

A Systematic Review of the Ambivalent Sexism Literature: Hostile Sexism Protects Men’s Power; Benevolent Sexism Guards Traditional Gender Roles

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According to ambivalent sexism theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), the coexistence of gendered power differences and mutual interdependence creates two apparently opposing but complementary sexist ideologies: hostile sexism (HS; viewing women as manipulative competitors who seek to gain power over men) coincides with benevolent sexism (BS; a chivalrous view of women as pure and moral, yet weak and passive, deserving men’s protection and admiration, as long as they conform). The research on these ideologies employs the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, used extensively in psychology and allied disciplines, often to understand the roles sexist attitudes play in reinforcing gender inequality. Following contemporary guidelines, this systematic review utilizes a principled approach to synthesize the multidisciplinary empirical literature on ambivalent sexism. After screening 1,870 potentially relevant articles and fully reviewing 654 eligible articles, five main domains emerge in ambivalent sexism research (social ideologies, violence, workplace, stereotypes, intimate relationships). The accumulating evidence across domains offers bottom-up empirical support for ambivalent sexism as a coordinated system to maintain control over women (and sometimes men). Hostile sexism acts through the direct and diverse paths of envious/resentful prejudices, being more sensitive to power and sexuality cues; Benevolent sexism acts through prejudices related to interdependence (primarily gender-based paternalism and gender-role differentiation), enforcing traditional gender relations and being more sensitive to role-related cues. Discussion points to common methodological limitations, suggests guidelines, and finds future avenues for ambivalent sexism research.

Public Significance Statement

Ambivalent sexism theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) posits that two complementary ideologies aim to control women: hostile sexism (antipathy toward nontraditional women) coexists with benevolent sexism (seemingly favorable yet demeaning beliefs about conforming women). This review systematically scopes the multidisciplinary empirical literature on ambivalent sexism (654 articles), identifies the main domains, and shows how it reinforces gender inequality in terms of vulnerability to prejudiced ideologies, gendered violence, workplace discrimination, stereotyped representations, and close relationships disadvantage.

Keywords: ambivalent sexism, hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, gender inequality, systematic review

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Sexism remains an ongoing issue in the 21st century, but it is subtler than it used to be. In fact, the “gender revolution,” which is characterized by substantial global progress toward gender equality in the last half century (England et al., 2020; UN Women, 2019), has translated into more equal opportunities for women in diverse

domains, such as employment (Cotter et al., 2007; Dobbin, 2009), education (David, 2017), political participation (UN Women, 2021), and health (The BMJ, 2020). To illustrate, the gender pay gap has narrowed (Blau & Kahn, 2017). There is less field segregation in studies (England & Li, 2016) and jobs (Blau et al., 2013). Men have

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become slightly more involved at home (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). Multisectoral plans have been implemented worldwide to address violence against women (World Health Organization, 2021a). New feminist movements have emerged (Zemlinskaya, 2010). This progress has also been matched by a growing endorsement of gender egalitarian values (Scarborough et al., 2019). Still, despite this progress, recent analyses indicate that these trends have slowed in recent decades or even stalled (England et al., 2020). In fact, gender gaps persist across nations in most areas of social and economic life (United Nations Development Programme, 2020; World Economic Forum, 2021), with current global political crises (war in Ukraine; UN Women, 2022) and health issues (COVID-19 pandemic; A. N. Fisher & Ryan, 2021) further exacerbating existing gender inequalities.

Why do gender gaps persist? Social-psychological research suggests that inequality maintains itself in some similar ways across groups (Jost et al., 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999); yet, gender relations also have distinct features that inform the conceptualization of sexism. According to ambivalent sexism theory (AST; Glick & Fiske, 1996), the striking coexistence of power differences and mutual interdependence between the genders gives rise to sexist attitudes that are based on two complementary ideologies: hostile sexism (HS), a combative ideology that expresses antipathy toward women who are viewed as seeking to control men, coincides with benevolent sexism (BS), a seemingly favorable, chivalrous ideology that offers protection and admiration to women who are viewed as supportive.

The current work systematically reviews the empirical literature on ambivalent sexism, operationalized either as an individual differences scale or (less often) manipulated, across a variety of disciplines and settings since first introduced. We start by providing a brief background on the development of the theory and the assessment of ambivalent sexism. But, first, two caveats:

The focus is primarily on sexual and gender majorities, given the theory's assumptions about heterosexuality (Glick & Fiske, 2001b) and the samples of cisgender and heterosexual people examined in the vast majority of the articles reviewed. We acknowledge that this heteronormative focus is dated (see van der Toorn et al., 2020). In line with recent calls for more inclusive and representative social science (McGorray et al., 2023), we encourage researchers to examine how and to what extent the concept of ambivalent sexism can apply to sexual and gender minorities (e.g., Cowie et al., 2019; Cross et al., 2021). This would allow for updating and expansion of the theory to ensure that it remains timely and relevant (for further details, see the General Discussion section).

Throughout, we describe the nature and findings of ambivalent sexism from a descriptive, rather than a prescriptive, standpoint (i.e., we describe how ambivalent sexism relates to men's and women's outcomes rather than prescribe how these outcomes ought to be shaped). For the sake of simplicity and concision, this review uses a writing style that attributes agency to HS and BS (e.g., HS and BS assert control over women). Nonetheless, by doing so, we do not intend to shift responsibility away from individuals who endorse and act on these ideologies.¹

The Paradoxical Nature of Sexism

Sexism, as compared to antisemitism and anti-Black racism, emerged later in the field of prejudice (Reid, 1988). The traditional

definitions (e.g., Allport, 1954; see Eagly, 2005, for a review), empirical findings (e.g., Adorno et al., 1950; Schuman et al., 1985), and measures (e.g., Crosby et al., 1980; Sigall & Page, 1971) of prejudice were based on an antipathy account, which presumed intergroup competition and conflict. The early conceptualizations of sexism also adhered to this model by focusing on explicit (Beere et al., 1984; Spence & Helmreich, 1972) and later, more modern (Swim et al., 1995; Tougas et al., 2016) negative views about women. Indeed, gender relations, like other intergroup relations (between groups of different ethnicities, races), represent a clear case of structural power differences. Based on indicators of status and power, patriarchy (i.e., a social structure in which men have disproportionate social and political power compared to women; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2001) is cross-culturally pervasive (Buss, 1996; Wood & Eagly, 2002). Thus, men as dominant, viewed through the lens of classic models of prejudice, makes it clear that to some extent, sexism reflects hostility toward women.

However, this view neglects a key aspect of (heteronormative) gender relations; namely, that they are typified by high levels of mutual dependency (Ridgeway & Correll, 2016; Rudman & Glick, 2021), more than in most other unequal group relations (Fiske, 2017). Both genders usually mutually depend on each other for satisfying their sexual and reproductive (Guttentag & Secord, 1983) as well as sociocultural (Wood & Eagly, 2002) needs, which leads many men and women to be in constant contact with each other: They often live together, love each other, and need each other to produce life. This interdependence encourages cooperation (alongside competition) in the context of sexism and gender inequality (see Jackman, 1994). Thus, sexism may be better viewed as a special case of prejudice marked by deep ambivalence rather than uniform antipathy.

AST (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001b) identifies a pair of complementary ideologies that serve exactly this function: HS and BS. Similar to the traditional model of prejudice, HS reflects an adversarial view of gender relations that targets women who are viewed as competitors seeking to gain dominance and control over men, whether through their sexuality, feminist ideology, or ambitious career choices. By contrast, BS engages in a subtle form of prejudice that, despite its inclusion of stereotypical and restrictive beliefs about gender relations, takes on a subjectively favorable tone. BS views women as warm, pure, and supportive, who therefore deserve men's protection, provision, and admiration. BS idealizes heterosexual love based on the notion that men and women have different yet complementary traits and associated responsibilities. BS facilitates cooperation through its appeal to both men and women because it allows men to enjoy a privileged position while maintaining a positive image as women's protectors; simultaneously, BS subordinates women but also guarantees that men's power and status will be used to support compliant women. Nevertheless, according to the theory, being placed in restricted

¹ Ambivalent sexism is typically operationalized as a person variable, and thus we acknowledge that individuals vary in its endorsement and effects (i.e., not all men and women respond in the same way). However, we believe that our analysis extends beyond individual differences. Not only do levels of sexism endorsement sometimes vary within individuals over time (Hammond et al., 2014, 2016; Sibley, Overall, & Duckitt, 2007; but cf. Huang et al., 2019), but even mean levels (close to midpoint) are linked to important outcomes (e.g., national indices of gender inequality; Glick, 2006; Glick et al., 2000).

roles (prescribed by BS) shapes men's and women's attitudes and behaviors in potentially confining ways. The appearance of BS as functional and beneficial for gender relations can also discourage both men and women from resisting inequalities.

Measure and Validation of Ambivalent Sexism

To assess these ideologies, Glick and Fiske (1996) developed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). This scale comprises 11 items measuring HS, which has a one-factor structure (e.g., "Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing men advances"; "Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist"). Eleven other items measure BS, representing content from three subfactors: protective paternalism (e.g., "In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men"), heterosexual intimacy (e.g., "People are not truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex"), and gender differentiation (e.g., "Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste").

A cross-cultural investigation of ambivalent sexism (in 19 countries, totaling more than 15,000 participants) demonstrated that these attitudes are universally pervasive and that the ASI has strong cross-cultural validity, with a consistent factor structure, good reliability, and predictive validity (Glick et al., 2000; see also Fiske & North, 2014; Glick et al., 2004). Although HS and BS subjectively entail opposite attitudinal dispositions toward women, they are positively correlated (Glick et al., 2000). This has been interpreted as suggesting that BS serves as a complement to HS that helps pacify women's resistance to gender inequality (Glick & Fiske, 2001b). Indeed, across nations, both BS and HS correlated with structural gender inequality, consistent with the theoretical claim that they both reflect and perpetuate the existing gender arrangements (Glick et al., 2000).

The Present Review

Over the past 2 decades, interest in ambivalent sexism has grown dramatically across the world (see Figures S1 and S2 in the online Supplemental Material). The ASI has been used extensively in psychology and allied disciplines (e.g., management, law, education), in a variety of contexts (e.g., violence against women, the workplace, intimate relationships), and has become an influential tool in psychology for researching the role sexist attitudes play in reinforcing gender inequality in diverse domains. The accumulating richness and variability of ambivalent sexism research provided us with the opportunity to take stock and cover (almost) everything that has happened since 1996 as objectively as we can (i.e., using systematic principles, transparency, and openness; see the Method section).

Existing reviews on ambivalent sexism can be roughly divided into four types: (a) reviews covering the basic theoretical concepts underpinning AST, including methodological summaries on scale development and cross-cultural validity (Glick & Fiske, 1997, 2001b, 2001c, 2011; see also McHugh & Frieze, 1997); (b) theoretical models and commentaries on the nature of ambivalent sexism in a specific area of interest, such as in intimate relationships (Hammond et al., 2020; Hammond & Overall, 2017a, 2017b), workplace contexts (Cikara et al., 2009; Hideg & Shen, 2019),

violence (C. Fraser, 2015), and sexual harassment (Fiske & Glick, 1995); (c) reviews of broader concepts related to ambivalent sexism (with only a partial focus on the AST), such as sexism in general (J. C. Becker & Sibley, 2016; Radke et al., 2016), social roles (Clow & Ricciardelli, 2011), ambivalent prejudices (Cuddy et al., 2008; Fiske, 2012b, 2017), and social systems (Calogero, 2013; Cikara & Fiske, 2007; Fiske, 2012a); and (d) reviews dealing specifically with ambivalent sexism findings. This type includes an introduction to a special issue on ambivalent sexism, which reviews the underpinnings of AST and the findings it covers (including 15 articles; T. L. Lee, Fiske, & Glick, 2010), and two book chapters: One reviews ambivalent sexism research specifically in violence and workplace contexts (Connor et al., 2017), and the other deals solely with the effects of BS (Glick & Raberg, 2017). Another review that was published recently (Barreto & Doyle, 2022) narratively summarizes the predictors (and some effects) of ambivalent sexism in research conducted in the last 5 years. However, none of these reviews has comprehensively evaluated almost all ASI empirical research over 2 decades using a rigorous *systematic* review methodology.

Here, we utilized a principled approach (using Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses [PRISMA]; M. J. Page et al., 2021) to review empirical articles implementing the ASI since the theory was developed. This enabled us to synthesize the multidisciplinary empirical literature on ambivalent sexism.² The main goal of this review is to identify the major domains in which the ASI appears, and specifically whether and how it has contributed to accounting for attitudes and behaviors in these domains. We also aimed to identify overarching patterns of conclusions that could possibly be drawn across domains. We took a bottom-up approach to discover what emerges from the literature rather than forming a priori hypotheses, thus reducing author bias.

