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ALL RISK AND NO REWARD: HOW BENEVOLENT AND HOSTILE SEXISM

UNDERMINE WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT THROUGH FEEDBACK SEEKING

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ALL RISK AND NO REWARD: HOW BENEVOLENT AND HOSTILE SEXISM
UNDERMINE WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT THROUGH FEEDBACK SEEKING

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
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ABSTRACT

For nearly three decades, researchers have investigated a myriad of proactive behaviors in organizations, including feedback seeking. In general, feedback seeking and other forms of proactive behavior are believed to be beneficial for both the employee and organization, however, scholars have recently begun to recognize that proactive behavior may also have a dark side. Presuming that employees who seek feedback will be rewarded with valuable information about their performance at work and that employees will seek feedback when its benefits outweigh its costs, most researchers have focused on the antecedents of feedback seeking. This research suggests that employees who seek feedback risk being perceived unfavorably by others, but this assumption has only been investigated indirectly. In addition, researchers have rarely considered factors which may increase the image risk that some employees face. Specifically, because of gender stereotypes, feedback seeking may be riskier for women than for men, especially when women seek feedback from targets who hold sexist beliefs. Lastly, the feedback seeking literature rests upon the assumption that seekers will receive feedback that is informative and helpful. Studies assessing the relationship between feedback and performance improvement have yielded mix results, indicating that not all feedback may be of equal value. Research on sexism and gender stereotypes suggests that women who seek feedback may receive feedback that is less beneficial than the feedback men receive. Thus, in this dissertation, I seek to further our understanding of potential downsides of proactive behavior through an investigation of the actual costs and benefits of feedback seeking.

CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Today's workplace is increasingly reliant on employees who engage in proactive behavior (e.g., Bindl & Parker, 2010; Crant, 2000; Grant & Ashford, 2008; Grant, Parker, & Collins, 2009; Parker & Collins, 2010), which is defined as volitional, forward-thinking action that is undertaken in order to improve outcomes for the organization or the actor (Bateman & Crant, 1993; Crant, 2000; Grant & Ashford, 2008; Parker & Collins, 2010). Such behavior can have positive consequences for organizations (Bateman & Crant, 1999), and employees who exhibit proactive behaviors are often viewed more favorably (Grant et al., 2009) and achieve greater career success (Seibert, Crant, & Kraimer, 1999). Although past research has overwhelmingly focused on the "bright side" of proactive behavior for both the employee and organization, a growing body of research seeks to understand the "dark side" of these behaviors (see Bolino, Turnley, and Anderson (2017) for a recent review), and researchers have noted that proactive behavior may actually hurt an employee's image at work (Grant et al., 2009) and can sometimes impede their career advancement (Seibert, Kraimer, & Crant, 2001).

Having been widely researched for over three decades (Anseel, Beatty, Shen, Lievens, & Sackett, 2015), feedback seeking, or gathering performance related information from the work environment (Ashford & Cummings, 1983), was one of the first proactive behaviors identified in the management literature (Ashford, De Stobbeleir, & Nujella, 2016). Prior research indicates that proactively seeking feedback can be instrumental in improving one's performance at work (Ashford, et al., 2016; De Stobbeleir, Ashford, and Buyens, 2011; Morrison, 2002), but many employees are often hesitant to ask others for this information. Such reticence may be justified, as researchers often note that seeking feedback from others can sometimes harm an employee's

image (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; Ashford & Northcraft, 1992; De Stobbeleir, Ashford, & Sully de Luque, 2010). For instance, Ashford and Cummings (1983) argued that feedback seekers risk being perceived as lacking ability for not being able to glean this information on their own. In support of this notion, De Stobbeleir and her colleagues (2010) found that managers were likely to make unfavorable attributions about employees who sought feedback unless the employees had stellar performance records. Feedback seeking, then, has the potential to both help and harm an employee.

Women may be more prone to experiencing greater harm from feedback seeking than men. Prior research indicates that, as a result of gender stereotypes, women often struggle with their image in the workplace. Marilyn Loden coined the term *glass ceiling* in 1978 in order to describe the suppressive effects that gender norms have on women's upward career mobility (Loden, 2017). She recalled that her boss routinely urged her to "smile more," focusing on her appearance rather than her expertise as a professional in the telecommunications industry (Loden, 2017). Prescriptive gender norms dictate that women should behave *communally*, which means they should be nice, care for others, and not behave too assertively towards others (Eagly, 2013; Rudman & Glick, 1999; 2001). These qualities are often at odds with the *agentic* characteristics deemed necessary to succeed in organizations, leaving women in a double bind (Rudman & Glick, 1999; 2001) in which the failure to adhere to gender expectations makes women unlikable, but adhering to them undermines perceptions of their competence, especially in leadership roles (Heilman, 2001). In the forty years since Loden first named the invisible barrier, women such as Ann Hopkins have been denied top management positions as a result of backlash (Levit, 1998). In a landmark employment discrimination case that made it all the way to Supreme Court in 1988, Ms. Hopkins argued that in spite of her success in landing lucrative

contracts for Price Waterhouse, partners at the firm stopped her bid for partnership because she was too assertive and not feminine in her mannerisms. As an illustration of the standard to which she uniquely was held as a woman, one partner suggested that she should enroll in "charm school." This led Justice Brennan, who offered the lead opinion on the case to remark, "An employer who objects to aggressiveness in women but whose positions require this trait places women in an intolerable and impermissible Catch-22: out of a job if they behave aggressively and out of a job if they don't" (Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins, 1989: p. 237). Thus, the risk of damaging one's image or losing face through feedback seeking may be even greater for women, who often struggle to create a professional image of competence without sacrificing their likability (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, Glick, 1999; Heilman, 2001; Rudman, 1998). Furthermore, for employees who do take the risk, the payoff (i.e., improved performance) is largely dependent upon the quality and nature of the feedback they receive (Earley, Northcraft, Lee, & Lituchy, 1990; Ryan, 1982; Zhou, 1998). Although much research has been devoted to understanding when employees are most likely to seek feedback, a growing body of research also seeks to understand the consequences of seeking feedback (Ashford et al., 2016). To date, however, the assumptions that an employee's image may be harmed by seeking feedback, and that all feedback is equally valuable, have received scant empirical attention. Thus, in spite of considerable research in this area, a fundamental question remains unanswered—namely, is seeking feedback worth it, particularly for women?

Feedback Seeking and Image Risk

Researchers have long believed that while seeking feedback may provide seekers with beneficial information, it also engenders potential costs to their image (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; 1985). Such costs include highlighting one's shortcomings (for those who are low

performers) or appearing to "fish" for compliments (for those who are high performers). Since Ashford and Cummings (1983; 1985) first proposed that people who seek feedback may be perceived negatively by others, this assumption has remained almost wholly untested. Indeed, evidence for this foundational assumption in the feedback-seeking literature is indirect, primarily drawn from studies in which the seeker's perception of image risk was measured (e.g., Ashford, 1986; Northcraft & Ashford, 1990). In other words, although we know that people worry about their image when seeking feedback, we do not have hard evidence that feedback seeking does, in fact, put one's image at risk. A key goal of this dissertation, then, is to test empirically the notion that asking for feedback about performance negatively affects others' perceptions of the feedback seeker; this will be investigated in Study 1.

An employee's sex[1] may also play a role in shaping targets' evaluations of feedback-seeking employees. While all employees may face some image risk when they engage in feedback-seeking behavior, women may face an even larger cost when they do so because women are frequently perceived as less competent than men simply because of stereotypes (Heilman, 1995). The potential for increased risk in feedback seeking is concerning given that women often lack access to informal sources of information (Ibarra, 1993) and may, therefore, be especially dependent upon feedback seeking to gain vital performance information. Furthermore, research on gender stereotypes at work has demonstrated that in many cases women and men are perceived quite differently for the same behavior (Eagly, 2013). As examples, women who promote themselves are viewed more negatively than men who self-promote (Rudman, 1998), and while helping others appears to be a required behavior for women,

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[1] Per the American Psychological Association, "Sex refers especially to physical and biological traits, whereas GENDER refers especially to social or cultural traits, although the distinction between the two terms is not regularly observed."

men are evaluated more favorably for being good citizens at work (Heilman & Chen, 2005). Likewise, Bolino and Turnley (2003) found that whereas female employees who used intimidation tactics of impression management were rated as less likable by their supervisors, male employees were not seen as less likable; at the same time, the use of intimidation was unrelated to performance ratings among female employees, but among male employees, there was a positive relationship between intimidation and performance evaluations.

As noted earlier, as a form of proactive behavior, feedback seeking is inherently agentic (Grant & Ashford, 2008), and women are often penalized when they engage in agentic behaviors because such behavior violates gender role expectations (Rudman & Glick, 2001). This negative reaction to women is known as *backlash* (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004), and this line of work suggests that women who seek feedback will experience such backlash because of the agentic nature of this behavior. Thus, in addition to assessing the overall image risk feedback seekers bear, it is possible that there are sex differences with regard to the risks associated with seeking feedback; as such, the possibility that women who seek feedback are viewed more negatively will also be investigated in Study 1.

Feedback seeking is, fundamentally, a social, interpersonal phenomenon (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; De Stobbeleir et al., 2010); therefore, it also important to consider how characteristics of the person from whom feedback is sought may alter the degree of risk associated with seeking feedback. Prior research provides support for the idea that seeking feedback from some targets is riskier than seeking feedback from others. For instance, subordinates, peers, and bosses may interpret an employee's feedback seeking differently, attributing it differentially to positively or negatively valenced motives (Ashford et al., 2016; DeStobbelier et al., 2010). Other variables which have been shown to impact the target's

perceptions of a feedback-seeking employee include the target's leadership style (Lam, Huang, & Snape, 2007). For female seekers, an important risk factor may be the target's beliefs about women; more specifically, the heightened risk that women may face for acting against prescribed gender roles may be even greater when women seek feedback from someone who holds sexist beliefs.

Although sexism is commonly thought of as hostility toward women, research on sexism has shown that women are also frequently perceived by others through a lens of benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). According to Glick and Fiske (1996; 2001), *hostile sexism* is characterized by negative feelings and antipathy toward women, whereas *benevolent sexism* reflects positive feelings and desire to care for and protect women. People who hold hostile sexist attitudes are likely to endorse stereotypical beliefs about women's roles (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997), and this may lead them to have especially negative reactions to women who attempt to make performance improvements by seeking feedback. Therefore, in addition to investigating sex differences in the costs associated with feedback seeking, it is probable that the target's sexist beliefs will increase the image risk for women who seek feedback; accordingly, the influence of the target's sexist beliefs will also be investigated in Study 1.

Feedback Seeking and Feedback Quality

Lastly, characteristics of the feedback target may affect not only their evaluations of the seeker, but also the quality of the feedback they provide. One of the foundational assumptions of the feedback-seeking literature is that receiving feedback should enable individuals to improve their performance (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; 1985). Interestingly, though, the research

findings regarding the link between feedback seeking and performance improvement are mixed, with little clear evidence to support this ostensibly positive relationship (Anseel et al., 2015). Along with other factors, such as the employee's ability, changes in the employee's performance is likely to be dependent upon the nature the feedback given. For instance, the findings of some studies at least suggest that feedback that fails to identify performance issues or that lacks constructive suggestions for improvement is unlikely to help an employee (Earley et al., 1990; Ryan, 1982; Zhou, 1998). Targets who hold benevolent beliefs about women may not provide helpful feedback because, in striving to protect women from receiving negative feedback, they may also fail to provide women with constructive feedback that enables women to make performance improvements. Perhaps even worse, targets who hold hostile sexist beliefs may relish the opportunity to pick apart a woman's performance while still failing to provide her with the information and guidance needed to improve.

Because of the adversarial way in which people who hold hostile sexist attitudes view women (Glick & Fiske, 2001a), they are unlikely to provide women with helpful feedback. On the other hand, those who have benevolent sexist beliefs about women may be unwilling to have difficult, challenging conversations with the women they cherish and desire to defend. Past research has shown that managers are often uncomfortable giving negative feedback to employees (London, 2003). And, they may be especially keen to avoid being critical of employees about whom they feel subjectively positive (Adams, 2005; Larson, 1989). Thus, in addition to investigating the image risks born by women, it is likely that the rewards (i.e., feedback) that women receive for seeking feedback are less valuable than the rewards received by men; this possibility will be investigated in Study 2.

In the next section, I review the relevant literature on the phenomenon of feedback seeking, including its antecedents and outcomes. I also discuss the relationship between feedback seeking and sex. In addition, I describe the concept of *ambivalent sexism* in greater detail. Finally, I outline the contributions I seek to make with this dissertation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Feedback Seeking

As noted earlier, feedback seeking is striving to glean information about one's performance at work, presumably for the purpose of making performance improvements (Ashford & Cummings, 1985). Employees seek feedback by observing cues in the environment (i.e., by "monitoring") or by soliciting information directly from others (Ashford & Black, 1996; Ashford, Blatt, & VandeWalle, 2003). The latter method, known as "direct inquiry," involves seeking information from another person in the organization, who is referred to as the target. Although employees must invest proactive effort in obtaining feedback through both monitoring and direct inquiry, direct inquiry uniquely requires employees to enlist the help of another person (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; 1985). As Ashford and colleagues have pointed out (e.g., Ashford et al., 2003), the nature of the risks associated with these two instances of feedback seeking are qualitatively different, with direct feedback entailing an image risk that is not likely to be associated with monitoring. For this reason, my dissertation will focus on the image costs associated with seeking feedback via direct inquiry rather than monitoring.

Feedback seeking is a proactive, agentic behavior (Grant & Ashford, 2008) and examples of this larger class of proactive behaviors include selling issues to leaders of the organization (Dutton & Ashford, 1993), taking charge (Frese & Fay, 2001; Roberson, 1990), and actively adapting to new roles (Ashford & Black, 1996). Although each form of proactive behavior is

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separate and distinct, all forms share two common elements: (1) proactive behaviors are future-focused and (2) self-initiated by the employee (Grant & Ashford, 2008, Parker & Collins, 2010). Feedback seeking differs from a related proactive behavior, information seeking, as the latter encompasses seeking information in a much broader context and without regard to the employee's past performance (Morrison, 1993). For instance, an information seeker may hope to obtain knowledge about how to go about performing a new job (Morrison, 1993), whereas feedback seekers would hope to ascertain whether or not they were successful in that job (Ashford & Cummings, 1983). Unlike organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs) which are commonly believed to be extra-role, proactive behavior may include performing in-role tasks in a proactive manner (Grant & Ashord, 2008; Parker & Collins, 2010). In general, proactive behaviors are considered to be beneficial to both organizations and the actors performing them (Crant, 2000; Grant & Ashford, 2008; Grant, Gino, & Hofmann, 2011; Parker & Collins, 2010); however, interest in the negative outcomes of proactive behavior is increasing (Belschak, Den Hartog, & Fay, 2010; Bolino et al., 2017; Bolino, Valcea, & Harvey, 2010).

Prior to Ashford and Cummings' (1983) work on proactive feedback seeking, feedback itself was already viewed as a valuable resource in organizations (Ashford et al., 2003). Feedback—information about how employees are performing or how they could improve their performance—was believed to play a critical role in goal attainment (Herold & Greller, 1977; Ilgen, Fisher, & Taylor, 1979; Locke, 1968). Ilgen and colleagues (1979) noted that feedback could facilitate performance by providing motivation and direction to an individual. Recognizing the value of feedback, Ashford and Cummings (1983) proposed that rather than waiting passively to receive this important information, many employees will seek it proactively from the environment in order to achieve their goals. However, they also argued that employees would

seek feedback only when employees perceived that its benefits outweighed its costs, and this model has been empirically supported (Anseel et al., 2015).

Antecedents of Feedback Seeking

In keeping with Ashford's seminal work, which has been the primary lens for understanding proactive feedback seeking (Anseel et al., 2015), research on this phenomenon has focused extensively on the antecedents of feedback seeking. Indeed, even the title of Ashford and colleagues' (2016) recent review, "To seek or not to seek: Is that the only question?" highlights this emphasis in the feedback-seeking literature. Central to this body of research is the idea that while feedback is beneficial, the act of seeking feedback may be costly, and employees calculate the risk and reward before seeking feedback (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; 1985). For this reason, much of the early research on feedback seeking centered on the antecedents which would lead employees would perceive that seeking feedback was worth it.

The decision to seek feedback, or the determination that its benefits exceed its costs, is influenced by myriad factors. Variables which affect an individual's perceptions of both the risks and potential rewards of seeking feedback include factors related to the seeker, the target, and the situational context (Ashford et al., 2016). Naturally, factors which serve to enhance the perceived value of the feedback relative to its cost are associated with feedback seeking. Conversely, factors which increase its perceived costs relative to its value often inhibit feedback seeking (Ashford et al., 2003). Because of the nature of this calculation, employees will seek feedback even when the costs are high, if the perceived benefits are also high (Chun, Choi, & Moon, 2014; Hays & Williams, 2011).

Situational Antecedents and Feedback Seeking

Researchers have identified a number of situational or contextual antecedents that lead employees to engage in feedback seeking. One situational factor that is believed to increase the perceived value of feedback is uncertainty (Ashford, 1986; Ashford & Cummings, 1983, 1985). Ashford and Tsui (1991) argued that managers are driven to seek feedback because they view it as a critical ingredient for successfully navigating the uncertainty of complex organizations. Researchers have noted that recently hired employees are also more likely to seek feedback, leading researchers to surmise that feedback is highly valued by employees who are striving to adapt to a new organization and role (Ashford & Black, 1996; Brett, Feldman, & Weingart, 1990; Callister, Kramer, Turban, 1999). In support of this notion, Wanberg and Kammeyer-Mueller (2000) found that feedback seeking occurred more often when newcomers were learning the ins and outs of difficult jobs. Thus, in conditions of uncertainty, employees are likely to place a premium on the value of feedback, increasing the likelihood that they will ask others for feedback (Ashford & Cummings, 1983).

Feedback seeking may also be shaped by other situational factors, like person-environment-fit. Dries and colleagues (2016) found that when employees experience person-environment-fit they are more likely to seek feedback, and they argued that this occurs because employees seek to increase or maintain their fit. The extent to which employees feel pressure from their work is another situational factor. Specifically, research indicates that employees are most likely to seek feedback when they feel a moderate amount of work pressure and are less likely to seek it when they experience lower or higher levels of pressure (van der Rijt, Van den Bossche, van de Wiel, Segers, & Gijselaers, 2012). This suggests that the benefits of sustaining person-environment-fit and dealing with work pressures are perceived to outweigh the costs of seeking feedback.

