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The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

Peter Glick
Lawrence University

Susan T. Fiske
University of Massachusetts at Amherst

The authors present a theory of sexism formulated as ambivalence toward women and validate a corresponding measure, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). The ASI taps 2 positively correlated components of sexism that nevertheless represent opposite evaluative orientations toward women: sexist antipathy or *Hostile Sexism* (HS) and a subjectively positive (for sexist men) orientation toward women, *Benevolent Sexism* (BS). HS and BS are hypothesized to encompass 3 sources of male ambivalence: Paternalism, Gender Differentiation, and Heterosexuality. Six ASI studies on 2,250 respondents established convergent, discriminant, and predictive validity. Overall ASI scores predict ambivalent attitudes toward women, the HS scale correlates with negative attitudes toward and stereotypes about women, and the BS scale (for nonstudent men only) correlates with positive attitudes toward and stereotypes about women. A copy of the ASI is provided, with scoring instructions, as a tool for further explorations of sexist ambivalence.

"If woman had no existence save in the fiction
written by men, one would imagine her a person
. . . very various; heroic and mean; splendid and sordid;
infinitely beautiful and hideous in the extreme."
—Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*

Is sexism a form of prejudice? Although the question might appear absurd, consider Allport's (1954) influential definition of ethnic prejudice. Prejudice, Allport wrote, "is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (p. 9). The existence of prejudice is commonly indexed by measures of antipathy, such as social distance (e.g., Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980) and negative stereotypes (e.g., Sigall & Page, 1971). Relationships between men and women, however, do not easily fit the mold of ethnic prejudice, at the very least because no other two groups have been as intimately connected (S. T. Fiske & Stevens, 1993). Furthermore, cultural images of women from ancient to modern times are not uniformly negative; women have been revered as well as reviled (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993; Guttentag & Secord, 1983; Tavris & Wade, 1984). Sexism is indeed a prejudice, but in this article we argue that it is, and probably always has been, a special case of prejudice marked by a deep ambivalence, rather than a uniform antipathy, toward women. Our goals are to: (a) reveal the multidimensional nature of sexism, (b) offer a theoretical and empirical analysis of the sources and nature of men's ambivalence toward women, (c) compare our conception of ambivalent sexism with other theories of ambivalence (including ambivalent racism), and (d) provide a validated measure of ambivalent sexism.

Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

Sexism has typically been conceptualized as a reflection of hostility toward women. This view neglects a significant aspect of sexism: the subjectively positive feelings toward women that often go hand in hand with sexist antipathy. We view sexism as a multidimensional construct that encompasses two sets of sexist attitudes: hostile and benevolent sexism. *Hostile sexism* needs little explanation; by it we mean those aspects of sexism that fit Allport's (1954) classic definition of prejudice. We define *benevolent sexism*[1] as a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as prosocial (e.g., helping) or intimacy-seeking (e.g., self-disclosure). We do not consider benevolent sexism a good thing, for despite the positive feelings it may indicate for the perceiver, its underpinnings lie in traditional ste-

Peter Glick, Department of Psychology, Lawrence University; Susan T. Fiske, Department of Psychology, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Peter Glick, Department of Psychology, Lawrence University, Appleton, Wisconsin 54912-0599. Electronic mail may be sent via the Internet to peter.s.glick@lawrence.edu

[1] We anticipate that some readers might view the neologism *benevolent sexism* as oxymoronic. Although *benevolent* does not capture the underlying dominance inherent in this form of sexism, we were unable to discover a word that successfully combines connotations of dominance and the subjectively positive origins of this form of sexism (the term *paternalism* does so, but as the reader will see, we view paternalistic feelings as but one component of benevolent sexism). We hope that *benevolent sexism*, like the term *benevolent dictator*, successfully conveys the combination we intend.

reotyping and masculine dominance (e.g., the man as the provider and woman as his dependent), and its consequences are often damaging. Benevolent sexism is not necessarily experienced as benevolent by the recipient. For example, a man's comment to a female coworker on how "cute" she looks, however well-intentioned, may undermine her feelings of being taken seriously as a professional. Nevertheless, the subjectively positive nature of the perceiver's feelings, the prosocial behaviors, and the attempts to achieve intimacy that benevolent sexism generates do not fit standard notions of prejudice.

Evidence for benevolent sexism can be gleaned from a variety of research areas. Research on helping behavior shows that female targets are more likely to elicit help than male targets are (see Eagly & Crowley, 1986 for a meta-analysis of this effect). Both men and women are more likely to seek intimacy with female than with male strangers, as indexed by interpersonal distance (Riess & Salzer, 1981), touching (Major, Schmidlin, & Williams, 1990), and self-disclosure (Cozby, 1973; Morton, 1978).[2] Even the commonly accepted notion among social scientists that stereotypes of women are more negative than those of men has been called into question by Eagly and her colleagues (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993; Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1991), who have found evidence for more positive stereotypes of women than men, on certain dimensions.

To balance the picture, however, it is important to note the prevalence of hostile sexism. In nearly all cultures and time periods for which information is available, women have been restricted to social roles with less status than those of men (Tavris & Wade, 1984). In our own society, there is evidence that women still face discrimination in gaining employment (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1983; Glick, 1991) and sexual harassment on the job (Gutek, 1985) and are perceived less favorably than men when enacting leadership roles in a masculine manner or domain (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). Even though stereotypes of women contain many positive traits, the positive traits relate to social–emotional, not agentic dimensions, so women are portrayed as being nice but incompetent at many important tasks (e.g., analytical thinking). Finally, there is ample evidence that sexual violence toward women is disturbingly frequent (Unger & Crawford, 1992).

Sources of Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

We propose that hostile and benevolent sexism have their roots in biological and social conditions that are common to human groups. Although "anthropologists do not totally agree on whether male dominance characterizes all human cultures" (Stockard & Johnson, 1992, p. 89), they do agree that patriarchy (men possessing structural control of economic, legal, and political institutions) is prevalent across cultures. Furthermore, "virtually all anthropologists doubt the existence of matriarchies at any phase of cultural evolution" (Harris, 1991, p. 10). The bias toward patriarchy is probably due to several factors related to the biology of sexual reproduction: sexual dimorphism (men's greater size and strength may be one factor that typically allowed men to dominate preindustrial societies; Harris, 1991), the tendency for men to have a stronger social dominance orientation than women (as a result of sexual selection; Pratto, Sidanius, & Stallworth, 1993), and gender-based role divisions in which women perform the bulk of domestic duties (the mother carrying the fetus to term and providing nourishment for infants precipitated the traditional division of labor that restricted women to domestic roles; Stockard & Johnson, 1992).

Although hostility between groups that differ in physical appearance is an all-too-human condition, the biology of sex creates a situation that is uniquely different from other in-group–out-group distinctions. As Guttentag and Secord (1983) pointed out, sexual reproduction lends women "dyadic power" (power that stems from dependencies in 2-person relationships) in that it compels men to rely on women as bearers of children and, generally, for the satisfaction of sexual needs. In addition, men may seek to fulfill needs for psychological intimacy with women (Berscheid, Snyder, & Omoto, 1989; Derlega, Winstead, Wong, & Hunter, 1985), perhaps because such needs are not as easily met with other men, who typically are competitors for status and resources (Harris, 1991). Cross-cultural and historical evidence gathered by Guttentag and Secord (1983) shows that, within patriarchal societies, women's dyadic power is reflected in a particular form of social ideology: protective attitudes toward women, a reverence for the role of women as wives and mothers, and an idealization of women as romantic love objects. These are precisely the attitudes we define as characterizing benevolent sexism.

The degree of hostile as compared with benevolent sexism may vary widely among societies (from those in which women are treated as chattel to those dominated by an ideology of chivalry), depending on factors such as sex ratios (Guttentag & Secord, 1983). However, the balance of power between the sexes is typically complex, reflecting the coexistence of male structural power and female dyadic power (see Harris, 1991; Stockard & Johnson, 1992). Furthermore, even though benevolent sexism suggests a subjectively positive view of women, it shares common assumptions with hostile sexist beliefs: that women inhabit restricted domestic roles and are the "weaker" sex. Indeed, both hostile and benevolent sexism serve to justify men's structural power. Hostile sexist beliefs in women's incompetence at agentic tasks characterize women as unfit to wield power over economic, legal, and political institutions, whereas benevolent sexism provides a comfortable rationalization for confining women to domestic roles. Similar ideologies (e.g., the "White man's burden") have been used in the past to justify colonialism and slavery (see Tajfel, 1969). Like hostile and benevolent sexism, these ideologies combine notions of the exploited group's lack of competence to exercise structural power with self-serving "benevolent" justifications ("We must bear the burden of taking care of them") that allow members of the dominant group to view their actions as not being exploitative. Thus, benevolent sexism may be used to compensate for, or legitimate, hostile sexism ("I am not exploiting women; I love, protect, and provide for them"). Although the ideology of "the White man's burden" seems archaic, the "man's burden" as protector and provider still provides a positive image for men that subtly reinforces notions of dominance over women (Nadler & Morrow, 1959).[3]

[2] These distance, touching, and self-disclosure measures may well be confounded with issues of status and domination. This mixture of a desire for intimacy as well as an assumed dominance captures well both the "benevolent" and "sexist" aspects of benevolent sexism.

[3] It is certainly possible that hostile and benevolent sexism may be uncorrelated. It is conceivable that individual men could subscribe to one but not the other (e.g., one might believe that women are all "la-

The above analysis suggests that both hostile and benevolent sexism revolve around issues of social power, gender identity, and sexuality. We propose that HS and BS are composed of three shared components: Paternalism, Gender Differentiation, and Heterosexuality. Each component reflects a set of beliefs in which ambivalence toward women is inherent (i.e., each construct has a hostile and a "benevolent" aspect) and which serves to justify or explain the underlying social and biological conditions that characterize relationships between the sexes. Together, these three components form the core of our theory.

Paternalism

In common discourse, *paternalism* and *sexism* are often used synonymously, yet the former term, surprisingly, is not indexed in PsycLit, despite many references to the latter. *Paternalism* literally means relating to others "in the manner of a father dealing with his children" (*Random House College Dictionary*, 1973). This definition meshes well with the view that sexism is a form of ambivalence, for it includes connotations of both domination (*dominative paternalism*) as well as affection and protection (*protective paternalism*). Advocates of dominative paternalism justify patriarchy by viewing women as not being fully competent adults, legitimizing the need for a superordinate male figure. Yet protective paternalism may coexist with its dominative counterpart because men are dyadically dependent on women (because of heterosexual reproduction) as wives, mothers, and romantic objects; thus, women are to be loved, cherished, and protected (their "weaknesses" require that men fulfill the protector-and-provider role). Research on power in heterosexual romantic relationships confirms that dominative paternalism is the norm (see Brehm, 1992, Chapter 9; Peplau, 1983). In its most extreme form, the traditional marriage (see Peplau, 1983), both partners agree that the husband should wield greater authority, to which the wife should defer. Protective paternalism is evident in the traditional male gender role of provider and protector of the home, with the wife dependent on the husband to maintain her economic and social status (Peplau, 1983; Tavris & Wade, 1984).

Gender Differentiation

All cultures use physical differences between the sexes as a basis for making social distinctions, which are manifested as notions about gender identity (Harris, 1991; Stockard & Johnson, 1992). Developmentally, gender is one of the earliest and strongest forms of group identity to be internalized (Maccoby, 1988), and people are more likely to categorize others on the basis of gender than on the basis of race, age, or role (A. P. Fiske, Haslam, & Fiske, 1991; Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glass, 1992). Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981) suggests that the tendency to differentiate between groups will be strong when social status is bound up with group membership, helping to create social ideologies that justify the status differences. Like dominative paternalism, *competitive gender differentiation* presents a social justification for male structural power: Only men are perceived as having the traits necessary to govern important social institutions. This creates downward comparisons, in which women serve, in Virginia Woolf's (1929/1981) words, as "looking-glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of a man at twice its natural size" (p. 35), allowing individual men to enhance their self-esteem by association with a male social identity (Tajfel, 1981). Alongside the competitive drive to differentiate, however, the dyadic dependency of men on women (as romantic objects, as wives and mothers) fosters notions that women have many positive traits (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Mladinic, 1993; Peplau, 1983) that complement those of men (*complementary gender differentiation*). Just as the traditional division of labor between the sexes creates complementary roles (men working outside the home, women within), the traits associated with these roles (and hence with each sex) are viewed as complementary. The favorable traits ascribed to women compensate for what men stereotypically lack (e.g., sensitivity to others' feelings). Hence a man may speak of his "better half"; for the benevolent sexist, the woman completes the man.

