

Sexism and Women: The Implications of Female Gender Resentment

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**SEXISM AND WOMEN: THE IMPLICATIONS OF FEMALE GENDER
RESENTMENT**

by

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B.A. University of Central Florida, 2013

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

Do women suffer from a societal Stockholm Syndrome which leads them to display high levels of modern and traditional sexist behavior? Does a woman's level of modern or traditional sexist behavior influence her political choices? Female gender resentment and sexist biases are an understudied area of the extant literature on sexism. Typically the focus is placed on men's sexist attitudes and treatment of women, but is it possible that women also contribute to the subordination of their gender through sexist practices? These are questions which this thesis attempts to answer. The findings indicate that working women under the age of 39 are more likely to display modern sexist behavior and that female homemakers under the age of 39 display high levels of traditionally sexist behavior. These attitudes carry over into the political decision making processes and have a negative impact on whether a woman would be likely to support a female presidential candidate.

This thesis is dedicated first and foremost to my husband for without him I would not have made it this far in my academic endeavors. You are my rock, my heart, and my soul and I love you very much. Thank you for all you have done to make this journey possible. For my mother who has always supported me and been there for me. I also dedicate this thesis to my three beautiful daughters; Anya, Leah, and Isabella. Each of you have made me so proud and thankful; my accomplishments are also yours. This thesis is the culmination of hard work and dedication and the example I have tried to set for you. Always dream big and go after what you want.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANES	American National Election Studies
DPM	Dual Process Cognitive Motivational Model
Max.	Maximum
Min.	Minimum
Obs.	Observations
RWA	Right Wing Authoritarianism
S.D.	Standard Deviation
SDO	Social Dominance Orientation

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Sexism towards women is an ongoing problem which has yet to be resolved. Throughout the past sexism has evolved from the traditional type which is blatant, overt, and often hostile in nature to a more tacit, subtle, and seemingly benign type of sexism which has been termed Modern Sexism. Traditional sexism is blatant and characterized by the idea that women are inferior to their male counterparts and that their place is in the home and not in the workforce (Barretto and Ellemers 2005; Becker and Swim 2012; Sarrasin, Gabriel, and Gygax 2012). This type of sexism was a bastion for patriarchal cultural norms and male centric values. As women entered into the workforce, they faced this type of sexist prejudice and could easily recognize sexist attitudes (Barretto and Ellemers 2005). Over time traditional sexism has become politically incorrect and unacceptable in mainstream society (Morrison et al. 1999). However, with the decline of traditional sexism came the advent of a new type of sexism, modern sexism. Modern sexism is tacit in nature and tends to be expressed in covert ways that do not elicit the same type of defensive responses as traditional sexism. Modern sexism is characterized by the denial of ongoing gender discrimination, antipathy towards women's demands, and resentment of special preferences or favors towards women (Barretto and Ellemers 2005; Morrison et al. 1999; Swim et al. 1995). Modern sexism, sometimes referred to as benevolent sexism¹, is also characterized by its ability to highlight the unique and positive traits of the female gender such as femininity, nurturing qualities, and delicacy. For individuals who exhibit modern sexist behavior, the tendency is to place women in equal yet fundamentally different roles, acknowledging that

¹ Modern sexism and benevolent sexism are often used interchangeably in the literature, for the purposes of this thesis the term modern sexism will be used.

being a nurturing wife and mother is as important as the male's job of provider. By placing women on a pedestal, being chivalrous, and acknowledging that traditional female roles are not subordinate just different, many people are unable to recognize this behavior as sexist. This tacit sexism seems to offer benefits to both men and women at a personal level but propagates gender inequality at the structural level (Connelly and Heesacker 2012).

It has been argued that the distinction between traditional and modern sexism parallels the distinction between traditional and modern racism (Swim et al. 1995). Whereas traditional racism is based on beliefs in white supremacy, black inferiority, and racial segregation, modern racism is based on the idea that African Americans lack self-sufficiency, self-restraint, and responsibility, as well as "making illegitimate demands for greater economic and political power" (Morrison et al. 1999, 40). Studies have shown that confirmation bias and selective encoding which are part of the memory and perception processes in the brain are where stereotypes about both women and African Americans are formed and maintained (Swim et al. 1995). Sibley, Wilson and Duckitt (2007) argue that there are key differences between sexism and racism which stem from the mutual interdependence between men and women. The relationship between men and women is dyadic in nature whereas racial and ethnic hostility is not dyadic or interdependent. This dyadic relationship not only influences the sexist behavior of men towards women but it can also influence the sexist behavior of women towards other women. The level of traditional or modern sexism which a woman expresses towards other women is closely tied to this relationship as well as to whether a woman more closely identifies to other women or to men and a male dominated society (Sibley, Wilson, and Duckitt 2007). The idea that women may be equally or more sexist towards their own gender is both intriguing and

troubling. Currently, women have made enormous strides toward equality but they do seem to have hit a barrier which has prevented them from achieving full equality. In the last decade the United States was able to make an historical leap towards progress with the election of an African American President, yet women are vastly underrepresented in our government as well as in the highest paid positions in the business sector. With the United States population composed of a female majority (Census Bureau 2012) one would think that women would be on more of an equal playing field with men. With women outnumbering men in the populace then why do they still lag behind men in salary and in obtaining positions of authority? The answer could be that women are as responsible if not more so than men for holding back other women from achieving equality.

The purpose of this thesis is to identify the possible theoretical foundations for women's modern sexist behavior and resentment of members of their own gender and to show how this resentful behavior contributes to the continued repression of women and ongoing gender inequality in the United States. Several key theories will be addressed in the following chapter in order to clarify and solidify women's complicity in female gender discrimination and the ongoing subjugation of women. This thesis will address the possibility that women experience a social Stockholm Syndrome which causes them to identify with a male dominated society and their male "captors" and actively participate in the perpetuation of gender inequality and stereotypes which contribute to the subjugation of women. This thesis will also strive to answer several key research questions such as how widespread are beliefs in modern and traditional sexism, do women and men view these societal problems differently, and what are the political implications of heightened female resentment towards their own gender? It is important to study

sexism from the perspective that women can also be sexist towards other women, as this is a woefully underdeveloped area of the extant literature.

The chapters will proceed by first addressing the theory and arguments of this thesis. This will be followed by the literature review chapter will be thoroughly discuss the extant literature on modern and traditional sexism. The fourth chapter will be dedicated to the methodology for the thesis. This will then be followed by the analysis of the modern and traditional sexism scales. Chapter six will look at the political implications of modern sexism and female resentment. The last chapter will offer discussion of the results and the concluding remarks of this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: THE THEORY AND THE ARGUMENT

Sexism is nothing new. Men tend to endorse sexist attitudes because there are certain benefits of belonging to a privileged group and because sexism helps to protect their status within society (Becker 2010). The question one truly needs to answer is why might women promote sexist attitudes towards other women? Previous explanations of sexism have primarily focused more on men's endorsement of sexism than on women's. Men's endorsement of sexism is readily explained using the Dual-Process Cognitive Motivational Model (DPM). Using this model Perry and Sibley (2012) studied Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) and Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) to determine which personality traits lead men to exhibit either modern or traditional sexist tendencies. They posit that people with low levels of agreeableness pursue self-indulgent and self-centered goals, see the world as competitive, and value power and that those people lean towards personality traits associated with SDO. On the other hand, people who have low levels of openness, fall under the personality type of RWA. These people tend to see the world through the lens of clear, clear-cut moral precepts and feel the world should operate in a specific manner; which is "sensitive to threats against social stability, leading them to seek group based cohesion" (Perry and Sibley 2012, 4). The findings of their study indicate that these personality traits are more strongly associated with sexist behavior in men than in women, with SDO leading men to exhibit traditional sexist behavior and RWA leading men to promote modern sexist views (Perry and Sibley 2012). However, their results were inconclusive for women, leading to a necessity for further research as to why women exhibit sexist behavior towards other women.

Earlier work by Sibley, Wilson, and Duckitt (2007) also looked at RWA and SDO and the effects of these personality traits on traditional and modern sexism. For men, RWA is a threat driven motivation to establish and maintain social and group security in the form of social order, control, and stability in order to preserve traditional values. This type of motivation focused more on maintaining in-group norms than on the subjugation of out-groups. For the authors, this type of motivation resulted in increased levels of modern sexism because men who have high levels of RWA do not wish to subjugate women. Instead these men wish to maintain traditional values through the idea that women hold complementary positions to men. While men's roles may be different, they are not openly admitting that women are lesser than they are; instead women have different yet equal roles. SDO on the other hand, is all about the dominance of outgroups and is associated with traditional sexism. Men high in SDO are overly sensitive and competitive in gender relations and this over sensitivity and competitiveness comes across as traditional sexism. The results of their study however were also inconclusive as to the effects of RWA and SDO on women. They found that RWA was strongly correlated with both modern and traditional sexism in women and that SDO was weakly correlated with both in women (Sibley, Wilson, and Duckitt 2007).

