



The role of sexual orientation and the perceived threat posed by men in the acceptance of sexism

Éva Magdolna Kántás^{a,b,*}, Monika Kovacs^c

^a Doctoral School of Psychology, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary

^b Institute of Psychology, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary

^c Institute of Intercultural Psychology and Education, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Ambivalent sexism
Ambivalence toward men
Perceived threat
Sexual orientation
Heterosexual interdependence

ABSTRACT

We aimed at examining the differences between straight ($N = 583$) and gay ($N = 112$) people in terms of the acceptance of ambivalent sexist attitudes not only toward women (ASI) but also toward men (AMI) and how the level of perceived threat posed by men (Realistic Threat Scale) influences these attitudes' acceptance. The study results showed that gay men endorsed hostile sexism at the same level as straight men, while lesbian women were more hostile toward men than straight women. In this study, gay people manifested significantly lower levels of benevolent (sexist) attitudes toward both genders than straight people. While a positive relationship was identified between the perceived threat posed by men and hostility toward men, there was a reciprocal correlation in the case of hostile sexism. Men who recognized the threat men can pose to women were less accepting of hostile sexism and more accepting of hostile attitudes toward their own gender group. Moreover, straight men who recognized this threat endorsed less benevolent attitudes toward their own gender group than those who failed to admit it. Our results showed that heterosexual interdependence and recognizing the threat posed by men highly influence the extent to which hostile and benevolent (sexist) attitudes toward women and men are accepted or rejected. The implications and practical relevance of our study are also discussed.

1. Introduction

Ambivalent sexism and ambivalent attitudes toward men are typically studied among straight men and women (Chen et al., 2009; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Shnabel et al., 2016), but the role of sexual orientation has been overlooked. Although heterosexual intimacy was emphasized to underpin the endorsement of sexist beliefs (Glick & Fiske, 1996), recent research (Cowie et al., 2019) has shown that gay people also endorse ambivalent sexism on some level. However, ambivalent attitudes toward men and the significance of the perceived threat men pose to women were not assessed. The present study aims to fill this gap by clarifying the significance of sexual orientation in accepting ambivalent sexism and the acceptance of ambivalent attitudes toward men, and how the perceived threat men pose to women affects these attitudes. Further, our study aims at examining all this in the context of a country that is last in terms of gender equality at the European level (World Economic Forum [WEF], 2021) and where traditional gender attitudes are prevalent (Scharle, 2015).

1.1. Ambivalent sexism

Sexist ambivalence toward women combines Benevolent Sexism (BS) and Hostile Sexism (HS; Glick & Fiske, 1996). While HS serves the legitimization of the patriarchy by punishing women who do not want to accept their subordinate status compared to men, BS rewards women who fulfil traditional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Due to its subjectively favorable tone, the subtler BS is often hard to recognize as a form of sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998). According to the ambivalent sexism theory (Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 1996), ambivalent sexism involves three aspects of the relationship between women and men: power distribution, traditional gender roles, and heterosexual intimacy (Glick & Fiske, 1999). The mutual interdependence of straight men and women due to intimacy creates an unusual situation. In the case of men, unlike other intergroup imbalances, the powerful group is dependent on the members of a subordinate group. On the one hand, straight men cannot uphold solely hostile attitudes toward women because even if HS is an important tool in maintaining gender status quo, straight men need women for sexual

* Corresponding author at: ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Izabella utca 46, Budapest 1064, Hungary.

E-mail addresses: kantasevamagdolna@gmail.com (É.M. Kántás), kovacs.monika@ppk.elte.hu (M. Kovacs).

intimacy; thus, they depend on women. Even though HS is openly adversarial while BS seems to be positive on the surface, they are the “two sides of a sexist coin” (Glick & Fiske, 2011, p. 5) and justify the gender hierarchy equally (Jost & Kay, 2005). The BS rewards women who accept traditional gender roles—thus the gender status quo—by being pro-social or intimacy seeking and displaying subordinated, powerless behavior (Glick & Fiske, 1996). These roles limit women's opportunities and keep them in low-status positions. Besides, they are idealized in the romantic cultural scripts that pair knightly men (Viki et al., 2003) with admiring women (Glick et al., 1997). Such images suggest that having a woman's love is an essential source of true happiness for men (Glick et al., 1997). Thus, BS depicts women as romantic objects, loving wives, and caring mothers who are also vulnerable; therefore, they should be adored and loved by men. It implies that because women are less competent and weaker than men, they need protection (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

While BS prescribes how a respectable woman should behave to be appealing to men, HS shapes the ideals held about women by defining proscriptive norms that must not be violated (Lee et al., 2010). That is, HS is not only a deterrent to women's resistance, but also shapes the image of the ideal partner through proscriptions—how women ought not to behave to avoid retaliation (Rudman & Glick, 2008). Thus, HS is an adversarial ideology, opposed to women's assumed intentions to seek control over men either through their sexual power or by challenging men's dominant status (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Hostility is beneficial to those who seek to take and hold control over others to maintain their own higher social status, according to the social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Therefore, men can be hostile toward women, while women are not allowed to be hostile toward the dominant group, i.e., toward men. Consequently, it is not only prescribed that women should be kind and caring, but it is also proscribed for them to be rebellious (Prentice & Carranza, 2002), or else they face retaliation (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). Through these proscriptions negative control can be achieved, with the implication that women must accept their subordinate status. According to cross-cultural studies (Glick et al., 2000; Shabel et al., 2016), men tend to be more accepting of HS than women, irrespective of the given culture. This is probably because men as a group benefit from the patriarchy. Patriarchal control is institutionalized in political, economic, and social hierarchies that facilitate hostile sexist attitudes. Compared to BS, this ideology's relationship to men's power is more obvious (Glick & Fiske, 1996). However, men's hostility toward those who they perceive to threaten the gender status quo is not limited solely to women; HS promotes punitive attitudes toward gender nonconformity for both women and men (Glick et al., 2015).

1.2. Ambivalence toward men

While ambivalent sexism is directed toward women, ambivalent attitudes can also target men. Ambivalence toward men expresses resentment of men's power over women in parallel with a loving and respectful attitude toward the few men on whom women depend (Connor et al., 2016; Glick & Fiske, 2011). Benevolence toward Men (BM; Glick & Fiske, 1999) has a similar function to BS; They promote interdependence between men and women by suggesting a benevolent image of the other gender. Although women, as a subordinate group, might resent men's dominance, they may also associate men with positive, even chivalrous attitudes because of heterosexual intimacy, in this way developing a romantic relationship with the oppressor (Glick & Fiske, 1999). The dynamic differs from those of men. Straight men desire to have psychological closeness (heterosexual intimacy) with a member of a group that has lower status than their own group, while straight women need to form a close relationship with a member of the group that keeps them in lower social status (Glick & Fiske, 1999, 2011). Nevertheless, women tend to hold both subjectively positive stereotypes (e.g., ambitious, competent) and negative stereotypes (e.g., arrogant,

domineering) about men at the same time (Hentschel et al., 2019).