Heterosexuality

Virginia Woolf (1929/1981) hazarded her own answer about the reasons for polarized images of women in literature: "the astonishing extremes of her beauty and horror; her alternations between heavenly goodness and hellish depravity" are as "a lover would see her as his love rose or sank, was prosperous or unhappy" (p. 83). Heterosexuality is, undoubtedly, one of the most powerful sources of men's ambivalence toward women. Heterosexual romantic relationships are ranked by men (and women) as one of the top sources of happiness in life (see Berscheid & Peplau, 1983; Brehm, 1992), and these relationships are typically nominated as the most psychologically close and intimate relationships men have (Berscheid et al., 1989). Men's sexual motivation toward women may be linked with a genuine desire for psychological closeness (*heterosexual intimacy*). Although, at their best, heterosexual relationships are the source of euphoric and intimate feelings (Hatfield, 1988), romantic relationships between men and women also pose the greatest threat of violence toward women (Unger & Crawford, 1992). Men's dyadic dependency on women creates an unusual situation in which members of a more powerful group are dependent on members of a subordinate group. Sex is

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dies" to be treated with chivalry, never hostility, by men). However, given the assumptions of male dominance common to hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs and earlier findings of Nadler and Morrow (1959), who showed that hostile beliefs toward women were positively correlated with men's scores on a chivalry scale, our expectation was for a mildly positive relationship. Nadler and Morrow's (1959) work, of which we belatedly became aware after conceptualizing our own theory and conducting the research reported here, attempted a similar endeavor to our own—measuring the negative and positive aspects of traditional attitudes toward women. They constructed two scales: (a) *Open Subordination of Women* (support for traditionally restrictive policies and negative stereotyping of women) and (b) *Chivalry* (protectiveness toward women, formalized rituals in interactions with women, idealization of women as pure). The content of their scales reflects the constructs we label *paternalism* and *gender differentiation* (indeed, in this respect their scales could be considered "old-fashioned" versions of our own), though they ignored *heterosexuality*. Nadler and Morrow did not present a theoretical analysis of the motivational sources of these attitudes, and they did not explore the factor structure of their scales. They did, however, view chivalry as supporting, rather than conflicting with, the subordination of women. Consistent with this view, which is remarkably like our own, they found (among their male participants) a positive correlation between their scales ($r = .35$).

popularly viewed as a resource for which women act as the gatekeepers (Zillmann & Weaver, 1989). This creates a vulnerability that men may resent, which is reflected in the frequency with which women are portrayed in literature as manipulative "temptresses," such as Delilah, who can "emasculate" men. The belief that women use their sexual allure to gain dominance over men (who would, in vulgar parlance, be called "pussy-whipped") is a belief that is associated with hostility toward women (Check, Malamuth, Elias, & Barton, 1985). As Bargh and Raymond (1995) and Pryor, Giedd, and Williams (1995) demonstrated, for some men sexual attraction toward women may be inseparable from a desire to dominate them (*heterosexual hostility*).

The Nature of Sexist Ambivalence

We have suggested that sexist ambivalence stems from simultaneously holding two sets of related sexist beliefs: hostile and benevolent sexism. We label this *ambivalent sexism* because we believe that these two constructs subjectively entail opposite evaluative feeling tones toward women (a claim for which we offer supportive data in the studies that follow). However, the present conception of ambivalence proposes that hostile and benevolent sexism may be positively correlated, whereas other ambivalence theorists have assumed (and have found) that beliefs associated with ambivalence are typically conflicting (and therefore negatively correlated) or, at best, are unrelated (Cacioppo & Bernston, 1994; Thompson, Zanna, & Griffin, 1995). This raises the question: If the two sets of beliefs are positively correlated, can they be called "ambivalent"? We characterize them as ambivalent because, even if the beliefs about women that generate hostile and benevolent sexism are positively related, they have opposing evaluative implications, fulfilling the literal meaning of ambivalence ("both valences"). Eagly and Chaiken (1993) and Thompson et al. (1995) suggested that many different forms of ambivalence are possible because of the multidimensional nature of attitudes. For example, a man may hold two beliefs about women that he views as entirely consistent with each other (e.g., "Women are incompetent at work" and "Women must be protected"), yet these beliefs could yield opposing evaluations. Thus, a measure that focuses on beliefs about women, as ours does, could show a positive correlation between beliefs that are, nevertheless, diagnostic of opposing valences toward women.

Another reason why sexist individuals may, in our terms, be ambivalent toward women without experiencing any sense of confusion, conflict, or tension about these attitudes is that sexist ambivalence may generally take the form of dividing women into favored in-groups—consisting of women (e.g., homemakers) who embrace traditional roles that fulfill the paternalistic, gender identified, and sexual motives of traditional men—versus disliked outgroups—consisting of women (e.g., feminists) who challenge or threaten these needs and desires. Many researchers (e.g., Deaux, Winton, Crowley, & Lewis, 1985; Taylor, 1981) have argued that women are typically classified in terms of such subtypes. Ambivalent sexism may be most evident in polarized views of these different types (e.g., the notion of women as "saints" or "sluts"). It is worth noting that it is precisely this form of ambivalence (polarized reactions toward different target individuals who arouse either the positive or the negative aspect of ambivalent attitudes) that is typically demonstrated in research on racial ambivalence (e.g., Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1981).

By differentiating women in this manner, men could maintain a sense of attitudinal consistency ("I hate some women but love others"), even though they are quite ambivalent toward women as a whole. Furthermore, this differentiation into subtypes may help ambivalent sexists justify their attitudes as not prejudicial toward women overall because it is only certain types of women whom they dislike. This "unconflicted" form of ambivalence is not mutually exclusive with the possibility that particular female targets might arouse consciously conflicting feelings in ambivalent sexists. Women who simultaneously fit into a desired subtype on one dimension but fit into a hated subtype on another may arouse a conflicted form of ambivalence. Imagine, for instance, a sexist man's attitudes toward a daughter who is a radical feminist. Or consider sexist men's attitudes toward sexy women. We have argued above that such women may arouse conflicting feelings among sexist men, who find them sexually attractive but potentially dangerous as "temptresses" who can use their allure to dominate men. Thus, ambivalence may be evident in both an unconflicted form, in which different subtypes of women elicit either extremely positive or extremely negative reactions, as well as a conflicted form, in which particular female targets activate both hostile and benevolent motives.

Ambivalent Sexism and Ambivalent Racism

Because recent theories of racism emphasize ambivalence, it is important to consider how these theories compare with our approach. Gaertner and Dovidio's (1986) theory of *aversive racism* postulates that White hostility toward Blacks is well-learned and automatic. A desire to be egalitarian conflicts with these feelings, leading aversive racists to bend over backward to demonstrate their egalitarianism but to exhibit hostility whenever the target or situation provides attributional ambiguity. A related approach is the construct of *symbolic racism* (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1986). Advocates of this theory view racism as emerging covertly in policy-related attitudes (e.g., opposition to affirmative action) for reasons similar to Gaertner and Dovidio's (the individual can attribute the attitude to nonracial motives). Readers interested in how this approach may extend to sexism should refer to Swim, Aikin, Hall, and Hunter's (1995) Modern Sexism scale and to Tougas, Brown, Beaton, and Joly's (1995) Neo-Sexism scale, which examine gender-related policy attitudes.

Our ambivalent sexism approach shares some similarities with these theories. We believe that sexist attitudes also become automatic and that sexist ambivalence polarizes responses to different members of the target group. Unlike the two racism theories, however, we propose that sexist men have genuinely positive feelings, as well as hostile attitudes, toward women and that the desire to project and protect an egalitarian image is much less relevant to explaining sexist behavior (assuming, as Fiske & Stevens, 1993, argued, that people are not as worried about appearing sexist as they are about appearing racist). Rather than viewing ambivalent sexism as a conflict between more recent egalitarian beliefs toward women and continuing hostility, we have traced the roots of the "positive" side of sexist ambivalence to the dyadic power that women have always held, by virtue of the intimate ties between the sexes that sexual reproduction creates.

Our conception bears more similarity (and debt) to Katz and

his colleagues' (Katz & Hass, 1988; Katz, Wackenhut, & Hass, 1986) analysis of racial ambivalence, for Katz et al. presumed that there are genuine pro-Black feelings among Whites. This view has been disputed by others (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) who have argued that "sympathy for the underdog" is not a truly pro-Black attitude. Indeed, there may be an element of paternalism in what Katz et al. termed *pro-Black* beliefs, as we believe there is in benevolent sexist views. Whether or not truly positive subjective feelings toward Blacks are common among Whites, we think that such feelings toward women are common among men. We do not label the "positive" side of this ambivalence "pro-women" attitudes for, as we have detailed above, we believe that these attitudes are themselves sexist. Furthermore, Katz et al., like other racism theorists, viewed the desire to protect an egalitarian self-image as the source of the positive side of ambivalence, which we do not, and Katz et al. stressed that pro- and anti-out-group beliefs are in conflict, which we do not. Thus, these aspects of their theory are dissimilar to our own.

Measuring Ambivalent Sexism

Although we have discussed the wider social conditions that foster ambivalent sexism, our research takes an individual-differences approach to measuring ambivalent sexism because, as Snyder and Ickes (1985) argued, it allows a methodological entree into the investigation of the social psychological processes of interest. Furthermore, there is likely to be a great deal of variability in the degree to which hostile and benevolent sexism characterize individuals. Many individual-differences measures of sexism currently exist. Most follow in the footsteps of Spence and Helmreich's (1972; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973) Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS). Such scales (e.g., Beere, King, Beere, & King's, 1984, Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale) are more precisely labeled as measures of sex role traditionalism versus egalitarianism or, as the AWS is subtitled, as measures of "Attitudes Toward the Rights and Roles of Women" (Spence & Helmreich, 1972). Because egalitarian social beliefs have become widely embraced by Americans in recent years, researchers have now turned to assessing more subtle aspects of sexism (see Swim et al.'s [1995] Modern Sexism scale and Tougas et al.'s [1995] Neo-Sexism scale). Rather than directly assessing egalitarianism and traditionalism, these scales focus on current gender-related political issues (particularly on the denial of continuing discrimination against women, which is thought to reflect underlying hostility).

None of the measures just listed, however, distinguishes between sexism's hostile and benevolent components, which was our primary goal in developing the measure presented here, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). The ASI was developed to tap the three subcomponents hypothesized to make up hostile and benevolent sexism: Paternalism (dominative and protective), Gender Differentiation (competitive and complementary), and Heterosexuality (hostile and intimate). We constructed our measure with the following goals in mind: (a) it must assess both hostile and benevolent sexism and (b) for pragmatic reasons, the final measure should be easily administered, able to be completed quickly, and simple to score (these concerns dictated a short self-report measure).

Methods

In this article we present data from six studies conducted to develop and validate the ASI. For conceptual simplicity and comparative purposes, the results are grouped according to the theoretical and empirical issues addressed rather than study by study (although the source of the data is clearly labeled in each case).

Participants and Procedures

The six studies reported here involved 2,250 individuals. Recruitment procedures varied among studies. Participants were assured of the anonymity of responses, either by returning surveys anonymously through campus mail (Study 1) or in a sealed container with other completed surveys (Studies 2–6; with the exception of Study 3, a large participant pool prescreening study for which responses were confidential but not anonymous). When a cash lottery was used as incentive (Studies 1, 4, and 5), participants filled out lottery entry forms that were separate from their survey responses.