A better explanation for women's resentment towards their own gender starts by building upon the theory of Stockholm Syndrome. The function of Stockholm Syndrome is to "protect oneself from hurt and disorganization...the hostage wants to survive and the healthy ego is seeking a means to achieve survival" (Jameson 2010, 347). Stockholm Syndrome is a psychological explanation for the development of a bond between a hostage taker and a hostage. This relationship forms as a survival mechanism and results in a warped and unhealthy

relationship between the two. In a typical situation the hostage develops a way to identify with and mimic the behavior of the captor facilitating the survival of the hostage. According to Jameson (2010), age can be a factor and evidence points to the idea that younger women are more susceptible to this phenomenon. Jameson (2010) also points to the possibility of a societal Stockholm Syndrome, as an explanation for women's continued love for and desire for relationships with men who oppress or abuse them. She posits that the current system is patriarchal and allows men to continue to use force against women to keep them subservient. This type of Societal Stockholm Syndrome may help to explain why women adopt sexist attitudes and gender resentment towards other women. When women find themselves entering the workforce and trying to fit in, in a typically male dominated environment, they may develop resentment towards other women as a coping mechanism so that they can not only survive but can also gain advancement. Watkins et al. (2006) looked at the effects of modern sexist beliefs on both men and women's careers. They found that having modern sexist beliefs and attitudes was related to beneficial outcomes in the workplace. The development of the right type of social relationships at work was associated with positive career outcomes such as promotion, earnings increases, and career advancement (Watkins et al. 2006). Women who exhibit modern sexist beliefs and attitudes may be doing so unconsciously in order to cope and survive and make advancements in their careers. In the work place, modern sexists rely on male coworkers for advice and look to them to forge relationships which will help with career advancement. Modern sexists also perceive men to be more competent. This reliance on male coworkers was positively related to modern sexist beliefs and showed that women who exhibited these behaviors benefited from being sexist. In fact women who endorsed modern sexist attitudes and beliefs were more

likely to gain promotions which suggests that their successes lead to prolonged gender based inequality and hierarchy. These same women who promote modern sexist attitudes in order to gain acceptance in a male dominated workforce and gain career advancements are the least likely to facilitate the advancement of other female coworkers. This subsequently leads to the promotion of women who support a status quo of gender based hierarchy which perpetuates the cycle of sexism and gender inequality. This can give other women the false belief that the women who were promoted gained career advancement based solely on ability when it may actually be attributed to these women's identification with their male coworkers' ideological positions and with their complicity in preserving a patriarchal status quo (Watkins et al. 2006). It has been argued by some that modern sexism can also act as a disarming mechanism to lower women's resistance to the idea of men's higher status and power by promising that a man's power will be used to the woman's advantage (Sibley, Overall, and Duckitt 2007). This idea helps to advance the theory that women in the workplace will both exhibit and condone modern sexist behavior as a strategy to survive and gain advancement. The idea that aligning one's views with that of the male gender will form a bond which will allow women to not only survive but to also gain advancement, is very similar to the basic premise of Stockholm Syndrome where a hostage sides with their captor in the hopes of gaining some benefit, typically survival. Working women will typically exhibit modern sexist attitudes towards themselves, women similar to themselves (i.e. other working women), or women who take on traditional feminine roles such as mother and homemaker. The reasons for this are that women who work will not exhibit traditional sexist behaviors towards women who are similar to themselves or who they do not see as a threat. Also because modern sexism idealizes women who conform to feminine norms and is

often not seen as offensive it is easier to justify men's exhibition of these behaviors as well as their own adaptation and use of modern sexist attitudes.

Working women are not the only group of females that may be subject to the effects of Stockholm Syndrome. Homemakers should experience effects similar to those experienced by hostages but these effects should be different than those experienced by working women. A homemaker's life experiences will be considerably different from those of a working woman who is trying to survive in the workforce. Homemakers and women in traditional female gender roles will modify their behavior to mimic that of their husband or a strong patriarchal influence. As suggested earlier, sexism is different from racism due to the dyadic nature of the male/ female relationship. There is an intimate sexual connection between men and women and, for homemakers, this connection should be even stronger. In the dynamic where a woman is a homemaker and is reliant on her husband for basic life necessities, the role of the woman should take on a protective nature toward her husband and her lifestyle.

Women who take on more traditional female gender roles should exhibit higher levels of traditional sexism towards women who they deem to be a challenge to male power (Sibley, Overall, Duckitt 2007). Becker (2010) argues that there are three different subtypes of women: traditional women (housewives), non-traditional women (feminists and career women), and the sexual subtype (fem-fatales). Traditional types of women, such as homemakers, will view feminists and career driven women in a hostile way and will exhibit higher levels of traditional sexist attitudes. There are several reasons for this. First, one must note that women who exhibit traditional sexism may not be sexist in general but instead reserve their traditional sexist attitudes for women who they deem to be part of an out group. These women in the out group are seen as

having norm deviant behavior. Second, women with traditional values may see these norm-deviant women as a threat to both traditional societal norms and to the prosperity of their husbands, thereby seeking to punish these women for succeeding in traditional, male gender roles (Becker 2010). This idea that women are openly hostile towards other women who they deem to be in the outgroup only makes sense when looking at the pathology of sexism through the lens of a type of societal Stockholm Syndrome. If a woman's husband endorses traditional sexism and takes the stance that women belong in the home and need a man to survive, then the homemaker will adopt this ideology as a coping mechanism to survive with a dominant and traditional spouse. However, I also argue that these women may exhibit high levels of modern sexism as well, but that their modern sexist attitudes will be directed towards women who they deem to be in their in-group, such as other wives and homemakers. They would exhibit high levels of modern sexism towards these women because they still wish to promote the ideology of traditional male and female gender roles, but there would be no reason to be openly hostile towards these women because they are not deemed to be a norm-deviant woman or a threat to traditional norms and values. This pattern was seen in Sibley, Overall, and Duckitt (2007) when they found that women high in Right Wing Authoritarianism exhibited both traditional and modern sexist attitudes, which was different than the results for the males in the study. Let us recall that males high in RWA exhibited high levels of modern sexism only. They found evidence which supports the idea that women high in RWA are hostile towards other women who they deem to be a challenge to patriarchal norms and that RWA magnifies the effect of modern sexism towards women who are not deemed as a threat (Sibley, Overall, Duckitt 2007).

Having offered a compelling theoretical argument for women's expression of both modern and traditional sexism, this thesis will now turn to the differences between modern and traditional sexism. Although it may seem as though women from all walks of life are sexist and determined to promote continued gender inequality, female resentment, and subjugation of women, this is not the case. While there is a large subset of women who exhibit both traditional and modern sexist behavior there is also an equally large number of women who deviate from the "norm" and seek to ensure gender equality. These women will have average to below average levels of modern and traditional sexism. Those women will exist in both the working world and the world of the traditional homemaker. It is an important part of this thesis to understand that it should be those women who seek to change that status quo.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

Modern and Traditional Sexism

There are two types of sexism, modern sexism and traditional sexism also referred to as hostile sexism². Traditional sexism is generally recognized as an open antipathy towards women who challenge male power (Sibley, Overall, Duckitt 2007). Traditional sexism is also characterized by the endorsement of traditional gender roles coupled with the idea that a woman's role is subordinate to that of a man (Becker and Swim 2012). Ideas such as: women should be wives, mothers, and homemakers, and that they do not belong in the workplace are good examples of traditional sexist attitudes. The nature of traditional sexism has caused it to become less prevalent due to normative societal influences (Sarrasin, Gabriel, and Gygax 2012). Traditional sexism started to decline in the United States during the latter part of the twentieth century (Cortina et al. 2013). Understandably though, there are still many people of both genders who exhibit bigoted sexist attitudes towards women.

With the decline of traditional sexism came the advent of an interesting phenomenon, modern sexism. Modern sexism is much more innocuous than traditional sexism. It is characterized by the use of benevolent sexists beliefs, gendered language, the dismissal of ongoing and continued gender inequality, the idea that further demands for equality are unwarranted, and an overall lack of support for public policies designed to help women achieve an equal status (Becker and Swim 2012; Becker and Swim 2011; Cameron 2001; Cortina et al. 2013; Johnson 2007; Morrison et al. 1999; Sarrasin, Gabriel, and Gygax 2012; Swim et al. 1995;

² In the literature traditional sexism is often referred to as hostile sexism. For the purposes of this thesis the terminology used will be traditional sexism.

Swim, Mallet, and Stangor 2004). It is also characterized through the endorsement of complementary yet different gender roles, paternalism, heterosexual intimacy, and painting women as wonderful but weak through the use of protective and affection-based actions and attitudes (Becker and Swim 2012).

Harmful Effects of Modern Sexism

Recent research asserts that modern sexism has numerous harmful effects on women. Modern sexism is based on the idea that discrimination based on gender is an outdated notion (Becker and Swim 2012). This causes people to overlook modern sexist characteristics in their everyday interactions. The lack of perception for modern sexism's characteristics, "leads to a maintaining of the status quo and the blaming of women rather than sexism for inequality" (Becker and Swim 2012, 128). When people accept the idea that equality has been achieved this leads to a lack of support for further equal rights policies (Becker and Swim 2012). Lack of perception for modern sexism also leads to a belief that it is not harmful or not as harmful as traditional sexism, in turn yielding a larger contingent of people who do not disapprove of modern sexist traits. (Becker and Swim 2012).

Many modern sexists hide their sexist nature behind their avid endorsement of "egalitarianism and justice" leading to a false façade that they are non-prejudiced or even supportive of equal rights agendas (Cortina et al. 2013, 1582). Modern sexists typically have a very amenable outlook towards women, characterized by an almost chivalrous attitude which they do not see as sexist and belittling or as an indication that women are their lesser. This "benign" behavior is standard practice for the modern sexist, however this behavior does not

necessarily translate into respect for women on an equal level and can lull women into a false sense of gender equality (Sarrasin, Gabriel, and Gygax 2012; Becker and Swim 2011). The use of these legitimizing tactics has led to women being more accepting of discriminatory acts because they are hidden behind an air of chivalry and affection (Becker and Swim 2011).

Another harmful effect of modern sexism also stems from its less obvious nature. “One result of discounting individual incidents of discrimination is that the aggregate amount of sexism in people’s everyday lives is not likely to be noticed” (Becker and Swim 2011, 228). This idea led Becker and Swim (2011) to suggest that “the cumulative impact of discounting can result in the denial of discrimination and resistance toward efforts to reduce sexism” (228). Modern sexism juxtaposed against traditional sexism has allowed a larger number of women to become complacent and unoffended by today’s societal systems and has caused a decline in women’s participation in activities meant to counteract gender discrimination and diminishes the “cognitive performance” of women (Becker and Swim 2011, 228).

Modern sexism is not readily recognized as a form of sexist prejudice by women and men (Barretto and Ellemers 2005; Becker and Swim 2011). “The seemingly positive and flattering qualities, embedded within normative and therefore unnoticed or unacknowledged unequal gender relations, hides the harm modern sexism can promote and encourages its endorsement”(Becker and Swim 2011, 228).

Since both men and women have a hard time recognizing modern sexism, it is highly possible that both sexes not only lack a clear perception of its existence, but both sexes may equally practice and exhibit characteristics and traits of modern sexist behavior. Women may

associate modern sexist traits with positive qualities in men such as chivalrousness or a protective nature, in turn causing them to resent other women who recognize these characteristics as sexist. This resentment coupled with a woman's need to compete with other women could make them prone to heightened modern sexist behavior towards other women and more tolerant and less competitive with men in general.