Men may perceive a threat in women's resentment of the system and in their challenge of the status quo, which may trigger hostility toward the resisters, motivating HS. Stigmatized people, on the other hand, are more likely to perceive the powerful group—(straight) men—as threatening, because of the dominants' power over the subordinates' fate, which triggers Hostility toward Men (HM; Glick & Fiske, 1999; Riek et al., 2006). Therefore, HM is an expression of resentment about men's higher status, greater power, and social prestige, as well as about their material and political advantages—thus, resentment of the patriarchy itself (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Other sources of resentment can be the assumed sexual aggression and paternalism of men in close relationships (Feather & Boeckmann, 2007). Nevertheless, even negative attitudes toward men—the assumption that men are innately arrogant and power-seeking—contribute to the perceived legitimacy and stability of the gender hierarchy (Glick & Whitehead, 2010).

1.3. Sexism without heterosexual interest

Ambivalent sexism theory (Connor et al., 2016; Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999) posits that due to heterosexual interdependence, straight men and women tend to endorse benevolent attitudes toward each other. However, gay people do not need the other gender for sexual intimacy, even if they can have strong ties with them through different kinds of family relations and friendships. Moreover, BS and BM uphold a hierarchy that is not only gender unequal but heteronormative as well, rewarding fully only the gender-traditional and heterosexually oriented cisgender people (Glick & Fiske, 1996). In this way, another hierarchy dimension—besides patriarchy—is established, suggesting that only heterosexual and cisgender (i.e., not transgender) sexual and gender orientation are acceptable and understood as ‘natural’ and valued (Robinson, 2016). Therefore, homophobia can be identified as a means of sexism that gives heterosexual men an advantage not only over women but also over gay men (Pharr, 1997). As Pharr (1997) states categorically, “without the existence of sexism, there would be no homophobia” (p. 26). Because lesbian women and gay men belong to the group of sexual minorities in heteronormative societies (Herek, 1984, 1988; Robinson, 2016), they do not enjoy the rewards of benevolent attitudes toward their gender as much as the heterosexual members of the same gender group. Thus, this makes it less likely for gay people to endorse either BS or BM the same way as straights do. Rudman and Glick (2008) got to a similar conclusion in their study that assessed the prevalence of benevolent attitudes among those who are not affected by heterosexual intimacy; In their comparison of children and adults' attitudes toward the other gender, they reported that pre-adolescent children—who are similarly lacking heterosexual intimacy and interest as gay adults—endorse HS without endorsing BS. It seems that, in the absence of heterosexual interest, there is no need to buffer hostility with benevolent attitudes, resulting in less acceptance of benevolent attitudes toward the other gender.

The endorsement of hostile attitudes, on the other hand, presumably depends on the targeted gender; are these attitudes target the subordinated (women) or target the dominant (men) group? Within a heteronormative society, gay people as a sexual minority (Gates, 2012) are often stigmatized because they are perceived as failing to fulfil traditional gender roles, thus threatening the patriarchal system (Kite & Deaux, 1987; Wilkinson, 2008). Lesbian women are often perceived as more masculine than straight women (Halberstam, 2002), while gay men might be stigmatized as not being ‘real men’ (Kiebel et al., 2019). Men with strongly masculine identification consider gender nonconformity as a threat to the gender status quo; therefore, they endorse HS, which predicts negative evaluation toward women who perceived to be masculine, but also toward men who perceived to be feminine (Glick et al., 1997; Glick et al., 2015). Moreover, according to the masculine overcompensation thesis (Willer et al., 2013), men who feel that their masculine identity is threatened express greater support for homophobic

attitudes and a belief in men's superiority. Therefore, those men who endorse stereotypes that characterize gay men as effeminate (i.e., soft and emotional, characteristics that are the opposite of traditional masculinity) exhibit stronger anti-gay attitudes (Kilianski, 2003) as a defensive reaction to the perceived threat to their masculinity (Glick et al., 2007).

As a result, although many gay men support feminist movements in the understanding that gender equality is a common goal with women, some may wish to be equal with straight men perhaps due to the masculine overcompensation, even at the price of turning against women, in order to gain higher status (Sánchez & Vilain, 2012). Belonging to men's group guarantees privileges while being perceived as feminine—compared to straight men—might lower their status. Gay men who perceive their masculine gender role being questioned thus might accept anti-effeminacy attitudes as a means of regaining privileges of their gender group membership (Murgo et al., 2017). It means that, in order to avoid social backlash—or to compensate for the disadvantages that originated in their stigmatized sexual orientation—and to reduce identity threat, gay men may display traditionally masculine attitudes (including displaying hostile sexism) that disassociate them from the effeminate stereotype of gay men. Meanwhile, in the case of lesbian women, hostility toward their own gender, which is, in addition, in the focus of their intimate interests, would be unreasonable. Although, it cannot be ruled out that some of these attitudes have been internalized during the socialization.

The endorsement of HM is assumably different in the case of gay men and lesbian women because they have a different relationship with the group of men. Lesbian women are in a doubly disadvantageous position compared to men due to their gender and sexual minority membership. Thus, they might be less motivated to mitigate their resentment toward men who embody the patriarchy that threatens them. Dynamics differ in the case of gay men and straight women. Although men's hostility toward gender-nonconforming women and men might trigger resentment (Glick & Fiske, 1999), gay men, similar to straight women, cannot uphold solely hostile attitudes toward men. Partly because they are dependent on men for intimacy; and because, even if not as much as for straight men, belonging to men's group provides privileges.

Considering the similarity in the dynamic of gay men and straight women's social status, gay men assumably resent traditional paternalism similar to straight women (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Members of an oppressed group often resent the dominant group for having power and high status, which brings results in social esteem, material, and political advantage. Moreover, victims of prejudice can develop prejudice toward other groups, especially toward the oppressor group. Thus, in order to gain back self-esteem, they might direct negative attitudes against those who cause the negative social identity, i.e. toward (straight) men.