Sample 1

Study 1 included three subsamples of roughly similar size used for the initial development of the ASI. 833 students (353 men and 480 women) at three different colleges (University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Amherst College, Lawrence University) completed a 140-item survey of "attitudes toward men and women and their relationships in contemporary society" (the initial pool of items from which the ASI was derived). All participants took part in a cash lottery (prizes of $100, $60, and $40) as an incentive. Although the three subsamples were similar in terms of average age (ranging from 19.54 to 20.69 years), ethnic composition (76%–86% of respondents on each campus were White), and education (virtually all respondents were full-time undergraduate students), the three campuses differ in terms of geographical location (two in the East, one in the Midwest) and in selectivity and size (two are small, selective, private undergraduate liberal arts colleges, whereas the other is a less selective, large, state-funded institution).

Sample 2

The second sample consisted of 171 University of Massachusetts undergraduates in introductory psychology courses, who were recruited for a survey of "men and women and their relationships in contemporary society." Although the age and ethnicity of participants were not recorded, the sample appeared to be similar to the students in Sample 1. The participants (77 men and 94 women) earned extra credit points for their classes. A series of questionnaires was administered in same-sex groups ranging from 4 to 35 participants. In all sessions, the researcher was of the same sex as the participants. Participants completed a short version of the ASI and a number of other measures of sexism (e.g., the AWS; see below). Answers to the surveys were filled out on computerized optical scan sheets on which respondents were instructed not to include their name or any other identifying information (other than their sex).

Sample 3

In Study 3, all University of Massachusetts undergraduates enrolled in introductory psychology classes were recruited for a general prescreening that would make them eligible for subsequent studies. 937 participants (396 men and 541 women) received extra credit points in their classes. The participants were similar in age to those in Studies 1 and 2; 81% were White (with Asian being the next largest category at 6%). These individuals completed a short version of the ASI embedded among a battery of scales (measures from a variety of researchers who wished to use the prescreen for selection purposes), including personal-

ity inventories (e.g., California Personality Inventory Dominance scale) and attitude measures (e.g., Modern Racism scale).

Samples 4 and 5

Studies 4 and 5 tapped nonstudent samples. In Study 4, 72 men and 72 women were recruited in public areas (malls, restaurants, laundromats) in a variety of locations in Massachusetts (including urban neighborhoods of Boston as well as more rural settings in western Massachusetts). An effort was made to avoid areas populated by undergraduate college students (e.g., Amherst, Cambridge). In Study 5, 36 men and 76 women were recruited. About half of these were obtained in the same geographical area and in similar fashion to Study 4, whereas the other half were recruited in the Midwest by a number of Lawrence University student volunteers, each of whom recruited about 2 or 3 adult nonstudents for the survey (many of these were parents of students living in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois). Participants were asked to complete a survey "about men and women and their relationships in contemporary society." Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 77 years (with a median of 34), were typically White (83%), and held a variety of occupations (including blue collar jobs, such as plumber, truck driver, mechanic; pink collar jobs, such as receptionist, clerk, secretary; white collar jobs, such as editor, electrical engineer, architect, lawyer, physician; and some homemakers). Although these samples by no means represent a random cross-section of Americans, they were quite different from and much more diverse than the samples described earlier. Lotteries (with prizes of $50, $25, and $10) were used as an incentive for participation. Participants completed a short version of the ASI and a questionnaire concerning their attitudes toward and the traits they ascribe to women (or men, in Study 4 only, depending on random condition assignment).

Sample 6

Study 6 included a small University of Massachusetts sample of 44 men and 41 women, similar in characteristics to the students in Study 2 and recruited and run in the same manner. This study replicated methods used in Studies 4 and 5 (with nonstudent samples) for comparative purposes.

The ASI

The questionnaire used in Study 1 consisted of 140 statements with which respondents were asked to indicate agreement or disagreement on a scale that ranged from 0 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*) with no midpoint (respondents were forced to agree or disagree at least slightly with each item). In all subsequent studies reported here, 22–32 items selected from the initial pool were used as a short version of the ASI. In some instances, items were reworded to yield the reverse meaning to control for acquiescence bias. Overall, we generated the initial items to represent the conceptual categories derived from our theoretical analysis of hostile and benevolent sexism.

Hostile Sexism

Hostile sexism items tapped the categories of Dominative Paternalism (e.g., "The world would be a better place if women supported men more and criticized them less"), Competitive Gender Differentiation (e.g., "A wife should not be significantly more successful in her career than her husband"), and Heterosexual Hostility (e.g., "There are many women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances"). Each subcategory was represented by approximately 15 items.

Benevolent Sexism

Benevolent sexism items tapped the categories of Protective Paternalism (e.g., "Every woman should have a man to whom she can turn for help in times of trouble"), Complementary Gender Differentiation (e.g., "Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess"), and Heterosexual Intimacy (e.g., "People are not truly happy in life unless they are romantically involved with a member of the other sex"). Each subcategory was represented by approximately 15 items.

Although we do not believe that egalitarianism is part of the subjectively positive feelings men have toward women, because of its importance to modern racism and modern sexism theories, we included a number of such items. Nine items were adapted from Katz and Hass's (1988) pro-Black scale by converting the target group to women (e.g., "Women do not have the same employment opportunities that men do"). In addition, we generated several similar items expressing a recognition of continuing discrimination against women (e.g., "Popular culture is very sexist"). Finally, six obviously correct or incorrect statements were included among the initial pool of 140 items as validity items to check whether respondents were responding with due care (e.g., "Few secretarial jobs are held by women").

Results

Data from the six studies documenting the factor structure, convergent and discriminant validity, and predictive validity of the ASI scales are presented below. For all analyses, sex differences between participants were examined and are reported in those cases in which significant differences were found.

Factor Analyses

Exploratory Factor Analysis With Sample 1

Study 1 was aimed at winnowing the initial 140-item pool down to a short set of items that tapped hostile and benevolent sexism. We excluded from further analysis items with extreme means (i.e., not much room for variation), based on arbitrary cutoffs of 1 or less and 4 or more (on our 0–5 scale). The 6 validity items and an additional 22 items were excluded on this basis.[4] The remaining 112 survey items were factor analyzed with principal-components analysis in SPSSX (Version 4.0, 1993) with a varimax rotation. Separate analyses of respondents from the three colleges involved in Study 1 yielded impressively consistent results, as did separate analyses of male and female respondents (pooled across the different college samples).[5] The consistency of results, across colleges and be-

[4] We did not exclude any participants on the basis of the validity items, because a number of participants seemed to have interpreted these items in unintended ways. For instance, several individuals wrote marginal comments on such items as "Men cannot bear children" that explained their disagreement with this statement.

[5] Similar factors emerged in the different college samples. In all cases, the first factor—a general HS factor—was by far the strongest (eigenvalues ranging from 23.6 to 29.2; percentage of variance accounted for ranging from 21% to 26%). Of the top 10 items to load on this factor within each sample, all loaded .48 or better on Factor 1 in all samples (with one exception the loadings were all .55 or greater). The next three factors in the Amherst College and Lawrence University samples and the next two factors in the University of Massachusetts sample corresponded to different aspects of benevolent sexism (the items that were spread across three factors for the former two samples were assimilated by only two factors in the latter sample). Eigenvalues for the BS factors ranged from 2.9 to 6.4; percentage of variance accounted for ranged from 3% to 6% (in each case, the BS factors together accounted for about 10% of the variance). Of the top 4 items within each sample to load on the BS factor, 83% were among the best loading items for at least two of the samples (close to 80% of these shared items were shared by all three samples). Given the relatively small size of each sample, we

tween the sexes, enabled us to perform a more powerful analysis involving all respondents (resulting in a cases-to-item ratio of 7.46:1, which is within the range generally deemed acceptable for factor analysis).

We conducted a principal-components analysis on all of the 112 acceptable items using SPSSX with a varimax rotation. The two strongest factors corresponded closely to our theoretical constructs: A Hostile Sexism (HS) factor (Factor 1, with an eigenvalue of 25.64, accounting for 23% of the variance) and two Benevolent Sexism (BS) factors (Factor 2: Protective Paternalism and Heterosexual Intimacy, eigenvalue of 6.30, accounting for 6% of the variance; Factor 3: Complementary Gender Differentiation, eigenvalue = 3.45, accounting for 3% of the variance). Although BS emerged in two separate factors in this analysis, the BS items converged into one factor in separate analyses for male and female respondents (reported in footnote 5).

There were 21 additional factors with eigenvalues greater than 1, one of which (Factor 4) is of particular interest. Factor 4 (eigenvalue = 2.72, accounting for 2% of the variance) consisted mainly of the items adapted from Katz and Hass (1988). All eight items adapted from their pro-Black scale loaded .3 or better on this factor. The three other items with high loadings were similar in tone to the Katz and Hass items; these items expressed the view that discrimination against women is a serious problem in our society. We labeled this factor *Recognition of Discrimination.* Disagreement with the items on this factor would (in our opinion) correspond closely to the gender equivalent of symbolic or modern racism (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1986). Indeed, the strongest component of Swim et al.'s (1995) notion of modern sexism is denial of continued discrimination against women. That these items cluster on a separate factor from our hostile and benevolent sexism items provides preliminary evidence of discriminant validity for our constructs.

The remaining 20 minor factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 are not reported, either because they consisted of too few items for meaningful interpretation or were of little theoretical interest (e.g., Factor 5, which accounted for 2% of the variance, measured heterosexual arousability independently of sexism with items such as "Watching physically attractive members of the other sex is exhilarating"). Factors 6–24 were generally uninterpretable; each accounted for less than 2% of the variance.

We used our initial exploratory analyses as a sieve to aid selection of a smaller set of items, both to yield a short scale and so that analytic techniques of greater sophistication and power could be performed. To avoid redundancy, we use these subsequent analyses to detail the nature of the two subscales. In the Appendix we report the final 22-item ASI scale (with HS and BS subscales) constructed on the basis of these analyses.

Selection of Restricted Item Set

We narrowed the ASI to 22 items (11 HS and 11 BS) on the basis of: (a) the items' tendency to load consistently highly on the HS and BS factors that emerged in the separate factor analyses for men and women (reported above), (b) maintaining diversity in the various aspects of sexism apparently tapped by the items, and (c) consistent performance by the items in subsequent studies (after a "cut" to 16 items each, the scales were reduced to their 11-item forms based on their performance in Studies 1–4). Exploratory factor analyses with the 22-item ASI suggested one HS factor and three BS factors (corresponding to the three predicted BS subfactors). Rather than reporting the exploratory analyses in detail, we present structural models of the ASI based on confirmatory factor analysis conducted with LISREL 8.0 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993). The preferred structural model was guided by our theoretical analysis and the exploratory principal-components analyses in SPSSX.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

The advantages of using confirmatory factor analytic procedures with LISREL are threefold: (a) it allows the construction of specific structural models based on theoretical models, (b) models can be rigorously tested and compared through assessment of their goodness of fit to the observed data, and (c) models can include second-order factors. These features are particularly important because our theoretical model proposes that BS is a distinct component of sexism and that it has three subfactors (Paternalism, Gender Differentiation, and Sexuality). Further exploratory analyses based solely on the restricted 22-item set suggested that our proposed subfactors were represented in the data for the BS items but not for the HS items (which proved to be strongly unidimensional; separate analysis of the HS items revealed only a single factor with an eigenvalue greater than 1, accounting for 50% of the variance). Because there was no apparent empirical basis for distinguishing the theoretical HS subfactors, we did not attempt to include HS subfactors in the model. The 11 BS items, however, did split into three subfactors in exploratory analyses involving only the restricted item set, leading us to test a theoretical model with second-order factors.

