

COLLEGE STUDENTS' PREFERENCE TOWARD
BENEVOLENT SEXIST MATES

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Though institutional sexism has been largely addressed in that many political and legal barriers have been removed since the 1964 Civil Rights Act, informal structures of sexist ideology persist. How *are* sexist ideologies perpetuated? The current study utilizes Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick and Fiske 1996) and Social-Role Theory (Eagly & Crowley; 1986) to examine college students' preference toward Benevolent Sexist mates. According to Role Theory, normative expectations for men consist of agentic qualities, including chivalric and paternalistic attitudes and behaviors. For women, communality and passivity are norms. These norms reinforce informal ideologies that legitimate sexism. Ambivalent Sexism Theory, which expands on Social-Role Theory, identifies paternalistic and chivalric behaviors and attitudes as sexist. Paternalism and chivalry are "sexist" in the sense that they are based on the implicit assumption that women are the weaker sex, are not capable in the same sense that men are, and thus, are in need of men's 'protection' (Glick and Fiske 1996; Glick and Fiske 1997). Their research found that some women uncritically view paternalistic and chivalric behaviors and attitudes in a favorable light; it is not unreasonable to suppose that these sexist attributes might actually become a factor in mate selection. To the degree that women desire to be provided for,

protected, and put on the proverbial pedestal by their potential mate, these behaviors and attitudes should constitute a component of their mate selection criteria. This research demonstrates that women will sometimes select sexist mates, and thus, unknowingly play a role in the perpetuation of sexist gender ideologies.

Mate selection studies using Role Theory focus on the exchange value of traditional gender roles in the 'mating market' for those willing to enact them, as well as a desire for a complementarity of expected marital roles (Johannesen-Schmidt 2003; Johannesen-Schmidt & Eagly 2002). These studies found that women's domestic skills (e.g., as homemaker and as child caretaker) and relative youth are more commonly valued by men, whereas men's earning potential is more commonly valued by women (Eastwick et al 2005; Johannesen-Schmidt 2004; Johannesen-Schmidt 2003; Johannesen-Schmidt & Eagly 2002; Eagly and Wood 1999). These "valued" traits reinforce and perpetuate the traditional gendered segregation of the labor market and the division of household labor.

Similarly, Role Theory researchers have used Ambivalent Sexism Theory to validate their claims. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI), as developed by Glick and Fiske (1996), has been used by role theorists because it "directly assesses endorsement of the traditional and nontraditional female roles" (Johannesen-Schmidt 2003: 15). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory assesses both positive and negative attitudes toward women who exhibit stereotypically traditional or nontraditional traits in that it assess "a traditional set of sexist beliefs that are associated with . . . feelings about (and . . . trait ascriptions to) women"

(Glick & Fiske 1996: 504). These beliefs, as reflected in the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory include for example: “Women are too easily offended” (Hostile Sexism), and “Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility” (Benevolent Sexism; *ibid*: 512). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory items, when used to assess traditional gender roles *directly* have produced results which can seem counterintuitive. For example, Johannessen-Schmidt (2003) found that women who scored high in Benevolent Sexism tended to value a *man’s* good domestic skills. Clearly, findings such as this can be problematic in that they do not mesh well with *traditional gender roles* in the sense that role theorists use that terminology.

The current study will utilize the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory as a measure of college students’ general endorsement of stereotyped images of women, within the context of interpersonal relationships, as indicated by Glick and Fiske (1997). Excepting the previously mentioned Role Theory research, the author is unaware of any research which analyzes mate selection preferences using Ambivalent Sexism Theory. In this sense, the current study will view an old problem in a new way. By making use of Ambivalent Sexism Theory in the manner stated, the author hopes to shed some new light on how women might, to some degree, unintentionally play a role in the perpetuation of sexist ideologies.

The Research Setting

This study was carried out at a Midwestern state university. To better situate the current study within the historical context of sexism in the United States, a brief history of the feminist movement follows. Briefly stated, feminist activism in the United States is generally demarcated into three 'waves' or historical periods. Each wave was primarily focused on combating particular types of sexism which were found to be especially significant at the time. The first wave was chiefly concerned with securing equality of legal rights—mainly voting rights, but also other rights such as property ownership right for women. Kramer (2005) points out that “[t]hrough feminist views have been publicly expressed from time to time for hundreds of years (see Mary Wollstonecraft 1787), the first ‘wave’ . . . began in the mid-nineteenth century with the Seneca Falls Women’s Rights Convention” (p. 9). This first wave, which was concerned primarily with (white) women’s legal rights, lasted until the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which was ratified in 1920. Institutional sexism, as reflected in women’s second-class citizen status, was an early focus of feminist reformers.

The second wave of feminism, which arose in the latter half of the Twentieth Century, was increasingly concerned with combating prevailing sexist attitudes, rather than focusing exclusively on legal rights. An area which provoked much attention from second wave feminists was sexism in terms of women’s lower wages and overall undervalued economic earning potential. Here, equal access to and equality within the workplace were areas in which women

were still feeling the oppressive consequences of sexism. So too were second wave feminists concerned with continued sexist socialization within the context of the family, sexism inherent in romantic relationships, and sexism on an interpersonal level (Kramer 2005). Overtly hostile acts of sexism such as sexual assault and domestic violence became targeted as representative of the overall power differential between men and women. Soon, however, legal protections in the form of protective legislation sought to redefine and provide protection to victims of sexual assault, including marital rape. Second wave feminists also advanced women's rights in the political arena. For example, President Kennedy's National Commission on the Status of Women (1963) facilitated important changes such as The Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which included sex as a prohibited basis of discrimination (Kramer 2005: 161). Despite even these significant advances battling sexism on many fronts, second wave feminist gains are yet tempered by their defeats, such as that of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in 1982. The ERA, despite overwhelming support in the House and Senate, as well as prompt ratification in 30 states, lacked significant support in Southern and Mormon states (Mansbridge 1986). Thus, the requisite 38 states failed to ratify the ERA.

Third wave feminists are those currently confronting sexism. Third wave refers to post-80s feminists who "were exposed to backlash against the women's movement" (Kramer 2005: 11). For third wavers, issues of sexism are more complex and subtle than for previous feminists. For example, issues of home and work are less clear-cut than for earlier generations. Though women have

arguably achieved something resembling equal access to jobs, there are still some hard choices which would-be career women must face. Speaking on this issue, Orenstein (2000) points out that what many young women are promised (e.g., “You can be anything”) is very much different from the reality which confronts them. Instead, modern women are forced to make hard decisions such as postponing or altogether foregoing marriage and/or motherhood, or are forced into even tougher decisions such as settling for the ‘mommy track’ in their professional life.

The conflicts discussed by Orenstein (2000), however, which pose such hard choices for women, are perhaps not as subtle as the conflicts addressed by the current study. Orenstein (2000) discusses conflicts which are keenly felt by her respondents. A prime example is seen in her section “The Crunch,” in which she discusses the anxieties many career women face when considering the prospect of motherhood. Given women’s limited reproductive lifespan, there appears to be a moment in time in every woman’s life during which she must decide if she is ever to have children, assuming she has not done so already. For career women, this time, which has often been delayed for the sake of profession, represents a hard choice between continuing in an established career, or opting for the “mommy track.” In weighing their options when faced with anxieties about their biological clock, many women do not perceive a conflict between progressive ideology and a desire to be protected and provided for by a mate—in short, treated like a ‘lady’—in the same sense that they readily perceive conflicts such as those Orenstein discusses. In this sense then it is this lack of

perception that differentiates the current permutation of sexism from those combated by previous waves of feminists. A partial aim of the current study is to shed light on a particular sexist ideology, Benevolent Sexism, which is both very subtle and insidious in nature, as well as to determine its prevalence among modern young women.

Social Construction of Gender

The differential treatment of men and women in society is produced, explained and perpetuated by a whole series of complex ideologies (Kimmel 1986). The term *sex differences* is often used in reference to the physiological differences between the two biological sexes (Naila 2003). These physical differences are often cited as the basis for inequality. However, as has been noted, the biological differences between men and women are insignificant as compared to their similarities (Kramer 2005). *Gender differences*, on the other hand, rely on socially constructed norms (gender roles) regarding the distribution of power, the division of labor, and the rights and responsibilities accorded to women and men.

What it means to be masculine or feminine in a given society is shaped by cultural ideologies which not only determine what is expected of us and what qualities are valued in us, but also prescribe and legitimate differential access to limited resources, including status and power (Naila 2003). These *gender ideologies* reflect and magnify sex differences. The legitimacy claims of gender ideologies are frequently based in biological difference, religion, or other

essentialist arguments. Additionally, since gender ideologies construct masculinity and femininity in relational terms, “one cannot understand the social construction of either [gender] without reference to the other” (Kimmel 1986: 521).

Social-Role Theory

Social-Role Theory addresses the origins of sex differences in social behavior. According to Eagly and Crowley (1986), differential placement of women and men in the social structure (i.e., women’s traditional family roles versus men’s traditional occupational roles) leads women and men to evidence different behavioral characteristics. Cross-cultural studies and meta-analyses have led Eagly and Crowley to downplay the role of biology in influencing gender roles, emphasizing rather that social-structural causes are responsible for the majority of sex role differences.

Briefly, Social-Role Theory states that gender role expectations are a reflection of traits viewed as necessary toward fulfillment of the different roles males and females stereotypically occupy both in the family, and in society as a whole, including the sex-segregated economy. For example, because women are typically responsible for child rearing, they are expected to have personal characteristics which are nurturing and communal. Conversely, men’s characteristics are expected to reflect their stereotyped roles as agentic providers and protectors. Role theory assumes that people generally tend to behave consistently with their prescribed gender roles. Further, inasmuch as structural

relationships are relatively stable over time, gender role expectations should also remain somewhat consistent.

Ambivalent Sexism Theory

Ambivalent Sexism Theory expands upon role theory and offers a corrective to the common assumption that sexism represents a mere hostility toward women. Rather, Glick and Fiske (1996) contend that sexism includes both hostile and benevolent components. Hostile Sexism is generally in agreement with most people's operative definitions of sexism. Hostile Sexism represents men's hostile affect toward and negative stereotypes about women, as well as men's tendency to restrict women's roles. There are three components of Hostile Sexism. Dominative Paternalism refers to men's tendency toward dominating women, as well as to view them as childlike. Competitive Gender Differentiation refers to men's tendency to devalue women by the perception, magnification, and generalization of differences between men and women. Heterosexual Hostility refers to men's tendency to view women as the adversarial keepers of the resource of sex. Heterosexual Hostility also involves stereotypes reflecting the common conception that women use sex to manipulate men.

Benevolent Sexism, on the other hand, "relies on kinder and gentler justifications of male dominance and prescribed gender roles; it recognizes men's dependence on women (i.e., women's dyadic power) and embraces a romanticized view of sexual relationships with women" (Glick and Fiske 1997:

121). Benevolent Sexism is also comprised of three components. The first component, Protective Paternalism, refers to men's tendency to protect and provide for women (e.g., "in a disaster, women ought to be rescued first"). This is based on stereotyped assumptions of men's greater physical strength, power, and authority. Complimentary Gender Differentiation, the second component, refers to men's tendency to favor women who conform to traditional roles (e.g., as men's "better half"). Intimate Heterosexuality, the third component of Benevolent Sexism, refers to men's tendency to romanticize women as objects of sexual desire, an implicit acknowledgement of men's dyadic dependence on women (e.g., "No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman"; *ibid.*).