1.4. Realistic and symbolic threat posed by men

Although the integrated threat theory (Stephan et al., 1998) was developed originally for the intercultural context, it is also applicable in examining gender and sexual orientation hierarchies (Stephan et al., 2000). Men can maintain gender privileges through HS as it proscribes (Glick & Fiske, 1996) women to be rebellious against men (Prentice & Carranza, 2002) or they must face reprisal (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). Thus, men might mean a realistic threat to women by, for instance, their political power and physical aggression. The concept of realistic threat is rooted in realistic group conflict theory (Sherif, 1966), which assumes that social groups compete for limited resources such as status, land, workplaces, and so on. In gendered context, for women, this threat can be men's social status, economic and political power, aggression rooted in physical strength, and the risk of repression (Stephan et al., 2000).

Women in Hungary may feel particularly exposed to experience a threat by men because Hungary is in the worst position at the European level regarding gender equality (WEF, 2021); moreover, anti-feminist narratives are at the core of the governmental communication

(Kováts, 2020), and sexism is widely supported in the society (Kántás et al., 2022). For example, domestic violence, which can be predicted by HS (Glick et al., 2002), is a severe problem (EIGE, 2019) in the country, rape myths are widely accepted (Nyúl & Kende, 2021), and gender-stereotypical beliefs that are fueled by BS are not only widely accepted but expected as well (Scharle, 2015). According to recent data, 78 % of the population strongly agree that the most important role of women is to take care of their family (European Commission [EC], 2017)—a traditional belief that keeps women in lower status compared to men by means of BS. When sexism and heteronormativity intersect, the social status of lesbian women might be even worse than that of straight women. Lesbian women have a lower status due to their gender group membership, and because of heteronormativity, they have a lower status due to their sexual orientation. Therefore, lesbian women may face a greater threat posed by men than straight women.

However, not only women—regardless of their sexual orientation—but also gay men might feel threatened in the country. As previous research has shown (Glick et al., 2015), HS predicts punitive attitudes not only toward women but also toward gay men. This negative attitude embodies widely in society; Sexual minorities are in a highly disadvantageous position in Hungary, with a deteriorating trend since 2015 (ILGA, 2020). The growing prevalence of hate crimes, bias-motivated speech, and institutionalized homophobia put a burden on the daily life of gay people in Hungary (ILGA, 2020; Kántás et al., 2022; Takács et al., 2012). Nonetheless, gay men might still have some advantages compared to lesbian women; Even though they are disadvantaged due to their sexual orientation, they still belong to the dominant group based on their sex.

1.5. Current study

Glick and Fiske (1996, 1999, see also Connor et al., 2016) claimed that due to the dyadic dependence between men and women, heterosexual intimacy plays an important role in the maintenance of benevolent, thus as a whole, ambivalent attitudes toward the other gender in the case of both men and women. Although previous research has examined the acceptance of ambivalent sexism among lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people (Cowie et al., 2019), it did not investigate the acceptance of ambivalent attitudes toward men and how the perceived threat posed by men to women affects it. The present study, that was conducted in a highly gender-traditional country (Scharle, 2015), expands on previous works that have either overlooked gay perspectives (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 2011) or investigated solely the acceptance of ambivalent sexism (Cowie et al., 2019), while missed the assessment of ambivalent attitudes toward men and how the perceived threat posed by men affects these views. We aimed to examine whether sexual orientation affects the acceptance of gender-discriminatory views—such as ambivalent sexism and ambivalent attitudes toward men—given that these attitudes stem from the same ideology as homophobic attitudes which are directed toward gay people. We hypothesize that although a lack of heterosexual intimacy may result in significant differences from heterosexuals, it won't fully eradicate the social embeddedness of sexist attitudes.

We assume that because BS rewards primarily gender-conforming women, lesbian women would accept BS less than straight women (Hypothesis 1a) and because lesbian women are dependent on other women for intimacy, while they belong to the same gender group as that targeted by sexist attitudes, they would be the least accepting of HS (Hypothesis 1b) compared to the other three groups. In the case of gay men, due to the lack of heterosexual intimacy, which is assumed to be among the most important motivators for upholding BS, it was predicted that they would be less likely than straight men to accept it (Hypothesis 2a). However, because of the possible masculine overcompensation, they were expected to accept HS to a similar extent as straight men (Hypothesis 2b).

In terms of ambivalence toward men, it was hypothesized that

because lesbian women might have experienced hostility—and thus a greater threat—from men (Gates, 2012; Wilkinson, 2008) without being dependent on them for sexual intimacy, they were expected to manifest less BM (Hypothesis 3a) and more HM (Hypothesis 3b) compared to straight women. It was also assumed that gay men would endorse BM less (Hypothesis 4a) and HM more (Hypothesis 4b) than straight men, because even though they depend on men for sexual intimacy, they might show resentment toward men's group as their straight members oppress not only women but gay men as well in heteronormative societies.

In patriarchal societies, women have lower status than men (Eagly & Diekmann, 2003; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Therefore, it was predicted that women would perceive a greater threat—from men—than men would recognize (Hypothesis 5a). It was also hypothesized that LG participants would be more aware of the threat that men pose to women (PTh) than straight participants (Hypothesis 5b). Due to their doubly disadvantaged status, lesbian women were expected to report a higher level of PTh compared to straight women (Hypothesis 5c). Finally, a positive association was predicted between PTh and the acceptance of HM (Hypothesis 6) among women, regardless of sexual orientation.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

A total of 780 Hungarian participants (61.4 % women and 38.6 % men) were recruited by means of anonymous online sampling. The sample originally included LG participants (14.4 %), straight participants (74.7 %), and participants of various sexual minority groups (i.e., bisexual, asexual, pansexual, and others; 10.9 %). Because the study aimed at comparing the answers of heterosexually interdependent (straight) and independent (LG) participants with no overlap between the two groups, the responses given by participants who reported belonging to another sexual minority group (e.g., bisexual, asexual, pansexual) were omitted from the analysis. As a result, 85 (10.9 %) participants were excluded. The final sample consisted of 695 participants: 583 (83.8 %) straight participants (63.6 % women and 36.4 % men) and 112 (16.2 %) LG participants (62.5 % men and 37.5 % women). The majority of the respondents (40,3 %) were between age 18–28, 28,5 % were between age 29–39, 21,9 % were between age 40–50, and 9,4 % were older. Most participants (70,4 %) had a university degree (i.e., short-cycle tertiary education; college-, bachelor's-, master's-, or doctoral-level education or equivalent).

