GENDERED OCCUPATIONS AND CAREER PURSUIT CORRELATES: CONTRIBUTION OF SELF-AND OTHER-DIRECTED ATTITUDES FOR WOMEN

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by

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San Francisco, California

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CERTIFICATION OF APPROVAL

I certify that I have read GENDERED OCCUPATIONS AND CAREER PURSUIT CORRELATES: CONTRIBUTION OF SELF-AND OTHER-DIRECTED ATTITUDES FOR WOMEN by Michelle Lauren Manning, and that in my opinion this work meets the criteria for approving a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree Master of Arts in Psychology: Social Psychology at San Francisco State University.

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GENDERED OCCUPATIONS AND CAREER PURSUIT CORRELATES:
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My thesis explored whether women's career expectations for an average ingroup member depend on one or both of the following: (a) career type (stereotypical masculine vs. stereotypical feminine) and (b) attitudes about women in general. The sample (N = 155; all female, 154 cis women, 1 trans woman; all U.S. residents) completed explicit measures of ambivalent sexism and gender-based stigma consciousness and ratings of career expectations of an average woman. Results indicated that women have more negative career expectations for an average woman in a stereotypical masculine career than in a stereotypical feminine career. Also, benevolent sexism may *promote* women's tendency to pursue gender stereotypical careers and stigma consciousness may *interfere* with women's desire to pursue gender non-stereotypical careers. These findings highlight the role of women's ingroup gender attitudes in predicting biased career expectations, contributing to the larger psychological understanding of women's career development.

I certify that the abstract is a correct representation of the content of this thesis.

Chair, Thesis Committee

6/25/15
Date

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Gendered occupations and career pursuit correlates: Contributions of self-and other-directed attitudes for women

During an interview in *Harvard Business Review*, Sheryl Sandberg, Chief Operating Officer of the social media company Facebook, stated that, "Women face huge institutional barriers. But we [women] also face barriers that exist within ourselves, sometimes as the result of our socialization" ("Now is Our Time," 2013). Sandberg's comment is one of the many important and influential messages of what the United States media has called "the Lean In movement." This movement is named after Sandberg's (2013) book, *Lean In,* and broadly addresses the issue of women's underrepresentation in careers historically dominated by men in the U.S. workplace (Ervin, 2014; Irving, 2014). These specific careers are considered "stereotypical masculine" because they not only are numerically over-represented by men, but they also tend to be associated with traits of leadership, agency, and decisiveness—all of which are stereotypically associated with men in the U.S. (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Glick, 1991; Wood & Eagly, 2010). In this light, the aim of the Lean In movement is to help women be confident in their ability to achieve their career goals and to bring awareness to both the societal and internalized barriers in women's career pursuit (Ervin, 2014; Irving, 2014).

The Lean In movement is especially relevant to the ongoing issue of the representation of women in the workplace ("Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead", 2014b). Even though there has been improvement in women's participation in the

U.S. workforce, with women accounting for nearly half (47%) of all employed persons over the age of 16 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014), the majority of women still continue to pursue careers that are consistent with cultural gender stereotypes (Watson, Quatman, & Edler, 2002). This statement is supported by the distribution of women in the U.S. workforce. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2014), women constitute the majority of social workers (82% female), nurses (90% female), childcare workers (96% female), flight attendants (76% female), and secretaries/administrative assistants (94% female)—all of which are considered "stereotypically feminine" because they rely on traits such communality, sensitivity to others, and emotional expressiveness, which are stereotypically associated with women in U.S. society (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Glick, 1991; Wood & Eagly, 2010). At the same time, women remain underrepresented in jobs that are stereotypically masculine such as, chief executives (26% female), computer and mathematical occupations (25% female), architecture and engineering occupations (15% female), and police patrol officers (12% female) (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014).

Researchers have investigated two distinct obstacles that may contribute to the underrepresentation of women in stereotypical masculine careers: (a) the actual experience of gender-based discrimination in the hiring processes and within the workplace (e.g., Cohen & Bunker, 1975; Glick, Zion, & Nelson, 1988; Heilman, 1983, 2001) and (b) the mechanisms influencing career development process that result in gender stereotypic career choices (e.g., Correll, 2001; Eccles, 1987; 1994; Evans &

Diekman, 2009). In my thesis research, the latter approach is considered in order to explore the psychological factors related to women's career development—especially those that may promote women's tendency to pursue gender stereotypical careers and interfere with women's desire to pursue gender non-stereotypical careers.

Psychological Research on Women's Career Pursuit

There have been a number of theories addressing why the majority of women pursue gender stereotypic careers (e.g., Eccles, 1987; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). These theories have each taken a slice of the many variables that could influence career pursuit and conducted research into at least one of those variables.

Sociocultural theories and women's career pursuit

Early sociocultural theories of gender have assumed that the surrounding context, such as gender role expectations, influences an individual's attitudes and behavior (Deaux & LaFrance, 1998). Research supporting this assumption demonstrated that gender role socialization can shape the development of children's self-concept, career interests, and perception of abilities (Eccles, 1987, 1994). Moreover, as shown by Whiston and Brecheisen (2002), even if girls at a young age considered a range of career choices, they are still more likely to end up pursuing careers that are stereotypically feminine. Later studies from this perspective expanded on these theories by suggesting that, in addition to social influences, self-selection in gender stereotypic careers can result

from the general differences in women and men's interests, educational choices, life goals, and implicit motivations in the U.S. (Correll, 2001; Evans & Diekman, 2009).

Role of Expectations in Career Choice and Development

There have been considerable research and theories introduced explaining processes behind career choice and development (for a review see Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994, 2000; Phillips & Imhoff, 1997). The availability of numerous models of career development (Bandura, 1988; Eccles, 1987; Gofftredson, 1981) speaks to the complexities involved in the career development process. These complexities prompted Hackett and Lent (1992) to consolidate complementary explanations of career choice and development in order to provide a social cognitive framework for an integrative theory of career choice. This integrative model of career development, termed social cognitive career theory (SCCT), argues that the development of a career choice is a dynamic, reciprocal process involving the interplay between self-efficacy, expected outcomes, and goal mechanisms, with the environment, cognition, and behavior (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). The SCCT framework emphasizes three social cognitive processes fundamental to career choice: (a) self-efficacy, (b) outcome expectations, and (c) goal representations.

The SCCT has stimulated extensive research and has been deemed a credible and reliable model for predicting career related decisions, choices, interests, and behavior (e.g., Albert & Luzzo, 1999; Diegelman & Subich, 2001; Swanson et al., 1996; Swanson

& Woitke, 1997). Previous research has demonstrated how career expectations play a fundamental role in the decision to pursue a certain career (e.g., Bandura, 1986, 1988; Eccles, 1987; 994; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994, 2000). For instance, expectations for success in certain careers have been associated with the reported liking for, perceived abilities, and the likelihood to pursue such careers (Eccles, 1994; Goethals & Darley, 1997; Wood, 1989). People's expectations about their capabilities can influence the career paths they follow because people prefer occupations in which they think that they can succeed in (Bandura, 1988; Eccles, 1987, 1994). However, people may restrict their career options if they expect to encounter external or societal barriers because it can lower perceived expectations of their capabilities, regardless of their objective abilities (Eccles, 1987). Thus, the expectations one has related to certain careers can have a profound effect on one's career trajectory.

Importantly, studies have also shown that career expectations are partly based on perceptions of one's gender group, and this strong influence of same gender career reference groups is thought to be due to normative influences, such as role expectations (Gibson & Lawrence, 2010; Grote & Hall, 2013; Stets & Burke, 2000). This makes sense because literature on social comparison has shown that individuals tend to use similar others as a source of information about themselves (Festinger, 1954; Goethals & Darlye, 1977; Wood 1989), in order to reduce uncertainty (Kristof-Brown & Jansen, 2007). Since the career decision-making process is filled with uncertainty (Kristof-Brown & Jansen, 2007) and women tend to see their career as similar to those of other women (Gibson &

Lawrence, 2010), it follows that women's perceptions of their gender ingroup are especially relevant. Research has demonstrated that women use same-gender comparisons as a source of both emulation and information as a guide for how to behave, to assess likely abilities, and to estimate likely achievements (Festinger, 1954; Gibson & Lawrence, 2010; Kelley, 1952).

Due to the role of female career referents, the current study examines female participants' expectations of the "average woman's" career, in order to better understand processes related to the formation of women's career expectations. However, the use of social information from social comparisons can introduce bias when forming expectations about certain occupational attributes (Kristof-Brown & Jansen, 2007).

Gendered Nature of Occupational Stereotypes

Gender stereotypes consist of shared beliefs about the characteristics and attributes associated with women and men (Fiske & Taylor, 2013). These beliefs also assign expectations about what women and men are or should be like (Prentice & Caranza, 2002). For example, in the U.S., gender stereotypes attribute the traits of agency, instrumentality, and competence to men, resulting in the perception that these traits are stereotypically masculine traits (e.g., Eagly, 1984). For women in the U.S., gender stereotypes attribute the traits of communality, expressiveness, and warmth to women, resulting in the perception that these traits are stereotypical feminine traits (e.g., Eagly, 1984). Importantly, Prentice and Carranza (2002) demonstrated that both women

and men as participants endorse these gender stereotypes as proscriptions (i.e., behavior to be done).

With such pervasive gender stereotypes in the U.S. researchers have documented the gendered nature of occupational stereotypes (e.g., Glick, 1991). Glick (1991), for instance, showed that when respondents think about certain occupations one specific gender group tends to come to mind. This may result from the tendency for people to organize their images of occupations in a highly stereotyped and social learned manner (Gottfredson, 1981). Specifically, occupational stereotypes can be organized along three separate dimensions: (a) stereotypical masculine traits, (b) stereotypical feminine traits, and (c) prestige or status (Glick, 1991). For example, in Glick's (1991) study, both female and male respondents rated stereotypically certain jobs (e.g., Day Care Worker, Nurse) high on stereotypical feminine traits (e.g., communality, warmth) and simultaneously, low on stereotypical masculine traits (e.g., agency, competence). Additionally, in Glick's (1991) study, both women and men respondents rated stereotypical feminine traits rated as significantly more crucial for success than were stereotypical masculine traits in jobs such as Day Care Worker and Nurse. Consequently, Day Care Worker and Nurse can be considered *stereotypically feminine jobs* (Glick, 1991). In fact, any job that is perceived to simultaneously require the presence of stereotypically feminine traits and the absence of stereotypically masculine traits for success might be considered a stereotypically feminine job. Conversely, female and male respondents rated other jobs (e.g., Stock Broker, Police Officer) high on stereotypical

masculine traits (e.g., agency, competence) and simultaneously low on stereotypical masculine traits (e.g., communality, warmth). Likewise, the women and men participants rated the stereotypical masculine traits as significantly more crucial for success than were stereotypical feminine traits for the jobs of Stock Broker and Police Officer (Glick, 1991). Consequently, Stock Broker and Police Officer can be considered *stereotypically masculine jobs* (Glick, 1991). In fact, any job that is perceived to simultaneously require the presence of stereotypically masculine traits and the absence of stereotypically feminine traits for success might be considered a stereotypically masculine job. Occupational stereotypes are also thought of in terms of prestige or status, in such that stereotypical masculine traits and stereotypical masculine jobs are more associated with power and status than are stereotypical feminine traits (Glick, Lameiras, Fiske, Eckes, Masser, Volpato, Manganelli, Pek, Huang, Ugurlu, Castro, Pereria, Willemsen, Brunner, Six-Materna, & Wells, 2004; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012).

The alignment between gender stereotypes of women and men and occupational stereotypes can lead to the belief that one gender is better suited and more likely to succeed in certain occupations compared to the other gender (Eagly & Karau, 2002). For example, since stereotypical masculine careers (as defined above) tend to be rated as high on stereotypical masculine traits and low in stereotypical feminine traits, this can result in a perceived lack of fit for women in such careers because the stereotypical traits and abilities about women do not align with the traits seen necessary for success in the job (Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Eagly, 1984; Heilman, 1983, 1995). However, for a stereotypical

feminine career (as defined above), which tends to be rated high on stereotypical feminine traits and low in stereotypical masculine traits, women are seen as more likely succeed because the stereotypes about women's traits and abilities are congruent with the traits perceived necessary to succeed in such jobs (Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Eagly, 1984; Heilman, 1983, 1995).

Together, these gender stereotypical views of what women are and should be like and the stereotypes associated with occupations have been shown to elicit gender bias judgments of women in organizational settings (e.g., Heilman, 1983, 1995; see Davison & Burke, 2000 for a review). The Lack of Fit model (Heilman, 1983, 1995, 2001) has shown that these gender biased expectations of performance and success result from a "lack of fit" between women's expected attributes and the job's requirements. Furthermore, Heilman (1983, 1995, 2001) contends that negative performance expectations of women in stereotypical masculine jobs occurs beyond the processes involved in personnel decisions, but also can create a predisposition toward gender biased judgments of women's competence and expected success. Thus, negative career expectations may arise not only due to a mismatch between what women *are* like, but also can arise due the prescribed aspect of how women *should* be like.

The perceived compliance or deviance to prescribed aspects of gender stereotypes can result in either social rewards or consequences, respectively (e.g., Eagly & Wood, 2010; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). For example, both men and women

rate non-stereotypical women less favorably than stereotypical women (Haddock & Zanna, 1994) and women who exhibit stereotypical masculine traits are less liked than those who have stereotypical feminine traits (Rudman, 1998).

The prescribed aspect behind gendered occupational stereotypes is also reflected in women's beliefs about what career women should have (e.g., DiDonato & Strough, 2013; Judd & Oswald, 1997). For example, in Judd and Oswald's (1997) study, female and male participants rated the female applicant as more desirable when applying to a stereotypical feminine job (i.e., secretary) compared to a stereotypical masculine job (i.e., firefighter). More recently, DiDonato and Strough (2013) have demonstrated that female participants rated stereotypical feminine jobs as more appropriate, than stereotypical masculine jobs, for both other woman and for themselves. Moreover, the extent to which female participants believed that gender stereotypical jobs were appropriate for other woman was related to female participant's choice to pursue a stereotypical feminine career (DiDonato & Strough, 2013).

Collectively, research evidence points to a consistent lack of correspondence between women's actual measurable ability and perceived capabilities in a stereotypical masculine occupation (e.g., Bandura, 1988; Betz & Hackett, 1981; Correll, 2001; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). This reflects the overarching influence of gendered occupational stereotypes on women's career development. Thus, it is predicted that career type, which I operationalize as whether a

career is a stereotypical masculine career or a stereotypical feminine career, will influence career expectations. Importantly, this alludes to the moderating role career type may play in the relationship between ingroup gender attitudes and career expectations.

Ingroup Gender Attitudes

Due to the subtle and ambiguous nature of contemporary bias and marginalization, researchers have either implied or suggested that there is likely variation in the extent to which societal based gender stereotyping can result in women expecting more negative career outcomes or lower performance ability (Dovidio, Gaertner, Nier, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2004; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997). And researchers have commented on the need for future research to explore such individual differences that may predict career expectations, in order to better account for differences in women's career choices (Betz & Hacket, 1981; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994, 2000). For example, researchers have proposed that variability in the extent to which women believe gender stereotypes to be true may predict whether women rely on gender stereotypes in the career decision making process (e.g., DiDonato & Strough, 2013; Lips, 2000; O'Leary, 1974; Oswald, 2008; Schmader, Johns, & Barquissau, 2004; Sharp & Post, 1980). Moreover, many researchers have suggested that woman's awareness and expectations to be discriminated against in her career could contribute to more negative career expectations (Betz & Hackett, 1981; Cardoso & Marques, 2008; Haerzog & Bachman, 1982; London, Downey, Romero-Canyas, Rattan, & Tyson, 2012;

Pavan, 1985). However, Pinel (1999) has shown that there are individual differences in the extent to which one perceives discrimination and expects to be treated based on gender stereotypes. This suggests that simply alluding to women's awareness of gender discrimination and gender stereotyping is not enough to fully understand the psychological processes involved in the development of women's career expectations. Even though researchers have made tacit assumptions of how variability in certain attitudes may influence women's tendency to choose to pursue gender stereotypic careers, to my knowledge, there has been no research explicitly measuring the relationship between ingroup gender attitudes and career expectations.

Due to the salience of gender stereotypical role expectations, exploring the relationship between attitudinal variables and career expectations could provide a deeper understanding of processes involved in gender stereotypical career choices (Correll, 2001; Eccles, 1999). In my thesis research, two separable sets of ingroup gender attitudes are considered: (a) ingroup- directed *benevolent sexism* toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001) and (b) *stigma consciousness* (Pinel, 1999).

Benevolent Sexism

Benevolent sexism is a component of the ambivalent sexism theory, which contends that there are two sets of attitudes directed toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile sexism reflects what is most commonly thought of when people think of sexism, which are the overtly negative attitudes toward women. More specifically, hostile

sexism expresses resentment toward women who fail to conform to stereotypical gender roles and is characterized with the belief of women's inferiority and that men ought to have more power than do women (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001). By contrast, benevolent sexist attitudes are deceivingly positive, yet patronizing, attitudes toward women who confirm to stereotypical roles. Benevolent sexist attitudes view women as needing to be protected and cherished by men (Glick & Fiske, 1996), which limits women's experiences in the world. Benevolent sexism views women as subordinate and better suited for stereotypical gender roles with the underlying presumption that women are unable to protect or provide for themselves (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001). Importantly, benevolent sexism reflects an endorsement of gender stereotypes, which is reinforced by viewing women more positively when they conform to gender stereotypes, such as nurturing, supportive, or possessing moral purity (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Eagly & Maldinic, 1994).