Racism and Sexism Similar yet Different

There have been arguments made that call attention to the similarities between racism and sexism. Swim et al. (1995) argued that traditional sexism and traditional racism as well as symbolic racism and modern sexism have parallel characteristics. Traditional racism is based upon the premise of white supremacy, black inferiority, and racial segregation. Modern or symbolic racism is based upon the idea that African Americans lack self-reliance, discipline, and responsibility and make illegitimate demands for greater economic and political power (Morrison et al. 1999). Similar to this is the distinction one can make between traditional and modern sexism. Traditional sexism paints women as inferior to men and looks to segregate them from males by keeping them within the home. Modern sexism also characterizes women in a way that they are not as self-reliant as men, they have less responsibility and that women's demands are also illegitimate and unwarranted because traditional sexism has been eradicated. There has been some research which supports this idea. Studies have shown that stereotypes and prejudices about women and African Americans originate from the same areas of the brain (Swim et al. 1995). However Sibley, Wilson, and Duckitt (2007) argue that there is a key difference between racism and sexism. This difference stems from the mutual interdependence

between men and women. The relationship between men and women is dyadic in nature whereas ethnic and racial hostility is not a dyadic relationship. There is an intimate connection between men and women and the biology of sex creates a unique situation between the in-group and out-group dynamics of the male-female dyad (Glick and Fiske 1996). They also point to a balance of power relationship where men have more structural power but women hold more dyadic power. This dyadic power which women hold, coupled with the dyadic dynamic of the male-female relationship, makes men dependent upon women who they deem to be the subordinate group. This difference is also important in understanding the way that sexist and racist attitudes are exhibited. Where it is unlikely that an African American will be outwardly racist towards another African American, the same cannot be said for women's exhibition of sexist attitudes towards other women. The dyadic and interdependent relationship between men and women will contribute to the occurrence of female gender resentment because of the influence of the male-female relationship on women's actions, attitudes and beliefs.

Right Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation

A large portion of the literature on modern and traditional sexist behavior stems from studies done on Right Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation. Several studies have been conducted which look at the effects of RWA and SDO personality traits and how they affect modern and traditional sexist attitudes (Lee 2013; Perry and Sibley 2012; Nicol and Rounding 2013; Sibley, Wilson and Duckitt 2007). According to Perry and Sibley (2012), Social Dominance Orientation and Right Wing Authoritarianism reflect the dual processes of the cognitive-motivational system. DPM posits that these two motivational goals are salient because

of the perceptions one has of the social world. These perceptions are a combination of socio-structural characteristics and stable individual personality differences. They further argued that generalized prejudice comes from two distinct aspects of personality with RWA stemming from a low openness to experience and SDO stemming from low levels of agreeableness. Individuals with low levels of agreeableness pursue self-absorbed goals and see the world as highly competitive; placing value on power (Perry and Sibley 2012). People who are low in openness to new experiences value unequivocal moral conventions about how the social world should operate. They are also overly sensitive to threats to social stability and are motivated to seek social group cohesion (Perry and Sibley 2012). Sibley, Wilson, and Duckitt (2007) also did work based on RWA and SDO. They note that SDO is associated with group based dominance and superiority, and link SDO to traditional types of sexism. RWA is associated with social cohesion, decent moral values, and preservation of the status quo; linking RWA to modern sexism. In both of these studies the results were associated more with the behavior and attitudes of male test subjects than with those of female respondents (Perry and Sibley 2012; Sibley, Wilson, and Duckitt 2007). In fact in a study by Sibley, Overall, and Duckitt (2007) RWA was not as much of a causal mechanism as it was a confounding factor which magnified the causal effects of both traditional and modern sexism. Sibley, Wilson, and Duckitt (2007) also found that RWA was strongly and positively associated with both traditional and modern sexism in women while SDO is weakly associated. Since RWA is associated more with the need to preserve the status quo of traditional norms, values, and male-female gender roles, and SDO is associated with the need for domination and subjugation of lesser groups, it makes logical sense for sexism in women to be associated more with personality traits associated with RWA. This also fits with the theoretical

foundation of my argument as a societal type Stockholm Syndrome should lead to higher levels of traditional and modern sexist behavior in women due to a need to adapt and mimic male behavior and preserve the status quo in order to survive. Women will display either traditional or modern sexism based on the situation in which they live their daily lives. For them it is not about SDO and subjugation of females as much as it is about the need to survive and survival requires the preservation of the status quo; regardless of whether it requires the display of traditional or modern sexism.

Sexism and Political and Policy Implications

Dolan (2008) tells us that it is a common assumption that women voters will support a female candidate. However, political support is undoubtedly based on more than gender alone. It is true that some women voters may vote for women because of group solidarity, because women are underrepresented in political office, or out of a desire for better representation on specific political issues such as abortion and equal pay. Is it the case that women will vote for other women or is this merely a hope and myth that women will be supportive of other women? When push comes to shove do sexist attitudes and the need for male approval lead women to defer to male candidates? How do sexist attitudes and female resentment effect the outcomes of elections and the implementation of public policy which would help bolster women's long time push for gender equality? Kehn and Ruthig (2013) provide some statistics on women. In 1950, 29.6 percent of women in the United States worked outside of the home. In 2010, that number rose to 53.6 percent. As of 2010, the ratio of women's to men's earnings annually was 82.2 percent and there were far fewer women than men in leadership positions (Kehn and Ruthig 2013). With the

number of women in the United States outnumbering men (Census Bureau 2012), women should no longer lag behind men in pay and positions of authority yet they do. As the literature has established both traditional and modern sexism lead to a perpetuation of gender inequality (Becker 2010; Connelly and Heesacker 2012; Glick and Fiske 1996; Sibley, Overall, and Duckitt 2007; Sibley, Wilson, and Duckitt 2007). Therefore if both career oriented women and homemakers have a propensity to display either traditional or modern sexist behavior then it makes sense for women, the majority population, to still lag behind men in many areas.

Watkins et al. (2006) looked at modern sexist behavior and its effects on the career outcomes of both men and women. They found that modern sexism is positively related to advantageous outcomes in the workplace; such as promotions, raises, job satisfaction, and enhanced ability for career advancement. They found that modern sexists perceive men to be more competent than women and subsequently tend to rely on men for advice and help as well as forge stronger work relationships with male coworkers. Women who form bonds with their male coworkers and exhibited higher levels of modern sexist behavior were more likely to be promoted (Watkins et al. 2006). They also found that these women are the least likely to help other women advance their careers, thusly perpetuating the status quo and gender based hierarchy because women who are modern sexists who do find themselves in positions of authority are more likely to promote men with whom they have formed bonds with and whom they more easily identify with. This cycle of inequality seems to be unbreakable. If women find themselves in this position where in order to advance their careers they need to adapt their behavior to be more like their male colleagues then what would their incentive be to support other women? Modern sexist attitudes and a deference to the male-female relationship should

lead to women voting less often for female candidates and showing less support for policies which would be in conflict with male opinions and status quo norms.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This thesis argues that women, particularly younger women, develop modern and/or traditional sexist attitudes and beliefs towards other women as a coping mechanism to survive in a male dominated society and that sexist beliefs also manifest themselves in the choices one makes politically. In order to determine the validity of these arguments, multiple hypotheses were developed. These hypotheses are derived from the theoretical arguments in the previous chapters. It is argued that women who work will develop modern sexist beliefs as a coping mechanism to survive in a male dominated work force and to attain career advancement. The following hypotheses are derived from this theory:

H1: Working women will exhibit higher levels of modern sexist behavior than non-working women.

H2: Women who work and are younger than 39 will exhibit higher levels of modern sexist behavior than women who work and are over 39.

H3: Working women under the age of 39 will exhibit levels of modern sexism which are equal to or higher than those of working men under the age of 39.

It is also argued that non-working women or homemakers will also exhibit sexist attitudes and beliefs but that their sexist attitudes will be exhibited as traditional sexism more so than modern sexism. While it is plausible for homemakers to also exhibit modern sexist attitudes it is more likely that their display of traditional sexist behavior will be stronger because their male-female daily interactions are based on traditional gender roles. The following hypotheses follow from this argument.

H4: Female homemakers will exhibit higher levels of traditional sexist behavior than women who work.

H5: Women who are homemakers and are younger than 39 will exhibit higher levels of traditional sexist behavior than women who are homemakers and are over 39.

H6: Female Homemakers under the age of 39 will exhibit levels of traditional sexism which are equal to or higher than those of working men under the age of 39 and working men over the age of 39.

Furthermore, this thesis will look at an important political issue which may be highly influenced by the sexist attitudes of both men and women: the possibility of the election of a female president. It has been argued in prior research that women may be more likely to support a female candidate because of group solidarity, because women are underrepresented in political office, or out of a desire for better representation on specific political issues such as abortion and equal pay (Dolan 2008). However, because of female resentment women may not be as supportive of a female presidential candidate as one might hypothesize. This leads to the necessity to test the following hypotheses.

H7: Women who exhibit higher levels of traditional sexism will be less likely to support a female presidential candidate than women who exhibit low levels traditional sexism.

H8: Women who exhibit higher levels of modern sexism will be less likely to support a female presidential candidate than women who exhibit low levels modern sexism.

In order to test these hypotheses, this thesis will employ data obtained from the 2012 American National Election Survey. The 2012 ANES used a combination of both face-to-face and online data collection. The 2012 ANES Times Series Study began in September of 2012 and continued through January of 2013.

The first step was to design two separate scales to measure both modern and traditional sexism. The Modern Sexism Scale is composed of four survey questions used in the 2012 ANES. Each of the four questions had answers which ranged from 0-4 on a Likert scale with a combined answer range of 0-16 on the Modern Sexism Scale. The four questions which comprise the Modern Sexism Scale are: how often are women discriminated against in hiring and promotion, how much of a problem is discrimination against women, do women who complain about discrimination cause more problems, and do women who seek equality demand special favors. Each of the four questions was recoded such that the additive index would range from 0 through 16 with lower scores indicating modern sexist attitudes and higher scores indicating more liberal views. The mean value of the Modern Sexism Scale is 8.48. The Modern Sexism Scale is used as one of the dependent variables and pertains to hypotheses H1, H2 and H3. The distribution for the Modern Sexism Scale can be seen in Figure 1. As we can see from Figure 1 the Modern Sexism Scale has for the most part a normal distribution with the mean value at 8.48 and the median value at 9.