2.2. Data collection

Recruitment for the study was conducted employing online sampling. Online—snowball—sampling was the mainstream method, but in the case of LG participants, next to snowball sampling, invitations were sent to particular LG groups and organizations to recruit respondents via their internal channels. The reason for choosing online sampling (mainly via social media) was that gay people, due to their sexual minority status, perceive themselves as being threatened in Hungary (European Commission, 2019; ILGA, 2020). It was, therefore, essential to assure them that participation was completely anonymous. The study was carried out in accordance with the Hungarian Law on Privacy and Data Protection (Act CXII of 2011). All participants contributed voluntarily: they were free to choose whether to complete the survey and could withdraw from the survey at any time. The survey included an introductory section explaining the research aims and the voluntary nature of participation, a guarantee of anonymity, and an informed consent statement. The survey was available to participants for completion only after they accepted the informed consent statement.

2.3. Measurement

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. The Hungarian version of the ASI (Kovács, 2007; Szabó, 2009) was used. Although the original scale (Glick & Fiske, 1996) comprises 22 items, the adapted Hungarian version has 21 items. The reduction was based on earlier studies involving Hungarian participants, in which one item (i.e., “There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances”) proved dysfunctional in the case of this particular sample (Nyúl et al., 2018; Szabó, 2009). There are two subscales of ASI: BS and HS. BS was measured by 11 items (e.g., “Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility”, “Women should be cherished and protected by men”) and HS was measured by 10 items (e.g., “Women are too easily offended”, “Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them”). There are no reverse-coded items in the Hungarian adaptation of the scale. Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The reliabilities and descriptive statistics were as follows: BS ($\alpha = .862$, $M = 2.53$, $SD = 0.85$) and HS ($\alpha = .897$, $M = 2.62$, $SD = 0.92$).

Ambivalence toward Men Inventory. The AMI (Glick & Fiske, 1999; Szabó, 2009) was used, but instead of the original version, which consists of 20 items in two subscales, a shorter (15-item) version was used, which had previously been adapted for a Hungarian sample (Szabó, 2009). There are two subscales of AMI: BM and HM. BM was measured by 10 items (e.g., “Men are more willing to put themselves in danger to protect others”, “Men are less likely to fall apart in emergencies than women are.”) and HM was measured by 5 items (e.g., “Most men pay lip service to equality for women, but can't handle having a woman as an equal”, “Men act like babies when they are sick”). There are no reverse-coded items in the Hungarian adaptation of the scale. Respondents rated the items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The reliabilities and descriptive statistics were as follows: BM ($\alpha = .829$, $M = 2.58$, $SD = 0.80$) and HM ($\alpha = .687$, $M = 3.04$, $SD = 0.82$).

Realistic Threat Scale. To measure the perceived threat posed by men to women, the shorter Hungarian version (Szabó, 2009) of the Realistic Threat Scale was used. Five items measured the perceived realistic threat (e.g., “Men have too much political power”, “Men too often deny women positions of power and responsibility”), which is related to men's social position, aggression, and economic power. Participants were asked to rate all the items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The reliabilities and descriptive statistics were as follows: $\alpha = .794$, $M = 3.62$, $SD = 0.85$.

2.4. Statistical analyses

Data analysis was performed by 2 (Participant Gender: woman or man) \times 2 (Participant Sexual Orientation: gay or straight) ANOVA for the first five hypotheses. Pearson's correlation coefficient test was used for Hypothesis 6. Means were computed with 95 % confidence intervals. The software IBM SPSS Statistic 24.0 was used to conduct the statistical analyses.

A statistical power analysis was performed for sample size estimation, based on data from a previously published study by Tortora et al. (2020; $N = 547$), comparing gender of participants to sexual orientation in 2 \times 2 ANOVA. In this study, the effect size (ES) was .47 that considered to be large using Cohen's (1988) criteria. According to the GPower 3.1 software that was set with an alpha = .05 and power = .80, the projected sample size needed with this effect size is approximately $N = 148$ for this 2 \times 2 group comparison to find a between-group difference. Therefore, the proposed sample size ($N = 695$) of the present study was adequate for the main objective of this study and allowed for expected attrition and additional objective of controlling for possible moderating factors and subgroup analysis.

3. Results

Fig. 1 shows the means and confidence intervals of straight men, gay men, straight women, and lesbian women. In the case of BS, the main effects for sexual orientation, $F(1,691) = 51.14 p < .001 \eta^2 = .07$, and for gender, $F(1,691) = 6.50 p = .011 \eta^2 = .01$, were significant. As expected (Hypothesis 1a), Bonferroni-corrected post hoc tests indicated that lesbian participants ($M = 2.03, SD = 0.78$) accepted BS less than straight women ($M = 2.49, SD = 0.82; p = .003$). In the case of HS, the main effects for gender, $F(1,691) = 48.46 p = .001 \eta^2 = .07$, and for sexual orientation, $F(1,691) = 16.88 p < .001 \eta^2 = .03$, were significant and Bonferroni-corrected post hoc tests indicated that lesbian participants ($M = 1.93, SD = 0.79$) agreed with HS the least (Hypothesis 1b) in comparison with straight women ($M = 2.47, SD = 0.83; p = .001$), straight men ($M = 2.97, SD = 0.94; p < .001$), and gay men ($M = 2.74, SD = 0.91; p < .001$). It was also predicted (Hypothesis 2a) that gay men ($M = 2.09, SD = 0.60$) endorse BS less than straight men ($M = 2.86, SD = 0.85$), and this prediction was confirmed by the Bonferroni-corrected post hoc test, $p < .001$. Similarly, the hypothesis (2b) according to which gay men ($M = 2.74, SD = 0.91$) accept HS to a similar extent to straight men ($M = 2.97, SD = 0.94$) was supported, $p = .37$.