If BS is a separate (though possibly related) entity from HS, then a one-factor model should account for the data significantly less well than a two-factor model, which, in turn, may be improved by adding the three BS subfactors. We tested each of these models: a one-factor model (all items assigned to a single Sexism factor); a two-factor model (each item assigned to load on either an HS or a BS factor, with an assigned loading of 0 on the other factor); and a full model with two second-order factors—HS and BS—and three BS subfactors: Complementary Gender Differentiation, Heterosexual Intimacy, and Protective Paternalism. The full model was highly restrictive (and hence a rigorous test of the proposed structure): (a) all HS items were assigned a loading of 0 on BS and vice versa, and (b) for all BS items, loadings were estimated on one subfactor only (each item was assigned a loading of 0 on the other two subfactors). If the observed data did not fit these many restric-

deemed the overlap impressive enough to warrant pooling the samples. After pooling the samples from different colleges, we separately analyzed men's and women's responses. The overlap was again impressive, replicating a strong HS factor that accounted for 23% of the variance among male respondents (eigenvalue = 26.0) and 21% among female respondents (eigenvalue = 22.99), and the benevolent sexism items coalesced into a single BS factor, accounting for 5% of the variance among male respondents (eigenvalue = 5.74) and 6% among female respondents (eigenvalue = 6.68). Of the top 10 items to load on Factor 1 within each sex, all loaded .52 or higher on Factor 1 for the other sex. Of the top 10 items to load on Factor 2 within each sex, all loaded .44 or better on Factor 2 for the other sex.

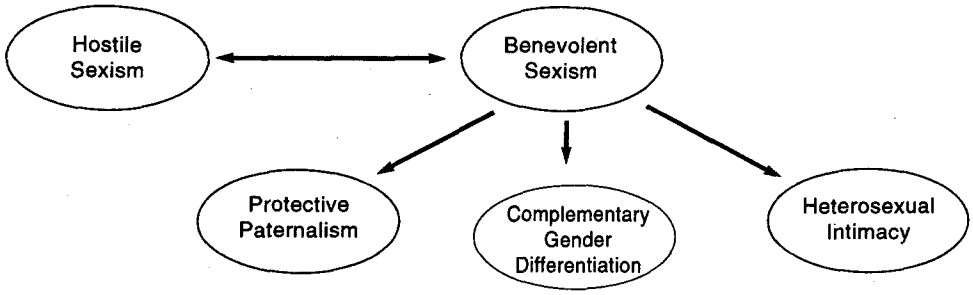

Figure 1. Preferred (full) model for confirmatory factor analysis of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory.

tions, the model would fail to have a good fit to the data. The full model is depicted in Figure 1.

Factor Structure and Model Comparisons Across Five Studies

We present five independent replications of the confirmatory factor analysis (Study 6 was excluded from the factor analyses because of low sample size). These replications include three undergraduate samples (Studies 1–3) and two nonstudent samples (Studies 4–5). Two of the samples were relatively large (more than 800 respondents in each) and three were relatively small (fewer than 150 people in each). Because all of the items on the initial scale were worded such that agreement indicated a higher level of sexism, a number of items were reworded for Studies 2–6 to control for measurement biases. Acquiescence bias could inflate (or could even completely account for) any positive correlation that emerged between the HS and BS factors without item reversals (e.g., Green, Goldman, & Salovey, 1993). To control for this possibility, 8 of the 22 items (4 HS and 4 BS items) were reversed in Studies 2 and 3. For Studies 4–6, the 2 reversed items that had performed least well (1 HS and 1 BS item) were restored to their original wording. Thus, for Studies 2 and 3, 36% of the items were reversed, and for Studies 4–6, 27% of the items remained reversed.

Goodness of fit. We used Jöreskog and Sörbom's (1993) Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) and Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI) to assess the fit of the data to the models. These measures, as opposed to chi-square, are standardized and can be interpreted easily.[6] Both statistics are on a 0-to-1 scale, with 1 indicating a perfect fit (i.e., that the observed correlation matrix can be perfectly reproduced by the model's estimates). Jöreskog and Sörbom (1993) consider AGFI estimates of .85 and above to indicate a good fit. In addition to these measures, we used chi-square to test differences between the fit of the alternative models through the likelihood ratio or chi-square difference test (Bollen, 1989). Fit measures for the three models are reported in Table 1 for the five samples.

As is indicated in Table 1, in all five studies the two-factor model fit the data significantly better than the one-factor model, suggesting that BS is indeed a separate entity from HS. Furthermore, the full model represented a significant improvement over the two-factor model, indicating that BS can best be described as being composed of three subfactors. The full model performed well across all five studies and yielded acceptable GFIs. Although the fit is weaker in three of the five samples (Studies 2, 4, and 5), the reader should note that these are the three small samples and that item loadings (reported below) remain high for these studies. Given the complexity of the model being tested, we consider these results strong evidence for the validity of this structural model.

Factor correlations. Even though BS is distinct from HS, the two factors are strongly and positively correlated (see Table 2 for factor correlations).[7] Acquiescence bias cannot explain this result. The reversal of a significant number of items in Studies 2–5 did not consistently reduce the correlation between the HS and BS factors: Studies 2, 3, and 5 yielded fairly strong correlations between HS and BS that were, on average, only slightly lower than the .71 correlation in the first study. Thus, the correlation between HS and BS cannot be attributed to acquiescence bias. The two nonstudent samples (Studies 4 and 5), however, yielded lower correlations between HS and BS. Analyses that shed further light on this difference are reported below. The reader should keep in mind that the magnitude of the correlation between the HS and BS factors does not affect the fit of the models we tested, because this parameter is not restricted.

Factor loadings of individual items. Comparisons across the studies reveal that although the reversed items typically did not fare as well as the original items, their loadings were generally acceptable, and the factor structure was consistent across studies. Because item reversals did not have any dramatic effects on the correlations among the factors, recall that the two reversed items that performed least well were restored to their original wording beginning with Study 4. Individual items (with a "gist" wording) and factor loadings across the studies are reported in Table 3; all reversed items were reverse scored. The reader should keep in

[6] GFI and AGFI are monotonically related to chi-square but are standardized so that, unlike chi-square, their values are not directly determined by sample size. Chi-square is almost certain to be statistically significant when large samples are used (even when the model fits well, the small deviations between the observed and actual covariation matrices that invariably occur will be statistically significant with a large N). GFI and AGFI are therefore more useful for making comparisons across the five samples (which have varying Ns) as well as for judging the absolute fit of a model.

[7] In all five studies, each BS subfactor was more highly correlated with the other BS subfactors (rs ranged from .54 to .86) and with the superordinate BS factor than each was with HS (rs ranged from .27 to .73).

Table 1
Goodness of Fit (GFI) of Full and Restricted Models Across Five Samples

Fit index	Study 1	2	3	4	5
	One-factor model				
GFI	.77	.80	.79	.69	.72
AGFI	.72	.76	.75	.62	.66
χ^2 (209)	1,862.75**	460.47**	2,017.19**	554.24**	441.45**
	Two-factor model (no subfactors)				
GFI	.89	.83	.83	.82	.79
AGFI	.87	.80	.80	.78	.74
Decrease in χ^2 (vs. one factor)[a]	892.82**	106.61**	810.64**	161.30**	69.35**
	Full model				
GFI	.94	.86	.92	.86	.80
AGFI	.93	.83	.90	.82	.75
Decrease in χ^2 (vs. two-factor)[b]	416.68**	31.56**	413.56**	103.86**	20.40**
N	811	171	937	144	112

Note. AGFI = Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index.
[a] Distributed as χ^2 with 1 *df.*
[b] Distributed as χ^2 with 2 *df.*
** $p < .01$.

mind that, in this confirmatory factor analysis (which fit the observed data rather well), items were allowed to load only on one factor (or subfactor); all other loadings were fixed at 0 (and therefore are not reported).

Consistency of factor structure for men and women. A formal test of the consistency of factor structure between men and women was possible within Studies 1 and 3, each of which had sufficient sample sizes to perform subgroup analyses that tested the fit of the data to the model simultaneously but separately for male and female respondents. The GFIs for these analyses were .92 for Study 1 and .91 for Study 2, which indicates that for each of these samples the factor structure was similar for male and female respondents.

Properties of the Raw Score ASI Scales Across Six Studies

Reliability

Researchers interested in using the ASI will most likely rely on raw score averages when using the scale. Reliability analyses of a total ASI score (average of all items) and average scores for the two major subscales of the ASI yielded acceptable alpha coefficients across all six studies (see Table 4). The BS scale consistently yielded lower alpha coefficients; this is not surprising given the multidimensional nature of this scale. The BS subscales are composed of too few items (three for Complementary Gender Differentiation, four each for Protective Paternalism

Table 2
Correlations Among ASI Factors Across Five Samples

ASI factor	Study 1	2	3	4	5
Superordinate ASI factors:					
HS and BS	.71	.74	.62	.37	.58
Loadings of subfactors on BS factor					
Protective Paternalism	.93	.98	.92	.98	.93
Complementary Gender differentiation	.81	.75	.77	.72	.92
Heterosexual Intimacy	.79	.76	.79	.75	.72
N	811	171	937	144	112

Note. ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory; HS = Hostile Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism.

Table 3
Factor Loadings for ASI Items Across Five Studies

Scale item	Study 1	2	3	4	5
Hostile Sexism					
Women exaggerate problems at work	.71	.70	.71	.80	.73
Women are too easily offended	.76	.81	.66	.69	.66
Most women interpret innocent remarks as sexist	.74	.69	.61	.55	.70
When women lose fairly, they claim discrimination[b]	.74	.49	.31	.77	.66
Women seek special favors under guise of equality	.68	.74	.70	.59	.71
Feminists are making reasonable demands[a]	.75	.60	.50	.49	.42
Feminists not seeking more power than men[a]	.73	.50	.47	.56	.64
Women seek power by gaining control over men	.67	.64	.72	.70	.69
Few women tease men sexually[a]	.60	.51	.37	.25	.46
Once a man commits, she puts him on a tight leash	.73	.65	.65	.81	.77
Women fail to appreciate all men do for them	.68	.69	.66	.64	.58
Benevolent Sexism					
Protective Paternalism					
A good woman should be set on a pedestal	.68	.58	.66	.58	.62
Women should be cherished and protected by men[b]	.69	.43	.28	.66	.49
Men should sacrifice to provide for women	.69	.54	.73	.67	.69
In a disaster, women need not be rescued first[a]	.62	.48	.35	.33	.47
Complementary Gender Differentiation					
Women have a superior moral sensibility	.69	.74	.75	.77	.56
Women have a quality of purity few men possess	.82	.80	.82	.78	.61
Women have a more refined sense of culture, taste	.72	.69	.71	.67	.71
Heterosexual Intimacy					
Every man ought to have a woman he adores	.67	.57	.69	.64	.55
Men are complete without women[a]	.69	.70	.51	.63	.55
Despite accomplishment, men are incomplete without women	.79	.75	.84	.66	.71
People are often happy without heterosexual romance[a]	.67	.50	.37	.36	.44
N	811	171	937	144	112

Note. ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory.
[a] Indicates items reverse-worded (and reverse-scored) for Studies 2–6 and on the final scale.
[b] Indicates items for which reversed wording (and reversed scoring) was used in Studies 2 and 3 but which were returned to their original wording for the final version of the scale and for Studies 4–6.

and Heterosexual Intimacy) to yield acceptable reliability scores when analyzed separately.

Relationship Between HS and BS Scales

The correlations between the raw score versions of the HS and BS scales were consistently lower than the correlation between the HS and BS factors estimated in the LISREL analyses reported above (most likely because the LISREL analyses control for error variance that otherwise attenuates the correlation). Although the two studies (1 and 3; both with undergraduates) with sufficient sample size yielded similar factor solutions for men and women, the correlations between the raw scores for the HS and BS scales (see Table 5) suggest that they differ for men and women in the nonstudent samples (Studies 4 and 5). Although the correlation for men is significantly lower than the correlation for women in one student sample (Study 3, $z = 2.47$, $p < .01$), the differences between men and women are dramatic only for the nonstudent samples: HS and BS were positively correlated only for women in the nonstudent samples, not for men. In both cases, the differences between the correlations for women and men were significant (Study 4: $z = 3.78$, $p < .01$; Study 5: $z = 4.10$, $p < .01$).