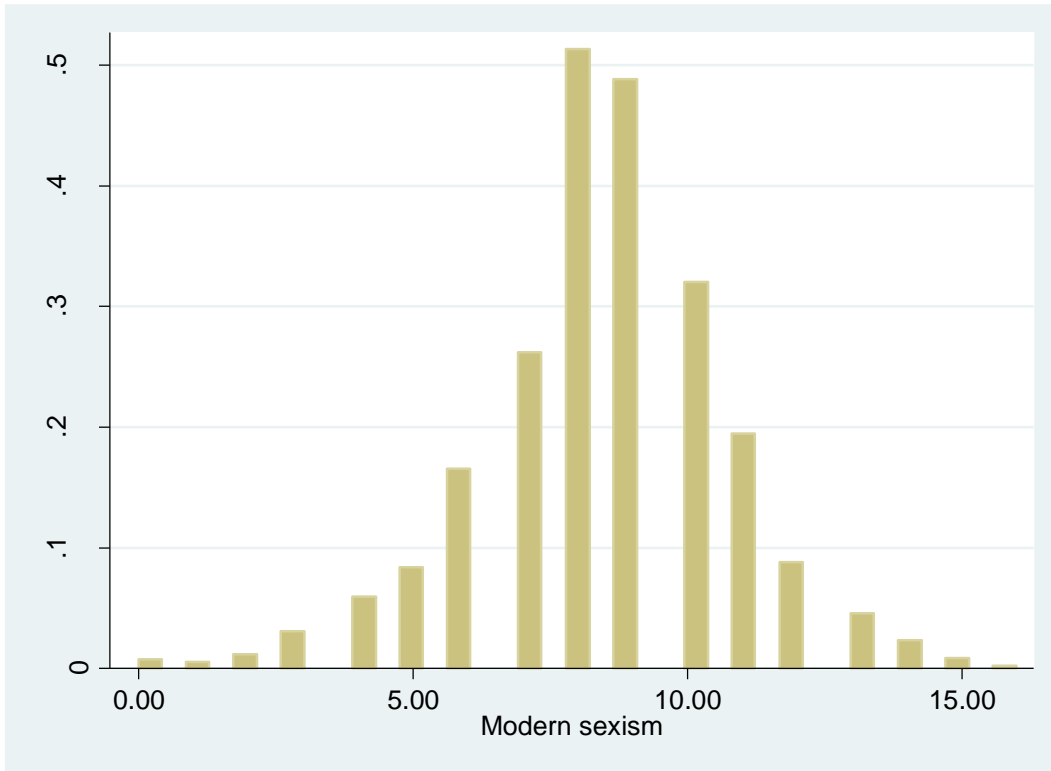


Figure 1: Distribution of the Modern Sexism Scale

The Traditional Sexism Scale was created from two survey questions in the 2012 ANES. The two questions used to produce the Traditional Sexism Scale are: is it better if a man works and the woman takes care of the home; and how much harder is it for a woman to bond with her child if she works. Each of the two questions had seven possible values and were coded in the same direction so that more traditional answers were represented by lower values and more liberal answers were represented by higher values. The directionality of the scale is the same as that of the Modern Sexism Scale. The mean of the Traditional Sexism Scale is 5.67 and is skewed to the left. Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of the Traditional Sexism Scale.

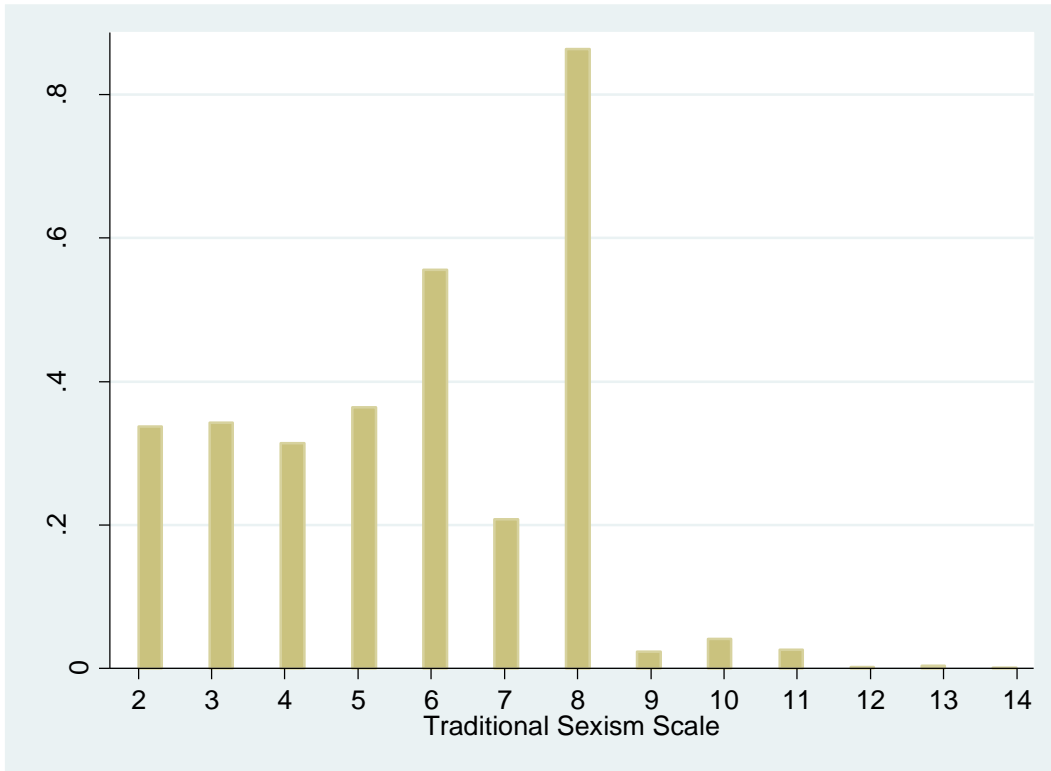


Figure 2: Traditional Sexism Scale

To test the hypotheses, both the Modern and Traditional Sexism Scales will be used in two different ways. To test hypotheses H1 through H6, the scales will be used as dependent variables. In the second part of the data analysis, the two scales will be used as independent variables in order to test the hypotheses which pertain to the political issue at hand; the possibility of the election of a female president. For that part of the data analysis the dependent variable measures whether respondents feel that electing a woman president will be extremely good, extremely bad, neither good or bad, a little good or bad, and moderately good or bad. Table 1 provides some basic information about this variable. The mean value of this variable is 5.16.

Table 1: How Good or Bad Would It Be to Have a Woman President

Category	Frequency	Percent
Extremely Good	1065	19.59
Moderately Good	979	18.01
A Little Good	98	1.80
Neither Good nor Bad	2985	54.89
A Little Bad	50	.92
Moderately Bad	124	2.27
Extremely Bad	137	2.52
Total	5438	100

Source: ANES 2012

Independent and Control Variables

Numerous variables have been gathered from the ANES 2012 to use as independent and control variables in the analysis of the research questions which pertain to sexism and female behavior. To fully understand the effects of one's personal circumstances on their display of sexist attitudes, it was necessary to look at the effects of variables such as gender, age, employment, education, and marital status. These variables are the primary independent variables which were used in order to ascertain the validity of the hypotheses. While there is a high probability that age and employment alone can be strong predictors of women's behavior and sexist attitudes, there is also research which supports the idea that age and employment status will have an interaction effect which also needs to be accounted for. As suggested, younger women may be more susceptible to the effects of Stockholm Syndrome (Jameson 2010).

This suggests that it is necessary to account for the interaction between age and employment status in order to determine if younger women are more susceptible to male influences and subsequently more likely to exhibit sexist tendencies. See Appendix for the summary statistics for all variables used in this thesis including the three dependent variables. For the purposes of this study the *age* variable is coded 0 for respondents age 40 and above, and 1 for respondents age 17-39.

The hypotheses are able to provide answers to the research questions of this thesis- do women exhibit sexist attitudes as a coping mechanism to survive in a male dominant society and are women who exhibit sexist behavior less likely to support a female presidential candidate? The data gathered from the ANES 2012 are able to sufficiently test the hypotheses and provide answers to the research questions. There are however limitations to this research study. While the data are sufficient to test the hypotheses it is possible that the link between female gender resentment and sexist behavior may only correlate with a woman's place in society and may actually be caused by factors which are not represented in this study and have yet to be determined. This study would benefit from the addition of personal accounts by women who represent both traditional and non-traditional female gender roles. This would help to determine any underlying or proximate issues which lead some women to have a greater tendency towards sexist behavior while other women may be largely unaffected by the influences of a male dominated society.

CHAPTER FIVE: COPING WITH MALE DOMINANCE THROUGH SEXIST BEHAVIOR

Data analysis for this chapter was conducted using STATA SE 12.1. The analysis in this chapter will be conducted in two separate phases. First I will address the hypotheses which will be tested using the Modern Sexism Scale as the dependent variable. The next section will address the hypotheses which will be tested using the Traditional Sexism Scale as the dependent variable. As noted in the previous chapter both scales share similar directionality with lower values signifying tendencies that lean towards greater sexist attitudes and higher values signifying tendencies which represent less sexist and more egalitarian behavior and attitudes.

Modern Sexism

It has been argued that working women will exhibit modern sexist behavior as a coping mechanism to survive in a male dominated workforce and to gain benefits that would allow for greater career advancement. Building from a basic theory of Stockholm Syndrome and the prior research of Jameson (2010), it has also been argued that younger women may be more susceptible to the influences of their male counterparts and that modern sexist behavior will be more prevalent among younger female workers. In order to test this theory and the hypotheses which pertain to female behavior and modern sexism several empirical analyses were used. First a simple comparative means test was used to compare the mean scores on the modern sexism scale of women who work and are under 39 years of age and those who work and are over the age of 39. Table 2 shows the results of that analysis.