With respect to ambivalence toward men, two hypotheses were tested. In the case of BM, the main effects were significant for gender, $F(1,691) = 13.17 p < .001 \text{ part.}\eta^2 = .02$, and for sexual orientation, $F(1,691) = 43.19 p < .001 \text{ part.}\eta^2 = .06$. Similarly, for HM, the main effects were significant as well for gender, $F(1,691) = 32.91 p < .001 \text{ part.}\eta^2 = .05$, and for sexual orientation, $F(1,691) = 15.00 p < .001 \text{ part.}\eta^2 = .02$. As the Bonferroni-corrected post hoc tests indicated, our hypothesis (3a), according to which due to heterosexual interdependence BM would be more prevalent among straight women ($M = 2.57, SD = 0.80$) than among lesbian women ($M = 1.97, SD = 0.65$) was supported, $p < .001$. The results also revealed that lesbian participants supported HM ($M = 3.59, SD = 0.92$) significantly more (Hypothesis 3b) than straight women ($M = 3.15, SD = 0.79; p < .004$). Gay men were predicted to endorse BM less (Hypothesis 4a) and HM more (Hypothesis 4b) than straight men. The prediction was partly confirmed because, as the Bonferroni-corrected post hoc tests indicated, significant difference

was found between gay men ($M = 2.33, SD = 0.69$) and straight men ($M = 2.81, SD = 0.76; p < .001$) in the case of BM, but no significant difference was found between gay men ($M = 2.99, SD = 0.77$) and straight men ($M = 2.78; SD = 0.77; p = .31$) in the case of HM.

The third aspect of the present study was to examine how the perceived threat posed by men might shape the attitudes of women. It was expected (Hypothesis 5a) that women perceive to be threatened by men more than men recognize this threat. Due to their subordinate social status within the patriarchy, women appeared to experience a greater level of PTh, $F(1,691) = 36.63 p < .001 \text{ part.}\eta^2 = .05$, than men admitted the existence of PTh, and, as predicted (Hypothesis 5b), gay people recognized a greater level of PTh than straight people did, $F(1,691) = 26.50 p < .001 \text{ part.}\eta^2 = .04$. The Bonferroni-corrected post hoc test also indicated that, as it was expected (Hypothesis 5c), lesbian participants ($M = 4.23, SD = 0.81$) reported a higher level of PTh, than straight women ($M = 3.74, SD = 0.82; p = .001$).

The sixth hypothesis referred to the assumed positive correlation between PTh and HM in the case of women. As predicted, PTh and HM showed a strong positive correlation (1-tailed) in the case of women, $r_{\text{straight women}} = .60 p < .001$, $r_{\text{lesbian women}} = .78 p < .001$, and unexpectedly, even in the case of men, $r_{\text{gay men}} = .40 p = .001$, $r_{\text{straight men}} = .44 p < .001$. Even though we did not hypothesize earlier, BM showed a weak negative correlation with PTh in the case of straight men, $r = -.15 p = .025$, and a weak positive correlation was found between PTh and BS in the case of straight women, $r = .12 p = .026$. More importantly, in the case of men, there was a moderate to strong negative correlation between HS and PTh, $r_{\text{straight men}} = -.41 p < .001$, and, $r_{\text{gay men}} = -.37 p = .002$, while this negative correlation was weak in the case of straight women $r_{\text{straight women}} = -.11 p = .030$, and did not appear in the case of lesbian women, $r_{\text{lesbian women}} = -.08 p = .618$. The results can be seen in Table 1.

4. Discussion

Ambivalent sexist attitudes play a role in system justification by maintaining the existing patriarchal system (Bareket et al., 2018; Swim et al., 1995). The extent of agreement with sexist ideologies varies across

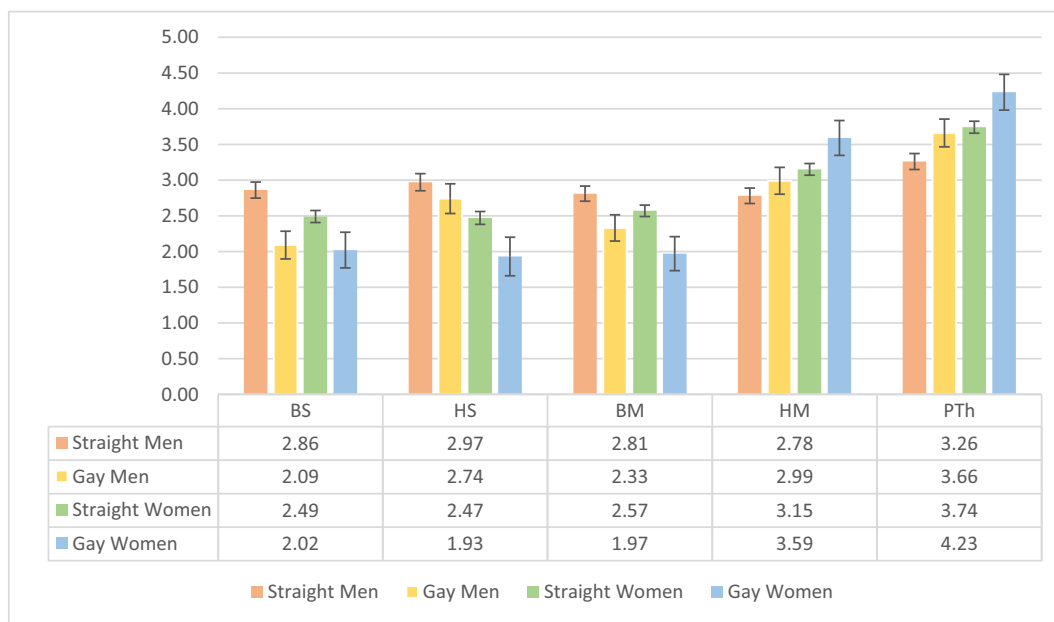


Fig. 1. Means of Benevolent Sexism, Hostile Sexism, Benevolence toward Men, Hostility toward Men, and Perceived Threat divided by the four groups of Participants Note, ‘BS’ = Benevolent Sexism; ‘HS’ = Hostile Sexism. A 5-point Likert scale was used: higher scores mean higher acceptance of sexist ideologies. ‘BM’ = Benevolence toward Men; ‘HM’ = Hostility toward Men. A 5-point Likert scale was used: higher scores mean higher acceptance of ambivalence toward men. ‘PTh’ = Perceived Threat. A 5-point Likert scale was used: higher scores mean higher level of perceived threat posed by men to women. Level of confidence = 95 %.

Table 1
Correlations of perceived threat scale with ambivalent sexism inventory subscales and ambivalence toward men inventory subscales.

	PTh			
	Straight men	Gay men	Straight women	Lesbian women
BS	-.08	.15	.12**	.23
HS	-.41**	-.37**	-.11*	-.08
BM	-.15*	-.13	.02	.17
HM	.44**	.40**	.60**	.78**

Note, 'BS' = Benevolent Sexism; 'HS' = Hostile Sexism; 'BM' = Benevolence toward Men; 'HM' = Hostility toward Men; 'PTh' = Perceived Threat. Pearson correlations were conducted.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

countries and people (Glick et al., 2000, 2004), although earlier research did not differentiate gay people from straight people when assessing sexist attitudes. Recently, however, it was shown that the acceptance of ambivalent sexism is influenced by sexual orientation (Cowie et al., 2019). The present study adds to the existing literature by focusing on the role of sexual orientation in the acceptance of ambivalent attitudes toward both men and women and how the perceived threat posed by men affects these attitudes in a highly gender-traditional country.