In my thesis research, I am not focusing on the role of hostile sexism in career expectations. There are two main reasons behind why I am only focusing on benevolent sexism. The first reason is due to the subtle and insidious nature of benevolent sexism, especially when women endorse these attitudes about their ingroup. Because benevolent sexism contains positive images and rewards women in stereotypical gender roles, both men and women do not perceive benevolent sexism as a form of sexism or prejudice (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005). Thus, since benevolent sexism often passes unnoticed as a form of prejudice and since benevolent sexism supports the idea that women as a group

are better suited for nurturing, domestic, and subordinate roles (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Glick, 1996), it may have especially pernicious effects in the formation of career expectations. Secondly, women tend to not only be higher in benevolent sexism toward their ingroup (as compared to hostile sexism toward their ingroup), but women also exhibit less variability in hostile sexism than in benevolent sexism toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Due to benevolent sexism's underpinnings in selectively favoring only women who conform to stereotypical gender roles (Glick et al., 1997), benevolent sexism is likely to predict career expectations. Researchers have suggested that since men's benevolent sexism has been related to the idealization and positive evaluations of women in stereotypical gender roles, women may be motivated to endorse benevolent sexist attitudes due to the possibility to receive such social rewards (Becker, 2010; Glick et al., 1997). Although, benevolent sexism has been linked with certain social rewards for women who conform to gender stereotypes, such as social acceptance and higher ratings of favorability by men (Becker, 2010; Glick et al., 1997), these same rewards of benevolent sexism can be harmful (e.g., Fernandez, Castro, Otero, Foltz, & Lorenzo, 2006; Rudman & Heppen, 2003). For example, women who endorse benevolent sexism are more likely to believe that women's role is to assist their partner's career and were found to hold less ambition for their own career goals (Fernandez et al., 2006; Rudman & Heppen, 2003). Moreover, both men and women higher in benevolent sexism are more likely to believe that women lack abilities needed to succeed in the workplace and to

believe that women prefer gender stereotypical roles (Christopher & Wojda, 2008). Therefore, I hypothesize that benevolent sexism will predict the difference between career expectations of an average woman in a stereotypical feminine career compared to a stereotypical masculine career.

Stigma Consciousness

Stigma consciousness refers to variability in how individuals experience their stereotyped status (Pinel, 1999). Gender based stigma consciousness for women represents a form of self-consciousness or focus on how one's female stigmatized identity pervades their interactions with others (Pinel, 1999). Women's stigma consciousness is associated with perceptions of discrimination, indicating a tendency for women high in stigma consciousness to interpret situations in light of being stereotyped against as a woman (Pinel, 1999). Importantly, stigma consciousness is distinct from both self-concept views and stereotypical beliefs relating to gender (Pinel, 1999). Women high in stigma consciousness would not necessarily describe themselves in accordance with gender stereotypes or endorse gender stereotypical beliefs. This demonstrates an important distinction from benevolent sexism, such that stigma consciousness reflects a self-focus on how one may be judged based on gender stereotypes; whereas, benevolent sexist attitudes are more related to the belief that gender stereotypes are accurate and an endorsement of stereotypical views about women, regardless of one's awareness of the stereotypes.

Stigma consciousness is similar to, yet importantly differs from, the construct of stereotype threat. Stereotype threat is a situational pressure in stereotypical masculine domains that can undermine the performance of women who fear confirming to adverse gender stereotypes (Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999). While stigma consciousness and stereotype threat are related, stereotype threat reflects a concern about one's behavior or performance confirming stereotypes, whereas those high in stigma consciousness expect to be stereotyped irrespective of performance (Pinel, 1999). Stigma consciousness is a self-directed attitude predicting the likelihood for one to perceive to be judged and treated by others according to gender stereotypes.

Stigma consciousness is likely to be related to more negative career expectations, particularly for careers that are stereotypically masculine, because individuals higher in stigma consciousness tend to psychologically or even physically disengage from potentially stigmatizing situations (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002). Previous research has alluded to how women's awareness and understanding of future barriers such as discrimination (Pavan, 1985; Cardoso & Marques, 2008), presence of gender stereotypes (Correll, 2001), and backlash for counter stereotypical behaviors (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004), can affect women's expected success and likelihood to pursue certain careers. Since women high in stigma consciousness also experience high levels of stereotype accessibility (Pinel, 1999), this may result in a greater focus and anticipation of future barriers in stereotypical masculine careers, and thus, likely prompting more negative career expectations.

Current Study

Overview

The aim of current research is to enhance the understanding of psychological processes that may facilitate women's choice to pursue gender stereotypical careers by examining correlates of women's career expectations. Previous research examining career expectations has tended to focus on more context specific and individual-person variables alone, in isolation, from other attitudinal variables that may influence career expectations (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000). The relationship between attitudinal variables and career expectations may be especially crucial during the early stages of women's career development (Correll, 2001, Eccles, 1999; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000), which could contribute to the understanding of mechanisms in the career development process associated with the making gender stereotypical career choices.

Lent, Brown, and Hackett (2000) have suggested that career expectations may play differential roles during separate stages of the career development processes. However, the focus in previous research has been predominately on the later stages in career development, involving career expectations after a woman actually chooses a certain career path (e.g., Betz & Hackett, 1981; Peters, Ryan, Haslam, & Fernandes, 2012). There is a lack of research examining the psychological factors related to the development of women's general expectations for a multitude of careers, pertaining to

the formation of career related judgments and interests (Correll, 2001; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000).

Therefore, my thesis research seeks to provide further understanding of psychological factors related to women's career development—especially those that may promote women's tendency to pursue gender stereotypical careers and interfere with women's desire to pursue gender non-stereotypical careers—by examining the relationship between women's gender ingroup attitudes and career expectations. The two ingroup gender attitudes of focus in my thesis study are: (a) *benevolent sexism* (i.e., attitudes toward women who confirm to stereotypical gender roles that are deceivingly positive, yet patronizing, and views women as needing to be protected and cherished by men) and (b) *stigma consciousness* (i.e., attitudes about reflecting a form of self focus on how one's female stigmatized identity pervades their interactions with others). Due to the salience of stereotypical gender role expectations in career related judgments (e.g., Gibson & Lawrence, 2010; Glick, 1991, Sharp & Post, 1980), it is predicted that the relationship between women's gender ingroup attitudes and career expectations will differ depending on career type (i.e., stereotypical feminine career versus stereotypical masculine career).

The purpose of the current study is to explore whether the relationship between ingroup gender attitudes and career expectations depends on career type. This was examined by using responses from explicit measures of ambivalent sexism toward

women and gender-based stigma consciousness for women and ratings of career expectations (i.e., judgments of expected competence, social skills, hireability, and probability of success) of the average woman in the United States in four stereotypically feminine and four stereotypically masculine jobs. The participants were all female workers from Amazon's Mechanical Turk that completed a two part online survey using the computer software, Qualtrics. Part One included the scales measuring in-group gender attitudes and Part Two included sets of measures that assess career expectations of the average woman for a each job position.

Hypothesis

The following hypotheses were proposed:

Hypothesis 1. Female participants will have more negative expectations of the average woman for a stereotypical masculine career than for a stereotypical feminine career, which will extend to all four dependent variable measures of career expectations (i.e., judgments of expected competence, social skills, hireability, and probability of success). This hypothesis will be evaluated using dependent samples *t*-tests presented in the Results section.

Hypothesis 2. The relationship between *benevolent sexism* and career expectations will be moderated by career type (i.e., stereotypical feminine career versus stereotypical masculine career), which will extend to all four dependent variable

measures of career expectations (i.e., judgments of expected competence, social skills, hireability, and probability of success). This hypothesis will be evaluated using ordinary least squares regression to test for moderation for within-subjects designs presented in the Results section. In addition, I tracked and commented on the main effect of *benevolent sexism* on career expectations for each separate level of career type (e.g., expected competence in a stereotypical feminine career, expected competence in a stereotypical masculine career, and extended to all four dependent variable measures of career expectations). These relationships of interest will be tracked in the multiple regression analyses presented in the Results section.

Hypothesis 3. The relationship between *stigma consciousness* and career expectations will be moderated by career type (i.e., stereotypical feminine career versus stereotypical masculine career), which will extend to all four dependent variable measures of career expectations (i.e., judgments of expected competence, social skills, hireability, and probability of success). This hypothesis will be evaluated using ordinary least squares regression to test for moderation for within-subjects designs presented in the Results section. In addition, I tracked and commented on the main effect of *stigma consciousness* on career expectations for each separate level of career type (e.g., expected competence in a stereotypical feminine career, expected competence in a stereotypical masculine career, and extended to all four dependent variable measures of career expectations). These relationships of interest will be tracked in the multiple regression analyses presented in the Results section.

Method

Participants

Participants were female workers from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). A total of 292 participants were initially qualified to complete both parts of the survey. However, due to attrition, the final total analyzed sample included 155 female participants (154 cis women; 1 trans woman). Gender self-categorization profiles were obtained using the two-question method of assessing gender identity (Tate, Ledbetter, & Youssef, 2013). Participants ranged in age from 17 to 74 years (M_{age} = 39.4 years, SD_{age} = 13.9). Participants identified their ethnicity as follows: "European American/White" (n =123, 79.4%), "African American/ Black" (n = 8, 5.2%), "Asian American/ Asian: (n = 10, 6.5%), "Hispanic/ Latina/Latino" (n = 9, 5.8%), "Native American" (n = 4, 2.6%) and "Other" (n =1, 0.6%). Participants identified their sexual orientation as: "Heterosexual Woman" (n = 140, 90.3%), "Lesbian/Dyke/Queer Woman" (n = 4, 2.6%), "Bisexual Woman" (n = 10, 6.5%), and Asexual (n = 1, 0.6%).

Design

This study was a fully within-subjects correlational design, in which participants completed measures of ambivalent sexism toward women and gender-based stigma consciousness for women and rated expectations of the average woman's career in the United States at 4 stereotypically feminine and 4 masculine jobs. Part One included

scales measuring in-group gender attitudes and Part Two included sets of measures that assess career expectations of the average woman for a each job position (see Figure 1 for a more detailed account of the study design).

Stimuli

Job Descriptions. Each job description for all eight job positions is the official job description as indicated on the Occupational Information Network (O*NET) database (2014). Job descriptions for all eight jobs are provided in Appendix F. An example of the section instructions and job descriptions for the job position, Day Care Worker, is as follows:

> "In this section, you will find a series of questions about the job position: **DAY CARE WORKER**.
>
> The job position of a **DAY CARE WORKER** will involve *attending to children and performing a variety of tasks, such as dressing, feeding, bathing, and overseeing play.*
>
> We would like you to answer the following questions based on how qualified you think the **average woman** is for the job of a **DAY CARE WORKER.**
>
> In making your judgments, it might be helpful to imagine you are about to meet a person for the first time and the only thing you know in advance is that the person is an **average woman**."

Importantly, each of the eight section instructions was identical except for the job position and job description.

Career Type Stimuli. Eight different job titles were chosen in order to manipulate whether the job is a stereotypical masculine career type or a stereotypical feminine career type. The four job titles that represented a stereotypical feminine career were: (a) Day Care Worker, (b) Flight Attendant, (c) Nurse, (d) Social Worker. The four jobs titles that represented a stereotypical masculine career were: (a) Advertising Sales Manager, (b) Stock Broker, (c) Police Officer, and (d) Used Car Salesperson. These eight jobs were systematically chosen based on a set of three selection criteria, which was consistent with previous research (e.g., Cohen & Bunker, 1975). The three criteria were that: (a) each job had to connote gender role expectations, (b) jobs were matched (as best as possible) on status, prestige, and responsibility, and (c) multiple jobs were included to enhance generalizability.

In terms of the first criterion (each job had to connote gender role expectations), I used the findings from Glick's (1991) study on gender stereotypes and occupations to argue that each job chosen for my study was clearly associated with either stereotypical feminine expectations or stereotypical masculine expectations. Specifically, the stereotypical masculine jobs were defined by having high ratings of masculine personality traits required for the job, while simultaneously having low ratings of feminine personality traits required for the job (see Table 1). Conversely, stereotypical

feminine jobs were defined by having high ratings of feminine personality traits required for the job, while simultaneously having low ratings of masculine personality traits required for the job (see Table 1). The masculinity and femininity ratings were statistically significant different for each job (Glick, 1991). Moreover, in Glick's (1991) study, the gender-type of each job was classified as feminine or masculine (F = feminine; M = masculine) using Bem's (1977) median-split procedure (median for femininity ratings = 4.74; median for masculinity ratings = 5.06).

In terms of the second criterion (the jobs should be perceived as equal in status, prestige, and responsibility), each of the four stereotypical feminine jobs was matched with one of the four stereotypical masculine jobs in prestige ratings. The Glick (1991) had ratings of each job's prestige and I only selected ones that were matched on prestige within each stereotypical job type. For example, nurse (stereotypical feminine; prestige = 3.54) was matched with police officer (stereotypical masculine; prestige = 3.55) based on the female and male participant ratings in the Glick (1991) study (for a complete list of prestige ratings for each of the eight jobs, see Table 1. Additionally, in order to have a more recent and more precise account perceived prestige and responsibility associated with each job, I ensured that each job title was similarly matched on ratings of Specific Vocational Preparation (SVP) based on data from the O*NET database (2014). Each job's SVP range indicates the level experience, education, and job training required by a typical worker to learn the techniques, acquire the information and develop the abilities needed for average performance in a specific work situation (see Table 1 for each job

position's SVP Range). Moreover, I made sure that each job's prestige ratings from Glick's (1991) study corresponds similarly with the SVP range from the O*NET database. All of this was done to make sure that that any differences between the stereotypical career types should not be driven by differences in perceived status or prestige.

Finally, in terms of the third criterion (multiple jobs for generalizability), instead of only using one job title to represent each stereotypical career type, eight were chosen. This number within each stereotypical career type provides sufficient variability in jobs and perceived prestige to allow for greater generalizability of these findings (because they are calculated across a range of jobs).

Measures

The Part One survey consisted of scales that assess the two main independent variables of interest, ambivalent sexism inventory and stigma consciousness questionnaire, along with other filler measures (i.e., perceived legitimacy and stability of the gender hierarchy, short suggestibility scale, ambivalence toward men inventory, psychological reactance, social dominance orientation, economic system justification, and a brief ten-item measure of the Big-Five personality dimensions) and then additional demographics (besides gender self-categorization) at the end. The Part Two measures includes four dependent variable measures that constitute career expectations: (a)

expected competence in the job, (b) expected social skills in the job, (c) expectations of hireability, and (d) expected probability of success in the job.

Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire for Women (SCQ). The SCQ measures the extent that women believe that their female identity pervades their interactions with others (Pinel, 1999; see Appendix G). Participants respond to 10 items on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). An example of item is, "When interacting with men, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am a woman." In my sample, the SCQ items had good reliability, Cronbach's α = .855 (see Table 2 for summary of psychometric properties of SCQ). This measure was administered in Part One.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). ASI is comprised of 22 items that assess hostile and benevolent attitudes toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996, see Appendix H). An example of a hostile sexism item is: "Women are too easily offended." An example of a benevolent sexism item is: "No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman." Ratings were made on a six-point Likert scale, ranging from 0 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*), with higher scores indicating higher levels of ambivalent sexist attitudes toward women. In the current study, there was excellent reliability for the overall ASI score (22 items), Cronbach's α = .925. The two subscales, hostile sexism (α = .924, 11 items) and benevolent sexism (α = .880, 11 items), also had good to excellent reliability (see Table 2

for summary of psychometric properties of ASI scales). This measure was administered in Part One.

Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (AMI). The AMI consists of 20 items that assess hostility and benevolence toward men (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Ratings were made on a six-point Likert scale, ranging from 0 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*), with higher scores indicating higher levels of ambivalent sexist attitudes toward men. This measure was administered in Part One. In my sample, there was excellent reliability for the overall AMI score (22 items), Cronbach's $\alpha = .925$. The two subscales, hostility toward men ($\alpha = .871$, 11 items) and benevolence toward men ($\alpha = .927$, 11 items), also had good to excellent reliability. This measure was a filler item and not analyzed below.

Perceived Legitimacy and Stability of Gender Hierarchy Scales. Each scale consists of six questions (12 total) that assess perceptions of legitimacy and stability of the gender hierarchy (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). Participants respond on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) scale. This measure was administered in Part One and in my sample, the two scales, Legitimacy of Gender Hierarchy ($\alpha = .850$, 6 items) and Stability of Gender Hierarchy ($\alpha = .687$, 6 items), had good to acceptable reliability. This measure was a filler item and not analyzed below.

Ten-Item Personality Inventory (TIPI). The TIPI consists of 10 items representing a brief measure of the Big-Five personality dimensions (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003). This measure was administered in Part One. Participants are instructed

to rate the extent to which a trait is characteristic of them on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Each pair of items to assess one of the Big Five dimensions was internally consist, all *r*s ≥ .35. This measure was a filler item and not analyzed below.

Short Suggestibility Scale (SSS). The SSS consists of 21 items that measure suggestibility (Kotov, Bellman, & Watson, 2004). Participants are asked to indicate the extent to which they agree to a statement on a 5-point Likert Scale, ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*a lot*). This measure was administered in Part One. The SSS had excellent reliability in the current study, Cronbach's α = .937. This measure was a filler item and not analyzed below.

Hong's Psychological Reactance Scale (PRS). The PRS consists of 14 items that measure one's to reactance proneness, or a trait propensity to experience psychological reactance (Brown & Finney, 2011). This measure was administered in Part One. Participant rate 14 items on a 5-point likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree)*, which has good reliability, Cronbach's α = .889. This measure was a filler item and not analyzed below.

Economic System-Justification (ESJ). The ESJ was designed to assess the tendency for individuals to "legitimize economic inequality" (Jost & Thompson, 2000). Participant rate 17 items on a 9-point likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*). This measure was administered in Part One. In my sample, the ESJ had

excellent reliability, Cronbach's $\alpha = .860$. This measure was a filler item and not analyzed below.

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). SDO measures one's degree of preference for inequality among social groups (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). This measure was administered in Part One. The response scale is a 7-point likert scale from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*), in which participants indicated the degree of positive or negative feelings toward a statement. There were 16 items with excellent reliability, Cronbach's $\alpha = .940$. This measure was a filler item and not analyzed below.