Relevance of the Study

By measuring women's preference toward potential mates who score high on Ambivalent Sexism measures, in particular Benevolent Sexism, the current study will first address the specific research question ("Do women really prefer Benevolent Sexist Mates?"), and second, the larger, more generalizable issue of how sexist ideologies are perpetuated through social practices. This study analyzes how mate selection is guided by Benevolent Sexist attitudes to the extent to which women uncritically 'buy into' the system of benefits accorded to them by paternalistic and (benevolent) sexist ideologies. These attitudes are perpetuated by uncritical acceptance of stereotypical gender role models. A cost-benefit analysis should reveal, to some women, that the personal benefits

brought about by paternalism and Benevolent Sexism outweigh any hypothetical ideological gains, which may or may not ever come to be realized. Further, some women may very well perform similar cost-benefit analyses that compare their perceived oppression with their perceived benefit from paternalistic and sexist ideologies (e.g., Benevolent Sexism). So long as some women continue to conclude that their individual outcomes will be better with a benevolent sexist mate, Benevolent Sexism is likely to endure as a sexist ideology. These assumptions are also consistent with studies finding the close association of high socioeconomic status and low feminist consciousness.

Overview of the Following Chapters

Chapter Two: Literature Review provides an overview of recent research literature on Role Theory and Ambivalent Sexism Theory. The ambivalent nature of gender role expectations will be highlighted in support of the contention that some women might perceive some forms of sexism as positive or prosocial. *Chapter Three: Methodology* will provide an overview of data collection strategies including details of instrument design and implementation, sampling procedures, characteristics of the sample, and discussion of independent and dependent variables. *Chapter Four: Results* will provide overview of significant findings as well as significant non-findings. *Chapter Five: Discussion* will summarize these findings in light of their strengths and weaknesses.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Overview

This section provides a brief review of the literature regarding Role Theory and Ambivalent Sexism Theory. It is constructive to examine the Social-Role Theory literature for many reasons. First, the social-structural origins of the differing normative role expectations for men and women are addressed by Social-Role Theory. By associating inequality with social-structural variables, Social-Role Theory distances itself from the arbitrary assignment of rights, roles, and responsibilities reasoning that is espoused by much of Social Constructionist thought. Next, Social-Role Theory explicates the nature of these gendered role expectations. The passive female/active male typology is presented and supported. Finally, Social-Role Theory provided the context from which sprang Ambivalent Sexism Theory. The Social-Role Theorists' contention that different subtypes of women elicit different reactions led directly to the development of Ambivalent Sexism Theory. Without grounding the current study in the Social-Role Theory literature, it would be difficult to contextualize the claims of Ambivalent Sexism Theory authors such as Glick and Fiske (1996),

whose works are at once a direct outgrowth and advancement of the earlier work in Social-Role Theory.

The sexes' differential likelihood of helping and eliciting help was a common focus of early Role Theory research, as this was held to provide confirmatory evidence of men's agentic versus women's passive tendencies. In later research, differential evaluations for different subtypes of women became a focus. The ambivalence evidenced in affect toward female subtypes in this research gives rise to Ambivalent Sexism Theory. Further research then highlights how gendered role expectations tend to limit women's outcomes by influencing career path selection, differential investment in specialized human capital, as well as backlash directed toward females in non-traditional roles. Still other research provides an overview of how women seem to 'benefit' from paternalistic ideologies, despite the fact that their roles are still restricted. Next, sex typed roles are examined as they relate to mate selection. Finally, research in system justification points to Benevolent Sexism as one such system justifying ideology.

Literature in Social-Role Theory

As previously stated, it is necessary to review the Social Role-Theory literature to better contextualize the current study. Social Role-Theory pioneers Eagly and Crowley (1986) found that men's and women's different gender roles are the basis for the genders' differential likelihood of helping. In findings that are

reflective of males' normative gender role expectation as being agentic, versus that of the passive female role, women received more help than men. Women were also more likely to help a woman than help a man. Factors such as potential danger, presence of audience or other potential helpers, and nature of skills needed (problem solving versus nurturing) were also found to influence the likelihood of helping (see also Belansky and Boggiano 1994). Monk-Turner, Blake et al (2002) were unable to provide similar confirmatory findings, save that professionally dressed females were more likely to help other females, and that females lingered and engaged in conversation, whereas males helped quickly and departed without conversation.

Eagly (1987) also found gendered differences in helping behavior, as well as in aggressive behavior, influenceability, nonverbal behavior, and behavior in small groups. Eagly uses meta-analysis to review these different areas of gender difference as she reviews numerous quantitative studies which support her assertions. Eagly indicates that other theories of sex difference, including social psychological oppression theories, personality theories, socialization theories, and biological theories are not necessarily inconsistent with social role theory. Eagly and Wood (1999) contrast evolutionary psychological and social structural theories of causes of sex differentiated behavior and attitudes. Their analysis indicates that while other factors cannot be ruled out (e.g., biological, evolutionary psychological factors), the majority of gender differences stem from social-structural causes.

Eagly and Wood (1991) provides further support for Role Theory by conducting a meta-analytic study of the quantitative social psychological literature. Consistent patterns of difference emerged between the sexes in terms of normative behavioral patterns. Moderator variables (e.g. differential contextual/situational factors and sex-differentiated skills) are examined.

Vogel, Wester, Heesacker and Madon (2003) found that men were more likely to react strongly to situational factors (more likely to enact gender role during conversations involving emotional vulnerability) than were women. The researchers noted no divergence of gendered role performance during discussion of emotionally 'easy' topics. This research lends support for Eagly's (1991) moderator variables of Salience of Gender-Role Expectations and Sex-Typed Skills and Abilities (e.g. women are more practiced in dealing with emotional issues).

Social-Role Theory and Ambivalent Evaluations

As stated, ambivalent evaluations for different subtypes of women gave rise to Ambivalent Sexism Theory. It is necessary to examine the literature regarding Role Theory and ambivalent evaluations to better contextualize the current study. For instance, Role Theorists Eagly and Miladnic (1989) found that women are generally evaluated more favorably than men, challenging the widely accepted idea that people hold negative stereotypes about women. In a similar vein, Eagly, Miladnic and Otto (1991) found that both men and women were positively evaluated as related to attitudes and beliefs respondents held toward

them. Women, however, were more positively evaluated on both measures (attitudes and beliefs). These findings also contradict earlier assumptions that indicate women are evaluated negatively as compared to men. Three reasons are given why this might be: a question of methods of earlier researchers, changing status leads to different evaluations of women, consideration of women as a whole versus subtypes which are negatively evaluated. The authors also raise the question: "If people have such favorable evaluations of women as a social category, why do women have a disadvantaged social position, at least when indicators such as wages and promotion are considered?" (p. 213).

Diekman and Eagly (2000) found that since women are increasingly employed outside the home, as well as in traditionally male jobs, they have come to be stereotyped as more masculine and agentic than in the past. In comparison to the typical attributes of men, the attributes of women are not only perceived to have changed more recently, but also to be likely to change more in the future as women and men continue to be less and less differentiated in the labor force. Reflecting this, stereotypes regarding women and men's physical, cognitive, and personality characteristics are seen (and forecast) to continue to be subject to similar homogenation or de-differentiation.

Burgess and Borgida (1997) found that non-traditionally employed women (those employed in traditionally male-dominated occupations) are likely to elicit benevolent paternalistic harassment in the workplace to help them fit in "as one of the guys" (p. 304). Nontraditionally employed women were less likely to be perceived as fulfilling the stereotypical vulnerable (weak) role, thus were less

likely to be perceived as being harassed. Traditionally employed women (those employed in traditionally female-dominated occupations) who were targets of sexual coercion were evaluated as weak. This research reveals how different subtypes of women are evaluated differently and are differentially likely to elicit hostile or benevolent responses from males, revealing how men might reconcile their ambivalent feelings toward women by focusing different affect toward different female subtypes.

Eckes (2002) found that competence and warmth ratings for women were negatively correlated across female subgroups. Housewives were the subtype perceived highest in terms of warmth and lowest in terms of competence. The career woman subtype was highest in competence, but lowest in warmth.

Literature in Ambivalent Sexism Theory

The current study situates itself firmly in the Ambivalent Sexism Theory tradition. Since the study relies so heavily on this body of literature, a brief review of the Ambivalent Sexism Theory literature is necessary. As stated, Ambivalent Sexism Theory is a direct outgrowth of Social-Role Theory. The article which represents the genesis of this new line of theory came with Fiske and Glick (1995; see also Russell and Trigg 2004) who found that sexual harassment is the result of the interplay of ambivalent stereotyping of subtypes of women and of gendered jobs. Glick and Fiske found that men's ambivalence is reflected by hostile and benevolent sexist motives in terms of heterosexuality, gender differentiation, and paternalism. Glick and Fiske (1996) built on this by

setting forth a view of sexism as more than a mere antipathy toward women, but rather, as comprised of both hostile and benevolent aspects. Hostile and Benevolent Sexism are differentiated, while the authors indicate that both share paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexuality components. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory was developed and tested as a measure of Benevolent Sexism, Hostile Sexism, and the composite Ambivalent Sexism.

Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner and Zhu (1997) found that Ambivalent Sexist men were found to be more likely to evaluate different subtypes of women either highly favorably (those occupying traditional roles), highly unfavorably (those occupying nontraditional roles) or good/bad (sexy: cute/temptress). This evaluation of good/bad typologies allows the Ambivalent Sexist to reconcile his positive and negative feelings toward women without cognitive dissonance. They further found a correlation between Hostile Sexism scores and negative evaluations of the career woman subtype profile, reflecting a disapproval of nontraditional roles for women. A high Benevolent Sexism Score was correlated with favorable evaluations of the homemaker profile, reflecting approval of traditional women's roles.

Glick and Fiske (1997) compared the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory with other measures of sexism. These other measures, the AWS (Attitudes toward Women Scale) and SRES (Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale) are held to measure respondents' political ideologies concerning women's roles. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, by contrast, is held to assess attitudes toward women in interpersonal relationships. Thus, Glick and Fiske state that the Ambivalent

Sexism Inventory is to be taken as complimenting, rather than replacing previous measures of sexism.

Glick, Fiske, et al (2000) find that measures of gender equality assessed by the United Nations' GDI (Gender-Related Development Index) are predictive of high levels of both Benevolent and Hostile Sexism. Particularly interesting is that for countries with high levels of Hostile Sexism such as Cuba and South Africa, women actually evidenced a higher level of Benevolent Sexism than did men. In countries with lower Hostile Sexism, women typically score lower in Benevolent Sexism than men. Glick and Fiske suggest that in these highly sexist countries, women are more actively seeking protection and provision from the very ones who are responsible for the gender hostility in the first place.

Glick, Lameiras, and Rodriguez Castro (2002) found education to be negatively correlated with sexism generally, as well as both hostile and benevolent variants. Catholic religiosity predicted higher scores on Benevolent Sexism, but not Hostile Sexism. This study highlights the importance of social institutions in the perpetuation of sexist attitudes.

Social-Role Theory, Ambivalent Sexism Theory & Ambivalent Outcomes

The following studies highlight how stereotyped gender role expectations and sexist ideologies tend to limit women's outcomes in society. It is relevant to study women's outcomes in the workplace, as this provides a concrete example of how informal interpersonal practices can 'spillover' into the economic realm, thus restricting women's ability to succeed (for discussion of this Gender Role

Spillover Theory, see Burgess and Borgida 1997). Further, these imposed limitations necessitate accommodations by women, specifically in terms of differential career path selection and investment in specialized human capital. Additionally, women who choose to step outside of prescribed roles can, and do, face repercussions.

Marini, Fan, Finley and Beutel (1996) found that in contrast to the importance of extrinsic rewards, intrinsic, altruistic and social rewards were found to be more highly desired by females when selecting a career path. The biggest difference was in the importance of altruistic rewards. Thus, females are much more desirous of a job in which they can 'help others.' Similarly, women wish to have a job that permits them to 'make friends' and 'meet a lot of people' (social rewards). This is in keeping with females' stereotypical communal nature. For males, leisure time and relative lack of supervision were important factors. Background influences such as parents' education, race, mother's employment, religion all had negligible effect compared to that of gender when determining job values.