Table 2: Comparative Means Test of Working Women’s Scores on the Modern Sexism Scale by Age

Female	Over 39 Years Old	Under 39 Years Old
Working Women	8.71	8.69

Source: ANES 2012

Table 2 results show that working women under the age of 39 do have a lower mean score on the modern sexism scale than working women over the age of 39. While the comparative means test does indicate that women under the age of 39 who work are more apt to display modern sexist behavior, the mean scores are extremely close and the difference is not statistically significant. There are however other factors which need to be accounted for in order to fully understand whether younger working women and also working women in general do or do not exhibit modern sexist behavior. In order to fully evaluate the theory and the corresponding hypotheses, multivariate linear regression was used. Table 3 shows the results from the multivariate linear regression analyses. Four models were run to fully understand the effects of the independent variables on modern sexism when various control variables are introduced to the regression analysis. Only female respondents’ survey answers were used in all models, as women are the focus of this study.

Table 3: Multivariate Linear Regression Analysis of the Modern Sexism Scale for Women Only

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Employed	.12 (.08)	.19` (.10)	.11(.10)	.09 (.10)
Homemaker			-.17(.13)	-.16 (.14)
Employed*Age		-.18 (.18)	-.67***(.19)	-.63***(.20)
Age [Under 39=1]		.04 (.13)	.34*(.16)	.30` (.17)
Homemaker*Age			-.78***(.23)	-.74***(.20)
Married				-.10 (.09)
Education			.23***(.04)	.23***(.04)
Parent			-.05(.04)	-.04 (.04)
Black			.18 (.14)	.17 (.14)
Hispanic			-.19 (.13)	-.20 (.13)
Income Level			-.01 (.01)	-.01 (.01)
Ideology			-.07`(.04)	-.06`(.04)
Party I.D.			-.04 (.03)	-.04 (.03)
Racial Resentment			-.04***(.01)	-.04*** (.01)
Church Attendance			-.05`(.03)	-.05`(.03)
Egalitarianism Scale			.15***(.01)	.15***(.01)
Traditional Values			-.02` (.01)	-.02` (.01)
Constant	8.65***(.06)	8.64***(.07)	7.28*** (.31)	7.32 ***(.32)
Number of Obs.	2714	2689	2259	2258
Adjusted R Square	.0004	.0003	.27	.27

Standard Errors in () next to coefficients.

P value <.001***, P value <.01**, P value<.05*, P value <.10`

Source: ANES 2012

Higher scores on the Modern Sexism Scale indicate less sexist views.

Looking to Table 3, Model 1 displays the results for the base line regression. In this model only the independent variable of employment was used with the dependent variable, the modern sexism scale. In this regression the results show that employed women score slightly higher on the modern sexism scale than women who do not work- note that higher scores on the modern sexism scale indicate that a person is more liberal and less inclined to display modern sexist attitudes and behavior. While this result is positive and not in the hypothesized direction it is also insignificant. The adjusted R square for this model was an extremely low .0004, which indicates that very little of the variance in the dependent variable can be explained by this independent variable alone. Moving to Model 2 of Table 3, the interaction variable created from the *age* variable and the *employed* variable was used as well as the *age* and *employed* variables. In this model *employed* remained positive and was significant at a P value of .10. Age was also positive but insignificant and the interaction variable was negative and insignificant. While the interaction term is in the hypothesized direction, showing that younger working women have a greater tendency to display modern sexist attitudes and behavior, the coefficient is insignificant and therefore does not offer enough evidence to affirm the hypotheses. In Model 2 the adjusted R square also remains extremely low.

Model 3 and Model 4 of Table 3 were run using the main independent variable, *Employed*age*, and several control variables and the results were quite different. In Model 3 of Table 3 the results show that working women under the age of 39 have a decrease in their score on the modern sexism scale of .69 points giving them an average score of 6.59 on the modern sexism scale. These results are highly significant at a P value of less than .001. Looking to the individual *age* and *employed* variables the results indicate that simply being younger or

employed alone are not enough to cause a women to display modern sexist behavior. As both of these variables individually are positive and result in higher scores on the modern sexism scale. However, only *age* is significant and *employed* is not. Several other noteworthy results of model 3 come from the control variables of *egalitarianism scale* and the *racial resentment scale*. As egalitarianism increases, a woman's score on the modern sexism scale increases. This indicates that a woman with egalitarian values will be less likely to display modern sexist behavior. This variable was highly significant at a P value of less than .001. Racial resentment worked in the expected way with an increase in racial resentment resulting in a decrease in one's score on the modern sexism scale at a significance level of less than .001. This indicates that women who are racially resentful are also more likely to display higher levels of modern sexist behavior. The adjusted R square of this model was .27, which indicates that 27 percent of the variance in the dependent variable can be explained using the independent and control variables of this model.

Model 4 of Table 3 only differed from Model 3 in that a control variable for the respondent's marital status was added. In this model the main independent variable was still the interaction term of *employed*age*. The independent variable remained negative and highly significant at a P value of less than .001. *Age* also remained positive but the significance dropped to a P value of less than .10 and *employed* remained positive but insignificant. *Married* was negative and insignificant in this model. The adjusted R square also remained the same as it was in Model 3 indicating that the addition of the *married* variable did not add any explanatory power to the variance in the dependent variable. The results of Model 3 and Model 4 are used to address hypotheses *H1* and *H2*. The results previously mentioned confirm hypothesis *H2*.

H2: Women who work and are younger than 39 will exhibit higher levels of modern sexist behavior than women who work and are over 39.

Hypothesis *H2* is accepted and the null hypothesis is rejected. Women who work and are younger than 39 do display higher levels of modern sexist behavior than women who work and are over the age of 39. It is also worth noting that in Models 3 and 4 both ideology and party identification were controlled for. While both were negative, indicating that conservative women and women who identify as republican had lower scores on the modern sexism scale, party identification was not significant and ideology was barely significant at a P value of less than .10. This indicates that younger working women are more prone to displays of modern sexist behavior regardless of political party affiliation or liberal conservative ideology. In fact, the only variables that had a highly significant effect on women's modern sexist attitudes were associated with age, employment status, education level, egalitarianism, and racial resentment.

To determine if hypothesis *H1* is rejected or accepted, a comparison must be made between the results of employed women and homemakers. Let us recall the hypothesis:

H1: Working women will exhibit higher levels of modern sexist behavior than non-working women.

This hypothesis does not include an age stipulation so the focus will be on the results of Models 3 and 4 and the independent variables of *employed* and *homemaker*. In both models *homemaker* is negative and insignificant and *employed* is positive and insignificant. Both variables are insignificant and in the wrong direction for this hypothesis, therefore the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. Even when one turns their attention to the interaction terms in these models, which

measure *age*employed* and *age*homemaker*, the hypothesis would be rejected as the *age*homemaker* variable produces a lower score on the modern sexism scale for young women homemakers than does the *age*employed* variable. However both of these variables are negative and highly significant indicating that both young homemakers and young working women are more likely to display modern sexist behavior than their over 39 counterparts.

To test *H3*, a regression was run for men and women to determine if women who work were more, less, or equally as likely to display modern sexist behavior as their male counterparts. First recall hypothesis *H3*:

H3: Working women under the age of 39 will exhibit levels of modern sexism which are equal to or higher than those of working men under the age of 39.

For this comparison two models were run, a model for women and a separate model for male respondents. The independent and control variables are the same as those used in Model 4 of Table 3. The results of this analysis can be seen in Table 4. Comparatively, women under the age of 39 who work are much more likely to display modern sexist behavior than their male counterparts. Women under the age of 39 have a score of 6.69 on the modern sexism scale while their male counterparts score 7.78. The decrease in a young working woman's modern sexism score is .63 and is highly significant at a P value of less than .001. A working man under the age of 39 has a decrease in their modern sexism score of only .03 and this value is not significant. Based on these results hypothesis *H3* is accepted and the null hypothesis is rejected.

Table 4: Multivariate Linear Regression of Modern Sexism for both Men and Women

Variable	Model 1 Women³	Model 2 Men
Employed	.09 (.10)	-.10 (.11)
Homemaker	-.16 (.14)	.14 (.50)
Employed*Age	-.63***(.20)	-.03 (.19)
Age [Under 39=1]	.30` (.17)	-.09 (.17)
Homemaker*Age	-.74***(.23)	.40 (.77)
Married	-.10 (.09)	.29***(.10)
Parent	-.04 (.04)	.05 (.05)
Black	.17 (.14)	-.03 (.15)
Hispanic	-.20 (.13)	-.18 (.14)
Income Level	-.01 (.01)	-.01 (.01)
Ideology	-.06` (.04)	-.01 (.04)
Party I.D.	-.04 (.03)	-.04 (.03)
Racial Resentment	-.04***(.01)	-.11***(.01)
Church Attendance	-.05` (.03)	-.03 (.03)
Egalitarianism Scale	.15***(.01)	.15***(.01)
Traditional Values	-.02` (.01)	-.08***(.01)
Education	.23***(.04)	.04 (.04)
Constant	7.32***(.32)	7.81***(.34)
Number of Obs.	2258	2288
Adjusted R square	.27	.32

Standard Errors in () next to coefficients.

P value <.001***, P value <.01**, P value<.05*, P value <.10`

Source: ANES 2012

Higher Scores on the Modern Sexism Scale indicate less sexist views.

³ Model 1 of Table 4 is the same as Model 4 of Table 3

Other than the acceptance of hypothesis *H3*, there are some other interesting results of note. The base score for men and women on the modern sexism scale shows that when controlling for all of the variables in the regression, women have an overall lower score than men do on the modern sexism scale indicating that women, not men, are more likely to display modern sexist behavior and attitudes. Also *age*, *employment*, *homemaker*, *age*employed*, *age*homemaker*, and *education* have no significance for male respondent scores on the modern sexism scale while *age*, *age*employed*, *age*homemaker*, and *education* are all significant for women. However, the *married* and *traditional values* variables are highly significant for men but insignificant and barely significant for women, respectively. In fact being married increases a man's score on the modern sexism scale by .29 points and is significant at a P value of less than .001, indicating that married men are much less likely to display modern sexist behavior, while this variable is negative for women showing that married women are more likely to display sexist behavior than non-married women.

