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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

DECREASING WOMEN'S ENDORSEMENT  
OF BENEVOLENT SEXISM

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN APPLIED SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

BY

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CHICAGO, IL

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of the current study was to reduce women's endorsement of benevolent sexist beliefs. This intervention aimed to educate women about the prevalence and seriousness of benevolent sexism. To increase awareness for benevolent sexism, participants read an informational text about the pervasiveness and harmfulness of benevolent sexism in the U.S. This text was read after participants had written about a time they engaged in benevolent sexism. This procedure aimed to elicit negative self-directed affect when attention was drawn to their sexist behavior. Negative self-directed affect was hypothesized to mediate the relationship between education and endorsement of benevolent sexism. In addition, this relationship was hypothesized to be moderated by Gender-Specific System Justification (GSSJ). The results indicated that educating women about the pervasiveness and harmfulness of benevolent sexism did not directly or indirectly impact their endorsement of benevolent sexism. In addition, GSSJ did not moderate either the relationship between education and benevolent sexism or education and negative-self affect. However, GSSJ did predict benevolent sexism and hostile sexism endorsements. This indicated that those who believe that the current system is fair and just for men and women are more likely to hold attitudes that justify that worldview, like benevolent and hostile sexism. The implications for benevolent sexism and endorsement reduction strategies are discussed.

## DECREASING WOMEN'S ENDORSEMENT OF BENEVOLENT SEXISM

### **Introduction**

#### **The Effects of Discrimination**

Women experience discrimination in the form of sexism in many different ways without even realizing it. Continued discrimination from sexism can lead to numerous detrimental effects. For instance, discrimination can lead to economic consequences for women: less job opportunities, fewer career advancements, and lower wages (Crosby, 1984). Women still earn only seventy-seven cents for every dollar that men earn each hour ("ITUC Economic and Social Policy Brief: The Gender Wage Gap", 2018). In addition, women are drastically underrepresented in managerial positions, representing a meager twenty-five percent of senior leadership positions ("ITUC Economic and Social Policy Brief: The Gender Wage Gap", 2018).

Besides economic consequences, continued discrimination can lead to harmful health effects, both mentally and physically. Chronic discrimination is associated with an increase in depression, anxiety, and psychological distress. Research also suggests that repeated exposure to discrimination makes the body become hypersensitive in stressful or potentially stressful situations, triggering a sustained stress response (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Furthermore, experiencing chronic discrimination drains self-control resources, putting an additional strain on health. Due to this drain of resources, individuals are left with less energy to make healthy behavioral choices (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). This research highlights some of the many

detrimental effects that discrimination has on women throughout their lives, including negative health effects due to stress responses and changes in healthy behaviors.

Due to the predominantly harmful consequences of discrimination and endorsement of benevolent sexism, an intervention is needed in order to mitigate these negative effects. In this study, benevolent sexism is targeted because of its subtleness, harmful nature, and its increased support among women compared to hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001). As benevolent sexism can be harder to recognize, the ability to recognize and identify behaviors as sexist is of key importance for women. While the idea of gender discrimination in the workplace has become a well-known phenomenon, many women may not realize it is happening in their own lives (Crosby, 1984). Women are still not fully aware of the overall prevalence and the extent to which sexism affects their everyday lives. This same finding emerged from the diary studies of Swim, Hyers, Cohen, and Ferguson (2001). Participants became more aware of sexist incidents in their everyday lives when they kept a daily diary, which had previously gone unnoticed.

Yet when found that as women kept track of personal discrimination, they were more likely to reject benevolent sexist beliefs (Becker & Swim, 2011). This increase in awareness of the pervasiveness and the harmful effects of benevolent sexism can decrease women's endorsement of it (Becker & Swim, 2011). And as women decrease their endorsement, they are more likely to act against benevolent sexist behaviors (Becker & Swim, 2012). Thus, one aim of this research is to draw women's attention to sexism and to their endorsement of benevolent sexism.

## **Stereotype Usage**

In order to discern why sexism exists, it is necessary to understand the underlying processes and social environments that produced it. To make sense of the complex world around us, our brains have to utilize heuristics like categorization. Stereotypes are a type of categorization that allow for precious resources to be saved by making quick, automatic evaluations about our complex environments. Without conscious thought, stereotypes about groups of people come to mind in order to guide behavior (Macrae, Milne & Bodenhausen, 1994).

As these stereotypes are applied throughout daily interactions, they become reinforced through observations of groups' typical roles in society. Individuals make correspondent inferences from group members' typical role behavior to their group stereotype (Koenig & Eagly, 2014). Social Role Theory helps account for both the reinforcement and for the creation of these stereotypes. For instance, women are currently disproportionately represented in childcare roles (e.g., teachers, stay-at home-moms, daycare providers), which typically requires a nurturing temperament (Koenig & Eagly, 2014). As attributes of a group's typical role influence the group's stereotypes, and as women are more likely to be in childcare settings, women as a group are perceived to be more nurturing compared to men. This theory reflects a correspondence bias, a process in which people's traits are linked to their behaviors and roles.

On a macrolevel, these stereotypes can lead to the maintenance of the status quo. This status-quo maintenance can be detrimental when it leads to unjust evaluations and unequal treatment of large groups of people within a society (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). For women, these stereotypes can systematically label them as possessing communal and empathetic traits (e.g.,

friendly, nurturing, and helpful). These attributes are consistent with more domestic or subordinate roles. Men, however, are stereotypically labeled as competent and ambitious. This entails them for high-status roles as leaders (Glick & Fiske, 2001). These differing stereotypes create a division of power, in which men are inherently expected to lead and women to follow.

### **Ambivalent Sexism**

These stereotypes are captured by ambivalent sexism. Ambivalent sexism is derived from a paradoxical liking of women accompanied by an adversarial view of them. This adversarial view is reserved for women who challenge men's power and leadership and who are perceived as trying to seek control over men, through feminist ideology or sexuality (Glick & Fiske, 2001). These two facets of ambivalent sexism are characterized by hostile sexism and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Hostile sexism is a system-justifying response to women who are perceived as a threat to men's power and control. Hostility can manifest as anything that derogates women for failing to appreciate men, unnecessary complaining about sexism, or using feminist ideology or their sexuality to gain power (Connelly & Heesacher, 2012). This could take the form of negative stereotypes against women, such as "women are too easily offended." (Becker & Wright, 2011). Stereotypes like this demean women and highlight hostile sexism's goal of thwarting anyone or any assertion that tries to challenge men's dominance. Hostile sexism's goal is to scorn and prevent women from obtaining equality. This is one of the reasons why men are more likely to endorse and engage in this type of sexism compared to women (Fisk & Glicke, 2001).