Target Characteristics and Feedback Seeking

Another set of antecedents that enhance the perceived value of the feedback include characteristics of the target (Ashford et al., 2016). Research has shown that employees place a higher value on feedback that comes from leaders who are supportive (Teunissen et al., 2009), authentic (Gardner, Cogliser, Davis, & Dickens, 2011: Qian, Lin, & Chen, 2012), and trustworthy (Huang, 2012; Chuang, Lee, Shen, 2014). Furthermore, feedback seekers take into account the credibility of their target when deciding whether the benefits of seeking feedback are worth the cost (Ashford et al., 2016; Chun et al., 2014; Fedor, Rensvold, & Adams, 1992). Interestingly, some research suggests that seekers also attend to within-person differences of their targets, preferring to seek feedback when they believe the target is in a good mood (Ang, Cummings, Straub, & Earley, 1993). Taken together, these studies underscore the importance of potential target reactions and judgments on the decision to seek feedback.

Seeker Characteristics and Feedback Seeking

Characteristics of the seekers themselves have also been explored. For example, several studies have demonstrated that employees with a learning goal orientation find feedback to be instrumental in goal attainment, creating a positive relationship between learning goal orientation and feedback seeking, especially via direct inquiry (Cho, 2013; Parker & Collins, 2010; VandeWalle & Cummings, 1997; VandeWalle, Ganesan, Challagalla, & Brown, 2000). Relatedly, studies have shown that some people simply have a higher propensity to view feedback as beneficial (Whitaker & Levy, 2012), leading them to solicit feedback more frequently (Dahling, Chau, & O'Malley, 2012).

Along with these individual differences in feedback seeking, researchers have also investigated the influence of motives in the decision to seek feedback. In an earlier review of the literature, Ashford and colleagues (2003) concluded that individuals not only seek feedback in order to help them achieve their goals, but they also do it as a form of impression management and ego-defense. The opportunity to gain or maintain a favorable image in the eyes of the target enhances the potential reward of seeking feedback (Morrison & Bies, 1991). And, indeed, feedback seekers who are also high performers are often perceived more favorably (Northcraft & Ashford, 1992; De Stobbeleir et al., 2010). In addition to managing others' impressions, employees are also more likely to seek feedback when they expect to hear positive feedback (Brett et al., 1990; Morrison & Bies, 1991), suggesting that the opportunity to hold themselves in a positive regard increases the value of the feedback.

Deterrents of Feedback Seeking

Whereas the factors described in the earlier section promote feedback seeking by increasing the perceived value of the feedback, other factors inhibit feedback seeking by increasing its costs (Ashford & Cummings, 1983, 1985; Ashford et al., 2003). Ashford and Cummings (1983) argued that to obtain feedback seekers expend effort and risk looking bad. In some situations, feedback can be difficult to come by even when proactively sought. Most notably, employees may struggle to find targets with the appropriate expertise and knowledge of their jobs to provide quality feedback, and they may have to make inquiries to more than one target (Ashford & Tsui, 1991; Chun et al., 2014; Vancouver & Morrison, 1995). Furthermore, not all feedback can be taken at face value. Employees may have to interpret the feedback they receive, making inferences about its accuracy and the motives of the person giving them feedback (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; Roberson, Deitch, Brief, & Block, 2003). Although

some research supports the idea that these costs deter feedback seeking, especially via direct inquiry (Fedor et al., 1992; Whitaker, Dahling, & Levy, 2007), the image costs associated with seeking feedback seem to figure more prominently in employees' decisions to seek feedback (Ashford et al., 2003). This is addressed in the next section.

Image Risk

Ashford and Cummings (1983) proposed that employees who seek feedback risk being perceived negatively by others. For example, observers, including the target, may view this behavior as a signal that the employee lacks the competence to evaluate his or her own performance and to make performance improvements. Observers may also make unflattering judgments about employees' interpersonal abilities based on the skills employees display in the act of seeking feedback. In contrast to the research on effort and inference costs, there is a large body of research that demonstrates that when employees perceive that feedback seeking will be costly to their images, they are less likely to seek it (Anseel et al., 2015; Ashford et al., 2003). Similar to the perceived benefits of feedback seeking, a number of factors influence employees' perceptions of the degree of risk entailed in seeking feedback. These factors include characteristics of the situation, of the target, and of the seekers themselves (Ashford et al., 2016).

Situational Factors and Image Risk

Although all attempts to seek feedback via direct inquiry are interpersonal acts, observable by at least one other person (Ashford & Cummings, 1983), situational conditions which increase its visibility to others also increase its perceived cost. In one experimental study, participants were less likely to seek feedback when their requests could be seen by other participants (Northcraft & Ashford, 1990). Similarly, another experiment demonstrated that

employees sought feedback less frequently when being observed, especially if they believed that

the observers were evaluating them (Ashford & Northcraft, 1992). Thus, feedback seekers are

sensitive to the image risk entailed in seeking feedback and may avoid seeking feedback in order

to save face. Other situational characteristics related to norms about feedback seeking have been

found to increase its perceived image costs. For instance, when participants in an experimental

study were led to believe that others sought little feedback, they were less likely to seek feedback

themselves (Ashford & Northcraft, 1992), suggesting that feedback seeking is riskier when it

violates organizational norms. Cultural norms may also play a role in employees' perceptions of

face loss costs. For example, employees in Hong Kong engaged in less feedback seeking than

American employees, possibly because seeking feedback goes against social norms of a

collectivist, high power distance culture (Morrison, Chen, & Salgado, 2004). Thus, norms that

discourage feedback seeking increase employees' perceptions of its costs.

Target Characteristics and Image Risk

Factors related to potential targets of feedback seeking also influence the perceived level

of image risk involved. In particular, Morrison and Bies (1991) posited that employees who are

low performers will avoid seeking feedback from targets with high reward power. They also

argued that employees will be unlikely to seek feedback from those with whom they do not have

a high-quality relationship. This suggests that employees face a higher risk of losing face in front

of those with high reward power and those with whom they lack a close relationship. In addition,

research in the area of impression management has shown that employees are motivated to

maintain the positive images others hold of them (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). For example, if

employees believe that their bosses see them as self-reliant, they may be reluctant to undermine

that image by seeking feedback.

Seeker Characteristics and Image Risk

Feedback seekers' individual differences also shape their perceptions of the image risk of seeking feedback. For instance, it has been found that employees with longer organizational tenure are often less likely to solicit feedback (Ashford, 1986; Barner-Rasmussen, 2003), and Ashford and Black (1996) explained that because more tenured employees are expected to be more knowledgeable, they perceive the image risk to be higher when seeking feedback. Employees with a performance goal orientation are less likely to seek feedback through direct inquiry (Parker & Collins, 2010; Teunissen et al., 2009), suggesting that they perceive a greater potential for damage to others' perceptions of them. One study found that relationship between individuals' goal orientations and feedback seeking was mediated by their perceptions of the value and costs associated with seeking feedback (VandeWalle & Cummings, 1997). Other studies have found that attachment style (Allen, Shockley, & Poteat, 2010), mood (Gervey, Igou, & Trope, 2005; Hays & Williams, 2011), and emotional competence (Kim, Cable, Kim, & Wang, 2009) are also factors that influence feedback seeking, presumably because of their impact on seekers' perceptions of risk for face loss. Another study found that when individuals experience stereotype threat, which is a concern that they are confirming a negative stereotype about their group, they are less likely to seek feedback (Roberson et al., 2003). This suggests that employees who are already concerned that others may view them as less competent will be especially attuned to the image risks associated with seeking feedback.

Outcomes of Feedback Seeking

In keeping with earlier views on the benefits of feedback, Ashford (1986) posited that feedback seekers would be rewarded with information about the adequacy of their performance,

as well as insight into the behaviors most appropriate for achieving their goals. However, research has shown that the prima facie objective of feedback seeking may not be obtained by many feedback seekers. In fact, a recent meta-analysis determined that the relationship between feedback seeking and performance is very small, with a confidence interval including zero (Anseel et al., 2015), calling into question the presumed link between feedback seeking and performance improvement. In addition to performance, other important outcomes have been investigated. For instance, a recently published review identified learning and job satisfaction as possible consequences of feedback seeking (Ashford et al., 2016). Researchers have also taken an expanded view of performance by exploring outcomes, including organizational citizenship behavior and creative performance, and have shown that they are also associated with feedback seeking (Ashford et al., 2016).

In order to elucidate the effects of feedback seeking on performance, Anseel and his colleagues (2015) called for more research into the process of feedback seeking, including variables which may mediate the relationship between seeking and performance. One factor that has hitherto received little, if any, attention in the feedback seeking literature is the nature of the feedback itself. This is not surprising given that interest in feedback seeking was based on the premise that feedback is a valuable resource for employees (Ashford & Cummings, 1983). In contrast, more research in management (e.g., Kluger & DeNisi, 1996) and other disciplines like education (e.g., Hattie & Timperly, 2007) suggests that the content and quality of feedback, among other variables, may play a role in the effect of feedback seeking on performance improvement. Thus, not all feedback may be beneficial to feedback seekers as is often assumed in this literature.

Whereas the studies reviewed in this section support Ashford and Cummings' (1983) original argument that employees seek feedback only when they perceive that the benefits exceed the costs, this work largely fails to demonstrate the objective costs and benefits of seeking feedback. Indeed, for the most part, these studies consider feedback seeking as the dependent variable, capturing the employees' perceptions of the costs and benefits of seeking feedback, and not the actual risks and rewards. Furthermore, the feedback-seeking literature overwhelming presumes that the feedback received will benefit the employee. Thus, at least two critical questions remain unanswered: Do employees face a real risk of looking bad when they ask for feedback? Are all feedback seekers rewarded with valuable information? In contrast to prior work that has emphasized understanding employees' decisions about whether or not to seek feedback, my dissertation seeks to more directly answer these important questions.

Feedback Seeking and Sex

In the previous section I described research on the antecedents and outcomes of feedback seeking. In this section, I discuss sex in research on feedback seeking antecedents and outcomes. Researchers have rarely investigated the role of sex in feedback seeking. In fact, only one set of studies in the mainstream management literature has considered the impact of sex on the decision to seek feedback, and results of these studies suggest that men and women evaluate the risks and benefits of seeking feedback differently (Miller & Karakowsky, 2005). A brief review of other studies assessing the decision to seek feedback shows that sex has been reported as demographic descriptor of the study sample (e.g., Ashford, 1986; Ashford & Black, 1995; Ashford & Cummings, 1985; Ashford & Tsui, 1991; Brett et al., 1990; VandeWalle & Cummings, 1997; VandeWalle et al., 2000), has not been reported or analyzed at all (e.g., Fedor et al., 1992; Levy, Albright, Cawley, & Williams, 1995; Northcraft & Ashford, 1990), and has been used as a

control variable only occasionally (e.g., Callister et al., 1999; Renn & Fedor, 2001; Roberson et al., 2003). It is interesting to note that several of the studies with samples of working adults had high percentages of male participants, perhaps calling into question the generalizability of their results across the sexes. For instance, in their study of managerial feedback seeking, Ashford and Tsui (1991) drew from multiple levels in the organization to generate a sample in which the focal managers were men 87 percent of the time and the sample of the focal managers' subordinates, peers, and managers were also predominately male (i.e., 79 percent male, 89 percent male, 93 percent male, respectively). Other field studies with a similar breakdown by sex include Fedor and colleagues' (1992) study, which used a sample of helicopter pilots who were 98 percent male; Callister and associates' (1999) study, which had a sample of new employees that was 74 percent male; and VandeWalle et al.'s (2000) study, which had a sample of salespeople that was 94.3 percent male.

Similar to studies examining the antecedents of feedback seeking, research investigating the outcomes of feedback seeking has seldom evaluated the influence of sex. Drawing from literature on OCB (Kidder & Parks, 2001), Grant and colleagues (2009) argued for the necessity of controlling for sex when investigating responses to proactive behavior as observers often view men and women's behavior differently. In spite of this admonition, only a handful of studies have included sex of the seeker as a control variable when analyzing others' reactions to feedback-seeking attempts (e.g., De Stobbleier et al., 2010; Lam et al., 2007).

The one related area in which sex has been studied is the effects of feedback, solicited or unsolicited, on employees' self-perceptions. In a study of MBA students, Mayo and coauthors (2012) found that feedback from fellow students exerted a stronger influence on the self-ratings of female students, who were more likely to change their self-ratings to match the ratings their

peers gave them. Other studies conducted by Dweck and her associates (Dweck & Licht, 1980; Dweck, Davidson, Nelson, & Enna, 1978) in primary school settings found that when teachers provided students with negative feedback, boys dismissed the feedback, considering it to be a reflection of the teacher's bad attitude toward them, whereas girls viewed the feedback as being an accurate indicator of their abilities. These studies suggest that men and women may react differently to the information they receive when they seek feedback; however, this has not been tested.

The lack of research surrounding sex and feedback seeking is surprising given the social nature of this behavior (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; De Stobbeleir et al., 2010) and the reality that social interactions are often shaped by the sex of the participants (Eagly, 2013). Specifically, an agentic behavior like feedback seeking aligns with expectations about men's behavior, but it may clash with expectations for women to avoid engaging in agentic behaviors. Furthermore, sex is an area of considerable interest in the management literature. One topic of frequent interest is the dearth of women in top management roles, commonly referred to as the glass ceiling effect (Powell & Butterfield, 1994; Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998). Researchers investigating this phenomenon have argued that one reason for the persistence of the glass ceiling is a perceived "lack of fit" between perceptions of leadership and stereotypical views of women (Eagly, 2004; Heilman, 1983; 2001). As mentioned previously, when women do behave in ways that are perceived to be more leader-like, they often face a social censure in the form of backlash (Rudman & Glick, 1999). Research has also shown that women face other barriers in organizations. Women may face discrimination in hiring practices for reasons as varied as being too attractive (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979) and for being mothers who are perceived to be less competent (Heilman & Okimoto. 2008). Most importantly, research has shown that sex

differences do influence the ways in which organizational members interact. For example, men and women communicate very differently and these communication differences often lead to men being perceived as more accomplished in the workplace (Tannen, 1994).

Ambivalent Sexism

Sexism is defined as prejudicial beliefs about or discriminatory acts against members of a particular sex which result in inequitable outcomes for that sex (Glick, 2007). By definition, either men or women can be the targets of sexism, but it is most commonly associated with negative attitudes toward women (Glick & Fiske, 2001b). After women sought careers outside of the home in growing numbers in the 1970s (Costa, 2000), scholars from diverse disciplines began exploring sexism and gender stereotypes in organizations. Much of this work, especially in social psychology, drew upon Allport's (1954) earlier work which described prejudice as hostility and aversion towards an out-group (Rudman, 2005). Thus, sexism came to be viewed as an attitude of antipathy toward women, and researchers asked questions such as, "Who likes competent women?" (Spence & Helmreich, 1972).

Although researchers and practitioners alike often focused on the harmful beliefs about women in the workplace (e.g., Swim, Aiken, Hall, & Hunter, 1995), others pointed out that attitudes toward women are not always negative. For example, Tavris, Wade, and Offir (1984) argued that women are both relegated to the "gutter" and placed upon "pedestals." Undergraduate participants who were surveyed about their attitudes toward different groups showed that they responded not only favorably toward women, but more favorably than toward men (Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1991). The recognition of the duality of beliefs about women led

Glick and Fiske to coin the term *ambivalent sexism*, which captures not only the negative beliefs one holds about women, but also the positive feelings (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Ambivalent sexism is the presence of both hostile and benevolent beliefs about women. On the one hand, hostile sexism aligns with the common usage of the term sexism and is marked by antipathy and antagonism toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996), in some cases leading to discriminatory or even adversarial, violent actions against women (Glick & Fiske, 2001a). On the other hand, benevolent sexism is characterized by feelings that are apparently favorable and often followed by ostensibly positive behavior (Glick & Fiske, 1996). For instance, people who hold benevolent sexist beliefs cherish women as objects of purity and love, and often seek to protect them (Glick & Fiske, 1996). As connoted by the term ambivalent, hostile and benevolent beliefs can be held simultaneously (Glick & Fiske, 1996), and one common thread across both forms of sexism is an attachment to traditional gender roles and stereotypes (Glick & Fiske, 1997). It is important to note that these beliefs are not held by men alone ─ women can view other women through a sexist lens as well (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 1997).

Whereas the detrimental effects of hostile sexism are likely obvious and have been well documented (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001), benevolent sexism also harms women. Fiske and Taylor (2016) argue that this seemingly favorable attitude perpetuates social inequality by reinforcing men's roles as protectors of women, who in turn often feel obligated to be grateful for their much-needed protection. Although benevolent sexism has not been widely researched in an organizational context, at least a handful of studies have demonstrated the negative effects these beliefs can have for women at work. For instance, using both survey data and experiments, researchers found that managers who held benevolent sexist beliefs were less likely to provide women with difficult and challenging developmental work experiences (King et al., 2012). By

"protecting" women from failing, these supervisors may also limit their female subordinates from the growth and exposure necessary to advance in their careers (Bear, Cushenbery, London, & Sherman, 2017). Results from another set of studies showed that when women were exposed to benevolent sexism it lowered their self-efficacy, leading to lower performance (Jones et al., 2014). And, demonstrating the complex nature of benevolent sexism, researchers have found that while benevolent sexism does increase receptivity toward equal employment opportunities for women, it does so only in traditionally female-gendered occupations (Hideg & Ferris, 2016).

Contributions

As noted earlier, by investigating these research questions, my dissertation seeks to make three contributions to the literatures on feedback seeking and ambivalent sexism. First, the experiment conducted in Study 1 will seek to directly and empirically evaluate the belief, held by practitioners and academics, that asking for feedback can harm one's image. Second, this experiment will also seek to determine if, as an agentic behavior, feedback seeking entails greater image risk for women than for men. As such, the results of the study should have important implications for both men and women who are considering asking for feedback; furthermore, Study 1 answers the call to more deeply understand the downsides of proactive behavior generally (Bolino, et al., 2017), and feedback seeking specifically (Ashford et al., 2016). Finally, Study 2 will enhance our knowledge of the outcomes of feedback seeking by showing that characteristics of the target and the seeker can influence the quality of the feedback provided. Because of the effects of sexism, it is possible that women who take the risk to ask for feedback may be doing so with little hope of being rewarded.

In this chapter, I reviewed the literature on feedback seeking, focusing on the perceived costs and benefits associated with soliciting this information. As I explained, researchers have

commonly assumed that feedback seeking is risky, but have rarely measured its actual costs, nor have they considered how gender stereotypes may increase the price women pay for seeking feedback. In addition, the feedback seeking literature has yet to examine the quality of feedback seekers receive. In Chapter 2, I will develop hypotheses predicting the relationships between feedback seeking and others' perceptions of the competence and likability of feedback seekers. I will also develop hypotheses related to the sex of the feedback seeker, hypothesizing that women bear both a higher cost for seeking feedback and receive fewer benefits (i.e., in terms of the quality of feedback) than men who seek feedback.

