Black Actor	Sexism Identified	97	10	107
	Sexism not Identified	5	10	15
	Total	102	20	122

p = .32

Table 6. *Pearson's Chi-Square Test comparing Sexism Identification by Participant Gender*

	Participant Gender		Total
	Women	Men	
Sexism Identified	68	44	112
Sexism Not Identified	3	7	10
Total	71	51	122

X^2 = 2.56, *p* = .06

Table 7. *Regressions Predicting Sexism Ratings – Hostile Sexist Vignettes*

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*p*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*p*
Social Desirability	-.01	.01	-.04	.66	-.01	.01	-.04	.64
Benevolent Sexism					.01	.09	.01	.96
Hostile Sexism					.13	.10	.16	.21
Symbolic Racism					-.15	.53	-.03	.78
Adj R^2		-.01		.		-.01		
F for change in R^2		.19				.87		

*p < .05

Table 8. *Regressions Predicting Sexism Ratings – Non-Sexist Vignettes*

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	B	$SE\ B$	β	p	B	$SE\ B$	β	p
Social Desirability	.00	.01	.01	.55	.00	.01	.01	.90
Benevolent Sexism					-.01	.08	-.01	.95
Hostile Sexism					.10	.10	.14	.29
Symbolic Racism					-.22	.49	-.05	.66
Adj R^2		-.01				-.02		
F for change in R^2		.02				.50		

*$p < .05$

Table 9. *Regressions Predicting Sexism Ratings – Benevolent Sexist Vignettes*

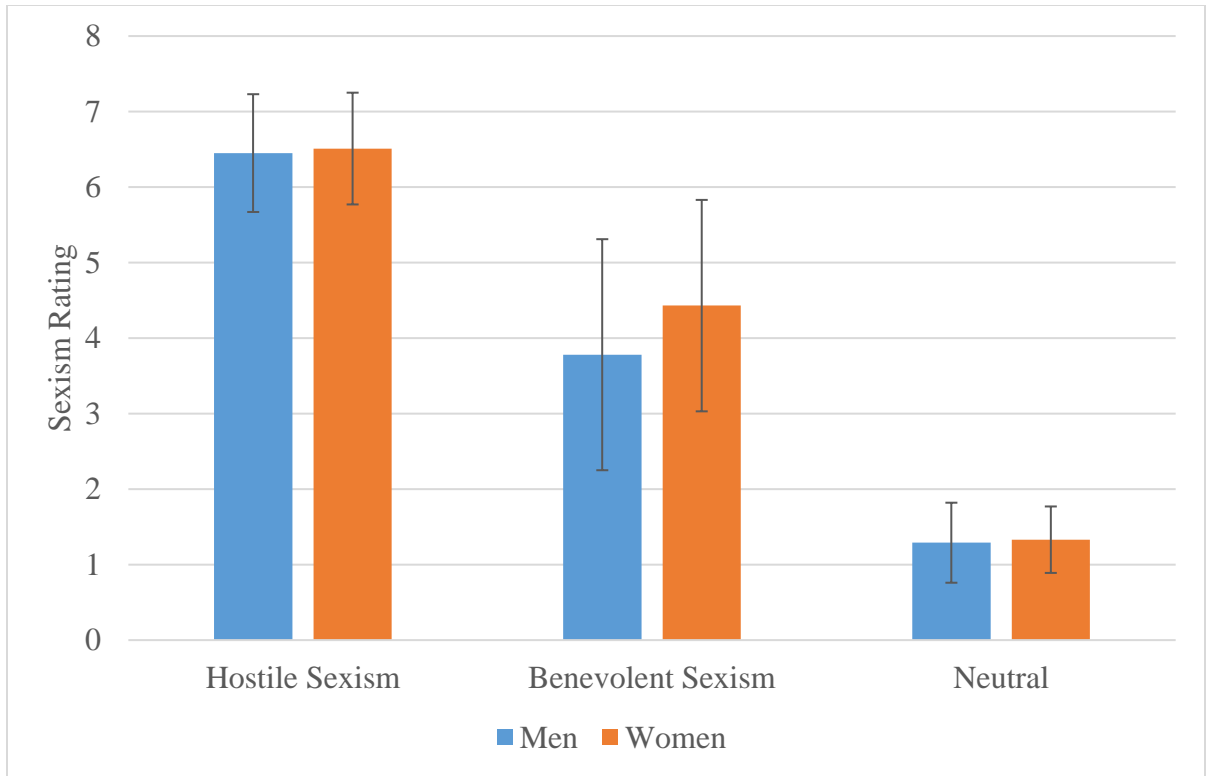| Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	B	$SE\ B$	β	p	B	$SE\ B$	β	p
Social Desirability	.02	.03	.06	.90	.01	.03	.04	.63
Benevolent Sexism					-.27	.17	-.16	.12
Hostile Sexism					-.33	.19	-.21	.09
Symbolic Racism					1.22	.99	.14	.22
Adj R^2		-.01				.05		
F for change in R^2		.36				3.21*		