Table 4
ASI Scale Reliabilities (Alpha Reliability Coefficients) Across Six Samples

	Study					
ASI scale	1	2	3	4	5	6
ASI	.92	.88	.83	.83	.87	.90
Hostile Sexism	.92	.87	.80	.87	.91	.89
Benevolent Sexism	.85	.75	.77	.78	.73	.83
N	811	171	937	144	112	85

Note. ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory.

Sex Differences in Mean Scores

We expected mean differences between men and women on the ASI scales. Indeed, if men were not found to be more sexist than women, the validity of the scale would be in doubt. We examined sex differences in average raw scores for the overall ASI (all items), HS, and BS in each of the six studies. We also performed a 2 (sex of respondent) × 2 (ASI subscale: HS and BS) analysis of variance (ANOVA) within each study, using the HS and BS scores as a repeated measures variable. The main effect for sex of respondent in each analysis is equivalent to a univariate test for sex differences in the overall ASI means (because the overall ASI score is the average of the HS and BS scores). Means for these analyses are reported in Table 6. In all cases, the sex-of-respondent main effect was significant (all Fs > 4.82, $p < .05$), such that men scored higher on the ASI than did women. Although men tended to score higher than women on both subscales of the ASI, the differences were more extreme for HS than for BS. Indeed, the interaction terms for all analyses were significant (all Fs > 3.79, $p < .05$). Pairwise comparisons (within each study) of men's and women's scores on the HS and BS scales (based on Tukey's test for post hoc comparisons) revealed that men scored higher than women on HS and on BS in every study (all ps $< .05$) with the exception of Study 6, for which men scored higher on HS only. The significant interaction terms, however, indicate that the difference between the HS scores of men and women were significantly larger than the differences between the BS scores. It is not surprising that women would be more likely to reject sexist attitudes that are hostile toward women than those that carry potential benefits, as BS does (i.e., protected status and favorable stereotypes).[8]

Convergent and Discriminant Validity of the ASI

Relationship of HS and BS to Recognition of Discrimination

We suggested earlier that the Recognition of Discrimination (RD) factor (based on a gendered translation of items from Katz and Hass's [1988] pro-Black scale), which emerged in Study 1 as a separate factor in exploratory analyses, provides evidence of discriminant validity for the ASI. The reader may wonder, however, given the multifaceted nature of the BS scale, whether the RD factor is indeed part of BS (given that Katz and Hass designed these items to express sympathy with the plight of the out-group). We formed a reliable RD scale ($\alpha = .77$) by averaging the 11 items that loaded .3 or better on the RD factor (items included in Study 1 only). A regression analysis in which HS and BS (raw score versions) were entered as predictors of RD revealed that RD is more strongly (and negatively) related to HS. Once HS was partialed out, RD was weakly (but positively) related to BS. The standardized regression coefficients for the combined regression were $-.52$ for HS ($t = -12.76$, $p < .001$) and .25 for BS ($t = 6.24$, $p < .01$). This result is consistent with a sexism equivalent of the claim that the denial of discrimination against the minority group masks an underlying hostility (e.g., McConahay, 1986; see Swim et al., 1995). Furthermore, the different directions of the relationships of RD to HS and RD to BS provide additional evidence of the importance of distinguishing between these two aspects of sexism. The subjectively positive feelings associated with BS may lead people high in BS to be more sympathetic toward women and, as a result, to be somewhat more aware of the obstacles women face (although perhaps unaware of the sexism inherent in their own views).

The ASI and Social Desirability

Participants in Study 2 ($N = 161$) completed Paulhus's (1988) Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR), which separately measures Impression Management and Self-Deception, the two dimensions Paulhus found to underlie other measures of socially desirable responding. We administered the BIDR using the 0 (*strongly disagree*)-to-6 (*strongly agree*) scale recommended by Paulhus. With an issue as sensitive in the cur-

[8] When the ASI scales were averaged across male and female respondents, the mean rate of endorsement of ASI items generally ranged between 2.0 and 2.5 (the midpoint of the scale). The distributions of ASI total, HS, and BS scores are roughly bell shaped but deviate from the normal distribution in that they tend to be platykurtic (i.e., more scores toward the tails, perhaps indicating some tendency for there to be polarized responses on these issues) and, among the college student samples, exhibit a slight skew (with extreme low scores being more common than extreme high scores). These tendencies were not particularly pronounced and should present no problems for the use of the scales. Indeed, the ASI scales exhibit very little skew in comparison to the currently most popular measure of sexism, the AWS (Spence & Helmreich, 1972), which exhibited a J-curve distribution among college students in our Study 3 sample. We note, however, that despite its highly skewed distribution, the AWS still showed convergent validity with other measures of hostile sexism (including our HS scale).

Table 5
Correlations Between Hostile and Benevolent Sexism Scales Across Six Samples by Sex of Respondent

Sex of respondent	Study 1	2	3	4	5	6
Men						
r	.55**	.45**	.31**	−.12	−.15	.53**
N	344	77	396	72	36	44
Women						
r	.56**	.57**	.45**	.48**	.61**	.56**
N	467	94	541	72	76	41

** $p < .01$.

rent cultural climate as relationships between men and women, particularly on a college campus noted for political correctness, it would be surprising if the ASI were completely unrelated to socially desirable response tendencies. Although the ASI scales were not significantly related to the Self-Deception scale of the BIDR, the correlations of the Impression Management (IM) scale of the BIDR with the ASI scales were significant but not large (see Table 7). Partial correlations, in which each of the ASI subscales (HS and BS) were controlled, while the other was correlated to the social desirability scales, show that both scales are independently correlated with IM.

Despite the statistical significance of the relationships between the ASI scale and IM, the magnitude of the correlations indicates that the two are not redundant. No particular ASI items can be tagged as the "culprits" for this correlation; in no case does any individual item on the ASI correlate more strongly than −.27 with IM, but virtually all of the items tend toward a weak relationship with IM (6 items in the −.20s, 13 items in the −.10s). Thus, the overall relationship between the ASI and IM reflects an aggregation of many weak relationships.

The ASI and Other Measures of Sexism

Four additional measures of sexism and hostility toward women were included in Study 2: The AWS (Spence & Helm-

Table 6
ASI Scale Means for Men and Women Across Six Samples

ASI scale	Study 1	2	3	4	5	6
			Male respondents			
ASI						
M	2.96	2.53	2.46	2.46	2.52	2.45
SD	.88	.61	.61	.62	.63	.75
Hostile Sexism						
M	3.05	2.49	2.38	2.63	2.72	2.54
SD	1.04	.74	.78	.95	.97	.86
Benevolent Sexism						
M	2.87	2.58	2.53	2.31	2.33	2.36
SD	.97	.69	.74	.92	.95	.85
N	344	77	396	72	36	44
			Female respondents			
ASI						
M	2.41	1.85	1.97	1.82	1.78	2.07
SD	.82	.76	.72	.87	.89	.84
Hostile Sexism						
M	2.38	1.49	1.73	1.67	1.66	1.87
SD	.95	.88	.84	1.03	1.05	.98
Benevolent Sexism						
M	2.43	2.21	2.20	1.98	1.90	2.27
SD	.96	.83	.84	1.01	.94	.92
N	467	94	541	72	76	41

Note. Each scale ranged from 0 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*).

reich, 1972); two new scales developed by Swim et al. (1995)—the Modern Sexism scale (which measures political attitudes thought to be related to a more subtle, "modern" sexism) and the Old-Fashioned Sexism scale (which measures more overtly traditional sexist beliefs about women, e.g., "Women are generally not as smart as men"); and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Burt, 1980). Given that sexism has typically been conceptualized as hostile attitudes toward women or women's rights, we expected the HS scale to correlate well with other measures of sexism, showing convergent validity for this subscale. Because other researchers have neglected the "benevolent" side of sexism, we made the following prediction: Any correlation between the BS scale and the other measures of sexism would be wholly accounted for by its relationship to HS. We constructed three different types of correlations between the ASI scales and other measures of sexism (see Table 8): first-order correlations, partial correlations in which IM was controlled, and partial correlations for each of the ASI subscales (HS and BS) in which each subscale was partialed out from the other (to obtain "pure" measures of HS and BS).

The overall ASI score correlated well with other measures of sexism. Furthermore, the relationship of the ASI scales to these measures of sexism and hostility toward women were unaffected when IM was partialed out (giving at least some evidence that the relationship between the ASI and IM does not affect the ASI's relationship to other measures). The relationship between the ASI and other sexism measures, however, is wholly attributable to the HS subscale, which was as strongly related to other measures of sexism as the overall ASI score. In contrast, the BS scale had consistently lower first-order correlations to the other measures. These correlations completely disappeared once HS was partialed out, indicating that benevolent sexism is not directly tapped by the other sexism scales.[9]

The ASI and Modern Racism

Although we had no control over which measures (other than the ASI) were included in Study 3 (the prescreen sample, $N = 937$), one measure that happened to be included had clear relevance to the ASI: the Modern Racism scale (McConahay, 1986). A positive relationship has frequently been found between prejudice against different out-groups; those who are prejudiced against one group are likely to be prejudiced against others (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Allport, 1954; Altemeyer, 1988; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993). According to McConahay (1986), the Modern Racism scale taps symbolic attitudes toward Blacks that are related to racial hostility. Therefore, we expected a positive correlation between the Modern Racism scale and HS, but of a magnitude less than the relationship of HS and other sexism scales. We had no reason to expect a correlation between the Modern Racism scale and BS once HS was controlled for (given that BS does not measure hostility). Because the results differed between men and women, the correlations are broken down by respondent sex in Table 9. As expected, HS and the Modern Racism scale correlated moderately well. Hostile sexists are also likely to be "modern racists." Although Modern Racism and BS did not correlate for men, they were weakly but significantly correlated for women.

Table 7
Socially Desirable Responding and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI)

ASI scale	BIDR scale: Self-Deception	BIDR scale: Impression Management
ASI	−.01	−.31*
HS	−.04	−.29*
BS	.04	−.26*
HS, controlling for BS	−.07	−.18*
BS, controlling for HS	.07	−.13*

Note. $N = 171$. BIDR = Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding; HS = Hostile Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism.
* $p < .05$.

Table 8
Relationship of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) and Its Subscales to Other Measures of Sexism

ASI scale	Other Sexism measures: AWS	Old-Fashioned Sexism	Modern Sexism	RMA
ASI	.63**	.42**	.57**	.54**
HS	.68**	.48**	.65**	.61**
BS	.40**	.24**	.33**	.32**
Controlling for Impression Management				
ASI	.61**	.38**	.62**	.54**
HS	.67**	.44**	.70**	.61**
BS	.38**	.19**	.36**	.31**
HS, controlling for BS	.60**	.43**	.60**	.55**
BS, controlling for HS	.04	−.03	−.06	−.02

Note. $N = 171$. AWS = Attitudes Toward Women Scale; RMA = Rape Myth Acceptance Scale; HS = Hostile Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism.
** $p < .01$.

Predictive Validity of the ASI

We have argued that the ASI taps two aspects of sexism that, though related, have different evaluative valences. In short, the

[9] Separate analyses for male and female respondents generally yielded similar results, with the exception of the relationship of BS (once HS was partialed out) to the AWS and Old-Fashioned Sexism scales. BS was weakly negatively related to the AWS and Old-Fashioned Sexism scales for men ($rs = -.10$ and $-.20$, respectively, $p < .05$ for the latter), whereas for women the relationships were weakly but significantly positive ($r = .19$ with AWS and .18 with OFS, $ps < .05$). Direct comparisons of the correlations revealed that the correlations for men and women were marginally significantly different for the AWS ($z = 1.82$, $p = .07$) and significantly different for the Old-Fashioned Sexism scale ($z = 2.39$, $p < .05$). This pattern did not hold true for the Modern Sexism or Rape Myth Acceptance scales (both $zs < 1.12$, ns). This suggests that for women, but not for men, BS is related to the acceptance of traditional female roles and traditional, overt sexist beliefs, but not to rape myths or the more subtle form of sexism tapped by the Modern Sexism scale.