CHAPTER TWO

HYPOTHESES

FEEDBACK SEEING AND IMAGE

Feedback seeking is an inherently interpersonal phenomenon which can shape others' perceptions of the seeker (De Stobbeleir et al., 2010). As a proactive, agentic behavior (Ashford & Grant, 2008; Parker & Collins, 2010) which is often, paradoxically, less socially desirable than conforming, passive employee behavior (Bolino et al., 2017; Grant et al., 2009), feedback seeking is likely to be a highly salient behavior in the social context of an organization (Fiske & Taylor, 2016). This is important because salient events often form a disproportionately large basis for the attributions we make about others (Fiske, Kenny, & Taylor, 1982). Furthermore, as a purposeful, volitional act, feedback seeking is likely to be perceived as a reflection of feedback seekers' internal personal traits and motives, and not the external situation (Jones & Davis, 1965). The notion that feedback seeking is linked to perceptions about the feedback seeker has its foundation in the earliest work on proactive feedback seeking. In their seminal treatise, Ashford and Cummings (1983) argued that feedback seeking not only directs others to evaluate employees' performance, it also leads observers to make evaluations of the feedback seekers themselves. For instance, they point out that the act of feedback seeking may signal that employees lack ability because they are incapable of evaluating their own performance. More recent research investigating the outcomes of feedback seeking have found that managers attribute various motives to employees who engage in feedback, demonstrating that feedback-seeking behavior does indeed initiate an attribution process (Lam et al., 2007; De Stobbeleir et al., 2010). Thus, proactive behaviors generally, and feedback seeking specifically, are behaviors which trigger attributions and social judgments about the actor.

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Perceived Competence and Likability

Fiske and colleagues' (2002; 2007) work on social perception and cognition has demonstrated that social cognitions fall along two dimensions – warmth and competence – and that almost all humans primarily judge their fellow beings by these two attributes (Fiske et al., 2007). Through their research, they have been able to distill a multitude of assessments of interpersonal perceptions down to these two dimensions (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, Glick, 1999; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). Warmth, or likability, is related to the intent of the actor, encompassing ideas such as friendliness, sincerity, and trustworthiness (Fiske et al., 2007). On the other hand, competence is indicative of the actor's ability and is denoted by adjectives such as intelligence, skill, and efficacy (Fiske et al., 2007). It is important to note that individuals can perceive others as having any combination of these dimensions (Fiske et al., 1999; Fiske et al., 2002). For example, a person can be both competent and likable, or neither competent nor likable, and they can be one but not the other. The universality of these evaluations and their parsimonious nature make them ideal constructs for assessing the way others view feedback seekers. It has been commonly assumed that feedback seeking will negatively impact observers' evaluations of the actor's competence (Anseel et al., 2015; Ashford et al., 2003); however, this relationship has not been examined directly. And, although research on social judgments shows that people are evaluated in terms of both competence and warmth, the relationship between perceptions of likability and feedback seeking has not been explored. Thus, in the following sections I will develop hypotheses regarding the impact of feedback seeking on these social judgments.

Perceived Competence

Past research in the domain of feedback seeking offers indirect evidence that seeking feedback may indeed shape others' evaluations of the seeker's competence. In Ashford and Cummings' model (1983; 1985), employees are believed to fear being perceived as incompetent when asking others for feedback about their performance. The results of a number of studies aimed at identifying the antecedents of feedback seeking lend support to the idea that employees are highly attuned to the image risk of appearing less than competent by asking for performance feedback (Ashford et al., 2003). For instance, two studies measuring the frequency of feedback seeking amongst newly hired and more tenured employees found that seasoned employees sought feedback less frequently that newcomers (Ashford & Cummings, 1985; Ashford, 1986). The investigators who conducted these studies explained that while employees may believe that feedback seeking is likely to be viewed as an appropriate behavior for new hires, they may also perceive that it is seen less favorably for experienced employees who ought to know how to do their jobs.

In an experimental study, Northcraft and Ashford (1990) manipulated the publicness of feedback-seeking attempts in order to ascertain whether or not people would be more likely to ask for feedback when they were less likely to be observed by others, risking less face loss. They found that feedback seekers solicited more feedback when their requests could be made privately, leading the researchers to surmise that people are very sensitive to the image risks associated with seeking feedback. Similarly, another experimental study found that unless there were norms endorsing feedback seeking, people tended to avoid publicly asking for feedback (Ashford & Northcraft, 1992). Other studies directly assessing the perceived costs of seeking feedback showed that high costs inhibited feedback seeking, although these costs were not

limited to perceptions of competence (Park, Schmidt, Scheu, & DeShon, 2007; VandeWalle et al., 1997).

Research regarding the impact of self-presentation on the formation of social perceptions, while limited, indicates that feedback seekers' concerns may be accurate. Cuddy, Glick, and Beninger (2011) argued that people are perceived to be competent when their behaviors convey an image of power. For example, people appear to be more competent when their nonverbal behaviors reflect power and dominance. Such behaviors, categorized as expansive nonverbal behavior, include adopting an open posture and occupying a larger physical space (Carney, Hall, & LeBeau, 2005; Hall, Coats, & LeBeau, 2005). Powerful and expansive nonverbal behaviors are associated with perceptions of competence and ability, whereas submissive nonverbal cues undermine perceptions of competence (Cuddy et al., 2011; Keane, Wedding, & Kelly, 1983). This suggests that other more overt behaviors which portray an image of power and dominance should also be linked to higher ratings of competence and, conversely, behaviors which reflect the opposite image should be linked to lower ratings of competence.

By its very nature, feedback seeking requires the seeker to adopt a subordinate, lower status role in the social exchange, putting feedback givers in a position of power over feedback seekers (Bear et al., 2017). In seeking feedback, seekers either explicitly or implicitly convey two messages to their targets. The first message is that they are experiencing some kind of uncertainty (Ashford & Cummings, 1983). They could be unsure of what to do, how to do it, and even whether or not they are doing the correct thing or doing it the right way (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; 1985). Although some research has shown that seekers may solicit feedback for impression management purposes such as calling attention to superior performance (Morrison & Bies, 1991), successfully managing such impressions depends upon the target

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believing that the seeker is sincere in his or her request for feedback (Lam et al., 2007); therefore, regardless of the motive, the message communicated is that the feedback seeker lacks the knowledge or ability to overcome the uncertainty. The second message is that whereas the seeker cannot resolve the uncertainty, he or she believes that the target can (Ashford et al., 2016). Therefore, by seeking feedback, seekers put themselves in position of submission relative to the dominance of the target. Much like submissive nonverbal behaviors undermine individuals' images of competence, seeking feedback is likely to harm the targets' perceptions of the seekers' competence.

Hypothesis 1: Feedback seeking will be negatively associated with ratings of competence.

Perceived Likability

As noted earlier, feedback seekers are likely to be evaluated in terms of likability, too. Although perceptions of competence have been the focus of research regarding feedback seeking and image, people form impressions of warmth and likability even before they form impressions of competence (Fiske et al., 2007). Research on impression management suggests that seeking feedback is tied to perceptions of likability. Just as people regularly make judgements about the warmth and competence of others (Cuddy et al., 2008), people make efforts to influence the ways others perceive them through impression management (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). One way in which people may attempt to shape others' perceptions is through *ingratiation*. A number of impression management tactics fall into this category, including performing favors, flattering or paying compliments, and showing interest in others (Bolino & Turnley, 1999), and people utilize these tactics in order to seem warm and likable (Jones & Pittman, 1982). Successful ingratiation attempts have indeed been found to have a positive effect on the perceived likability of an

individual. For example, supervisors are more likely to rate ingratiating employees as likable (Wayne & Ferris, 1990; Wayne, Kacmar, & Ferris, 1995), and this effect may continue over time (Bolino, Klotz, & Daniels, 2014).

Feedback seeking has been identified as a type of ingratiation (Bolino, Long, & Turnley, 2016), and as such, it should also be linked with perceptions of likability and warmth. Researchers have long held that feedback seekers may solicit feedback in an effort to create a positive impression through self-promotion tactics such as highlighting their strengths and superior performance (e.g., Ashford & Cummings, 1983; Morrison & Bies, 1991), but only more recently have they suggested that people may seek feedback as a way to ingratiate themselves with their supervisors (Lam et al., 2007). Feedback seeking may function as a form of flattery by demonstrating that the seeker values the opinion and expertise of the target from whom feedback is solicited. It may also signal that the seeker hopes to conform to the target's way of doing things. In both cases, as an ingratiation tactic, feedback seekers will be perceived as likable.

Interestingly, the success of both self-promotion and ingratiation strategies is likely dependent upon the target of these tactics being unaware of the impression management motives of the feedback seeker (Bolino et al., 2017). Known as the *ingratiator's dilemma,* a phenomenon occurs in which people who most need to appear as likable are also more likely to be suspected of using ingratiation, thereby undermining the efficacy of their attempts to manage impressions (Jones, 1990). In order to escape this dilemma, people often use more sophisticated ingratiation tactics to draw less attention to their ulterior motives (Jones, 1990). One study suggests that feedback seeking may be a less obvious form of ingratiation, making feedback seeking attempts more likely to be successful in creating an impression of warmth. This study of executives' impression management behaviors found that advice seeking was an effective tactic which often

did not appear to others as an impression management tactic (Stern & Westphal, 2010). As a behavior related to advice seeking, then, feedback seeking may also be a less transparent strategy, and in turn, it may be a more effective one.

Although some feedback seekers may seek feedback in order to appear likable (Bolino et al., 2017), others may simply have a desire to obtain useful information (Ashford & Cummings, 1983). In effect, seekers without an impression management motive will be perceived by their targets in a way similar to those who have successfully veiled their impression management motives. Being asked to provide feedback will still be flattering and show a commitment on the part of the seeker to please the target. As a result, feedback seekers will generally be perceived as more likable and warm.

Hypothesis 2: Feedback seeking will be positively associated with ratings of likability.

Sex and Perceived Competence and Likability

As discussed previously, the sex of an employee influences the way he or she is perceived by others (Eagly, 2013). Thus, an employee's sex is likely to affect the relationship between feedback seeking and image. Furthermore, research on ambivalent sexism suggests that the extent to which feedback-seeking targets hold sexist beliefs about female feedback seekers is likely to influence this relationship as well. In this section, I explain how feedback seekers' images will be shaped by their sex. I also discuss the influence of targets' sexist beliefs on this relationship.

Sex and Perceived Competence

Organizational studies exploring gender stereotypes in organizations have shown that such stereotypes often negatively impact perceptions of women's competence (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 1983; Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989; Heilman & Haynes, 2005). In her "lack of fit" model, Heilman (1983) argued that stereotypes about women's characteristics often conflict with expectations about what is required for successful job performance, triggering negative performance expectations for women. Whereas stereotypically masculine traits such as strength, decisiveness, and ambition align with beliefs about success in the workplace, feminized traits such as tenderness, caring, and an inclination to be nurturing do not (Heilman, 1995). This is especially true in professions and roles that are thought of as "male-gendered," where the discrepancy between stereotypic perceptions of women and the necessary skills and abilities of these jobs is much larger (Heilman, 1983; 1995; 2001; Lyness & Heilman, 2006). Researchers have found ample evidence in support of Heilman's model and the unfavorable performance expectations that gender stereotypes generate (Heilman, 2001; 2012). For example, a series of studies about performance evaluations of mixed-sex teams found that observers evaluated female members of the team as less competent and less likely to have contributed to the team's success than male team members (Heilman & Haynes, 2005). This research echoed the much earlier findings of Deaux (1976) who found that even when women perform as well as men they are still perceived to be less capable. In other words, "their work is devalued simply because they are women" (Heilman, 1995, p. 8).

Although feedback seeking is likely to harm both men's and women's images as competent employees, the harm to women is likely to be even greater because of the negative performance expectations spawned by gender stereotypes. Stereotypes not only influence how people are perceived; they also shape interpretations about people's behavior, as well as what is

remembered and inferred about them (Fiske & Taylor, 2016). Through these effects of stereotyping, women's images of competence are likely to be more severely damaged than men's in at least two ways. First, as indicated by the examples described earlier, a woman's performance is often evaluated more negatively than a man's (e.g., Deaux, 1976; Heilman & Haynes, 2005). As such, when women seek feedback, they are more likely to be calling attention to performance that may not be perceived as favorably as their male counterpart's. Not only might these performance evaluations make women look bad, they are also likely to confirm and reinforce stereotypes about their abilities (Fiske & Taylor, 2016). In support of this notion, researchers have found that some people do fear that seeking feedback about their performance may reinforce an unfavorable stereotype about their abilities (Roberson et al., 2003). Furthermore, as researchers have suggested that feedback givers come to really believe the feedback they give (Ashford et al., 2003), and as stereotypes shape how people remember the behavior of others (Fiske & Taylor, 2016), seeking and receiving this negative feedback may affect the way women are perceived over a long period of time. In other words, the negative effects of feedback seeking may have long-lasting implications for women.

Second, as discussed previously, while the act of soliciting feedback undermines perceptions of both men and women's competence, research suggests that the evaluations of this behavior will be different for women (Eagly, 2013; Eagly & Wood, 1991). Unlike men, women are perceived to be unable to meet the challenges of the workplace (Heilman, 1983; 1995; 2001). For women, then, seeking feedback not only signals that they lack the ability to evaluate and improve their performance, it also validates others' expectations about their ability. By doing so, women may reinforce the perception that they are less competent than their male counterparts (Fiske & Taylor, 2016). Thus, gender stereotypes about women's competence (or incompetence)

may exacerbate the negative relationship between feedback seeking and images of competence. Therefore, I hypothesize that seeking feedback will be even more damaging to the perceived competence of women than of men.

Hypothesis 3: The relationship between feedback seeking and ratings of competence will be moderated by sex such that the negative relationship will be stronger for women.

Sex and Perceived Likability

Just as feedback seeking is likely to lead to different assessments of men's and women's abilities, the relationship between feedback seeking and ratings of likability should be moderated by sex as well. In contrast to perceptions about their competence, women are often thought to be warm and likable (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). Interestingly and somewhat sadly, women who are rated as less competent are also usually rated as being more likable (Fiske et al., 2002). Researchers have found that many lower status groups are perceived through the lens of a mixed stereotype with both positive and negative elements (Fiske et al., 1999). In the case of women, the stereotypic perception is one of warmth, but not competence (Fiske et al., 2002). That is, women are believed to be friendly and likable, but not competent and intelligent. In fact, some research on impression management has suggested that in order to appear more likable, people sometimes try to downplay their competence (Holoien & Fiske, 2013). This might suggest that although feedback seeking harms evaluations of women's competence, stereotypes about women's warmth would enhance perceptions of the likability of female feedback seekers. However, because of the nuanced effects of gender stereotypes, it is likely that men will be perceived as even more likable than women as a result of seeking feedback.

One reason that the positive relationship between likability and feedback seeking may be stronger for men is the *backlash* women incur for violating gender stereotypes. Backlash occurs because women face expectations both about who they are (i.e., descriptive stereotypes) and how they should be (i.e., prescriptive stereotypes) (Rudman & Glick, 1999). Heilman's model (1983) explained how descriptive stereotypes of women lacking important work-related characteristics sabotage their success in the workplace. In addition to these preconceptions of how women are, researchers have also noted the preconceptions that exist about how women should be (Fiske & Stevens, 1993). Put simply, women ought to "be nice." (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Whereas men should engage in *agentic* behaviors which include taking charge and being self-reliant, women out to engage in *communal* behaviors which include being thoughtful, considerate of others, and even submissive (Rudman & Glick, 2001; Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

When women behave in an agentic manner they violate prescriptions for their behavior, and in so doing, they elicit unfavorable responses from others (Rudman, 1998). The negative reaction to counter-stereotypical behavior is known as backlash (Rudman, 1998), and women whose behavior triggers backlash are often perceived to be unlikable (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999; 2001). For this reason, women must often choose between being liked but seen as incompetent or being disliked but seen as capable, especially in leadership roles (Rudman & Glick, 1999; 2001). Feedback seeking is by its very nature an agentic behavior (Grant & Ashford, 2008), and thus runs counter to prescriptive stereotypes for women's behavior. Therefore, women who seek feedback are likely to experience backlash, resulting in them being perceived as less likable than men who seek feedback.

Another reason men may appear more likable than women is that gender stereotypes are more likely to work in their favor. Research on mixed stereotypes suggests that as members of a

high status group men will be perceived as both competent and likable (Fiske et al., 2002). Furthermore, they are not subject to the dilemma faced by women who must choose to be one but not the other (Rudman & Glick, 2001). In contrast to women, men are supposed to be agentic and assertive (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999; 2001). As an agentic behavior, feedback seeking will not violate prescriptions for men's behavior. More importantly, although there are both descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes for their behavior, men are not only less likely to be penalized for violations (Bolino et al., 2016; Rudman & Glick, 1999), they are sometimes rewarded for counter-normative behavior (Heilman & Chen, 2006).

Hypothesis 4: The relationship between feedback seeking and ratings of likability will be moderated by sex such that the positive relationship will be stronger for men.

AMBIVALENT SEXISM, FEEDBACK SEEKING, AND FEEDBACK

In this section, I will discuss the role of sexist beliefs on shaping both the costs of and the rewards for women seeking feedback. First, I will describe ambivalent sexism and its two subcomponents (i.e., *hostile sexism* and *benevolent sexism*) and explain how prior research suggests that sexist beliefs are likely to exacerbate the image costs borne by women who seek feedback. Second, I will briefly review research on feedback (i.e., the reward of feedback seeking), focusing on research related to the quality of feedback given to employees. Lastly, I will explain how hostile sexism and benevolent sexism are likely to influence the quality of feedback given to women. When women seek feedback from targets who hold sexist beliefs, they are likely to suffer more damage to their images and they are less likely to be rewarded with beneficial feedback.

Ambivalent Sexism and Perceived Competence and Likability

The term sexism, defined by Merriam-Webster as, "prejudice or discrimination based on sex; especially discrimination against women," commonly evokes images of misogyny. Examples of blatant sexism in the workplace include refusing to hire or promote women, openly degrading women's abilities, and even sexual harassment. Some researchers have noted that, much like racism, prejudice and discrimination against women have become increasingly subtle and less overt in recent decades (e.g., Swim et al., 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997); however, these hidden negative attitudes and behaviors just as effectively maintain the glass ceiling, and continue to cause real harm to women's careers (Barreto, Ryan & Schmitt, 2009). Glick and Fiske (1996) argued that whereas the traditional notion of sexism focuses on negative attitudes about women, the concept of ambivalent sexism more accurately captures how women are viewed—namely, with both disdain and reverence. Accordingly, they identified the two facets of ambivalent sexism—*hostile sexism* and *benevolent sexism*—and subsequent research has supported their conceptualization regarding the duality of sexism (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1997; 2001a; 2011). In developing the next hypotheses, I will describe ambivalent sexism in more detail and then explain how women are more likely to harm their image when seeking feedback from people who hold hostile sexist attitudes.