Competence Index. The competence index is comprised of 10 items (e.g., "How likely is it that the average woman would be [competent, independent, confident, determined, computer-skilled, analytical, ambitious, competitive, works well under pressure] in this job?" that measure to what extent the participants expect that the average woman would be competent in a job (Rudman & Glick, 1999, see Appendix I). Participants indicate the extent to which characteristics matched their impression on scales ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). This measure was administered in Part Two.

In my sample, the competence index demonstrated to have excellent reliability across all eight jobs, Cronbach's $\alpha \geq .909$ (see Table 3 for a summary of psychometric properties and the Cronbach's alpha associated with each job). The average competence

score for each of the four stereotypical feminine jobs (i.e., Day Care Worker, Flight Attendant, Nurse, and Social Worker) were combined to form the stereotypical feminine career competence composite score, which demonstrated to have high internal consistency, Cronbach's $\alpha = .896$ (see Table 4 for summary of psychometric properties). The average competence score for each of the four stereotypical masculine jobs (i.e., Advertising Sales Manager, Stockbroker, Police Officer, and Used Car Salesperson) were combined to form the stereotypical masculine career competence composite score, which demonstrated to have high internal consistency, Cronbach's $\alpha = .822$ (see Table 4 for summary of psychometric properties). There was a strong correlation between the stereotypical feminine career competence composite and the stereotypical masculine career competence ($r = .706$), suggesting good reliability.

Social Skills Index. The social skills index is comprised of 10 items (e.g., "How likely is it that the average woman would be [kind, supportive, warm, sincere, helpful, likeable, friendly, popular, good listener, sensitive to the needs of others] in this job?") that measure to what extent the participants expect that the average woman would have sufficient social skills in the job (Rudman & Glick, 1999, see Appendix J). Participants indicate the extent to which characteristics matched their impression ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). This measure was administered in Part Two.

The social skills index demonstrated to have excellent reliability across all eight jobs, Cronbach's $\alpha \geq .939$ (see Table 3 for a summary of psychometric properties and the

Cronbach's alpha associated with each job). The average social skills score for each of the four stereotypical feminine jobs (i.e., Day Care Worker, Flight Attendant, Nurse, and Social Worker) were combined to form the stereotypical feminine career social skills composite score, which demonstrated to have high internal consistency, Cronbach's α = .924 (see Table 4 for summary of psychometric properties). The average social skills score for each of the four stereotypical masculine jobs (i.e., Advertising Sales Manager, Stockbroker, Police Officer, and Used Car Salesperson) were combined to form the stereotypical masculine career social skills composite score, which demonstrated to have high internal consistency, Cronbach's α = .873 (see Table 4 for summary of psychometric properties). The correlation between the stereotypical feminine career social skills composite and the stereotypical masculine career social skills composite was strong (r = .760) suggesting good reliability.

Hireability Index. The hireability index is comprised of three items that measure participants' expectation of the average woman's hireability for the job (Rudman & Glick, 1999, see Appendix K). Participants are asked to indicate the extent to which they agree to a statement on a 5-point Likert Scale, ranging from 1 (*disagree*) to 5 (*agree*). Items include statements such as, "I would personally hire the average woman for the job" and "The average woman would likely be hired for the job". This measure was administered in Part Two.

The hireability index demonstrated to have excellent reliability across all eight jobs, Cronbach's $\alpha \geq .841$ (see Table 3 for a summary of psychometric properties and the Cronbach's alpha associated with each job). The average hireability score for each of the four stereotypical feminine jobs (i.e., Day Care Worker, Flight Attendant, Nurse, and Social Worker) were combined to form the stereotypical feminine career hireability composite score, which demonstrated to have high internal consistency, Cronbach's $\alpha = .879$ (see Table 4 for summary of psychometric properties). The average hireability score for each of the four stereotypical masculine jobs (i.e., Advertising Sales Manager, Stockbroker, Police Officer, and Used Car Salesperson) were combined to form the stereotypical masculine career hireability composite score, which demonstrated to have high internal consistency, Cronbach's $\alpha = .797$ (see Table 4 for summary of psychometric properties). The correlation between the stereotypical feminine career hireability composite and the stereotypical masculine career hireability composite was moderate ($r = .675$) suggesting good reliability.

Probability of Success. The probability of success index is comprised of four items that assess the participants' probability estimate about the average woman's success in a specific job position, if hired (Cohen & Bunker, 1975, see Appendix L). Participants are asked to respond to 4 items based on if the average woman is hired for the job position (e.g., "How likely is it that the average woman will be successful?" and "How likely is it that the average woman will be promoted?") on a 5-point likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). This measure was administered in Part Two.

The probability of success index demonstrated to have excellent reliability across all eight jobs, Cronbach's $\alpha \geq .847$ (see Table 3 for a summary of psychometric properties and the Cronbach's alpha associated with each job). The average probability of success score for each of the four stereotypical feminine jobs (i.e., Day Care Worker, Flight Attendant, Nurse, and Social Worker) were combined to form the stereotypical feminine career probability of success composite score, which demonstrated to have high internal consistency, Cronbach's $\alpha = .882$ (see Table 4 for summary of psychometric properties). The average probability of success score for each of the four stereotypical masculine jobs (i.e., Advertising Sales Manager, Stockbroker, Police Officer, and Used Car Salesperson) were combined to form the stereotypical masculine career probability of success composite score, which demonstrated to have high internal consistency, Cronbach's $\alpha = .806$ (see Table 4 for summary of psychometric properties). The correlation between the stereotypical feminine career probability of success composite and the stereotypical masculine career probability of success composite was moderate ($r = .577$) suggesting good reliability.

Procedure

Data were obtained by collecting participants' responses from a two part online survey using the computer software, Qualtrics. Each participant completed the survey from a computer of her choice. There were two parts to the survey (Part One and Part Two), in which participants were asked to complete Part Two five to seven days after

completing Part One. In order to be eligible to partake in the survey, participants were required to be female, over 18 years of age, and currently live in the United States. Participants were excluded from the study if they indicated that their current gender identity was male, if they were less than 18 years of age, and if they were not a current United States resident.

Part One. Three hundred and two participants self-selected to participate in the Part One survey through a listing on Amazon's MTurk (see Appendix A for a copy of Part One MTurk listing). Upon successful completion of Part One, participants were compensated $0.40. In Part One, participants completed the two-question assessment of gender identity (2AQGI; Tate et al., 2013; see Appendix E) and a set of measures that assess ambivalent sexism and stigma consciousness, along with other filler measures (i.e., perceived legitimacy and stability of the gender hierarchy, short suggestibility scale, ambivalence toward men inventory, psychological reactance, social dominance orientation, economic system justification, and a brief ten-item measure of the Big-Five personality dimensions) and then demographics at the end.

Then, five to seven days after participants successfully submitted their response to Part One, they received a "bonus email message" through MTurk, which thanked them for completing Part One and invited them to participate in Part Two (see Appendix B for a copy of recruiting message). The title and link to the Part Two survey was included in the message. However, 10 of the 302 participants were not invited to take the Part Two

due to incomplete responses and the failure to provide their MTurk Worker ID, which prevents the ability to match Part One responses to Part Two responses.

Part Two. There were a total of 292 participants that were qualified and sent an invitation message to complete the Part Two survey. Using the MTurk Qualifications feature, only the participants that I assigned a qualification code, to indicate their successful completion of Part one, were allowed to access the link to participate in Part Two (see Appendix C for a copy of Part One MTurk listing). Qualified participants read a brief description of the survey via the MTurk listing and out of the 292 participants invited to complete the Part Two survey, 177 self-selected to participate (39.4% attrition rate). Upon successful completion of Part Two, participants were compensated $0.60. Moreover, participants were awarded an additional $0.15 as a bonus if they had completed both Part One and Part Two of the survey (see Appendix D for a copy the Bonus message). Importantly, at the end of both Part One and Part Two, the participants were instructed to indicate their Amazon MTurk Worker ID, which was used to match each participant's Part One responses with Part Two responses. Twenty-two participants were excluded from any data analysis due to incomplete data responses, failure to provide their MTurk Worker ID, or inability to match response from Part One to responses from Part Two.

The Part Two survey included scales assessing participants' career outcome expectations of the average woman for the eight different job positions (four stereotypical

feminine jobs, four stereotypical masculine jobs). Career outcome expectation dependent variables comprise of the four measures: (a) competence index, (b) social skills index, (c) hireability index, and (d) probability of success.

Participants first read a modified version of Schein's (1975) overview and instructions: "We are interested in studying the perceptions of general qualifications and traits that are needed for different jobs. You will be asked to make judgments about how qualified you think the average woman is for various job positions." After reading the general instructions, the participants responded to eight separate sections corresponding to the eight job positions. The order in which participants responded to each section was completely randomly assigned. Each section contained section instructions and a job description and then the four dependent variable measures that comprise of the expectations for the average woman's career (i.e., expected competence, social skills, hireability, and probability of success). The section instructions were similar to previous studies on judgments about job qualifications (Schein, 1975; Alksnis, Desmarais, & Curtis, 2008). After the participants completed all eight sections, participants were thanked and asked to provide their Amazon Mechanical Turk Worker ID.

Exploratory Data Analysis and Modeling Building

Collinearity. Consistent with previous research (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1996), hostile sexism and benevolent sexism were significantly correlated, $r = .515$, $p < .001$. For theoretical reasons previously discussed and to avoid collinearity issues, only

benevolent sexism scores were used in the primary data analysis and hostile sexism scores were not included in the primary data analyses. Importantly, the two primary ingroup gender attitudes, benevolent sexism and stigma consciousness, are not significantly correlated, $r = -.109$, $p = .177$. Thus, in all analyses below, there were no collinearity issues between the two predictors, benevolent and stigma consciousness, in the regression models (all VIFs ≤ 1.01.)

Order Effects. The order in which participants responded to the ambivalent sexism and stigma consciousness scales were counterbalanced in attempt to prevent any potential order effects. The two orders that were counterbalanced were: (a) Order 1: stigma consciousness items preceded ambivalent sexism items and (b) Order 2: ambivalent sexism items preceded stigma consciousness items. Two separate one-way analyses of variances (ANOVA) were run in order to examine whether ambivalent sexism and stigma consciousness scores differed depending on the response order of the measures. There were no significant differences between response order groups on stigma consciousness scores, $F(1, 153) = .735$, $p = .393$, $\eta^2_p = .005$, or on ambivalent sexism scores, $F(1, 153) = 2.186$, $p = .141$, $\eta^2_p = .014$.

Results

There are four dependent variable measures for this study that together constitutes career expectations (i.e., expected competence in the job, expected social skills in the job, expectations of hireability, and expected probability of success in the job). Because of the

theoretical differences among the four measures, they were examined as separate outcome variables for all the analyses below. Also, since these outcome variables were fully repeated, with each participant providing responses for both stereotypical feminine and stereotypical masculine careers, and because I was interested in testing moderation of these outcomes by career type and the ingroup-directed attitudinal predictors (i.e., stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism), I followed guidelines for testing moderation using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression for fully within-subject designs (Judd, Kenny, & McClelland, 2001). For more detail on the data analyses procedure for testing moderation using OLS regression in within-subjects design, refer to articles by Judd et al. (2001) and Judd and Kenny (2010). The procedures I completed for these data can be found in Appendix M.

I followed the above three-step procedure four separate times for each of the four dependent variable measures: (a) expected competence in the job, (b) expected social skills in the job, (c) expectations of hireability, and (d) expected probability of success in the job. As noted above (see Exploratory Data Analysis and Modeling Building section), in all models below, the main effects of the ingroup attitudinal predictors (stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism) showed sufficient independence, all VIFs ≤ 1.01 (see Table 7-9, 11-13, 15-17, 19-21).

Competence

Zero-order intercorrelations. Table 5 shows the zero-order intercorrelations between the attitudinal predictors variables and expected competence dependent variables.

Main effect of career type. A dependent-samples *t*-test was conducted to determine whether there was a main effect of career type (stereotypical masculine or stereotypical feminine) on expectations of the average woman's competence in job (see Table 6). Female participants in this study expected the average woman to be significantly less competent in a stereotypical masculine career ($M = 3.74$, $SD = 0.61$) compared to a stereotypical feminine career ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 0.59$), $M_{diff} = 0.22$, $SD_{diff} = 0.46$, $t(154) = 5.96$, $p < .001$, $r^2 = .187$ (see Figure 2).

Main effects of stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism. Centered stigma consciousness and centered benevolent sexism were used to predict overall expectations of the average woman's competence in a job. There was not a significant overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = .218$, $p = .804$, $R^2 = .003$. Stigma consciousness ($b^* = .025$, $t(152) = .312$, $p = .756$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = .001$) and benevolent sexism ($b^* = .050$, $t(152) = .050$, $p = .541$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .003$) did not significantly predict overall expectations of the average woman's competence in a job when career type is not taken into consideration (see Table 7).

Moderating effects of career type on stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism. Two separate multiple regression analyses were used to determine the regression slopes for each level of career type (stereotypical feminine and stereotypical masculine)

in relation to stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism (see Figure 3 and Figure 4 for graph of regression slopes for each level of career type in relation to stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism).

A multiple regression analysis on expected competence in a stereotypical feminine career being predicted from stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism showed a trending overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = 2.40$, $p = .09$, $R^2 = .031$. Benevolent sexism was positively correlated with expected competence in a stereotypical feminine career, $b^* = .176$, $t(152) = 2.19$, $p = .03$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .031$, such that higher levels of benevolent sexism were associated higher competence expectations for a stereotypical feminine career. Stigma consciousness did not significantly predict expected competence in a stereotypical feminine career, $b^* = .024$, $t(152) = .30$, $p = .764$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = .001$ (see Table 8).

A multiple regression analysis on expected competence in a stereotypical masculine career being predicted from stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism did not reveal a statistically significant overall model, $F(2, 152) = .572$, $p = .566$, $R^2 = .007$. Neither stigma consciousness ($b^* = .023$, $t(152) = .284$, $p = .776$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = .001$) nor benevolent sexism ($b^* = -.081$, $t(152) = -.99$, $p = .322$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .006$) significantly predicted expected competence in a stereotypical masculine career (see Table 8).

In order to test for moderating effects of career type, the expected competence difference score (i.e., competence scores in a stereotypical feminine careers minus

competence scores in a stereotypical masculine careers) was regressed on to the centered stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism variables (see Table 9).

There was a significant overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = 9.46$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .111$. Benevolent sexism significantly predicted the difference between expected competence ratings by career type, $b^* = .333$, $t(152) = 4.32$, $p < .001$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .110$, such that higher levels of benevolent sexism were associated with a greater difference in expected competence between stereotypical feminine and stereotypical masculine careers (see Figure 3). This indicates a significant interaction between benevolent sexism and career type on expectations of the average woman's competence in a job. Specifically, increasing benevolent sexism was related to higher expected competence ratings in stereotypical feminine careers than in stereotypical masculine careers. Stigma consciousness did not significantly predict the difference between expected competence ratings by career type, $b^* < .0001$, $t(152) = .006$, $p = .99$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} < .0001$ (see Figure 4).

Social Skills

Zero-order intercorrelations. Table 10 shows the zero-order intercorrelations between the attitudinal predictor variables and expected social skills dependent variables.

Main effect of career type. A dependent-samples *t*-test was conducted to determine whether there was a main effect of career type (stereotypical masculine or stereotypical feminine) on expectations of the average woman's social skills in job (see

Table 6). Female participants expected the average woman as having significantly lower social skills in a stereotypical masculine career ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 0.63$) compared to a stereotypical feminine career ($M = 4.08$, $SD = 0.63$), $M_{diff} = 0.41$, $SD_{diff} = 0.44$, $t(154) = 11.79$, $p < .001$, $r^2 = .474$ (see Figure 2).

Main effects of stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism. Centered stigma consciousness and centered benevolent sexism were used to predict overall expectations of the average woman's social skills in a job. The set of predictors accounted for a significant amount of variance in overall expectations of the average woman's social skills in a job, $F(2, 152) = 3.30$, $p = .04$, $R^2 = .042$. However, even with a significant overall model, each predictor was only trending toward statistical significance, stigma consciousness ($b^* = -.131$, $t(152) = -1.65$, $p = .10$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = -.017$) and benevolent sexism ($b^* = .142$, $t(152) = 1.78$, $p = .076$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .020$; see Table 11).

Moderating effects of career type on stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism. Two separate multiple regression analyses were used to determine the regression slopes for each level of career type (stereotypical feminine and stereotypical masculine) in relation to stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism (see Figure 5 and Figure 6 for graph of regression slopes for each level of career type in relation to stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism).

A multiple regression analysis on expected social skills in a stereotypical feminine career being predicted from stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism did

not have a significant overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = 1.26$, $p = .29$, $R^2 = .016$. Neither Stigma consciousness ($b^* = -.065$, $t(152) = -.81$, $p = .42$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = -.004$) nor benevolent sexism ($b^* = .103$, $t(152) = 1.27$, $p = .21$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .010$) significantly predicted expected social skills in a stereotypical feminine career (see Table 12).

A multiple regression analysis on expected social skills in a stereotypical masculine career being predicted from stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism showed a significant overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = 5.44$, $p = .01$, $R^2 = .067$. Stigma consciousness was negatively correlated with expected social skills in a stereotypical masculine career, $b^* = -.182$, $t(152) = -2.31$, $p = .02$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .033$, such that higher levels of stigma consciousness were associated with lower expectations of the average woman's social skills in a stereotypical masculine career. Benevolent sexism was positively correlated with expected social skills in a stereotypical masculine career, $b^* = .165$, $t(152) = 2.09$, $p = .04$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .027$, such that higher levels of benevolent sexism were related to higher expectations of the average woman's social skills in a stereotypical masculine career (see Table 12).

In order to test for moderating effects of career type, the expected social skills difference score (social skills scores in a stereotypical feminine career - social skills scores in a stereotypical masculine career) was regressed on to the centered stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism variables (see Table 13).