Unlike hostile sexism, benevolent sexism is much harder to recognize as sexist (Swim, Mallett, Russo-Devosa & Stangor, 2005). It represents the two genders as possessing different

strengths and advantages that balance out the other gender's weaknesses. Women become placated by the seemingly positive attributes given to them: virtuous, empathetic and nurturing (Becker & Wright, 2011). These positive attributes may seem to work in favor of their group. Benevolent sexism provides a favorable view of women, and it also implies that men's powers will be used to advantage women in a chivalrous fashion (Glick & Fiske, 2001). As benevolent sexism masks inequalities, men neither see women as their equals (as they are deemed less competent) nor do they acknowledge discriminatory acts (Vescio et al., 2005).

Benevolent sexism coaxes women in accepting their inequality and placates them with minimal rewards (Becker & Wright, 2011). Due to its deceptively positive attributes, it could be argued that this type of sexism is even more dangerous for women in the long run. Unlike hostile sexism, which openly antagonizes women, the danger in benevolent sexism is its ability to deceptively promote society as fair and legitimate. It is much harder for women to rationalize society as equal and fair with hostile sexism's overt antagonization (Connelly & Heesacher, 2012).

Benevolent sexism is quite prevalent for women. According to Swim et al. (2001), on average, women reported one to two sexist hassles per week (e.g. traditional gender roles beliefs and prejudices, demeaning comments and behavior, and sexual objectification). In the workplace, forty-two percent of women in the U.S. reported experiencing gender discrimination (Parker & Funk, 2017). These discriminatory experiences included being treated as if they were not competent, receiving less support from senior staff than a man doing the same job, and experiencing repeated, small slights. As these benevolent sexist experiences are less openly sexist and hostile, it becomes difficult to identify them as sexist.

Over time, benevolent sexism takes a heavy toll on women. Women who endorse it are more likely to accept men's behavioral restrictions, expect men to react negatively to women's career success, and tend to have beliefs that excuse sexual harassment (Connelly & Heesacher, 2012). Even if women do not endorse benevolent sexist beliefs, mere exposure to benevolent sexist comments can worsen their performance on cognitive tasks (Dardenne, Dumont & Bollier, 2007), increase self-objectification, and decrease their motivation to reduce gender discrimination (Connelly & Heesacher, 2012). Even more alarming, it undermines women's collective action for equality more than hostile sexism. Becker and Wright (2011) found that when faced with benevolent versus hostile sexism, women felt positive emotions, which predicted less engagement in collective action compared to hostile sexism. However, hostile sexism elicited negative emotions like anger, which predicted more engagement in collective action compared to benevolent sexism. This demonstrates that benevolent sexism's subtle, and deceptively positive attributes undermine women's motivation to challenge bias. Subsequently, this allows for gender inequality and injustices to remain.

### **System-justification and Backlash**

Attributing stereotypical traits to group members may not seem detrimental when members adhere to the typical attributes and roles associated with their group. However, it can have negative effects for individuals who do not fit the stereotypical description of their group. According to social role theory, these individuals may incur backlash (Rudman & Glick, 1999). This backlash is aimed at deterring the group member from defying the status-quo and curbing their behavior to realign with what is expected from their social group. Rudman and Glick (1999) found that when women's behaviors were deemed "too masculine" (i.e. self-promotional or

dominant), they experienced backlash. This backlash emerged as a decrease in their odds of being hired for a high-status job.

Backlash also represents a response to incongruent roles. But more importantly, it is a response to deviation from societal systems. This systematic maintenance concern derives from system-justification theory. The theory postulates that people are motivated to justify and rationalize current societal beliefs and practices in order to perceive their society as fair and legitimate (Jost & Hunyady, 2002). In order to avoid uncertainty, individuals tend to rationalize existing systems so that they can believe that they live in a just world, which is predictable and hopeful. This just-world thinking allows for the rationalization of women's current roles as what they deserve and as what they are meant to do (Fiske et al., 2002). Likewise, in order to minimize the stress of perceiving oneself as a victim of discrimination, women may instead blame themselves for their lack of success or misfortunes (Jost & Hunyady, 2002).

Jost and Hunyady (2002) propose that for advantaged groups, rationalizing the status quo means internalizing their position of power within it, creating ingroup favoritism. However, for disadvantaged groups, this creates an internalized acceptance of inequality and outgroup favoritism (toward the advantaged group). In order to maintain this unequal system, the dominant group acts warmly toward those who adhere to the system. In terms of gender groups, this gives women patronizing affection for their compliance to the system. For those who do not adhere to the system, they incur hostile backlash.

Those who strongly endorse the maintenance of the status quo are more likely to endorse benevolent sexist beliefs (Jost & Kay, 2005). One reason for this relationship is due to the complementary gender roles component of benevolent sexism. This component asserts that the

genders have complementary roles. This implies that every group in our society has some advantages and some disadvantages. Gender-Specific System Justification (GSSJ) creates the perception that society is fair, just and legitimate for both genders (Jost & Kay, 2005). Therefore, if an individual is high in GSSL, then it will be harder to convince them that benevolent sexism is contributing to an unjust society.

### **Negative Self-Directed Affect**

Merely educating women about sexism may not be enough for attitude change. Unlike racial bias, gender bias is typically disregarded even after confrontation (Parker, Monteith, Moss-Racusin & Camp, 2018). People tend to think others are more likely to hold gender biases rather than themselves (Parker et al., 2018). In particular, individuals who think they hold very positive attitudes toward women may not believe they are prone to gender bias. Czopp, Monteith and Mark (2006) found that participants were more likely to decrease their biased responding to the extent that a confrontational experience elicited feeling of negative, self-directed affect. This negative-self affect induced rumination among participants. This rumination then elicited feelings of guilt and self-criticism when participants realized the discrepancy between their behaviors and beliefs. The participants in this study encountered cognitive dissonance, a type of psychological distress experienced when some aspect of one's behavior threatens their self-integrity (Leippe & Eisenstadt, 1999).