Although hostile sexism is characterized by negative views of women, and benevolent sexism is associated with seemingly positive views of women, both are manifestations of an attitude that men, and not women, should hold the power in our social structure (Glick et al., 1997; Glick & Fiske, 2001b). During the development and validation of their *Ambivalent Sexism Inventory* (ASI), an assessment of participants' levels of both hostile and benevolent sexism which are often highly correlated, Glick and Fiske (1996) identified three subcomponents of each dimension of sexism: paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexuality. Of the three

subcomponents, beliefs about *paternalism* and *gender differentiation* are highly intertwined

because they both serve to reinforce the status quo of a patriarchal society through the

maintenance of an unequal power structure between men and women (Glick et al., 1997; Glick &

Fiske, 1997; 2001; 2011). Paternalism captures individuals' beliefs that men should hold more

power than women, and for hostile sexists, it is marked by a belief that men ought to control

women (i.e., *dominative paternalism*) (Glick & Fiske 1997). Benevolent sexists also hold

paternalistic attitudes; however, they believe that because men are more powerful than women,

men should protect women (i.e., *protective paternalism*) (Glick & Fiske, 1997). The desire to

maintain men's control over women also motivates gender differentiation (Glick et al., 1997;

Glick & Fiske, 1997). Hostile sexists often engage in *competitive gender differentiation*, wherein

they endorse and promote negative stereotypes about women's abilities (Glick & Fiske, 1996),

especially in non-traditional roles (Glick & Fiske, 2001b; Glick et al., 1997). For instance, they

may believe that women lack the drive to be ambitious, decisive leaders (Rudman & Glick,

2001). Conversely, the perspective of benevolent sexists, *complementary gender differentiation*,

focuses on the more favorable stereotypes about women in traditional roles; that is, that they are

warm, caring, and nurturing (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 1997). Although these beliefs about power

and gender identity often manifest in very different behaviors, the underlying motivation is the

same—to keep women, and in turn men, in their proper place (Glick & Fiske, 2001b). As Glick

and Fiske (2011) put it, "Benevolent sexism was the carrot aimed at enticing women to enact

traditional roles and hostile sexism was the stick used to punish them when they resisted" (p. 3).

The third subcomponent of ambivalent sexism is *heterosexuality*, which is an assessment

of attitudes toward female sexuality (Glick & Fiske, 1996). As the one area in which men have

been traditionally dependent upon women, sexuality represents a source of power for women

(Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile sexism is associated with *heterosexual hostility*, which is the belief that women may use their sexuality as a weapon to gain power over men; in contrast, benevolent sexism is associated with *intimate hostility*, or the notion that sexual relationships with women are necessary for men to be fulfilled and complete (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 1997). Thus, with regard to the former, women's sexuality is to be feared, whereas with regard to the latter, women's sexuality can be objectified to serve men's needs (Glick & Fiske, 1997).

Several points must be noted regarding the endorsement of both hostile sexism and benevolent sexism by people other than heterosexual men in the United States. First, surprisingly, women as well as men can hold sexist beliefs about women; however, men's scores on the ASI are typically higher (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Second, and perhaps less surprisingly, the gap between men's and women's scores on hostile sexism is much larger than the gap between their scores on benevolent sexism, suggesting that while women are less likely to endorse hostile sexism, they are much more likely to accept benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Third, in a study of 19 countries, Glick and colleagues (2000) found support for the cross-cultural applicability of the ASI, and they found that within a given country men's and women's scores on the ASI were highly positively correlated. Finally, one area which has not been studied is how people's sexual orientation shapes their sexist beliefs. Although academic researchers have not investigated whether members of the LGBTQ community also hold such beliefs, many articles in the popular press have bemoaned the misogyny of gay men. For example, one author writing on this topic noted, "Gay men, first and foremost are men," (Lang, 2017), suggesting that people of all sexual orientations may hold hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs. Overall, though, it is clear that both hostile sexism and benevolent sexism influence the perceptions of many people. In the following section, I argue that hostile sexism is likely to lead feedback-seeking targets to

evaluate female feedback seekers more harshly than male feedback seekers, in terms of both their competence and likability.

Hostile Sexism and Perceived Competence

As hypothesized earlier, seeking feedback may harm seekers' images of competence, and that effect may be the most damaging for women who seek feedback from people who endorse hostile sexism. Hostile sexism is an expression of dominative paternalism toward women which is reinforced through competitive gender differentiation (Glick & Fiske, 1996), and the belief that women are inferior to men is inherent to this ideology (Glick et al., 1997). Consistent with this idea, Masser and Abrams (2004) found that hostile sexism was associated with less favorable evaluations of female managerial candidates even when they were equally qualified in comparison to male candidates. Additionally, some researchers have suggested that the hostile heterosexuality subcomponent of hostile sexism leads people to believe that women who succeed at work must have used their sexual power over men in order to do so (Cikara, Lee, Fiske, & Glick, 2009); thus, sexist male targets of feedback seeking may interpret female feedback seekers as using their allure to flatter and charm men in an effort to control them. Such a view of feedback-seeking behavior may make stereotypical beliefs about women's competence more salient to these targets. Thus, hostile sexist beliefs are likely to strengthen the negative relationship between feedback seeking and assessments of competence for women seeking feedback from people who hold these beliefs. However, among men who seek feedback, it is expected that there will be no interaction between sex of the seeker and sexist beliefs of the feedback target; thus, the negative relationship will be unchanged.

Hypothesis 5: Feedback seeking, sex of the feedback seeker, and hostile sexism interact to affect ratings of competence such that feedback seeking has the strongest, negative relationship with ratings of competence when women seek feedback from hostile sexists.

Hostile Sexism and Perceived Likability

Not only may hostile sexism on the part of the target lower their evaluations of women's competence, it is also likely to lower their perceptions of women's likability. Much like the traditional definition of sexism, hostile sexism is an antipathy toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). As such, it is not difficult to imagine that hostile sexists would view women as less likable than their male co-workers. The paternalistic dominance endemic to hostile sexism is also associated with a rejection of women who violate traditional roles (Glick & Fiske, 1997), and professional women are especially likely to be viewed as unlikable by hostile sexists (Glick et al., 1997). As discussed previously, the agentic nature of proactive feedback seeking may also be seen as violation of women's communal gender roles, likely triggering an even stronger backlash from hostile sexists who are highly sensitive to gender differences between men and women (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Furthermore, hostile sexists who infer that women seek feedback in order to enhance their performance may view women's feedback seeking as an attempt to gain power over or to compete with men. For these reasons, women's feedback-seeking behavior will lower hostile sexists' perceptions of their likability. Whereas seeking feedback is likely to be associated with lower ratings of likability for both men and women, this negative relationship will be the strongest when women seek feedback from hostile sexists. For men, however, the negative relationship between feedback seeking and likability will not be strengthened or weakened by sexist beliefs of the seeker.

Hypothesis 6: Feedback seeking, sex of the feedback seeker, and hostile sexism interact to affect ratings of likability such that feedback seeking has the strongest, negative relationship with ratings of likability when women seek feedback from hostile sexists.

Ambivalent Sexism and Evaluative and Developmental Feedback

Having considered the costs of seeking feedback, especially for women who may pay the highest costs when seeking feedback from sexists, I will now discuss the feedback (i.e., the reward) women are likely to receive from sexist feedback givers. In their article which would become the foundation of the proactive feedback seeking literature, Ashford and Cummings (1983) drew upon long-held beliefs about the link between feedback and performance to argue that the benefits of feedback would entice employees to seek it out, rather than wait to receive it. Explaining that prior research had unequivocally demonstrated the positive performance effects of receiving feedback (e.g., Ammons, 1956; Ilgen et al., 1979; Vroom, 1964), they argued that feedback seekers would be similarly rewarded with performance-enhancing information (Ashford & Cummings, 1983). As Anseel and his colleagues (2015) pointed out, few researchers since have questioned the relationship between feedback seeking and performance. Furthermore, to my knowledge, no researchers exploring proactive feedback seeking have questioned the assumption that feedback itself is inherently and universally valuable to employees. This is surprising given that research about the nature of feedback has called into question its effect on performance (e.g., Kluger & DeNisi, 1996; 1998), and has shown that its content can be highly variable (Merriman, 2017). In the following section I will briefly review related, but rarely integrated, research on feedback in order to develop hypotheses regarding the quality of feedback women will be likely to receive from sexist targets. This is a preliminary step in better

understanding the association between feedback seeking and performance, and it is a critical step in understanding the costs and benefits of feedback seeking for women.

Much like the feedback-seeking literature, interest in feedback in organizations grew out of a widely held belief that feedback improves employees' performance (DeNisi & Kluger, 2000). Feedback is generally thought to serve both informational and motivational functions (Ashford & Cumming, 1983), helping employees understand the outcomes of their performance as well as the efficacy of their behaviors in meeting goals (Earley et al., 1990). Although feedback seeking researchers have only recently begun to examine the assumption that feedback enhances performance (e.g., Anseel et al., 2015), feedback researchers have long recognized that the relationship between feedback and performance is not straightforward. For example, Kluger and DeNisi (1996) conducted a meta-analysis of over 2,500 articles and found that the relationship between feedback and performance can be either positive or negative, depending on a host of moderators. And, as several researchers have noted (e.g., Ilgen et al., 1979; Kluger & DeNisi, 1996; Larson, 1984), highly nuanced psychological and cognitive processes underlie giving, receiving, and acting upon feedback. In an effort to illuminate these processes, researchers have investigated a number of variables, such as the role of the feedback giver (e.g., Greller & Herold, 1975), the intended function of the feedback (e.g., Earley et al., 1990), and the relationship between the feedback giver and receiver (e.g., Larson, 1984), that either weaken or strengthen the relationship between feedback and enhanced performance. In contrast to assumptions in the feedback-seeking literature, these lines of research suggest that not all feedback seekers will be rewarded with valuable performance-enhancing information.

Feedback can vary greatly in its informational value (Cannon & Witherspoon, 2005; Ilgen et al., 1979), and even early researchers recognized that feedback may not provide

employees with the information necessary to improve their performance (Arnett, 1969). The objective of feedback is to minimize gaps between employees' current levels of performance and their goals (Hattie & Timperley, 2007). In order to meet this aim, employees must be told how they are performing and what they can do differently in the future to improve their performance (Greller, 1978). An important variable in determining the efficacy of feedback is its source (Greller & Herold, 1975). Researchers have suggested that some sources give more useful feedback than others (Herold, Liden, & Leatherwood, 1987), and some sources are viewed as being more trustworthy and credible in providing accurate feedback (Giffin, 1967; Ilgen et al., 1979). Thus, whether or not an employee will receive beneficial feedback depends, at least in part, on the target from whom feedback is sought.

Research also suggests that even the same source may not always give feedback of the same quality to all seekers. Larson's (1984) model of feedback giving highlights the importance of feedback givers' perceptions of the feedback receiver (i.e., the feedback seeker). Specifically, feedback givers may be more likely to provide feedback when they believe that the feedback receivers have the ability to improve their performance (Larson, 1984). This suggests that the perceptions of those who provide the feedback will shape the quality of the feedback that is provided to employees. For example, managers may not make the effort to provide clear, helpful feedback to employees if they believe that employees are incompetent. In support of this idea, London (1995) argued that managers' perceptions of employees' performance determine whether managers provide constructive or destructive feedback to employees. Taken together, these models imply that the kind of feedback seekers receive may largely be a reflection of the feedback givers' impression of the seekers. Because hostile sexism and benevolent sexism mold

managers' perceptions of female employees, these beliefs are also likely to influence the type of feedback managers give to their female employees.

The type of the feedback given to employees may also be shaped by the motives of the feedback giver (Fedor, Eder, & Buckley, 1989; London, 1995). London (1995) argued that managers have differing needs for control, achievement, and affiliation with their employees, and managers use feedback to meet these needs. For example, managers who have high needs for control will wield feedback as a weapon of control over employees, whereas managers who are motivated by affiliation will use feedback as an opportunity to deepen their relationships with employees. Not only do managers use feedback as a tool to meet their own needs, they may also use feedback as a punishment or form of abuse against some employees (London, 1995). In describing feedback that is destructive to employees, one author has even called it "toxic feedback" (Besieux, 2017). To the extent that hostile and benevolent sexism affect managers' motives in giving feedback to female employees, women seeking feedback from managers who hold these beliefs may receive much different feedback than men seeking feedback from the same sources.

In order to better understand how feedback affects performance, researchers have explored different types of feedback, finding that some forms of feedback are more likely to drive improved performance (Zhou, 1998). Effective feedback conveys both evaluative and developmental information (Earley et al., 1990; Greller, 1978; Zhou, 1998; 2003). Evaluative feedback, also known as outcome feedback or performance feedback, informs its recipients about the adequacy of their performance (Earley et al., 1990). For example, a manager may let a team of employees know that they are not on pace to meet their sales goals. When describing this aspect of feedback, researchers often refer to its valence, which can be either positive or negative

(Kluger & DeNisi, 1996; Herold & Greller, 1977; Zhou, 1998). Positively valenced evaluative

feedback indicates that an employee's performance meets or exceeds evaluative criteria, and

negatively valenced evaluative feedback indicates that their performance fails to meet the criteria

(Kluger & DeNisi, 1996; Zhou, 1998). Researchers have found that both negatively and

positively valenced evaluative feedback can lead to enhanced performance (Kluger & DeNisi,

1996); the key is that evaluative feedback must be accurate to be of use to feedback seekers

(Ilgen et al., 1979).

Whereas evaluative feedback focuses on employees' past performance, developmental

feedback is focused on the future (Zhou, 2003) and provides employees with knowledge of how

to achieve better results going forward (Earley et al., 1990; Zhou, 2003). Developmental

feedback, sometimes referred to as process feedback (e.g., Earley et al., 1990), is informational

in scope and constructive (Zhou, 1998) and it helps employees learn how to improve their

performance (Li, Harris, Boswell, & Xie, 2011; Zhou, 2003). Researchers have found that

developmental feedback which is informational is most likely to lead to enhanced performance

(Li et al., 2001; Zhou, 1998; 2003).

In the following section, I argue that hostile sexism and benevolent sexism will influence

the kind of feedback that women feedback seekers receive. According to the research I described

above, the quality of the feedback given is often a function of the feedback giver. Other research

on feedback has shown that it may vary in the degree to which it is evaluative and

developmental. Below, I explain how targets who are either hostile or benevolent sexists are

likely to give feedback that is very different with regard to these two dimensions.

Hostile Sexism and Evaluative and Developmental Feedback

As described earlier, people who endorse hostile sexism are likely to take an especially unfavorable view of women who seek feedback. Specifically, they are likely to perceive women as less competent than men. Negative stereotypes often lead to unfavorable appraisals of women's performance even when they perform as well as or better than men who are being simultaneously assessed (Deaux, 1976; Heilman & Haynes, 2005). This indicates that stereotypes may override actual performance in shaping the evaluations employees receive. Both the dominative paternalism and competitive gender differentiation exhibited by hostile sexists strengthen negative stereotypes about women (Glick & Fiske, 2001a), such as the beliefs that women are not cut-out for so-called men's work (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Heilman, 1983; 2001) and are not effective leaders (Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995). Because hostile sexists are more likely to perceive that a woman's performance is substandard, they are also more likely to give a woman evaluative feedback that is negatively valenced. In addition, hostile sexists may not find women feedback seekers to be very likable. Managers often find it difficult to give negative evaluations to employees who they like (Fisher, 1979; Larson, 1984; 1986; Tesser & Rosen, 1975); however, because hostile sexists do not typically have such positive feelings toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996), they are unlikely to feel inhibited about telling women that they have not performed well. For these reasons, hostile sexism will be associated with higher levels of negatively valenced evaluative feedback for women. This effect will occur to some degree regardless of the objective level of women's performance.

In contrast, no such interaction between sex and hostile sexism will exist for men because men do not face similar competency and likability stereotypes based on their sex (Cuddy et al., 2008; Fiske et al., 2002). Research suggests that in the absence of such stereotypes, men are more likely to be evaluated accurately (e.g., Heilman & Hayes, 2005). And, although targets of

men's feedback-seeking attempts may also be reticent to give critical feedback to men (Larson, 1984; Tesser & Rosen, 1975), Larson's (1984) model also implies that people may generally be more willing to give feedback to men. Larson (1984) argued that people are motivated to give feedback when they believe the feedback recipient has the ability to make improvements. To the extent that men's abilities are more favorably perceived than women's (Cuddy et al., 2008; Fiske et al., 2002; Heilman & Hayes, 2005), this suggests that men are also more likely to receive evaluative feedback because feedback givers believe that men are better able to act upon it. Although research in this area is very limited, one study found that men do indeed receive more negative feedback than women (King et al., 2012). Whereas men may receive negative feedback because givers are motivated to help them improve (King et al., 2012; Larson, 1984), women are more likely to receive negatively valenced feedback because they are perceived to be less competent and likable when seeking feedback. This effect is exacerbated when women seek feedback from hostile sexists. Therefore, when women seek feedback from hostile sexists, there will be a stronger relationship between feedback seeking and the receipt of negatively valenced evaluative feedback than when women seek feedback from targets who do not hold hostile sexist beliefs.

Hypothesis 7a: Sex of the feedback seeker and sexist beliefs of the feedback giver will interact to affect the valence of the evaluative feedback given such that when women seek feedback from those who hold hostile sexist beliefs, they will be more likely than men to receive feedback that is negatively valenced.

Hostile sexism is also likely to influence whether or not women receive developmental feedback. Managers who do not believe in the abilities of their employees are less likely to provide feedback (Larson, 1984) and hostile sexists hold unfavorable views of women's abilities

(Glick & Fiske, 1997). Therefore, when women seek feedback from such managers, they are less likely to be rewarded with information they can use to improve their performance. Furthermore, hostile sexism is linked with a desire to control women and keep them in their place (Glick & Fiske, 2001b; 2011). As such, it is likely that when women solicit feedback from hostile sexists, these managers will be motivated by a need to control, rather than a desire to empower women to achieve their goals. In contrast, because hostile sexists want to ensure that men retain their positions of power and superiority over women (Glick & Fiske, 1996), they may provide feedback-seeking men with very helpful and informative feedback in an effort to bolster men's performance and standing in the organization. Thus, when women seek feedback from hostile sexists, they are unlikely to receive developmental feedback, however, this interaction between the target's sexist beliefs and sex of the seeker is unlikely to apply to men who seek feedback.

Hypothesis 7b: Sex of the feedback seeker and sexist beliefs of the feedback giver will interact to affect the feedback given such that when women seek feedback from those who hold hostile beliefs, they will be less likely than men to receive developmental feedback.