The next sections describe the methods used to search, screen, and review articles that have implemented the ASI. The synthesis identifies the domains of ambivalent sexism research and its main conclusions, limitations, and recommendations. Then, an overarching framework of conclusions, aggregated across domains, shows how HS and BS operate differently, but together both ideologies maintain a coordinated system of control over women as well as men. We further point to the broad methodological limitations of the ambivalent sexism literature. Finally, we suggest ways that the field can move forward by testing both classic and new theoretical ideas to understand this phenomenon and contribute to reducing gender inequality.

Method

We conducted a systematic review, not a meta-analysis, because we did not have a directional hypothesis; instead, we aimed to account for the wide range of topics and methods employed in ambivalent sexism research. We first describe our efforts to comply with the Transparency and Openness Promotion Guidelines (Nosek et al., 2015), followed by the search procedure and the inclusion and exclusion criteria. We then explain how we organized the included studies to synthesize their findings.

² The closely related construct of ambivalent attitudes toward men (Glick et al., 2004; Glick & Fiske, 1999) was beyond the scope of this review. We focus exclusively on the concepts of ambivalent sexism, whose contribution to the maintenance of gender roles and inequality is well established.

Transparency and Openness

The design of this systematic review is based on the guidelines suggested by [Siddaway et al. \(2019\)](#) and the reporting standards of PRISMA ([M. J. Page et al., 2021](#)). This review was registered using the Inclusive Systematic Review Registration Form ([Van den Akker et al., 2020](#)) at the Open Science Framework (<https://osf.io/ut8es>; [Bareket, 2022](#)).³ All research materials and files associated with the data (search queries, search validation set, imported databases searches, excluded studies at each screening stage, included studies with extracted entities, coding scheme, and PRISMA Flow Diagram of Article Selection Process) are available at the Open Science Framework (<https://osf.io/b6h8x>; [Bareket, 2023](#)). More detailed information regarding the synthesis of the findings (summaries of smaller domains, [Supplemental Tables and Figures](#)) is available in the online [Supplemental Material](#) and at the Open Science Framework (<https://osf.io/b6h8x>).

Literature Search

The database search, conducted at the end of July 2021, provided the pool of studies screened for inclusion. The search strategy built on an initial, informal literature review that was conducted to gather information on the most common phrases associated with ambivalent sexism research. Custom searches used the APA PsycInfo and Web of Science databases. Based on the research question and this informal literature review, as well as consultations with behavioral sciences librarians, the following search terms were defined to locate all potentially relevant works: “ambivalent sexism*” OR “benevolent sexism*” OR “hostile sexism*” (the truncation devices were used to consider different terminology). The search included all search fields available in the databases (e.g., title, abstract, keywords, tests and measures). When available, database limiters confined the results based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria, as described in the next section below. As recommended by [Siddaway et al. \(2019\)](#), a set of articles that a priori fully met the inclusion criteria constituted a validation set to test the search strategy after verifying that these articles were present in the databases. For those that were present, the strategy was to test whether the search yielded these articles. The search strategy fully identified all the articles in the validation set (the full search queries and the validation set are available at <https://osf.io/b6h8x>).

A total of 1,870 records emerged via database searching, next imported into Covidence software (a web-based platform for management of systematic reviews; <https://www.covidence.org>), where 545 duplicates were removed. Thus, a total of 1,325 records were screened for inclusion. The screening and extraction stages were conducted by the first author. Decisions about borderline cases were discussed and resolved by consensus between the coauthors.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

All the potentially relevant articles were reviewed to determine whether they met the following criteria:

1. Use of the ASI to either measure its constructs or manipulate the construct of ambivalent sexism (or one of the subconstructs of BS or HS). If manipulation was included, it should either use the ASI items or an explicit reference to the theory's constructs (for examples of

common ASI manipulations, see the General Discussion section).

2. The hypothesis/es specifically related to ambivalent sexism. These hypotheses are central to the article, rather than only including descriptive or psychometric analyses of the ASI, or the use of ASI constructs as tangential measures or covariates; articles reporting psychometric analyses of other scales or cross-cultural comparisons were included only if they provided meaningful information on ambivalent sexism (i.e., associations between the ASI constructs and other constructs of interest).
3. Empirical and quantitative research. Qualitative research, reviews, meta-analyses, and theoretical writings were not included. Although they were not included as data, we refer to relevant meta-analyses throughout the Results section to compare findings.
4. Peer-reviewed journal articles. Dissertations and other unreviewed publications were not included.
5. Articles were written in English (to reduce potential errors in translation or interpretation). Studies conducted in other languages but reported in English were included.
6. Adult subjects (18 years or older; excluding articles that examined only children/adolescents up to the age of 19). Articles that examined both adults and children/adolescents were included. Although endorsement of ambivalent sexism in children and adolescents is a growing topic of inquiry, this body of literature involves considerations (e.g., developmentally appropriate instruments; [De Lemus et al., 2010](#); [Hammond & Cimpian, 2021](#)) that fall outside the scope of this review.

The records were screened for inclusion in two stages ([Siddaway et al., 2019](#)). First, the titles and abstracts were read to determine whether each record met the inclusion criteria. This process excluded 658 records. After reading the full texts of 667 articles, 13 articles were excluded that did not meet the criteria (the lists of excluded studies at both screening stages are available at <https://osf.io/b6h8x>). The final data set comprised 654 articles. The article selection process outlined using the PRISMA flow diagram ([M. J. Page et al., 2021](#)) is available at <https://osf.io/b6h8x>.

Data Extraction and Organization of Findings

During the title and abstract screening stage, we generated a comprehensive list of 27 domains (with 23 subdomains) that emerged as the main topics for research on ambivalent sexism. Each eligible article was assigned to at least one domain (up to five domains) that reflected the context in which the ASI was used (e.g., violence, workplace, intimate relationships) or the main process

³ The protocol for this review was registered after the extraction stage and before the synthesis stage. However, the methods for each stage of the review were predetermined before the work on the review started and are documented accordingly in the protocol. Although the aim of the review was to discover patterns in the literature and specified no a priori hypotheses, the decision to register the review at that stage aimed for methodological transparency.

addressed in the article (e.g., stereotypes, social ideologies).⁴ This approach served to cluster and discuss ambivalent sexism research that examined similar constructs of interest. Figure 1 provides a spatial overview of these domains (i.e., hierarchical bubble visualization) based on volume (i.e., number of articles per domain) and conceptual similarity (i.e., groups of domains for which the patterns of findings were similar to each other).

For each eligible article within a domain, qualitative entities were coded (the coding scheme is available at <https://osf.io/b6h8x>). The primary entity extracted was a verbal description of the main findings pertaining to ambivalent sexism (or one of its subconstructs—HS or BS) and its associations with other related variables. This included moderators, mediators, and relevant covariates (e.g., the complementary sexism subscale). Other entities extracted from the articles included how the ASI was used (i.e., whether it was measured, manipulated, or both), which scales were assessed (HS, BS, or both), sample characteristics (i.e., gender composition and sample type/population), and origin countries of the samples. When relevant, additional notes about the design (e.g., longitudinal, dyadic), ASI use (e.g., treated the ASI as a unidimensional construct), other measures and operationalizations, and study quality (e.g., unclear result description) were included. The articles' metadata (i.e., title, authors, abstract, publication year [and month, if applicable], journal [including volume, issue, pages, and DOI]) were also extracted. Note that due to the relatively large number of eligible articles, and the fact that the studies within an article were not independent, the data extraction treated the article rather than study/sample as the unit of analysis (i.e., each row represented an article rather than a study within an article). Yet, if an article included several studies/samples, all their findings and characteristics were summarized in the extracted entities in an aggregated manner (without repetition). The data file with eligible articles including the extracted entities is available at <https://osf.io/b6h8x>.

Basic Article Characteristics

The review included articles published between the years 1996 and 2021 (for publication trends over time, see Figure S1 in the online Supplemental Material). In terms of ASI scale usage, the majority of the articles included both the HS and BS subscales (86%), whereas the remainder only included the HS (9%) or the BS (5%) subscale. Most articles measured (90%) rather than manipulated (5%) HS and BS constructs, although a few did both (5%). In terms of gender composition, the majority used samples of both men and women (70%), whereas the rest only dealt with men (17%) or women (13%).⁵ Sample type varied. The majority examined students (53%), followed by community members (20%), online platform users (15%), employees (6%), panel/national survey participants (4%), or other (2%).⁶ The articles reported studies conducted in a range of countries (75), with 40% of them conducted in the United States (for a world map illustrating the geographical distribution, see Figure S2 in the online Supplemental Material).

Results

The results are structured as follows. The overall domains with extensive ambivalent sexism research appear in separate subsections below to analyze the most common outcomes assessed and methods used, the evidence regarding the role of HS, BS, or both in that

domain,⁷ as well as domain-specific strengths and shortcomings of the research reviewed, and recommendations for advancing ambivalent sexism research in that domain. Each subsection is concluded by a table summarizing the overall work done in that particular domain, as well as domain-specific limitations, recommendations, and open theoretical questions. Every domain table is complemented by a table summarizing the findings within each of the subdomains (available in the online Supplemental Material). As the number of identified domains was relatively large ($N_{\text{domains}} = 27$, $N_{\text{subdomains}} = 23$), the focus is on the five largest domains (in terms of the number of articles), which thus allowed for a more coherent synthesis of the findings. The presentation order of domains was determined not only based on domain size but also on conceptual clarity. Smaller adjacent domains are described in the synthesis based on similarity of concepts and consistency of patterns with the large domains. These domains helped explain the guiding themes/ideas we discovered (derived from the data) on how HS and BS operate in different ways. Other, smaller domains that exhibited less distinctive patterns are only mentioned briefly in the synthesis, but interested readers can find detailed summaries of these domains in the online Supplemental Material.

Social Ideologies ($n_{\text{articles}} = 94$)

We decided to start with Social Ideologies, the second largest domain, because the articles included here examined the relationship between ambivalent sexism and a variety of social ideologies, which mostly represent general dispositional tendencies (compared to constructs of interest in the other, large domains, which were more context-specific, such as violent behavior or workplace bias). This domain, therefore, offers an overview that situates ambivalent sexism within a broader context.

Most of the articles in this domain focused on beliefs (assessed by self-report measures) that correspond to various forms of prejudice with respect to specific groups or more general social world views. We classified these articles into three subdomains according to the type of social ideology. The first subdomain consisted of articles examining social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994) or right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1988). Social dominance orientation is defined as a preference for group-based hierarchy and inequality (Ho et al., 2015; Pratto et al., 1994), whereas right-wing authoritarianism reflects a threat-driven motivation for collective security and ingroup cohesion (Duckitt, 2001). We classified articles dealing with these two social ideologies in the same subdomain because they represent the

⁴ Note that the final count of classifications ($n = 830$) is larger than the total number of articles included ($n = 654$) for two reasons: (a) articles could have been assigned to more than one domain (to account for possible domain overlap); and (b) although we tried to keep the subdomains as distinct as possible (i.e., avoid multiple classifications of subdomains within a domain), some articles examined a variety of outcomes, and thus multiple classifications were sometimes made also within the domain.

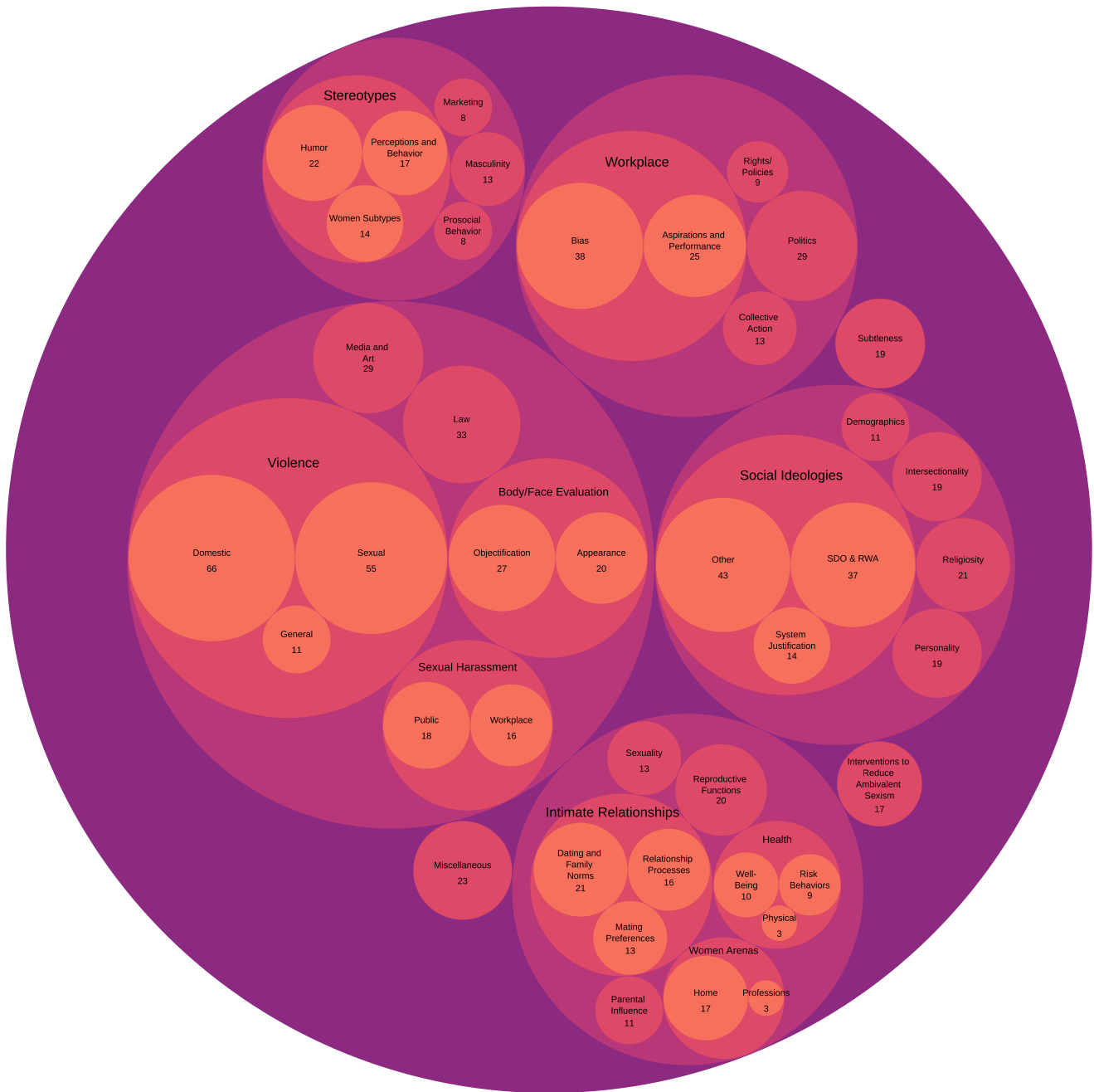
⁵ The reviewed articles frequently used restrictive definitions of gender, confining the choices to "men" and "women" in their demographics. Moreover, the terms "males" and "females" were often used interchangeably with "men" and "women." Consequently, we did not distinguish between these terms in the article and instead used gender terms rather than sex terms throughout.