There was a significant overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = 3.12$, $p = .047$, $R^2 = .027$. Stigma consciousness significantly predicted a difference between expected social skills ratings by career type, $b^* = .168$, $t(152) = 2.08$, $p = .04$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = .028$, such that higher levels of stigma consciousness were associated with a greater difference in expected social skills between stereotypical feminine and stereotypical masculine careers (see Figure 6). This indicates a significant interaction between stigma consciousness and career type on expectations of the average woman's social skills in job. Specifically, increasing stigma consciousness was related to lower expected social skills ratings in a stereotypical masculine career than in stereotypical feminine career. Benevolent sexism did not significantly predict the difference between expected social skills ratings by career type, $b^* = -.090$, $t(152) = -1.12$, $p = .265$, $r^2_{a(.c.b)} = .008$ (see Figure 5).

Hireability

Zero-order intercorrelations. Table 14 shows the zero-order intercorrelations between the attitudinal predictor variables and hireability dependent variables.

Main effect of career type. A dependent-samples *t*-test was conducted to determine whether there was a main effect of career type (stereotypical masculine or stereotypical feminine) on expectations of the average woman's hireability for a job (see Table 6). Female participants rated the average woman as being significantly less likely to be hired for a stereotypical masculine career ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 0.76$) compared to a

stereotypical feminine career ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 0.70$), $M_{diff} = 0.53$, $SD_{diff} = 0.59$, $t(154) = 11.23$, $p < .001$, $r^2 = .453$ (see Figure 2).

Main effects of stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism. Centered stigma consciousness and centered benevolent sexism were used to predict overall expectations of the average woman's hireability in a job. There was not a significant overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = .149$, $p = .862$, $R^2 = .002$. Neither stigma consciousness ($b^* = -.024$, $t(152) = -.30$, $p = .77$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = .001$) nor benevolent sexism ($b^* = -.040$, $t(152) = -.49$, $p = .63$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .002$) significantly predicted overall expectations of the average woman's hireability in a job when career type is not taken into consideration (see Table 15)

Moderating effects of career type on stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism. Two separate multiple regression analyses were used to determine the regression slopes for each level of career type (stereotypical feminine and stereotypical masculine) in relation to stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism (see Figure 7 and Figure 8 for graph of regression slopes for each level of career type in relation to stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism).

A multiple regression analysis on expected hireability in a stereotypical feminine career being predicted from stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism showed a trending overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = .001$, $p = .99$, $R^2 < .0001$. However, neither stigma consciousness ($b^* = -.002$, $t(152) = -.03$, $p = .98$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} < .0001$) nor

benevolent sexism (b^* = .002, $t(152)$ = .02, p = .98, $r^2_{a(c.b)} < .0001$) significantly predicted expected hireability in a stereotypical feminine career (see Table 16).

A multiple regression analysis on expected hireability in a stereotypical masculine career being predicted from stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism did not have a significant overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = .38$, $p = .69$, $R^2 = .005$. Neither stigma consciousness (b^* = -.033, $t(152)$ = -.40, p = .69, $r^2_{a(b.c)}$ = .001) nor benevolent sexism (b^* = -.066, $t(152)$ = -.81, p = .42, $r^2_{a(c.b)}$ = .004) significantly predicted expected hireability in a stereotypical masculine career (see Table 16).

In order to test for moderating effects of career type, the expected competence difference score (i.e., hireability scores in a stereotypical feminine careers minus hireability scores in a stereotypical masculine careers) was regressed on to the centered stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism variables (see Table 17).

There was not a significant overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = 6.40$, $p = .53$, $R^2 = .008$. Neither stigma consciousness (b^* = .039, $t(152)$ = .48, p = .63, $r^2_{a(b.c)}$ = .002; see Figure 8) nor benevolent sexism (b^* = .087, $t(152)$ = 1.07, p = .29, $r^2_{a(c.b)}$ = .007; see Figure 7) significantly predicted a difference between expected hireability scores by career type.

Probability of Success

Zero-order intercorrelations. Table 18 shows the zero-order intercorrelations between the attitudinal predictors variables and probability of success dependent variables.

Main effect of career type. A dependent-samples *t*-test was conducted to determine whether there was a main effect of career type (stereotypical masculine or stereotypical feminine) on expectations of the average woman's probability of success in a job (see Table 6). Female participants rated the average woman as having a significantly lower probability of success in a stereotypical masculine career ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 0.67$) than in a stereotypical feminine career ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 0.65$), $M_{diff} = 0.63$, $SD_{diff} = 0.64$, $t(154) = 13.12$, $p < .001$, $r^2 = .528$ (see Figure 2).

Main effects of stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism. Centered stigma consciousness and centered benevolent sexism were used to predict overall expectations of the average woman's probability of success in a job. There was not a significant overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = 2.51$, $p = .09$, $R^2 = .032$. Stigma consciousness ($b^* = -.143$, $t(152) = -1.78$, $p = .07$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = .020$) and benevolent sexism ($b^* = .093$, $t(152) = 1.16$, $p = .248$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .009$) did not significantly predict overall expectations of the average woman's probability of success in a job when career type is not taken into consideration (see Table 19).

Moderating effects of career type on stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism. Two separate multiple regression analyses were used to determine the regression

slopes for each level of career type (stereotypical feminine and stereotypical masculine) in relation to stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism (see Figure 9 and Figure 10 for graph of regression slopes for each level of career type in relation to stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism).

A multiple regression analysis on expected probability of success in a stereotypical feminine career being predicted from stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism did not have a significant overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = 1.83$, $p = .16$, $R^2 = .024$. Neither stigma consciousness ($b^* = -.076$, $t(152) = -.95$, $p = .346$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = .006$) nor benevolent sexism ($b^* = .125$, $t(152) = 1.55$, $p = .12$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .015$) significantly predicted expected probability of success in a stereotypical feminine career (see Table 20).

A multiple regression analysis on expected probability of success in a stereotypical masculine career being predicted from stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism showed a trending overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = 2.76$, $p = .06$, $R^2 = .035$. Stigma consciousness was negatively correlated with expected probability of success in a stereotypical masculine career, $b^* = -.179$, $t(152) = -2.23$, $p = .03$, $r^2_{a(bc.b)} = .032$, such that higher levels of stigma consciousness were significantly related to lower expectations of the average woman's probability of success in a stereotypical masculine career. Benevolent sexism did not significantly predict expected probability of success in

a stereotypical masculine career, $b^* = .039$, $t(152) = .49$, $p = .63$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = .002$ (see Table 20).

In order to test for moderating effects of career type, the expected probability of success difference score (i.e., probability of success scores in a stereotypical feminine careers minus probability of success scores in a stereotypical masculine careers) was regressed on to the centered stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism variables (see Table 21).

There was not a significant overall effect of the model, $F(2, 152) = 1.50$, $p = .23$, $R^2 = .019$. Neither stigma consciousness ($b^* = .116$, $t(152) = 1.44$, $p = .15$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = .013$; see Figure 10) nor benevolent sexism ($b^* = .090$, $t(152) = 1.12$, $p = .267$, $r^2_{a(c.b)} = .008$; see Figure 9) significantly predicted the difference between expected probability of success by career type.

General Discussion

The purpose of my thesis research was to explore whether the relationship between ingroup gender attitudes and career expectations depends on career type, in the attempt to enhance the understanding of psychological factors related to women's career development—especially those that may promote women's tendency to pursue gender stereotypical careers and interfere with women's desire to pursue gender non-stereotypical careers. The two ingroup gender attitudes of focus in my thesis study are:

(a) *benevolent sexism* (i.e., attitudes toward women who conform to stereotypical gender roles that are deceivingly positive, yet patronizing, and views women as needing to be protected and cherished by men) and (b) *stigma consciousness* (i.e., attitudes about reflecting a form of self focus on how one's female stigmatized identity pervades their interactions with others).

The results of my thesis research showed four important findings. One, across all career expectations dependent variables measures, female participants had more negative expectations of the average woman in a stereotypical masculine career compared to a stereotypical feminine career, which highlights the continued pervasiveness of gendered occupational stereotypes in the current U.S. society. Two, the difference between expected competence in a stereotypical feminine career and a stereotypical masculine career was predicted by benevolent sexism, in that higher levels of benevolent sexism was related to higher expected competence abilities in a stereotypical feminine career but not in a stereotypical masculine career. This suggests that *benevolent sexism* may *promote* women's tendency to pursue gender stereotypical career. Three, the difference between expected social skills in a stereotypical feminine career and a stereotypical masculine career was predicted by stigma consciousness, in that higher levels of stigma consciousness was related to lower social skills expectations in a stereotypical masculine career but not in a stereotypical feminine career. Thus, this result suggests that *stigma consciousness* may *interfere* with women's desire to pursue gender non-stereotypical careers. And four, an average woman was expected to be less successful in a stereotypical

masculine career by female participants higher in stigma consciousness as compared to those lower in stigma consciousness, which provides further support to the interfering role that stigma consciousness may play in women's desire to pursue stereotypical masculine careers.

Importantly, the four dependent variable measures that constituted career expectations (i.e., expected competence in the job, expected social skills in the job, expectations of hireability, and expected probability of success in the job) can be organized along three categories. The first category consists of *expected performance* capabilities in specific job related tasks (i.e., expected competence). This first category reflects expectations about the expected job performance on an *individual level*, which importantly differs from the following second and third categories that involve the career expectations that are largely dependent on the experiences with and decisions of *others*. Specifically, the second category consists of expectations about the quality of *social interactions* and social connectedness with coworkers in a job (i.e., expected social skills). And the third category consists of the expectations of what the actual *outcomes* would be if a certain career were pursued (i.e., expected hireability and probability of success).

Career Performance Expectations

It is possible that an average woman is expected to have lower performance capabilities in a stereotypical masculine career because the stereotypical traits and

abilities about women (e.g., communality, warmth) do not align with the traits and abilities perceived required for stereotypically masculine jobs (e.g., agency, competence). It would then make sense for benevolent sexism to be positively related to higher expectations of competence in a job that is a stereotypically feminine because those higher in benevolent sexism are also more likely to endorse gender stereotypes (Moya, Glick, Expósito, Lemus, & Hart, 2007). Thus, an average woman may be perceived as more competent in a stereotypical feminine career because female participants higher in benevolent sexism would be more likely to believe that the average woman has the stereotypical traits perceived as necessary to success in a stereotypical feminine career (i.e., caring, nurturing, social, warm; Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Moya et al., 2007). This finding would provide further correlational support for one of the underlying presumptions of benevolent sexism theory, which views women as better suited for stereotypical gender roles (Glick, 1996), in that inflated competence ratings toward women in stereotypical roles may be used as benevolent sexist justification for why woman are perceived as better suited for a gender stereotypical career, *by women themselves*.

The positive association between benevolent sexism and competence ratings in a stereotypical feminine career supports previous research that has found men's benevolent sexism to be related to more positive evaluations of women in stereotypical roles (Glick, Diebold, & Bailey-Werener, 1997). Importantly, my thesis research extends Glick et al.'s

(1997) findings and shows that *women's* benevolent sexism can also elicit more positive judgments of women in roles that conform to gender stereotypes.

The fact that women's benevolent sexism is not related to competence expectations of an average woman when in a stereotypical masculine career makes sense because previous research has shown that women's benevolent sexism does not predict judgments of women who diverge from stereotypical roles (Glick et al., 1997). Along the lines of the underlying presumption of benevolent sexism, it would not reward the average women with more positive judgments in the stereotypical masculine career because she would be perceived as deviating from her prescribed gender stereotypical role (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Moreover, the subjectively positive nature of benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) explains why it does not elicit any negative evaluations.

My thesis results showed that stigma consciousness did not predict a difference between expected competence ratings by career type. This supports the theoretical arguments behind the construct of stigma consciousness (Pinel, 1999). Stigma consciousness refers to individual differences in the extent to which women focus on how gender stereotypes influence their interaction with others and the expectation that one will be judged based on gender stereotypes, regardless of how one actually performs (Pinel, 1999). Importantly, stigma consciousness is not related to endorsement or agreement with gender stereotypes, only the expectation that others will treat them based on it (Pinel, 1999). Considering that expectations of competence in a job reflects the

participants' actual expectations of the average woman's *performance* on a job task, it makes sense that stigma consciousness does not predict expected competence ratings, since one's stereotypical beliefs are fairly separable from their stigma consciousness levels (Pinel, 1999).

Career Social Interaction Expectations

In contrast to the more performance based career expectations, the expected social skills measure taps more into expectations of social interactions and interpersonal connections with coworkers, instead of expectations of social competence (for a list of all items on social skills measure, see Appendix J). Therefore, the finding that the average woman was expected to have lower social skills in a stereotypical masculine career may also be a reflection of the anticipation that an average woman working with a majority male coworkers may not "fit in", or may face social rejection and may be disliked (Chen & Moons, 2015; Heilman et al., 2004; Heilman, 2001). Thus, variability in social skills expectation ratings may not only reflect the congruence/ incongruence between gender stereotypes and occupational stereotypes but also, reflect the extent to which woman are aware of potential social and interpersonal difficulties that may rise from the perceived employee gender ratio, or possibly the interplay of both (Chen & Moons, 2015; Heilman, 2001; Heilman et al., 2004).

Furthermore, the finding in my thesis that higher stigma consciousness is associated with lower expected social skills in a stereotypical masculine career but not

related to expected social skills in a stereotypical feminine career is logically consistent with previous research on stigma consciousness. First, since those higher in stigma consciousness have been shown to have a greater self-focus on how gender stereotypes affect them and play a role in their interactions with men (Pinel, 1999), this may explain my finding that female participants higher in stigma consciousness expected an average woman to have more negative social interactions and interpersonal connections with coworkers in a stereotypical masculine career. Moreover, previous research has illustrated that women higher in stigma consciousness are more likely to expect that men will treat them based on gender stereotypes, which would be especially salient in stereotypical masculine jobs that tend to be overrepresented by men but would not be a concern in stereotypical feminine jobs that usually consist of a majority of women (Pinel, 1999, 2004).

Career Outcome Expectations

Overall, female participants expected more negative outcomes (i.e., expected hireability and probability of success) for an average woman in a stereotypical masculine career than in a stereotypical feminine career. Extending previous research on gender biased hiring evaluations (e.g., Davison & Burke, 2000; Heilman, 1983, 1995, 2001), my thesis finding of lower hireability expectations may be a reflection that female participants may not only be aware of the likelihood for women as a group to be discriminated against in the hiring process, but also might expect that it will occur.

However, due to the composition of the hireability measure items (for a list of all items on the hireability measure, see Appendix K), which include items that measure not only expectations of whether the average woman would be hired for the job by someone else, but also, whether the participant herself would hire the average woman, it is not possible to parcel out whether the variability in hireability ratings is due to the participants' biased evaluations or expectations of hireability, or the interplay of both. Moreover, the inability to parcel out those two theoretically separable constructs may explain why neither stigma consciousness nor benevolent sexism predicted the difference in expected hireability between a stereotypical feminine career and a stereotypical masculine career.

Even though stigma consciousness did not predict a difference in probability of success by career type, it is important to discuss the significant finding that an average woman was perceived as less likely to be successful in a stereotypical masculine by female participants higher in stigma consciousness compared to those lower in stigma consciousness. The fact that stigma consciousness did not predict a difference by career type may be explained by the trending overall main effect of stigma consciousness on probability of success. It may then appear that those higher in stigma consciousness have a general trend of expecting an average women to be less successful in any career type, however, it seems to be especially the case when an average woman is in a stereotypical masculine career.

Expectations of an average woman's career success involve perceptions of an average woman's experiences throughout the progression of her career, such as the possibilities of a promotion or the acceptance by coworkers (for a list of all items on the probability of success measure, see Appendix L). Therefore, the negative relationship between stigma consciousness and probability of success in a stereotypical masculine career is logically consistent with the finding that female participants with higher stigma consciousness had more negative expectations of the average woman's interpersonal interactions with her coworkers in a stereotypical masculine career. Moreover, since those higher in stigma consciousness are more likely to perceive discrimination and expect judgment based on gender stereotypes, it makes sense for them to have lower expectations of an average women's success in a career that is stereotypically masculine.

Implications

Importantly, my thesis findings emphasize the important role that women's gender ingroup attitudes may play in women's expectations for how their own gender group's career is likely to play out, which may be an important psychological process involved in the development of women's career expectations (Eccles, 1994; Goethals & Darley, 1997; Suls, Gaes, & Gastorf, 1979; Wood, 1989). Stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism were shown to have specific and differential relationships with expectations for the average woman's career, which varied based on career type (i.e.,

stereotypical masculine and stereotypical feminine) and the specific category of career expectations (i.e., competence, social skills, hireability, or probability of success).

Importantly, findings suggest that although stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism are shown to be associated with more gender biased career expectations of the average woman, they may serve different functions in the underlying processes leading to gender biased career expectations. Specifically, benevolent sexism may *promote* women's tendency to pursue gender stereotypical careers, through the means of higher levels of benevolent sexism's association with higher expected competence abilities in a stereotypical feminine career but not in a stereotypical masculine career. And stigma consciousness may *interfere* with women's desire to pursue gender non-stereotypical careers, through the means of higher stigma consciousness's association with lower social skills expectations and lower probabilities of success in a stereotypical masculine career but not in a stereotypical feminine career.

Women tend to use social information drawn from their perception of their own gender group when forming expectations about how their own career is likely to play out (Gibson & Lawrence, 2010; Grote & Hall, 2013; Stets & Burke, 2000; Suls et al., 1979). Thus, there may be particularly adverse implications for women higher in benevolent sexism because they are shown to perceive the average woman as more competent in a stereotypical feminine career than in a stereotypical masculine career. Through this social comparative inference, women may use these preconceived capability beliefs about their

own gender to predict their own career expectations (Gibson & Lawrence, 2010; Grote & Hall, 2013; Stets & Burke, 2000; Suls et al., 1979) and if they have inflated competence expectations for women in stereotypical feminine careers, this may then promote the tendency to pursue more gender stereotypical careers.