Paluck and Green's (2009) metaanalysis of prejudice reduction strategies supports the use of cognitive dissonance to induce negative-self affect. One effective approach to prejudice reduction utilized cognitive dissonance by targeting value consistency within participants. Participants who agreed to write public pro-Black policies later softened their pre-existing anti-

Black positions on social policies. As awareness of the discrepancy between behavior and beliefs increases, negative self-directed affect occurs, and eventually behavioral inhibition of activated stereotypes is enacted. Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils and Czopp (2002) discovered that self-discrepancy produced more self-focus, which led to self-regulation against prejudiced responses to African Americans. Another study induced self-hypocrisy, which led to an increase in negative-self affect and a subsequent reduction in prejudicial behavior against Asians (Son Hing, Li & Zanna, 2002).

These studies provide support for the importance of negative-self affect in facilitating a change in attitudes and behavioral responses. Therefore, it is of key importance to make it impossible for any doubt to linger that individuals are impervious to gender bias because they “love women” (Parker et al., 2018). Along with the influence of education about benevolent sexism, higher levels of guilt and discomfort during these experiences should make a reduction in the endorsement of benevolent sexism more probable and longer lasting.

This procedure will be specifically aimed at women. Even though men are more likely to endorse and perpetuate sexism, women still share the responsibility for its continuation (Becker & Swim, 2012; Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Parker & Monteith, 2018; Swim et al., 2001). When the act and perpetrator of sexism is prototypical (i.e., men using traditional gender roles or hostile sexist beliefs), then sexism may be easier to identify than when its committed by nonprototypical perpetrators and types of action (i.e., women using benevolent sexist beliefs) (Swim et al., 2005). As women are more often the recipients of gender discrimination (Swim et al., 2001), it is important for women to be aware that they also contribute to sexism to their detriment.

### Current Study

The aim of the current study is to reduce women's endorsement for benevolent sexist beliefs. The intervention aimed to educate women about the prevalence and seriousness of benevolent sexism. As this is a subtle and deceptively positive type of sexism, women are particularly susceptible in endorsing it (Glick & Fiske, 2001). In order to increase awareness for benevolent sexism in their everyday lives, some participants read an informational text about the pervasiveness and harmfulness of benevolent sexism in the U.S. This text was read after participants have already written about a time they engaged in benevolent sexism (without addressing it by name). This procedure should result in negative self-directed affect when attention is drawn to this discrepancy. In this condition, women should realize that they are perpetuating benevolent sexism to their own detriment and to their group's. As negative self-directed affect increases, endorsement of benevolent sexism will decrease. Negative self-directed affect should act as a mediator between the experimental manipulation of information about the harmfulness and pervasiveness of benevolent sexism and benevolent sexism endorsement. Due to an increased awareness and self-dissatisfaction over their role in perpetuating sexism, women in the experimental condition should report lower levels of benevolent sexism endorsement than women in the control condition.

This relationship should be moderated by Gender-Specific System Justification (GSSJ). I hypothesized that those who are low in system justification would produce this intended effect: higher levels of negative-self affect and a subsequent lower endorsement for benevolent sexism. However, those who are high in system justification would have lower levels of negative-self affect and higher endorsement for benevolent sexism, regardless of condition.

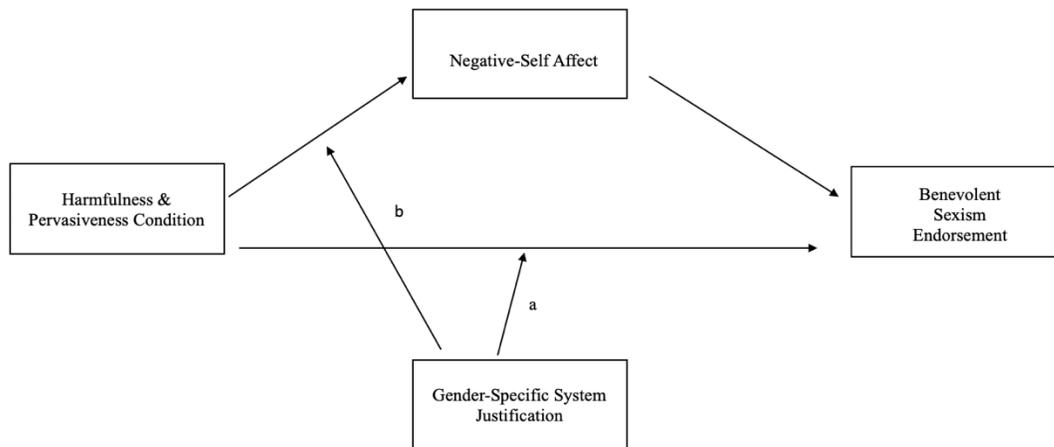


Figure 1. Model of Moderated Mediation. The presence of harmfulness and pervasiveness information increases negative-self affect and decreases benevolent sexism endorsement, only when an individual has low gender-specific system justification

## Methods

### Participants

A power analysis was run to determine sample size, in which power was set as .80 and the effect size was set to fall equally in-between a small and medium effect. This resulted in 266 participants needed to power this study. In order to ensure that power is met and to accommodate any procedural errors, approximately ten percent more participants were recruited, for an aim of 294 participants.

A total of 310 cisgender female Loyola undergraduate students participated. However, six participants were excluded from analysis, due to only completing the consent form or only completing the first questionnaire ( $N=304$ ). Participants were randomly assigned into two groups, the experimental education condition ( $n=153$ ) and the control procrastination group ( $n=151$ ). Participants received class credit for an introductory psychology course for completion

of the experiment. Participants had a mean age of 18.72 ( $SD=1.07$ ) and were 55% White/Caucasian ( $n=169$ ), 15% Latinx ( $n=45$ ), 15% Asian ( $n=45$ ), 8% biracial/multiracial ( $n=24$ ), 4% African American/Black ( $n=11$ ), 2% Middle Eastern ( $n=5$ ), and 2% listed other ( $n=5$ ). They also tended to be more liberal and strongly identify with the Democratic Party ( $M=2.84$ ) on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly liberal*) to 7 (*strongly conservative*).

### **Procedure**

Participants were randomly assigned into two groups, the experimental “interpersonal relationship” study or the control “procrastination and relationships” study. Participants were told that the study would consist of three parts: an honor’s thesis project, a reading comprehension portion, and a study concerning interpersonal relationships or procrastination and relationships. In the alleged first part of the study, all participants filled out the GSSJ scale (Jost & Kay, 2005). Once completed, all participants engaged in the reading comprehension portion of the study. This portion acted as a distractor task between the moderator, the GSSJ scale, and the experimental manipulation portion. During this part, participants read a brief article about how chocolate is made. After, they responded to three reading comprehension questions concerning information from the passage.