⁶ Articles can be assigned to more than one sample type.

⁷ Unless stated otherwise, the findings described in the Results section hold for both men and women participants.

Figure 1

Circle Packing Chart (i.e., Hierarchical Bubble Visualization) of the Domains of Ambivalent Sexism Research



Note. The pink circles represent the domains, the orange circles represent the subdomains, and the purple circles group domains based on conceptual similarity of findings (i.e., the main domains are presented next to their adjacent domains). The size of the circles is based on volume (i.e., the number of articles per domain). A table with the list of domains and the number of articles per domain is available on the Open Science Framework at <https://osf.io/b6h8x>. SDO = social dominance orientation; RWA = right-wing authoritarianism. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

most dominant individual-difference constructs that explain a wide range of ideological and intergroup phenomena (e.g., Sibley et al., 2006; B. E. Whitley, 1999), and they are often examined together in a model that associates them to personality and social worldview dimensions (i.e., the dual process model; Duckitt et al., 2002).

In the second subdomain, we classified articles examining system justification, which refers to the perception of existing arrangements as fair, legitimate, and justifiable, even at the expense of personal and group interests (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2004). Although social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, and

system justification all represent ideologies that legitimate and maintain the status quo, we separated the analysis of system justification from social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism because these constructs often make different predictions (Vargas-Salfate et al., 2018), and within the ambivalent sexism literature, these are mainly studied in isolation (e.g., Jost & Kay, 2005; Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007).

The third subdomain consisted of articles examining other social ideologies corresponding to diverse forms of prejudice (e.g., attitudes toward sexual and gender minorities, honor beliefs). Table 1 summarizes the overall social ideologies domain, and Table S1 (in the online Supplemental Material) summarizes its subdomains.

Social Dominance Orientation and Right-Wing Authoritarianism ($n_{articles} = 37$)

The articles in this subdomain assessed the associations between ambivalent sexism and right-wing authoritarianism or social dominance orientation (measured by their standard self-report scales, respectively; Altemeyer, 1996; Pratto et al., 1994; or shorter versions of these scales). Most articles focused either on both social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism (e.g., Feather & McKee, 2012) or solely on social dominance orientation (e.g., Radke, Hornsey, Sibley, & Barlow, 2018), with fewer articles dealing solely with right-wing authoritarianism (e.g., Patev et al., 2019). The reported correlations between the ambivalent sexism constructs and these social ideologies are either direct (e.g., Mosso et al., 2013) or reported as part of broader mediational models (e.g., Pehrson et al., 2017).

The most consistent finding is that social dominance orientation is positively associated with HS in both men and women (e.g., Christopher & Mull, 2006; Ruthig et al., 2017; Sibley & Overall, 2011), although some articles find this association only for men (e.g., Schmitt & Wirth, 2009; Stewart, 2017). In longitudinal designs, social dominance orientation predicts increases in HS (but not BS) over time (Pehrson et al., 2017; Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007 [among men]). A path model linking this association to personality and social worldviews among men further indicated that the social dominance orientation link to HS stems from perceptions of the world as a competitive place (a “dog-eat-dog” world) and a personality disposition high in tough-mindedness (Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007). Thus, overall, *the social dominance orientation–HS link reflects the concern of HS with competitiveness and comparative rank.*⁸

By contrast, there is evidence (although not as much as for the social dominance orientation–HS link) that right-wing authoritarianism is positively associated with BS among both men and women (e.g., Feather & McKee, 2012; Sibley & Overall, 2011). In longitudinal designs, right-wing authoritarianism predicts increases in BS (but not HS) over time (Sibley, Overall, & Duckitt, 2007 [among women]; Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007 [among men]). A path model among men further indicated that the right-wing authoritarianism link to BS stems from perceptions of the world as a dangerous and threatening place and a personality disposition toward social conformity (Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007). Thus, overall, *the right-wing authoritarianism–BS link reflects the concern of BS with conserving traditional values.*

A few articles report findings that are less consistent with the differential effects of right-wing authoritarianism and social

dominance orientation on ambivalent sexism, such as articles reporting associations between social dominance orientation and BS (e.g., Osborne & Davies, 2009; Thomas & Esses, 2004), right-wing authoritarianism and HS (e.g., Begany & Milburn, 2002; Feather & McKee, 2012), or both social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism with both HS and BS (e.g., Van Assche et al., 2019). A relevant meta-analysis approached only a subset of the samples included in this review (Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007 [see Study 1, $k = 12$ for both genders in total, including also unpublished data]); it supported the more prevalent, differential account found in our analysis, more consistently for men than women. Thus, their results raise the possibility that the minor inconsistencies in the findings included in the review with regards to these associations may be attributed to alternatives (e.g., gender differences, the HS–BS correlation).

System Justification ($n_{articles} = 14$)

Articles included in this subdomain measured the construct of system justification in its form, either general (e.g., perceptions that society as a whole is fair and just; Connelly & Heesacker, 2012) or gender-specific (e.g., perceptions that the current state of gender relations in society is fair and just; J. C. Becker & Wright, 2011), with only one article manipulating a threat to the legitimacy of the social system (Lau et al., 2008). We also included a few articles that did not directly assess system justification but their findings demonstrate a system-justifying account for explaining effects related to ambivalent sexism (e.g., Calogero & Jost, 2011; Vial & Napier, 2017).

Consistent with its role in conserving the status quo, BS is positively associated with endorsing system-justifying beliefs (Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Sibley & Becker, 2012), with some reporting this association only for women (J. C. Becker & Wright, 2011; Hammond & Sibley, 2011), and others finding that HS is also related to it but only in women (Glick & Whitehead, 2010; Mosso et al., 2013). Experiments indicate that activating BS (or both BS and HS, but not HS alone) in women (but not men) increases support for the status quo (Jost & Kay, 2005; but cf. Glick & Whitehead, 2010) and influences other system-justifying practices, such as increasing women’s self-objectification (Calogero & Jost, 2011) and reducing their collective action (J. C. Becker & Wright, 2011). Another article found that women (but not men) who were primed with power were less likely to endorse BS (but not HS), a finding that was interpreted as a reduction in system-justifying tendencies in women who feel powerful (Vial & Napier, 2017). Among men, experiencing a system threat increased romantic interest in women who embodied benevolent sexist ideals (Lau et al., 2008), implying that BS may serve as a system-justifying cue in potential women mates (see the intimate relationships domain).

A few articles also point to benefits from the association of ambivalent sexism and system justification, especially for women, such as greater life satisfaction (Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Hammond & Sibley, 2011, for BS; see the health domain in the online Supplemental Material) and relief from workplace anxiety (Pacilli et al., 2019, for HS; see the workplace domain).

⁸ Throughout the Results section, we italicize the major takeaways.

Table 1
Social Ideologies Domain

Social ideologies ($n_{\text{articles}} = 94$)			
Subdomains: social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism ($n_{\text{articles}} = 37$), system justification ($n_{\text{articles}} = 14$), other social ideologies ($n_{\text{articles}} = 43$)			
Primary outcomes	Main findings	Limitations	Recommendations
Prejudicial views/ideologies that are general, group-specific, or gender-specific.	<p>Both HS and BS are related to social ideologies representing diverse forms of prejudice, but with different emphases:</p> <p>HS associates better with ideologies and values that reflect power and dominance (e.g., social dominance orientation), more for men than for women, as well as with greater concern over equality issues (e.g., against support for women's rights).</p> <p>BS associates better with ideologies and values that reflect a motivation to maintain social roles and tradition (e.g., right-wing authoritarianism, prejudice against sexual and gender minorities) and other forms of "positive" prejudice (e.g., toward the elderly).</p> <p>BS "disarms" women from resisting sexism by encouraging them to endorse and engage in system-justifying beliefs and practices, although the association between BS and system justification might also have well-being benefits.</p>	<p>Uses correlational and cross-sectional designs that limit causal inference.</p> <p>Some rely on evidence obtained from broader models with different goals and focus.</p> <p>Some use system justification as a theoretical framework but do not directly assess it.</p>	<p>Use experiments or longitudinal designs to further strengthen causal inference about the role of ambivalent sexism in broader context.</p> <p>Design parsimonious studies that directly test the differential associations of HS and BS with other ideologies of interest.</p> <p>Provide a direct operationalization of system justification to further strengthen its theoretical account.</p>
			<p>Where do HS and BS fit into the causal chain with respect to other social ideologies that are either more distal or proximate?</p> <p>Is BS (more than HS) sensitive to deviations from heteronormativity?</p>

Smaller adjacent domains: religiosity, personality, demographics, intersectionality.

Note. If not mentioned otherwise (a) the findings described here hold for both men and women participants and (b) the associations described are positive. HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism.

Other Social Ideologies ($n_{articles} = 43$), Concerning General (Power and Status) and Gendered Prejudices

The remainder of the articles examined associations between ambivalent sexism and other social ideologies that are mostly considered forms of prejudice. Some of these articles examined prejudiced views of sexual and gender minorities and showed that ambivalent sexism is positively associated with negative attitudes (e.g., Pistella et al., 2018), stereotypes (e.g., Morrison & Bearden, 2007), or affect (e.g., Davies, 2004) toward gay, lesbian, and transgender people, as well as lower support for the rights of these groups (e.g., Masser & Abrams, 1999). Although some of these articles indicated these associations for both HS and BS (e.g., Masser & Abrams, 1999; Pistella et al., 2018), some obtained specific associations with either BS (B. E. Whitley, 2001) or HS (Uluboy & Husnu, 2020), and some pointed to differences in these associations depending on the participants' gender (J. L. Nagoshi et al., 2008; Rye et al., 2019) or sexual orientation (López-Sáez et al., 2020a; Warriner et al., 2013; Zhao & Zheng, 2021), targets' gender (C. T. Nagoshi et al., 2019), and social context (Buck & Obzud, 2018; Gulevich et al., 2021). Yet, slightly more evidence indicates that BS is a better predictor of sexual and gender minority prejudice than HS (e.g., Gulevich et al., 2021; B. E. Whitley, 2001). Thus, individuals who endorse BS may be especially sensitive to deviations from heteronormativity because a critical component of BS is heterosexual intimacy (i.e., the belief that a man cannot be complete without the love of a woman). One article also found that BS was associated with positive stereotypes about gay men (Morrison & Bearden, 2007), implying that the ambivalence associated with BS may generalize to other social groups.

The other articles here centered on specific types of social ideologies; hence, the findings cannot be generalized, although they all represent different types of prejudice. For example, both HS and BS were positively linked to other general social ideologies, such as classism (Colbow et al., 2016), beliefs in human supremacy (Roynance et al., 2016; Salmen & Dhont, 2020), but also to gender-related ideologies such as other types of sexism (Glick et al., 2004; Glick & Fiske, 1999; Masser & Abrams, 1999), endorsement of traditional gender-role ideologies (Eliason et al., 2017), beliefs in anti-men discrimination (de Zavala & Bierwiazczonok, 2021; Zehnter et al., 2021), negative attitudes toward feminists (Ogletree et al., 2019), and honor beliefs (Glick et al., 2016). For ageism, BS predicted a positive form of ageism (e.g., perceptions of the elderly as kind, cute, wise), whereas HS predicted negative ageism (e.g., beliefs about cognitive decline, grumpiness, and lack of libido; Chonody, 2016). Other findings included associations of HS with a dangerous-world implicit theory (Ildeniz & Ciardha, 2021), as well as lower egalitarian advocacy (Martin & North, 2022) and lower support for women's rights (Masser & Abrams, 1999).