The finding in my thesis research that women higher in stigma consciousness perceive that the average woman will have more negative social and interpersonal interactions with coworkers can have consequences for those women higher in stigma consciousness. Research has shown that anticipating more negative interpersonal situations is an important mechanism that can explain why some women lose interest in pursuing a stereotypical masculine career (Chen & Moons, 2015). Moreover, socially stigmatized individuals have shown to have feelings of belonging uncertainty and to lack social connectedness in contexts that are high in social identity threat (Walton & Cohen, 2007), such as when a woman is outnumbered by men (Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2000). The anticipation of more negative social interactions and lower social connectedness with coworkers can undermine prospects for success and decrease interest in pursuing such careers (Smith, Lewis, Hawthorne, & Hodges, 2013; Walton & Cohen, 2007). This demonstrates how stigma consciousness may then interfere with women's desire to pursue gender non-stereotypical careers.

The finding in my thesis research that an average woman is expected to be less successful in a stereotypical masculine career by women higher in stigma consciousness

compared to women lower in stigma consciousness is strong evidence for the potential of adverse consequences for women higher in stigma consciousness. Expectations for success is a huge motivational force in the choice to pursue a certain career (Bandura, 1997; Eccles, 1994; Eccles, Barber, & Jozefowicz, 1999). Thus, if women higher in stigma consciousness have lower expected success in a stereotypical masculine career they may be less motivated to pursue such a career, compared to women lower in stigma consciousness. Therefore, this finding in my thesis research also shows how stigma consciousness may interfere with women's desire to pursue stereotypical masculine careers.

The interaction between ingroup gender attitudes and career type suggests the important interplay of both individual differences and the environmental context on women's career expectations. Importantly, the implications of my thesis could not be concluded if I had solely examined either ingroup gender attitudes or career type in isolation. Without the contextual influence of gendered occupational stereotypes, ingroup gender attitudes would not appear to be related to career expectations. Moreover, if only career type is considered, then there would be unexplained variance as to why some women exhibit different patterns of career expectations than what would be predicted based on gender stereotypical expectations associated with a career. Moreover, when considering both attitudinal and environmental influences, it allows for a more comprehensive insight behind how the interplay of individual differences and environmental gender stereotypes may be crucial influences to processes involved in the

formation of women's career expectations. This also emphasizes the complexities behind the psychological factors involved in the formation of women's career expectations and that there is no simple solution or "magic pill" that will improve the underrepresentation of women in the current U.S. society. Thus, considering a more comprehensive understanding of career expectations will help the understanding of why women choose to pursue certain careers.

Limitations and Future Directions

Even with the implications I have discussed, there are some notable limitations to my thesis research that should be addressed. First, it is important to keep in mind that my findings are purely correlational and that no causal conclusions can be drawn as far as whether women's ingroup gender attitudes can actually cause more gender biased career expectations. It would be interesting for future research to examine the relationship between women's ingroup gender attitudes and career expectations over a period of time, for a longitudinal study. Furthermore, it would be interesting to examine whether priming higher state stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism resulted in a pattern of gender biased career expectations that were similar to the trait stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism. If both a longitudinal study and priming stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism had similar effects on women's career expectations as compared to trait stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism, it would provide further support to the

aversive role of ingroup gender attitudes in the formation of women's career expectations.

Additionally, I did not measure the extent to which female participants view themselves to be similar to an average woman in the U.S. society. This is important to address in the understanding of the development of women's career expectations, because the greater the assumed similarity, the more persuasive perceptions of an "average woman" would be as a career referent and as a guide in the formation of one's career capabilities and success expectations (Bandura, 1997). The more different a female participant perceives an average woman to be from themselves, the less their beliefs about career expectations are influence by their perception of an average woman's career (Bandura, 1997). It would be interesting for future research to explore if female participant's expectations of an average woman's career paralleled female participant's expectations of their own career and if the difference is predicted by how similar participants view an average woman to be to themselves.

Even though there were four job stimuli chosen to represent each career type that ranged on prestige and status, the jobs chosen were based on the most extreme comparison between career types, in that they were either perceived as highly stereotypically feminine (and subsequently low on stereotypically masculine traits) or as highly stereotypically masculine (and subsequently low stereotypically feminine traits). The issue of generalizability to all jobs and careers is important to discuss because the

majority of jobs are neither easily characterized as stereotypical masculine or feminine, nor do they fall on such extreme spectrums of gender stereotypic traits (see Glick, 1991). Therefore, it would be interesting for future research to examine whether ingroup gender attitudes predict career expectations when the jobs are more stereotypically gender neutral.

There is also a potential for biased responses in the use of self-report explicit attitudinal measures because they are susceptible to social desirably. Therefore, it may be interesting to examine whether the results of my thesis can be replicated when implicit measures are used. However, implicit measures can be easily tainted by environmental or extra-personal associations, which do not necessarily reflect personally endorsed beliefs about groups (Karpinski & Hilton, 2001; Olson & Fazio, 2004). Furthermore, if participants did respond with social desirable responses it would mostly be to appear less sexist and less gender biased, which would make it more difficult to find significant effects of my study. Therefore, since I did find significant results, even in light of the potential for biased responses based on social desirability, it only strengthens the implications that can be drawn from my study.

Conclusion

Findings from my thesis research point to how the interplay between women's gender ingroup attitudes and the continued existence of the pervasive gender stereotyping in the U.S., can have adverse implications for women's career expectations. Importantly,

findings suggest that stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism may serve differential functions in the underlying processes leading to gender biased career expectations. Specifically, benevolent sexism may *promote* women's tendency to pursue gender stereotypical careers, through the means of higher levels of benevolent sexism's association with higher expected competence abilities in a stereotypical feminine career but not in a stereotypical masculine career. And stigma consciousness may *interfere* with women's desire to pursue gender non-stereotypical careers, through the means of higher stigma consciousness's association with lower social skills expectations and lower probabilities of success in a stereotypical masculine career but not in a stereotypical feminine career. Taken together, my thesis research highlights the aversive role of women's ingroup gender attitudes in predicting gender biased expectations of an average woman's career, which can provide a more comprehensive understanding of psychological factors related to women's career development—especially those that may promote women's tendency to pursue stereotypical feminine careers and interfere with women's desire to pursue stereotypical masculine careers.

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Table 1
Stereotypical Feminine and Masculine Trait Ratings and Prestige of Jobs

Occupation	Feminine traits[a]	Masculine traits[a]	Prestige rating[b]	SVP Range[c]
Day care worker	5.80	4.67	2.19	(4.0 to < 6.0)
Flight attendant	5.32	4.72	2.91	(6.0 to < 7.0)
Nurse	5.54	4.89	3.54	(8.0 and above)
Social worker	5.21	4.92	3.09	(7.0 to < 8.0)
Advertising sales manager	4.43	6.13	3.47	(7.0 to < 8.0)
Stock broker	4.05	6.08	3.95	(6.0 to < 7.0)
Police officer	4.53	5.72	3.55	(6.0 to < 7.0)
Used car salesperson	4.49	5.58	2.09	(4.0 to < 6.0)

Note. Occupational traits and prestige ratings were extracted from Glick's (1999) Study 1 data. Each occupation was found a statistically significant difference in masculinity and femininity ratings.
[a]Range = 1-7
[b] Range = 1-5
[c]SVP = SVP (Specific Vocational Preparation) is the amount of time required by a typical worker to learn the techniques, acquire the information, and develop the abilities needed for average performance in a specific work situation. Job Zones were developed to transition from SVP, as shown in the DOT, to measures of experience, education, and job training included in the O*NET database.

Table 2

Psychometric Properties of Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire

Variable	*M*	*SD*	α	Range		Skew
				Potential	Actual	
Ambivalent Sexism Inventory [a]	2.84	0.95	0.93	1 - 6	1.05 - 4.85	-0.12
Hostile Sexism	2.80	1.15	0.92	1 - 6	1.00 - 6.00	0.14
Benevolent Sexism	2.88	1.02	0.88	1 - 6	1.00 - 5.36	0.17
Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire [a]	4.21	1.12	0.86	1 - 7	1.30 - 6.80	1.4

Note. Means (M), standard deviation (SD), and Cronbach's alpha (α) estimates for each variable. Hostile sexism was not included in the main analysis.
[a] $N = 155$ (all female; 154 cis women, 1 trans woman).

Table 3

Psychometric Properties of Career Expectations Variables for Eight Job Positions

Variable	*M*	*SD*	α	Range		Skew
				Potential	Actual	
Competence [a] (10 items)						
Day Care Worker	3.87	0.69	0.91	1 - 5	2.10 - 5.0	0.14
Flight Attendant	3.99	0.64	0.91	1 - 5	2.60 - 5.0	0.02
Nurse	4.00	0.71	0.94	1 - 5	2.10 - 5.0	-0.27
Social Worker	3.97	0.66	0.93	1 - 5	2.40 - 5.0	-0.02
Advertising Sales Manager	4.00	0.65	0.94	1 - 5	2.30 - 5.0	-0.34
Stock Broker	3.62	0.81	0.95	1 - 5	1.00 - 5.0	-0.41
Police Officer	3.70	0.81	0.95	1 - 5	1.00 - 5.0	-0.29
Used Car Salesperson	3.64	0.73	0.93	1 - 5	1.40 - 5.0	-0.04
Social Skills [a] (10 items)						
Day Care Worker	4.14	0.69	0.97	1 - 5	2.80 - 5.0	-0.16
Flight Attendant	4.08	0.68	0.96	1 - 5	2.50 - 5.0	-0.10
Nurse	4.08	0.74	0.97	1 - 5	1.70 - 5.0	-0.42
Social Worker	4.04	0.69	0.96	1 - 5	2.50 - 5.0	-0.04
Advertising Sales Manager	3.77	0.69	0.96	1 - 5	2.00 - 5.0	0.18
Stock Broker	3.46	0.81	0.96	1 - 5	1.40 - 5.0	-0.01
Police Officer	3.79	0.70	0.94	1 - 5	2.00 - 5.0	0.23
Used Car Salesperson	3.67	0.76	0.96	1 - 5	2.00 - 5.0	0.08
Hireability [a] (3 items)						
Day Care Worker	4.33	0.77	0.91	1 - 5	1.67 - 5.0	-0.94
Flight Attendant	4.22	0.78	0.90	1 - 5	2.00 - 5.0	-0.64
Nurse	4.08	0.93	0.92	1 - 5	1.67 - 5.0	-0.68
Social Worker	4.14	0.80	0.91	1 - 5	2.00 - 5.0	-0.46
Advertising Sales Manager	4.00	0.81	0.87	1 - 5	1.67 - 5.0	-0.60
Stock Broker	3.44	1.07	0.90	1 - 5	1.00 - 5.0	-0.52
Police Officer	3.54	1.02	0.86	1 - 5	1.00 - 5.0	-0.47
Used Car Salesperson	3.65	0.92	0.84	1 - 5	1.33 - 5.0	-0.20
Probability of Success [a] (4 items)						
Day Care Worker	4.01	0.75	0.85	1 - 5	1.75 - 5.0	-0.30
Flight Attendant	4.06	0.71	0.85	1 - 5	1.75 - 5.0	-0.45
Nurse	4.07	0.81	0.91	1 - 5	1.75 - 5.0	-0.48
Social Worker	4.02	0.74	0.89	1 - 5	2.00 - 5.0	-0.22

Advertising Sales Manager	3.82	0.73	0.88	1 - 5	1.75 - 5.0	-0.28
Stock Broker	3.26	0.90	0.89	1 - 5	1.00 - 5.0	-0.10
Police Officer	3.3	0.85	0.88	1 - 5	1.33 - 5.0	0.31
Used Car Salesperson	3.21	0.88	0.89	1 - 5	1.25 - 5.0	0.26

Note. Means (M), standard deviation (SD), and Cronbach's alpha (α) estimates for each dependent variable for each job position. Day care worker, flight attendant, nurse and social worker were stereotypical feminine jobs. Advertising sales manager, stock broker, police officer, and used car salesperson were stereotypical masculine jobs.
[a] $N = 155$ (all female; 154 cis women, 1 trans woman).

Table 4

Psychometric Properties of Career Expectations Variables for Stereotypical Feminine and Stereotypical Masculine Career Type Composites

Variable	*M*	*SD*	α	Range		Skew
				Potential	Actual	
Competence [a]						
Stereotypical Feminine Career (4 items)	3.96	0.59	0.90	1 - 5	2.50 - 5.0	0.04
Stereotypical Masculine Career (4 items)	3.74	0.61	0.82	1 - 5	1.85 - 5.0	-0.10
Social Skills [a]						
Stereotypical Feminine Career (4 items)	4.08	0.63	0.92	1 - 5	2.98 - 5.0	-0.11
Stereotypical Masculine Career (4 items)	3.68	0.63	0.87	1 - 5	2.43 - 5.0	0.48
Hireability [a]						
Stereotypical Feminine Career (4 items)	4.19	0.70	0.88	1 - 5	2.58 - 5.0	-0.43
Stereotypical Masculine Career (4 items)	3.65	0.76	0.80	1 - 5	1.42 - 5.0	-0.07
Probability of Success [a]						
Stereotypical Feminine Career (4 items)	4.04	0.65	0.88	1 - 5	2.31 - 5.0	-0.17
Stereotypical Masculine Career (4 items)	3.40	0.67	0.81	1 - 5	1.60 - 5.0	0.11

Note. Means (M), standard deviation (SD), and Cronbach's alpha (α) estimates for each dependent variable for each career type. Jobs that composed a stereotypical feminine career were: (a) day care worker, (b) flight attendant, (c) nurse, and (d) social worker were stereotypical feminine jobs. Jobs that composed a stereotypical masculine career were: (a) Advertising sales manager, (b) stock broker, (c) police officer, and (d) used car salesperson.

[a] $N = 155$ (all female; 154 cis women, 1 trans woman).

Table 5.

Correlations Among Attitudinal and Expected Competence Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Stigma Consciousness	--					
2. Benevolent Sexism	-.109	--				
3. Competence: Overall	.020	.047	--			
4. Competence: Stereotypical Feminine Career	.005	.173*	.922**	--		
5. Competence: Stereotypical Masculine Career	.032	-.083	.925**	.706**	--	
6. Competence: Difference Score (Feminine - Masculine)	-.036	.333*	-.036	.354**	-.412**	--

Note. This table presents zero-order correlations using listwise deletion ($N = 155$; all female; 154 cis women, 1 trans woman).
**Effects are significant at $p < .01$.
*Effects are significant at $p < .05$.

Table 6

Mean Differences in Career Expectations by Career Type

Variable	Stereotypical Feminine Career		Stereotypical Masculine Career						
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	M_{diff}	SD_{diff}	*t*	*p*	r^2
Competence	3.96	0.59	3.74	0.61	0.22	0.46	5.96	<.001	.19
Social Skills	4.08	0.63	3.68	0.63	0.41	0.44	11.79	<.001	.47
Hireability	4.19	0.70	3.65	0.08	0.53	0.59	11.23	<.001	.45
Probability of Success	4.04	0.65	3.40	0.67	0.63	0.64	13.12	<.001	.53

Note. Means (M) and standard deviation (SD) estimates for each dependent variable for each career type. M_{diff} is the mean difference between career type and SD_{diff} is the standard deviation of the mean difference. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). *t* and r^2 values are derived from dependent *t*-tests analyses performed on these data. r^2 is the measure of effect size associated with the mean difference per row. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (154).

Table 7

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Expected Competence in a Job From Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism

Variable	Competence					
	b (*SE*)	*b**	*t*	*p*	sr^2	VIF
Stigma Consciousness	0.13 (0.04)	0.03	0.31	.76	< .01	1.01
Benevolent Sexism	0.03 (0.04)	0.05	0.61	.54	< .01	1.01

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Fit for model: $R^2 = .003$, Adjusted $R^2 = -.01$, $F(2, 152) = 0.22$, $p = .80$.

Table 8

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Expected Competence From Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism by Career Type

	Career Type									
	Stereotypical Feminine[a]					Stereotypical Masculine[a]				
Variable	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*	*p*	sr^2	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*	*p*	sr^2
Stigma Consciousness	0.13 (0.04)	0.02	0.3	0.76	.001	0.13 (0.04)	0.02	0.28	0.77	.001
Benevolent Sexism	0.10 (0.05)	0.18	2.19	0.03	.03	0.05 (0.05)	-0.08	-0.99	0.32	.01

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Stereotypical feminine career model fit: $R^2 = .03$, Adjusted $R^2 = .02$, $F(2, 152) = 2.40$, $p = .09$. Stereotypical masculine career model fit: $R^2 = .01$, Adjusted $R^2 = -.01$, $F(2, 152) = 0.57$, $p = .57$.

[a] VIFs for both predictors, stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism, were 1.01.

Table 9

Multiple Regression Analyses Testing Predicting a Difference in Expected Competence Scores by Career Type From Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism

	Competence					
Variable	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*	*p*	sr^2	VIF
Constant[a]	.22 (0.04)		6.28	< .001		
Stigma Consciousness	0.00 (0.03)	< .001	0.01	.99	< .001	1.01
Benevolent Sexism	0.15 (0.04)	0.33	4.32	< .001	.11	1.01

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Fit for model: $R^2 = .11$, Adjusted $R^2 = .10$, $F(2, 152) = 9.46$, $p < .001$.
[a] In a difference score regression model, the constant estimates the average effect (main effect) of career type when stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism variables equal zero (Judd et al., 2001).

Table 10.

Zero-Order Correlations Among Attitudinal and Expected Social Skills Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Stigma Consciousness	--					
2. Benevolent Sexism	-.109	--				
3. Competence: Overall	-.147	.157	--			
4. Competence: Stereotypical Feminine Career	-.076	.110	.938**	--		
5. Competence: Stereotypical Masculine Career	-.200*	.185*	.938**	.760**	--	
6. Competence: Difference Score (Feminine - Masculine)	.177*	-.108	.003	.349**	-.344**	--

Note. This table presents zero-order correlations using listwise deletion (N = 155; all female; 154 cis women, 1 trans woman).
**Effects are significant at $p < .01$.
*Effects are significant at $p < .05$.