Our results showed that lesbian women and gay men accepted BS less than their straight counterparts. In the case of lesbian women, a possible explanation is that because BS rewards fully only those women who fulfil traditional gender roles—thus it does not include lesbians due to their sexual orientation (Connor et al., 2016)—lesbian women are less motivated to uphold these benevolent sexist views on women. A different explanation arose in the case of gay men. By giving a subjectively positive color to the imbalanced power relations, BS can take the edge off the power inequalities. However, as expected, when intimacy with women does not play a role in men's lives, as in the case of gay men, BS might not be appealing. Therefore, our results reinforced the findings of Rudman and Glick (2008), who found that without heterosexual intimacy, hostile attitudes are not need to be buffered by benevolent sexism.

Our results also revealed that of all the groups, lesbian women accepted HS the least, which is probably because lesbian women do not only belong to the exact gender group HS targets, but they are dependent on women in terms of intimacy. In the case of gay men, it was hypothesized that gender group privileges—resulting from membership of the dominant gender group—can be important as they have to face negative discrimination due to their sexual orientation. Therefore, while gay men showed less engagement with BS—that is assumed to be motivated mainly through heterosexual intimacy—their hostility toward women was not significantly different from that shown by straight men. This may suggest that because of their interest in strengthening the privileged group's status to which they belong—while their other group membership is highly unprivileged—gay men might be similarly motivated as straight men to uphold power imbalances between the gender groups.

In the case of BM, sexual orientation proved to be more of an important factor than gender. Lesbian women endorsed BM less than straight women, just as gay men endorsed BM less than straight men. Though, there is a difference in how we can explain these results; Lacking the need for sexual intimacy with men, lesbian women do not need to mitigate their resentment toward men by BM. Gay men, on the other hand, are in a similar position as straight women; The subject of their intimate interest and the group that put them at a disadvantage is the same. Therefore, the decreased level of willingness—compared to straight men—to support BM might be resentment toward the oppressors.

It can be concluded, by examining these results in terms of their relationship with the level of perceived threat men pose to women, that the perceived threat has a significant impact on shaping hostile attitudes

toward both women and men. Women, and especially lesbian women, who perceived themselves threatened by men, showed greater HM. These factors correlated highly, in harmony with the assumption that HM might stem from the resentment of men's dominance, and thus of the patriarchy. Dominance tends to trigger hostility on the part of subordinates—women, and to some extent, gay men—therefore, they might develop adversarial attitudes to protect their self-esteem (Glick & Fiske, 1999).

However, even though it was not hypothesized, a positive correlation was found between the perceived threat posed by men and BS in the case of straight women. Taking into account that gender inequality is substantial in Hungary (WEF, 2021), and thus, women feel highly threatened, our results underpin cross-culture comparisons according to which (Glick et al., 2000) women are more likely to reject HS but accept BS relative to men in those countries where HS's acceptance is generally high. According to the protection racket hypothesis (Fisher, 2006), women adopt BS more when hostility toward them is significant at a societal level in order to seek protection from their intimate male partner or family members (Glick et al., 2004).

In addition, the results revealed that men who recognized that their gender group members are perceived to be threatening to women were more hostile toward their own group and less hostile toward women. Moreover, straight men who recognized this threat showed less agreement with benevolent attitudes toward other men. This result could be of significance for deconstructing the essentialist understanding of men's dominance, as it shows that some men recognize the harm caused to women by the patriarchal system and alter their views of women accordingly. As the results showed, by recognizing the threat their own gender group poses to women, men might become less invested in the gender status quo and, thus, perhaps more likely to reject hostility toward women. Furthermore, these men can be allies for those women who aspire to challenge the gender hierarchy. Our results are consistent with the findings of Good et al. (2018); The benefit that male allies anticipated for women is proven to be a motivation to stand up against sexism regardless of how close the affected women are to male allies.

5. Limitations and future directions

The limitations of the present study include the use of scales that were developed for straight participants. However, others who worked with gay people in their research (Cowie et al., 2019) used the same sexism inventory (ASI) that was used for the present study to be able to compare the attitudes of straight and gay people. A second limitation of the present study was the modest sample size of the LG participants, partly due to the exclusion of non-heterosexual participants who reported themselves as being other than gay or lesbian. Therefore, it might be useful to measure sexual orientation as a dimension in future research; nevertheless, our findings can contribute to a better understanding of a marginalized group. Because this perspective was underrepresented in the earlier literature, the research aimed at exploring the role of sexual orientation in accepting sexist views; whether it diminishes or just alters the pattern of the acceptance. However, further investigation is essential to obtain a better understanding of the dynamics underlying these attitudes. Especially regarding the threat posed by men to women, because it elicited significantly different reactions not only between men and women but also among same-sex participants with different sexual orientations.

6. Conclusion

Our results showed that gay men and lesbian women, who are not reliant on the other gender in an intimate sense, manifested BS and BM less than straight participants. However, in line with the protection racket hypothesis (Fisher, 2006), straight women who perceived to be threatened by men, displayed BS probably due to the expectations of men's protection. Gay men were equally accepting of HS as straight men,

while lesbian women were even more accepting of HM than straight women. Hostility toward the other gender also depended on the perception of the threat posed to women by men. Men who recognized this kind of threat themselves were similar in their attitudes to women; They showed more HM and less HS.

These results may help in deconstructing the essentialist view of men and in promoting cross-sex alliances among those who aspire to challenge the gender status quo; Meanwhile, they draw attention to another problem. Straight women who feel threatened were more likely to accept BS; an ideology that upholds the system that is threatening women—and the vicious circle continues. Therefore, how we target the problem of ambivalent sexism in interventions is crucial. Our results suggest that two important aspects should be taken into account when one designs interventions targeting ambivalent sexism. On the one hand, it is important to provide information on how endorsing BS strengthens the patriarchal system that is the source of the threat. On the other hand, raising awareness of ambivalent sexism should involve information on how these attitudes manifest and affect women's daily life. It is possible that presenting women's real-life examples of this threat fueled by ambivalent sexism can lead to more empathy. Increasing empathy in this regard has been shown to help men to reject sexist attitudes (Becker & Swim, 2011). It is possible that those men who recognized the threat their gender group means to women recognized their own privileges. Therefore, as shown in previous research (Case et al., 2014), fostering the recognition and acknowledgement of privileges of men—and straights—can promote ally behavior leading people to challenge their own privileges.