Finally, two articles (Feather, 2004; Feather & McKee, 2012) examined the associations between ambivalent sexism and value priorities held by individuals and showed that both HS and BS are positively related to values of power (the association is stronger for men than women in the case of HS) and security, and negatively related to values of universalism and benevolence. In addition, these articles found that BS is positively related to values of tradition but negatively to values of self-direction.

Summary of Findings Across Subdomains

Taken together, the findings in this section provide substantial evidence for the link between ambivalent sexism and a variety of social ideologies representing forms of prejudice that are general, group-specific, and gender-specific. Although both HS and BS in both men and women generally associate with ideologies that maintain and justify the status quo, there are some notable differences in the kind of ideologies associated with each type of sexism, as well as gender differences. Because HS represents a form of envious/resentful prejudice (Glick & Fiske, 2001a), *HS associates better with ideologies that reflect power and dominance motives* (e.g., social dominance orientation), more for men than for women, and greater concern over equality issues (e.g., against support for women's rights). HS is more strongly associated with self-enhancement values related to power (especially for men).

By contrast, because BS represents paternalistic control (Glick & Fiske, 2001a), *BS associates better with ideologies that reflect a motivation to maintain social roles, norms, and tradition* (e.g., right-wing authoritarianism, prejudice against sexual and gender minorities), with values of conservation and resistance to change, and with other seemingly positive forms of prejudice (i.e., endorsement of positive stereotypes about gay or older people). Thus, the ambivalence reflected in BS may generalize to perceptions of other social groups. *BS also "disarms" women from resisting sexism by encouraging them to endorse system-justifying beliefs and practices*, although the BS–system justification association might also have well-being perks (e.g., greater life satisfaction).

Domain-Specific Limitations and Recommendations

The findings reported in this section mostly come from student samples and online samples, and to a lesser extent, from national samples. The correlational and cross-sectional design employed in most of these articles limits causal inference. Theoretically, general (and therefore more distal) social motives predispose people toward having prejudiced views of specific target groups (as more proximal motives for behaviors toward those groups; Duckitt, 2001; North & Fiske, 2014). Thus, the more general ideologies examined in these articles may be viewed as antecedents of HS and BS (e.g., Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007). Other group-specific ideologies (e.g., attitudes toward sexual and gender minorities) may stem from similar motives to endorse HS and BS and thus correlate with each other. Other gender-specific ideologies (e.g., beliefs in anti-men discrimination) may be predicted by the more general, sexist motives embedded in ambivalent sexism. Future research should use experiments or longitudinal designs to further strengthen causal inference to provide a better understanding of ambivalent sexism in the broader context.

Other Domains Related to Social Ideologies

Four smaller domains adjacent to the social ideologies domain provide a broader context to ambivalent sexism but from perspectives that are not necessarily social. These domains are described in the online [Supplemental Material](#). In brief, in the religiosity domain ($n_{articles} = 21$), the ways in which ambivalent sexism maintains religious observance seem to depend on the type of sexism endorsed: *BS maintains women's distinct role in the religion, whereas HS*

maintains men's dominance over women as part of the religion. In the personality domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 19$), both HS and BS (with more evidence for HS) have roots in personality related to relational difficulties and early attachment insecurities. Initial evidence suggests that *HS reflects personality related to dominance, whereas BS may relate to self-esteem from fulfilling one's gender role.* The demographics domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 11$) reviews demographic correlates of ambivalent sexism and general patterns related to the endorsement of ambivalent sexism. The intersectionality domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 19$) reviews intersections of demographic and social indicators (e.g., gender, race, age, sexual identity) in relation to ambivalent sexism.

Violence ($n_{\text{articles}} = 132$)

The largest domain was violence. Articles were included in this domain if they discussed topics linking ambivalent sexism to attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors that are either violent or justify and support violence. All articles referred to gender-based violence, with no articles examining general or other forms of violence. We classified these articles into three subdomains according to the type of gender-based violence: sexual violence, domestic violence, and general forms of gender-based violence. Within these subdomains, the articles mostly examined the following primary outcomes of interest—violence proclivity, general attitudes toward gender-based violence, perceptions of perpetrators and victims of violence, recognition of violence, and action toward violence. Most of the articles in this domain focused exclusively on forms of violence against women perpetrated by men, with only a few exceptions dealing with violence against men perpetrated by women (e.g., Overall et al., 2021; Russell & Oswald, 2001) or violence in nonheterosexual relationships (D. Li & Zheng, 2021; Miglietta et al., 2021). Table 2 summarizes the overall violence domain (including the relatively large adjacent domains of sexual harassment and body/face evaluations), and Table S2a (in the online Supplemental Material) summarizes the violence subdomains.

Sexual Violence ($n_{\text{articles}} = 55$)

The articles that evaluated the proclivity toward sexual violence mostly used vignettes describing assault cases to assess the self-reported likelihood that the respondent would behave like the perpetrator (e.g., Abrams et al., 2003; Durán et al., 2018). These articles mostly report a *positive association in men between HS endorsement and sexual assault and rape proclivity* (e.g., Forbes, Adams-Curtis, & White, 2004; Persson & Dhingra, 2021). The experimental works examining potential moderators of this association indicate that the tendency to sexually aggress is stronger when high-HS men receive social cues from their environment that approve or tolerate such behavior, as in exposure to sexist jokes (Romero-Sánchez et al., 2017, 2021), being informed that their peers share similar HS beliefs (Durán et al., 2018), or when presented with a scenario of acquaintance rape (Abrams et al., 2003; Viki et al., 2006). One article found that characteristics of the victim (e.g., violations of traditional gender roles) do not seem to moderate this association (Masser et al., 2006). Some of the articles also report mediational analyses that point to biased perceptions of sexual assault as normative by high-HS men; for example, that the victim really wants to have sex despite her resistance (Abrams et al., 2003; Masser et al., 2006). These findings are consistent with the

heterosexual hostility component of HS, that is, the belief that women try to manipulate men through their sexuality.

Men's BS, by contrast, was unrelated to perpetrating violence against women in most cases (e.g., Forbes, Adams-Curtis, & White, 2004; Masser et al., 2006; Viki et al., 2006). An exception was two articles reporting that BS predicted *less* intention to rape (Durán et al., 2018; Taschler & West, 2017), pointing to a possible protective effect of BS against men's perpetration of violence.

Other articles have examined general beliefs about sexual violence that are not target-specific. Most have focused on the acceptance of rape myths, that is, attitudes that serve to explain away men's sexual aggression against women by blaming the victim, exonerating the perpetrator, and trivializing or minimizing the violence (Brownmiller, 1975; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Standard self-report questionnaires frequently assess rape myths (e.g., Acceptance of Modern Myths About Sexual Aggression Scale; Gerger et al., 2007; Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale; Payne et al., 1999). *HS among both men and women is positively associated with the acceptance of rape myths* (e.g., Chapple et al., 2007; Rebeiz & Harb, 2010). Differences in HS endorsement may explain why some factors—personality (Sanchez-Ruiz et al., 2021), demographic (Angelone et al., 2021; S. Hill & Marshall, 2018), and ideological (Kelly et al., 2015)—are associated with the acceptance of rape myths.

By contrast, the evidence for the association between BS and rape myths acceptance is mixed; some articles report a positive association with BS (e.g., when controlling for HS; A. Murphy & Hine, 2019; Sakalli-Uğurlu et al., 2007) or with the ASI as a whole (Giovannelli & Jackson, 2013); others find no association (e.g., when controlling for HS; Rebeiz & Harb, 2010), and yet others find an association only for women (Canto et al., 2014; Forbes, Adams-Curtis, & White, 2004). This inconsistency could be due to opposite patterns observed for BS subfactors (Angelone et al., 2021; Chapple et al., 2007), which could attenuate its overall relationship to rape myth acceptance. Specifically, endorsement of rape myths is positively associated with the BS components of heterosexual intimacy and complementary gender differentiation (Angelone et al., 2021; Chapple et al., 2007), but negatively associated with the component of protective paternalism (Chapple et al., 2007).

Articles that have evaluated observers' responses to perpetrators and victims of sexual violence used scenarios describing specific targets. Most of these articles have implemented experimental designs to manipulate different aspects of the assault, typically the nature of the victim's relationship with the perpetrator (e.g., whether they were acquaintances or strangers; Abrams et al., 2003). Manipulated less frequently were the characteristics of the victim (e.g., gender stereotypicality; Masser et al., 2010) or their behavior (e.g., resistance; Angelone et al., 2015), or characteristics of the perpetrator (e.g., socioeconomic status; Yamawaki et al., 2007). The outcomes assessed to evaluate the victims included perceptions of blame, responsibility, credibility, deservingness, pleasure, and trauma. Evaluating the perpetrators included perceived culpability, criminality, guilt, and recommended sentences.

HS among men and women observers is associated with perceptions that blame the victim (e.g., less credibility) and exonerate the perpetrator (e.g., less culpability; Angelone et al., 2015; Persson & Dhingra, 2021). There is mixed evidence as to whether the nature of the relationship can affect this pattern of responses, with some articles reporting that it emerges mostly in acquaintance rape cases (e.g., Cohn et al., 2009; Rollero & Tartaglia, 2019), and others observing similar

Table 2
Violence Domain and Its Large Adjacent Domains (Sexual Harassment and Face/Body Evaluations)

Violence ($n_{articles} = 132$)			
Subdomains: sexual violence ($n_{articles} = 55$), domestic violence ($n_{articles} = 66$), general forms of gender-based violence ($n_{articles} = 11$)			
Primary outcomes	Main findings	Limitations	Recommendations
<p>Violence proclivity.</p> <p>General attitudes toward gender-based violence.</p> <p>Perceptions of perpetrators and victims of violence.</p> <p>Recognition of violence.</p> <p>Action toward violence.</p>	<p>Both HS and BS promote violence against women but in different ways and for different reasons:</p> <p>HS is associated with direct violence toward women at every level of analysis (e.g., being a perpetrator man, accepting violence).</p> <p>BS indirectly justifies violence, mostly through victim blaming in ambiguous situations, failure to recognize violence, and tolerance of violence.</p> <p>When evaluating violence, HS is sensitive to cues related to power and sexuality and distorts perceptions of violent situations; BS is sensitive to cues related to traditional gender roles.</p> <p>Limited evidence:</p> <p>Possible protective effect of BS against men's perpetration of violence.</p> <p>HS is related to a lower willingness to intervene in violent cases; BS is related to a higher willingness to intervene in ways that tolerate violence.</p> <p>BS relates to failing to recognize violence; in mixed evidence, HS may also play a role.</p>	<p>Focuses mostly on imagined (rather than real) victims of violence.</p> <p>Relies on self-reports (especially of violence proclivity) and hypothetical violent scenarios.</p> <p>Misses relevant comparison groups (e.g., in terms of the respondents' gender, the characteristics of the victims and perpetrators).</p> <p>Measures only gender-based (but not general/other forms of) violence.</p> <p>Focuses only on men as perpetrators of violence against women.</p>	<p>Examine violence-relevant populations and actual violence cases.</p> <p>Use behavioral measures of aggression that are ethically appropriate.</p> <p>Employ designs with relevant comparison groups and broader measures of violence.</p> <p>Explore less common trajectories in which gender-based violence could occur (e.g., against men).</p>
			<p>What are the differential roles of HS and BS in violence recognition and action toward violence?</p> <p>Does HS link to violence extend beyond gender-based violence?</p> <p>Does BS have a protective effect for women against men's violence? If so, does BS predict perceiving more some women as deserving more protection from violence than others?</p> <p>What are the unique ways in which women's endorsement of BS makes women more vulnerable to violence?</p>

(table continues)

Table 2 (continued)

Sexual harassment ($n_{articles} = 34$)			
Primary outcomes	Main findings	Subdomains: public ($n_{articles} = 18$), workplace ($n_{articles} = 16$)	
		Limitations	Recommendations
Perpetration of sexual harassment. Tolerance and trivialization of sexual harassment. Evaluations of sexual harassment cases. Recognition of harassment. Coping with harassment.	HS is directly related to sexual harassment of women at every level of analysis (e.g., being a perpetrator man, tolerating harassment). The evidence for BS is limited and inconclusive: possible protective effect for women against men's sexual harassment; negative evaluations of sexual harassment victims.	Relies on self-reports (especially of harassment proclivity and acceptance) and hypothetical harassment scenarios. Focuses only on men as perpetrators. Often lacks a BS measure.	Employ behavioral or realistic paradigms of sexual harassment. Explore less common trajectories in which sexual harassment could occur (e.g., of men). Measure both HS and BS to further understand the unique role of BS in sexual harassment. Does HS encourage backlash in the form of harassment? Does BS have a protective effect for women against men's sexual harassment? Does BS promote victim blaming in cases of sexual harassment, contingent on the victim's characteristics/behavior?
Face/body evaluations ($n_{articles} = 47$)			
Primary outcomes	Main findings	Subdomains: objectification ($n_{articles} = 27$), appearance ($n_{articles} = 20$)	
		Limitations	Recommendations
Evaluations and perceptions of self and others that pertain to the body or appearance in general. HS as an outcome (in the objectification subdomain).	Both HS and BS reinforce women's traditional roles as either sex objects (focus on women's bodies) or the "fairer sex" (focus on women's appearance), but in different ways: HS (mostly among men) directly promotes (and is increased by) the objectification of women across the entire continuum of objectification. BS makes sure women accept objectification directed toward them and self-objectify. Both HS and BS encourage the endorsement of descriptive and prescriptive beauty norms and practices.	Refers mostly to men participants as evaluators and women participants as being evaluated. The evidence for BS (especially for women on the evaluated side) is not as reliable as the evidence for HS. Lacks HS manipulations.	Focus on both men and women on both sides of the evaluation (e.g., the objectifier and the objectified). Conduct more studies examining the relation of BS to objectification experiences for women. Use experimental designs to determine the causality of the HS-objectification link. Does BS relate to subtle or seemingly positive forms of objectification perpetration? What are the differential roles HS and BS play in promoting beauty norms and practices? What are the differential roles HS and BS play in attractiveness evaluations and body satisfaction?
Smaller adjacent domains: law, media and art.			