Participants assigned to both conditions then started the third portion of the study. All participants read a writing prompt that asked them to describe a time in which “you felt that people need a romantic partner of the opposite sex in order to be truly happy.” From previous pilot testing, this writing prompt was taken from the most endorsed component of the benevolent sexism scale by female undergraduate student at Loyola (see Appendix A).

Next, participants assigned to the experimental condition read a passage about benevolent sexism, its pervasiveness, and its harmfulness to women (Becker & Swim, 2012). Participants then responded to a manipulation check to ensure that they perceived the described beliefs and behaviors as damaging and pervasive in the United States. Likewise, participants in the control condition read a passage about procrastination, its pervasiveness, and its harmfulness. In order to remain consistent with the experimental condition, these participants responded to two manipulation check questions that concerned their perception of the harmfulness and pervasiveness of procrastination in the U.S.

For both conditions, these passages were followed by instructions that asked participants to consider what they had just written. Participants were first asked if they thought their response was sexist on a rating scale. This question was followed by an adjective checklist questionnaire (Czopp et al., 2006) to measure affect in response to the writing prompt.

Then, all participants engaged in another writing prompt. This writing prompt was taken from the second most endorsed component of the benevolent sexism scale by female undergraduate students. This writing prompt asked participants to describe a time in which “you felt that men should idolize their romantic female partners.” The purpose of this second writing was to further demonstrate the participants’ participation in perpetuating benevolent sexism.

After completion of the second writing prompt, all participants responded to the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). This was followed by a brief demographic questionnaire that asked for participants’ age, gender, political affiliation, and ethnicity. After completion, participants were debriefed about the study’s actual purpose.

## Materials

### **Gender-specific system justification.**

This measure has eight opinion statements ( $\alpha=.71$ ) regarding the current status of gender roles and relations (Jost & Kay, 2005). Participants responded with a 7-point scale for their level of agreement with each statement, 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) (see Appendix B). For example, participants rated the statement “In general, relations between men and women are fair.”

### **Distractor task.**

Participants read a passage about how chocolate is made. Three reading comprehension questions followed which corresponded to the passage (see Appendix C). For example, participants were asked “Where are cacao beans founds?”

### **Writing prompt.**

In both conditions, participants were asked to describe two different scenarios in which they engaged in a component of benevolent sexism (see Appendix D). For example, participants responded to “describe a time in which you felt that people need a romantic partner of the opposite sex in order to be truly happy.” These texts were created from the most highly endorsed questions on the benevolent sexism scale by female undergraduate participants from earlier pilot testing (see Appendix A).

### **Affective responses.**

Affect responses were measured with a 31-item adjective checklist questionnaire that targeted negative self-directed affect, discomfort and negative affect toward others (Czopp et al., 2006). Participants rated adjective items separately on a 7-point scale, from 1 (*does not apply at*

*all*) to 7 (*applies very much*) (see Appendix E). For example, participants were asked to rate the extent that they felt “angry at myself.”

### **Manipulation passages.**

For the experimental condition, participants read a passage that explains benevolent sexism and its harmfulness and pervasiveness, based on a similar manipulation from Becker and Swim (2012). This manipulation was pilot tested by female Loyola participants ( $n=19$ ) and female mTurk participants ( $n=30$ ) to ensure that they perceive benevolent sexism as harmful and pervasive. It included statements such as “Our society has certain beliefs about the roles and relationships between men and women. These beliefs characterize men and women as each possessing unique and complementary gender differences.” Those in the control condition read a similarly formatted passage, which describes procrastination and its harmfulness and pervasiveness in society (see Appendix F). This text included statements such as “Procrastination is the act of unnecessarily postponing decisions or actions. Procrastination generally occurs as a result of a person’s inability to self-regulate their behavior.”

### ***Manipulation check***

A manipulation check measured how the pervasiveness and harmfulness of benevolent sexism was perceived by the participants. Participants reported their agreement to statements about the pervasiveness and harmfulness on a 7-point scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much) (see Appendix G). For instance, participants rated the statement “Can the types of beliefs and behaviors described in the essay be harmful for women?” Overall, participants in the experimental condition reported that the manipulation text demonstrated benevolent sexism as

very harmful ( $M= 5.83$ ) and pervasive ( $M=5.50$ ). However, these two items did not have a high interreliability ( $\alpha=.62$ ). Therefore, each were treated as separate indices.

### **Dependent measures.**

#### ***Benevolent sexism.***

Benevolent sexism endorsement was measured utilizing the 11-item benevolent sexism scale ( $\alpha=.87$ ) derived from the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 2001) (see Appendix H). Participants rated their agreement with each statement on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). For example, participants will rate their agreement to the statement, “women should be cherished and protected by men.”

#### ***Demographic questionnaire.***

A brief, close-ended demographic questionnaire asked for participants’ age, gender, political affiliation, and ethnicity (see Appendix I). For example, participants were asked “Where would you place yourself on the political spectrum?” Participants responded on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly liberal*) to 7 (*strongly conservative*).

## **Results**

### **Overview of Analyses**

For any missing data, participant mean substitution was implemented. If the item was not a part of a larger scale, then that data point was excluded from the analyses. As the main analyses involved scales with averaged items, and there was a minimal amount of missing data points, these approaches were deemed appropriate.

The main analysis of the moderated mediation model was analyzed using conditional process analysis in SPSS. This allowed for the examination of the conditional reduction in

benevolent sexism (*BS*) endorsement dependent on *GSSJ* (see figure). Like simple mediation, this analysis measured the direct and indirect effect of the experimental condition on *BS* endorsement. However, this model is unique because the direct and the indirect effect are contingent upon *GSSJ* (Hayes, 2013). A series of ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions was used to estimate the direct and indirect effect. In addition, bootstrapping was implemented to statistically infer the confidence intervals for the conditional indirect effect (Hayes, 2013). These analyses were run using Model 8 in PROCESS, a macro for SPSS.