Tam (1997) presents evidence that the Devaluation Hypothesis, which states that women's work is systematically devalued by society, is not the best explanation for the 'wage effects' evidenced in much recent literature. Rather, his evidence supports the Specialized Human Capital Hypothesis which states that occupational differences in the investment cost of specialized human capital explain the apparent sex composition effects on wages. Overall, Tam finds no

support for the commonly held notion that occupational sex composition influences wages.

Tomaskovic-Devey and Skaggs (2002) revisit and expand upon Tam's (1997) model by including social closure and the gendered nature of the labor process. They contend that since most jobs are gendered, who receives skilled jobs (and relevant training) is subject to closure by existing work groups. The authors' findings support those of Tam in that there is no evidence for the direct devaluation of women's work. Rather, differential access to training (specialized human capital), as subject to social closure in the context of gendered labor process is put forth as a more adequate explanation.

Rudman and Kilianski (2000) find that implicit attitudes toward female authorities were similar (negative) for both sexes, with males exhibiting more negative attitudes. Women reported less explicit prejudice against female authority figures than did males. Self-reported feminists showed less implicit and explicit prejudice against female authority figures. Hostile Sexists showed more implicit and explicit prejudice against female authority. This study lends support to the notion that women in positions of power or authority can be subject to prejudice, primarily because there is a perceived 'lack of fit' between their stereotyped role and a position of authority.

Correll, (2001) found that biased self assessments (as influenced by gender beliefs about task competence) influence decisions to persist on career path to quantitative fields (e.g. engineering). Males perceive that they are better at math than equally competent females. Females were found to have higher

self-assessments in verbal ability (verbal and math self-assessments evidence a strong negative correlational relationship, as though the two are perceived to be mutually exclusive skills). Females rely more heavily on performance feedback (grades) than do males for self-assessment. Higher English grades lead to lower levels of math self-assessment (see above; this effect is larger for females than for males). Males are 1.23 times more likely to enroll in calculus. Overall, when males and females perceived themselves as equally competent, they were equally likely to enroll in calculus. This is a key finding, as males are 3.86 times more likely to choose a quantitative college major than females. Correll's model seems to be supported in that widely held cultural beliefs lead to biased self assessments, which lead to differential career path choices which in turn lead to differential placement in the labor market.

Ridgeway (2001; see also Ridgeway and Correll 2004) uses another stereotype content model, Expectation States Theory, as an analytical lens. According to the theory, gender stereotypes have status beliefs at their core. These status beliefs are such that women are seen as less competent and men as more so in gender-neutral task oriented situations. Situational factors (gender-typed tasks, e.g., childcare) may mitigate individuals' evaluations and their likelihood to act, speak up, assume leadership roles, etc. Expectation States Theory takes a new slant on existing stereotype content models. The contention of key relevance to the current study is that women are presumed less competent than are men.

Rudman and Glick (2001) found that male job applicants were viewed as more socially skilled than were female applicants. This is a finding that perhaps seems counterintuitive. Androgynous applicants rated higher social skills than agentic applicants. Agentic males were rated higher than agentic females in terms of social skills. Men rated as more hireable than women overall. Agentic males rated more hireable than agentic females when the job description was feminized. Androgynous males and females rated as equally hireable across job descriptions. Taken in total, this study confirms the researchers' hypotheses, particularly that agentic women are viewed as less hireable than agentic men when the job description is feminized. Thus, agentic women who are not also communal are subject to a backlash effect. This is due to societal prescriptions that agentic women can (should) exhibit some competence, but not dominance. Women who exhibit social dominant characteristics are subject to social repercussions (backlash).

Sakalli (2001) found that Turkish males who had more favorable attitudes toward patriarchy and who were high on Hostile Sexism viewed wife beating as somewhat acceptable. They also tended to blame women for eliciting the violence. Women who violated gender role prescriptions were seen as having 'deserved it' or 'asked for it.'

Sakalli-Ugurlu and Glick (2003) found that negative views of women who engage in premarital sex were predicted by Benevolent Sexism, but not Hostile Sexism, when controlling for other variables. Age, degree of political conservatism, and level of sexual experience were also related to one's

likelihood to disapprove of women who engage in premarital sex. Men's preference for marrying a virgin was predicted by scores on both Hostile and Benevolent Sexism.

Masser and Abrams (2004) found that women who (attempt to) step outside of traditional gender roles can be met with hostile response, as well as negative assessment generally. This is particularly true if their attempt to do so is seen as a threat to males' role(s). Sibley and Wilson (2004), in a similar vein, found that a negative, nontraditional female subtype elicited from males increased Hostile Sexist and decreased Benevolent Sexist response. The traditional female subtype elicited the opposite response, with males showing increased Benevolent Sexism and decreased Hostile Sexism levels.

The following studies highlight how women can and do benefit from paternalistic ideologies, so long as they remain 'in their place.'

Young, Beier, Beier and Barton (1975) found that in a Bataca (pillow) club bout with a defensively postured female confederate, male participants were unlikely to engage the female with much vigor. 'Anti-lib' (sexist) men were particularly gingerly with the confederate, while 'Pro-lib' (non-sexist) men were not quite so delicate. It is important to note that when the female confederate took on an attacking posture, the sexist men responded in kind, much more so than did the non-sexist men. This study shows how non-threatening women are coddled, while 'uppity' women are not subject to the benevolent benefits of sexism, but rather its hostile aspect.

Kilianski and Rudman (1998) found that female respondents' ratings of a benevolent sexist profile were mildly favorable, while the hostile sexist profile was rated as highly unfavorable. Nearly half of their respondents approved of the benevolent sexist, while simultaneously disapproving of the hostile sexist (quite literally 'wanting it both ways'). Women considered it unlikely that the benevolent sexist and hostile sexist profiles could refer to the same person.

Viki, Abrams and Hutchison (2003) develop a measure of paternalistic chivalry and compare respondents' scores on this measure with scores on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. No relationship was found between Hostile Sexism score and Paternalistic Chivalry score. Neither was participant sex significant in terms of its relationship with Paternalistic Chivalry score. Benevolent Sexism, however, was found to have significant positive relationship with respondents' Paternalistic Chivalry scores.

Roles and Partner Preferences

Much previous research has been done in the Role Theory tradition regarding mate selection. Indeed, even the research on mate selection using Ambivalent Sexism Theory leans heavily on the Role Theory tradition. Given the seemingly inextricable connections between the two lines of theory, it is useful to examine the literature in both traditions as relates to partner preferences. In an early work using Social-Role Theory, Eagly and Wood (1999) found that in terms of mate selection, women tend to prefer mates with good earning potential, while men tend to favor mates with good domestic skills. Johannesen-Schmidt and

Eagly (2002) found that women who score high on Hostile Sexism tend to prefer mates with good earning potential, whereas Benevolent Sexist females prefer *older* mates with good earning potential. Both Hostile and Benevolent Sexist men tend to prefer younger mates with good domestic skills. Benevolent Sexist females also placed more importance on favorable surface qualities (e.g., handsome) and traditionally female qualities (e.g., refinement).

Johannesen-Schmidt (2004) also found that both men and women endorsed the older male, younger female arrangement. Findings also indicate that females who score high on Benevolent Sexism are more likely to value good domestic skills in a potential mate. This finding seems counterintuitive given the role theory framework, though Johannesen-Schmidt's findings that those women high on Benevolent Sexism were also likely to prefer the characteristics of good provider, physical attractive and religious traditionalism all fit well enough within the tenets of role theory. In a similar unexpected finding, men who were high on Benevolent Sexism were more likely to desire a mate with good provider characteristics.

Peplau, Hill and Rubin (1993) found that social role attitudes are influenced more by qualitative features of children's experiences (e.g. perception of mother's satisfaction or similarity of current partner to parent of same sex) than by sociodemographic characteristics (family background). From this, it follows that if females' mothers were perceived as happy fulfilling traditional roles, they should be more likely to accept a similar role.

Franzoi (2001) found that women who score high on Benevolent Sexism used more cosmetics in preparation for a romantic date than did women who scored lower on Benevolent Sexism. Further, Benevolent Sexist women held more positive attitudes toward sexual attractiveness. Franzoi indicates that women who use makeup to alter their appearance (to look younger) are sacrificing perceived competence and direct power in exchange for potential social rewards and indirect power that Benevolent Sexism offers. Forbes, Doroszeicz, Card and Adams-Curtis (2004), in a similar cross-national study, found that Benevolent Sexism was related to cosmetics use and acceptance in a Polish sample, but not in a US sample.

System Justification

As the current study examines the degree to which students might tend to 'buy into' the current system of gender ideologies, the literature in System Justification is here briefly reviewed. System Justification theorists Jost and Banaji (1994) examine the processes by which existing social arrangements are perpetuated, even at the cost of personal or group interests. Disadvantaged groups are found to perpetuate negative stereotypes of themselves, which lends a measure of consensus to stereotypic beliefs. The formation of these group stereotypes reinforces some existing status quo. By buying into the system of inequality, disadvantaged groups form a "false consciousness" regarding the legitimacy and stability of the existing order.

Glick and Fiske (2001) view Benevolent Sexism as one such system-justifying ideology. Since the protections afforded women via Benevolent Sexism are paternalistic in nature, women become stereotyped in many positive ways. However, few stereotypes of women involve traits presumed germane to occupancy of high status roles. According to Jost and Kay (2005; see also Jackman 1994), this stereotyped differentiation is important in maintaining the status quo in two ways. First, “it treats each gender group as essentially well-suited to occupy the positions...prescribed for them by society” (499). Second, it “prevents women from withdrawing completely from the system of gender relations in a societal context in which men’s competence is assumed and women’s is not” (ibid; see also Glick and Fiske 2001).

Summary and Overview of Following Chapter

The preceding sections provided an overview of literature relevant to the current study. The next chapter will provide an overview of data collection strategies used for the current study. Details of instrument design, validation, and implementation are discussed, as well as discussion of independent and dependent variables. Sampling procedures and issues, including discussion of generalizability are also discussed. The following chapter also provides an overview of the demographic characteristics of the sample.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology employed in the study. A convenience sample of undergraduate students was surveyed using a questionnaire which included, in part, a previously well-validated measure of sexism. The questionnaire used also queried students' standard demographic data (e.g., ethnicity, religion, etc.), and included a new index which was developed to measure students' preference toward Benevolent Sexist mates.

Materials

The study utilized a tripartite questionnaire. Parts one and two were comprised of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick and Fiske 1996) and basic demographic indicators, respectively. Part three consisted of a new index which was developed to assess women's preference for benevolent sexist mates. For male respondents, an analogous construct was also developed.

Questionnaire Part One: Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Alternate versions of the questionnaire used in the study are shown in Appendix B (women's version; p. 84) and Appendix C (men's version; p. 88). As

stated, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory was used to assess general sexist attitudes toward women. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick and Fiske 1996) is a previously well-validated, 22-item instrument on which respondents indicate their degree of agreement on a six-point scale using Likert format with no midpoint (forcing respondents to at least either agree slightly or disagree slightly; 0 = disagree strongly; 5 = agree strongly). Half of these 22 items measure Hostile Sexism, while the other half measure Benevolent Sexism, with each of the three aforementioned underlying dimensions (Heterosexuality, Paternalism and Gender Differentiation) accessed by multiple statements regarding each category. Thus the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory provides the researcher with separate Benevolent Sexism, Hostile Sexism as well as composite Ambivalent Sexism scores for use as independent variables. The range of possible scores was 0 to 55 for both Hostile and Benevolent Sexism sub-factors, and 0 to 110 for composite Ambivalent Sexism score. For further scoring indications, see Glick and Fiske (1996).

Questionnaire Part Two: Demographics

Also serving as independent variables are standard demographics (age, sex, ethnicity, religious preference and how often respondent attends religious services). These variables have proven to be related, to varying degrees, to Ambivalent Sexism scores in previous studies utilizing Ambivalent Sexism Theory. Age was included in the instrument to capture any possible variance,

though given the current undergraduate sample, little variance was expected. Education, which has proven relevant in past studies, was excluded from the current study due to the presumption that most students enrolled in Introductory Sociology were first or second year students.