Table 11

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Expected Social Skills in a Job From Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism

	Social Skills					
Variable	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*	*p*	sr^2	VIF
Stigma Consciousness	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.13	-1.65	.10	.02	1.01
Benevolent Sexism	0.08 (0.05)	0.14	1.78	.08	.02	1.01

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Fit for model: $R^2 = .04$, Adjusted $R^2 = .03$, $F(2, 152) = 3.30$, $p = .04$

Table 12

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Expected Social Skills Scores From Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism by Career Type

	Career Type									
	Stereotypical Feminine[a]					Stereotypical Masculine[a]				
Variable	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*(152)	*p*	sr^2	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*(152)	*p*	sr^2
Stigma Consciousness	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.07	-0.81	0.42	.01	-0.10 (0.04)	-0.18	-2.31	0.02	.03
Benevolent Sexism	0.06 (0.05)	0.1	1.27	0.2	.01	0.10 (0.05)	0.17	2.09	0.04	.03

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Stereotypical feminine career model fit: $R^2 = .02$, Adjusted $R^2 = .002$, $F(2, 152) = 1.26$, $p = .29$. Stereotypical masculine career model fit: $R^2 = .07$, Adjusted $R^2 = .06$, $F(2, 152) = 5.44$, $p = .01$. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman).

[a] VIFs for both predictors, stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism, were 1.01.

Table 13

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting a Difference in Expected Social Skills Scores by Career Type From Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism

	Social Skills					
Variable	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*	*p*	sr^2	VIF
Constant[a]	0.41 (0.04)		11.95	< .001		
Stigma Consciousness	0.07 (0.03)	0.17	2.10	.04	.03	1.01
Benevolent Sexism	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.09	-1.12	.27	.01	1.01

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Fit for model: $R^2 = .039$, Adjusted $R^2 = .027$, $F(2, 152) = 3.12$, $p = .05$.
[a] In a difference score regression model, the constant estimates the average effect (main effect) of career type when stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism variables equal zero (Judd et al., 2001).

Table 14

Zero-Order Correlations Among Attitudinal and Expected Hireability Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Stigma Consciousness	--					
2. Benevolent Sexism	-.109	--				
3. Competence: Overall	-.020	-.037	--			
4. Competence: Stereotypical Feminine Career	-.003	.002	.882**	--		
5. Competence: Stereotypical Masculine Career	-.025	-.063	.939**	.675**	--	
6. Competence: Difference Score (Feminine - Masculine)	.030	.083	-.155	.323**	-.479**	--

Note. This table presents zero-order correlations using listwise deletion (N = 155; all female; 154 cis women, 1 trans woman).
**Effects are significant at $p < .01$.
*Effects are significant at $p < .05$.

Table 15

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Expected Hireability in a Job From Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism

	Hireability					
Variable	*b* (SE)	*b**	t(152)	*p*	sr^2	VIF
Stigma Consciousness	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.02	-0.30	.77	.001	1.01
Benevolent Sexism	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.04	-0.49	.63	.002	1.01

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Fit for model: $R^2 = .002$, Adjusted $R^2 = -.01$, $F(2, 152) = 0.15$, $p = .86$.

Table 16

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Expected Hireability from Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism by Career Type

	Career Type									
	Stereotypical Feminine[a]					Stereotypical Masculine[a]				
Variable	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*(152)	*p*	sr^2	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*(152)	*p*	sr^2
Stigma Consciousness	<.01 (0.05)	<.01	-.03	.77	<.01	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.03	-0.40	.69	.001
Benevolent Sexism	<.01 (0.06)	<.01	0.02	.98	.03	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.07	-0.81	.42	.004

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Stereotypical feminine career model fit: $R^2 = < .001$, Adjusted $R^2 = -.01$, $F(2, 152) = .001$, $p = .29$. Stereotypical masculine career model fit: $R^2 = .01$, Adjusted $R^2 = -.01$, $F(2, 152) = 0.38$, $p = .69$. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman).

[a] VIFs for both predictors, stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism, were 1.01.

Table 17

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting a Difference in Hireability by Career Type From Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism

	Hireability					
Variable	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*	*p*	sr^2	VIF
Constant[a]	0.54 (0.05)		11.27	< .001		
Stigma Consciousness	0.02 (0.04)	0.04	0.48	.63	.002	1.01
Benevolent Sexism	0.05 (0.05)	0.09	1.07	.29	.01	1.01

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Fit for model: $R^2 = .01$, Adjusted $R^2 = -.01$, $F(2, 152) = 0.64$, $p = .53$

[a] In a difference score regression model, the constant estimates the average effect (main effect) of career type when stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism variables equal zero (Judd et al., 2001).

Table 18

Zero-Order Correlations Among Attitudinal and Expected Probability of Success Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Stigma Consciousness	--					
2. Benevolent Sexism	-.109	--				
3. Competence: Overall	-.153	.109	--			
4. Competence: Stereotypical Feminine Career	-.090	.133	.891**	--		
5. Competence: Stereotypical Masculine Career	-.183*	.059	.884**	.577**	--	
6. Competence: Difference Score (Feminine - Masculine)	.106	.077	-.025	.430**	-.489**	--

Note. This table presents zero-order correlations using listwise deletion (N = 155; all female; 154 cis women, 1 trans woman).
**Effects are significant at $p < .01$.
*Effects are significant at $p < .05$.

Table 19

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Probability of Success in a Job From Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism

	Probability of Success					
Variable	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*	*p*	sr^2	VIF
Stigma Consciousness	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.14	-1.78	.07	.02	1.01
Benevolent Sexism	0.05 (0.05)	0.09	1.16	.25	.01	1.01

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Fit for model: $R^2 = .03$, Adjusted $R^2 = .01$, $F(2, 152) = 2.51$, $p = .09$

Table 20

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Probability of Success from Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism by Career Type

	Career Type									
	Stereotypical Feminine[a]					Stereotypical Masculine[a]				
Variable	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*(152)	*p*	sr^2	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*(152)	*p*	sr^2
Stigma Consciousness	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.08	-0.95	.35	.01	-0.11 (0.05)	-0.18	-2.23	.03	.03
Benevolent Sexism	0.08 (0.05)	0.13	1.55	.12	.02	0.03 (0.05)	0.04	0.49	.63	.002

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Stereotypical feminine career model fit: $R^2 = .02$, Adjusted $R^2 = .01$, $F(2, 152) = 1.83$, $p = .29$. Stereotypical masculine career model fit: $R^2 = .04$, Adjusted $R^2 = .02$, $F(2, 152) = 2.76$, $p = .06$. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman).

[a] VIFs for both predictors, stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism, were 1.01.

Table 21

Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting a Difference in Probability of Success Scores by Career Type From Stigma Consciousness and Benevolent Sexism

	Probability of Success					
Variable	*b* (SE)	*b**	*t*	*p*	sr^2	VIF
Constant[a]	0.64 (0.05)		13.16	< .001		
Stigma Consciousness	0.06 (0.04)	0.12	1.44	.15	.01	1.01
Benevolent Sexism	0.05 (0.05)	0.09	1.12	.27	.001	1.01

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*), standard error (*SE*), standardized regression coefficients (*b**) estimates for each predictor variable. *t* and r^2 values are derived from multiple regression analyses performed on these data. All *t* values have degrees of freedom (152). sr^2 is the squared semipartial correlation for each predictor with the outcome (removing the other predictors) in the regression model. VIF is the variance inflation factor for each predictor. Sample size is 155 women (154 cis women, 1 trans woman). Fit for model: $R^2 = .02$, Adjusted $R^2 = .01$, $F(2, 152) = 1.50$, $p = .23$.

[a] In a difference score regression model, the constant estimates the average effect (main effect) of career type when stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism variables equal zero (Judd et al., 2001).

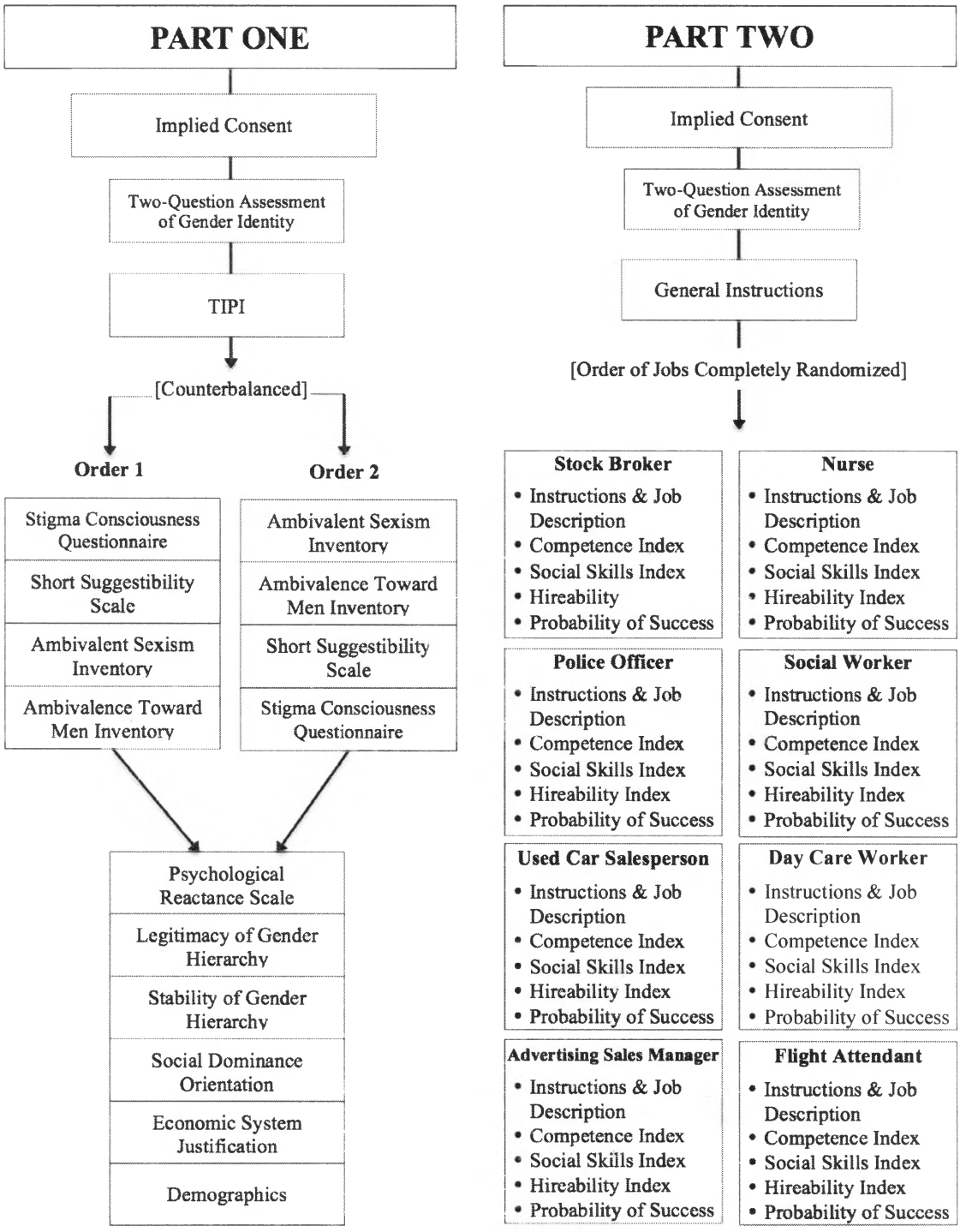

Figure 1. Flow of Participants Steps Through Each Stage of the Survey.

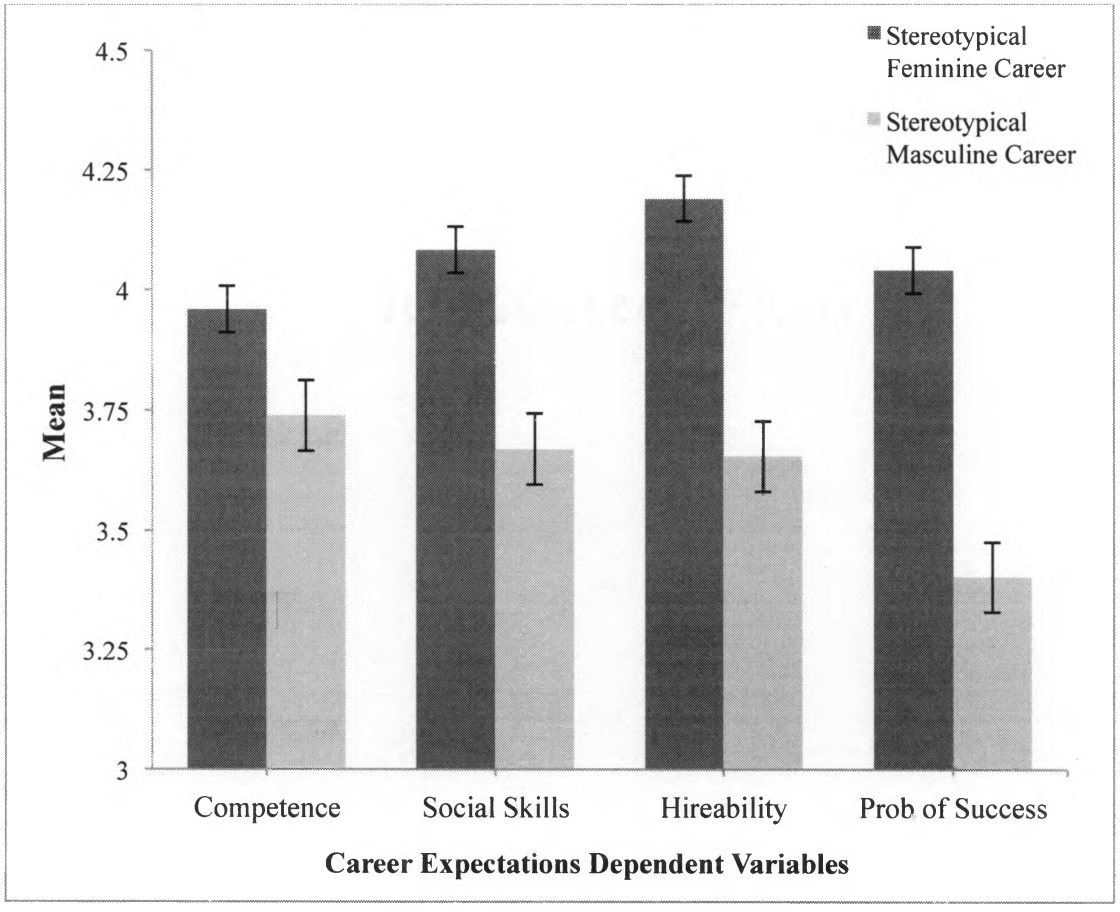

Figure 2. Mean score values representing each career expectation dependent variable by career type. Standard errors are represented in the figure by the errors bars attached to each column. There was a significant difference between in expected competence, social skills, hireability, and probability of success ($p < .001$).

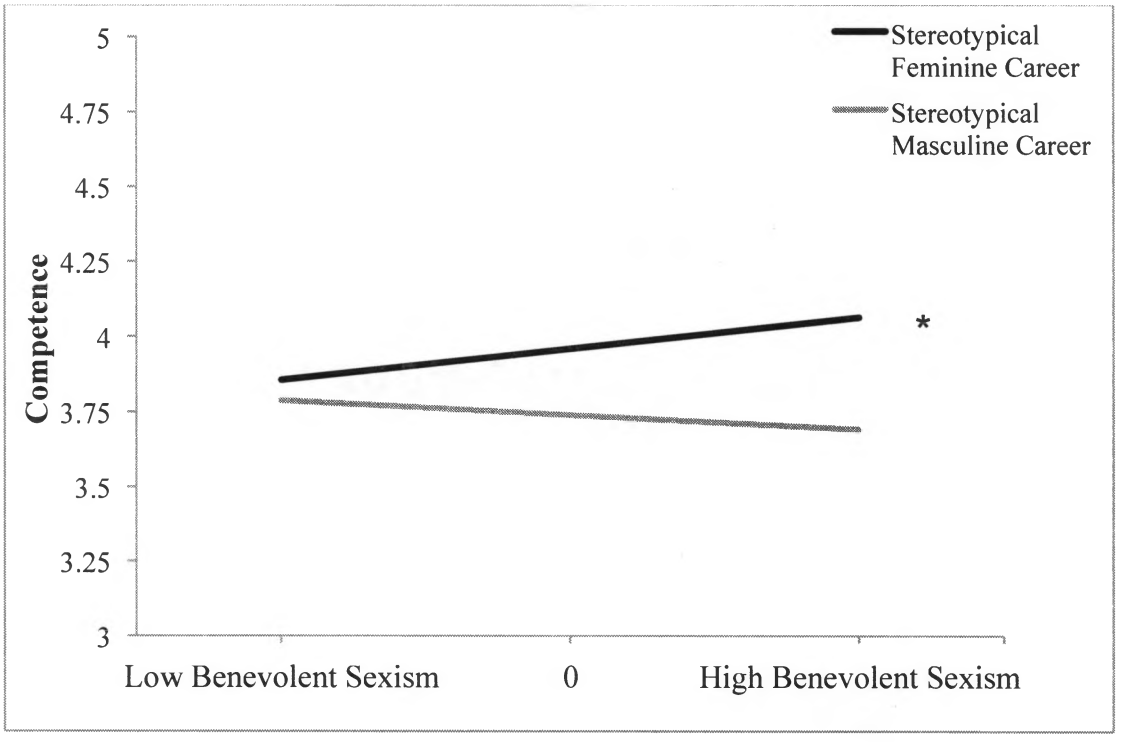

Figure 3. Relationship between benevolent sexism and expected competence moderated by career type. Graph of interaction between benevolent sexism and career type. The two lines represent the regression slopes for the relationship between benevolent sexism and expected competence scores for each level of career type. The slopes were anchored around the centered benevolent sexism mean (0) and one standard deviation above (1.018; high benevolent sexism) and below the mean (-1.018; low benevolent sexism). This figure demonstrates that benevolent sexism significantly predicted the difference between expected competence scores by career type, with increasing benevolent sexism being related to higher expected competence ratings in a stereotypical feminine career.