### **Construction of Affect Indices**

The participants' ratings of the 31 affect items were analyzed with a principal-component analysis with varimax rotation. A four-factor solution accounted for 67.7% of the total variance. Each item only loaded on one factor (*with a criterion of .40 or higher*), which led to seven affect items failing to meet this criterion (*depressed, sad, frustrated, threatened, bothered, uncomfortable and neutral*). The first factor accounted for 38.9% of the total variance and included the following items: *disappointed at myself, annoyed at myself, disgusted with myself, regretful, angry at myself, self-critical, shame, embarrassed, and low*. This factor was interpreted as negative self-directed affect or *Negself* ( $\alpha=.93$ ).<sup>1</sup> The second factor accounted for 16.5% of the variance and included the following items: *happy, good, friendly, optimistic, energetic, content, and consistent*. This factor was labeled *Positive* ( $\alpha=.91$ ). The third factor accounted for 7.4% of the variance and included *anxious, fearful, uneasy, tense, and helpless*. This factor was interpreted as feelings of anxiety and uneasiness, so it was labeled as *Anxious* ( $\alpha=.86$ ). The

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<sup>1</sup> This factor differed from past research, which included depressed instead of embarrassed (Czopp et al., 2006). However, as the Czopp et al. (2006) *Negself* had an identical Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha=.93$ ) and did not change the findings from the moderated mediational model, the current conceptualization of *Negself* was utilized.

fourth factor accounted for 3.4% of the variance and included the items *disgusted with others*, *irritated at others*, and *angry at others*. As all of these items concerned negative feels toward other people, it was labeled *Negothers* ( $\alpha=.84$ ).

These four factors are very similar to past research, particularly the *Negself*, *Negothers*, and *Positive* factors (Parker et al., 2018; Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink & Elliot, 1991; Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Following these previous examples, separate affect indices were constructed for each identified factor by averaging the items that loaded on each factor. However, as negative-self affect is the crucial component for reducing prejudice and stereotypic responding (Parker et al., 2018, Devine et al., 1991; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp et al., 2006; Son Hing et al., 2002; Monteith et al., 2002), only *Negself* was used in the moderated mediation model.

### **Manipulation Check and Perceived Sexist Response**

Before analyzing the moderated mediational model, the manipulation check was examined. Overall, participants in the experimental condition reported that the manipulation text portrayed benevolent sexism as very harmful ( $M=5.83$ ,  $SD=1.16$ ) and pervasive ( $M=5.50$ ,  $SD=1.14$ ). However, there was no significant difference between the experimental ( $M=2.80$ ,  $SD=1.58$ ) and control conditions ( $M=2.52$ ,  $SD=1.55$ ) concerning how sexist they believed their written response was ( $t(301)=-1.55$ ,  $p=.53$ ). Despite this finding, it is still possible that that this question forced participants to further consider if their response was sexist or not, applying their newfound knowledge of benevolent sexism to their past behavior for those in the education condition. This should elicit rumination about their response and lead to subsequent negative-self affect. To explore this possibility, a moderated mediational analysis was performed with GSSJ as a moderator.

### Moderated Mediation Model

The conditional process analysis revealed that *GSSJ* did not significantly moderate the relationship between *Education* and *BS* ( $t(299)= 0.04, p=.97$ ) or *Education* and *Negself* ( $t(300)= -0.62, p= .53$ ). In addition, *Education* did not have a significant direct effect on *BS* ( $t(299)= -0.45, p=.655$ ), or an indirect effect on *BS* through *Negself* (Indirect Effect=  $-0.004, 95\% CI [-0.03, 0.02]$ ). Also, *Negself* did not have a significant effect on *BS* ( $t(299)=1.21, p=.226$ ). Overall, *BS* and *Negself* were both low for the Education ( $M_{BS}= 2.68, M_{Negself}= 2.75$ ) and the Control groups ( $M_{BS}= 2.75, M_{Negself}= 2.81$ ). While *GSSJ* did not significantly effect *Negself* ( $t(300)= -1.47, p= 0.14$ ), *GSSJ* did have a significant effect on *BS* ( $t(299)= 2.69, p<.01$ ). This indicated that those with higher *GSSJ* scores reported higher *BS* endorsement. See *Table 1* for more information.

	Education	Negself	BS	GSSJ
Education	1.00	-.022	-.031	-.019
Negself		1.00	.036	-.154**
BS			1.00	.208**
GSSJ				1.00

Table 1. Intercorrelation between Education, Negative-Self Affect, Benevolent Sexism and Gender-Specific System Justification.

\*\* Indicates significance of  $p < .01$

	<u>Education</u>		<u>Control</u>	
	M	SD	M	SD
BS	2.68	1.12	2.75	1.05
HS	2.24	1.07	2.30	1.05
Negself	2.75	1.48	2.81	1.40
GSSJ	3.46	0.79	3.49	0.80

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations of Benevolent sexism, Hostile Sexism, Negative-Self Affect, and Gender-Specific System Justification by Condition.

### Auxiliary Analyses

#### Hostile Sexism

Due to the lack of significant findings and low levels of *BS* reported for both groups, other analyses were performed to investigate measures that were not captured in the initial analysis. First, hostile sexism (*HS*) was investigated. While the education component did not specifically aim to reduce *HS*, it is possible *HS* could have been affected. Additionally, *HS* should be related to *GSSJ*, acting as the backlash component of system justification. So, an identical conditional process analysis was performed with *HS* instead of *BS*. Again, *Education* did not have a significant direct effect on *HS* ( $t(299) = -0.33, p = .74$ ), or an indirect effect on *HS* through *Negself* (Indirect Effect =  $-0.007, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.05, 0.03]$ ). However, both *GSSJ* ( $t(299) = 5.83, p < .001$ ) and *Negself* ( $t(299) = 2.49, p = .01$ ) had a significant effect on *HS*. Those who expressed higher levels of *GSSJ* also reported higher levels of *HS*. Likewise, those who expressed higher amounts of *Negself* also reported higher levels of *HS*.

	Education	Negself	HS	GSSJ
Education	1.00	-.022	-.027	-.019
Negself		1.0	.083	-.154**
HS			1.00	.339**
GSSJ				1.00

Table 3. Intercorrelation between Education, Negative-Self Affect, Hostile Sexism and Gender-Specific System Justification.

\*\* Indicates significance of  $p < .01$

### Manipulation Check and GSSJ

To further understand *GSSJ* and its impact on the manipulation, I performed two separate linear regressions that examined the impact of *GSSJ* on the perceived pervasiveness and harmfulness of *BS* described in the education condition. This revealed that *GSSJ* significantly affected the perceived pervasiveness ( $F(1, 151) = 13.86, R^2 = .08, p < .001$ ) and perceived harmfulness ( $F(1, 151) = 16.60, R^2 = .10, p < .001$ ) of *BS*. Those higher in *GSSJ* perceived the experimental text as less harmful for women ( $\beta = -0.46$ ) and less pervasive in the U.S. ( $\beta = -0.42$ ).