Traditional Sexism

It has been argued that women who are homemakers will be prone to display high levels of traditional sexist behavior, especially those who are younger than age 39. This argument is based upon a theory of Stockholm Syndrome in which women develop sexist attitudes to cope with their personal life situation and the interactions they have with the males with whom they most frequently interact. In the case of the female homemaker, her daily interactions will most often be with her spouse and because of that relationship she should display traditional sexist attitudes which reflect her own traditional female role as well as that of her husband's traditional

male role as provider and caretaker. The part of the argument which makes this display of traditional sexist behavior more pertinent to women under the age of 39 stems from Jameson's (2010) article that indicates that younger women are more susceptible to the effects of Stockholm Syndrome. In order to test this theory and the hypotheses which pertain to female behavior and traditional sexism several empirical analyses were used. First a simple comparative means test was used to compare the mean scores on the traditional sexism scale of women who are homemakers and are under 39 years of age and those who are homemakers and are over the age of 39. Table 5 shows the results of that analysis.

Table 5: Comparative Means Test of Female Homemakers' Scores on the Traditional Sexism Scale by Age

Female	Over the Age of 39	Under the Age of 39
	8.78	7.87

Source: ANES 2012

As the results show for the comparative means test women under the age of 39 who are also homemakers do score lower on the traditional sexism scale. There are however other factors which need to be accounted for before a determination can be made as to whether the three hypotheses pertaining to traditional sexism can be accepted or rejected. In order to test these hypotheses multivariate linear regression was used to obtain results for the effects of the independent variables on the traditional sexism scores for women. Table 6 shows these results. The results of the following analyses pertain to hypotheses *H4* and *H5*:

H4: Female homemakers will exhibit higher levels of traditional sexist behavior than women who work.

H5: Women who are homemakers and are younger than 39 will exhibit higher levels of traditional sexist behavior than women who are homemakers and are over 39.

Table 6: Multivariate Linear Regression Analysis of the Traditional Sexism Scale for Women Only

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Homemaker	-.46***(.11)	-.53***(.13)	-.22*** (.05)	-.22***(.05)
Homemaker*Age		-.34 (.22)	-.45**(.19)	-.46**(.19)
Age [Under 39=1]		.58***(.10)	.55**(.18)	.55**(.19)
Employed*Age			-.58**(.21)	-.58**(.21)
Employed	.36***(.09)		.33**(.11)	.33**(.12)
Black			.33*(.16)	.33*(.16)
Parent			-.04 (.04)	-.04 (.05)
Education			.11**(.04)	.11**(.04)
Hispanic			-.13 (.14)	-.13 (.14)
Income Level			.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)
Ideology			-.13***(.04)	-.13***(.04)
Party I.D.			-.01 (.03)	-.01 (.03)
Egalitarianism			-.002 (.01)	-.002(.01)
Church Attendance			.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)
Racial Resentment			-.02 (.01)	-.02 (.01)
Traditional Values			-.14*** (.02)	-.14*** (.02)
Married				.02 (.10)
Constant	5.76***(.07)	5.78***(.06)	7.34***(.35)	7.33***(.35)
Number of Obs.	2798	2770	2293	2292
Adjusted R Square	.02	.02	.13	.13

Standard Errors in () next to coefficients.

P value <.001***, P value <.01**, P value<.05*, P value <.10`

Source: ANES 2012 Higher Scores on the Traditional Sexism Scale indicate less sexist views.

Model 1 of Table 6 shows the baseline regression analysis for the dependent variable, *Traditional Sexism Scale* and the independent variables, *homemaker* and *employed*. The results indicate that being a female homemaker results in a decrease in one's score on the traditional sexism scale of .46. This result is negative and highly significant at a P value of less than .001 and supports the idea that female homemakers will have a greater tendency to display traditional sexist attitudes and behaviors. The result for employed females shows that they are significantly less likely to display traditional sexist attitudes and behaviors. Their scores on the traditional sexism scale increase by .36 and this is significant at a P value of less than .001. The results for Models 3 and 4 also show that employed females are significantly less likely to display traditional sexist behavior and attitudes. In both models women who work have a .33 increase in their score on the traditional sexism scale and in both this is significant at a P value of less than .001. Also in both models females who are homemakers have a decrease in their traditional sexism scale scores of .22 and this is also significant at a P value of less than .001. With these results hypothesis *H4: Female homemakers will exhibit higher levels of traditional sexist behavior than women who work*, is accepted and the null hypothesis is able to be rejected. The adjusted R square of these two models was low with both Model 1 and Model 2 returning an adjusted R square of .02, leaving little of the variance in the dependent variable explained by these independent variables.

To make a determination as to the validity of hypothesis H5: *Women who are homemakers and are younger than 39 will exhibit higher levels of traditional sexist behavior than women who are homemakers and are over 39*, we must turn to Model 3 and Model 4 of Table 6. In both Model 3 and Model 4 the results are similar. Female homemakers under the age

of 39 have a decrease in their traditional sexism scores by about .45. This result is in the desired direction and is highly significant at a P value of less than .001. Thus, hypothesis H5 is accepted and the null hypothesis is therefore rejected. Younger homemakers are more likely to display traditionally sexist attitudes and behavior as compared to that of their older female counterparts. There are some other interesting findings in these models. First Model 3 differs from Model 4 in that the *married* variable was excluded. The married variable however had no effect on women's scores on the traditional sexism scale, which may be a problem for part of the theory. However, it could be that being married and being a homemaker are highly correlated and the *homemaker* variable is working in the same way as the *married* variable. Interestingly, working women under 39 also show a significant decrease in their scores on the traditional sexism scale. Their scores decrease by .58 in both Model 3 and 4 and this is significant at a P value of less than .001. Working women over age 39 however had a .33 increase in their traditional sexism score and this was significant at a P value of less than .001, indicating that older working women are much less likely to display traditional sexist behavior and attitudes. Older homemakers did see a decrease in their overall traditional sexism scale score but this value was insignificant. Some factors which were significant for traditional sexism but were not significant for modern sexism were *black*, *ideology*, and *traditional values*. Black females had a .33 increase in their traditional sexism score which was significant at a P value of less than .01. Ideology was highly significant with shifts from liberal to conservative causing a .13 decrease in respondents' scores. This was also significant at a P value of less than .001. Traditional values was also highly significant and caused a decrease of .14 in traditional sexism scores for every 1 point shift towards more traditional values. The adjusted R square for both Model 3 and Model 4 of Table 6 was .13. This

tells us that 13 percent of the variance in the dependent variable can be explained by the independent and control variables used.

Having established that hypotheses H4 and H5, which pertain only to female respondents, are accepted, the focus now shifts to hypothesis H6: *Female Homemakers under the age of 39 will exhibit levels of traditional sexism which are equal to or higher than those of working men under the age of 39 and over the age of 39.* In order to determine whether this hypothesis should be accepted or rejected a multivariate analysis was run using two separate models, one for men and one for women. Table 7 shows the results from the multivariate linear regression.

Table 7: Multivariate Linear Regression of the Traditional Sexism Scale for Both Men and Women

Variable	Model 1 Men Only	Model 2 Women Only
Employed*Age	-.47*(.20)	-.58***(.21)
Homemaker*Age	-.94 (.83)	-.46** (.19)
Age[Under 39=1]	.96***(.18)	.55***(.19)
Employed	.19^(.16)	.33***(.16)
Homemaker	.91^(.53)	-.22 (.15)
Hispanic	-.27^ (.14)	-.13 (.04)
Parent	-.14**(.05)	-.04 (.05)
Education	.09*(.04)	.11**(.04)
Income Level	-.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)
Ideology	.02 (.04)	-.13***(.04)
Party I.D.	.01 (.03)	-.01 (.03)
Married	-.02 (.10)	.02 (.10)
Racial Resentment	-.06***(.01)	-.02 (.01)
Black	-.01 (.16)	.33**(.16)

Variable	Model 1 Men Only	Model 2 Women Only
Traditional Values	-.15***(.02)	-.14***(.02)
Egalitarianism	-.03**(.01)	-.002 (.01)
Church Attendance	-.06*(.03)	.02 (.03)
Constant	7.42***(.36)	7.33***(.35)
Number of Obs.	2375	2292
Adjusted R Square	.13	.13

Standard Errors in () next to coefficients.

P value <.001***, P value <.01**, P value<.05*, P value <.10`

Source: ANES 2012

Higher scores on the Traditional Sexism Scale indicate less sexist views

The results in Table 7 show that for female homemakers under the age of 39 there is a .46 decrease in the traditional sexism score and this is significant at a P value of less than .01. For working men under the age of 39 there is a .47 decrease in the traditional sexism score and this is significant at a P value of less than .05. Men who work and are not over the age of 39 there is a .19 increase in their traditional sexism scores which is significant at a P value of less than .10. Based on these results hypothesis H6: *Female Homemakers under the age of 39 will exhibit levels of traditional sexism which are equal to or higher than those of working men under the age of 39 and also over the age of 39*, can be accepted and the null hypothesis is rejected. Female homemakers are equally as traditionally sexist as working males under the age of 39 and they are much more traditionally sexist than working males over the age of 39. For both women and men increased education levels yield increases in the traditional sexism scale score as well as an increase in age. Arguably, greater education and the experience that comes with age produce individuals who are less susceptible to sexist attitudes and behavior and therefore less likely to display traditionally sexist attitudes. Traditional values for both men and women result in a

significant decrease in scores on the traditional sexism scale. However, ideology is only significant for women resulting in a significant decrease as well.

While all of the results presented in this chapter are quite interesting and revealing, the results categorize the social and psychological aspects of modern and traditional sexism more so than the political aspects and implications. The next chapter will address some of the possible political implications of female gender resentment, and modern and traditional sexism.