The variables mother's and father's occupation were each included due to the primarily exploratory nature of the current study. Though previous studies using Ambivalent Sexism Theory appear not to have used parents' occupations as an independent variable, it is not unreasonable to suspect that given the relatively young sample, familial influence on attitudes should still be rather strong, up to and including attitudes regarding future work and marital preferences. This rationale is in keeping with the Role Theory tradition in that perceived future work roles influence preferred mate characteristics and vice versa. Parents' occupation items were posed in open-ended format, and later recoded mirroring the coding scheme used by the General Social Survey ("professional/ technical", "higher administrator", "clerical", etc.; see Table I; p. 77 for descriptive statistics and coding; General Social Survey Codebook).

Parents' education levels were also queried, for reasons not dissimilar to the above. Education has shown a negative correlation with Ambivalent Sexism scores, as with other types of prejudice. Again, since the current undergraduate sample is relatively young, it is not illogical to presume that their own attitudes toward relationships reflect very closely those of their parents. Further, recall that respondents' education was not included (it is here treated as a non-

variable) in the current study. Parents' education levels were coded categorically ranging from "less than high school" to "graduate/ professional."

Since the current study addresses mate selection preferences and assumes a heterosexual orientation, sexual orientation (hetero/other) was used as a filter question. Those indicating a non-heterosexual preference ("other" or "no response"; N=4) were excluded from the current study. Additionally, a self-report item asking respondents' attitudes toward gender relations (on a traditional- progressive continuum; 0 = very traditional, 20 = very progressive), was included.

Questionnaire Part Three: Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index

As discussed above, several studies have been conducted which examine mate selection criteria from a Role Theory perspective. The current study builds on previous mate selection questionnaires to assess the degree of preference toward potential mates who exhibit Benevolent Sexist attitudes and behaviors. In contrast to the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, which provides measures of sexist attitudes in general, an *implicit* measure, the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index was developed to be a more *explicit* measure of mate-characteristic preferences.

In terms of index design, Ambivalent Sexism Inventory items were used as a basis from which to develop Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index items. In so doing, Ambivalent Sexism Inventory items were edited to shift the focus

from the abstract and general focus of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (focus is on relationships in general; e.g., “women should be cherished and protected by men”) to the more concrete and specific (focus is on the relationship with respondent’s future mate; e.g., “*he* should put *me* on a pedestal”). This process produced an original pool of Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index indicators which consisted of nine items. Four additional items measuring attitudes toward paternalistic behaviors (“When we go out, he should pull the chair out for me to sit”; “He should pay when we go out”; “He should open the door for me when we go out”; “He should make sure I enjoy myself when we go out”) were adapted from Viki, Abrams and Hutchison’s (2003) Paternalistic Chivalry Scale. These items, which address preferences toward a Chivalric Ideal, were dropped from the authors’ Paternalistic Chivalry Scale due to high loadings on the Benevolent Sexism factor (specific factor loadings unreported; Viki, Abrams and Hutchison 2003: 537). Inclusion of these four items thus brings the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index item pool to thirteen.

Validating the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index

Following Babbie (2001: 162-3), item analysis was conducted as a first step in testing the internal validity of the new construct. Mirroring the process outlined by Babbie, all items were found to be sufficiently valid on their face and via the item analysis. Upon further analysis, however, one Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index item (“He should seek my input when facing an ethical dilemma”) began to appear only marginally valid. Inter-item correlations were low

for this indicator, both for Ambivalent Sexism Inventory items and the remaining Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index items. Factor analysis using SPSS (Version 12.0.1, 2004; Principal Components) indicated that this item did not load sufficiently (.303) on what proved otherwise to be a single-factor solution with loadings ranging from .520 to .768 (see table II; p. 80), and satisfactory overall Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .853$). Thus, upon exclusion of this indicator, the revised Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index consists of twelve items rather than the previous thirteen.

Despite the fact that the primary focus of the current study is to measure *women's* attitudes toward Benevolent Sexist mates, the current study involves men as well. Men were included so that the findings of previous studies might be replicated as relate to Ambivalent Sexism Inventory scores and associated variables. Further, an alternate Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index version was formulated to assess men's Benevolent Sexist mate preferences as well as those of women.

In formulating an alternate men's version of the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index, index items were edited such that "*He* should put *me* on a pedestal" (female-directed item) becomes "*I* should put *her* on a pedestal" (male-directed item) and so on. Here again, the emphasis is on the specific expectations of interactions with future mates, rather than the assessment of general attitudes toward gender relations. Validity of the two alternate Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index versions is reflected by an acceptable Cronbach's alpha for the men's version (BSMPI_{BLUE}; $\alpha = .841$), as well as for the

women's version (BSMPI_{PINK}; $\alpha = .856$). Here, "Blue" and "Pink" refer to the color of paper on which the alternate Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index versions were printed. Thus, all females received the Pink version and appropriate Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index, while males received the Blue version and appropriate Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index. This procedure also allowed omission of one item (sex) from the questionnaire.

Sampling and Subjects

Sampling Method

The current study utilized a convenience sample of undergraduate students enrolled in introductory Sociology courses on the Oklahoma State University-Stillwater campus. Given that the present study is principally exploratory in nature, a convenience sample was deemed sufficient for the current ends. Generalizability of the current sample is limited due to the fact that it used undergraduate students on a University campus, and is not generalizable outside of these confines. However, since introductory Sociology courses are core courses they thus provide a useful sampling frame from which to draw a diverse sample of students. Additionally, both early morning (8:30 am) and afternoon (2:30 pm) sections were sampled to mitigate, to some degree, inherent sampling bias. Permission to conduct the survey during in-class lecture was secured through the courses' instructor. Total enrollment in these sections was

such that a final N of 325 (181 female and 122 male respondents) was easily obtained. This final N surpassed the researcher's initial target N of 200.

Students were solicited using a script which consisted of paragraph one of *Instructions and Notifications of Voluntary Participation* (see Appendix A; p. 82) which was handed out prior to administering the questionnaire. Respondents were given instruction which detailed the known risks (none), known benefits, and premium offered (none) for participation in the study.

Characteristics of the Sample

Of those responding to the questionnaire, 82.5% were White, 5.8% were Black, 3.1% Hispanic, and 5.2% Native American. Though this was a convenience sample, these demographics closely resemble the demographics of the student population of the University, as indicated in *Oklahoma State University Fact Sheet 2005-06* (Oklahoma State University Division of Enrollment Management, Oklahoma State University Institutional Research and Information Management, and Oklahoma State University Communication Services 2006; see *Table I: Sample Demographics*; p. 77 for summary). Whites and Blacks were slightly overrepresented (+ 3.5% and + 1.8% respectively). Native Americans were slightly underrepresented (- 3.8%). In terms of sex, the 181 female respondents (56%) were slightly overrepresented versus the campus-wide percentage of 48% (ibid.).

In terms of age, the sample proved to be relatively young (\bar{x} = 19.212; SD = 1.348) with a range of 18 to 27. Ninety-five percent (N = 307) of

respondents were aged 18 to 21. Concerning religion, most respondents (89.9%) claimed a Christian (Catholic, Protestant or Non-Denominational) affiliation. No religious affiliation was claimed by 8.3% of the sample. Regarding frequency of religious service attendance, 11.7% indicated never attending services, while 28.6% reported attending services less than once per month. Identical percentages (28.3%) indicated attending services at least once per month and once per week, respectively. Interestingly, of those claiming no religious affiliation, fully a third (33.3%) reported attending services as often as once a week. In a similar vein, of those identifying themselves as Christian (Protestant, Catholic or Non-Denominational), 21.9% reported never attending services.

One in five respondents (20.6%, N = 67) reported their mother's occupation as "housewife," while none reported their father's occupation as "househusband" or equivalent. Father's occupation was much more likely to be reported as "none" for those responding (4.6%) versus for mother's occupation (0.6%). This is perhaps a reflection of stigma which continues to be attached to the househusband label, versus the general acceptance of the housewife role. Respondents' mothers were also more likely to have completed some college/two year degree or less (47.7%) versus fathers (37.5%); while more fathers held at least a four-year degree (62.1%) than did mothers (52.6%).

Summary and Overview of Following Chapter

The preceding sections provided an overview of data collection strategies used for the current study. Details of instrument design were discussed, as well as issues of validation and implementation of the questionnaire. Independent and dependent variables were detailed, as were sampling procedures, issues of generalizability, and characteristics of the sample. The following chapter provides an overview of relevant findings in two sections. First, utilizing the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory as dependent variable, results of previous studies were partially replicated. Second, results using the newly developed Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index as dependent variable are discussed. Discussion elucidates significant findings and non-findings for both sections.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The chapter discusses relevant findings in two sections. First, results utilizing the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory as dependent variable, which provide partial replication of the results of previous studies, are discussed. Results which do not replicate previous studies are also detailed. Next, results using the newly developed Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index as dependent variable for both men and women are discussed, as well as general discussion of the relevance of these findings.

Given that one goal of the current enterprise is to determine the degree to which findings of previous studies using the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory might be replicated, the following section details relationships of demographic variables to Ambivalent Sexism Inventory scores. As in previous studies, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and its subscales proved reliable: Hostile Sexism $\alpha = .803$; Benevolent Sexism $\alpha = .740$; Ambivalent Sexism $\alpha = .775$.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Scores for Male and Female Participants

Mean ratings for men and women were analyzed in SPSS (Version 12.0.1; 2004) using an independent samples t-test procedure. Sex differences were found to be significant for both Hostile and Ambivalent Sexism. Men scored

higher on Hostile Sexism ($\bar{x} = 33.701$) than did women ($\bar{x} = 25.055$; $t = 10.396$; $p < .0001$). Men also scored higher on Ambivalent Sexism ($\bar{x} = 65.396$) than did women in the sample ($\bar{x} = 57.287$; $t = 6.398$; $p < .0001$). These findings are not surprising and are consistent with previous studies. However, sex differences were not significant in terms of Benevolent Sexism scores. Glick and Fiske (2000) indicate that this may be a reflection of relative gender inequality.

One-sample t-tests were also performed comparing mean scores on Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, and Ambivalent Sexism to each scale's midpoint for both men and women. In terms of Hostile Sexism, both men's ($\bar{x} = 33.701$; $t = 10.487$; $p < .0001$) and women's ($\bar{x} = 25.055$; $t = -3.653$; $p < .0001$) scores differed significantly from the midpoint (test value = 27). As for Benevolent Sexism, women's scores ($\bar{x} = 32.232$; $t = 8.755$; $p < .0001$) as well as men's scores ($\bar{x} = 31.694$; $t = 6.939$; $p < .0001$) were both significantly above the midpoint (test value = 27), despite a non-significant sex difference. Ambivalent Sexism scores produced a similar pattern. Men ($\bar{x} = 65.396$; $t = 11.338$; $p < .0001$) scored well above the midpoint, while women's scores ($\bar{x} = 57.287$; $t = 2.614$; $p = .01$) though significantly different from the midpoint (test value = 55), this difference was not as pronounced as for men. These findings are mostly consistent with previous studies' findings. Other studies indicate that men tend to score higher on Hostile Sexism and composite Ambivalent Sexism (Glick and Fiske 1996). Sex differences for Benevolent Sexism tend to be related to gender equality in that high levels of inequality tend to be associated with high levels of

Benevolent Sexism in both males and, particularly, females (Glick and Fiske 2000).

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Scores and Race

One-way ANOVA was performed in SPSS to examine race effects for Ambivalent Sexism Inventory scores. Tukey's B post hoc analyses indicated that Benevolent Sexism scores for both Hispanics ($\bar{x} = 27.8$) and for Blacks ($\bar{x} = 36.842$; $F(4,320) = 2.505$; $p = .042$) showed significant race effects, with Hispanics scoring significantly lower than other groups, while Blacks scored significantly higher. No race effect was found for Native American ($\bar{x} = 31.1176$), Whites ($\bar{x} = 31.8694$), Asians/Pacific Islanders/Arabic ($\bar{x} = 31.8182$). Previous research, including the researcher's own (Spencer 2003) has shown similar elevated Benevolent Sexism among Blacks. It is unclear, however, why Hispanics scored significantly lower. Such a finding, given the high portion of Hispanics who are traditionally Catholic, seems counterintuitive, in view of the fact that Catholic religiosity has in the past been associated with higher Benevolent Sexism scores (see Glick, Lameiras, and Castro 2002).