Note. If not mentioned otherwise (a) the findings described here hold for both men and women participants and (b) the associations described are positive. HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism.

patterns in the case of stranger rapes as well (e.g., Judson et al., 2013; Yamawaki, 2007).

By contrast, *the data for BS provide more fine-grained patterns of blaming that mostly target the victim* (e.g., Pedersen & Strömwall, 2013), which emerged solely in cases of acquaintance rape (e.g., Viki et al., 2004). Other articles have shown that these effects are mediated by observers' perceptions that the victim behaved inappropriately (Abrams et al., 2003) and emerge when the women target is perceived as violating traditional gender roles (e.g., a mother leaving her children unattended; Masser et al., 2010; Viki & Abrams, 2002).

A few articles have pointed to *the role of BS (but not HS) in the recognition of sexual violence, especially among women*. Observers high on BS rely on the presence of wantedness and pleasure of victim to determine whether a situation is considered rape (Hills et al., 2020). In addition, women high on BS are less likely to label past sexual assault experiences as rape (LeMaire et al., 2016), which may explain the finding that women rape survivors low (vs. high) on BS who acknowledged their rape showed the highest levels of posttraumatic stress disorder and depressive symptoms (Wilson et al., 2017; see Wilson & Scarpa, 2017, for similar findings among men rape survivors). Although these findings may imply that women who endorse BS fail to recognize sexual violence, women high on BS still fear being raped (Phelan et al., 2010) and take measures to protect themselves (e.g., by dressing modestly to avoid rape; Resendez & Hughes, 2016). Finally, two studies examined bystander behavior in sexual assault cases, yielding mixed findings, with a lower tendency to intervene associated with BS in one study (Yule et al., 2022), and HS in the other (O'Leary et al., 2021).

Domestic Violence ($n_{articles} = 66$)

Articles on domestic violence varied in terms of the stage of the intimate relationship that was examined, ranging from dating (e.g., Sánchez-Hernández et al., 2020) to committed relationships (e.g., Zapata-Calvente et al., 2019) and marriage (e.g., Overall et al., 2021).⁹

Studies that have examined the proclivity toward domestic violence mostly used self-report questionnaires or scenarios to assess, within intimate relationships, the frequency of aggressive behavior (e.g., cyberbullying of girlfriends; Martínez-Pecino & Durán, 2019) or violence (e.g., Renzetti et al., 2018; Zapata-Calvente et al., 2019). *HS in men is positively associated with greater perpetration of physical and psychological aggression and violence against women partners* (e.g., Juarros-Basterretxea et al., 2019; Whitaker, 2013; Zapata-Calvente et al., 2019), and may also generalize to aggressive parenting (Overall et al., 2021). A cross-cultural study that used national statistics for assaults and homicides lends weight to this evidence by showing that national levels of HS (with values derived from Glick et al., 2004) were associated with women's victimization rates (Archer, 2007). Other articles have indicated that the association among men between HS and aggressive/violent behavior toward women partners can reflect unresolved issues of control (Guerrero-Molina et al., 2021; Loveland & Raghavan, 2017; Whitaker, 2013), power (Overall et al., 2021), and fear of dependence (Cross et al., 2017) in the relationship. HS was also examined as a moderator of the positive association between alcohol use and intimate partner violence; yet, the findings are mixed as to whether this association is stronger for men high (Lisco et al., 2012) or low (Lynch & Renzetti, 2020; Renzetti et al., 2018) on HS. Men's BS, by contrast, was mostly unrelated to perpetrating violence against women partners (e.g., Martínez-Pecino & Durán,

2019; Renzetti et al., 2018), with one exception reporting a negative association (C. T. Allen et al., 2009).

Articles have also assessed general (rather than target-specific) attitudes that capture acceptability and tolerance of men's violent behaviors toward their women partners, as well as blaming women's disobedience for eliciting abuse (e.g., Martín-Fernández, Gracia, Marco, et al., 2018; Sakalli-Uğurlu, 2001), using standard self-report questionnaires (e.g., Domestic Violence Myth Acceptance Scale; Peters, 2008). The evidence suggests that *endorsement of ambivalent sexism in general among both men and women is positively related to attitudes legitimizing domestic violence* (e.g., Gage & Lease, 2021; Gölje et al., 2016; Sánchez-Hernández et al., 2020). HS may be a better predictor of such attitudes than BS (e.g., Glick, Sakalli-Uğurlu, et al., 2002; Rollero & De Piccoli, 2020).

Some experiments have examined observers' responses to scenarios describing domestic violence by manipulating different characteristics of the woman partner (e.g., Forbes, Jobe, et al., 2005), the man partner (e.g., Expósito et al., 2010), the relationship (e.g., Yamawaki et al., 2009), or the type of violence (e.g., Koepke et al., 2014). *HS is associated with higher victim blaming* (e.g., Riley & Yamawaki, 2018) and *lower perceived perpetrator responsibility* (e.g., Herzog, 2007). The potential moderators that exacerbated these associations include feedback on others' endorsement of HS (when the perpetrator is described as hostile sexist; Durán et al., 2010; and when exposed to HS feedback norms; Koepke et al., 2014), but also focus on the women partners, for example, whether they betray men's trust (Forbes, Jobe, et al., 2005) or threaten their power (e.g., described as a feminist and hard to deal with; Vidal-Fernández & Megías, 2014).

While observers high on BS may provide harsher evaluations and stricter punishment for men perpetrators (Herzog, 2007), *BS is related also to victim blame and justifications of harm, contingent on perpetrator characteristics* (when described as a benevolent sexist husband; Durán et al., 2010, 2011). Gender role cues that relate to the women partner also seem to play a role, with BS associated with positive evaluations of gender-conforming women victims (e.g., stay-at-home mom; Casad & Lee, 2014) but negative reactions and anticipated violence directed toward women victims who violate roles (e.g., fail to do domestic work, get a promotion; Expósito et al., 2010; M. C. Herrera, Expósito, et al., 2012).

Some articles suggest that *BS (but not HS) also makes women more vulnerable to violence in intimate relationships*. For example, when a perpetrator of a domestic sexual assault is described as a benevolent sexist, individuals are less likely to construe the act as rape (Durán et al., 2011), and women respond less actively (Durán et al., 2014). Also, BS in police officers was associated with a preference for conditional law enforcement (i.e., depending on the willingness of the victim to press charges against the offender) in cases of domestic violence (Gracia et al., 2011, 2014; Lila et al., 2013), indicating greater tolerance of such cases. The scant evidence on the role of ambivalent sexism in interventions in cases of intimate partner violence suggests that HS is negatively related to willingness to intervene (Gracia et al., 2018), and BS is related to insisting they work on the relationships despite violence (Riley & Yamawaki, 2018).

Articles that have examined violent attitudes and tendencies in samples of domestic violence offenders who are men, as well as

⁹ Articles that examined domestic violence were classified in the violence domain rather than the intimate relationships domain because the patterns were similar to those obtained in other violent contexts.

evaluations of their own crimes (in terms of perceived responsibility and victim blame), are generally consistent with the HS–violence associations in these populations (Guerrero-Molina et al., 2020; Herrero et al., 2016; Juarros-Basterretxea et al., 2019; Lila et al., 2014; Loveland & Raghavan, 2017; Martin-Fernandez, Gracia, & Lila, 2018). Also, both HS and BS are associated with “morality issues” in these populations (e.g., rigid conceptions about what is right and wrong; Vecina, 2017, 2018; Vecina & Piñuela, 2017), as well as distorted thoughts about women and the use of violence (Echeburúa et al., 2016; Guerrero-Molina et al., 2021).

General Forms of Gender-Based Violence ($n_{articles} = 11$)

Relatively few articles have focused on general forms of gender-based violence. The HS link to violence proclivity seems to extend beyond sexual and domestic violence to other forms of emotional and physical violence against women, such as gender microaggressions (Midgette & Mulvey, 2021) or taking advantage of opportunities to inflict pain on women (Hyatt et al., 2017). Individuals high on HS (with some similar findings for BS) are less likely to label gender-based violence as such (A. Becker et al., 2021; Rollero et al., 2019) or to recognize psychological consequences for victims (Miglietta & Acquadro Maran, 2017). One article (Brownhalls et al., 2021) found that HS was negatively associated with lower (and BS was positively associated with higher) support for targeting men to reduce their violence against women, but both HS and BS were positively associated also with support for targeting women to avoid men’s violence.

Last, a recent meta-analysis (Agadullina et al., 2022) examined the relationship between ambivalent sexism and various indicators associated with violence against women. This meta-analysis employed comprehensive inclusion criteria, including articles in multiple languages and unpublished work ($k = 205$, including men-only, women-only, or mixed samples). Their findings generally support our analysis, underscoring the direct role of HS (compared to BS) in promoting violence against women. Furthermore, their analysis explored potential moderators (e.g., countries’ level of gender inequality), offering contextual nuances to consider.

Summary of Findings Across Subdomains

Taken together, both HS and BS (among both men and women) promote violence against women but in different ways and for different reasons. *HS is associated with direct violence toward women at every level of analysis (i.e., being a perpetrator man, acceptance of violence, evaluations of victims and perpetrators in ways that justify violence, nonrecognition of violence, and no action taken to fight violence).* By contrast, *BS indirectly justifies violence, mostly through victim blaming in situations that are more ambiguous (e.g., when evaluating acquaintance rape or a victim who violated gender roles), failing to recognize violence and thus making women more vulnerable to violence, and higher willingness to intervene in cases of violence but in ways that tolerate the violence.* When judging gender-based violent situations, both HS and BS seem to be motivated by norms, with HS being more sensitive to cues related to power and sexuality and generally promoting distorted perceptions of these situations, while BS being more sensitive to cues related to traditional gender roles (e.g., whether the woman acted “inappropriately”). Thus, *both HS and BS appear to reflect a motivation to control women through violence:*

HS using violence to assert control when it is not present, whereas BS threatens violence to maintain control when it is already present.

Domain-Specific Limitations and Recommendations

The findings reported in this section mostly rely on student samples and to a lesser extent on community samples. Studies that examined couples in a dyadic approach (Cross et al., 2017; Overall et al., 2021) or participants in committed relationships (e.g., Lisco et al., 2012) were exceptionally rare, despite their high relevance to the domestic violence subdomain. While several articles examined police officers or convicted men offenders, only two studies (Wilson et al., 2017; Wilson & Scarpa, 2017) examined real (rather than imagined) victims of violence (for ethical considerations when researching violence against women, see Ellsberg & Heise, 2006). Future work would benefit from addressing violence-relevant populations to provide sufficient evidence for the role of ambivalent sexism in actual violence cases.

The designs and measures of the articles included in this domain also have methodological limitations. Most relied on self-reports. This was the case in particular for the violence proclivity studies, where possible measurement bias in self-reports of offending could have occurred (Gomes et al., 2019), although research in the context of domestic violence has questioned the impact of social desirability concerns for men who are perpetrators (see Freeman et al., 2015; Visschers et al., 2017). Further, some articles that examined responses to hypothetical scenarios did not include appropriate comparison groups in terms of the gender of the respondents, characteristics of the victims and perpetrators, types of violence, and contexts. For instance, some studies evaluated responses to an acquaintance rape without contrasting it with other types of rape. In addition, almost no articles (but cf. Herrero et al., 2016) focused on general proclivity or acceptance of violence that is not gender-based per se. Thus, a putative HS link to violence perpetration and acceptance cannot be assumed to be limited to the gender context. These limitations should be taken into account when designing future studies. This could be done by using behavioral measures of aggression that are ethically appropriate (see McCarthy & Elson, 2018, for a review),¹⁰ and including broader measures of violence and relevant comparison groups (including examination of women as perpetrators¹¹); all that

¹⁰ Two studies that used a behavioral measure of sexualized aggression (i.e., sending unwanted sexual stimuli; Bosson et al., 2015; Franz et al., 2018) were classified under the sexual harassment domain due to their better methodological fit with the other studies described in that domain.