*Slope significant at $p < .001$

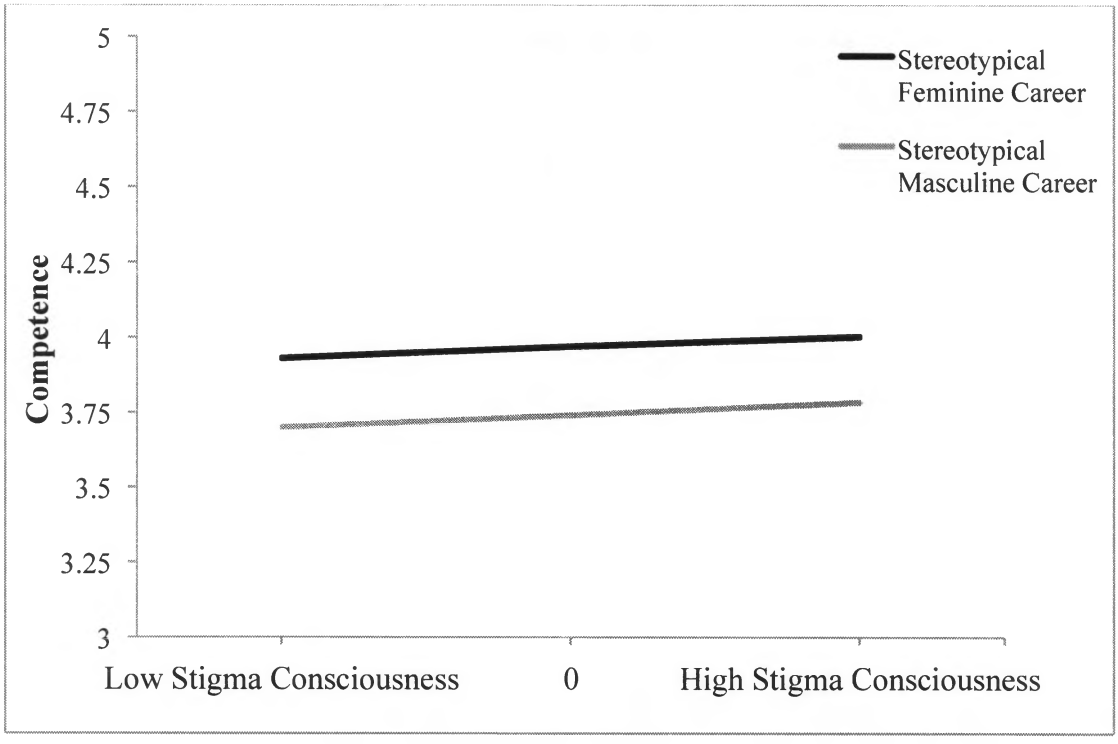

Figure 4. Relationship between stigma consciousness and expected competence moderated by career type. The two lines represent the regression slopes for the relationship between benevolent sexism and expected competence scores for each level of career type. The slopes were anchored around the centered stigma consciousness mean (0) and one standard deviation above (1.12; high stigma consciousness) and below the mean (-1.12; low stigma consciousness). This figure demonstrates that stigma consciousness did not significantly predict the difference between expected competence scores by career type.

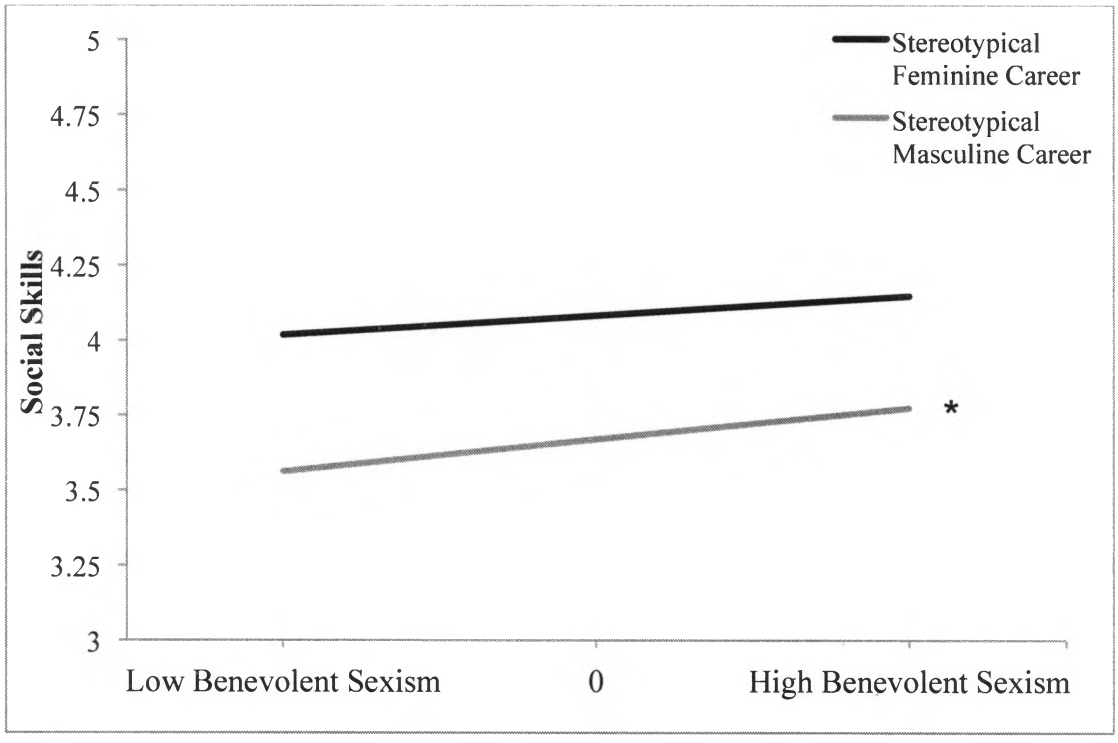

Figure 5. Relationship between benevolent sexism and expected social skills moderated by career type. The two lines represent the regression slopes for the relationship between benevolent sexism and expected competence scores for each level of career type. The slopes were anchored around the centered benevolent sexism mean (0) and one standard deviation above (1.018; high benevolent sexism) and below the mean (-1.018; low benevolent sexism). This figure demonstrates that benevolent sexism did not significantly predict the difference between expected social skills scores by career type.

*Slope significant at $p < .05$

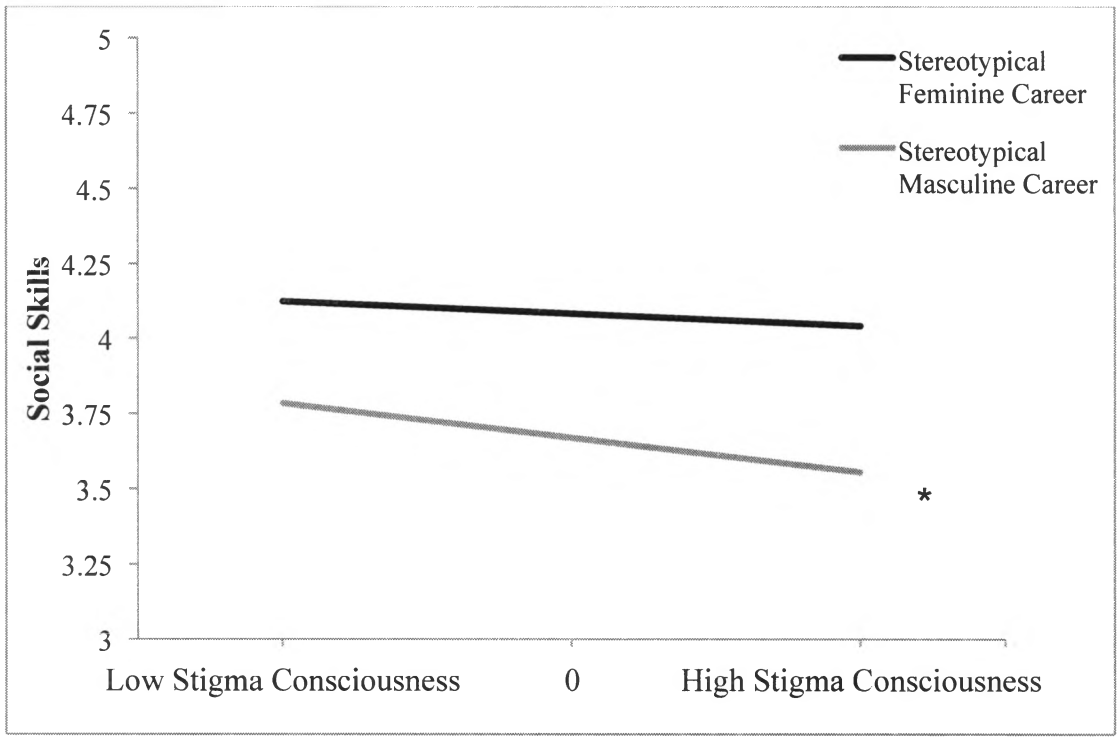

Figure 6. Relationship between stigma consciousness and expected social skills moderated by career type. The two lines represent the regression slopes for the relationship between benevolent sexism and expected competence scores for each level of career type. The slopes were anchored around the centered stigma consciousness mean (0) and one standard deviation above (1.12; high stigma consciousness) and below the mean (-1.12; low stigma consciousness). This figure demonstrates that stigma consciousness significantly predicts the difference between expected social skills scores by career type ($p = .04$, $r^2_{a(b.c)} = .028$), with increasing stigma consciousness being related to lower expected social skills ratings in a stereotypical masculine career.

*Slope significant at $p < .05$

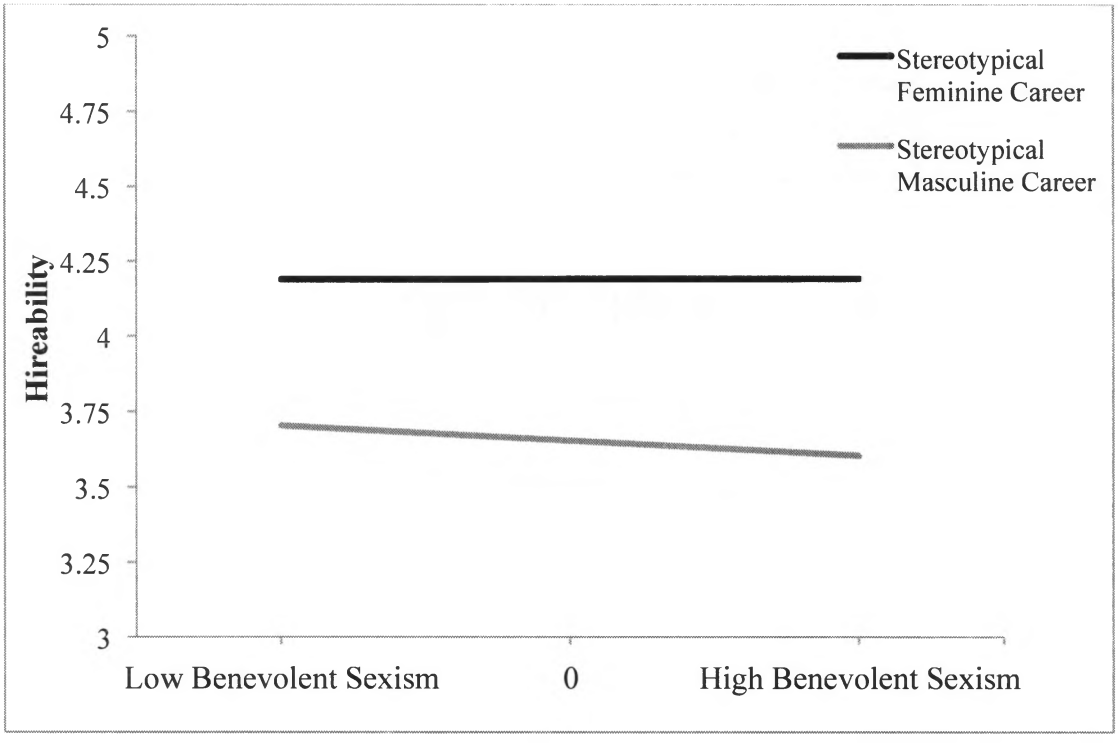

Figure 7. Relationship between benevolent sexism and hireability moderated by career type. The two lines represent the regression slopes for the relationship between benevolent sexism and hireability scores for each level of career type. The slopes were anchored around the centered benevolent sexism mean (0) and one standard deviation above (1.018; high benevolent sexism) and below the mean (-1.018; low benevolent sexism). This figure demonstrates that benevolent sexism did not significantly predict the difference between hireability scores by career type.

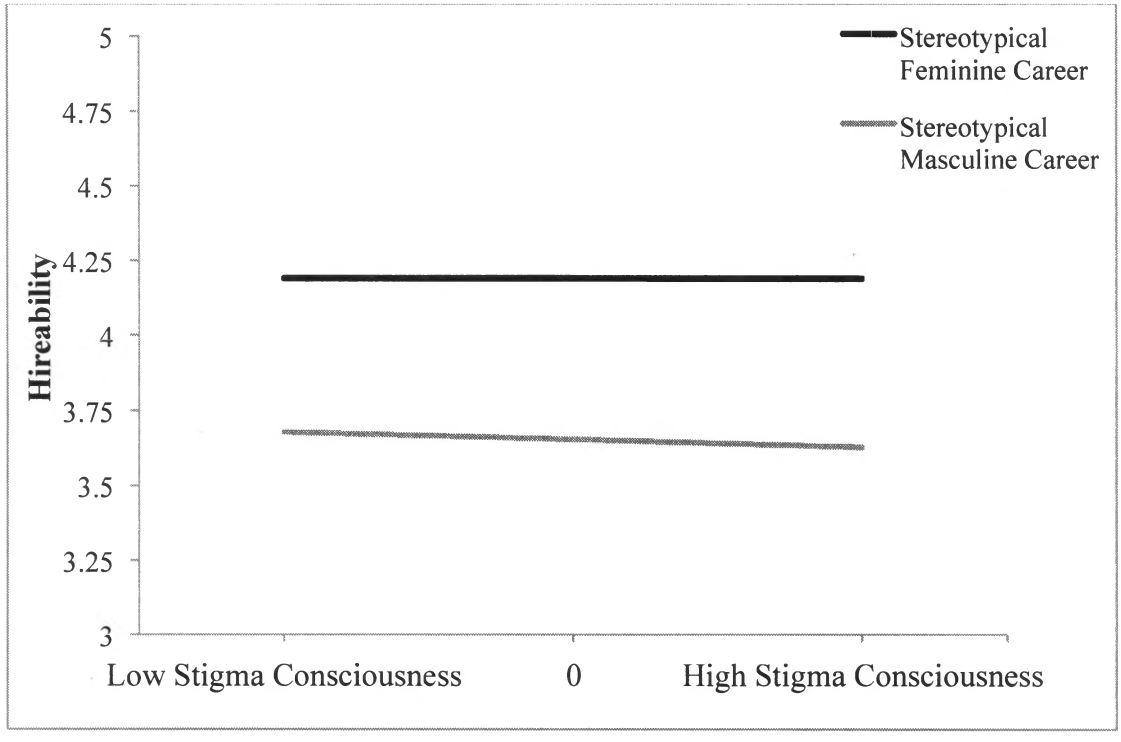

Figure 8. Relationship between stigma consciousness and hireability moderated by career type. The two lines represent the regression slopes for the relationship between benevolent sexism and hireability scores for each level of career type. The slopes were anchored around the centered stigma consciousness mean (0) and one standard deviation above (1.12; high stigma consciousness) and below the mean (-1.12; low stigma consciousness). This figure demonstrates that stigma consciousness did not significantly predict the difference between expected hireability scores by career type.

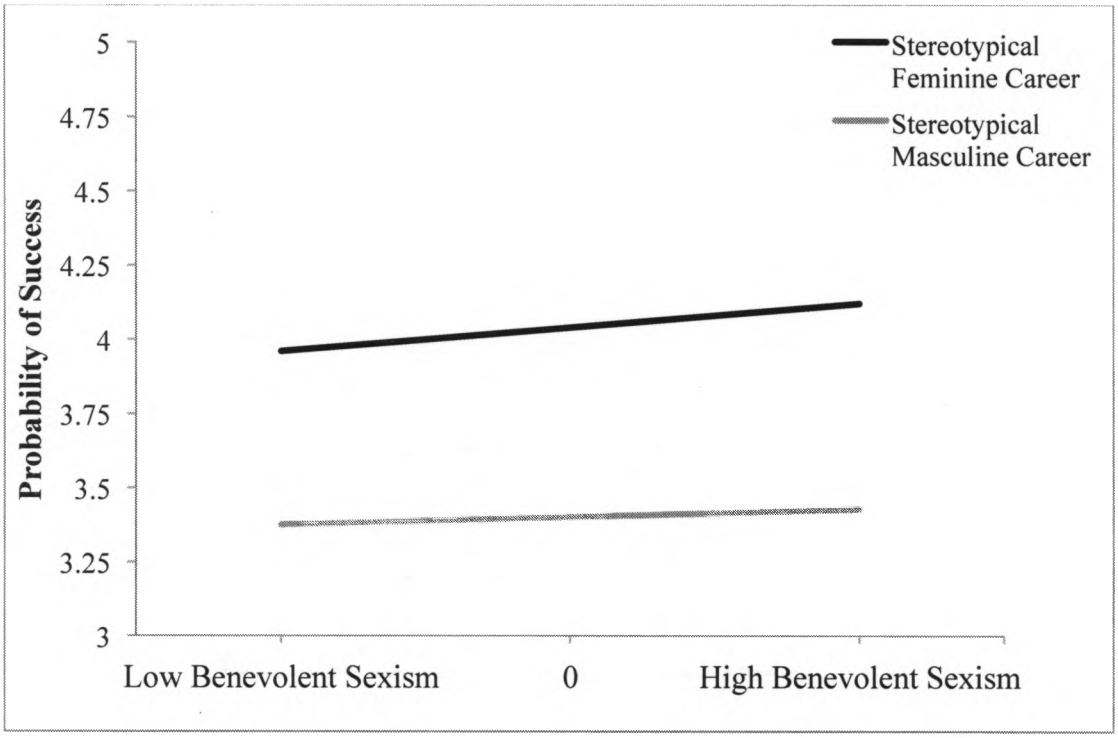

Figure 9. Relationship between benevolent sexism and probability of success moderated by career type. The two lines represent the regression slopes for the relationship between benevolent sexism and probability of success scores for each level of career type. The slopes were anchored around the centered benevolent sexism mean (0) and one standard deviation above (1.018; high benevolent sexism) and below the mean (-1.018; low benevolent sexism). This figure demonstrates that benevolent sexism did not significantly predict the difference between probability of success scores by career type.