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Scores and Religion

Given the findings above, One-way ANOVA was also performed in SPSS to examine effects of religion on Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (and subscale) scores. Tukey's B post hoc analyses indicated that those claiming no religious affiliation scored significantly lower on Benevolent Sexism ($\bar{x} = 26.741$) than all

other groups (Christian/Non-Denominational, $\bar{x} = 32.0692$; Jewish/Muslim/Hindu/Buddhist, $\bar{x} = 32.1250$; Catholic, $\bar{x} = 32.4792$) whereas Protestants scored significantly higher ($\bar{x} = 32.955$; $F(4,320) = 3.406$; $p = .01$). This finding is consistent with those of previous findings that have linked religiosity with various types of prejudice, including Ambivalent Sexism. Independent samples t-tests conducted in SPSS (religion dichotomized, yes or no affiliation) further support this pattern for all but Hostile Sexism. Those with no religious affiliation scored significantly lower in terms of Benevolent Sexism ($\bar{x} = 26.741$) than did those claiming a religious affiliation ($\bar{x} = 32.47$; $t = 3.123$; $p = .004$). So too did non-religious respondents score lower on composite Ambivalent Sexism scores ($\bar{x} = 56.037$) than did religious respondents ($\bar{x} = 61.312$; $t = 2.056$; $p = .048$).

One-way ANOVA procedure in SPSS showed an effect for the variable frequency of attendance (of religious services) as relates to Benevolent Sexism scores. Tukey's B post hoc analyses indicated that those never attending services ($\bar{x} = 28.737$) and those attending less than once per month ($\bar{x} = 30.473$) scored significantly lower on Benevolent Sexism than other groups (once per week, $\bar{x} = 33.1739$; at least once per month, $\bar{x} = 33.2826$) while those attending at least twice per week ($\bar{x} = 35.8$; $F(4,320) = 4.168$; $p = .003$) were found to have higher levels of Benevolent Sexism. Frequency of attendance, when treated as a semi-continuous variable showed moderate correlations with both Benevolent Sexism ($r = .304$; $p = .0001$) and Ambivalent Sexism ($r = .261$; $p = .002$) among men. For the combined sample, frequency of attendance was moderately correlated with Benevolent Sexism ($r = .206$; $p = .0001$), but not Ambivalent

Sexism. These results are in keeping with the findings of many previous studies, and are perhaps a reflection of the way the world's different religions promote paternalistic ideologies consistent with protective paternalism, complimentary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy.

Correlations

Table III (p. 81), Table IV (p. 82), and Table V (p. 83) show inter-item correlations for Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and subscale scores, frequency of attendance, attitudes towards male-female relations, and age for the combined sample, men only, and women only respectively. Women showed a moderate Correlation between Hostile and Benevolent Sexism ($r = .197$; $p = .008$). This correlation was significant, yet not as pronounced as correlations evidenced in previous studies. Glick et al. (1997) for example, found correlations on the order of $r = .42$ among women and $r = .52$ among men (p. 1326). In the current study, men did not produce similar findings regarding inter-item correlations (Hostile Sexism-Benevolent Sexism; $r = -.03$; ns). It is unclear why this is the case. Glick and Fiske (1996) indicate that this could be a reflection that Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism are truly separate elements of sexism.

Respondents' self-reported attitudes toward gender relations showed moderate negative correlations with Benevolent Sexism for males ($r = -.216$), females ($r = -.239$), and combined ($r = -.230$; all $p \leq .01$). As coded, higher scores on this item indicate a more progressive attitude, which one in turn would expect to be associated with lower Sexism scores, as these results seem to

reflect. These results must be interpreted with caution, however. While it is tempting to say that respondents were at least partially aware of their own implicit attitudes toward male-female relations, this awareness apparently only applies to Benevolent Sexism, as similar correlations were not found for Hostile Sexism. Since it is Hostile Sexism, and not Benevolent Sexism that is more in keeping with most people's working definitions of sexism, the importance of these correlations should not be overstated. The researcher's own previous studies have found no significant correlations between self-report attitudes towards relations and Ambivalent Sexism Inventory scores (Spencer 2003).

Tables III and V show that significant negative correlations between age and Ambivalent Sexism Inventory scores were found. Even given the relative lack of variance in terms of age, these findings need not necessarily be discounted. Women, as well as the combined sample (including both men and women) showed negative correlations between age and both Benevolent and Ambivalent Sexism. This is consistent with previous studies that show similar patterns (Fernandez, Castro, and Lorenzo 2004; Spencer 2003).

For parents' highest degree completed, no significant differences in terms of Ambivalent Sexism Inventory scores were found among groups. Neither were significant differences found among parents' occupational categories.

Discussion

The primary reason for inclusion of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory in the present study was to provide independent variables for use in correlational analyses involving the newly developed Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index. However, a secondary objective was to determine the degree to which previous findings using this instrument as dependent variable could be replicated. Taken in total, this effort met with mixed success. Significant effects for sex, race, and religion partially replicated those of previous studies. Some unexpected results were found as well.

Non-significant sex differences for Benevolent Sexism scores were unexpected, though not without precedent. Glick and Fiske (1996) indicate that similar results were found in only one of their six samples, and sex differences for Benevolent Sexism were less robust than for Hostile Sexism or Ambivalent Sexism in all samples. The reasons for these differences are unclear in Glick and Fiske's study, as well as the present study. Both studies utilize undergraduate student samples. It is possible, however that the lack of significant sex difference in terms of Benevolent Sexism is reflective of larger issues. Recall that when correlated with United Nations' Gender-Related Development Index data, Benevolent Sexism was found to be higher in women (than in men) in countries with lower levels gender equality. It may be that conservative sentiments in North-Central Oklahoma are such that Benevolent Sexism scores among women are higher here than one would expect in a supposedly

egalitarian country such as the United States, yet not as high as in less egalitarian places, such as Cuba or South Africa. By way of contrast, all six samples used by Glick and Fiske (1996) were taken from student and non-students in more liberally oriented Massachusetts. Perhaps not surprisingly, five of six of their samples produces significant sex differences for Benevolent Sexism, with men scoring higher in all six samples.

Race also provided both expected and unexpected results. Blacks' high Benevolent Sexism scores replicated previous results. Hispanics' low Benevolent Sexism scores were unexpected and have no known precedent. Neither is the reason for this entirely clear. Previous studies using Ambivalent Sexism Inventory tend not to report race as a variable. Further complicating the picture are findings regarding religion. Findings indicate that those claiming a Protestant affiliation scored high on Benevolent Sexism in the current study, whereas previous studies have provided mixed results. Catholic religiosity has previously been associated with increased Benevolent Sexism (Glick, Lameiras, and Rodriguez Castro 2002), but was not in the current study. The researcher's own previous studies have found both Catholicism and Protestantism related with higher Benevolent Sexism (Spencer 2003). In a similar vein, the current study successfully replicated previous findings that degree of religiosity, as reflected by frequency of attendance was positively correlated with increased Benevolent Sexism scores.

Other inter-item correlations were also a combination of expected and unexpected findings. Low correlations between Hostile Sexism and Benevolent

Sexism among women, and lack of significant correlations between subscales for men is unexpected and does not reflect previous studies. Many previous studies using Ambivalent Sexism Inventory have found strong inter-subscale correlations in both student and non-student samples (Fernandez, Castro, and Lorenzo 2004; Glick and Fiske 1996; Glick, Lameiras, and Rodriguez Castro 2002; Kilianski and Rudman 1998). Self-reported attitudes toward relations between sexes produced negative correlations with Benevolent Sexism. This does not replicate previous findings of the researcher (Spencer 2003), which found no significant correlations between subscale scores and self-reported attitudes. In this sense, the present study's lack of significant Hostile Sexism-attitudes and Ambivalent Sexism-attitudes correlations did successfully replicate the researcher's previous findings. Other studies using Ambivalent Sexism Inventory have not used a simple self-report item such as this. These findings do indicate, however, a general lack of perception for both women and, particularly, men, that these Benevolent Sexist behaviors and attitudes are, in fact, sexist in nature.

Findings that women's age negatively correlated with both Benevolent and Ambivalent Sexism provided partial replication of previous studies which found similar negative correlations for women through their late twenties, in terms of both Benevolent and (to a less robust extent) Hostile Sexism (Fernandez, Castro, and Lorenzo 2004: 204). Similar patterns were also found among men (*ibid.*). It must be noted that correlations among both Hostile and Benevolent Sexism for both men and women regained a positive slope after approximately age forty (*ibid.*). An important difference between the two studies is that the Fernandez

study utilized a non-student sample, with respondents aged 18 to 65. The researcher's own previous studies have also found patterns of results consistent with Fernandez. These studies utilized a student sample, but on a university campus with a higher percentage of non-traditional students (Spencer 2003). A sample with more age variance may well have more successfully replicated previous findings.

The present study was also unable to replicate findings of previous studies regarding education-Ambivalent Sexism correlations, as education was here treated as a non-variable. Previous studies have not reported association of parent's occupation or education levels with Ambivalent Sexism Inventory scores, and no association was found for these variables in the current study.

Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index Results

A principal aim of the current endeavor is to measure women's preferences for mates who exhibit Benevolent Sexist attitudes and behaviors. As stated, men's preferences for Benevolent Sexist mates are also measured. The central results in this section will deal with correlations between variables for age, self-reported attitudes toward relations (very traditional to very progressive) , frequency of (religious service) attendance, Ambivalent Sexism (and subscales), and the newly developed Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index. Sex, race, and religious differences are also discussed. Table III shows correlations for Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores for women. Table IV shows

correlations for men. Correlations for the combined sample are shown in Table V.

Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index Scores for Males and Females

Among women, both Benevolent Sexism scores ($r = .692$) and composite Ambivalent Sexism scores ($r = .529$; all $p = .0001$) were strongly correlated with Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores. This stands to reason, given that Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index items were developed using Benevolent Sexism subscale items from the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory as their base. Further, given that composite Ambivalent Sexism scores are in part a function of Benevolent Sexism subscale scores, it also stands to reason that the Ambivalent Sexism-Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index correlation should not be as robust as that with Benevolent Sexism.

For men, Benevolent Sexism scores were also strongly correlated with scores on the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index ($r = .743$). A Strong correlation was also found between men's composite Ambivalent Sexism scores and Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores ($r = .589$; all $p = .0001$). These correlations were even more robust than those for women. Independent samples t-test procedure in SPSS (Version 12.0.1; 2004) found that men's mean Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index score ($\bar{x} = 40.444$) was significantly higher than that of women ($\bar{x} = 35.569$; $p = .0001$). This too fits the general pattern of previous studies in which men tend to score higher on Ambivalent Sexism measures. One sample t-test procedure in SPSS also indicated that

both men's ($\bar{x} = 40.444$; $t = 13.28$) and women's ($\bar{x} = 35.596$; $t = 7.344$) mean scores were significantly higher than the index's neutral midpoint (test value = 30).

For the combined sample, it is interesting to note that Ambivalent Sexism scores, as well as both subscale scores, all showed positive correlations with Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores. As one might expect given both men's and women's results, the correlation between Benevolent Sexism scores and scores on the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index were more robust ($r = .684$), followed by composite Ambivalent Sexism-Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index correlation ($r = .587$; all $p = .0001$). Unexpected here is the significant, albeit low, positive correlation between Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores for the combined sample ($r = .186$; $p = .001$). Given previous studies' strong inter-subscale correlations for Benevolent and Hostile Sexism, as well as positive Benevolent-Hostile Sexism correlations among women in the current study, this is not a completely unexpected finding.

Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores and Race

The data do not seem to indicate a significant race effect for Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores, with one exception. When coded as a three-way split variable (White, Black, Other), One-way ANOVA procedure in SPSS, followed by Tukey's b post-hoc analyses indicated that Black women's scores ($\bar{x} = 41.2667$) showed as significantly higher than those recoded as

'Other' (Native American, Asian, Hispanic, Pacific Islander and Arabic; \bar{x} = 32.619; $F(2,180) = 3.319$; $p = .038$). This in turn was reflected in the combined sample, with Blacks scoring higher (\bar{x} = 40.8421) than the 'Others' (\bar{x} = 34.9737; $F(2, 324) = 2.351$; marginal significance, $p = .097$). No further race effects were found for race in the current sample.

Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index Scores and Religion

Differences in mean Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores were found when the variable religion was dichotomized (some religious affiliation versus no affiliation). Independent samples t-test procedure in SPSS showed that those indicating some religious affiliation scored higher (\bar{x} = 38.1779) than did those indicating no religious affiliation (\bar{x} = 32.7778; $t = 2.233$; $p = .033$). The variable frequency of attendance was significantly positively correlated with Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores for women ($r = .151$; $p = .042$), for men ($r = .266$; $p = .001$), as well as for the combined sample ($r = .162$; $p = .003$). It bears repeating that religion has been associated with increased levels of Benevolent Sexism in previous studies. In further support of this general pattern is the current study's finding that those respondents reporting never attending religious services (\bar{x} = 32.9737) scored significantly lower on the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index than did both those reporting attendance at least once a month (\bar{x} = 40.6522) and those reporting attendance at least twice a week (\bar{x} = 40.40; $F(4,320) = 4.855$; $p = .0001$).

Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index Scores and Self-Report Attitudes toward Male-Female Relations

For index variable asking respondents' attitudes regarding male-female relations on a very traditional to very progressive continuum, significant negative correlations with Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores were found. For men, this negative correlation ($r = -.243$; $p = .003$) was more robust than for both the combined sample ($r = -.190$; $p = .001$) or women ($r = -.185$; $p = .012$). Again, higher scores on the self-report attitudes item indicate a more progressive attitude. Higher scores on the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index should indicate a more traditional inclination on the part of respondents. Negative correlations here provide some indication that respondents' attitudes toward male-female relations partially match their preferred mate characteristics. The importance of this finding is tempered, however, by the relative weakness of the correlations. It is apparent from the weakness of these correlations that respondents were not particularly able to identify Benevolent Sexism Mate Preference Inventory items as sexist in nature. These results also reflect the negative correlation found between Benevolent Sexism and self-reported attitudes.

Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index Scores and Age

Despite the relative lack of variance, age was negatively correlated with respondents' Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index Scores for both women (r

= -.214; $p = .004$) and for the combined sample ($r = -.115$; $p = .039$). Older respondents tended to score lower, indicating a decreased preference for Benevolent Sexist mate characteristics. Men showed a similar pattern, with older men scoring lower on the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference ($r = -.139$) though this correlation was only marginally significant ($p = .096$). These results reflect negative correlations found for Benevolent Sexism and age above. Results such as this must also be interpreted with care, however, since the sample provided little variance as relates to age.

As with Ambivalent Sexism and subscale scores above, parents' occupations and education levels produced no significant results as relate to Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores.

Discussion

A principal goal of the current study was to develop and validate a new index to measure respondents' degree of preference toward potential mates who exhibit Benevolent Sexist attitudes and behaviors. Another chief goal of the current study was to determine the degree to which both men and women prefer mates who exhibit Benevolent Sexist attitudes and behaviors. Based on the above analyses of the data obtained, it can be said that both sexes place a good deal of importance on these criteria, since both sexes scored above the midpoint of the index. Comparing men's Benevolent Sexism Inventory scores with those of women, the data further indicate that men place more importance on finding a

Benevolent Sexist mate than do women. This suggests that many men find the prospect of a mate willing to enact traditionally stereotyped marriage roles an appealing one. Based on the data, it appears that many women view this prospect in only a slightly less favorable light.

Strong correlations between respondents' Benevolent Sexism scores and Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores for both males and females indicate that these preferences for a Benevolent Sexist mate are directly related to respondents' own level of agreement with traditionally stereotyped images of women within the context of interpersonal relationships. It bears noting, however, that these correlations are not exceptionally high (perhaps on the order of .8 or more), indicating that the implicit endorsement of sexist gender ideologies does not directly translate into personal mate preferences in an absolute sense. The data points to a potential disconnect between men's and women's general endorsement of gender ideologies on an abstract, conceptual level and their endorsement of these same ideologies on a personal level.

Black female's relatively high Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores are quite possibly the result of the cultural distinctness of African Americans as compared to other segments of society. Though Blacks have by most measures been fully assimilated into American culture, there remain some important differences. Perhaps most relevant to the results presented here, African Americans' family structures stereotypically, if not actually, tend toward a more matriarchal arrangement than do those of other ethnic groups (Hyman 1969) It is possible, assuming that more power and respect reside with females

in a matriarchal arrangement, that these same Benevolent Sexist behaviors come to be viewed as an entitlement to Black women. These behaviors might well be seen as appropriate homage to those who hold more prestige in the family or larger social group. The reasons behind these findings are subject, however, to further empirical verification.

Given previous research regarding religion and various types of prejudice, it should come as little surprise that religion was associated with higher scores on the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index. Results of particular note are that those who don't attend religious services, or who have no religious affiliation scored lower on the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index. Presumably, these people are more egalitarian in their preferences for future mates by virtue of the fact that they have either not been exposed to, or have chosen to reject religious doctrine which at once idealizes women in traditional roles and places restrictions on them. In a similar vein, religiosity, as reflected in frequency of attendance, and which serves as a reasonable proxy through which to gauge fidelity to paternalistic religious dogma, showed moderate association with preference for a Benevolent Sexist mate among men.

Attesting to the subtleties and complexities inherent in Benevolent Sexism, respondents' self-report attitudes toward male-female relations were only moderately negatively correlated with Benevolent Sexism Inventory Scores. For women especially, there is again an apparent disconnect between their ability to associate Benevolent Sexist behaviors with sexism. Just as indicated in Kilianski and Rudman (1998), these behaviors are more likely to be viewed as positive

and prosocial. Further, these same paternalistic behaviors are likely seen as entitlements by many women (e.g., those who demand to be treated 'like a lady'). Many men, despite a suggested higher degree of awareness that these behaviors are sexist in nature, could either be pressured into treating women according to women's desires, or, perhaps more likely based on men's higher scores on the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index, could simply be manipulating their own outcomes by providing protection and provision to women in exchange for reciprocal considerations. The implications of these findings are somewhat less than flattering to either sex.

It is perhaps wise to forego in-depth discussion of negative correlations between age and Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores given the lack of age variance evidenced in the current sample. Previous studies, as stated above, have found negative correlations between Ambivalent Sexism scores and Age. Given this, some speculation might be offered regarding mate preferences for such a young sample. Given that mate selection is likely not a central focus for many young University students (Hill 1945), students' perceptions of their own future mates are likely to be highly idealized (Johannesen-Schmidt 2004). Thus, the longer a young person is in the university environment—assuming he or she is also taking active part in dating, as is common among university students, and is a crucial element in mate selection—the more likely he or she is to become 'jaded' to the sometimes harsh realities of the 'mating market.' Thus, idealized visions of future mates may be lost the longer a student remains active in the dating scene. To carry this logic one final step further, it can be assumed that

the longer students are 'dating around,' the older they will get, and their idealized visions of their future mates further eroded. This scenario could account for the negative correlation, though further research is needed to test this possible relationship.

Summary and Overview of Following Chapter

The preceding sections presented relevant findings and non-findings for the present study. Significant effects were found for sex, race, age, attitudes toward gender relations, religion and religiosity for Ambivalent Sexism and subscale scores. These findings partially replicated findings of previous studies. Sex differences, as well as race, age, attitudes toward gender relations, religion and religiosity effects were also found for Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores. Of particular note are findings which indicate that both women, and particularly men, seem to prefer Benevolent Sexist mates. Also of note are low correlations found for both men and women in terms of both Benevolent Sexism and Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores, which point to an apparent lack of awareness among respondents that Benevolent Sexist attitudes are in fact sexist.

The following chapter will synthesize the present findings in light of their strengths and weaknesses. Also discussed will be the extent to which students are actually free to 'choose' Benevolent Sexist mates. Next, weaknesses of the current study are discussed. Finally, indications for future research and concluding remarks are offered.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This chapter will provide a synthesis of the study's findings including their strengths and weaknesses. The issue of choice is discussed, as relates to women's freedom or lack thereof to accept or reject paternalistic gender ideologies. Weaknesses of the current study and indications for future research in this area are also discussed. Finally, concluding remarks are offered.

In the current study, several findings successfully replicated the findings of previous studies using the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. As mentioned previously, variables for sex, race and religion and religiosity all produced significant effects for Ambivalent Sexism and subscale scores. Significant correlations were found between Ambivalent Sexism Inventory scores and Benevolent Sexism Mate Preference Index Scores, indicating an association between endorsement of traditional gendered stereotypes of women and the desire for a Benevolent Sexist mate. Sex differences, as well as race, religion, age, and religiosity effects were found for Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores. Both men and women showed moderate preferences for Benevolent Sexist mates. Low correlations between self reported attitudes toward gender relations and Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index scores for

both sexes indicate a lack of perception that Benevolent Sexist behaviors and attitudes are in fact sexist. These findings echo those of Kilianski and Rudman (1998) who found that women approve of Benevolent Sexism. Further research is needed to determine whether it is this lack of perception or a simple cost-benefit analysis which makes Benevolent Sexist mates attractive to both sexes.

Culture and Choice

The current study deals with a form of sexism which, as mentioned above, is much subtler than those faced by previous waves of feminists. Assuming that many women are likely to uncritically accept paternalistic behaviors and attitudes, they are unlikely to reject these ideologies as sexist. A central issue, then, in determining whether or not a person has a 'choice' in acceptance of the hegemonic ideology is that of awareness. The work of Jost and Banaji (1994) and Jost and Kay (2005) suggests that both women and men who 'buy into' the current system of gender ideology come to internalize stereotypes of both sexes as being well suited to their present situation. Further, Jost and Kay (2005) suggest that for women who receive benevolent paternalistic treatment, their own personal justification of the status quo is elevated. This, in turn, reflects that these same women (and men) are unlikely to have awareness that these behaviors and attitudes are sexist, as both sexes are 'getting what they naturally deserve.' In short, these women and men will have no 'choice' in the sense that there is no viable alternative perceived.

Even for women (and men) who tend toward criticism of the current

system of gender ideologies, there is still the problematic of awareness. It should by now be taken as a given that paternalistic behaviors and attitudes are based upon the implicit assumption that women are in need of men's protection and provision. It is plausible that even many self-proclaimed feminists will not view Benevolent Sexism as actual sexism due to its tendency to be interpreted as pro-social. In short, paternalistic behaviors and attitudes in the form of Benevolent Sexism may often be interpreted simply as 'civility,' even to those with an eye toward gender equality. Here again, there is no 'choice,' because these individuals will not have the cognitive abilities to recognize that there is one.

Previous research seems to indicate that many women may well perceive a choice in these matters. Orenstein (2000) gives an account of an interviewee in her study who "despite a surface desire for equality . . . [was] preparing for something else" (p. 108). In Orenstein's study, 'Lindsay' was looking forward to what has been called a Near-Peer relationship (see Schwartz 1994). Even given their purported desire for equality in a marriage, the mind-set of Near-Peer mothers is perhaps best illustrated in the following by Lindsay herself: "[I]f he were making enough money, I'd be willing to take on more of that domestic stuff" (ibid.; 108). For some, as it would seem, there is a point of diminishing returns after which personal affinity toward or rejection of traditional ideology takes a backseat to provision attainment. For women like Lindsay, there arguably *is* a choice, albeit an unpleasant one.