Benevolent Sexism and Evaluative and Developmental Feedback

The feedback that women receive from benevolent sexists will differ from the feedback they receive from hostile sexists in both evaluative and developmental content. Benevolent sexism is characterized by a desire to protect women who are viewed as objects to be cherished (Glick & Fiske, 1996). In contrast to hostile sexism, benevolent sexism is associated with a desire for heterosexual intimacy and affiliation with women (Glick & Fiske, 1996), meaning that benevolent sexists may be motivated to provide feedback that strengthens their relationships with female seekers. Feedback givers often try to avoid giving negative feedback, at least in part because they fear that doing so may harm their relationships with employees (Larson, 1984;

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1986). In an effort to shield women from being hurt by negative feedback and to protect their ties with female employees, benevolent sexists will be unlikely to provide women with evaluative feedback that is negatively valenced, even if warranted by her performance. In support of this hypothesis, King and her colleagues (2012) found that women receive less negative feedback than men. Although they did not assess the feedback givers' levels of ambivalent sexism, they suggested that benevolent sexism may be driving the tendency to avoid giving women critical, but accurate feedback. However, because benevolent sexism is not associated with a similar inclination to protect men, it is unlikely to play a role in the kind of evaluative feedback that men receive.

Hypothesis 8a: Sex of the feedback seeker and sexist beliefs of the feedback giver will interact to affect the valence of the evaluative feedback given such that when women seek feedback from those who hold benevolent sexist beliefs, they will be more likely than men to receive feedback that is positively valenced.

There is also good reason to believe that benevolent sexists will provide women with less developmental feedback. It is very difficult to provide developmental feedback without simultaneously pointing out performance failures (Earley et al., 1990). The very act of encouraging someone to do something differently implies that what they are currently doing is inadequate, and benevolent sexists are likely to avoid hurting women's feelings, even indirectly (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Because giving advice or suggestions may be seemingly harmful, benevolent sexists are likely to give praise (i.e., positively valenced evaluative feedback) and nothing more to women who seek feedback. In addition, because people strive to maintain behavior that is self-consistent (Lecky, 1945), they may be motivated to avoid appearing to contradict themselves by telling seekers that they have done a good job while also telling them

what they can do differently. Although negatively valenced evaluative feedback may be difficult to hear, it is a vital component for performance improvement because it pinpoints the areas where change is needed (Ilgen & Davis, 2000) and motivates feedback recipients to seek out new strategies for goal achievement (Earley et al., 1990). Just as hostile sexism is unlikely to moderate the relationship between sex of the seeker and the kind of developmental feedback given, benevolent sexism is unlikely to be a factor for men seeking feedback.

Hypothesis 8b: Sex of the feedback seeker and sexist beliefs of the feedback giver will interact to affect the feedback given such that when women seek feedback from those who hold benevolent sexist beliefs, they will be less likely than men to receive developmental feedback.

In this chapter I explained feedback seeking is likely to negatively impact employees' image of competence while increasing others' perceptions of likability. For women, however, feedback seeking will be associated with an even lower perception of competence and a less favorable perception of likability. These effects will be strengthened when women seek feedback from hostile sexists. Lastly, I argued that sexism is likely to impact the nature of the feedback women receive. Next, in Chapter 3, I describe the methodology I will use to test these hypotheses. In Study 1, I will assess the actual costs associated with seeking feedback and in Study 2, I will test the differences in the types of feedback given to men and women who seek feedback from sexist targets.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methods, the samples, and the measures used to collect data to test the hypotheses presented in Chapter 2. The details for Study 1 are outlined first, followed by information about Study 2.

Study One: Method

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationships between feedback seeking and ratings of the seeker's competence and likability. Using experimental vignette methodology (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014), this study also examined the impact of the sex of the actor, that is the feedback seeker, and the sexist beliefs of the target of the feedback-seeking behavior on these relationships. Study 1 tested Hypotheses 1 through 6.

Sample

Participants for this study were recruited via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). Although MTurk samples have been met with some skepticism, recent research has shown that MTurk samples provide data that is of a quality equal to or better than data that has been collected through more traditional methods (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Casler, Bickel, & Hackett, 2013). For example, participants completing MTurk Human Intelligence Tests (HITS) responded more accurately to attention checks than college students participating in parallel experiments (Hauser & Schwarz, 2016). MTurk also allows researchers to select specific qualification criteria to screen participants in order to obtain a sample that is most appropriate for a given study.

For this study I selected participants whose MTurk qualifications indicated that their primary job function was management. Participants based in the United States appear to expend

more time and effort completing the HITS (Smith, Roster, Golden, & Albaum, 2016); therefore, I required participants to be based in the United States. Finally, I also required participants to have completed at least 100 HITS previously with an approval rating of at least 97%[2]. This is in keeping with the best practices for obtaining data recommended by social scientists who regularly use MTurk in their research (Sheehan & Pittman, 2016).

The number of participants for Study 1 was 101. Among the participants, fifty-eight percent (58%) were female and ninety-percent (90%) identified their race as white. The education level of the participants varied from not completing high school to obtaining a professional degree, with 87% completing at least some college. The participants' average age was 40 years old and ranged from 21 to 74 years of age. On average, participants had 9 years of experience as managers and managed an average number of 13 employees. Lastly, participants came from a variety of industries. Approximately thirty-seven percent (37%) were from construction and manufacturing-related industries, thirty-eight percent (38%) were from sales and finance industries, and the remainder were from social services industries.

Procedure

Following the methodology used by Ashford and Northcraft (1992), participants in the online study were presented with a one-paragraph vignette about an employee. They were instructed to imagine that they were the employee's manager and that the situation detailed in the vignette was taking place where they work. The wording for the vignette was adapted from De Stobbeleir et al. (2010) to reflect the independent variables of interest for this study ─ feedback

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[2] At the beginning of the data collection for this sample I required participants to have completed at least 500 HITS. However, during the data collection I determined that this requirement severely limited my sample size; therefore, in order to obtain the power I needed to test my hypotheses, I lowered the requirement for completed HITS to 100. Twenty-eight (28) participants had completed at least 500 HITS previously. In order to mitigate any effect of this difference, I controlled for MTurk experience in all analyses of this data.

seeking (yes/no) and sex (female/male) of the seeker. The study design was a fully crossed 2 x 2

factorial design. Participants were randomly presented with one of four vignettes:

> *Today is a day like any other. You work for a large Southwestern organization. You have several immediate co-workers, you report to a single superior, and you have a small staff reporting to you. You are sitting comfortably at your desk working on final preparations for your year-end area review when you hear a knock on your office door. You look up to find* **Michelle/Robert***, one of your subordinates, standing in the doorway. You and* **Michelle/Robert** *were involved in an important staff meeting yesterday. The meeting was long and covered a variety of topics. One of the topics of the meeting was a project that* **Michelle/Robert** *is working on.* **Michelle/Robert** *gave a prepared presentation that lasted about 15 minutes, and then* **she/he** *spent about 5 minutes answering questions about the project.* **Michelle/Robert** *asks if you are free for a few minutes.* **FBS:** *After the two of you exchange greetings,* **Michelle/Robert** *asks you to provide feedback on* **her/his** *presentation in the meeting yesterday.* **No FBS:** *After the two of you exchange greetings,* **Michelle/Robert** *asks for your signature on several purchase orders which you approved verbally earlier today.*

After rating the employee on competence and likability, participants completed a series

of short problem-solving tasks. For the final part of the study, participants completed the

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). By creating separation between the collection of data on

the dependent variables and the independent variable, I attempted to limit the effects of common

method bias and demand effects (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003).

In order to ensure that the manipulations in the vignette were effective, I pre-tested the

vignettes with 49 students who were enrolled in undergraduate and graduate business courses in

the Heider College of Business at Creighton University. All 49 participants in the pre-test

correctly identified both the sex of the employee in the narrative and the reason that the

employee stopped by the participant's office. I also included a realism check (Fedor et al., 1989)

to assess the extent to which participants believed this was a realistic situation. Forty-five

participants, or approximately ninety-two percent, responded that they could very easily or

somewhat easily imagine this scenario occurring at their place of work. The results of this pre-

test support the use of this vignette to test my hypotheses about people's responses to feedback seeking.

Manipulation checks. I utilized two questions to determine if the participants' understanding of the circumstances presented in the vignette reflected the intended manipulations. First, I asked participants to recall why Michelle/Robert stopped by the manager's office (e.g., "Why did your employee stop by the office today?"). Out of 101 participants across the four conditions, 89 (or 88%) correctly identified that the employee came to them for feedback on the presentation from the day before or to have a purchase order signed. Second, I asked participants to recall the sex of the employee illustrated in the vignette. Only 1 participant incorrectly identified the employee's sex, indicating that the employee was female after having read a vignette about Robert. Following Fedor and colleagues (1989), I also assessed the realism of the vignette by asking participants to rate the ease with which they could imagine each scenario occurring in their place of work. Responding to a five-point Likert scale, 98 percent (98%) of the participants indicated that they could either very easily (84%) or somewhat easily (14%) picture the vignette taking place at work and 2 percent (2%) found the vignette to be neither easy nor difficult to imagine. Additional demographic details about the participants are presented in the correlation matrix in Table 1.

Measures

Perceived Competence. Competence was measured using 4 items adapted from Turnley and Bolino's (2001) measure of perceptions of competence. Participants were asked to rate the employee presented in the vignette on four adjectives related to competence: competent, intelligent, talented, and accomplished. A Likert-style scale was used with values ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). Sample items include "Michelle is a competent

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Scale Reliabilities for Study 1

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Age	39.46	10.99												
2 Sex	0.57	0.50	.10											
3 Race	1.30	1.04	-.06	-.04										
4 Education level	3.97	1.32	-.07	.18	.05									
5 Industry	1.89	0.79	.01	.19	.10	-.21*								
6 Management experience[a]	9.24	7.25	.72**	.09	.01	-.05	-.02							
7 Number of employees	13.16	17.52	-.14	-.03	.03	.03	.16	-.01						
8 MTurk experience	0.73	0.45	-.08	.09	-.12	.07	.08	-.16	.11					
9 Competence	3.97	0.54	-.02	.17	.05	.16	.04	-.04	-.04	-.14	*.83*			
10 Likability	3.88	0.55	.31	.18	.06	.05	.07	-.03	-.12	-.21	.70**	*.88*		
11 Benevolent sexism	2.76	0.79	.04	-.01	.08	.14	.00	-.01	-.04	.00	-.06	.10	*.88*	
12 Hostile sexism	2.69	0.84	.00	-.19*	-.05	.19	-.07	.13	-.01	.10	-.13	-.14	.32**	*.88*

Note: $N = 101$. Cronbach's *alpha appears along the diagonal in italics.* Sex is coded Male = 0, Female = 1. Race is coded 1 = White, 2 = Black or African American, 3 = American Indian or Alaska Native, 4 = Asian, 5 = Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, 6 = other. Education level is coded 7 = Doctorate, 6 = Professional degree, 5 = 4 year degree, 4 = 2 year degree, 3 = some college, 2 = High school graduate, 1 = Less than high school. Industry is coded 1 = Construction and Manufacturing-Related Industries, 2 = Sales and Finance Industries, 3 = Social Services Industries. MTurk experience is coded HITS completed > 100 = 0 and HITS completed > 500 = 1. [a]Management experience given in years. * p <.05, ** p<.01

person," and "Robert is an intelligent person." All items for this scale are presented in Appendix A. Cronbach's alpha (α) was .83 for this measure.

Perceived Likability. Likability was assessed using 4 items adapted from Turnley and Bolino's (2001) measure of perceived likability. Participants were asked to rate the employee presented in the vignette on four adjectives related to likability: likable, cooperative, nice, and pleasant. A Likert-style scale was used with values ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). Sample items include "Michelle is a likeable person," and "Robert is a cooperative person." The full version of this scale is provided in Appendix A. The value of Cronbach's alpha (α) was .88 for this measure.

Sexist beliefs. Hostile sexism and benevolent sexism were measured using Glick and Fiske's (1996) 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) which is shown in Appendix B. The ASI is comprised of two subscales which can be used to measure both hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Participants were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the items using a Likert-style scale with values ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 5 (agree strongly). Sample items for hostile sexism include, "Women are too easily offended," and "Women exaggerate the problems they have at work." Sample items measuring benevolent sexism are, "Women should be cherished and protected by men," and "In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men" (reverse scored). Cronbach's alpha (α) was .88 for the benevolent sexism and .88 for hostile sexism. All items for these scales are presented in Appendix B. Because people may hold both hostile and benevolent sexists beliefs at the same time (Glick & Fiske, 1996), I controlled for benevolent sexism when testing my hypotheses about hostile sexism in order to isolate the effect of hostile sexism. This is consistent with prior research utilizing these measures (e.g., Hideg & Ferris, 2016; King et al., 2012).

Control variables. Control variables for this study included the sex and industry of the participant. Although researchers commonly use the ASI to assess sexist beliefs of both men and women, the first control variable (i.e., sex of the participant) ensured that my analyses reflected the effect of sexist beliefs and not sex differences between participants. I also controlled for the participants' industry because some occupations are more typically associated with feminine or masculine traits (Glick, Wilk, & Perreault, 1995), and these occupational stereotypes may influence participants' impressions of both male and female feedback seekers. Finally, I also controlled for the participant's experience using MTurk by grouping participants according to the number of HITS (i.e., more than 100 or more than 500) a participant had completed prior to responding to this survey in order to mitigate any differences related to their experience using MTurk.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Prior to testing my hypotheses, I conducted confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) with maximum likelihood estimation to assess the construct validity of the competence, likability, ambivalent sexism scales. I specified a four-factor model to reflect the two ratings (i.e., competence and likability) as well as the two forms of sexism (i.e., hostile and benevolent). Because it has been suggested that it may be challenging to confirm the factor structure of longer scales (Floyd & Widaman, 1995), I created three random parcels to be used as indicators for each of the two sexism subscales. The fit indices indicated that the data fit this model reasonably well, $\chi^2 = 106.369$, $df = 71$, p = .042; comparative fit index (CFI) = .958; Tucker-Lewis fit index (TLI) = .946; root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .070, and standardized root-mean residual (SRMR) = .064.[3]

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[3] Because the use of item parcels can be controversial (e.g., Marsh, Lüdtke, Nagengast, Morin, & Von Davier, 2013), I also evaluated my measures using items instead of parcels. The fit indices for this four-factor model were:

After conducting this analysis, I also evaluated the discriminant validity of the four-factor model by comparing its fit with the fit of alternative models. The fit indices for a one-factor model were as follows: $\chi^2 = 1346.763$, $df = 377$, p = .000; CFI = .343; TLI = .292; RMSEA = .160, and SRMR = .175. In addition, a two-factor model in which all indicators for competence and likability ratings were loaded on one factor and all indicators for the two sexism subscales were loaded on one factor had these fit indices: $\chi^2 = 944.703$, $df = 376$, p = .000; CFI = .581; TLI = .547; RMSEA = .128, and SRMR = .136. The fit indices of these two models indicate that the four-factor model provides a significantly better fit, demonstrating that all four constructs are distinct factors.

Study 2: Method

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationships between sexist beliefs and the valence and style of feedback given as moderated by sex of the feedback seeker. Like Study 1, this study also employed a scenario methodology in its investigation of the impact of hostile and benevolent sexism on the valence and style of feedback given to female feedback seekers relative to male feedback seekers. Study 2 tested Hypotheses 7a-b and 8a-b.

Participants

Participants for this study were recruited from MTurk using the same qualification criteria used in Study 1, however, all participants for this study had previously completed at least 500 HITS. In order to obtain unique samples for each study, participants who completed Study 1 were be prohibited from participating in Study 2.

$\chi^2 = 730.391$, $df = 399$, p = .000; comparative fit index (CFI) = .787; Tucker-Lewis fit index = .768; root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .091, and standardized root-mean residual (SRMR) .092. For this model all but one of the items loaded significantly onto their specified factors. The results of my analyses were unchanged when I excluded this item which measured hostile sexism.

In Study 2 there were 101 participants. The sex of the participants was close to an even split with fifty-one females and fifty males. Eighty-six percent (86%) of the participants identified their race as white. For this sample, just over ninety-one percent (91%) had completed at least some college. The average age of the participants was 41 years with the youngest participant at 21 years of age and the eldest at 64 years of age. The average amount of management experience was 10 years and the average number of employees managed was 16. Slightly more than half of the participants worked in sales and finances industries (55%) and approximately eighteen percent (18%) worked in construction and manufacturing-related industries, while the remaining twenty-seven percent (27%) worked in social services industries. Table 2 provides descriptive statistics for this sample, including the variable means, standard deviations, and alphas where applicable.

Procedure

Again following the methodology used by Ashford and Northcraft (1992), participants in the online study were presented with a one-paragraph vignette about an employee. They were instructed to imagine that they were the employee's manager and that the situation detailed in the vignette was taking place where they work. The sex of the employee was manipulated so that participants were randomly presented with one of two vignettes:

> *Today is a day like any other. You work for a large Southwestern organization. You have several immediate co-workers, you report to a single superior, and you have a small staff reporting to you. You are sitting comfortably at your desk working on final preparations for your year-end area review when you hear a knock on your office door. You look up to find* **Michelle/Robert**, *one of your subordinates, standing in the doorway. You and* **Michelle/Robert** *were involved in an important staff meeting yesterday. The meeting was long and covered a variety of topics. One of the topics of the meeting was a project that* **Michelle/Robert** *is working on.* **Michelle/Robert** *gave a prepared presentation that lasted about 15 minutes, and then* **she/he** *spent about 5 minutes answering questions about the project. During the meeting Michelle/Robert outlined the details of the proposal in a clear and logical manner, but* **he/she** *was unable to answer an important question during the question and answer session.* **Michelle/Robert** *asks if you are free for*

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Scale Reliabilities for Study 2

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 Age	40.81	10.38													
2 Sex	0.50	0.50	-.07												
3 Race	1.32	0.99	.08	-.20*											
4 Education level	4.48	1.30	.06	-.22*	.10										
5 Industry	2.08	0.66	.03	.13	-.04	.15									
6 Management experience[a]	10.27	8.6	.68**	-.18	.02	.20*	-.13								
7 Number of employees	15.94	38.20	.20	-.15	.06	.06	-.20*	.29**							
8 Evaluative feedback[b]	0.14	0.35	-.03	-.06	-.10	-.15	-.05	-.19	-.08						
9 Developmental feedback[b]	0.36	0.48	.03	-.05	-.09	-.10	-.01	-.01	.08	-.06					
10 Evaluative feedback[c]	0.05	0.22	-.07	.23*	-.07	.02	-.10	-.08	-.01	.17	-.08				
11 Developmental feedback[c]	0.18	0.39	.12	.10	.01	-.07	-.02	.10	.02	-.11	-.35**	.01			
12 Hostile sexism	2.52	0.79	-.03	-.02	.22*	-.05	-.17	-.15	.20*	.06	-.02	.00	-.03	*.94*	
13 Benevolent sexism	2.92	0.84	-.05	-.07	.20*	.02	-.08	-.13	.15	-.03	.07	-.02	-.13	.34**	*.85*

Note: *N* = 101. Cronbach's *alpha appears along the diagonal in italics.* Sex is coded Male = 0, Female = 1. Race is coded 1 = White, 2 = Black or African American, 3 = American Indian or Alaska Native, 4 = Asian, 5 = Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, 6 = other. Education level is coded 7 = Doctorate, 6 = Professional degree, 5 = 4 year degree, 4 = 2 year degree, 3 = some college, 2 = High school graduate, 1 = Less than high school. Industry is coded 1 = Construction and Manufacturing-Related Industries, 2 = Sales and Finance Industries, 3 = Social Services Industries. * p <.05, ** p<.01. [a]Management experience given in years [b]Feedback given through open-ended comments. Evaluative feedback is coded 0 = positively valenced feedback and 1 = negatively valanced feedback. Developmental feedback is coded no developmental feedback given = 0, developmental feedback given = 1. [c]Feedback assessed selection via prewritten response options. Evaluative feedback is coded 0 = positively valenced feedback and 1 = negatively valanced feedback. Developmental feedback is coded no developmental feedback given = 0, developmental feedback given = 1.

