“She doth (not) protest too much”:
Tolerance of sexism among women and men

Abigail M. Folberg, Jennifer S. Hunt, Carey S. Ryan
Arnold Klopinger on Les Moonves
“I don’t care if 30 more women come forward and allege this stuff...Les is our leader and it wouldn’t change my opinion of him.”

Senator Orrin Hatch on Brett Kavanaugh
“Brett Kavanaugh is a great man and a great judge. He loves his family, his church, baseball, burgers, and coaching his daughter’s basketball team.”

Jim Dirogatis on R Kelly
“I'd like to know how Clive Calder, the president of Jive Records, how Ed Genson, the leader of the defense team, how the managers and concert industry promoters who worked with Kelly, how they look at themselves in the mirror.... by refusing to derail the gravy train, [they] allowed this man to continue — because it was money. It was money that allowed him to prey on these girls.”
### Tolerance of Sexism

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.</strong></td>
<td>Someone can be a good person, even if they have some sexist views.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.</strong></td>
<td>Other people have the right to their own views, even if they are sexist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3.</strong></td>
<td>I could not be friends with someone who held sexist views. (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.</strong></td>
<td>If someone is sexist, I don’t care what other good qualities they might have. (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5.</strong></td>
<td>You can’t tell other people what to believe even if they are sexist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6.</strong></td>
<td>Sometimes you have to look beyond sexist views to see the good in people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7.</strong></td>
<td>Sometimes people use sexist language to get attention not because they are actually sexist.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tolerance of Sexism

• Individual difference
  • Affects interpretation of acts and perpetrators
  • Guides behavioral responses

• People rarely confront sexism even if they disapprove of those acts  
  (Crosby & Wilson, 2015; Kawakami, Dunn, Karmali, & Dovidio, 2009)
  • Don’t want to be seen as a troublemaker or complainer  
    (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Eliezer & Major, 2011; Kaiser & Miller, 2003; cf., Mallett & Wagner, 2011)
Tolerance of Sexism

• How is TOS different from other measures of sexism?
  • Subtle form of bias
  • Tolerance of others’ attitudes and behaviors (vs. attitudes towards target group)

• Likely reflects tolerance of hostile (vs. benevolent sexism)
  • Benevolent sexism often not perceived as sexism (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005)
Hypotheses

- TOS maintains the status quo by legitimizing sexism
- Likely associated with different attitudes and target group evaluations among women and men (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOS among Women</th>
<th>TOS among Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• More strongly associated with system justification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Tendency to favor men</td>
<td>• More strongly associated with zero-sum beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Tendency to derogate women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Method

• $N = 301$ (162 men, 139 women)
  • 20-71 years old ($M = 35.93$, $SD = 10.80$)
  • 77% White
  • 88% had completed some college or more education

• Attitudes measures (1 to 7 Likert scale)
  • TOS
  • Hostile and benevolent sexism
  • Gender-specific system justification
  • SDO
  • RWA
  • Zero-sum beliefs about gender equality

• Feeling thermometer task
ESEM analyses

χ²(86) = 143.986, CFI = .972, TLI = .956, RMSEA = .047, 90%CI [.033, .061]
## Tolerance of Sexism

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tolerance of Sexism</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Someone can be a good person, even if they have some sexist views.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Other people have the right to their own views, even if they are sexist.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I could not be friends with someone who held sexist views. (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. If someone is sexist, I don’t care what other good qualities they might have. (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. You can’t tell other people what to believe even if they are sexist.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sometimes you have to look beyond sexist views to see the good in people.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sometimes people use sexist language to get attention not because they are actually sexist.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender Differences

Tolerance of Sexism
Hostile Sexism
Benevolent Sexism
System Justification
Zero Sum Beliefs

Judgment

Women  Men

***  ***  ***  ***
## Associations of TOS with Evaluations of Women and Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target</th>
<th>Tolerance of Sexism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career women</td>
<td>-.20***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminists</td>
<td>-.36***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay-at-home moms</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>.22***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career men</td>
<td>.15**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay-at-home dads</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Associations of TOS with System Justification and Zero-Sum Beliefs by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>System Justification Tolerance of Sexism</th>
<th>Zero-Sum Beliefs Tolerance of Sexism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>$F(1, 292) = 3.01, p &lt; .10, \eta^2 = .01$</td>
<td>$F(1, 292) = 6.09, p &lt; .05, \eta^2 = .02$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion

• TOS is a subtle form of bias
  • Distinct from HS and BS
  • Likely assesses tolerance of hostile (vs. benevolent) sexism

• Justifies the status quo by condoning gender inequality

• Gender differences in the associations of TOS to attitudes and target group evaluations
  • Women:
    • Stronger system justifying beliefs
    • More positive evaluations of men
  • Men
    • Marginally stronger zero-sum beliefs
TOS and Sexism among Women

• Other studies: Effects of TOS, more generally, appear to be stronger among women than men
  • Strong support for Trump & Republican candidates
  • Stronger positive (vs. negative) affect directed at conservatives

• Why might the effects of TOS be stronger among women?
  • Sexism is perceived more seriously among women than men (Becker & Swim, 2011)
  • Women high in TOS more more strongly identify with traditional gender roles?
  • TOS and the intersection of gender and race
Limitations and Future Directions

• Limitations
  • Cross-sectional data
  • Gender is not binary

• Future Directions
  • Confronting sexism and affective responses to sexism
  • TOS among women
    • Role of benevolent sexism?
    • Intersectionality?
    • Identification?
Thank you!

Questions?