Funding

This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that there is no potential conflict of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

References

- Bareket, O., Kahalon, R., Shnabel, N., & Glick, P. (2018). The Madonna-whore dichotomy: Men who perceive women's nurturance and sexuality as mutually exclusive endorse patriarchy and show lower relationship satisfaction. *Sex Roles*, 79(9). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0895-7>
- Becker, J. C., & Swim, J. K. (2011). Seeing the unseen: Attention to daily encounters with sexism as way to reduce sexist beliefs. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 35(2), 227–242. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684310397509>
- Case, K. A., Hensley, R., & Anderson, A. (2014). Reflecting on heterosexual and male privilege: Interventions to raise awareness. *Journal of Social Issues*, 70(4), 722–740. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12088>
- Chen, Z., Fiske, S. T., & Lee, T. L. (2009). Ambivalent sexism and power-related gender-role ideology in marriage. *Sex Roles*, 60(11–12). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9585-9>
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.). Routledge. Doctoral Dissertation (PhD).
- Connor, R., Glick, P., & Fiske, S. (2016). Ambivalent sexism in the twenty-first century. In C. Sibley, & F. Barlow (Eds.), *Cambridge Handbooks in Psychology: The Cambridge handbook of the psychology of prejudice* (pp. 295–320). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316161579.013>
- Cowie, L. J., Greaves, L. M., & Sibley, C. G. (2019). Sexuality and sexism: Differences in ambivalent sexism across gender and sexual identity. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 148, 85–89. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2019.05.023>
- Eagly, A. H., & Diekmann, A. B. (2003). The malleability of sex differences in response to changing social roles. In L. G. Aspinwall, & U. M. Staudinger (Eds.), *A psychology of human strengths: Fundamental questions and future directions for a positive psychology* (pp. 103–115). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/10566-008>
- EIGE. (2019). Gender equality index - Violence for 2019. <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2019/violence>
- European Commission. (2017). *Special Eurobarometer 465 report – gender equality 2017: Gender equality, stereotypes, and women in politics*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. <https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/ResultDoc/download/DocumentKy/80678>
- European Commission. (2019). *Special Eurobarometer 493 report – Discrimination in the European Union*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. <https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/instruments/SPECIAL/surveyKy/2251>
- Feather, N. T., & Boeckmann, R. J. (2007). Beliefs about gender discrimination in the workplace in the context of affirmative action: Effects of gender and ambivalent attitudes in an Australian sample. *Sex Roles*, 57(1–2), 31–42. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9226-0>
- Fisher, A. R. (2006). Women's benevolent sexism as reaction to hostility. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30(4), 410–416. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2006.00316.x>
- Gates, G. J. (2012). LGBT identity: A Demographer's perspective. *Loyola of Los Angeles Law Review*, 45, 693–714.
- Glick, P., Diebold, J., Bailey-Werner, B., & Zhu, L. (1997). The two faces of Adam: Ambivalent sexism and polarized attitudes toward women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 1323–1334. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672972312009>
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 491–512. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491>
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1999). The ambivalence toward men inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent beliefs about men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 23(3), 519–536. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1999.tb00379.x>
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56(2), 109–118. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.2.109>
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2011). Ambivalent sexism revisited. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 35(3), 530–535. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684311414832>
- Glick, P., Fiske, S. T., Mladinic, A., Saiz, J. L., Abrams, D., Masser, B., & López, W. L. (2000). Beyond prejudice as simple antipathy: Hostile and benevolent sexism across cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79, 763–775. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.79.5.763>
- Glick, P., Gangl, C., Gibb, S., Klumpner, S., & Weinberg, E. (2007). Defensive reactions to masculinity threat: More negative affect toward effeminate (but not Masculine) gay men. *Sex Roles*, 57, 55–59. <https://doi.org/10.1119-007-9195-3>
- Glick, P., Lameiras, M., Fiske, S. T., Eckes, T., Masser, B., Volpato, C., Manganelli, A. M., Pek, J. C., Huang, L. L., Sakalli-Ugurlu, N., Rodríguez Castro, Y., Pereira, M. L., Willemsen, T. M., Brunner, A., Six-Matena, L., & Wells, R. (2004). Bad but bold: Ambivalent attitudes toward men predict gender inequality in 16 nations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86(5). <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.86.5.713>, 731–728.
- Glick, P., Sakalli-Ugurlu, N., Ferreira, M. C., & de Souza, M. A. (2002). Ambivalent sexism and attitudes toward wife abuse in Turkey and Brazil. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 292–297. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-6402.t01-1-00068>
- Glick, P., & Whitehead, J. (2010). Hostility toward men and the perceived stability of male dominance. *Social Psychology*, 41, 177–185. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000025>
- Glick, P., Wilkerson, M., & Cuffe, M. (2015). Masculine identity, ambivalent sexism, and attitudes toward gender subtypes: Favoring masculine men and feminine women. *Social Psychology*, 46(4), 210–217. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000228>
- Good, J. J., Sanchez, D. T., & Moss-Racusin, C. A. (2018). A paternalistic duty to protect? Predicting men's decisions to confront sexism. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 19(1), 14–24. <https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000077>
- Halberstam, J. (2002). The good, the bad, and the ugly: Men, women, and masculinity. In J. K. Gardiner (Ed.), *Masculinity Studies and Feminist Theory* (pp. 344–367). New direction.
- Hentschel, T., Heilman, M. E., & Peus, C. V. (2019). The multiple dimensions of gender stereotypes: A current look at men's and women's characterizations of others and themselves. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10(11). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00011>
- Herek, G. M. (1984). Beyond 'Homophobia'. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 10(1–2), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v10n01_01
- Herek, G. M. (1988). Heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: Correlates and gender differences. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 25(4), 451–477. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224498809551476>
- ILGA. (2020). Annual review 2020. <https://www.ilga-europe.org/annualreview/2020>
- Jost, J. T., & Kay, A. C. (2005). Exposure to benevolent sexism and complementary gender stereotypes: Consequences for specific and diffuse forms of system justification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 498–509. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.3.498>
- Kántás, É. M., Faragó, L., & Kovacs, M. (2022). If you can dream it, you can do it!—The role of sexual orientation in preferences toward boys' and girls' career orientation and gendered behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 52(2), 305–325. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2789>
- Kiebel, E., Bosson, J. K., & Caswell, T. A. (2019). Essentialist beliefs and sexual prejudice toward feminine gay men. *Journal of Homosexuality*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2019.1603492>
- Kilianski, S. E. (2003). Explaining heterosexual men's attitudes toward women and gay men: The theory of exclusively masculine identity. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 4(1), 37–56. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.4.1.37>
- Kilianski, S. E., & Rudman, L. (1998). Wanting it both ways: Do women approve of benevolent sexism? *Sex Roles*, 39(5), 333–352. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1018814924402>
- Kite, M. E., & Deaux, K. (1987). Gender belief systems: Homosexuality and the implicit inversion theory. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 11(1), 83–96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1987.tb00776.x>