CHAPTER SIX: FEMALE GENDER RESENTMENT AND THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

The previous chapter contained the analysis and discussion pertaining to female gender resentment. More specifically the data analysis supported arguments that women who are homemakers have a greater tendency to be traditionally sexist and working women have a greater tendency to behave in a more modern sexist way and display modern sexist attitudes. While the analysis supported five of the six hypotheses which pertained to modern and traditional sexism, the analysis was geared more toward the sociological and psychological aspects of female gender resentment. Therefore this thesis also seeks to determine what, if any political implications stem from female gender resentment. Thus the focus of this chapter turns to the important question of the presidency and if a female presidential candidate being elected in the next twenty years would be good or bad for this country. In order to test the theory that female gender resentment portrayed through the display of traditional and modern sexist behavior does influence one's political preferences this portion of the data analysis employed ordered probit. However before commencing with the data analysis it is prudent to provide information pertaining to the dependent variable and to reiterate the hypotheses which will be tested. The following hypotheses have been formulated to test the political theory of this thesis:

H7: Women who exhibit higher levels of traditional sexism will be less likely to support a female presidential candidate than women who exhibit low levels traditional sexism.

H8: Women who exhibit higher levels of modern sexism will be less likely to support a female presidential candidate than women who exhibit low levels modern sexism.

The dependent variable for this analysis is taken from the ANES 2012. The variable *Woman President* measures whether a respondent feels that the election of a woman president would be extremely good, moderately good, a little good, neither good nor bad, a little bad, moderately bad, or extremely bad. The mean of this variable is 5.16.

The main independent variables for this analysis are the modern sexism scale and the traditional sexism scale. To conduct some preliminary cross tabulations each of the scales was collapsed into three categories reflecting low, medium, and high levels of either modern or traditional sexism. Table 8 and Table 9 reflect the new distribution of both independent variables.

Table 8: Frequency Distribution of Modern Sexism

Category	Frequency	Percent
Low	495	9.37
Medium	3346	63.39
High	1438	27.24
Total	5279	100.00

Source: ANES 2012

The modern sexism scale now has three categories with the “low” category representing scores from 0-5, the “medium” category represents scores from 6-9, and the “high” category represents scores from 10-16. The “medium” category contains the mean value of the modern sexism scale.

The traditional sexism scale was also condensed into three categories with “low” equaling scores of 2-4, “medium” equaling scores of 5-7, and “high” equaling scores of 8-14.

Table 9: Frequency Distribution of Traditional Sexism

Category	Frequency	Percent
Low	1724	31.69
Medium	2036	37.42
High	1681	30.89
Total	5441	100.00

Source: ANES 2012

The next step in this analysis was to run a cross tabulation to see if the proposed hypotheses are plausible. Table 10 shows the cross tabulation results for *Woman President* and the *Modern Sexism Scale 3* for female respondents.

Table 10: Cross Tabulation of Female Respondents’ Feelings about Electing a Woman President Based on Modern Sexism Scores

Woman President	Modern Sexism Category			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
Extremely Good	9.12	17.28	39.17	23.81
Moderately Good	10.97	21.43	18.95	19.96
Little Good	3.10	1.68	1.74	1.79
Neither Good nor Bad	65.41	54.52	35.94	49.22
Little Bad	6.09	0.30	1.44	1.03
Moderately Bad	2.18	2.92	.50	2.10
Extremely Bad	3.13	1.87	2.29	2.09
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: ANES 2012

While there does seem to be a difference between the “Low” and “High” categories which correspond to female respondents who feel that having a female president would be “Extremely Good”. However there is very little difference between the “Low” and “High” categories which correspond to the “Extremely Bad” category. The majority of the female respondents fall into the “Neither Good nor Bad” category in both the “Low” and “Medium” categories.

A cross tabulation was also run for the dependent variable, *Woman President*, and the independent variable, *Traditional Sexism Scale 3*, for female respondents only. The results of that analysis are shown in Table 11.

Table 11: Cross Tabulation of Female Respondents’ Feelings about Electing a Woman President Based on Traditional Sexism Scores

Woman President	Traditional Sexism Categories			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
Extremely Good	20.96	23.91	25.24	23.53
Moderately Good	18.04	21.95	19.46	19.97
Little Good	1.73	2.09	1.36	1.73
Neither Good nor Bad	51.24	47.27	50.34	49.47
Little Bad	1.34	1.61	.14	1.02
Moderately Bad	3.97	1.12	1.95	2.23
Extremely Bad	2.72	2.04	1.51	2.05
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: ANES 2012

The results shown in Table 11 are not what is expected. Female respondents who score “High” on the *Traditional Sexism Scale 3* are not much more likely than those who score “Low” to feel

that having a woman president would be an “Extremely Good” idea. In the “Extremely Bad” category would who score “Low” on the *Traditional Sexism Scale 3* are only slightly more likely to think that having a women president is a bad idea than those women who chose “Extremely Bad” and scored high on the *Traditional Sexism Scale 3*. It is possible however that there are other factors which could affect the data analysis. Factors such as political party affiliation, employment status, ideology, education, age, and marital status. To determine if these other factors have an effect on the dependent variable two separate ordered probit analyses were conducted, one for each of the two independent variables, for female respondents only. Table 12 shows the results for the regression analysis using the traditional sexism scale as the main independent variable.

Table 12: Ordered Probit Analyses for the Effects of Traditional Sexism on Choosing a Female President

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Traditional Sexism Scale	-.04***(.01)	-.005 (.01)	.002 (.01)
Age [Under 39=1]			-.13 (.10)
Employed			-.12` (.06)
Homemaker			-.17*(.08)
Employed*Age			.13 (.12)
Homemaker*Age			.31**(.14)
Married			.11*(.05)
Party I.D.		.09***(.01)	.10***(.01)
Ideology		.17***(.02)	.16***(.02)
Education Level			-.06** (.02)
Income Level			-.002(.003)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Black			.19**(.08)
Number of Obs.	2767	2426	2309
Chi^2	15.02	285.08	310.19
Pseudo R Square	.002	.05	.05

Standard Errors in () next to coefficients.

P value <.001***, P value <.01**, P value<.05*, P value <.10`

Source: ANES 2012

Higher scores on the sexism scales indicate less sexist views.

See Appendix B for Cut Points for all Models

The results from Table 12 are rather interesting. Model 1 presents a baseline regression effects of *Traditional Sexism Scale* on the dependent variable of *Woman President*. First, as a reminder the *traditional sexism* variable has values ranging from 2 through 14 with higher values representing less sexist attitudes. The *woman president* variable had seven possible answers with positive answers on the low end and negative answers on the higher end of the scale. In Model 1 the results show that for every one point increase in traditional sexism there is a .04 decrease in the dependent variable. Due to the way the two variables are coded this makes sense. As women become less traditionally sexist they are more likely to respond that having a female president is good. The coefficient for traditional sexism is statistically significant at a P value of less than .001.

Moving on to Model 2 of Table 12 the results change when the control variables of *Party I.D.* and *Ideology* are introduced. Adding in these two control variables changes the significance of the traditional sexism coefficient and makes it statistically insignificant. However both *Party I.D.* and *Ideology* are positive and highly significant. Each of these variables moves from left to

right with values on the left indicating the respondent is a strong democrat or extremely liberal, respectively. For every one point increase in Party I.D. there is a .09 increase in the Woman President variable, with higher scores indicating that a respondent thinks it is a bad idea for there to be a women president. Ideology operates in much the same way; as a woman's ideological orientation moves toward conservative she is less likely to think that having a female president is a good idea. The results of this regression could be interpreted under the assumption that political preferences are influenced less by sexist attitudes than by party affiliation and ideology, however it is possible that traditionally sexist attitudes and a conservative, republican affiliation are highly correlated, rendering traditional sexism insignificant.

The final model in Table 12, Model 3, shows the results of the regression analysis with several other control variables added. In this model *Traditional Sexism Scale* becomes positive and insignificant. In this model *Party I.D.* and *Ideology* are the most influential variables. Both variables have positive and significant coefficients; exerting the most influence on whether a woman would think that having a female president was a good or bad idea. Two other variables of interest were *Married* and *Homemaker*Age*. Each of these variables were also positive and significant. Married women are more likely than non-married to respond that having a female president is a bad idea by with an increase of .11. The interaction variable of *Homemaker*Age* increased women's responses by .31 on the woman president variable, indicating that young homemakers are much less likely to think that having a female president is a good idea. Employed women, however had a .12 decrease on the woman president variable, with lower scores indicating that having a female president would be good.

While the results of the analyses are interesting and Model 1 does indicate that hypothesis *H7: Women who exhibit higher levels of traditional sexism will be less likely to support a female presidential candidate than women who exhibit low levels traditional sexism*, should be accepted Models 2 and 3 do not offer any support for this hypothesis. Therefore the hypothesis can be only partially accepted, with the disclaimer that when controlling for other factors, traditional sexist attitudes are irrelevant. As stated earlier it is possible that traditional sexism, party affiliation, ideology, and other demographic variables which were used are highly correlated, detracting from the strength of one another.

The next step in the analytical process of this chapter was to determine if hypothesis *H8: Women who exhibit higher levels of modern sexism will be less likely to support a female presidential candidate than women who exhibit low levels modern sexism*, could be accepted. The testing was exactly the same for this hypothesis as it was for the one which pertained to traditional sexism and the possibility of a female president. Multivariate linear regression analysis was conducted and Table 13 shows the results.

Table 13: Ordered Probit Analyses for the Effects of Modern Sexism and Choosing a Female President

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Modern Sexism Scale	-.14***(.01)	-.09***(.01)	-.09***(.01)
Age [Under 39=1]			-.09 (.10)
Employed			-.11`(.06)
Homemaker			-.18*(.08)
Employed*Age			.09 (.12)
Homemaker*Age			.21 (.14)
Married			.12**(.05)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Party I.D.		.07***(.01)	.09***(.02)
Ideology		.15***(.02)	.14***(.02)
Income			-.005(.004)
Education Level			-.03 (.02)
Black			.24**(.08)
Number of Observations	2688	2379	2271
Chi^2	18.19	346.74	372.88
Pseudo R Square	.03	.06	.06

Standard Errors in () next to coefficients.

P value <.001***, P value <.01**, P value<.05*, P value <.10`

Source: ANES 2012

Higher scores on the sexism scale indicate less sexist views.