### Political Orientation

As individuals on the conservative end of the political spectrum tend to express higher levels of *GSSJ* than on the liberal end (Jost & Kay, 2005), I was curious if this finding would replicate and to discover if *political orientation* would also impact *BS* and *HS* endorsements.<sup>2</sup>

Due to the high reliability between the two political orientation questions ( $\alpha = .88$ ), these indices

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<sup>2</sup> *Political orientation* was added as a covariate to both moderated mediational models. However, it was not included in the final analyses, as its inclusion did not change the findings for either analysis. Instead, an explanation of its direct impact on *BS* and *HS* are expanded upon.

were combined to form a mean score labeled *political orientation*. For the first analysis, a bivariate correlation revealed a significant relationship between *political orientation* and *GSSJ* ( $r(300)=.49, p<.001$ ). This indicated that the more conservative participants tended to have higher levels of *GSSJ*. In addition, two separate linear regressions with *political orientation* as a predictor revealed that it had a significant effect on *BS* ( $F(1, 300)= 54.59, R^2= .15, p<.001$ ) and *HS* ( $F(1, 300)= 144.59, R^2=.33, p<.001$ ) endorsements. These indicated that the more conservative on the political spectrum, the higher the reported levels of *BS* ( $\beta= 0.35$ ) and *HS* ( $\beta= 0.49$ ).

### Discussion

The goal of this study was to examine how educating women about the harmfulness and pervasiveness of benevolent sexism can impact their endorsement of it. I hypothesized that women who learn about benevolent sexism after describing a time that they engaged in it should decrease their endorsement of benevolent sexism. This relationship was hypothesized to be contingent upon experiencing negative-self affect and moderated by Gender-Specific System Justification.

This model was examined in order to replicate previous studies that utilized education as a mechanism to decrease benevolent sexism (Becker & Swim, 2012). In addition, I combined this method with the prejudice reduction strategy of confrontation. Previous research suggests that individuals need evidence-based confrontation in order to decrease BS endorsement (Parker et al., 2018). Therefore, this procedure aimed to strengthen the manipulation by ensuring participants self-identified with the text, due to a realization of their contribution to these sexist behaviors in society. Likewise, I also utilized this procedure to overcome the phenomenon of

sexism not being taken as seriously as other forms of prejudice (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Becker, Zawadzki & Shields, 2014; Gulker, Mark & Monteith, 2013; Woodzicka, Mallet & Hendricks, 2015). Due to this phenomenon, sexism may require a different approach to combat it.

To further discern for whom this intervention would be the most effective, this model also included Gender-Specific System Justification (GSSJ) as a moderator. As GSSJ is linked to higher endorsement of benevolent sexism, (Jost & Kay, 2005; Becker & Wright, 2011; Douglas & Sutton, 2014) its inclusion allowed for an investigation of the intervention's effectiveness among women with different perceptions of fairness between men in women in society.

Despite my effort to strengthen the manipulation, the results indicated that educating women about the pervasiveness and harmfulness of benevolent sexism did not directly or indirectly impact their endorsement of it. In addition, describing a time in which they engaged in benevolent sexism did not produce high levels of negative-self affect for those in the education or control condition. Finally, GSSJ did not moderate either the relationship between education and benevolent sexism or education and negative-self affect.

In order to understand these findings, its critical to consider that benevolent sexism endorsement was very low for both groups. Therefore, a floor effect could have prevented education from lowering women's endorsement, as it would have been difficult to move their endorsement even lower. Furthermore, if endorsement was low, then women may not have felt as targeted by the intervention. Participants would not feel bad about themselves because they were not truly engaging in benevolent sexist behaviors. So, they may agree that benevolent sexism is a problem but believe that they do not engage in it.

It is also possible that this manipulation was not strong enough. Women were not confronted about a behavior or a belief that they had just displayed. Instead, they were confronted about a past sexist behavior. Therefore, women may have felt less personal responsibility, as they could more easily dissociate their current self from their past self. For instance, Parker et al. (2018) found that an effect for evidence-based confrontation relied upon a recent behavior, not a recalled one. If recalling a past behavior is different from a present action, then this separation could have contributed to the low negative-self affect found for both groups.

However, Parker et al. (2018) and other studies have not examined the direct impact of confrontation on benevolent sexism endorsement. Instead, reactions toward confrontation have been looked at as a function of previously held attitudes (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Therefore, it is possible that confrontation elicits a different response and does not immediately impact benevolent sexism endorsement, which may be harder to change.

While negative-self affect did not impact benevolent sexism, it had a different impact on hostile sexism. Those who experienced more negative self-directed emotions following confrontation reported higher levels of hostile sexism. This effect could be represented as a system justifying response in the form of backlash to the confrontation (Rudman & Glick, 1999; Jost & Hunyady, 2002). When confronted about behaving in a sexist manner, participants who experienced more negative-self affect engaged in backlash in order to alleviate these negative feelings and reestablish their worldview.

Additionally, the relationship between system justification and ambivalent sexism (benevolent and hostile sexism) is not surprising. Numerous studies have found a relationship between these attitudes (Jost & Kay, 2005; Becker & Wright, 2011; Calogero & Jost, 2011;

Douglas & Sutton, 2014). Those who believe that the current system is fair and just for men and women are more likely to hold attitudes that justify that worldview, like benevolent and hostile sexism (Jost & Kay, 2005; Calogero & Jost, 2011). So, those who system-justify more would find the passage about benevolent sexism less harmful and less pervasive. If they already use benevolent sexism to justify the current system as fair, then they would not see these attitudes as being particularly harmful toward women or prevalent throughout society.

The link between gender-specific system justification and political orientation was also in-line with past research (Jost & Kay, 2005) However, it was interesting that political orientation also predicted hostile and benevolent sexism endorsement. This finding implies that political orientation is an important factor when considering both benevolent and hostile sexism. Therefore, this study adds to a growing body of literature that suggests that those who fall on the conservative versus the liberal end of the political spectrum may have meaningful psychological differences (Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Jost & Kay, 2005).

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

A major limitation of this experiment was the sample population. The participants tended to be very liberal and have low endorsement of benevolent sexism. In the future, I hope to reexamine this model with a more diverse set of participants, particularly with a greater range on the political spectrum. This is of particular importance since political orientation and ambivalent sexism are highly related. It would also be important to examine this model with a greater age range. Younger women may not be as inclined to endorse benevolent sexism due to their age, generation, and relationship status (Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus & Hart, 2007; Bryne,

Felker, Vacha-Haase & Richard, 2011; Waddell, Sibley & Osborne, 2018). Therefore, this model may be more successful with women who are not in Generation-Z.