¹¹ Although violence against women perpetrated by men represents the most common trajectory in which gender-based violence occurs globally (World Health Organization, 2021b), almost no articles have examined violence against men perpetrated by women (for a similar limitation, see also the sexual harassment and body/face evaluations domains). Outcomes used in the articles examining violence against women may not be sensitive enough for examining violence against men (e.g., Russell & Oswald, 2001), as men and women may enact different types of aggressive behaviors (Burton et al., 2007; Silva et al., 2013) and may have different motivations to engage in gender-based violence (Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2012). For example, under some threatening contexts, women who endorse BS may exhibit aggressive (Overall et al., 2021) or hostile (Overall et al., 2011) behavior toward their men partners. Thus, beyond making sure to include comparison groups to men as targets in studies examining ambivalent sexism and violence against women, future research should also explore the unique circumstances and behaviors under which the association between ambivalent sexism and violence perpetrated against men may occur.

would enable distinctions in the patterns elicited by HS and BS with regard to violence, eliminating alternative explanations.

Researchers should further examine the links between ambivalent sexism and the relatively unexplored outcomes of violence recognition and action toward violence to provide sufficient evidence for the specific roles of HS and BS in these outcomes. Some open questions also remain with regard to victims' gender-role transgressions in violence evaluations and the protective functions of BS against men's violence. The articles listed here provide only limited evidence supporting the claim that different kinds of women elicit different violent responses. Thus, future research should investigate whether BS predicts perceiving some women as deserving more protection from violence than others.

Other Domains Related to Violence

The domains of sexual harassment and body/face evaluations—besides sharing the psychology of objectifying women—present patterns of findings remarkably similar to those obtained in the Violence domain (see Table 2, for an overall summary of these domains, and Tables S2b and S2c in the online Supplemental Material, for summaries of their subdomains). In all these violence-related domains, *HS relates to violence directly, whereas BS excuses and justifies it as an issue of women's conformity.*

Sexual Harassment ($n_{\text{articles}} = 34$). Articles were included in this domain if they examined topics relating ambivalent sexism to issues associated with sexual harassment (two articles examining gender harassment were also included). We classified these articles according to the context in which the harassment occurred, which led to two subdomains: public and workplace. Within these subdomains, the articles mostly examined the following primary outcomes of interest: perpetrating sexual harassment, general attitudes that tolerate or trivialize sexual harassment, evaluations of sexual harassment cases, recognition of harassment, and coping with harassment. Similar to the violence domain, articles here focused on men-to-women harassment, with only two examining either women-to-women harassment (DeSouza et al., 2007) or women-to-men harassment (Russell & Oswald, 2016).

Public Harassment ($n_{\text{articles}} = 18$). Most of the articles included here referred to sexual harassment in general without specification of a setting, whereas others focused on the specific settings of online gaming (Seo et al., 2021; Tang et al., 2020; Tang & Fox, 2016) and the street (i.e., catcalling; Saunders et al., 2017; Walton & Pedersen, 2021). The articles examining harassment perpetration mostly used self-reports (e.g., F. Oswald et al., 2020; Tang et al., 2020; Walton & Pedersen, 2021) and to a lesser extent behavioral measures of sexual harassment (i.e., sending unwanted sexual stimuli; Bosson et al., 2015; Franz et al., 2018) and gender harassment (i.e., sending sexist jokes; Siebler et al., 2008). The findings indicate that HS among men predicts perpetrating sexual (e.g., Bosson et al., 2015; Franz et al., 2018) and gender (Siebler et al., 2008) harassment. By contrast, BS was usually unrelated (e.g., Franz et al., 2018) or negatively related (Bosson et al., 2015) to harassment perpetration.

The other articles used self-report measures to tap general attitudes about sexual harassment and found that HS (usually among both men and women) was positively associated with tolerance (Mou et al., 2021; Russell & Trigg, 2004; Shi & Zheng, 2020) and trivialization (Sakalli-Uğurlu et al., 2010) of sexual harassment,

victim blaming (Saunders et al., 2017), and negative perceptions of the #MeToo movement (Kunst et al., 2019; but cf. Mou et al., 2021). There are few findings for BS and attitudes toward sexual harassment, and these are mixed, with some finding no association (Kunst et al., 2019; Russell & Trigg, 2004; Shi & Zheng, 2020), one article finding a negative association with the trivialization of sexual harassment (Sakalli-Uğurlu et al., 2010), and one article finding increased victim blaming among high BS individuals when women victims of harassment reported the case several years later (Lucarini et al., 2020). Finally, one article found that HS negatively—and BS positively—predicted beliefs that women should engage in active coping with stranger harassment (i.e., confronting or reporting the harassment; Saunders et al., 2017).

Workplace Harassment ($n_{\text{articles}} = 16$). Articles examining workplace sexual harassment have used simulated scenarios in which participants are asked to adopt the role of the protagonists (Begany & Milburn, 2002; M. C. Herrera et al., 2014; Krings & Facchin, 2009) or paradigms for computer harassment (i.e., sending sexual or sexist remarks; Diehl et al., 2012, 2018). The findings indicate that HS (but not BS) was positively associated with sexual (e.g., Begany & Milburn, 2002) and gender (e.g., Diehl et al., 2012) harassment. Two moderators exacerbated these effects: namely, perceived injustice at work (Krings & Facchin, 2009) and the priming of men's structural power (Diehl et al., 2018). HS (more than BS) was also associated with general attitudes that justify and trivialize workplace sexual harassment (M. C. Herrera et al., 2018; T. E. Page et al., 2016). When evaluating workplace sexual harassment cases, HS (more than BS) in women and men predicted blaming the woman victim (i.e., finding her behavior inappropriate; Greenwood & Gautam, 2020) and exoneration of the man perpetrator (i.e., finding his behavior less severe; Wiener et al., 1997). Asking people to take the reasonable woman (vs. person) perspective in work-related sexual harassment cases mitigated the negative effects of HS on evaluating the case (Wiener et al., 2010; Wiener & Hurt, 2000). HS (more than BS) was also associated with less acknowledgment of sexual harassment at work as such (M. C. Herrera et al., 2014; Kessler et al., 2021; Ohse & Stockdale, 2008; Schwartz & Hunt, 2011).

Only a few articles have focused on the role of BS in evaluations of workplace sexual harassment and reported perceptions of women victims as less-than-ideal work partners and more impertinent (M. C. Herrera et al., 2014, 2018). In another article, BS resulted in protectionist attitudes (i.e., finding the perpetrator's conduct to be severe and harming the plaintiff's work performance), mostly when taking the reasonable person perspective in evaluating the case (Wiener et al., 1997).

Summary of Findings Across Subdomains. Taken together, the patterns of findings were similar across public and workplace sexual harassment subdomains and overall were consistent with the patterns observed in the violence domain. *HS is directly related to sexual harassment through perpetration (among men); the endorsement of general attitudes that justify, tolerate, and minimize sexual harassment; evaluations that blame the victim and exempt the perpetrator; and lack of acknowledgment in harassment cases.* The findings pertaining to BS are tenuous and inconsistent. *While some point to a protective effect, BS was still reported to promote sexual harassment indirectly through negative evaluations of victims, especially under ambiguous conditions* (e.g., when the case is not reported immediately).

Domain-Specific Limitations and Recommendations. The studies reported here were diverse in terms of sexual harassment contexts (e.g., work, street, online gaming). The samples were primarily students, although some involved domain-relevant populations (e.g., online gamers, employees). Most of the studies relied on self-reports using questionnaires or hypothetical scenarios. We encourage future research to employ behavioral measures of harassment (e.g., Franz et al., 2018) or realistic simulations (e.g., video scenarios based on real cases; Wiener et al., 2010) to increase ecological validity.

Although the evidence is limited in size, the patterns lay the groundwork for future studies. First, previous research has demonstrated that sexual harassment can function as a form of backlash (see Berdahl, 2007, for a review), a negative social penalty against women who violate gender norms (Rudman et al., 2012). Thus, future research could examine the role HS plays in eliciting backlash in the form of harassment, for example, by testing whether HS would predict sexual harassment under threats to the gender hierarchy (see Dall'Ara & Maass, 1999; Maass et al., 2003, for a similar approach). Second, not enough articles focus on how BS is uniquely related to sexual harassment. Some initial findings (M. C. Herrera et al., 2014, 2018; Lucarini et al., 2020; Wiener et al., 1997) provide promising directions to further examine the way BS differentially relates to victim blaming on the one hand and protectionist beliefs on the other, contingent on perceptions of the victim's characteristics or behavior.

Body/Face Evaluations ($n_{\text{articles}} = 47$). Articles were included in this domain if they examined topics linking ambivalent sexism to evaluations and perceptions related to bodies in particular and appearance in general. The relevant term for this domain—objectification—is widely used and inconsistently defined in the literature because researchers often do not distinguish between the view of others or oneself as an object and the focus on physical appearance (see Heflick & Goldenberg, 2014; Kahalon et al., 2018c, for reviews). However, previous theorizing suggests that focus on the body as an object (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) and focus on appearance and beauty in general (Wolf, 1991) may reflect two different mechanisms used to oppress women. Thus, we classified these articles according to the type of evaluations and perceptions (whether they pertained to the body or appearance in general), leading to two subdomains: objectification¹² and appearance. We were guided by the authors' original terminology in determining the classifications. Within the objectification and appearance subdomains, the articles examined diverse outcomes of evaluations pertaining either to others or the self.

Objectification ($n_{\text{articles}} = 27$). Most of the articles here assessed individuals' tendency to objectify others using self-reports (e.g., the frequency of perpetrating objectifying gazes; Gervais et al., 2018; attribution of human traits to women or perceived "evolvedness" of women; Salmen & Dhont, 2020) or behavioral measures that involve responses to sexualized targets (e.g., neural indicators that track analytical processing-style of object perception; Adams et al., 2021; speed of associations with first-person action verbs; Cikara et al., 2011). Articles have also manipulated objectification (Fox & Bailenson, 2009; Guizzo & Cadinu, 2020; Rollero, 2013), especially in the context of video games (Fox & Bailenson, 2009; LaCroix et al., 2018; Read et al., 2018) or porn (Hald et al., 2013; Shim & Paul, 2014; Skorska et al., 2018). The measures and manipulations varied in terms of the type of objectification examined, which was defined as seeing individuals as sexual objects (e.g., Harsey & Zurbriggen,

2020), literal objects (e.g., Adams et al., 2021; Cikara et al., 2011), similar to animals (e.g., Salmen & Dhont, 2020), or not as people (e.g., infrahumanization; Viki & Abrams, 2003). Most articles focused on women as the target of objectification, with some adding comparisons to objectified men targets (Adams et al., 2021; Cikara et al., 2011; LaCroix et al., 2018; Rollero, 2013), and others dealing with more general objectifying sexual content (e.g., porn; Skorska et al., 2018) or using a gender-neutral assessment of objectification (Gervais et al., 2018).

Overall, *the findings implicate dominance (HS) more than traditionalism (BS) in objectification*: exposure to objectified women (Fox & Bailenson, 2009; Guizzo & Cadinu, 2020; Rollero, 2013) and degrading sexual content (e.g., porn; LaCroix et al., 2018; Shim & Paul, 2014; Skorska et al., 2018) increases HS (but not BS) in men (with two articles finding similar patterns among women; Hald et al., 2013; Tipler & Ruscher, 2019). HS also predicts objectifying women (but not men) across the entire objectification continuum, with articles assessing both men and women as objectifiers sometimes finding effects for both (Adams et al., 2021; Franz et al., 2018; Harsey & Zurbriggen, 2020) or only for men (Cikara et al., 2011; Gaunt, 2013b; Gramazio et al., 2021; Hald et al., 2013). The findings for BS and outcomes of objectification were mixed, with some studies finding no association (Adams et al., 2021; Cikara et al., 2011; Harsey & Zurbriggen, 2020) and others reporting a positive association for BS (Gervais et al., 2018; Salmen & Dhont, 2020).