Franzoi (2001) indicates that women may willingly sacrifice perceived competence and the potential for direct social power in exchange for the indirect

social power that Benevolent Sexism brings. For example, by using cosmetics, as Franzoi indicates, women are decreasing their perceived level of facial maturity. Concurrent with this is a lessening of their perceived competence. Franzoi concludes that many women are choosing to take advantage of the benefits of Benevolent Sexism at the cost of personal power. Of course even these findings are less than clear-cut. Given that mate preferences for men tend toward the younger female-older male arrangement, what choice do women really have but to conform to society's beauty standards if they are to find a mate? A Marxian analysis would point out that none among us have any real choice but to accept the dominant ideology.

Weaknesses of the Current Study

Several issues which can be interpreted as weaknesses in the current study should be here addressed. First, the possibility that sampling issues might have influenced the results of the study should here be considered. Next, concerns which showed themselves during data coding and analysis should also be discussed. Finally, echoing the above section regarding the issue of choice, the current study bears further discussion of the problematic of motivation.

Regarding the first potential weakness, it bears reiterating that the current convenience sampling procedure may have influenced some findings which were contrary to, or at the very least did not coincide with those shown in previous studies. All unexpected findings cannot only be attributable to sampling error, however. It is just as likely that these differences were due to other factors.

Perhaps the fact that much of the previous research done by authors Glick and Fiske has taken place in traditionally liberal Massachusetts may account for the different results found. This is itself an empirical question, though. The potential that sampling error may have influenced the current research is mitigated somewhat by the fact that this study is chiefly exploratory in nature. One suggestion for future research would be to obtain a more representative sample.

A second perceived weakness of the current study involves instrument design and data coding. A number of issues were readily apparent upon data coding and entry which did not manifest during pre-testing. For instance, for item “How would you describe your ethnicity?” which was posed as an open-ended question, several (N=6) individuals indicated a multi-ethnic background, such as “White-Native American.” In these instances, the responses were coded as the first ethnic group respondents listed. The above respondent, for instance, would have been coded as “white.” This coding scheme, efficient as it is, perhaps does not do justice to the complexities inherent to ethnic identification among, particularly, those who claim partial Native American heritage. For instance, even though an individual’s blood quantum level may be as low as 1/64 (or lower), he or she may still be a recognized tribal member, depending upon the policies of the individual’s tribe. Respondents who listed “White-Native American” may have simply responded reflecting their relative low blood quantum level and more dominant European ancestry. This is not, however, necessarily to be taken as an indication of identification with one group over another. Further research would do well to better address this issue, as well.

The current research was also undertaken with the assumption that significant effect for parents' occupations would be evident, as were effects for race, sex, religion, and so on. Items which asked for parents' occupations (mother's and father's) were both posed as open-ended questions (e.g., "What is the occupation of your father?"). This resulted in ambiguous responses, an issue which did not present itself during pre-testing. Many respondents indicated ambiguous designations such as "Oil Company" or "Businessman." For response "Oil Company," it is unclear whether the respondent's parent owns and oil company or works for one. For "Businessman," the respondent's intended response is perhaps even vaguer. Does the respondent's parent own a taco stand which they take to the University's football stadium on Saturdays, or does the parent own a major airline? Other examples include "Computers" and "Banks." Again, perhaps the parent sells computers at a local big-box retail store, programs computers, or owns a software developing company. "Banks" could refer to someone who owns, mops floors for, or robs banks. It is clear enough given hindsight that an open ended item was inadequate for this variable.

For responses which were ambiguous, responses to other items were viewed and speculation was made in order to be able to assign a code reflecting appropriate General Social Survey categories. For instance, if a respondent indicated a parent who worked in "banks," and whose education was "college or four year degree," this response was coded as a "Higher Administrator" in the GSS coding scheme. This category includes "banker, executive in big business, high government official, and union official" (General Social Survey Codebook).

Given this problem, and the fact that this variable produced no significant findings, it is possible that presenting the questionnaire item differently would have produced more satisfactory results. Future research should address this issue as well. For instance, forcing respondents to choose one category or another will alleviate the researcher of the burden.

Finally, it bears mentioning that the current study does not deal with the problematic of motivation of Benevolent Sexist attitudes and behaviors. Echoing Kilianski and Rudman (1998): “[o]f course, not all prosocial behavior toward women by men constitutes benevolent sexism. It is the belief system underlying the conduct that determines whether or not a man’s actions can be accurately classified as benevolently sexist” (p. 348.) This is to say that just because a man chooses to treat his potential wife in a certain manner, it does not automatically follow that this man’s motivations can be attributed to a sexist belief system. As the current study points out, there is a potential discrepancy for many people between endorsement of stereotypically traditional gendered images of women on a conceptual level and preferred mate characteristics on a personal level. The interplay of these variables requires more extensive study before authoritative declaration of the exact manner of this interaction can be made. Further, as the current study is principally correlational in nature, the question of causality remains open for further study.

Indications for Future Research

The current study lends itself to further development in future studies of Benevolent Sexist mate preferences. First, future research might be done which asks respondents to rate Benevolent Sexist, Hostile Sexist, and Non-Sexist profiles as desirable for a potential mate. This would closely mirror Kilianski and Rudman (1998), in that they used a similar method. Future research could triangulate these findings with index scores—be they Ambivalent Sexism Inventory scores, Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Inventory scores, or both—or other methodologies such as interviews at the researcher’s discretion.

Second, content analysis of personals ads, either print or internet based, could reveal meaningful patterns within the text of these ads. For instance, do women who are seeking a mate through personals ads want someone who will “sweep me off my feet” and “treat me like a lady?” Assuming some do, personals ads would provide a particularly valid source of data, since the space limitations in personals ads are such that only the most desired traits of a potential mate may be listed. Research of this sort could easily be operationalized to maximize generalizability. For instance, sampling could be randomized by zip code for the researcher who wishes to examine either print or internet based personals ads. It is even foreseeable that the intrepid researcher could approach these people and ask that they take part in the study, at which time they might be interviewed or surveyed—again, at the researcher’s discretion.

Finally, future research would do well to address those issues mentioned above as weaknesses. In particular, sampling could include a non-student

sample which might be more generalizable to the population as a whole. Further, given the trend toward cross-national studies in both the Role Theory and Ambivalent Sexism Theory traditions, it is a feasible, if not necessary, next step to broaden the scope of future studies to the international level.

Concluding Remarks

The data obtained in this study reveal that both men and women to some extent desire a Benevolent Sexist mate. This is more true for males than for females. Further, the degree to which individuals desire a Benevolent Sexist mate seems to be positively correlated with their endorsement of traditionally stereotyped images of women in the context of relationships, as measured by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. This correlation was higher for men than for women, indicating a stronger connection between endorsement of these traditionally stereotyped images and desire for such women as mates. Finally, correlations of only moderate strength for both sexes between self-reported attitudes and scores for both Benevolent Sexism and the Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index seem to indicate an inability to accurately identify Benevolent Sexist attitudes and behaviors as sexism. This is more true for women than for men, as evidenced by the relative weakness of the correlation.

As it would seem given a synthesis of the above, both males and females still tend to buy into the system of benefits accorded to both sexes by fulfillment of traditionally stereotyped roles in mated pair relationships. This research points

to the subtleties inherent to paternalistic gender ideologies which give them such staying power within our society. What becomes clear upon examining the results of this study and others like it is that previous interpretations of gender inequality do not adequately address these subtleties. For example, the oppressor-oppressed dichotomy which was—and yet is—a recurrent theme in much feminist literature, must be recognized as at least a partially false dichotomy. Studies such as this one seek to raise awareness that attitudes and preferences as seemingly innocuous as personal mate preferences can serve to perpetuate inequalities for not only women, but for both sexes. In so doing, they serve to provide our discipline a more sophisticated understanding of how inequalities are perpetuated not by overt coercion, but by informal practices at the day to day interaction level.

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Table I
Demographic Characteristics of the Study
Sample and Coding Scheme

Variable	Code	Response	N	%	Cum. %
Sex	1	Male	144	44.3	44.3
	2	Female	181	55.7	100
Race	1	White	268	82.5	82.5
	2	Black	19	5.8	88.3
	3	Native Amer.	17	5.2	93.5
	4	Asian	7	2.2	95.7
	5	Hispanic	10	3.1	98.8
	6	Pac. Islander	1	0.3	99.1
	7	Arabic	1	0.3	99.4
	99	No Resp.	2	0.6	100
Age		18	104	32	32
		19	127	39.1	71.1
		20	53	16.3	87.4
		21	23	7.1	94.5
		22	11	3.4	97.9
		23+	6	2.1	100
Degree- Mom	1	Less than H.S.	6	1.8	1.8
	2	Some H.S.	6	1.8	3.7
	3	H.S./GED	73	22.5	26.2
	4	Some Coll/2yr Deg	69	21.2	47.4
	5	College/4 yr Deg	123	37.8	85.2
	6	Graduate/Prof	48	14.8	100
	99	No Resp	0	0	100

Variable	Code	Response	N	%	Cum. %
Degree-Dad	1	Less than H.S.	3	0.9	0.9
	2	Some H.S.	3	0.9	1.8
	3	H.S./GED	56	17.2	19
	4	Some Coll/2 yr Deg	60	18.5	37.5
	5	College/4 yr Deg	134	41.2	78.7
	6	Graduate/Prof	68	20.9	99.7
	99	No Resp	1	0.3	100
Religious Affiliation	1	Protestant	112	34.5	34.5
	2	Catholic	48	14.8	49.3
	3	Jewish	3	0.9	50.2
	4	None	27	8.3	58.5
	6	Muslim	1	0.3	58.8
	7	Hindu	1	0.3	59.1
	8	Buddhist	1	0.3	59.4
	9	Christian	130	40	99.4
	99	No Resp.	2	0.6	100
	Mother's Occupation	1	Professional/Technical	110	33.8
2		Higher Administrator	20	6.2	40
3		Clerical	54	16.6	56.6
4		Sales	33	10.2	66.8
5		Service	19	5.8	72.6
6		Skilled Worker	2	0.6	73.2
7		Semi-Skilled	5	1.5	74.7
8		Unskilled	9	2.8	77.5
9		Farm	0	0	77.5
10		None	2	0.6	78.1
11		Homemaker	67	20.6	98.8
99		No Resp.	4	1.2	100
How Often Attend	0	Never	38	11.7	11.7
	1	Less than 1X/Month	93	28.6	40.3
	2	At least Once/Month	92	28.3	68.6
	3	Once/Week	92	28.3	96.9
	4	At least Twice/Week	10	3.1	100

Variable	Code	Response	N	%	Cum. %
Father's Occupation	1	Professional/Technical	93	28.6	28.6
	2	Higher Administrator	55	16.9	45.5
	3	Clerical	9	2.8	48.3
	4	Sales	68	20.9	69.2
	5	Service	20	6.2	75.4
	6	Skilled Worker	28	8.6	84
	7	Semi-Skilled	23	7.1	91.1
	8	Unskilled	4	1.2	92.3
	9	Farm	5	1.5	93.8
	10	None	15	4.6	98.5
	11	Homemaker	0	0	98.5
99	No Resp.	5	1.5	100	

Table II

Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index
Factor Loadings for Combined Sample

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Indicator*</u>
.537	He should allow me to make the decisions regarding home furnishings and décor.
.520	He should work overtime to make sure I am taken care of financially.
.303**	He should seek my input when facing an ethical dilemma. **
.747	He should treat me like a queen.
.611	He should feel incomplete when we are apart.
.711	He should recognize that I am his “better half.”
.593	He should be very protective of me.
.648	He should recognize that his life, despite any accomplishments, is incomplete without me.
.768	He should put me on a pedestal.
.551	When we go out, he should pull the chair out for me to sit.
.642	He should pay when we go out.
.619	He should open the door for me when we go out.
.563	He should make sure I enjoy myself when we go out.