Furthermore, to understand if participants are distancing themselves from their past selves and to learn if they are actually writing about benevolent sexist behaviors, I plan to code their written responses in the future. A coding schema would provide information about when these events occurred, affective responses to these occurrences, if participants distanced themselves from their past self, and changes in written responses before and after learning about benevolent sexism.

Despite these limitations, this study provides further support for the relationship between system justification and benevolent sexism, system justification and political orientation, and political orientation and benevolent sexism. Further studies should aim to investigate these relationships more thoroughly. With more understanding of the nuances of these relationships, interventions may be more successful at decreasing benevolent sexism endorsement among women.

APPENDIX A  
PIOLT DATA FOR WRITING PROMPTS

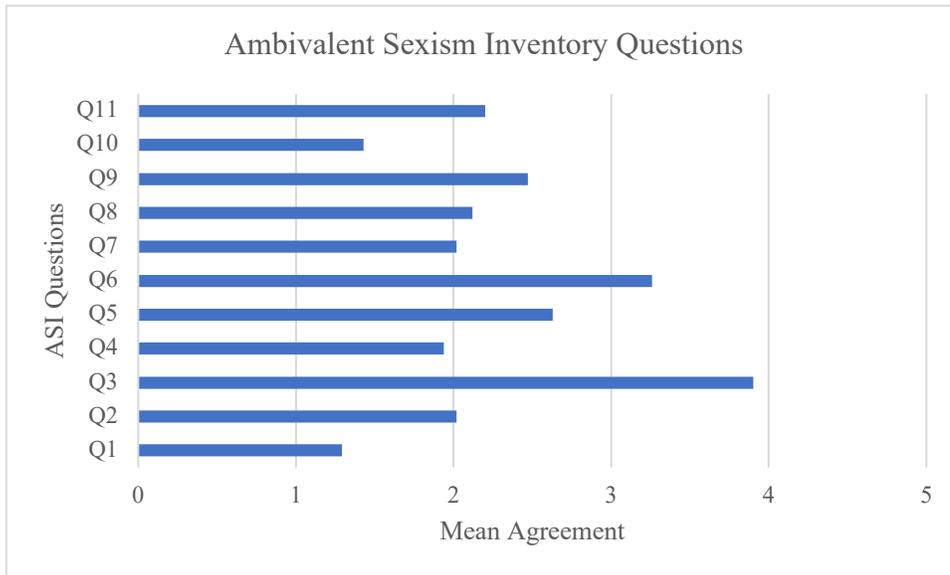


Figure 2. Pilot data from female Loyola undergrads ( $N= 51$ ). This figure illustrates the participants' mean agreement with the benevolent sexism questions taken from the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory on a 6-point scale ( $0= strongly disagree$ ;  $5= strongly agree$ ). Question three ( $M= 3.90$ ) and question six ( $M= 3.26$ ) were utilized to create the writing prompts.

APPENDIX B

GENDER-SPECIFIC SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION (JOST & KAY, 2005)

Now, please read the following statements and circle a number to indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

- 1) In general, relations between men and women are fair.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly			Neutral			Strongly
Disagree						Agree

- 2) The division of labor in families generally operates as it should.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly			Neutral			Strongly
Disagree						Agree

- 3) Gender roles need to be radically restructured.\*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly			Neutral			Strongly
Disagree						Agree

- 4) For women, the United States is the best country in the world to live in.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly			Neutral			Strongly
Disagree						Agree

- 5) Most policies relating to gender and the sexual division of labor serve the greater good.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly			Neutral			Strongly
Disagree						Agree

- 6) Everyone (male or female) has a fair shot at wealth and happiness.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly			Neutral			Strongly
Disagree						Agree

- 7) Sexism in society is getting worse every year.\*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly			Neutral			Strongly
Disagree						Agree

- 8) Society is set up so that men and women usually get what they deserve.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly			Neutral			Strongly
Disagree						Agree

*Note* An asterisk indicates reverse-scored item.

APPENDIX C  
DISTRACTOR TASK

## Reading Comprehension Passage

Please read the short story below and answer the factual questions that appear on the next screen. You cannot return to this reading, so make sure you read carefully before continuing.

Where does chocolate come from? Believe it or not, it grows on trees. Not as a sweet chocolate candy bar wrapped in foil, but as a cocoa bean.

These cocoa beans grow on a cacao tree, which is found in tropical areas such as Central and South America. The fruit of these trees are called pods, and they are long and hard. Inside the pods is a soft, white pulp that surrounds the thirty or so seeds. These seeds are what we call cocoa beans. They are very hard and bitter to the taste.

To make chocolate, people start by carefully taking the beans out of the pods, still covered in the white pulp, and leaving them in a bucket. The bucket is often covered with banana leaves and left for anywhere from a few days to a few weeks. This process is called fermenting. Then the beans are left to dry in the sun. Fermenting and drying the beans makes them less bitter. Then the beans are shipped to a factory to be turned into chocolate.

At the factory, beans are roasted in ovens to bring out their flavor. After roasting, the outer covering of the bean is removed. The inner bean is then crushed to form a paste known as chocolate liquor.

From this paste, people can either make cocoa powder or the chocolate we buy in stores. To make cocoa powder, the paste is crushed and pressed repeatedly to remove the fat, leaving behind only a dry, ground powder. To make chocolate, people need to add other ingredients to the paste such as milk, sugar, and cocoa butter. They then mix and heat the concoction several times to create a substance we would recognize as chocolate. It may even have fruit, nuts, or candy added to it before it is molded into a shape.

Considering all that must happen to turn a bitter cocoa bean into a chocolate bar, a dollar seems like a small price to pay for such a delicious sweet treat."

Please think of the story that you just read when answering the following questions.

1. Where are cacao trees found?
  - a. India
  - b. Canada
  - c. France
  - d. Central and South America
2. According to the passage, cacao beans are:
  - a. Bitter
  - b. Delicious
  - c. Explosive
  - d. Dangerous
3. All the following statements are true except:
  - a. chocolate bars begin life as cacao beans
  - b. chocolate contains alcohol and therefore must be fermented

- c. cacao beans grow on trees
- d. milk, sugar and cocoa powder are all ingredients needed to make a chocolate bar

APPENDIX D  
WRITING PROMPTS

*Prompt #1*

Please read the following prompt and respond in as much detail as you can (at least 5 sentences).