*a few minutes. After the two of you exchange greetings, **Michelle/Robert** asks you to provide feedback on **her/his** presentation in the meeting yesterday.*

Following the vignette, participants were presented with an open response box and instructed to provide feedback to Michelle or Robert. After inputting their own feedback, they were thanked for providing their feedback and then shown four possible feedback options. From the four options, they were asked to select the feedback that most closely matched the feedback they would likely give Michelle or Robert. The four options were written to offer either positively or negatively valenced feedback. Half of the options also included a form of developmental feedback

The response options they were given were as follows:

1. You did very well. You delivered the proposal in a clear and logical manner. (positive valence/no developmental feedback)

2. You did very well. For future presentations you should be better prepared for the question and answer session. (positive valence/developmental feedback)

3. You did not do very well. You were unable to answer an important question during the question and answer session. (negative valence/no developmental feedback)

4. You did not do very well. For future presentations you should be better prepared for the question and answer session. (negative valence/developmental feedback)

After selecting their feedback response, participants completed a problem-solving task intended to provide temporal and psychological distance between the vignette and the participants' self-assessments, thereby reducing demand effects (Podsakoff et al., 2003). For the final part of the study, participants completed the ASI, rating their beliefs about women and men.

As in study 1, the vignettes were pre-tested with undergraduate business students and graduate students at Creighton University. Results of the pre-test indicated that the manipulation

of the feedback seeker's sex was effective. The results also demonstrated that the vignette was sufficiently realistic, with 45 of 49 participants responding that it was either "very easy" or "somewhat easy" to imagine this scenario happening at their place of work. No participants reported any difficulty imagining this occurring at work as the remaining four answered that it was "neither easy nor difficult" to imagine. Finally, the pre-test also allowed me to gain feedback about the possible feedback response options presented to participants. Participants in the pre-test were asked to rate how closely the responses matched feedback they or their managers would give in their organizations. A majority of participants indicated that the response options were similar to feedback that managers would be likely to give to employees.

Manipulation checks. In order to assess the efficacy of the manipulation in the vignettes, I asked participants to indicate the gender of the employee. Out of the 118 participants in this study, only one participant incorrectly identified the gender of the employee in the vignette. This shows that participants were aware of the sex of the employee with whom they interacted in the vignette. Following Fedor et al. (1989), I also assessed the realism of the vignette by asking participants to rate the ease with which they could imagine each scenario occurring in their place of work. Over ninety-six percent (96%) of the participants indicated that it was easy to imagine this scenario and only 1 participant indicated that it was somewhat difficult to imagine. By verifying the realism of the scenario, I built a stronger case for the generalizability of the results of Study 2.

Measures

Sexist beliefs. Hostile sexism and benevolent sexism were again assessed using Glick and Fiske's (1996) 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). In line with past research on ambivalent sexism (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1996; Hideg and Ferris, 2016), I controlled for hostile

sexism when testing my hypotheses about benevolent sexism and vice versa. Similar to Study 1, benevolent sexism and hostile sexism were moderately correlated ($r = .34$, p <.01), demonstrating the need to control for one while testing the other. Cronbach's alpha for hostile sexism was 0.94 and for benevolent sexism it was 0.85.

Feedback valence. The valence of the feedback was assessed in two ways. First, participants were given the opportunity to provide feedback to Michelle/Robert in their own words. This feedback was coded independently by me and another coder who was unaware of the purpose of the research. First, we determined whether the feedback contained any information about the employee's performance in the presentation. If the feedback giver provided information about how the employee did in the presentation, we also assessed whether the feedback was positive or negative. In two cases the feedback giver did not explicitly state how well or poorly the employee had done; however, the comments indicated that they felt the employee had done poorly. Thus, these two comments were coded as negatively valenced feedback. After independently coding each feedback response, we compared our coding and discussed the discrepant items until we reached a consensus.

The valence of the feedback a manager would give Michelle/Robert was also measured using the four response options presented above. The possible feedback options were adapted from De Stobbeleir et al. (2010) and Zhou (1998) to reflect the dependent variables of interest for this study — evaluative valence and developmental content of the feedback given. The first and second response options that indicated she or he "did very well" corresponded with positively valenced feedback. The third and fourth options which stated she or he "did not do very well" were considered negatively valenced feedback.

Developmental feedback. The extent to which participants provided Michelle/Robert developmental feedback was also measured in two ways. As with feedback valence, participants' open-ended responses were coded independently by me and a coder who was blind to the research hypotheses. We then compared our coding results and discussed any unclear items until an agreement about the nature of the feedback was reached. In this instance, we looked for feedback that contained information or guidance for Michelle or Robert to improve their performance in future presentations. Thus, the qualitative data was coded as either does contain developmental feedback or does not contain developmental feedback.

This dimension of the feedback an employee would receive was also assessed using the four response options offered to participants. These options are drawn from work by De Stobbeleir et al. (2010) and Zhou (1998). Developmental feedback was present in responses which said, "For future presentations you should be better prepared for the question and answer session." Responses that did not include this sentence were assessed as not containing developmental feedback.

Control variables. Control variables for this study will be the same as Study 1 ─ sex of the participant and the industry in which the participants works.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Before I tested my hypotheses, I conducted CFA with maximum likelihood estimation to assess validity of the Ambivalent Sexism scales. I specified a two-factor model to reflect the two constructs of interest — hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. As in Study 1, I created random item parcels to overcome the difficulty of confirming the factor structure of lengthy scales (Floyd & Widaman, 1995). The fit indices indicated that the data fit the model very well, $\chi^2 = 7.07$, $df = 8$, p = .530; CFI = 1.00; TLI = 1.00; RMSEA = .693, and SRMR = .002.

Although the fit indices of this two-factor model indicated good fit, I also assessed the discriminant validity of the two-factor model by comparing its fit with the fit of an alternative one-factor model. The fit indices for this model were: $\chi^2 = 681.836$, $df = 209$, p = .000; CFI = .647; TLI = .610; RMSEA = .000, and SRMR = .151. These results demonstrate that benevolent sexism and hostile sexism are distinct constructs.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the data analysis. The results for Study 1 are followed by results for Study 2.

Hypotheses Testing

Study 1: Hypotheses 1-6

I used hierarchical regression to test Hypotheses 1 through 6. Because of the categorical nature of both the independent variable, feedback seeking, and the moderator, feedback seeker's sex, as well as several of the control variables, I created dummy codes in order to utilize regression analyses. Feedback seeking was coded (0 = no feedback-seeking condition and 1 = feedback-seeking condition). Sex of the feedback seeker was coded (Male = 0, Female = 1).

A correlation matrix which includes the means, standard deviations, and alphas for all of the variables is show in Table 1. Consistent with prior investigations of ambivalent sexism (e.g. Glick & Fisk, 1996), hostile sexism and benevolent sexism were positively correlated ($r = .32$, p<.01). This supports the use of benevolent sexism as a control variable when investigating the effects of hostile sexism.

Competence as an Outcome

Table 3 shows the results of the hierarchical regression analysis for perceived competence that were used to test Hypotheses 1, 3, and 5, while Table 4 shows the results for perceived likability that were used to test Hypotheses 2, 4, and 6. Each table reports the unstandardized coefficients (b), standard errors (SE), standardized beta coefficients (β), and the t values associated with each step. Because of the directional nature of these hypotheses a one-tailed test was used to test for significance. Hypothesis 1 predicted that seeking feedback would

be negatively associated with ratings of competence. As shown in Table 3 participant sex, the dummy codes for the participants' industries, and MTurk experience, were entered as control variables in Step 1, followed by the independent variable, feedback seeking, in Step 2. The results of this analysis indicate that feedback seeking is not significantly associated with ratings of competence, thus, Hypothesis 1 is not supported.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the negative relationship between feedback seeking and perceptions of competence proposed in the first hypothesis would be stronger for men than women. In Step 3, sex of the feedback seeker was added as a moderating variable and the interaction between the feedback seeker's sex and feedback seeking was marginally significant (β = -.33, p = .06), providing some preliminary support for Hypothesis 3. In order to better understand the nature of the interaction, I graphed the interaction using an online resource created by Dr. Jeremy Dawson (Dawson, n.d.). The interaction is depicted in Figure 1, and it suggests that feedback seeking is negatively associated with competence for women and positively associated with perceptions of men's competence, which is consistent with Hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 5 proposed that targets' hostile sexism would exacerbate the negative relationship between feedback seeking and competence, but only for women. The fourth and final step of this regression analysis is shown in Step 4 on Table 3, and it is not significant. As such, the results do not support Hypothesis 5.

Likability as an Outcome

Hypothesis 2 proposed that seeking feedback would have a positive impact on perceptions of likability. Table 3 displays the results of the regression analyses for this dependent variable, beginning with the input of the control variables in Step 1. Similar to tests for competence, I used a one-tailed test to determine significance. As shown in Step 2, this

Table 3

Results of Moderated Regression Analyses on Ratings of Feedback Seekers' Competence

Variable	B	Step 1			b	Step 2		
		SE	β	t		SE	β	t
Step 1: Control variables								
Target sex	.16	.11	.15	1.43*	.17	.11	.15	1.47*
Target industry, Sales and Finance	-.16	.12	-.15	-1.32*	-.17	.12	-.15	-1.37*
Target industry, Social Services	.06	.14	.05	.42	.04	.14	.03	.28
MTurk experience	-.20	.12	-.17	-1.67**	-.19	.12	-.16	-1.63*
Step 2: Main effect (H1)								
Feedback seeking (FBS)					-.05	.11	-.05	-.49
Step 3: Interaction effect (H2)								
Feedback seeker's sex								
FBS X Feedback seekers' sex								
Step 4: Three-way interaction effect (H3)								
Benevolent sexism								
Hostile sexism								
FBS X hostile sexism								
Feedback seekers' sex X hostile sexism								
FBS X Feedback seekers' sex X hostile sexism								
F		2.133				1.741		
R^2		.08				.08		
ΔR^2						.00		

Note: $N = 101$. Sex is coded Male = 0, Female = 1. The reference category for the dummy coded industry variables was Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. *p <.10 **p < .05. ***p < .01, one-tailed tests.

Table 3

Results of Moderated Regression Analyses on Ratings of Feedback Seekers' Competence

Variable	Step 3				Step 4			
	b	*SE*	β	*t*	*b*	*SE*	β	*t*
Step 1: Control variables								
Target sex	.17	.11	.16	1.54*	.23	.12	.22	2.01**
Target industry, Sales and Finance	-.18	.12	-.17	-1.48*	-.14	.13	-.13	-1.12
Target industry, Social Services	.03	.14	.03	.19	-.07	.15	-.06	-.50
MTurk experience	-.19	.12	-.16	-1.58*	-.14	.12	-.12	-1.19
Step 2: Main effect (H1)								
Feedback seeking (FBS)	.10	.15	.10	.67	.57	.49	.53	1.17
Step 3: Interaction effect (H2)								
Feedback seeker's sex	.12	.14	.11	.82	1.30	.50	1.22	2.59***
FBS X Feedback seekers' sex	-.25	.21	-.25	-1.55*	-1.31	.80	-1.01	-1.63*
Step 4: Three-way interaction effect (H3)								
Benevolent sexism					.00	.07	.00	-.03
Hostile sexism					.20	.13	.32	1.52*
FBS X hostile sexism					-.18	.17	-.52	-1.06
Feedback seekers' sex X hostile sexism					-.46	.19	-1.24	-2.46**
FBS X Feedback seekers' sex X hostile sexism					.38	.29	.85	1.34*
F	1.610				1.506			
R^2	.11				.17			
ΔR^2	.03				.06			

Note: $N = 101$. Sex is coded Male = 0, Female = 1. The reference category for the dummy coded industry variables was Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. *p <.10 **p < .05. ***p < .01, one-tailed tests.

Figure 1. Moderating effect of feedback seekers' sex on the relationship between feedback seeking and ratings of competence.

Table 4

Results of Moderated Regression Analyses on Ratings of Feedback Seekers' Likability

Variable	Step 1				Step 2			
	B	*SE*	β	*t*	*b*	*SE*	β	*t*
Step 1: Control variables								
Target sex	.21	.11	.18	1.82**	.21	.11	.19	1.87**
Target industry, Sales and Finance	-.06	.12	-.06	-.50	-.08	.13	-.07	-.62
Target industry, Social Services	.09	.14	.07	.62	.06	.15	.05	.40
MTurk experience	-.29	.12	-.24	-2.41***	-.28	.12	-.23	-2.36***
Step 2: Main effect (H1)								
Feedback seeking (FBS)					-.08	.11	-.08	-.77
Step 3: Interaction effect (H2)								
Feedback seeker's sex								
FBS X Feedback seekers' sex								
Step 4: Three-way interaction effect (H3)								
Benevolent sexism								
Hostile sexism								
FBS X hostile sexism								
Feedback seekers' sex X hostile sexism								
FBS X Feedback seekers' sex X hostile sexism								
F		2.628				2.207		
R^2		.10				.10		
ΔR^2						.00		

Note: $N = 101$. Sex is coded Male = 0, Female = 1. The reference category for the dummy coded industry variables was Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. *$p < .10$. **$p < .05$. ***$p < .01$, one-tailed tests.
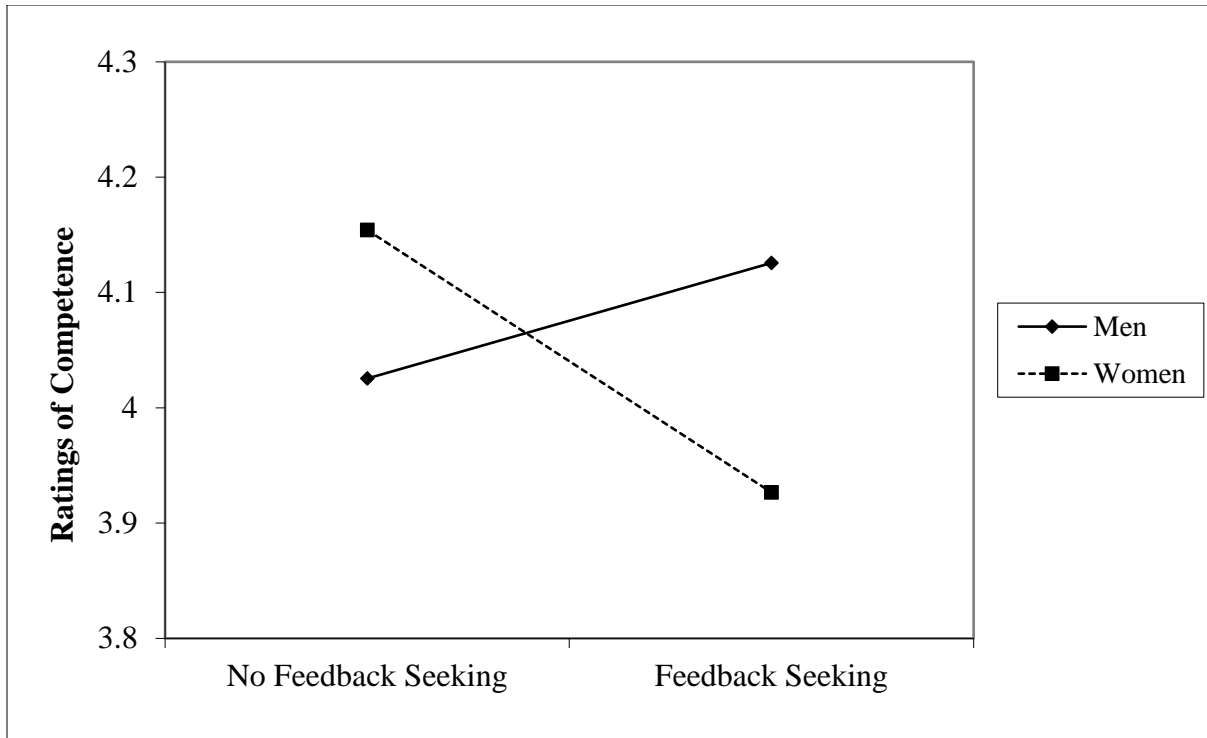
Table 4

Results of Moderated Regression Analyses on Ratings of Feedback Seekers' Likability

Variable	b	Step 3 SE	β	t	B	Step 4 SE	β	t
Step 1: Control variables								
Target sex	.22	.11	.20	2.00**	.22	.12	.20	1.85**
Target industry, Sales and Finance	-.09	.13	-.08	-.75	-.08	.13	-.07	-.63
Target industry, Social Services	.04	.15	.03	.25	-.01	.15	.01	.07
MTurk experience	-.27	.12	-.22	-2.30**	-.23	.12	-.19	-1.88**
Step 2: Main effect (H1)								
Feedback seeking (FBS)	.09	.15	.08	.60	.28	.50	.26	.57
Step 3: Interaction effect (H2)								
Feedback seeker's sex	.07	.15	.07	.52	.45	.51	.41	.87
FBS X Feedback seekers' sex	-.38	.21	-.28	-1.78**	-.08	.82	-.06	-.09
Step 4: Three-way interaction effect (H3)								
Benevolent sexism					.12	.07	.17	1.62*
Hostile sexism					.03	.14	.05	.24
FBS X hostile sexism					-.07	.18	-.19	-.41
Feedback seekers' sex X hostile sexism					-.15	.19	-.39	-.77
FBS X Feedback seekers' sex X hostile sexism					-.10	.29	-.22	-.35
F		2.192				1.718		
R^2		.14				.19		
ΔR^2		.04				.05		