See Appendix C for Cut Points for All Models

The results from Table 13, Model 1 are from the baseline regression analysis using only the dependent variable, *Woman President* and the independent variable, *Modern Sexism Scale* . The results show that for every one point increase on the modern sexism scale there is a .14 decrease in the dependent variable. Remembering that higher scores on the modern sexism scale indicate less sexist attitudes and low scores for the dependent variable indicate a respondent's indication that having a female president would be good, one can see that women who are less modern sexist feel that having a female president is a good idea and those who display higher levels of modern sexism would disagree and think that having a female president would be a bad idea. The coefficient for the independent variable is highly significant at a P value of less than .001.

Model 2 of Table 13 included the control variables *Party I.D.* and *Ideology*. What happened in this model was different than what happened when adding these control variables to Model 2 in Table 12 when using traditional sexism as the independent variable. In the current analysis, the independent variable of *Modern Sexism Scale*, remained negative and significant when controlling for party affiliation and ideological preference. In fact for every one point increase on the modern sexism scale there was a .09 decrease in the dependent variable. This confirms that women who are less modern sexist are more likely to support the idea of a female presidential candidate and that women who are more modern sexist are less likely to support a female presidential candidate at a highly significant P value of less than .001. Both *Party I.D.* and *Ideology* were positive and significant. A one point increase in *Party I.D.* caused a .07 increase in the dependent variable. As female respondents moved from democrat to republican they are less likely to think that having a female president is a good idea. This holds true for ideology as well. For every one point increase in ideology there was a .15 increase in the dependent variable. As women shift from liberal to conservative they are less likely to think that having a female president is a good idea.

The results of Model 3 include several other control variables: *age*, *married*, *income level*, *education level*, *homemaker*, *employed*, *employed*age*, and *homemaker*age*. Even after controlling for all of these other factors the independent variable *Modern Sexism Scale* remains negative and significant. For every one point increase in modern sexism there is a .09 decrease in the dependent variable. This indicates that women who are less sexist are more likely to think that having a female president is a good idea. In this model *employed* and *homemaker* were also negative and statistically significant but the interaction term of *homemaker*age* was positive, but

not significant telling us that homemakers under 39 are less likely to think that having a female president would be a good idea, however there is not a difference between them and homemakers over the age of 39. *Party I.D.* and *Ideology* also remained positive and significant in this model. The *Married* control variable worked as expected, for those respondents who are married there was a .12 increase in the dependent variable, making them less likely to think that having a female president would be a good idea.

The results of all three models in Table 13 offer sound support for hypothesis H8: *Women who exhibit higher levels of modern sexism will be less likely to support a female presidential candidate than women who exhibit low levels modern sexism.* With all three models indicating that women with high scores on the modern sexism scale are more likely to feel that having a female president is a good idea, this hypothesis is accepted and the null hypothesis is rejected.

The data analysis in this chapter offers interesting insights into female gender resentment and its effects on political preferences. While the analysis could not definitively confirm hypothesis H7 pertaining to traditional sexism and a female presidential candidate, it did show potential in Model 1 of Table 12. The conflicting results in Models 2 and 3 suggest that there is a strong correlation between conservative ideology, party affiliation and traditional sexist attitudes which may be rendering the effects of traditional sexism inconsequential.

The results for modern sexism's effects on whether having a female president would be good or not are quite different. After running several models it is clear that modern sexist attitudes in women play a large role in whether they think that having a female president would be good or bad for the country. There could be a variety of reasons why modern sexist attitudes

have a greater effect than traditionally sexist attitudes on a woman's support for a female president. This is something that would need to be addressed further in future research.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this thesis was to examine modern and traditional sexism from the female perspective. This area of the research, which focuses on female gender resentment, has been understudied, while the sexist behavior of men towards women has been studied exhaustively. It was the supposition of this thesis that young women suffer from a type of societal Stockholm syndrome as a coping mechanism to survive in a male dominant society. The theory presented argued that working women under the age of 39 develop modern sexist attitudes as a way to survive and get ahead in the workforce. Their “survival” is dependent on the bond they have with their male co-workers. They develop this bond by displaying behavior similar to that of their male counterparts in the work setting. As displays of traditionally sexist behavior are not politically correct, modern sexism became the alternative. Although it is not a blatant denigration of women it still places women in a role that is the lesser to men’s roles. Previous research offered the idea that women benefit from modern sexist behavior and that those women who display this behavior have a greater chance of rising up the career ladder (Watkins et al. 2006).

The theory of a societal Stockholm syndrome affecting women’s sexist behavior also pertains to women who do not work, more specifically homemakers under the age of 39. It was argued that these women develop traditionally sexist attitudes as a way to cope with a dominant spouse who takes on the traditional male role of husband, father, and provider. The reason for this is that much like victims of Stockholm syndrome who identify with and subsequently mimic their captors’ behavior and attitudes to survive, these women will adopt the similar attitudes and behaviors to that of their husband or male life partner. These women also have the potential to

display high levels of modern sexist behavior and although no specific hypothesis was developed to test this, results from several of the regressions show that homemakers under the age of 39 also display high levels of modern sexist behavior.

Through multivariate linear regression analysis hypotheses H1-H6 were tested. The findings from the various regressions supported several of the hypotheses. The results from the regressions using modern and traditional sexism as the dependent variables of interest allowed for the acceptance of five of six of the hypotheses with only H1 being rejected.

H1: Working women will exhibit higher levels of modern sexist behavior than non-working women. -Rejected

H2: Women who work and are younger than 39 will exhibit higher levels of modern sexist behavior than women who work and are over 39. - Accepted

H3: Working women under the age of 39 will exhibit levels of modern sexism which are equal to or higher than those of working men under the age of 39. – Accepted

H4: Female homemakers will exhibit higher levels of traditional sexist behavior than women who work. - Accepted

H5: Women who are homemakers and are younger than 39 will exhibit higher levels of traditional sexist behavior than women who are homemakers and are over 39. -Accepted

H6: Female Homemakers under the age of 39 will exhibit levels of traditional sexism which are equal to or higher than those of working men under the age of 39 and working men over the age of 39. –Accepted

While the theory clearly has merit and the idea that both working women and homemakers, especially those under 39 years of age, display high levels of modern and traditional sexist behavior, strong correlations do not always imply causation. The empirical analysis could be strengthened through the inclusion of some personal accounts and case studies of women who fit the criteria and display the corresponding type of sexist behavior towards other women. This is a recognized weakness of this thesis and further research is needed to determine if the causal mechanisms suggested are responsible for the empirical results.

While these results furthered sociological side of the research on female gender resentment, there was also a need for research on what the possible political implications are when women develop gender resentment and sexist biases towards other women. In order to determine what impact female gender resentment and sexist biases has on political preferences, the focus of the analysis was shifted toward the possibility of a female president. Using a question from the ANES 2012 as the dependent variable, which asked respondents whether it would be extremely good, moderately good, a little good, neither good nor bad, a little bad, moderately bad, or extremely bad if a woman were to be president and the two sexism scales as separate independent variables, two new hypotheses were developed and tested. The results from the multivariate linear regressions were mixed. Three models were run using each of the two independent variables. The models using the traditional sexism scale gave mixed results and hypothesis H7 was rejected. However the all three models using the modern sexism scale as the independent variable produced the desired results and hypothesis H8 was accepted. Women who display high levels of modern sexist behavior are much less likely to support the idea that having a female president would be good for the country. These results held true in all three models

even after controlling for strong factors such as party affiliation and ideology, suggesting that high levels of modern sexist behavior is a strong predictor of a woman's support for a female presidential candidate.

The results of this thesis strongly suggest that female gender resentment and sexist biases towards one another is a growing problem. This issue likely affects many other facets of female life and political preferences. Future research needs to explore the political implications further. Some suggestions would be a thorough analysis of a presidential election in which there is a female candidate who makes it through the primary. It would also be interesting to analyze the effects of sexism on other political issues and policies such as; abortion, equal pay, affirmative action, and even on court decisions involving women's issues such as rape and domestic violence.

APPENDIX A: SUMMARY STATISTICS

Variable	Obs.	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Traditional Sexism Scale	5441	5.67	2.2	2	14
Modern Sexism Scale	5278	8.36	2.23	0	16
Woman President	5438	5.16	1.46	1	7
Female	5916	.52	.50	0	1
Age [Under 39=1]	5855	.36	.48	0	1
Homemaker	5916	.11	0.31	0	1
Employed	5916	.56	.50	0	1
Homemaker*Age	5855	.042	.20	0	1
Employed*Age	5855	.25	.43	0	1
Married	5906	.57	.50	0	1
Education	5866	2.89	1.14	1	5
Parent	5913	.60	.95	0	3
Black	5887	.12	.32	0	1
Hispanic	5898	.11	.31	0	1
Income Level	5717	14.19	8.02	1	28
Ideology	5302	4.25	1.46	1	7
Party I.D.	5892	3.80	2.10	1	7
Racial Resentment	5450	10.10	3.95	0	16
Egalitarianism Scale	5456	14.08	4.97	0	24
Church Attendance	5882	1.53	1.62	0	4
Traditional Values Scale	5473	9.09	3.68	0	16

Source: ANES 2012

APPENDIX B: CUT POINTS FOR TABLE 12

Cut Points	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Cut 1	-.94 (.06)	.19 (.11)	.04 (.13)
Cut 2	-.38 (.01)	.77 (.11)	.63 (.13)
Cut 3	-.38 (.06)	.81 (.11)	.68 (.13)
Cut 4	1.40 (.07)	2.70 (.12)	2.58 (.14)
Cut 5	1.51 (.07)	2.81 (.12)	2.68 (.14)
Cut 6	1.83 (.08)	3.15 (.13)	3.03 (.15)

Standard Error in () next to Cut Points

Source: ANES 2012

APPENDIX C: CUT POINTS FOR TABLE 13

Cut Points	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Cut 1	-1.94 (.10)	-.67 (.14)	-.82 (.16)
Cut 2	-1.36 (.09)	-.07 (.14)	-.20 (.16)
Cut 3	-1.31 (.09)	-.02 (.14)	-.16 (.16)
Cut 4	.48 (.09)	1.89 (.15)	1.76 (.17)
Cut 5	.59 (.10)	2.00 (.15)	1.87 (.17)
Cut 6	.89 (.10)	2.31 (.15)	2.19 (.17)

Standard Error in () next to Cut Points

Source: ANES 2012

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