Cronbach’s alpha = .853

N = 325

* Indicators listed from Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index ‘Pink’ Version.
See BSMPI ‘Blue’ Version for male-directed analogous indicators.

** Indicator omitted from final version of Benevolent Sexist Mate Preference Index.

Table III: Correlations for Women Only

	HS	BS	AS	BSMPI	Degree Mom	Degree Dad	How Often Attend	Attitudes-Relations	Age
HS	1	.197** .008	.743** .0001	.094 .21	-.041 .585	.081 .277	-.049 .513	-.068 .366	-.071 .340
BS		1	.803** .0001	.692** .0001	-.021 .778	-.068 .361	.12 .107	-.239** .001	-.23** .002
AS			1	.529** .0001	-.039 .6	.003 .972	.052 .483	-.204** .006	-.20** .007
BSMPI				1	.023 .761	-.004 .955	.151* .042	-.185* .012	-.21** .004
Degree-Mom					1	.474** .0001	.166* .026	-.029 .702	-.069 .359
Degree-Dad						1	.102 .174	-.003 .967	-.098 .189
How Often Attend							1	-.226** .002	.1 .180
Attitudes-Relations								1	.062 .406
Age									1

Table IV: Correlations for Men Only

	HS	BS	AS	BSMPI	Degree Mom	Degree Dad	How Often Attend	Attitudes- Relations	Age
HS	1	-.029 .727	.675** .0001	.059 .486	.064 .449	.013 .879	.053 .528	.051 .547	.111 .184
BS		1	.717** .0001	.743** .0001	-.068 .419	-.042 .616	.304** .0001	-.216** .009	-.103 .220
AS			1	.589** .0001	-.006 .945	-.022 .792	.261** .002	-.124 .139	.002 .983
BSMPI				1	-.058 .488	-.027 .749	.266** .001	-.243** .003	-.139 .096
Degree- Mom					1	.461** .0001	.097 .249	-.008 .927	-.22** .007
Degree- Dad						1	.028 .743	.002 .979	-.073 .382
How Often Attend							1	-.109 .192	-.096 .251
Attitudes- Relations								1	.150 .074
Age									1

Table V: Correlations for Combined Sample

	HS	BS	AS	BSMPI	Degree Mom	Degree Dad	How Often Attend	Attitudes-Relations	Age
HS	1	.063 .257	.747** .0001	.186** .001	-.032 .560	.053 .342	-.068 .223	.017 .760	.127* .023
BS		1	.710** .0001	.684** .0001	-.040 .478	-.057 .305	.206** .0001	-.230** .0001	-.16** .003
AS			1	.587** .0001	-.049 .377	-.001 .987	.090 .107	-.141* .011	-.019 .730
BSMPI				1	-.030 .585	-.009 .877	.162** .003	-.190** .001	-.115* .039
Degree Mom					1	.465** .0001	.143** .010	-.023 .674	-.16** .004
Degree Dad						1	.064 .248	.001 .993	-.078 .162
How Often Attend							1	-.178** .001	-.032 .565
Attitudes-Relations								1	.116* .036
Age									1

APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS AND NOTIFICATIONS OF VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Title of Research: College Students' Mate Selection Preferences

Investigator: Kevin W Spencer, B.A.

My name is Kevin Spencer and I am a master's student in the Sociology department here at OSU. I am conducting a survey attempting to measure students' mate preferences. You are being asked to participate in a survey of OSU students concerning which characteristics you might find desirable in a potential mate. If you agree to take part in the survey, completion of this survey will only take a few (perhaps 10) minutes.

The potential risks to those that respond to the survey are extremely minimal. Specifically, the psychological and emotional trauma resulting from completing the survey is very low. There are no known risks associated with this project which are greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.

By participating in this survey you will be helping the researcher illustrate the importance of several characteristics as criteria for mate selection. This research will also aid in advancing the sociological knowledge base regarding the larger issue of how ideals about potential mates are perpetuated through informal practices.

To protect the confidentiality of the respondents to the survey, the researcher will gather survey instruments in a large box to reduce the opportunity that the researcher can match students' responses with particular surveys. No identifying information will be gathered by the survey, other than basic demographic information including age, race, and parents' education that would allow the researcher to identify the respondent. Actual hard copies of the surveys will be destroyed once entered into a computer database, leaving only the computer and statistically coded record. The record will be kept in the researcher's office computer under a filename that does not identify the information. Identifying information that could connect students with particular responses is not present, thereby keeping the confidentiality of the respondents.

If you would like to see final results of this project, feel free to contact the primary investigator, Kevin Spencer, 006 CLB, Department of Sociology, 405-744-7115. For information on subject's rights, contact Dr. Sue Jacobs, IRB Chair, 415 Whitehurst Hall, 405-744-1676.

Your participation is, of course, strictly voluntary and you may refuse to answer any specific questions or withdraw your participation at any time. Any information that you provide will be strictly confidential.

Thank you again for agreeing to participate in this important research project about the importance of ideal characteristics as mate selection criteria. Your participation will allow for new research into this important area.

APPENDIX B

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE: 'PINK' VERSION

Relationships Between Men and Women

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the following scale.

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily be rescued before men.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Women are too easily offended.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the opposite sex.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Women seek to gain power by getting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

control over men.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Men are complete without women.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
15. Once a women gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide for the women in their lives.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

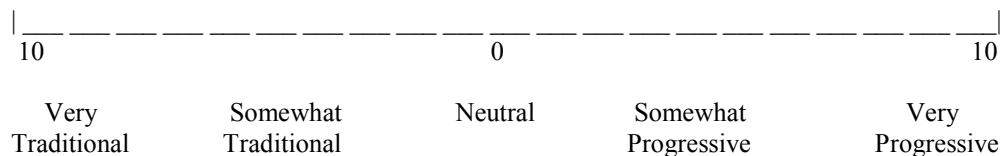
23. How would you describe your ethnicity? _____ 24. What is your age? _____

25. How would you characterize your sexual orientation? Hetero _____ Other _____

26. What is the occupation of your: Mother _____ Father _____

27. What was the highest degree completed by your:	Less than H.S.	Some H.S.	H.S. GED	Some College 2 yr Degree	College 4 yr Degree	Graduate/ Prof'l
Mother?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Father?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28. How would you describe your attitudes toward relations between women and men? Please indicate on scale below:



29. What is your Religious affiliation/preference? _____

	Never	Less than once/month	At least once/month	Once a week	At least twice/week
30. How often do you attend religious services?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

INSTRUCTIONS: For the following, indicate the importance of each factor as criteria for you in selecting a (potential/future/current) mate:

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
31. He should allow me to make the decisions regarding home furnishings and décor.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32. He should work overtime to make sure I am taken care of financially.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33. He should seek my input when facing an ethical dilemma.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34. He should treat me like a queen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35. He should feel incomplete when we are apart.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. He should recognize that I am his "better half."	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

37. He should be very protective of me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. He should realize that his life, despite any accomplishments, is incomplete without me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. He should put me on a pedestal.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
40. When we go out, he should pull the chair out for me to sit.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41. He should pay when we go out.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42. He should open the door for me when we go out.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43. He should make sure I enjoy myself when we go out.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

APPENDIX C

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE: 'BLUE' VERSION

Relationships Between Men and Women

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the following scale.

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily be rescued before men.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Women are too easily offended.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the opposite sex.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Men are complete without women.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
15. Once a women gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide for the women in their lives.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

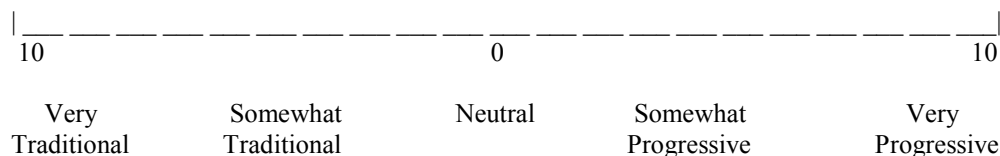
23. How would you describe your ethnicity? _____ 24. What is your age? _____

25. How would you characterize your sexual orientation? Hetero _____ Other _____

26. What is the occupation of your: Mother _____ Father _____

27. What was the highest degree completed by your:	Less than H.S.	Some H.S.	H.S. GED	Some College 2 yr Degree	College 4 yr Degree	Graduate/ Prof'l
Mother?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Father?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28. How would you describe your attitudes toward relations between women and men? Please indicate on scale below:



29. What is your Religious affiliation/preference? _____

	Never	Less than once/month	At least once/month	Once a week	At least twice/week
30. How often do you attend religious services?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

INSTRUCTIONS: For the following, indicate the importance of each factor as criteria for you in selecting a (potential/future/current) mate.

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
31. She should expect to make the decisions regarding home furnishings and décor.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32. She should expect me to work overtime to make sure she is taken care of financially.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33. I should consult her when I am facing an ethical dilemma.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34. She should be treated like a queen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35. She should feel incomplete						

when we are apart.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. She will be my “better half.”	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37. I should be very protective of her.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. My life, despite any accomplishments, will be incomplete without her.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
39. I should put her on a pedestal.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40. When we go out, she should wait for me to pull the chair out for her to sit.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41. I should expect to pay when we go out.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42. I should open the door for her when we go out.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43. I should make sure she enjoys herself when we go out.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Monday, November 14, 2005
IRB Application No AS0631
Proposal Title: College Students' Mate Selection Preferences

Reviewed and Exempt
Processed as:

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 11/13/2006

Principal Investigator(s)

Kevin W. Spencer	Jean Van Delinder
006 CLB	035 CLB
Stillwater, OK 74078	Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Beth McTernan in 415 Whitehurst (phone: 405-744-5700, beth.mcternan@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,



Sue C. Jacobs, Chair
Institutional Review Board

VITA

Kevin W Spencer

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: COLLEGE STUDENTS' PREFERENCE TOWARD BENEVOLENT
SEXIST MATES

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Joplin, Missouri, on September 8, 1972, the son of Henry and Martha Spencer.

Education: Graduated from Joplin High School, Joplin Missouri in May 1990; received Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology from Missouri Southern State University in December 2003. Completed the requirements for the Master of Science degree with a major in Sociology at Oklahoma State University in May 2006.

Experience: Employed by Oklahoma State University, Department of Sociology as a graduate teaching assistant; Oklahoma State University, Department of Sociology, 2004 to present.

Professional Memberships: Midwest Sociological Society

Name: Kevin W Spencer

Date of Degree: May, 2006

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: COLLEGE STUDENTS' PREFERENCE TOWARD BENEVOLENT
SEXIST MATES

Pages in Study: 94

Candidate for the Degree of Master of Science

Major Field: Sociology

Scope and Method of Study: Benevolent Sexism, according to Glick and Fiske (1996) is a particularly insidious form of sexism due to its subjectively positive affect—both for the sexist, and often their target. The current study builds on previous research that examines women's approval of Benevolent Sexism (Kilianski and Rudman 1998) by examining both men's and women's preference for potential mates who exhibit Benevolent Sexist attitudes and behaviors. This study seeks to expand our theoretical understanding of how women's subjugated status is perpetuated not through overt coercion, but through informal structures of paternalistic ideologies.

Findings and Conclusions: Previous studies' results were partially replicated regarding the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. Sex differences, as well as race, religion and religiosity effects were found for ASI scores. Significant correlations were found between ASI scores and Benevolent Sexism Mate Preference Inventory Scores. Sex differences, as well as race, religion, age, and religiosity effects were found for BSMPI scores. Both men and women showed preferences for Benevolent Sexist mates. Low correlations between self reported attitudes toward gender relations and BSMPI scores for both sexes indicate a lack of perception that Benevolent Sexist behaviors and attitudes are in fact sexist. These findings echo those of Kilianski and Rudman (1998) who found that women approve of Benevolent Sexism. Further research is needed to determine whether it is this lack of perception or a cost-benefit analysis which makes Benevolent Sexist mates attractive to both sexes.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Jean Van Delinder