Table 9
Relationship of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) to Modern Racism

ASI scale	Modern racism	
	Men	Women
ASI	.38**	.51**
HS	.44**	.47**
BS	.16**	.40**
HS, controlling for BS	.42**	.35**
BS, controlling for HS	.01	.24**

Note. $N = 937$. HS = Hostile Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism.
$^{**}p < .01$.

ASI is intended to capture the ambivalent sentiments expressed in the oft-heard lament of men about women: "Can't live with them, can't live without them." We have also claimed that HS and BS underlie ambivalent images of women, with HS being related to negative images of women and BS being predictive of positive stereotypes about women. HS, then, should be correlated with a negative general attitude toward women and negative stereotypes about women as a group. BS, on the other hand, should be correlated with a positive general attitude toward women and the acceptance of positive stereotypes about women. The total ASI score may remain unrelated to any of these measures because it is composed of two subscales with opposing relationships to these criteria. However, the overall ASI score should correlate with indices of men's ambivalence toward women. We consider these predictions an "acid test" of the ASI as a scale that should help to further distinguish it from other measures currently in use, such as the AWS. As Eagly and Mladinic (1989) noted, the AWS is often misinterpreted by researchers as measuring attitudes toward women rather than attitudes toward equal rights for women, which was Spence and Helmreich's (1972) explicit intention. Eagly and Mladinic (1989) did in fact show that the AWS is unrelated to attitudes toward women. As they noted, a person who is firmly against equal rights for women because he or she embraces traditional beliefs about gender roles may indeed have a very positive attitude toward women and positive, although stereotypic, images of women. This observation is entirely consistent with our own notions of benevolent sexism, which we see as embracing a traditional set of sexist beliefs that are associated with positive feelings about (and positive trait ascriptions to) women.

We have adopted, to the extent practically possible, the methods Eagly et al. recommended for measuring the favorability or unfavorability of attitudes toward and stereotypes about women and men (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Eagly et al., 1991). We used these methods in Studies 4–6, two nonstudent samples and one sample of undergraduates. For these studies, in addition to the ASI, respondents were asked to rate their general attitudes toward and stereotypes about women (or men, Study 4 only, depending on random assignment).[10] Unfortunately, many respondents in these studies failed to complete the entire survey after filling out the ASI, which was at the beginning of the survey (33 incomplete surveys in Study 4, 36 in Study 5, and 14 in Study 6). As a result, sample sizes are relatively low in these studies, but we compensate by offering three replications.[11]

The attitude measure was a 5-item semantic differential scale used by Eagly et al. (1991) to measure attitudes toward specific social groups (e.g., men, women). The 7-point semantic differential scales included the following bipolar pairs: *good–bad, positive–negative, valuable–useless, pleasant–unpleasant, nice–awful*. All items were subsequently coded in the positive direction. The scale was highly reliable (αs = .92, .89, and .79 in Studies 4–6, respectively). We measured stereotyping of the group by having participants indicate the percentage of group members who possessed each of 32 traits. These traits, also used by Eagly and Mladinic (1989), originally come from Spence, Helmreich, and Holahan's (1979) Extended Personal Attributes Questionnaire. The traits are grouped into four sets of eight: masculine–positive (e.g., independent, self-confident), masculine–negative (e.g., arrogant, hostile), feminine–positive (e.g., helpful, gentle), and feminine–negative (e.g., whiny, spineless). All four sets formed reliable scales (alphas ranged from .76 to .91 for each scale across the three studies).

Ambivalent Attitudes Toward Women

Does the ASI measure ambivalent attitudes toward women? We used the semantic differential items aimed at measuring overall evaluations of women and the positive and negative trait ratings to answer this question. Because the former measure was based on bipolar scales, it cannot directly measure ambivalence. Because the subscales of the ASI ought to tap different poles of ambivalence, however, the HS and BS scales should show opposite correlations to overall attitudes (semantic differential scales). For the latter measures (traits ascribed to men and women), participants rated positive and negative traits separately, allowing the construction of a direct index of ambivalence with the ambivalence formula suggested by Thompson et al. (1995). This formula, Ambiv-

[10] Although the ASI was designed to measure attitudes toward women, it is clear that different stances toward women almost inevitably involve differing views of men. We performed a correlational analysis on attitudes toward and stereotypes about men in Study 4 (for which respondents rated men as well as women). The only significant correlation between the ASI and attitudes toward men occurred for women: BS was related to negative attitudes toward men ($r = -.52$). Analysis of the trait ratings reinforced this finding: For women, BS scores were related to seeing men as not possessing positive feminine traits ($r = -.30$) and as possessing negative masculine traits ($r = .48$).

[11] We note for readers who are concerned about the imbalance between the large size of the initial undergraduate samples on which the ASI was developed and the relatively small sample sizes for the predictive validity studies with adult community members that: (a) these studies have different purposes and, although the initial factor analyses on the larger item pool statistically required a large sample, subsequent factor analyses and correlational studies with the short version of the ASI did not statistically require larger samples; (b) the consistency and statistical significance of the correlational results across two quite different samples of adult men are particularly impressive precisely because of the small sample sizes; (c) the rate of endorsement of ASI items (although it varied by sex) is similar among undergraduates and adults in the community; (d) the factor analytic results with the community samples are highly consistent with those of the student samples: With the sole exception of the correlation between HS and BS, the same complex two-factor model of sexism (with three BS subfactors) provides the best fit to the data; and (e) the best evidence for the ASI's predictive validity occurs with adult men from the community.

alence = (Positive + Negative)/2 − |Positive − Negative|, indexes the simultaneous intensity of the positive and negative ratings. We constructed two such ambivalence scores—one based on all the traits rated (both stereotypically masculine and feminine) and one based only on the stereotypically feminine traits. The latter score was constructed with the notion that ambivalence toward women may emerge most clearly in traditional stereotypes of them.

Men's ambivalent attitudes toward women. Correlations of the overall ASI score, HS (controlling for BS), and BS (controlling for HS) with the average of the overall attitude measure and the two ambivalence measures are reported in Table 10 for men in Studies 4–6.[12] For men, the results were very much as predicted: Although the overall ASI score did not predict general attitudes toward women (as expected, because these were bipolar ratings that do not index ambivalence), for men in the nonstudent samples the two subscales had opposite relationships to overall attitude: HS was significantly negatively related to favorable attitudes toward women and BS was significantly positively related to favorable attitudes toward women. Neither correlation was significant for men in the student sample. In general, the more nonstudent men expressed positive semantic differential attitudes toward women, the more benevolent and less hostile sexism they expressed. The opposing correlations of the overall attitude ratings with the ASI subscales imply that, for nonstudent men at least, the overall ASI score is a measure of ambivalence. This is directly confirmed by the relationship between total ASI scores and the ambivalence measures. With only one exception across the three studies (including the student sample), both ambivalence measures were positively and significantly correlated with the overall ASI score that men achieved. Interestingly, the HS scale alone also was significantly correlated to the ambivalence measures in most cases. This curious finding is discussed in light of data presented below.

Women's ambivalent attitudes toward women. The results for women (reported in Table 11) are less consistent. Although in Study 5 (the second nonstudent sample) the HS and BS subscales parallel the findings with male respondents (showing opposing correlations to overall attitudes about women), the other two studies did not show this effect. In Study 4, correlations of overall attitude with the total ASI score and with both subscales tended to be negative for female respondents, with the overall ASI score significantly negatively correlated with the attitude measure. The correlations of the ASI and BS scale scores with overall attitude toward women were both significantly different from the corresponding correlations for male respondents (both $zs > 2.13$, $p < .05$). Study 6 showed no significant relationships between the ASI scores and the attitude measure. The ambivalence measures were more consistent, suggesting that, among female respondents, the overall ASI score is associated with ambivalence toward women. Although in Study 5 these correlations were significantly lower than those of male respondents (both $zs > 2.08$, $p < .05$), no significant sex differences emerged in the other two studies. For both nonstudent samples, the HS scale itself was related to ambivalence (see below for an explanation of this effect).

Table 10
The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) as a Predictor of Men's Ambivalent Attitudes Toward Women

ASI scale	General attitude	Ambivalence (all traits)	Ambivalence (feminine traits)
	Nonstudent men, Study 4 (N = 31)		
ASI	.07	.21	.35*
HS[a]	−.37*	.24	.38*
BS[b]	.29*	.03	.08
	Nonstudent men, Study 5 (N = 25)		
ASI	−.09	.63**	.57**
HS[a]	−.46*	.73**	.70**
BS[b]	.33*	.27	.15
	Undergraduate men, Study 6 (N = 36)		
ASI	−.03	.41**	.49**
HS[a]	−.12	.37*	.48**
BS[b]	.08	.00	.00

Note. HS = Hostile Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism.
[a] Correlations in this row are partial correlations controlling for Benevolent Sexism scores.
[b] Correlations in this row are partial correlations controlling for Hostile Sexism Scores.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table 11
The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) as a Predictor of Women's Ambivalent Attitudes Toward Women

ASI scale	General attitude	Ambivalence (all traits)	Ambivalence (feminine traits)
	Nonstudent women, Study 4 (N = 22)		
ASI	−.51**	.31	.41*
HS[a]	−.12	.45*	.53**
BS[b]	−.33	−.05	−.08
	Nonstudent women, Study 5 (N = 52)		
ASI	−.05	.39**	.43**
HS[a]	−.25*	.35**	.32**
BS[b]	.23*	−.08	−.01
	Undergraduate women, Study 6 (N = 35)		
ASI	−.15	.48**	.52**
HS[a]	−.12	.17	.11
BS[b]	−.04	.29*	.39*

Note. HS = Hostile Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism.
[a] Correlations in this row are partial correlations controlling for Benevolent Sexism scores.
[b] Correlations in this row are partial correlations controlling for Hostile Sexism scores.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Stereotypes About Women

We predicted that the HS scale would be related to viewing women in a negative light and that the BS scale would be related

[12] Partial correlations were used once again to get "pure" measures of HS and BS, but it should be noted that because HS and BS were uncorrelated for men in the two nonstudent samples, the partial correlations of HS and of BS to the criterion variables are virtually identical to the first-order correlations of HS and BS to these variables for men in Studies 4 and 5.

to viewing women more positively. Because nontraditional women are typically viewed as taking on masculine traits, we expected that the HS scale might predict the ascription of negative masculine, as well as negative feminine, traits to women.

Men's stereotypes about women. The relationship of the ASI scales to stereotypes about women were much as predicted for male respondents (see Table 12). The HS scale was significantly correlated with ascribing to women both negative feminine traits (all studies) and negative masculine traits (among the two nonstudent samples) but was not significantly related to the ascription of positive traits to women (except for a weak but significant relationship in Study 6). In contrast, the BS scale was significantly related to seeing women in a positive light; it showed significant correlations with positive traits in the two nonstudent samples (both masculine and feminine in Study 4; positive masculine traits only in Study 5). No significant correlations with BS emerged in Study 6 (student sample).

Women's stereotypes about women. Correlations between the ASI scales and trait ascriptions to women by female respondents are reported in Table 13. For the two nonstudent samples, HS was consistently related to ascribing both negative feminine and negative masculine traits to women, although no relationships involving HS emerged in the undergraduate sample. There were only two significant relationships that involved BS, both of which involved negative views of women: a negative relationship between BS and ascribing positive feminine traits (Study 4) and a positive relationship between BS and ascribing negative feminine traits (Study 6) to women. The former correlation significantly differed from that of male respondents (in Study 4) for whom BS was related to being more, rather than less, likely to ascribe positive feminine traits to women ($z = 2.86, p < .01$).