Note: $N = 101$. Sex is coded Male = 0, Female = 1. The reference category for the dummy coded industry variables was Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. *$p < .10$. **$p < .05$. ***$p < .01$, one-tailed tests.
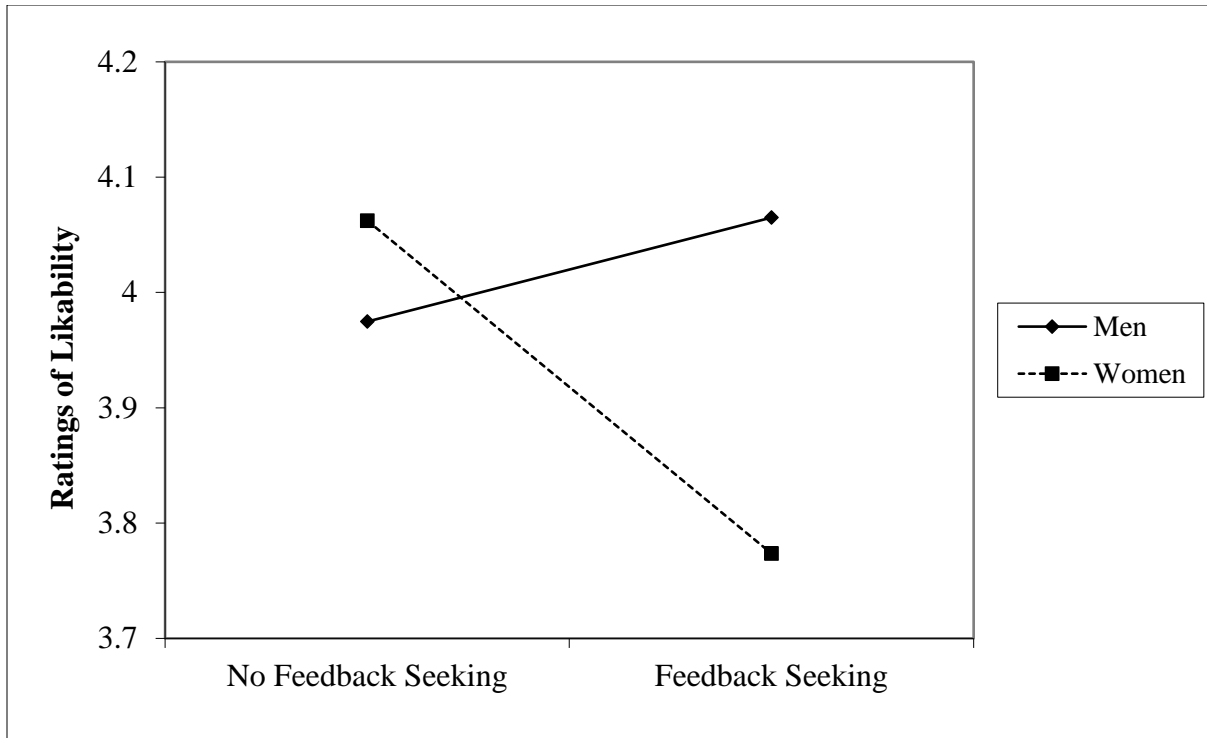
Figure 2. Moderating effect of feedback seekers' sex on the relationship between feedback seeking and ratings of likability.

relationship was not significant; therefore, Hypothesis 2 was not supported. Whereas the main effect between feedback seeking and likability was not significant, as shown in Step 3, there was a significant moderating effect between feedback seeking and sex of the feedback seeker on ratings of likability ($\beta = -.38$, $p < .05$). The interaction is plotted in Figure 3. As shown, the relationship supports Hypothesis 4, which proposed that the positive relationship between feedback seeking and likability would be stronger for men; however, this disordinal interaction also indicates that the relationship is negative for women. Lastly, Hypothesis 6 predicted that when women seek feedback from hostile sexists, they would receive the lowest ratings of likability. Step 4 of the hierarchical regression analysis for likability shows the results of this three-way interaction; the coefficient was not significant, and therefore Hypothesis 6 was not supported.

Study 2: Hypotheses 7-8

For Study 2 I tested Hypotheses 7a, 7b, 8a, and 8b using binary logistic regression. One of the assumptions of logistic regression is that all continuous independent variables have linearity to the logit of the dependent variable (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2014). Before completing the regression analyses I used the Box-Tidwell (Box & Tidwell, 1962) procedure to test the linearity of my continuous independent variables (i.e., hostile and benevolent sexism) with the logit of the dependent variables (i.e., feedback valence and presence of developmental feedback). The results of these assessments indicate that this assumption has been met for both dependent variables. The dependent variables in this study, feedback valence and the presence of developmental feedback, were analyzed in two ways. First, I conducted a qualitative analysis of the free response data, coding the feedback givers' comments along two dimensions —valence and presence of developmental feedback. The first dependent variable, valence, was coded 0 for

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positive feedback and 1 for negative feedback. The second dependent variable was coded 0 when

the participant failed to give the employee developmental feedback and 1 when their comments

include developmental feedback. Second, I also analyzed these hypotheses using the response

options selected by the participants, which were coded using the same coding scheme. Sex of the

feedback seeker and sex of the participant were coded as follows: Male=0, Female=1. As a

categorical variable, target industry was dummy coded to be used as a control variable in the

regression analyses.

Feedback Valence as an Outcome

The results of the binary logistic regression analyses used to test Hypotheses 7a are

presented in Table 5 and Table 6. This hypothesis predicted that the sex of the feedback seeker

and the sexist beliefs of the feedback target would interact such that women would be more

likely to receive negative feedback from hostile sexists than men would. This hypothesis was

tested twice — first using the comments provided by participants and second using the response

options selected by participants. The logistic regression model testing the qualitative comments

was not statistically significant: $\chi^2(7) = 2.08$, $p = .96$. Likewise, the model testing the pre-written

responses was not significant: $\chi^2(7) = 11.06$, $p = .14$. Thus, this hypothesis was not supported.

Hypotheses 8a proposed that benevolent sexism would interact with sex of the feedback

seeker to affect the valence of the feedback given. The results of the logistic regression analyses

used to test this hypothesis are shown in Table 7 and Table 8. As with the previous analysis, this

hypothesis was tested using both measures of the dependent variable. An analysis of the

participants' comments indicated that the model was not significant with $\chi^2(7) = 2.84$, $p = .90$.

The results of the second measure of feedback valence was also non-significant: $\chi^2(7) = 11.97$, p

= .10, leaving Hypothesis 8a unsupported.

Table 5

Logistic Regression Predicting Likelihood of Receiving Negatively Valenced Feedback[a]

Variable	B	SE	Wald	df	p	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Target sex	.38	.61	.39	1	.54	1.46	.44	4.77
Target industry, Sales and Finance	-.04	.79	.00	1	.96	.96	.21	4.51
Target industry, Social Services	-.37	.93	.16	1	.69	.69	.11	4.25
Benevolent sexism	-.24	.41	.35	1	.55	.79	.35	1.75
Feedback seeker sex	-.83	1.81	.21	1	.65	.44	.01	15.14
Hostile sexism	.15	.38	.16	1	.69	1.16	.55	2.44
Feedback seeker sex X hostile sexism	.12	.66	.03	1	.86	1.12	.31	4.09
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2	.04							

Note: Target sex and feedback seeker sex are for females compared to males. Reference category for target industry is Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. [a]Measured by qualitative comments.

Table 6

Logistic Regression Predicting Likelihood of Receiving Negatively Valenced Feedback[a]

Variable	B	SE	Wald	df	p	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Target sex	-19.07	5377.91	0.00	1	1.00	0.	0.00	.
Target industry, Sales and Finance	-.61	1.31	0.21	1	0.67	2.40	0.41	7.24
Target industry, Social Services	-18.86	6999.44	0.00	1	1.00	0.00	0.00	.
Benevolent sexism	-.03	.70	0.00	1	0.96	0.88	0.24	3.84
Feedback seeker sex	-.43	2.99	0.02	1	0.89	0.80	0.00	230.27
Hostile sexism	-.18	.81	0.05	1	0.82	0.97	0.17	4.03
Feedback seeker sex X hostile sexism	.36	1.11	0.11	1	0.75	1.27	0.16	12.69
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2	.32							

Note: Target sex and feedback seeker sex are for females compared to males. Reference category for target industry is Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. [a]Measured by response options.

Table 7

Logistic Regression Predicting Likelihood of Receiving Negatively Valenced Feedback[a]

Variable	B	SE	Wald	df	p	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Target sex	.34	.60	.30	1	.58	1.40	.42	4.66
Target industry, Sales and Finance	.00	.78	.00	1	1.00	1.00	.22	4.65
Target industry, Social Services	-.34	.92	.13	1	.72	.71	.12	4.36
Hostile sexism	.15	.32	.23	1	.63	1.17	.62	2.19
Feedback seeker sex	-2.79	2.70	1.06	1	.30	.06	.00	12.24
Benevolent sexism	-.46	.48	.90	1	.34	.63	.25	1.63
Feedback seeker sex X benevolent sexism	.77	.88	.76	1	.39	2.16	.38	12.18
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2	.05							

Note: Target sex and feedback seeker sex are for females compared to males. Reference category for target industry is Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. [a]Measured by qualitative comments.

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Table 8

Logistic Regression Predicting Likelihood of Receiving Negatively Valenced Feedback[a]

Variable	B	SE	Wald	df	p	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Target sex	-19.26	5275.60	.00	1	1.00	.00	.00	.
Target industry, Sales and Finance	-.81	1.35	.36	1	.55	.44	.03	6.32
Target industry, Social Services	-18.92	6946.71	.00	1	1.00	.00	.00	.
Hostile sexism	-.06	.60	.01	1	.91	.94	.31	2.87
Feedback seeker sex	-3.40	4.11	.68	1	.41	.03	.00	105.67
Benevolent sexism	-.66	.94	.49	1	.48	.52	.08	3.26
Feedback seeker sex X benevolent sexism	1.35	1.39	.95	1	.33	3.85	.25	58.40
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2	.34							

Note: Target sex and feedback seeker sex are for females compared to males. Reference category for target industry is Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. [a]Measured by response options.

Developmental Feedback as an Outcome

Hypothesis 7b proposed that sex of the feedback seeker and hostile sexism of the feedback target would interact to decrease the likelihood that women would receive developmental feedback. This hypothesis was also tested using both the participants own words and the response options provided to them. The results of this model, shown in Tables 9 and 10, were not statistically significant for either measure of the dependent variable. Results using the participants' comments were $\chi^2 = 1.93$, $p = .97$, and the results from the response options were $\chi^2 = 2.95$, $p = .89$; therefore, this hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 8b predicted that benevolent sexists would also be less likely to give women developmental feedback than they would be to give it to men. The outcomes for these analyses are provided in Table 11 and Table 12. For participants' comments, the model statistics are $\chi^2 (7) = 2.46$, $p = .93$, and for the response options, the model statistics are $\chi^2 (7) = 3.48$, $p = .84$. Thus, Hypothesis 8b was not supported.

Although several of the hypotheses were not supported, the results of these studies point to some valuable lessons about feedback seeking. In the following chapter I will discuss the results as well as directions for future research.

Table 9

Logistic Regression Predicting Likelihood of Receiving Developmental Feedback[a]

Variable	B	SE	Wald	df	p	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Target sex	.16	.43	.13	1	.72	1.17	.50	2.72
Target industry, Sales and Finance	-.16	.59	.07	1	.79	.86	.27	2.72
Target industry, Social Services	.02	.66	.00	1	.98	1.02	.28	3.70
Benevolent sexism	.24	.31	.61	1	.44	1.28	.69	2.35
Feedback seeker sex	.70	1.28	.30	1	.58	2.02	.17	24.66
Hostile sexism	-.03	.31	.01	1	.93	.97	.53	1.80
Feedback seeker sex X hostile sexism	-.11	.48	.06	1	.82	.89	.35	2.29
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2	.03							

Note: Target sex and feedback seeker sex are for females compared to males. Reference category for target industry is Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. [a]Measured by qualitative comments.

Table 10

Logistic Regression Predicting Likelihood of Receiving Developmental Feedback[a]

Variable	B	SE	Wald	df	p	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Target sex	-.48	.55	.76	1	.38	.62	.21	1.82
Target industry, Sales and Finance	.03	.76	.00	1	.97	1.03	.23	4.56
Target industry, Social Services	-.33	.87	.14	1	.71	.72	.13	3.97
Benevolent sexism	-.42	.37	1.25	1	.26	.70	.32	1.37
Feedback seeker sex	.27	1.54	.03	1	.86	1.31	.06	27.07
Hostile sexism	.07	.36	.03	1	.86	1.07	.53	2.17
Feedback seeker sex X hostile sexism	-.18	.60	.09	1	.76	.83	.26	2.70
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2	.05							

Note: Target sex and feedback seeker sex are for females compared to males. Reference category for target industry is Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. [a]Measured by response options.

Table 11

Logistic Regression Predicting Likelihood of Receiving Developmental Feedback[a]

Variable	B	SE	Wald	df	p	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Target sex	.19	.43	.19	1	.67	1.21	.52	2.82
Target industry, Sales and Finance	-.18	.58	.09	1	.76	.84	.27	2.62
Target industry, Social Services	-.01	.65	.00	1	1.00	1.00	.28	3.56
Hostile sexism	-.06	.25	.05	1	.83	.95	.58	1.56
Feedback seeker sex	1.75	1.80	.94	1	.33	5.75	.17	194.33
Benevolent sexism	.43	.41	1.10	1	.29	1.53	.69	3.40
Feedback seeker sex X benevolent sexism	-.45	.59	.58	1	.45	.64	.20	2.03
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2	.03							

Note: Target sex and feedback seeker sex are for females compared to males. Reference category for target industry is Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. [a]Measured by qualitative comments.

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Table 12

Logistic Regression Predicting Likelihood of Receiving Developmental Feedback[a]

Variable	B	SE	Wald	df	p	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Target sex	-.46	.55	.68	1	.44	.63	.21	1.88
Target industry, Sales and Finance	-.01	.75	.00	1	.84	1.00	.23	4.33
Target industry, Social Services	-.37	.87	.18	1	1.00	.69	.13	3.80
Hostile sexism	.04	.30	.01	1	.67	1.04	.57	1.87
Feedback seeker sex	1.41	2.07	.47	1	.91	4.10	.07	235.93
Benevolent sexism	-.22	.46	.24	1	.63	.80	.33	1.96
Feedback seeker sex X benevolent sexism	-.57	.73	.62	1	.43	.56	.14	2.35
Nagelkerke pseudo R^2	.06							

Note: Target sex and feedback seeker sex are for females compared to males. Reference category for target industry is Construction and Manufacturing-Related industries. [a]Measured by response options.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The overarching goal of this dissertation was to explore the risks and benefits of seeking feedback. The first study investigated how targets perceived feedback seekers, especially women, who often bear the risk of being perceived differently than men (e.g., Eagly, 2013; Grant et al., 2009). Guided by research on impression management, social cognition, and ambivalent sexism, this dissertation sought to test a critical assumption in the feedback-seeking literature (i.e., that feedback seeking is risky for the seeker's image) while also investigating the effects of sex of the feedback seeker and sexist beliefs of the feedback target to better understand how the image risk associated with feedback seeking may differ for men and women. The second study examined the presumption that feedback seekers are rewarded with valuable feedback. Previous research in feedback seeking has seldom evaluated this outcome, and research suggests that women may receive even less helpful information when they seek feedback (King et al., 2012); therefore, I investigated the nature of the feedback (i.e., its valence and the presence of developmental information) that was given to those who sought it. Although most of the hypotheses were not supported by the findings of these two studies, there are some key results that indicate that it is indeed riskier for women to seek feedback than it is for men. In the following section, I will discuss the results of the two studies and outline some directions for future research. Next, I will address the limitations of my research design. Finally, I will explain the practical implications of the studies presented in this dissertation.

Discussion

In Study 1, I began by empirically testing a foundational belief in the feedback-seeking literature. Specifically, since Ashford and Cummings (1983) first introduced the idea of

proactive feedback seeking, researchers have accepted their assumption that feedback seeking could harm seekers' reputation or image of competence (Ashford et al., 2016; Anseel et al., 2015). Although research has shown that feedback seekers do indeed fear that seeking feedback may send the message that they lack ability (e.g., Ashford & Northcraft, 1992; Northcraft & Ashford, 1990; VandeWalle & Cummings, 1997), this dissertation is one of the first studies to investigate the relationship between feedback-seeking behavior and others' perceptions of the feedback seeker. Because research in social cognition has shown that people perceive others along two dimensions, competence and likability, this dissertation tested the relationship between feedback seeking and both competence and likability. In my first hypothesis, I proposed that feedback seeking would be associated with lower ratings of competence, and in the second hypothesis I predicted that feedback seeking would be related to higher ratings of likability. However, neither hypothesis was supported by the data from this study; nevertheless, as I will discuss in the next paragraph, the failure to find support for the main effect of feedback seeking on perceptions of competence and likability is likely due to a moderating variable.

As I have argued in this dissertation, prior research on sex in organizations suggests that men and women are perceived very differently at work (e.g., Eagly, 2013; Heilman & Chen, 2005). Women are said to face a double bind in which they are perceived to be less capable than men and unfit for many organizational roles (Heilman, 1983), but in trying to overcome this bias by showing their competence to perform in the workplace, they risk being perceived as cold and unlikable (Rudman & Glick, 1999; 2001; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). This notion of having to trade being perceived as competent for being likable in an organizational setting is supported by more global work in social judgment and cognition which has found that men can be perceived simultaneously as competent and warm, but for women, there is an inverse relationship between

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these two perceptions (Fiske et al., 1999). Building upon these bodies of research, I hypothesized that the relationship between feedback seeking and others' perceptions of the feedback seeker would be different for men and women. Specifically, I hypothesized that because women are already viewed as less competent in the workplace (Heilman, 2012), the negative effect of feedback seeking on perceptions of competence would be stronger for women than for men. My analysis indicated that the moderating role of sex was marginally significant, lending at least some support to this hypothesis. More interestingly, though, the results of this analysis suggested that whereas feedback seeking has a negative impact on ratings of competence for women, it has a positive impact for men.

I also predicted that the relationship between feedback seeking and likability would be moderated by the feedback seeker's sex, such that men who sought feedback would be rated as even more likable. This hypothesis was fully supported by the data. And, once again, the effect of feedback seeking on perceptions of likability was dependent on the feedback seeker's sex. For women, seeking feedback led to even lower ratings of likability. Taken with the results of the first two hypotheses, these findings suggest that views about feedback seeking are influenced by the feedback seekers' sex. Thus, although no main effect for feedback seeking was found in this study, the addition of the moderating variable sex elucidated the relationship between feedback seeking and image.

In addition to testing the effect of sex on image risk, I sought to understand how the sexist beliefs of the feedback-seeking target would affect their perceptions of the feedback seeker. Prior research has shown that people who hold hostile sexist beliefs endorse stereotypical ideas about women's abilities (Glick & Fiske, 1997); therefore, I hypothesized that the negative relationship between feedback seeking and competence would be stronger for women who seek

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feedback from those who hold hostile sexist beliefs. The three-way interaction between feedback seeking, sex of the feedback seeker, and the hostile sexist beliefs of the seeker on ratings of competence was not supported by the data analysis. Hostile sexists also hold feelings of antipathy for women (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 1997), especially women in non-traditional roles; for this reason, I also proposed that when women seek feedback from hostile sexists the perceptions of their likability will be harmed. This hypothesis was not supported either. In light of my earlier findings (i.e., that sex of the feedback seeker moderates the relationship between feedback seeking and image), the lack of results related to hostile sexism seems to suggest that it does not matter from whom women solicit feedback. In other words, regardless of whether the feedback-seeking target is sexist, women will be viewed as less likable, and possibly less competent. And, men will be viewed as more likable and probably more competent when they seek feedback.