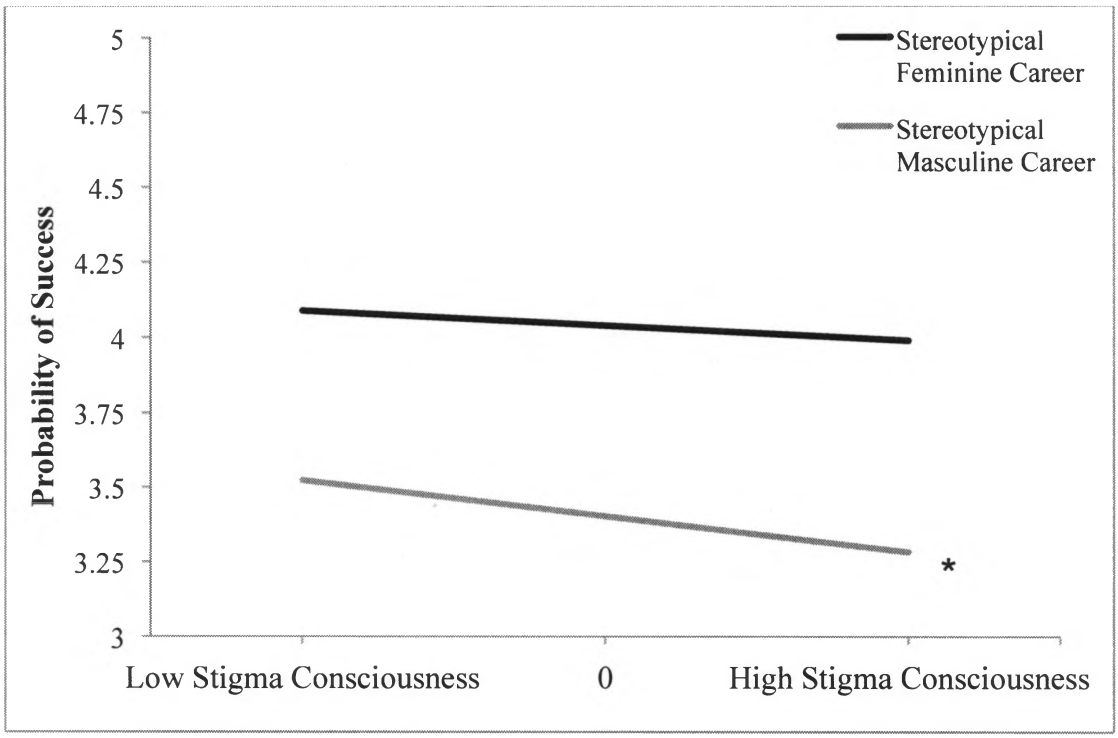

Figure 10. Relationship between stigma consciousness and probability of success moderated by career type. The two lines represent the regression slopes for the relationship between benevolent sexism and probability of success scores for each level of career type. The slopes were anchored around the centered stigma consciousness mean (0) and one standard deviation above (1.12; high stigma consciousness) and below the mean (-1.12; low stigma consciousness). This figure demonstrates that stigma consciousness did not significantly predict the difference between probability of success scores by career type.

*Slope significant at $p < .05$

Appendix A

Amazon Mechanical Turk Survey Part One Listing

This is an online survey conducted by a current graduate student in the psychology department at San Francisco State University. The purpose of this research study is to examine the association between attitudes and personality.

In order to participate in this survey, we ask that you are female and currently live in the United States.

Also, please do not take this survey more than once.

If you agree to participate in this research study, the following will occur:

- You will be asked to respond to a series of questions regarding your personality and attitudes.
- The total time commitment will be approximately 20-30 minutes.
- Upon successful completion of this study (Part 1), you will receive $0.40.
- In the next couple days, you will receive an email message from Amazon M-Turk that will invite you to participate in the Part 2 survey of this research study. You will receive compensation for completing the Part 1 survey even if you choose to not participate in the Part 2. If you complete the Part 2 survey, you will receive $0.60.
- If you successfully complete both surveys, you will receive a bonus payment of $0.15 in addition to the regular payment provided.

Select the link below to complete the survey. At the end of the survey, you will receive a code to paste into the box below to receive credit for taking our survey.

Make sure to leave this window open as you complete the survey. When you are finished, you will return to this page to paste the code into the box.

Appendix B

Message to Recruit Participants for Part Two

Thank you again for your participation in our Part 1 survey, "Personality and Attitudes".

Please now take the time to complete the Part 2 survey, "Opinions About Job Qualifications Survey".
url:
https://www.mturk.com/mturk/searchbar?selectedSearchType=hitgroups&searchWords=Opinions+About+Job+Qualifications+Survey&minReward=0.00&x=0&y=0

The Part 2 survey will take approximately 30 minutes to complete and you will receive $0.60. Moreover, if you successfully complete both Part 1 and Part 2 surveys, you will be awarded an additional bonus of $0.15.

(*Note: If the above link does not work, simply search for HITs containing “Opinions About Job Qualifications Survey”.)

Appendix C

Amazon Mechanical Turk Survey Part Two Listing

This is Part 2 of 2 online surveys conducted by a current graduate student in the psychology department at San Francisco State University. In order to participate in this survey, it is required that you have already completed already completed the Part 1 survey, titled, "Personality and Attitudes".

The purpose of this research survey is to examine your opinions and expectations about certain qualifications for various different jobs.

If you agree to participate in this research study, the following will occur:

- You will be asked to respond to a series of questions that ask your opinion about qualifications for various job positions
- The total time commitment will be approximately 30-40 minutes
- Upon successfully completing this study, you will receive $0.60
- If you have completed both this survey and also the part 1 survey, you will receive an additional bonus payment of $0.15. The bonus will be awarded in the next couple days.
-

Select the link below to complete the survey. At the end of the survey, you will receive a code to paste into the box below to receive credit for taking our survey.
Make sure to leave this window open as you complete the survey. When you are finished, you will return to this page to paste the code into the box.

Appendix D

Bonus Reward Message Sent to Participants that Completed Part One and Part Two

Hello,

Thank you again for your participation in both Part 1 survey (Personality and Attitudes) and the Part 2 survey (Opinions About Job Qualifications). Here is your $0.15 bonus. Have a great day!

Appendix E

Two-Question Assessment of Gender Identity.

1. What is your current gender identity?
    a. Female
    b. Male
    c. Transgender Female
    d. Transgender Male
    e. Genderqueer/Non-binary (click for more specific options)
    f. Intersex

2. What gender were you assigned at birth?
    a. Female
    b. Male
    c. Intersex

***Note: If Genderqueer/Non-binary is selected, more options will be displayed, see below:**

If there are any words or terms you use to describe your gender identity, please select them from the list below. If not, please select the "not Applicable" option at the end of the list.

- ▫ Woman
- ▫ Man
- ▫ Transgender
- ▫ Genderqueer
- ▫ Agender
- ▫ Aggressive
- ▫ Androgynist
- ▫ Bigender
- ▫ Butch
- ▫ Cross Dresser
- ▫ Drag King
- ▫ Drag Queen
- ▫ Differently Gendered
- ▫ Fluid Gender Identity
- ▫ FTM
- ▫ Gender Blender
- ▫ Intergender
- ▫ Intersex
- ▫ MTF
- ▫ Non-op Transsexual
- ▫ Omnigender
- ▫ Pre-op transsexual
- ▫ Post-op transsexual
- ▫ Post-gender
- ▫ Queer
- ▫ Stud
- ▫ Trans man
- ▫ Trans woman
- ▫ Two-spirited
- ▫ Other _____
- ▫ Not Applicable

Appendix F

List of Job Titles and Job Descriptions

Job Title	**Description**
Day Care Worker	Attend to children at schools, businesses, private households, and childcare institutions. Perform a variety of tasks, such as dressing, feeding, bathing, and overseeing play.
Flight attendant	Provide personal services to ensure the safety, security, and comfort of airline passengers during flight. Greet passengers, verify tickets, explain use of safety equipment, and serve food or beverages.
Nurse	Assess patient health problems and needs, develop and implement nursing care plans, and maintain medical records. Administer nursing care to ill, injured, convalescent, or disabled patients. May advise patients on health maintenance and disease prevention or provide case management.
Social worker	Provide social services and assistance to improve the social and psychological functioning of children and their families and to maximize the family well-being and the academic functioning of children. May assist parents, arrange adoptions, and find foster homes for abandoned or abused children. In schools, they address such problems as teenage pregnancy, misbehavior, and truancy. May also advise teachers.
Advertising sales manager	Plan, direct, or coordinate advertising policies and programs or produce collateral materials, such as posters, contests, coupons, or give-aways, to create extra interest in the purchase of a product or service for a department, an entire organization, or on an account basis.
Stock broker	Buy and sell securities in investment and trading firms and develop and implement financial plans for individuals, businesses, and organizations.
Police officer	Patrol assigned area to enforce laws and ordinances, regulate traffic, control crowds, prevent crime, and arrest violators.

Used car salesperson	Sell motor vehicles, appliances, or apparel to consumers.

Appendix G

Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (For Women)

Instructions: We are all members of different social groups or categories. We would like you to consider **your gender** in responding to the following statements. If you haven't experienced the situation described in a particular statement, please answer how you think you would feel if that situation occurred.

Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale from 1 to 7:

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

1. Stereotypes about women have not affected me personally. (R)
2. I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypically female. (R)
3. When interacting with men, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am a woman.
4. Most men do not judge women on the basis of their gender. (R)
5. My being female does not influence how men act with me. (R)
6. I almost never think about the fact that I am a member of my gender group when I interact with men. (R)
7. My being female does not influence how people act with me. (R)
8. Most men have a lot more sexist thoughts than they actually express.
9. I often think that men are unfairly accused of being sexist. (R)
10. Most people have a problem viewing women as equals.

Scoring: The SCQ is scored by simply averaging the score for all items after reverse scoring the items marked with " (R)".

Appendix H

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

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.

0	1	2	3	4	5
disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	disagree slightly	agree slightly	agree somewhat	agree strongly

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

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

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

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

5. Women are too easily offended. H

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

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

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

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

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. H

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

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

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. H

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.

Appendix I

Competence Index

Please respond to each question based on how qualified you think the average woman is for the job position of a ___*[job position]*__.

Please respond by using the following scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely).

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				extremely

1. How likely is it that the average woman will be competent at this job?
2. How likely is it that the average woman will be independent at this job?
3. How likely is it that the average woman will be confident in this job?
4. How likely is it that the average woman will be determined at this job?
5. How likely is it that the average woman will be computer-skilled at this job?
6. How likely is it that the average woman will be analytical at this job?
7. How likely is it that the average woman will be ambitious in this job?
8. How likely is it that the average woman will be competitive at this job?
9. How likely is it that the average woman will work well under pressure at this job?
10. How likely is it that the average woman will have sufficient technical skills to perform the job?

Appendix J

Social Skills Index

Please respond to each question in terms of how characteristic it is of the average woman that may apply to ***[job title]***.

Please respond by using the following scale from 1 to 5: 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely).

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				extremely

1. How likely is it that the average woman will be kind to her coworkers in this job?
2. How likely is it that the average woman will be supportive to her coworkers in this job?
3. How likely is it that the average woman will be warm to her coworkers in this job?
4. How likely is it that the average woman will be sincere to her coworkers in this job?
5. How likely is it that the average woman will be helpful to her coworkers in this job?
6. How likely is it that the average woman will be liked by her coworkers in this job?
7. How likely is it that the average woman will be friendly to her coworkers in this job?
8. How likely is it that the average woman will be popular among her coworkers in this job?
9. How likely is it that the average woman will be a good listener to her coworkers in this job?
10. How likely is it that the average woman will be sensitive to the needs of others her coworkers in this job?

Appendix K

Hireability Index

Please respond to the following questions about the average woman that may apply to ***____[job title]____***.

Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the following scale from 1 (disagree) to 5 (agree).

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				extremely

1. I would choose to interview the average woman for the job.
2. I would hire the average woman for the job.
3. The average woman would likely be hired for the job.

Appendix L

Probability of Success Index

Please respond to the following questions about the average woman is **hired** for the job position of a ____ ***[job title]*** ____.

Please respond by using the following scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely).

1	2	3	4	5
disagree				agree

4. How likely is it that the average woman will be successful?
5. How likely is it that the average woman will be promoted?
6. How likely is it that the average woman will be accepted by co-workers?
7. How likely is it that the average woman will be satisfied with position?

Appendix M

Data Analyses Procedure for Within-Subjects Moderation

Data analyses procedures in the current study employed guidelines provided by Judd, Kenny, and McClelland (2001) for testing moderation using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression for fully within-subject designs. These procedures were used because the career expectations outcome variables were fully repeated, with each participant providing responses for both stereotypical feminine and stereotypical masculine careers, and because I was interested in testing moderation of these outcomes by career type and the ingroup-directed attitudinal continuous predictors (i.e., stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism). I followed the three-step procedure, as described below, four separate times for each of the four dependent variable measures: (a) expected competence in the job, (b) expected social skills in the job, (c) expectations of hireability, and (d) expected probability of success in the job. However, I use "expected competence" as an example in the following explanation of the data analyses steps.

The Judd et al. (2001) procedures were applied to my analysis in the following ways:

STEP 1: I used a dependent samples *t*-test to calculate the main effect of the categorical nominal predictor (career type) on expected competence.

STEP 2: I separately regressed each level of the within-subjects variable, career type, on to the continuous predictor variables (i.e., stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism). This provided the slopes for both levels of career type (expected competence in a

stereotypical feminine career and expected competence in a stereotypical masculine career) in relation to stigma consciousness and benevolent sexism. The regression models used for this step were:

Regression model 1:
Outcome = Expected competence score in stereotypical feminine career
Predictors = Centered stigma consciousness and centered benevolent sexism

Regression model 2:
Outcome = Expected competence score in stereotypical masculine career
Predictors = Centered stigma consciousness and centered benevolent sexism

STEP 3: I tested the moderating role of career type, by regressing the difference score between the two levels of career type (stereotypical feminine – stereotypical masculine) onto the centered predictor variables[1] of benevolent sexism and stigma consciousness. This tested whether benevolent sexism or stigma consciousness could predict the magnitude of difference between expectations for a stereotypical feminine career and a stereotypical masculine career. The regression model used for this step was:

Regression model 3:

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[1] It is important to center the continuous predictor variables so that they have a meaningful zero value because the intercept in the difference score model estimates the average effect (main effect) of the within-subject variable when the predictor variables equal zero (Judd et al., 2001). The average within-subject variable effect as indicated by the intercept should be equivalent to the estimated within-subject variable effect assessed independently of moderation (e.g., tested using a repeated measures test or dependent sample *t*-test).

Outcome = Difference Score (Expected competence score in stereotypical feminine career - expected competence score in stereotypical feminine career)
Predictors = Centered stigma consciousness and centered benevolent sexism

It is necessary plot the simple slopes for each level of the within-subjects variable to be able to interpret, discuss, and display an interaction (Judd, Yzerbyt, & Muller, 2014; Judd et al., 2001). Importantly, the simple slopes must be calculated separately for the two continuous predictor variables, benevolent sexism and stigma consciousness. First, I will explain the basic components of the linear regression equation that can be used to graph the simple slopes. The following equation can be used to plot the linear regression slopes for each level of career type:

$$Y = bX + a$$

In this equation the *b* value is the slope or the unstandardized regression coefficient, the *a* is the Y-intercept or the mean value of the outcome variable, and X and Y are specific values on the X and Y axes.

In the following example, I describe how I plotted the interaction between benevolent sexism and career type on expected competence. This equation was used to graph the regression line for the stereotypical masculine simple slope in relation to benevolent sexism:

$$Y = (-0.048)X + 3.739$$

Thus, -0.048 is the unstandardized beta regression coefficient, which is derived during the second step from the regression model 2. The intercept value, 3.739, is the mean expected competence scores for a stereotypical masculine career. Three specific values on the X axes were used to determine the points for which to plot the regression line: (a) the centered mean value, zero, (b) one standard deviation above the mean (1.018), and (c) one standard deviation below the mean (-1.018). The calculations were as followed:

$$Y = (-0.048)(-1.018) + 3.739$$
$$Y = 3.879$$
Values at one standard deviation below the mean = (-1.018, 3.879)

$$Y = (-0.048)(0) + 3.739$$
$$Y = 3.739$$
Values at the centered mean value (0) = (0, 3.739)

$$Y = (-0.048)(-1.018) + 3.739$$
$$Y = 3.6901$$
Values at one standard deviation below the mean = (1.018, 3.6901)

The three above pairs of X and Y values were used to plot the simple slope regression line for the stereotypical masculine simple slope in relation to benevolent sexism. The same procedures were used in order to graph the regression line for the stereotypical feminine simple slope in relation to benevolent sexism. The linear regression equation for the stereotypical feminine career slope was:

$$Y = (.102)X + 3.959$$

And the following calculations were:

$Y = (.102)(1.018) + 3.959$
$Y = 3.8551$
Values at one standard deviation below the mean = (-1.018, 3.8551)

$Y = (.102)(0) + 3.959$
$Y = 3.959$
Values at the centered mean value (0) = (0, 3.959)

$Y = (.102)(1.018) + 3.959$
$Y = 4.0629$
Values at one standard deviation below the mean = (1.018, 4.0629)