Table 12
The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) as a Predictor of Men's Stereotypes About Women

	Feminine traits		Masculine traits	
ASI scale	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
	Nonstudent men, Study 4 ($N = 31$)			
ASI	.19	.49**	.20	.36*
HS[a]	−.20	.52**	−.09	.46**
BS[b]	.44*	.14	.38*	.01
	Nonstudent men, Study 5 ($N = 25$)			
ASI	−.04	.46**	.31	.54**
HS[a]	−.12	.63**	.02	.61**
BS[b]	.17	.02	.51**	.20
	Undergraduate men, Study 6 ($N = 36$)			
ASI	.39**	.55**	−.15	.24*
HS[a]	.27*	.52**	.01	.33*
BS[b]	.20	.02	−.20	−.13

Note. HS = Hostile Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism.
[a] Correlations in this row are partial correlations controlling for Benevolent Sexism scores.
[b] Correlations in this row are partial correlations controlling for Hostile Sexism scores.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 13
The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) as a Predictor of Women's Stereotypes About Women

	Feminine traits		Masculine traits	
ASI scale	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
	Nonstudent women, Study 4 ($N = 22$)			
ASI	.09	.41*	.03	.26
HS[a]	.34*	.60**	.08	.39*
BS[b]	−.36*	−.21	−.10	−.05
	Nonstudent women, Study 5 ($N = 52$)			
ASI	.14	.46**	.08	.30*
HS[a]	−.10	.34**	.00	.35**
BS[b]	.13	−.01	.07	−.15
	Undergraduate women, Study 6 ($N = 35$)			
ASI	.06	.52**	−.07	.28
HS[a]	−.10	.09	−.04	.16
BS[b]	.15	.41**	.04	.12

Note. HS = Hostile Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism.
[a] Correlations in this row are partial correlations controlling for Benevolent Sexism scores.
[b] Correlations in this row are partial correlations controlling for Hostile Sexism scores.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Explication of the relationship of HS to stereotypic ambivalence. The consistent tendency of HS (once BS was partialed out) to correlate positively with ambivalence was unexpected. However, this relationship may have occurred because women are perceived highly favorably overall (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993). If people generally ascribe positive traits to women, but those high in HS also perceive women as likely to possess negative traits, ambivalence scores would tend to be high for high HS scorers. For each study, we conducted a 2 (sex of respondent) × 2 (valence of traits) × 2 (gender type of traits) ANOVA of the trait ratings, which revealed that both men and women tended to ascribe positive feminine traits to women at a high rate in all three studies (means ranged from 65% to 76%), followed by masculine positive traits (means ranged from 48% to 56%), feminine negative traits (means ranged from 38% to 50%), and masculine negative traits (means ranged from 32% to 41%). All three ANOVAs yielded significant Valence of Traits × Gender Type of Traits interactions (all $Fs > 15.93$, $p < .01$). Because, especially for male respondents, high HS scorers tended to ascribe negative traits to women at higher rates but did not typically assign positive traits to them at a different rate (as indicated by the generally nonsignificant correlations between HS and positive traits), these high HS scorers would be expected to have high ambivalence scores. The high rate of ascribing women positive feminine traits, which restricted the range of this variable, may also have attenuated correlations between BS and the ascription of positive feminine traits to women.

Discussion

The six investigations reported here provide strong support for our theory of ambivalent sexism and for the convergent, dis-

criminant, and predictive validity of the ASI. Across five studies (involving men and women, undergraduates and two nonstudent samples), factor analysis repeatedly confirmed the existence of BS and HS, both of which are reliably measured by the two ASI subscales. In all of the factor analyses, a full model (HS and BS, with three BS subfactors) significantly outperformed a one-factor (sexism) and a simple two-factor (no BS subfactors) model. The positive correlation repeatedly found between the HS and BS scales (with the important exception of men from the nonstudent samples) supports the claim that these two forms of sexism tend to be related aspects of sexist ideology (see also Nadler & Morrow, 1959). Whereas the HS scale demonstrated convergent validity with other measures of sexism (and racism), the BS scale measured an aspect of sexism many other researchers apparently have missed or have only indirectly tapped. Finally, three predictive validity studies showed that, for both men and women, total ASI scores are related to ambivalence toward women, and HS predicts negative attitudes toward and stereotypes about women. That BS represents a subjectively positive orientation toward women was indicated by the findings that, for nonstudent men, BS scores predicted positive overall attitudes toward and positive images of women. These latter findings, however, did not occur among male undergraduate and female respondents (in both student and nonstudent samples). It is worth noting that although the ASI was initially developed with student samples, it showed its strongest predictive validity among men in the two nonstudent samples.

Sources of Sexism

Although the tripartite structure of the BS scale confirmed our ideas about the three sources of ambivalence toward women, the HS scale turned out to be strongly unidimensional. We believe that this is not because the sources of hostile sexism differ from the sources of benevolent sexism but because the three sources of hostility are, in a psychological as well as empirical sense, more inextricably tied together. Dominative Paternalism and Competitive Gender Differentiation both result in the same impulse: a desire to dominate women. Furthermore, this impulse is related to sexual hostility as well. Recent research by Bargh and Raymond (1995) and by Pryor et al. (1995) strongly supports the notion that sexual hostility toward women is based on a tight link between desires for power and sex, a link that becomes automatic in men who are likely sexually to harass women.

Despite the unidimensional nature of the HS scale, it represents a wide range of themes concerning hostility toward women: women exaggerate the existence of sexism, male–female relationships are characterized by a power struggle, women take advantage of men, and women use sexual relationships to manipulate and control men. These themes fit well with modern versions of Dominative Paternalism and Competitive Gender Differentiation that do not include overt statements of female inferiority but are couched more in terms of a backlash against feminism and a concern with power relations between men and women (see Faludi, 1992). Heterosexual hostility is evident in the view that women are sexual teases and that they seek to gain power over men in intimate relationships. The diversity of themes represented in the HS and BS scales are part of their strength; they tap a wide range of issues involved in sexist beliefs.

Consistencies and Differences Between Male and Female Respondents

With the exception of the magnitude of the relationship between HS and BS among nonstudent respondents, the factor structure of the ASI was similar for men and women. Two formal tests (in the two studies with sufficient sample sizes) confirmed this similarity. This finding was a welcome, though not wholly expected, result. The reader will note that the theory of ambivalent sexism is predicated on men's ambivalence toward women. Although women also can be sexist, before beginning the present series of studies it was not a foregone conclusion that the structure of their beliefs in this area would match that of men's. Indeed, the initial factor analytic studies of the AWS (Spence & Helmreich, 1972) revealed significant differences between the factors obtained for men and women. Pragmatically, the similarity in ASI factor structure across the sexes is highly convenient, indicating that similar constructs are being measured for both groups. Conceptually, this similarity argues for the importance of social learning when it comes to sexist beliefs. If sexist attitudes were solely the result of specifically male drives directed at women (e.g., to dominate, to have sex), the factor structure for women would not have been similar. Although some aspects of sexist beliefs may originate in underlying male drives, these beliefs become culturally transmitted and can also be adopted by women.

The cultural transmission of sexism to women, as opposed to the motivational origins we have argued for sexism in men, may account for the few exceptions to the similarity in the correlational structure of men's and women's responses. Although HS and BS were generally strongly and positively related, there were two exceptions to this: the correlations between the (raw score) HS and BS scales were nonsignificant (and, in both cases, negative in direction) for men in the two nonstudent samples; also, for one of the student samples, although the correlation was positive and significant for men it was significantly lower than the correlation between HS and BS for women. Why might these sex differences exist? Although explanations at this point can be only speculative, the differences make sense if men's sexism reflects their motivational orientations toward women, whereas women's adoption of sexist beliefs reflects their tendency to embrace or reject prevailing cultural norms. Hostile and benevolent motivations need not be tightly conjoined for individual men. For instance, sexual motivations may elicit benevolent sexism in many men (the desire to protect, idealize, and achieve intimacy with women) without engaging the explicitly hostile side of sexism. Although we have argued that high scores on the BS scale do reflect a kind of domination of women, the dominance is veiled, and individual men may be unaware of this component of their attraction toward women (see Bargh & Raymond, 1995; Pryor et al., 1995).

In contrast, women may tend either to adopt the prevailing cultural beliefs about women or, if they question these attitudes, to confront simultaneously both hostile and benevolent sexism. In other words, women who reject traditional sexist roles and responsibilities are likely not only to consider the more obvious, hostile aspects of sexism but also to develop a sensitivity to the assumptions implicit in benevolent sexism (e.g., that the "protection" of women involves an assumption of lesser competence). The pattern of sex differences in the relationships between the ASI scales

and other measures of prejudice seems generally consistent with this view. When HS was controlled, BS was associated with other measures of sexism (see footnote 9) and with modern racism among women but not among men (indicating that, for women, BS reflects the tendency to adopt other forms of prejudice prevalent in the culture).

Differences Between Undergraduate Men and Nonstudent Men

The logic that applies to sex differences in the results also offers an explanation for the differences between men in the student samples, for whom HS and BS were always significantly and positively correlated, and men in the nonstudent samples, for whom HS and BS were consistently independent. The lack of correlation for nonstudent men reinforces the notion that HS and BS truly are separate components of sexism and offers opportunities for studies on a population of special interest (i.e., men outside of the standard undergraduate participant pool) in which the two factors are naturally unconfounded. Why did student and nonstudent men differ in this manner? Younger men, like women, may tend to adopt wholesale either generally sexist (both hostile and benevolent) or egalitarian beliefs, depending on how they are socialized. As they get more experience in relationships with women, however, men's beliefs may become more experientially based and hence more differentiated (resulting in an absence of correlation between HS and BS). Indeed, the motivational underpinnings of BS (heterosexual intimacy needs that foster men's dyadic dependency on women) are unlikely to develop before adolescence. Prior to adolescence, boys and girls tend to segregate themselves into separate groups whose relationships are predominantly characterized by competitive gender differentiation (Maccoby, 1988). With the onset of puberty and its attendant sexual urges, benevolent sexist motivations suddenly gain relevance. As adolescent males adjust to the more complex relationships they begin to have with women, their attitudes may undergo a transition from simple structures (e.g., an endorsement of both HS and BS based solely on unreflective adoption of cultural attitudes) to more complex, and perhaps more truly ambivalent, attitude structures. The older, nonstudent men in our samples undoubtedly had many more experiences with women that could account for more differentiated attitudes, with some experiences (e.g., divorce, losing a promotion to a woman) likely to generate greater hostility and others (e.g., raising a daughter) likely to foster more benevolent sexist attitudes.

If our reasoning is correct, the college years are likely to be a time of transition for men, from simpler to much more complex attitudes toward women as they gain increasing experience in dealing with motives aroused by dyadic dependency on women, both hostile (e.g., resentment of women's dyadic power over them) and benevolent (e.g., desire for heterosexual intimacy). The enterprising researcher could hardly construct a better laboratory for examining this transition than a setting in which male and female adolescents are allowed to interact freely in social, sexual, and competitive task-oriented situations.

For Whom Is Sexism Ambivalent?

Across two studies with nonstudent men, not only was the total ASI score correlated with indices of ambivalence toward women, but HS predicted negative attitudes toward and stereotypes about women, and BS predicted positive attitudes toward and stereotypes about women, providing highly consistent and unambiguous evidence of sexist ambivalence. Additionally, the absence of a correlation between HS and BS makes the structure of these men's attitudes more consistent with others' notions of ambivalence (e.g., Thompson et al., 1995), which predict negative correlations or independence between ambivalent attitudes.