- Kovács, M. (2007). Nemi sztereotípiák, nemi ideológiák és karrier aspirációk [Gender stereotypes, gender ideologies, and career aspirations]. *Educatio*, 1, 99–114.
- Kovács, E. (2020). Post-socialist conditions and the Orbán Government's Gender politics between 2010 and 2019 in Hungary. In G. Dietze, & J. Roth (Eds.), *Right-wing populism and gender* (pp. 75–100). Bielefeld: transcript Verlag. <https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839449806-005>.
- Lee, T. L., Fiske, S. T., Glick, P., & Chen, Z. (2010). Ambivalent sexism in close relationships: (Hostile) power and (Benevolent) romance shape relationship ideals. *Sex Roles*, 62(7–8), 583–601. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9770-x>
- Murgo, M. A. J., Huynh, K. D., Lee, D. L., & Chrisler, J. C. (2017). Anti-effeminacy moderates the relationship between masculinity and internalized heterosexism among gay men. *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling*, 11(2), 106–118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15538605.2017.1310008>
- Nyúl, B., & Kende, A. (2021). Rape myth acceptance as a relevant psychological construct in a gender-unequal context: The Hungarian adaptation of the updated Illinois rape myths acceptance scale. *Current Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-021-01631-9>
- Nyúl, B., Kende, A., Engyel, M., & Szabó, M. (2018). Perception of a perpetrator as a successful person predicts decreased moral judgment of a rape case and labeling it as rape. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9(2555). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.02555>
- Okimoto, T. G., & Brescoll, V. L. (2010). The price of power: Power seeking and backlash against female politicians. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(7), 923–936. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210371949>
- Pharr, S. (1997). *Homophobia: A weapon of sexism*. Chardon Press.
- Prentice, D. A., & Carranza, E. (2002). What women and men should be, shouldn't be, are allowed to be, and don't have to be: The contents of prescriptive gender stereotypes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 269–281. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-6402.t01-1-00066>
- Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2006). Intergroup threat and outgroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10(4), 336–353. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1004_4
- Robinson, B. A. (2016). Heteronormativity and Homonormativity. In N. A. Naples, R. C. Hoogland, M. Wickramasinghe, & A. Wong (Eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell encyclopedia of gender and sexuality studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118663219.wbegss013>
- Rudman, L. A., & Glick, P. (2008). *The social psychology of gender – How power and intimacy shape gender relations*. Guilford Press.
- Sánchez, F. J., & Vilain, E. (2012). "Straight-acting gays": The relationship between masculine consciousness, anti-effeminacy, and negative gay identity. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 41(1), 111–119. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-012-9912-z>
- Scharle, A. (2015). *Attitudes to gender roles in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. Study produced under grant agreement 'Growth-Innovation-Competitiveness: Fostering Cohesion in Central and Eastern Europe' of the EU FP7/2007-2013*.
- Sherif, M. (1966). *Group conflict and co-operation: Their social psychology*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Shnabel, N., Bar-Anan, A., Kende, A., Baretke, O., & Lazar, Y. (2016). Help to perpetuate traditional gender roles: Benevolent sexism increases engagement in dependency-oriented cross-gender helping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 110(1), 55–75. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000037>
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. Cambridge University Press.
- Stephan, C. W., Stephan, W. G., Demitracis, K. M., Yamada, A. M., & Clason, D. L. (2000). Women's attitudes toward men: An integrated threat theory approach. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 24, 63–73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2000.tb01022.x>
- Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C., Schwarzwald, J., & Tur-Kaspe, M. (1998). Prejudice toward immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29, 559. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022198294004>
- Swim, J. K., Aikin, K. J., Hall, W. S., & Hunter, B. A. (1995). Sexism and racism: Old-fashioned and modern prejudices. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(2), 199–204. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.68.2.199>
- Szabó, M. (2009). *A társadalmi nemekkel kapcsolatos dinamikus nézetrendszerek szociálpszichológiai vizsgálata: Ideológiák és sztereotípiák, nemi tipizáltság és társas identitás [Social Psychological Investigation of Dynamic Viewpoints on Gender: Ideologies and Stereotypes, Gender Typification and Social Identity]*. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Faculty of Education and Psychology. Doctoral Dissertation (PhD).
- Takács, J., Dombos, T., Mészáros, G., & Tóth, T. P. (2012). Don't ask, don't tell, don't bother: Homophobia and the heteronorm in Hungary. In L. Trappolin, A. Gasparini, & R. Wintemute (Eds.), *Confronting homophobia in Europe: Social and legal perspectives* (pp. 79–106). Hart Publishing.
- Tortora, C., D'Urso, G., Nimbi, F. M., Pace, U., Marchetti, D., & Fontanesi, L. (2020). Sexual fantasies and stereotypical gender roles: The influence of sexual orientation, gender and social pressure in a sample of Italian young-adults. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10(2864). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.02864>
- Viki, G. T., Abrams, D., & Hutchison, P. (2003). The 'True' romantic: Benevolent sexism and paternalistic chivalry. *Sex Roles*, 49, 533–537. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1025888824749>
- Wilkinson, W. W. (2008). Threatening the patriarchy: Testing an explanatory paradigm of anti-lesbian attitudes. *Sex Roles*, 59(7), 512–520. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9432-4>
- Willer, R., Rogalin, C. L., Conlon, B., & Wojnowicz, M. T. (2013). Overdoing gender: A test of the masculine overcompensation thesis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 118(4), 980–1022. <https://doi.org/10.1086/668417>
- World Economic Forum. (2021). *Global gender gap report 2021*. ISBN-13:978-2-940631-07-0 <https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2021/in-full>.