*$p < .05$

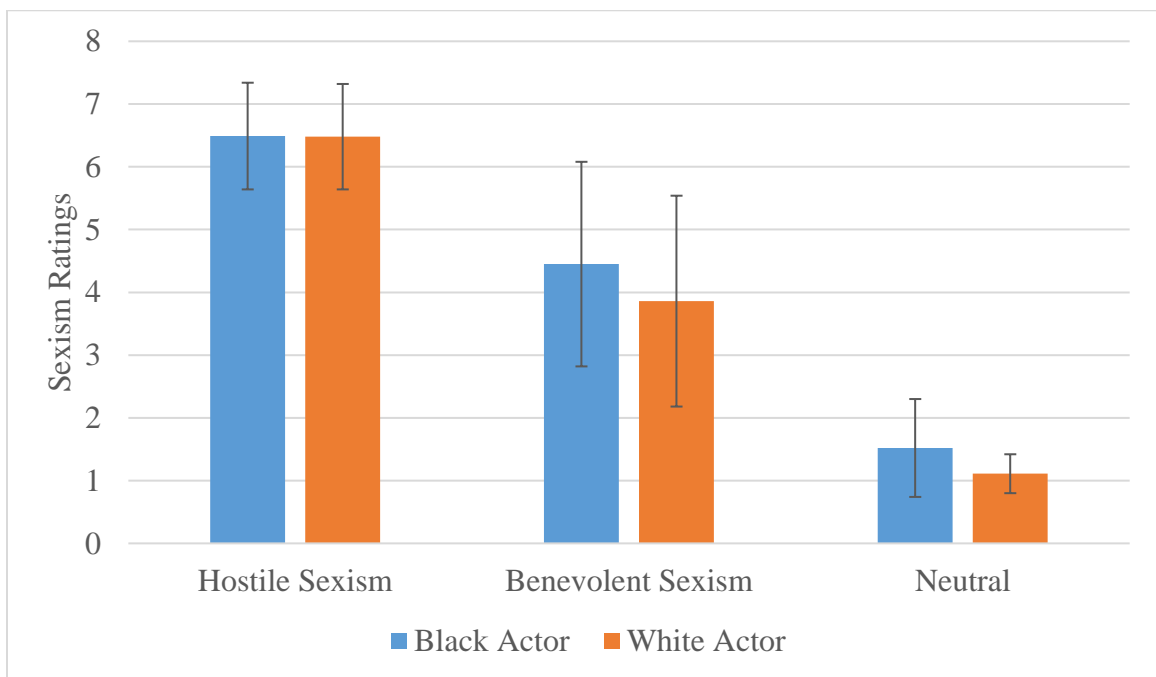*Figure 1*. Men and women's ratings of sexism across types of sexism.

Figure 2. Ratings of sexism for Black actors and White actors across types of sexism.

Appendix A

Vignettes

Hostile 1

   Joseph and Sarah, coworkers at a hardware store, looked at the schedule for the day. It looked busier than usual. "What can I work on?" Sarah asked, looking over at the list. "Well," Joseph said, "I need to move some pallets with the reach machine, so I'm not sure what you could do."