Other articles in this domain focused on how ambivalent sexism relates to women perceiving objectifying behavior directed toward them by others (no articles here focused on men's experiences of objectification). The findings indicate that BS in women predicts reports of experiencing objectification (Lozano et al., 2015; Sáez et al., 2019), enjoying being objectified (Liss et al., 2011), evaluating objectifying experiences less severely, and experiencing less negative affect in the aftermath (Gervais et al., 2016). However, experiencing objectification also impaired high BS women's performance in a work-related context (Gervais et al., 2016). Two articles also found similar effects for HS in women in terms of enjoyment of objectification (Lameiras-Fernández et al., 2018; Liss et al., 2011) and feeling less objectified following positive comments on appearance (Lameiras-Fernández et al., 2018). Finally, even fewer articles examined processes related to self-objectification (i.e., internalizing an observer's perspective on one's own body; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). The findings indicated that exposure to BS (or ambivalent sexism) in women (but not men) increases self-objectification, self-surveillance, and body shame (Calogero & Jost, 2011; Nowatzki & Morry, 2009; Shepherd et al., 2011), with the exception of one article finding similar effects for HS (Moya-Garófano et al., 2017). Thus, *the more consistent links to BS suggest interpreting objectification in terms of women's gender roles rather than men's dominance*.

Appearance ($n_{\text{articles}} = 20$). Several articles examined appearance-related evaluations using attractiveness ratings. These studies provide some initial evidence that individuals high on ambivalent sexism (mostly HS) rate women embodying sexual beauty ideals (i.e., with large breasts) as more attractive (Pazhoohi

¹² Articles examining dehumanization per se were classified in the objectification subdomain (see the coding scheme), since the concepts of objectification (i.e., seeing or treating someone as an object) and dehumanization (i.e., seeing or treating someone as not completely human) are closely related (Gervais et al., 2013) and researchers often use them interchangeably.

et al., 2020; Swami & Tovée, 2013). Another study found that HS in women was associated with devaluing the attractiveness of attractive women (Loya et al., 2006). Other articles found that ambivalent sexism (with some data for HS and some for BS) among both men and women was associated with endorsement (Forbes et al., 2007) and internalization (Swami et al., 2010; Xiao & Wang, 2021) of Western beauty ideals. One article (consisting of several studies) also found that endorsement of prescriptive beauty norms (i.e., beliefs that women should strive to attain beauty) among individuals high on ambivalent sexism (total score) reflected motives to maintain the gender hierarchy (Ramati-Ziber et al., 2020).

The remainder of the articles examined the use of beauty-related practices using self-reports. Ambivalent sexism (mostly HS) was associated with considering cosmetic surgery for oneself and partner (Swami et al., 2013) and with beauty practices (e.g., men's growing of facial hair or building muscles; Oldmeadow & Dixson, 2016; Swami & Voracek, 2013; Zheng & Zheng, 2015; but cf. Hellmer et al., 2018). Women's BS was associated with the use of cosmetics (Forbes, Adams-Curtis, et al., 2006; Forbes, Doroszewicz, et al., 2004; Franzoi, 2001; Swami et al., 2010 [with HS]); exposure to BS led women (but not men) to plan more future behaviors pertaining to appearance management (Calogero & Jost, 2011). Finally, articles examining the relationship between ambivalent sexism or BS and body satisfaction generally found a negative link (Bradley-Geist et al., 2015; Forbes, Adams-Curtis, et al., 2005; Forbes, Doroszewicz, et al., 2004; Swami et al., 2010).

Summary of Findings Across Subdomains. The overall evidence suggests that both HS and BS reinforce women's traditional roles as either sex objects (i.e., focus on women's bodies; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) or the "fairer sex" (i.e., focus on women's appearance; Wolf, 1991), but in different ways. *HS (mostly in men) directly promotes the objectification of women across the entire continuum of objectification types and definitions, mostly by its perpetration.* By contrast, *BS makes sure women are recruited to these efforts as well, either by their own positive perceptions of objectifying experiences or their self-objectification, with potential costs to their competence.* The work on appearance is less differentiated in terms of the patterns for BS and HS but generally shows that ambivalent sexism is positively associated with endorsement of descriptive and prescriptive Western beauty norms and practices and that efforts to enforce these norms reflect a motivation to maintain the gender hierarchy.

Domain-Specific Limitations and Recommendations. The samples were mainly students, with some community and online samples as well. In terms of the gender composition, the articles that focused on the evaluator's side assessed more men respondents, and the articles that focused on the evaluated side assessed more women respondents. Although this focus represents the common trajectory in which objectification-related processes occur (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), future research should focus on both men and women on both sides of the equation to allow for a more systematic evaluation.

The patterns for HS and objectification perpetration suggest that HS predicts the objectification of women, and exposure to objectification increases HS. However, no studies manipulated HS to test whether it would lead to greater objectification of women. Future research could use experimental designs to determine causality, including the possibility of a reciprocal relationship. In addition, more data relate HS to perpetrating objectification than relate BS to self-objectification

and appearance-related processes. Future research should build on the current evidence to further understand the specific ways in which BS relates to objectification experiences for women and their own evaluation of their bodies. Finally, although the evidence suggests that BS (compared to HS) may not play a role in objectification perpetration, the articles included here mostly operationalized objectification either literally (e.g., processing objectified targets similar to objects; Adams et al., 2021) or blatantly (e.g., viewing degrading porn; Skorska et al., 2018). Future research could test whether BS would promote engagement in more subtle, seemingly positive forms of objectification (e.g., appearance compliments; Kahalon et al., 2018a; see also Bareket et al., 2019).

Two other smaller domains provide examples of contexts in which the patterns observed in the Violence domain are likely to occur. Summaries of these domains are available in the online [Supplemental Material](#). In brief, in the law domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 33$), *HS is associated with judging women plaintiffs or defendants in criminal cases harshly and being more lenient with men defendants. By contrast, BS may have a protective, but conditional, effect on women defendants and plaintiffs.* In the media and art domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 29$), *online gaming appears to provide HS with a rich platform for manifesting harassment, and HS is likely to increase as a result of exposure to online sexual content; BS encourages women to accept violence in erotic literature under the guise of romance.*

Workplace ($n_{\text{articles}} = 63$)

Workplace was the third largest domain. Articles that examined ambivalent sexism in the workplace¹³ and closely related contexts (e.g., science, technology, engineering, and math [STEM] majors; Kuchynka, Salomon, et al., 2018) were classified into two subdomains based on the type of outcome that was assessed. The first subdomain included articles examining workplace bias. The second subdomain included articles examining work-related aspirations and performance. The workplace domains and professions examined could mostly be defined as traditionally masculine (with some articles comparing them to traditionally feminine ones; e.g., Hebl et al., 2007)¹⁴ or characterized by high power (with some comparing to low power; e.g., Ramati-Ziber et al., 2020), and only a few articles referring to workplace settings in general terms (e.g., Christopher & Wojda, 2008). Table 3 summarizes the overall workplace domain, and Table S3 (in the online [Supplemental Material](#)) summarizes its subdomains.

Workplace Bias ($n_{\text{articles}} = 38$)

Articles examining bias-related outcomes assessed attitudes (e.g., Connor & Fiske, 2019), evaluations (e.g., Salvaggio et al., 2009), and perceptions (e.g., Klöckner Cronauer & Schmid Mast, 2014;

¹³ Articles that examined sexual harassment in the workplace were classified in the sexual harassment domain due to their better conceptual fit to the other articles in that domain.

¹⁴ Since there were few articles focusing solely on traditionally feminine domains ($n_{\text{articles}} = 20$) and they mostly dealt with the domestic sphere ($n_{\text{articles}} = 17$; e.g., performance of domestic tasks; Bareket et al., 2021) rather than the workplace ($n_{\text{articles}} = 3$; e.g., attitudes toward men nurses; Clow et al., 2015), they were classified separately in the women-dominated arenas domain (a smaller domain, adjacent to the intimate relationships domain).

Table 3
Workplace Domain

Workplace ($n_{\text{articles}} = 63$)				
Subdomains: workplace bias ($n_{\text{articles}} = 38$), aspirations and performance ($n_{\text{articles}} = 25$)				
Primary outcomes	Main findings	Limitations	Recommendations	Open questions
Work-related bias (including discrimination and backlash responses). Work-related aspirations (including interests) and performance.	Both HS and BS challenge women's advancement in the workplace based on competence-related grounds; yet the routes are different: HS undermines women's competence in the workplace through direct bias and discrimination. BS reinforces women's lower competence in the workplace through (a) paternalistic but conditional support (only for women who adhere to gender roles); and (b) reducing women's work-related aspirations and performance.	Studies in the aspirations and performance subdomain: (a) mostly lack a comparison group of men participants; and (b) do not make a clear distinction between work-related tasks that are either traditionally masculine or feminine.	Use samples of both men and women to test the role of ambivalent sexism in the workplace. Manipulate the type of task (e.g., traditionally masculine vs. feminine) used to assess performance.	Does HS predict a positive bias toward men in the workplace? What are the differential roles of HS and BS in understanding workplace backlash against women? Is ambivalent sexism also related to backlash against men in the workplace? Does BS uniquely predict women's lower career-related interests and aspirations, or does HS also play a role? Does HS undermine women's work-related well-being? Does BS also have negative consequences for men's performance, perhaps in different ways than for women?

Smaller adjacent domains: politics, collective action, rights/policies.

Note. If not mentioned otherwise (a) the findings described here hold for both men and women participants and (b) the associations described are positive. HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism.

Warren et al., 2020) related to women in the workplace. Articles examining gender-based discrimination used measures of behavioral intentions (Hideg & Ferris, 2016) and preferences (Monzani et al., 2020), as well as actual behavior (Girvan et al., 2015; King et al., 2012; I. C. Lee et al., 2007). Other articles examined outcomes that could be defined as backlash responses (i.e., negative reactions toward women violating gender roles; see Rudman et al., 2012, for a review), mostly using self-reports (e.g., Kahn et al., 2021; Salerno & Phalen, 2019) rather than behavior (Hebl et al., 2007). Experiments primarily used paradigms presenting participants with work-related scenarios (e.g., via videos, interview transcripts, curriculum vitae; Good & Rudman, 2010; Masser & Abrams, 2004), mostly related to hiring processes (e.g., Salvaggio et al., 2009) or evaluations of professionals (e.g., Salerno & Phalen, 2019). Different aspects of the scenarios were varied, such as the gender of the job applicant (Acar & Sümer, 2018) or worker (Monzani et al., 2020), the target's behavior (Kahn et al., 2021), the kind of sexist behavior portrayed by actors in the scenario (Good & Rudman, 2010; Warren et al., 2020), the type of job (e.g., powerful vs. entry-level professions; Hideg & Ferris, 2016; Ramati-Ziber et al., 2020), or other characteristics that were study-specific (e.g., S. K. Johnson et al., 2014). Common priming manipulations of ambivalent sexism were also employed (i.e., exposure to ASI items using various tasks; Connor & Fiske, 2019; Hideg & Ferris, 2016). Ambivalent sexism (HS or BS) was rarely assessed here as an outcome (see Fox et al., 2015; Hebl et al., 2007; Kuchynka, Bosson, et al., 2018, for exceptions).

The findings indicate that *HS (but not BS) among both men and women directly encourages diverse forms of workplace bias against women*. Specifically, HS predicts general negative attitudes toward women in the workplace (e.g., beliefs that women lack the abilities needed to succeed; Christopher & Wojda, 2008), especially in masculine domains (e.g., attitudes against women managers; Sakalli-Uğurlu, 2010; Sakalli-Uğurlu & Beydogan, 2002), as well as acceptance of gender income inequality (Connor & Fiske, 2019), beliefs justifying men's advantage in the workforce (Feather & Boeckmann, 2007), and a preference for men authorities (Rudman & Kilianski, 2000).

When evaluating job candidates, HS predicts women (mostly when compared to men) receiving negative trait evaluations (e.g., being arrogant; Masser & Abrams, 2004), and being perceived as less competent (Fox et al., 2015; Good & Rudman, 2010; Reilly et al., 2017) and hireable (S. K. Johnson et al., 2014; Warren et al., 2020). HS also predicts discrimination against women (but not men) in the form of lower recommendations for managerial positions (Masser & Abrams, 2004), selection of women for positions in poor (but not good) performance companies (Acar & Sümer, 2018), and upholding the termination of women employee-grievants in real labor arbitration decisions (Girvan et al., 2015). By contrast, some evidence suggests that HS predicts a positive bias toward men in the workplace (Hogue, 2016; I. C. Lee et al., 2007; Masser & Abrams, 2004; Salvaggio et al., 2009).

Similar patterns of HS predicting bias against women were reported in articles examining the specific contexts of medicine (e.g., against women doctors or patients; Gattino et al., 2020; Monzani et al., 2020; Morais et al., 2020) and the military (e.g., against women in combat roles; Barron & Ogle, 2014; Schaefer et al., 2021; Young & Nauta, 2013). Thus, overall, *bias seems to be part of the HS dominance portfolio*.