Undergraduate men, however, did not show unambiguous evidence of ambivalence, whereas they did show a consistent correlation between HS and BS (which other theorists may take as evidence against the notion that they are ambivalent). More recent data, however, suggest that the methods used in the current study simply were not sensitive enough to demonstrate younger men's ambivalence. Glick, Bailey, Diebold, and Zhu (1995) correlated undergraduate men's ASI scores with ratings these men made of their own spontaneously generated subtypes of women. Total ASI scores were significantly correlated with the variance (i.e., polarization) of overall evaluations, extremity of separate positive and negative affect ratings, and extremity of separate positive and negative trait ratings across the eight subtypes generated by each participant. That is, in comparison with low scorers, men with high ASI scores spontaneously generated more extreme sets of female subtypes that included types of women they love and types they hate. Although the sexist undergraduate men showed more polarized ratings across the eight subtypes, the ASI was uncorrelated with overall evaluations averaged across their eight subtypes (i.e., they did not, on average, rate all women generally lower in terms of overall evaluation or ascription of negative traits and feelings).

In contrast, HS and BS (with each scale partialed out of the other) did correlate significantly with ratings averaged across each man's eight subtypes. HS correlated positively with ratings of negative feelings toward and ascription of negative traits to the subtypes but correlated negatively with ratings of positive feelings toward, ascription of positive traits to, and overall evaluations of the subtypes. BS showed precisely the opposite pattern of correlations.

Consistent with the three validity studies presented here, Glick et al. (1995) found little evidence of ambivalence for high-ASI (in comparison to low-ASI) female participants. (The relationship between women's total ASI scores and one measure of ambivalent attitudes in the current studies was probably due to the general tendency all participants had to rate women very favorably coupled with a greater hostility on the part of high scorers.) BS tends (among women) to be weakly, and HS more strongly, associated with negative attitudes toward women as a group. Sexist women seem to have picked up the overall sexist devaluation of women evident in HS, but their endorsement of BS was generally devoid of subjectively positive feelings toward other women. Such results make sense given our contention that, for women, the adoption of these beliefs is due more to socialization than to underlying ambivalent motives.[13] Sexist

[13] Interestingly, for undergraduate women it was BS, not HS, that was related to ambivalence toward women. Perhaps this reflects ambivalence about their own roles. Presumably, most college women feel that they are expected to pursue careers, yet those who endorse BS may desire more traditional roles in which they are "taken care of" by

beliefs, when endorsed by women, may serve mainly as justifications for male structural control of society (hence their predominantly hostile tone).

The Nature of Sexist Ambivalence

That a recent study (Glick et al., 1995) has obtained clear evidence of ambivalence toward women in a college male sample for which HS and BS were correlated (at .52) demonstrates that one form of ambivalence toward women does seem to be unconflicted; a positive correlation between HS and BS (which suggests that these are psychologically consistent belief systems) can coexist with ambivalence toward different female subtypes. These results convincingly demonstrate that younger men who score high on the ASI do experience at least one form of sexist ambivalence: the tendency to spontaneously (and, we therefore assume, habitually) divide women into in-groups and out-groups that receive polarized reactions from these men. Our failure to find evidence of this among undergraduate men in Study 6 may have been due to the well-known reluctance (in recent times) of college students to appear as though they are stereotyping an entire social group. Impression-management concerns of this type (which may crop up when undergraduates are asked to rate "women in general") were not evident when undergraduate men were asked to generate and rate subtypes of women; derogatory epithets for subtypes of women (e.g., "slut," "bitch") were commonly used, as were extremely negative ratings of these types. This is consistent with our speculation that BS may serve to justify HS; because sexist men love some types of women they may feel less compunction about hating other types. Thus, we advise other researchers working with undergraduate populations that although ambivalence toward women may be readily observed among college men, researchers must orient their measures toward various subtypes of women, not simply "women in general" if they are to find it.

Was this unconflicted ambivalence the same sort of ambivalence evident among adult men in the predictive validity studies presented here? One argument in favor of such a conclusion is that HS was correlated with ascribing both negative feminine and negative masculine traits to women in general (and BS was correlated with ascribing both positive feminine and positive masculine traits to women), even though these traits are not typically seen as "going together" in the same person. One explanation of why, for example, HS was related to ascribing both traits such as "whiny" and "arrogant" to women is that high HS scoring men had in mind different subtypes of women to whom they ascribe these traits.

Do sexist men also experience a more conflicted type of ambivalence toward particular female targets? In a second study that Glick et al. (1995) performed, there is evidence that although sexist men evaluate the subtype "sexy women" highly favorably overall, they are more likely than nonsexist men to ascribe negative traits to this subtype. We have suggested that this subtype may indeed be a prime candidate for the experience of conflicted ambivalence among sexist men whose sexual motives may be at odds with their fears that such women typically use their sexual allure to manipulate men.

men. As a result, conflicting goals among benevolent sexist college women may create ambivalence about women's roles and women's traits.

The ASI and Impression Management

Although five studies (Studies 2–6) provided ample evidence for the convergent and discriminant validity of the ASI, one concern is that both subscales of the ASI were weakly but significantly related to the IM component of Paulhus's (1988) BIDR. We do not see this as a devastating problem, for two reasons: (a) the college student sample for the study that included the BIDR represents a group likely to be particularly sensitive to issues of sexual politics; we suspect, therefore, that the correlations found in this sample represent a ceiling unlikely to be exceeded, and (b) controlling for IM had absolutely no effect on the relationship between the ASI scales and the other measures included in the same study. Researchers who are not sanguine about this problem are urged to administer the IM scale of the BIDR along with the ASI so that the former may be partialed out of the results.

The ASI and Other Measures of Sexism

The AWS has long been the standard measure of sexism among researchers. Although both the ASI and AWS measure aspects of sexism, it should be noted that (in spite of the strong correlation between the ASI and AWS), the two scales measure different constructs. The ASI not only includes a previously neglected aspect of sexism (BS), but it also measures attitudes toward women rather than attitudes toward equal rights for women. The AWS has often been misused as a measure of the former, even though its originators explicitly intended it as a measure of the latter (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). Whereas Eagly and Mladinic found the AWS to be uncorrelated with general attitudes toward women (as measured by the same semantic differential scales used in Studies 4–6), we have demonstrated that the ASI subscales are related to both attitudes toward and stereotypes about women.

Swim et al.'s (1995) Modern Sexism and Tougas et al.'s (1995) Neo-Sexism scales measure issues similar to those of the AWS, but in a more subtle manner that reflects the greater egalitarianism toward women that has come about in recent decades. Our finding that HS correlates strongly with the Modern Sexism scale, whereas BS does not, supports the notion that the beliefs the Modern Sexism scale taps do reflect hostility toward women. Despite the strong correlation between HS and the Modern Sexism scale (which presumably would also occur with Neo-Sexism), we believe that the HS scale is complementary to, rather than redundant with, these other scales. Recall that Recognition of Discrimination (items that tapped the same issues that are at the core of the Modern Sexism and Neo-Sexism scales) emerged as a separate factor in our exploratory analyses. Although HS does explore related issues (e.g., antifeminism), both HS and BS focus more on interpersonal relationships between men and women than on general political stances. Thus, the Modern Sexism and Neo-Sexism scales may have greater predictive utility for exploring gender-related political attitudes, whereas the ASI may be of particular interest in the interpersonal relationships area (e.g., heterosexual romantic relationships, one-on-one stereotyping, sexual harassment). The other

difference between the ASI and the Modern Sexism and Neo-Sexism scales is the ability to measure benevolent sexism, which offers opportunities to explore the subjectively positive aspects of sexism. Because of its relationship to the protector and provider aspects of traditional male gender identity, BS should be of special interest to those who study masculine identity (and its relationship to the treatment of women).

The ASI as a Research Tool

Researchers who wish to incorporate the ASI into experimental designs might consider two forms of participant selection: (a) selecting those who score highly on both HS and BS (*ambivalent sexists*) and those who score low on both scales (*nonsexists*) or (b) if a sufficiently large sample can be examined, using all combinations formed by a 2 (HS: high and low) × 2 (BS: high and low) classification scheme. The latter would yield four categories: (a) *ambivalent sexists* (high HS, high BS), (b) *hostile sexists* (high HS, low BS), (c) *benevolent sexists* (low HS, high BS), and (d) *nonsexists* (low HS, low BS).

In either case, the obvious next step in the use of the ASI is to demonstrate that ambivalent sexism (the high HS, high BS category) predicts polarized responses to women, particularly from men. Compared to men who are nonsexists, ambivalent sexist men are those who are likely to be patronizingly sweet or viciously hostile toward any particular woman at any given time; these men may exhibit volatile swings between these two poles, depending on the characteristics of the situation or of the women with whom they are interacting (for a discussion of situational and target traits that might elicit HS and BS in work settings, see S. T. Fiske & Glick, 1995). In contrast, the purely hostile-sexist subgroup (high HS, low BS) can be expected to be more consistently hostile, and men who are benevolent sexists may actually treat women more favorably than men on many counts (although many women may view this "favorable" treatment as patronizing).

To complement the ASI as a research tool, we are currently developing a second instrument, the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (AMI). Using an approach parallel to the one used here (and with the same starting assumption that relationships between the sexes are, to a significant extent, conditioned by men's structural power and women's dyadic power) we are designing the AMI to tap women's ambivalent feelings toward men.

Concluding Remarks

The orientations toward women that we have labeled *hostile sexism* and *benevolent sexism* have ancient origins. Both sets of attitudes are clearly evident in Homer's epic poem *The Odyssey*, composed almost three millennia ago. The poem chronicles Odysseus's 10-year quest to reunite with his ever-constant wife, Penelope, who is presented as the Greek ideal of womanhood: beautiful, intelligent, and accomplished; the pillar of the home, yet circumspect, loyal, and subordinate to her husband. Until he can reunite with her, Odysseus, "sacker of cities", is incomplete. Penelope, in turn, requires his protection from the unwanted suitors who besiege her during his long absence. In Odysseus's relationship with Penelope, the components of benevolent sexism (and women's dyadic power) are all in evidence. The obstacles that long delay their reunion come in an astonishing array of female forms, from the Sirens who would lure Odysseus to his doom on the rocks, to Circe, an enchantress who uses her beauty to entice Odysseus's crew to her home where, appropriately enough, she transforms the men literally into swine. Several such "dread goddesses with lovely hair" threaten to "unman" Odysseus, using their sexual allure in attempts to detain, dominate, or destroy him—fears that echo our hostile sexism items. Contemporary equivalents of these ancient images of the faithful wife versus the twisted, domineering seductress pervade our own popular images of women (see Faludi, 1992, for a discussion). Despite all that has changed since the Homeric age, the ancient roots of hostile and benevolent sexism entangle relationships between men and women to this day.

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Appendix

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI)

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: 0 = disagree strongly; 1 = disagree somewhat; 2 = disagree slightly; 3 = agree slightly; 4 = agree somewhat; 5 = agree strongly.

B(I) 1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

H 2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

B(P)* 3. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.

H 4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

H 5. Women are too easily offended.

B(I)* 6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

H* 7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

B(G) 8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

B(P) 9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.

H 10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

H 11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

B(I) 12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

B(I)* 13. Men are complete without women.

H 14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

H 15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

H 16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

B(P) 17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

H* 18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

B(G) 19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

B(P) 20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

H* 21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.

B(G) 22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Note. Copyright 1995 by Peter Glick and Susan T. Fiske. Use of this scale requires permission of one of the authors. A Spanish-language version of the ASI is available from the authors. H = Hostile Sexism, B = Benevolent Sexism, (P) = Protective Paternalism, (G) = Complementary Gender Differentiation, (I) = Heterosexual Intimacy, * = reverse-scored item.

Scoring Instructions

The ASI may be used as an overall measure of sexism, with hostile and benevolent components equally weighted, by simply averaging the score for all items after reversing the items listed below. The two ASI subscales (Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism) may also be calculated separately. For correlational research, purer measures of HS and BS can be obtained by using partial correlations (so that the effects of the correlation between the scales is removed).

Reverse the following items (0 = 5, 1 = 4, 2 = 3, 3 = 2, 4 = 1, 5 = 0): 3, 6, 7, 13, 18, 21.

Hostile Sexism Score = average of the following items: 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21.

Benevolent Sexism Score = average of the following items: 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22.

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