   "Oh, I've actually finished the training on that machine! I can take care of some of that." Sarah said, excited to get a chance to try something new. Joseph shrugged, with a little laugh. "I don't think it's a good idea for you to do that." Sarah stared, trying to figure out why. Joseph shrugged again, saying, "Women just usually aren't very good at driving that machinery."

Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Joseph** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Hostile 2

 "Hey, baby! Nice ass." Henry called out as Victoria passed him. Victoria rolled her eyes, ignoring him. She had just finished with a long day and was looking forward to some relaxation at home. "Hey, I'm talking to you." Henry said, raising his voice and walking toward her. Victoria glared at him. "Look, I'm just not in the mood. Please leave me alone."

  "Wow, it was just a compliment. No need to be so frigid. You need to loosen up a bit." As he said this he reached out and grabbed Victoria's butt. She jerked and walked away quickly. "Bitch!" He yelled after her.

 Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Henry** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Hostile 3

Michelle and Jamal went out for drinks after work. They both agreed that the past week had been a tough one. "This week took forever," Jamal said. "I'm so glad it's Friday."

"Me too. I feel like our boss was super hard on me too. I mean, I can take criticism but he was pretty out of line. I'm considering talking to HR."

Jamal laughed. "Seriously? Are you sure you're not blowing this out of proportion? Women tend to do that. They have a bad week at work, just like everyone else, but then it turns into some crazy crusade. Women just need to calm down and not be so easily offended."

Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Jamal** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Hostile 4

Abby started giving Tyrone an overview of her research when he interrupted her. "Sure, sure." Tyrone said. "But I was just looking at your stats. I mean, it's not surprising, but you made a mistake here."

"I checked my stats several times. There shouldn't be any mistakes." Abby said. "And what's not surprising?"

"No, you definitely made an error. Just trust me, I know stats much better than any woman would. You clearly should have talked to some of the men in your department before you brought this to the conference. It's pretty embarrassing."

Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Tyrone** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Benevolent 1

   Chloe had been looking forward to a game of football with a group of coworkers because she enjoyed playing with her family when she was younger. When she got to the field, she saw that almost everyone was already there, and the guys were talking together to the side. Darnell walked over to her saying, "Hey, Chloe. I was just talking to the guys about you. I want to make sure they go a little easier on you and make sure not to tackle you. I want to make sure you don't get hurt or feel weird."

   "Oh," Chloe said, "Thanks, but I actually used to play football a decent amount. I'm not too worried."

    "That's fine, but I just want to look out for you and make sure you feel safe."

 Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Darnell** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Benevolent 2

   The debate had been going on about twenty minutes. Owen and Olivia had been able to have an interesting discussion of the U.S. justice system and they were just finishing their final statements. After they finished, they both walked back while the judges deliberated. "Nice work!" said.

   "Thanks," Olivia said, smiling, "you know your stuff!"

   "I try. Still, you had something I just didn't."

   "What's that?" Olivia asked.

    "Well," Owen said, thinking, "I just generally find women are able to bring in morals and values better. There's a sense of good intention and purity there that men just don't have. I think that might give you an edge."

 Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Owen** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Benevolent 3

Ava and Jacob were hanging out with a small group of friends. They had been chatting about a design class they were taking. "I'd really like to do freelance design work. It just seems like it would be a good fit for me." Ava said.

"Yeah, that seems like it would fit you really well," Jacob said, smiling. "That way you can have the flexibility you need to have kids."

"Well, I'm not sure I want kids," Ava shrugged. "but I do like the flexibility."

"You don't want kids? But you're so warm and sweet! You would be such a good mom."

"Thanks, but it's just not really something I want."

Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Jacob** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Benevolent 4

Kareem and Zoe were chatting in the elevator on their way to work. "You had a date this weekend, didn't you?" Kareem asked.

"I did," Zoe said, "it's going pretty well. We did dinner and a movie, so it made it easy to split the bill."

"Seriously? I would never split the bill on a date. A guy needs to show he can provide for his woman. When I go on dates, I plan them and pay for them. When a guy takes control with the plans then it shows the girl she's special! It's an important part of being chivalrous and a gentleman. I would have never let you pay."

Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Kareem** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Neutral 1

   Adam checked the time. He and Mia had a presentation scheduled and they were putting on the finishing touches before it started. "What do you think?" He asked.

   "I think it looks good! I don't see any other typos. What about you?" Adam shook his head. They agreed that it looked ready. "Let me just save it and we can head over!" Mia said. They had been working on the presentation for a couple of weeks and it finally felt ready. It was an important project they had been assigned to, so Adam and Mia really wanted to do well to impress their boss.

 Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Adam** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Neutral 2

   Sam and Isabella recently took a film class together. They ran into each other at the grocery store and were chatting about a movie they had both seen recently. "I thought it was really funny. What about you?" Sam said. Isabella nodded, "Yeah, definitely. It's been a while since I've gone out to see a movie. I wasn't sure it would be any good, but I ended up liking it a lot."

   "Same here. They had a really good cast, which definitely helped. Anyways, I need to get going, but it was good seeing you!"

 Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Sam** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Neutral 3

   Arianna just barely ran to the tennis ball in time and quickly hit it back over the net. "Nice save!" Tremayne said, reaching out his racket to return the ball. They were both avid tennis players and enjoyed getting a game in after work. "Thanks!" Arianna called out. They generally didn't keep score; instead, they just played until they got tired or needed to get going. They paused to get some water. "Oh, there's a match this weekend. I'm getting a few friends together to watch at my place." Tremayne said. "You and your boyfriend should come."
   "Sounds fun." Arianna said, nodding.
 Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Tremayne** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Neutral 4

   Jermaine was walking down the street talking to a friend. Without looking where he was going, he ran into Madison. Her coffee spilled all over both of them. "Hey! What the hell?" Jermaine said. "Watch where you're going."
   "Me? Why don't you watch where you're going, you ran into me. I didn't move at all."
    "I doubt that. No I need to get my shirt change and I'm already running late. Thanks a lot." Jermaine said, glaring. He stormed off in a huff, muttering about how careless people could be these days.
 Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Jermaine** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Neutral 5
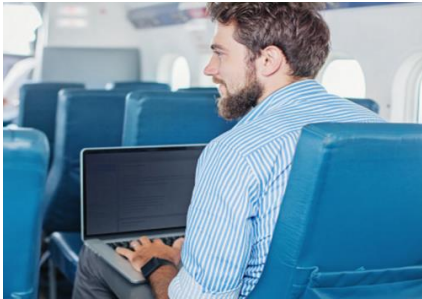
Partway through the flight, Ethan turned to the woman sitting next to him. He cleared his throat loudly. When that didn't work, he leaned into her line of sight, saying "Excuse me!" Gabriella took off her headphones. "Can I help you?"

"Actually, I was wondering if you could turn your music down. I'm trying to get some work done and it's pretty disruptive."

"No." Gabriella said, glaring. "I should be able to listen to my music however loud I want."

"Generally, sure." Ethan replied. "But it's tough to focus hearing your music blaring out of your headphones." Deliberately, Gabriella put her headphones back in and turned away.

Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Ethan** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Neutral 6

Leroy walked over to Leah's desk. "Hey, Leah. Do you have a second?"

"Give me just a second," she said, finishing up an email. "Alright, go ahead!"

"You know the expense report our manager needed last Thursday?" Leah nodded. "Well, whoever was supposed to take care of it didn't. You don't still have it by any chance, do you?"

"You know, I think I do." Leah got up and walked over to the filing cabinet. She flipped through the files until she found what she was looking for. "Ah, here it is. Could you just make sure to get a copy back to me when you're done?"

"Sure thing. Thanks."

Please list 2-3 traits that describe **Leroy** portrayed in the vignette you just read.

Appendix B

Please rate [the male actor] on the following traits where '1' indicates 'Does Not

Describe' and '7' indicates 'Very Strongly Describes.'

	1 – Does Not Describe	2	3	4	5	6	7 – Very strongly Describes
Funny							
Aggressive							
Sexist							
Warm							
Fair							
Intelligent							
Boring							
Racist							