Many people find themselves in a romantic relationship at one time or another. Please describe a time in which you felt that people need a romantic partner of the opposite sex in order to be truly happy. Think about what events or people led you to believe this, when and where this occurred, and why you felt like this. Please describe this experience in as much detail as you can.

*Prompt #2*

Please read the following prompt and respond in as much detail as you can (at least 5 sentences).

When considering relationships between men and women, please describe a time in which you felt that men should idolize their romantic female partners. Think about what events or people lead you to believe this, when and where this occurred, and why you felt like this. Please describe this experience in as much detail as you can.

APPENDIX E

NEGATIVE AFFECT QUESTIONNAIRE (CZOPP ET AL., 2006)

Please consider the responses that you just provided, which concerned a time when you felt that people need a romantic partner of the opposite sex in order to be truly happy

Below are words that can describe different types of feelings. For each word, please indicate how much it describes how you are currently feeling by circling a number on the scale. “1” means “does not apply at all,” and “7” means “applies very much” to how you are feeling.

Please remember that we are interested in your feelings about how you feel after reporting a time when you felt that people need a romantic partner of the opposite sex in order to be truly happy

	Does not Apply At all						Applies Very Much
1. Fearful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Angry at myself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Guilty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Consistent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Angry at others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Uneasy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Bothered	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Annoyed at myself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Does not Apply At all						Applies Very Much

15. Energetic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Regretful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Irritated at others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Disappointed with Myself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Tense	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Disgusted with Myself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Threatened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Optimistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. Disgusted with Others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Content	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Low	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Uncomfortable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Sad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Helpless	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. Shame	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. Neutral	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. Self-critical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**\*\* MAKE SURE YOU HAVE ANSWERED EVERY ITEM \*\***

APPENDIX F  
MANIPULATION PASSAGES

### *Harm and Pervasive Passage*

Our society has certain beliefs about the roles and relationships between men and women. These beliefs characterize men and women as each possessing unique and complementary gender differences. Each gender is thought to contribute something important to society and to interpersonal relationships. If either gender was absent, something would be lacking from society and relationships. For women, they are characterized as morally pure, warm, and empathetic. Therefore, they contribute the values of charity and giving to society. In contrast, men contribute to society and to interpersonal relationships when they cherish, protect, and provide for their wife and children and enable them to have a good life. As a result of these complementary roles, it is assumed that men cannot live without women.

These beliefs and behaviors are discriminatory. When women accept these seemingly positive attributes, they are unintentionally perpetuating their own disadvantaged position. These characteristics portray women as having incompatible attributes for jobs that go beyond helping professions. They characterize women as weak, incompetent, and in need of protection. Thus, women appear to be unsuited for a wide variety of societal positions, including positions of leadership. This characterization perpetuates women's disadvantaged position in society. In addition, these seemingly positive beliefs are highly correlated with the damaging belief that women use their sexuality and "unnecessary" complaining to gain power over men. This subsequently leads to the resentment of women.

These beliefs and behaviors are very pervasive in the United States. A Gallup Poll conducted in March 2019 found that 85% of the American population endorse these beliefs and act accordingly. For example, Americans strongly believed that having a romantic partner of the opposite sex is a necessary component for a happy and complete life.

### *Procrastination Passage*

Procrastination is the act of unnecessarily postponing decisions or actions. Procrastination generally occurs as a result of a person's inability to self-regulate their behavior. The main driving force behind procrastination is the prioritization of short-term mood repair and emotion regulation over long-term achievement and wellbeing. Essentially, this means that when procrastinators are averse to a task for some reason, such as because they're anxious or because they find it boring, they postpone it, in order to avoid suffering from negative emotions in the present. They do this despite the fact that this delay will prevent them from achieving their goals, and despite the fact that it could cause them to experience more negative emotions in the long-term.

Procrastination has a negative impact on performance and is associated with poorer mental health. Stress, worry, and feelings of guilt are common among those who procrastinate recurrently. In addition, procrastination is associated with fewer mental health-seeking behaviors

and increased treatment delay, leading to greater distress and the exacerbation of illness. Among students, procrastination is associated with worse exam scores and worse grades, as well as with increased rates of course withdrawals and course failures. Procrastination is also associated with relationship problems. High levels of procrastination are associated with lower relationship satisfaction, shorter romantic relationship durations, and a higher likelihood of inter-partner conflict.

Procrastination is a highly prevalent act. In the United States, approximately 85% of students say that they engage in procrastination to some degree. In addition, the rate of procrastination in the American population is increasing over time. This finding is consistent with the growing prevalence of similar issues, such as overeating and gambling, that involve people's failure to self-regulate.

APPENDIX G  
MANIPULATION CHECK

*Manipulation check for Harm and Pervasive Condition:*

Consider the previous text when answering these questions.

1. Are the types of beliefs and behaviors described in the essay harmful for women?
2. Are the described beliefs and behaviors between women and men outlined in the essay pervasive in the United States?
3. Do you personally believe these beliefs and behaviors are bad for women?

7 -point rating scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much).

*Manipulation Check for Procrastination Condition:*

Consider the previous text when answering these questions.

1. Are the types of behaviors described in the essay harmful?
2. Are the behaviors outlined in the essay pervasive in the United States?
3. Do you personally procrastinate?

7 -point rating scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much).

APPENDIX H

THE AMBIVALENT SEXISM INVENTORY (GLICK & FISKE, 2001)

*Relationships Between Men and Women*

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."
3. In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
5. Women are too easily offended.
6. People are not truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
7. Feminists are seeking for women to have more power than men.
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
13. Men are incomplete without women.
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
18. Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives
21. Feminists are making unreasonable demands of men.
22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

*Scoring:*

Total ASI score = average of all items.

Hostile Sexism = average of Items 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21. Benevolent Sexism = average of Items 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22.

APPENDIX I  
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What is your gender?
  - a. Woman
  - b. Man
  - c. Non-Binary
  - d. Something Different.
    - i. Please Describe: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Where would you place yourself on this political spectrum?  
[1=Strongly liberal, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 7=Strongly conservative]
4. If you had to choose, where would you place yourself on this political spectrum?  
[1=Strong Democrat, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7=Strong Republican]
5. What is your ethnicity? Circle all that apply.
  - a. White/Caucasian
  - b. Black/African American
  - c. Latinx
  - d. Asian
  - e. Middle Eastern
  - f. Other

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