The results of Study 1 make an important contribution to our understanding of the costs of feedback seeking. The findings from this study indicate that assumption that feedback seeking is risky for an employee's image is true, but only for women. Indeed, for men, seeking feedback actually leads to higher perceptions of likability, whereas women who seek feedback are perceived to be less likable. And, although the hypothesis testing the relationship between feedback seeking and ratings of competence was only marginally supported, these results suggest that women who seek feedback will be perceived to be less competent, while men will be perceived to be more competent when they seek feedback. Thus, this study provides important insight into the actual costs of proactively seeking feedback.

Study 2 aimed to explore another understudied outcome of feedback seeking, which is the quality of the feedback received. In the feedback-seeking literature, there is a common presumption that feedback seekers will be rewarded with information that can help them improve

their future performance (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; 1985). Feedback that is beneficial to feedback seekers often contains both an evaluation of past performance and guidance for future performance (Greller, 1978; Hattie & Timperley, 2007). Because hostile sexists typically view women in a more negative light (Glick & Fiske, 1996), I hypothesized that they would also be more likely to give women feedback that was negatively valenced (i.e., contained a negative evaluation of their past performance). Furthermore, I also proposed that even though hostile sexists would criticize women's past performance, they would be unlikely to give them suggestions for making improvements. Neither of these hypotheses was supported. The lack of findings related to the valence of the feedback may be attributable to people's reluctance to give negative feedback to anyone (London, 2003). Consistent with this idea, when participants were asked to give feedback in their own words, only fourteen of 101 actually gave feedback that was coded as negatively valanced, and when they selected from pre-written response options, only 5 (out of 101) selected the negatively valenced option.

Drawing upon research which suggests that women's development at work may be inhibited when benevolent sexists try to protect them by not offering potentially helpful critiques and advice (King et al., 2012), I also hypothesized that women would be less likely than men to receive negatively valenced feedback and developmental feedback. These hypotheses were also unsupported. Interestingly, of the feedback comments provided by participants in this study, only about one-third of the comments contained constructive feedback that could be used by seekers to enhance their future performance. Thus, while my hypotheses were not supported, the results of this study call into question a vital part of the proactive feedback seeking model ─ namely, the utility or value of feedback that is obtained through proactive feedback seeking.

Study Limitations

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As with all research, these studies have limitations. As explained below, some of the concerns are related to the external validity of the studies and our ability to generalize the findings to organizational settings. Other issues concern complications that arose during the analysis of the data. In this section, I will discuss the shortcomings of this dissertation and how they might be addressed in future research.

The studies undertaken in this dissertation employed an experimental design using a vignette to simulate a real-world interaction in order to increase their external validity (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014). This methodology has been used previously by researchers investigating feedback seeking (e.g., De Stobbeleir et al., 2010). To ensure an authentic experience for participants, the vignettes were pre-tested with undergraduate business students and professional MBA students who deemed them to be realistic. And, following the recommendation of Fedor and colleagues (1989), participants were queried about how much the scenario resembled situations they might face in their organizations. In both studies, the vignettes were found to be realistic. However, although care was taken in the preparation and use of these vignettes, the experience of responding to a person on paper is unlikely to fully mimic the experience of responding to an employee in person. Thus, future research should explore these questions in an organizational field setting where data can be collected from both feedback seekers and feedback providers.

The samples that were used in these studies also had important limitations. One concern is the small sample size in both Study 1 and Study 2. In order to use a sample that would be representative of feedback-seeking targets in actual organizational settings, I required the MTurk participants to be qualified as working managers. While this requirement added to the realism of my study, it also seemed to greatly slow and limit my data collection. My sample size for both

studies was 101, which resulted in relatively low power (Cohen, 1992). Thus, the small sample sizes may have impaired my ability to detect the hypothesized effects, especially the two-way and three-way interactions that I proposed. Indeed, significant interactions are often difficult to detect (Shieh, 2009), and for this reason, future studies should seek to collect data from a larger sample of respondents.

Another limitation of this research regarding the sample is the use of MTurk workers for data collection. Although MTurk is increasingly used by social sciences to investigate their research questions (Sheehan & Pittman, 2016), there is still some debate about its appropriateness for scientific research. Some authors have argued that the data collected from MTurk has advantages over more traditional sources (e.g., Buhrmester et al., 2011; Casler et al., 2013; Hauser & Schwarz, 2015), but others have expressed concern about the use of this platform in academic research (e.g., Goodman, Cryder, & Cheema, 2013; Peer, Brandimarte, Samat, & Acquisti, 2017). For instance, it has been suggested that MTurk workers have become accustomed to participating in experimental online research and are no longer naïve subjects whose responses can be taken at face value (Peer et al., 2017). As a group they also tend to be more introverted and less emotionally stable than other populations (Goodman et al., 2013), and such personality differences may affect the generalizability of this research. For these reasons, it would again be useful to collect data in a field setting where participants are not something akin to professional experimental subjects.

In addition to these concerns about the data collection, other issues relating the data analysis also limit the applicability of these findings. First, in the course of evaluating the measures used to assess hostile sexism and benevolent sexism, I conducted a CFA of the measures used in each study, loading the eleven benevolent sexism items on one factor and the

eleven hostile sexism factors on another factor. The results of this model showed a very poor model fit for both Study 1 and Study 2. Because Glick and Fiske (1996) had proposed that the benevolent sexism was a reflection of three underlying factors—namely, paternalism, gender differentiation, and intimacy with women—I used a second CFA model, loading the items for benevolent sexism on three separate factors as indicated by their model. The results of this model were also unsatisfactory for both studies, so I turned to an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to help me better understand the factor structure in these studies. In both cases, the results of the EFA using Promax rotation indicated that the manifest variables loaded onto four latent variables, rather than two latent variables as expected. Furthermore, the rotated loadings for the four latent variables did not correspond with Glick and Fiske's (1996) four-factor model, which included three factors for benevolent sexism and one factor for hostile sexism. These issues may be due in part to the challenges associated with performing a factor analysis on longer scales (Floyd & Widaman, 1995), and my CFA using item parcels did provide reasonably good model fit; nevertheless, it raises potential concerns about the multidimensionality of these measures and their ability to accurately assess participants' sexism.

A second concern about the data analysis relates to the dependent variables in Study 2. The dependent variables in this study were valence of feedback and presence of developmental feedback. These variables were each measured in two ways—by coding participants' comments and by asking participants to select from list of options. As discussed earlier, though, only roughly fourteen percent (14%) of the participants provided negatively valenced feedback in their comments to the employee, and only about five percent (5%) of the participants selected a negatively valenced feedback option. The lack of variance in the dependent variables for this study was problematic as binary logistic regression is particularly susceptible to sparse data bias,

which occurs when one or more of the outcomes predicted in a logistic regression model are vastly underrepresented in the data making it difficult to interpret the coefficient estimates (which are often greatly inflated owing to the lack of representation) (Greenland, Mansournia, & Altman, 2016). Indeed, this bias may also explain, in part, why so few of the hypotheses in this dissertation were supported (Greenland, Schwartzbaum, & Finkle, 2000).

Directions for Future Research

Beyond designing studies that address the limitations of this research, there are additional avenues for future investigations that are worth pursuing. In particular, while employees' assessments of the costs and benefits of feedback seeking often guide their decisions about seeking feedback (Ashford et al., 2003), research has not investigated the impact of the seeker's sex on perceptions of the risk of soliciting feedback. The results of this study indicate that women, and not men, pay a price for asking for feedback; therefore, future research should consider whether men and women hold different perceptions of the risk of seeking feedback. Researchers have found that women tend to be more risk-averse than men; however, women tend to be more comfortable taking social risk (e.g., offering a contrary opinion in front of others) (Weber, Blais, & Betz, 2002). As a social behavior, feedback seeking may be perceived as less risky to women; however, women may learn over time that feedback seeking is a risk that is not worth taking. This line of research would not only shed light on whether or not employees decide to seek feedback (Ashford et al., 2016), but also how they go about seeking feedback. If women perceive that feedback seeking uniquely undermines their professional image, they may choose to forgo seeking this information, or they may seek it indirectly as African American managers did in study by Roberson and colleagues (2003).

In trying to understand when and how feedback seeking takes place, researchers have noted that targets and observers of feedback-seeking attempts ascribe a variety of motives to feedback seekers (Ashford et al., 2003). For example, some people seek feedback as a form of impression management (Morrison & Bies, 1991). However, when others attribute feedback seeking to impression-management motives, they often view the feedback seeker less favorably (Ashford & Tsui, 1991). Conversely, when managers perceive that feedback seekers are earnestly striving for improvement, they are more likely to hold the seeker in a positive regard (Lam et al., 2007). In light of the findings of Study 1, additional research should be undertaken to understand how sex of the feedback seeker impacts the type of motivational attributions feedback targets make. It would also be interesting to know if observers make different attributions about the feedback-seeking behavior of men and women, which could also influence how such behavior (and the person engaging in it) is judged.

Another variable of interest in prior research has been the past performance of the feedback seeker. In general, seeking feedback after a poor performance leads to negative perceptions of the seeker's competence (Ashford et al., 2003). Although the hypothesized moderated relationship between feedback seeking and ratings of competence was only marginally supported in my study, the findings indicate that feedback-seeking women may be viewed as less competent than men in situations in which the employee's performance was somewhat ambiguous. It is possible that this relationship would be stronger when the employee's performance was more obviously subpar. For example, women who ask for feedback after performing poorly may, in fact, substantiate or reinforce negative stereotypes about women's abilities. Exploring the interaction between sex of feedback seekers and their levels of job performance, then, is another important direction for future research.

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Additionally, future research should investigate how third-party observers (i.e., those who just witness feedback seeking rather those who are the targets/feedback providers) perceive men and women who seek feedback. The vignette used in Study 1 asked participants to imagine themselves as the feedback-seeking employee's manager. Impression management theory suggests that people who observe feedback-seeking attempts may have different perceptions of men and women, and may make different attributions about their behavior, than those who are targets of such behavior (Jones, 1964). Observers, and not targets, may also make vastly different attributions in the face of different levels of performance. Whereas this dissertation focused exclusively on the target's perceptions, other researchers have pointed out that the image risks associated with seeking feedback are not limited to the targets and may impact potential feedback-seeking attempts (e.g., Ashford & Northcraft, 1992); as such, this issue also warrants scholarly attention.

In general, the feedback-seeking literature assumes that employees who seek feedback want information that will help them improve their future performance (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; 1985). Although scholars have investigated the different motivations employees have for seeking feedback (e.g., impression management), this line of research has yet to consider the possibility that men and women may have different motivations for engaging in feedback seeking. Tannen's (1994) work on sex and sociolinguistics suggests that men and women may have very different expectations for the role of feedback seeking as an interpersonal interaction. For example, women may seek feedback simply as a way to facilitate social interactions. In other words, although feedback may be a side benefit, women may ask others for feedback simply to diminish social distance or any perceptions of unequal standing. This same motive may not be

present for men who are often more uncomfortable asking for advice and for engaging in behavior that may place them in submissive social positions.

While researchers have noted that feedback seekers may have other motives for seeking feedback, they have not explored the "what" of feedback seeking. In other words, what information, specifically, are employees asking for when they seek feedback? Dweck's work with children demonstrated that boys and girls are often the recipients of very different kinds of feedback during their formative years (Dweck et al., 1978); therefore, they may expect different kinds of information when they seek it proactively. For example, if childhood patterns hold true, women may expect to hear information that is more related to their task performance, whereas men may expect to hear about their contextual performance (i.e., behavior that supports the social environment of the organization). Differences in the type of information employees seek may also be moderated by age. Researchers have found that millennial employees are highly motivated by feedback (Hershatter & Epstein, 2010), but it has also been argued that they respond very poorly to negatively valenced feedback (Twenge, 2006). Thus, men and women, especially of different generations, may not mean the same thing when they say they want feedback. Future researchers should explore the effects of sex and age on what feedback seekers really want when they ask for feedback.

Although this dissertation sought to add to our understanding of a critical outcome of feedback seeking—namely, valuable feedback—researchers should also consider how sex affects other outcomes of feedback seeking. As noted earlier, Study 1 demonstrated that women who seek feedback are viewed less favorably than men. To the extent that women perceive that they have been viewed negatively when seeking feedback, they may be unlikely to ask for feedback in the future. Furthermore, the way that feedback is interpreted and acted upon may be different for

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men and women, possibly leading to differential effects on performance improvement, another desired outcome of feedback seeking. In addition, delivery of the feedback may be influenced by feedback givers' perceptions of the feedback seeker. For instance, whereas this dissertation did not find evidence for any differences in the content of the feedback, the tone of voice in which it is delivered and the body language of the feedback giver may betray their less than warm feelings for female feedback seekers. This experience may lead women to focus extra attention on the interpersonal aspect of the exchange and less attention on the advice given, thereby hindering their ability to make performance changes as a result of the information they have received. It may also cause women to doubt themselves and their abilities. This is especially concerning given past research which suggests that women may be more likely than men to internalize negative feedback, viewing it as an accurate reflection of their capability (Dweck et al., 1978). Thus, although my dissertation represents an initial attempt to investigate some of the roles sex may play in the relationship between seeking feedback and performance improvement, there are other areas which still require investigation.

Lastly, feedback seeking is only one kind of a variety of proactive behaviors (Grant & Ashford, 2008); therefore, future research should consider how the results of this study apply to the larger category of proactive behavior. As I discussed in this dissertation, proactive behaviors are by their very nature agentic behaviors, and women are likely to be censured for behaving agentically. Thus, future researchers may wish to investigate the impact of sex of employees on responses to their proactive behaviors. When women attempt to sell issues or take charge, for example, will these behaviors cause them to be perceived as less likable? Researchers have proposed that proactivity will not always be viewed positively in organizations because of various factors (Bolino et al., 2017), and sex of the actor may need to be added to that list.

Practical Implications

The results of these studies have practical implications for both employees and managers. For men, Study 1 showed that seeking feedback may improve others' perceptions of their competence and likability. This suggests that the risk of seeking feedback may not be as real as employees sometimes imagine. For women, however, this study demonstrated that the risk of seeking feedback is real, specifically in terms of likability. This may be especially detrimental to women who are already perceived to be less warm and likable. Furthermore, the negative effect on women's images may have long-term negative ramifications on their careers, which means they may need to be careful about engaging in such behavior or how they go about doing so.

Another important implication for women is that their sex matters, regardless of target sexism. Although I hypothesized that hostile sexists would be more likely to find women who seek feedback to be less competent and less likable, women were perceived to be less likable, and possibly less competent, without taking into account sexism. Past research has found that employees carefully select their feedback-seeking targets (Giffin, 1967) and, presumably, women select targets from whom they have not experienced sexism; unfortunately, this may not protect them from the costs associated with feedback seeking. Whereas hostile sexism was not a significant predictor in my analyses, post hoc analyses in Study 1 did indicate that hostile sexism was associated with lower ratings of competence for women in both conditions ($\beta = -.46$, $p < .05$), demonstrating that even in 2018, sexism negatively impacts perceptions of women at work.

The findings of Study 2 failed to show that women are less likely to receive valuable feedback than men; however, the results suggest that all feedback seekers may be unlikely to receive worthwhile information. Although the vignette used in this study did not give a detailed

explanation of employee performance, it did convey that the employee did well during the presentation but failed to answer an important question during the Q&A part of the presentation. Because I did not collect data using different performance scenarios, I cannot compare the kinds of feedback an employee would receive across different levels of job performance. Nonetheless, the small amounts of negatively valenced feedback and developmental feedback given to employees whose performance lacked in at least one area implies that feedback seeking may not yield the benefits seekers hope to gain (i.e., because people are so hesitant to give negative feedback in the first place). Thus, proactive employees who want helpful information in order to improve their performance may need to consider strategies for drawing out meaningful feedback from their targets. As examples, employees may need to ask specific questions about their performance and future work strategies, and they may need to utilize a series of follow-up questions to probe their targets' feedback.

These studies also have valuable takeaways for managers. First, managers should be aware of the potential for bias against proactive female employees, even by managers who are not overtly sexist, and they should take steps to reduce the effects of this bias. Researchers have argued that covert sexism, which is a hidden, sometimes inadvertent form of sexism can be just as damaging to women's careers as more traditional examples of gender bias (Swim & Cohen, 1997). Managers can help women overcome the potential for image risk in at least two ways. For one, managers can provide performance feedback, including constructive negative feedback, more freely so that employees do not need to proactively solicit it. Doing so will minimize the risk for women who seek feedback.

Also, managers can make a mindful effort to control the way they view women who seek feedback. Researchers studying implicit attitudes and automatic stereotyping have found that

individuals can reduce stereotypical thoughts by consciously telling themselves to think positively of typically negatively stereotyped groups (Stewart & Payne, 2008). By deliberately thinking of female feedback seekers as likable and competent, managers may be less likely to have negative impressions of those women. And, organizations can also help mitigate the effects of covert sexism by being aware of the effects of sexism and recognizing opportunities to level the playing field for men and women's development (Bierema, 2017).

A second implication for managers is that they may need to more carefully consider how they give employees feedback. Participants in Study 2 were currently managing employees, and some had decades of management experience, yet, they overwhelmingly chose to focus on only the positive aspect of the employees' performance. Furthermore, a majority of the participants failed to provide any information to the employees about improving their future performance. This indicates that even seasoned managers may struggle to provide quality feedback to proactive employees and may need training and education in order to provide better feedback. Likewise, consistent with principles of good job design (Hackman & Oldham, 1976) managers and organizations should also consider designing jobs that provide feedback from the job itself, so that employees are not so dependent on soliciting feedback from their managers.

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Appendix A: Perceived Competence and Perceived Likability

1.   Michelle/Robert is a competent person.
2.   Michelle/Robert is an intelligent person.
3.   Michelle/Robert is a talented person.
4.   Michelle/Robert is an accomplished person.
5.   Michelle/Robert is a likable person.
6.   Michelle/Robert is a cooperative person.
7.   Michelle/Robert is a nice person.
8.   Michelle/Robert is a pleasant person.

Appendix B: Ambivalent Sexism Scales

Benevolent Sexism:

1. No matter how accomplished be is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
2. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.*
3. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.*
4. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
5. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
6. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
7. Men are complete without women.*
8. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
9. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
10. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own wellbeing in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
11. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Hostile Sexism:

1. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."
2. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
3. Women are too easily offended.
4. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.*
5. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
6. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
7. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
8. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
9. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

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

11. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.*

*Reverse scored items.