Although BS is not directly related to bias, it subtly justifies workplace gender inequality. To illustrate, BS (but not HS) in both men and women increased support for employment equity policies that promote the hiring of women, but only in feminine and not masculine positions, thus contributing to occupational gender segregation (Hideg & Ferris, 2016). BS also promotes paternalism in the work environment. Specifically, BS predicted men's lower assignment of challenging experiences to women (but not men) in workplace contexts (King et al., 2012). BS was positively associated with arbitrators' inclination to overturn the termination of women (but not men) from their jobs (Girvan et al., 2015), men doctors' higher sensitivity to gender-related medical issues (Gattino et al., 2020), and individuals' perceptions of a woman (but not a man) leader as a better fit for well-performing organizations (Acar & Sümer, 2018). BS also predicted women's internalization of paternalism, as indicated in their discriminatory behavior against men in the context of economic decision making (i.e., unequal offers of sharing money with men; Silvestre et al., 2016). In addition, BS was associated with perceiving a conflict between women's employability and their traditional domestic role (Christopher & Wojda, 2008), as well as women's lower acknowledgment of workplace inequalities (Brady et al., 2015).

Initial evidence indicates that BS promotes favorable impressions of men (Salerno & Phalen, 2019) and women (Kahn et al., 2021) who conform to gender roles and expectations in workplace settings while eliciting backlash against women who violate them (e.g., perceiving women attorneys expressing anger in court as less effective and hireable; Mazurega et al., 2019; Salerno & Phalen, 2019). Two other articles not specific to HS or BS also reported forms of backlash against "deviating women." The first found that store employees exhibited more hostile behavior (e.g., rudeness) toward pregnant (vs. nonpregnant) applicants for a masculine (but not feminine) job, but more benevolent behavior (e.g., touching, overfriendliness) toward pregnant customers (Hebl et al., 2007). The second found that ambivalent sexism (total score) predicted enforcement of more stringent appearance requirements for women employees in powerful positions, while penalizing "insufficiently groomed" women candidates by disqualifying them for such positions (Ramati-Ziber et al., 2020).

Last, a broad meta-analysis (Jones et al., 2017) compared the relationships between various types of prejudice (racism, sexism, and ageism) and workplace discrimination indicators. Their findings showed no link between sexism (measured through diverse measures; $k = 43$) and discrimination. A follow-up analysis focused specifically on whether the sexism measure was BS ($k = 15$) or HS ($k = 19$). Its results indicated that BS is associated with lower levels of workplace discrimination against women, supporting our view that BS operates subtly in the workplace, manifesting as an excessive protection of women that may not be immediately recognized as harmful. Contrary to our analysis, no relationship was found between HS and workplace discrimination. This inconsistency may be attributed to the difference in sample sizes, as our review incorporated additional data (35 out of 38 articles in the workplace bias subdomain included an HS measure).

Aspirations and Performance ($n_{\text{articles}} = 25$)

Articles assessing work-related interests and aspirations used self-report measures to assess self-definitions (Barreto et al., 2010),

intentions (Kuchynka, Salomon, et al., 2018), and previous choices (e.g., Fernández et al., 2006) related to academic majors and career paths. Articles assessing work-related performance mostly used task performance indicators (e.g., response latencies and accuracy; Dumont et al., 2010) in a variety of cognitive tasks (e.g., working memory task; Dardenne et al., 2013; Yamamoto & Ohbuchi, 2011). Self-report measures of performance indicators (e.g., STEM grade point average; Kuchynka, Salomon, et al., 2018) or perceived performance (Jones et al., 2014) were used less often. Beyond performance outcomes per se, some articles assessed feelings and experiences of participants during task performance using self-reports (e.g., self-efficacy; Jones et al., 2014) or physiological measures (e.g., brain activity; Dardenne et al., 2013; cardiovascular response; Lamarche et al., 2020; Salomon et al., 2015), and task-related helping behaviors (Shnabel et al., 2016). Experiments here usually used common ASI manipulations (e.g., Barreto et al., 2010; Shnabel et al., 2016) or task-specific manipulations that conveyed ambivalent sexist (HS or BS) messages in the instructions (e.g., Dardenne et al., 2013; Grilli et al., 2020) or confederates' comments (e.g., Bradley-Geist et al., 2015; Lamarche et al., 2020). The evidence for outcomes associated with work-related interests, aspirations, and performance mostly yielded patterns of findings that are consistent with *negative effects that are unique to BS (roles) rather than HS (rank), mostly among women*.

In terms of interests and aspirations, BS shapes women's self-descriptions in ways that lead them to emphasize their relational qualities and de-emphasize their task-related characteristics (e.g., how important they found competence and academic achievement; Barreto et al., 2010). BS was also associated with women's lower academic goals (Montañés et al., 2012) and STEM intentions (Kuchynka, Salomon, et al., 2018), as well as lesser aspirations for leadership positions (Barreto et al., 2010; Rollero & Fedi, 2014). Other articles reported effects for both HS and BS. Specifically, associations are observed between both HS and BS (but especially BS) and men and women students' choices of academic majors, with more sexist attitudes found in STEM majors compared to other majors (Fernández et al., 2006; Kuchynka, Salomon, et al., 2018; Leon-Ramirez et al., 2018).

The evidence for a negative BS (but not HS) link to performance-related outcomes appears to be stronger. Three articles reported that BS (but not HS) impairs women's cognitive performance (Dardenne et al., 2007; Dumont et al., 2010), with one only finding this effect when self-esteem was low (Yamamoto & Ohbuchi, 2011). A possible mechanism for this effect is mental intrusions related to women's lower sense of competence (Dardenne et al., 2007; Dumont et al., 2010). Other articles did not find effects of BS on performance but did report that BS (but not HS) had physiological consequences for women during task performance in a way that was generally consistent with the mental intrusion mechanism. Specifically, exposure to BS increased activation of brain regions associated with intrusive thought suppression during subsequent task performance (potentially impeding optimal cognitive performance; Dardenne et al., 2013) and triggered negative cardiovascular responses consistent with greater threat (Lamarche et al., 2020; Salomon et al., 2015).

These findings are complemented by other results from articles assessing performance-related outcomes using self-reports. BS (but not HS) decreased women's perceived sense of competence after task performance (Lamarche et al., 2020) and both women's and men's self-efficacy in a task conducted in cross-gender work

interactions (Jones et al., 2014). BS was also negatively associated with women's STEM self-efficacy and their grade point average (Kuchynka, Salomon, et al., 2018; Montañés et al., 2012), subjective career success (Cheng et al., 2020), and perceived workplace performance (Jones et al., 2014 [also for men]), as well as positively associated with both men's and women's expectations of men's success (Cassidy & Krendl, 2019). In situations in which women are the help recipients and men are the help providers, BS led both men and women to engage in dependency-oriented helping relations that reinforce paternalistic gender roles, further impeding women's independent coping in masculine tasks (Shnabel et al., 2016).

Only scant and mixed evidence suggests a role of HS in work-related performance and success for women, with one article reporting a positive association (Smith-Castro et al., 2019; see also Cheng et al., 2020), two reporting a negative association (Kuchynka, Salomon, et al., 2018) and effect (Bradley-Geist et al., 2015), and one reporting negative effects for both BS and HS (Grilli et al., 2020). Of particular interest is one article finding that women low on HS (when controlling for BS) persisted more on a stereotype-relevant task (i.e., spatial intelligence test) following exposure to pictures of men and women in counterstereotypical gender roles (de Lemus et al., 2015). Two other articles highlight the negative role of HS in work-related well-being. Exposure to both HS and BS (with stronger effects for HS) in a workplace context fosters women's anxiety and depression (Pacilli et al., 2019; Spaccatini & Roccato, 2021).

Finally, there is mixed evidence for the moderating role of gender identification in associations of ambivalent sexism (HS or BS) with the outcomes reported in this section (Dardenne et al., 2007; Fedi & Rollero, 2016; Kuchynka, Salomon, et al., 2018; Lamarche et al., 2020).

Summary of Findings Across Subdomains

The findings overall suggest that both HS and BS undermine women's advancement in the workplace but in different ways. *HS promotes direct bias and discrimination against women in the workplace by both men and women*, undermining the perceived work-related competence of women, limiting women's ability to enter high-power positions and fields in which they are less well represented, and overall promoting a hostile and masculine work environment. By contrast, BS does not directly relate to workplace bias and discrimination against women, but it subtly reinforces women's lower status in the workplace in two distinct ways. First, *BS excessively supports women in the workplace by promoting paternalism toward them in the work environment*, but only as long as they stay in their "place" (e.g., feminine positions) and conform (rather than violate) gender roles and norms about how women should or should not act, thus potentially limiting women's advancement to higher ranks in the workplace. Second, *BS self-handicaps women by reducing their perceived work-related aspirations and competence, with the ensuing negative consequences for their performance*. These findings overall apply to a variety of masculine workplace domains (e.g., the army, medicine), powerful positions (e.g., managers, leadership roles), and academic-STEM contexts.

Thus, in general, both HS and BS in the workplace act on a competence-based premise but through different routes. HS undermines women's competence through prejudicial processes related to competition over status and resources (Dovidio et al., 2010; Esses

et al., 2005), while BS presumes women's lower competence through processes related to gender-role cooperation (Jackman, 1994) in the form of gender-based paternalism and differentiation (Glick & Fiske, 2001c).

Domain-Specific Limitations and Recommendations

Articles in the workplace bias subdomain examined samples of students, nonspecific employees (usually recruited from online platforms), and professionals from traditionally masculine fields (e.g., medicine, military, law, technology, construction). Articles in the aspirations and performance subdomain mostly used student samples, partially because of the broader focus on outcomes in academic settings. One advantage of the workplace domain overall is that the findings are substantially based on experimental work, which makes it possible to infer causality between ambivalent sexism (HS or BS) and work-related outcomes. This domain also included some field studies (e.g., Gattino et al., 2020; Hebl et al., 2007; Jones et al., 2014), thus contributing to the ecological validity of the findings.

One major methodological limitation of the articles included in the aspirations and performance subdomain is that they tend not to examine men participants as a comparison group to women. Theory (Glick & Fiske, 2001b) and evidence (e.g., Rollero & Fedi, 2014) support assuming that BS negatively impacts women more than men in terms of work-related aspirations and performance outcomes. Yet, more empirical work is needed to clarify whether BS (as well as the equivalent scale in the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory; Glick & Fiske, 1999; see Footnote 2) may also be detrimental to men's performance, perhaps in different ways than for women. One article reported that men experienced reduced self-efficacy in mixed-gender work interactions following exposure to BS (Jones et al., 2014), providing preliminary support for this supposition. Thus, future research should test the role of BS in performance-related outcomes among both men and women.

Another limitation of the articles examining performance-related outcomes is that they did not make a clear distinction between work-related tasks that are either traditionally masculine or feminine. These articles generally define the tasks used as cognitive, yet these cognitive tasks vary in their content. Most of these articles examined cognitive verbal tasks (e.g., reading span test; Dardenne et al., 2013; Dumont et al., 2010), representing a somewhat stereotype-consistent domain for women, presumably to avoid alternative explanations related to stereotype-threat effects (see Lamarche et al., 2020). Other articles used tasks that are more traditionally masculine (e.g., a problem-solving test; Dardenne et al., 2007; Jones et al., 2014; Shnabel et al., 2016). However, no articles examined performance on tasks that are more clearly defined as traditionally feminine, such as those demanding emotional and social skills (e.g., Leyens et al., 2000), which are essential to establishing an effective work environment (Klein et al., 2008) and leadership (Riggio & Reichard, 2008). Thus, the question of whether the negative effect of BS on performance-related outcomes would extend to other feminine tasks (which are not necessarily cognitive) remains open. Future research should systematically examine whether the type of task used to assess performance moderates this effect. As BS idealizes women's warmth (Ramos et al., 2018), a plausible prediction would be a reverse, positive effect on women's performance on socioemotional tasks, while men would be negatively affected. This aligns with similar

findings regarding BS in the context of prosocial behavior (Bareket et al., 2021) and outside the realm of sexism (Kahalon et al., 2018b; Koenig & Eagly, 2005).

Other findings that are based solely on limited evidence and would benefit from future work are those linking HS to positive bias toward men in the workplace or to women's work-related well-being, as well as those linking BS to women's lower career-related interests and aspirations.

Other Domains Related to the Workplace

Three other, smaller domains presented patterns of findings that were conceptually similar to those obtained in the workplace domain and are described in the online [Supplemental Material](#). In brief, in the politics domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 29$), the evidence supports the role of HS than BS in understanding political affiliation and behavior: *HS (rather than BS), which is more dominant among conservative voters, was associated with favoring and supporting Trump over Clinton, as well as a more general tendency to show bias against women politicians.* Thus, the politics domain may represent an instance of HS reactance to women in powerful positions, as well as a positive bias toward men in such positions. The scarce effects for BS imply that it may promote a protective, but somewhat limited effect toward women politicians. In the collective action domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 13$), *HS in men and women is negatively associated with collective action to fight gender inequality; nevertheless, HS can also motivate women's collective action as a form of resistance. In contrast, BS appears to undermine women's engagement in collective actions; yet, it can motivate men to take part in collective action, but only in paternalistic and not egalitarian forms.* In the rights and policies domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 9$), *although HS uniformly opposes rights/policies aimed to promote gender equality, BS provides support that is to some extent restricted, for example, to women who adhere to traditional roles.*

Stereotypes ($n_{\text{articles}} = 53$)

Articles were included in this domain if they examined topics linking ambivalent sexism to stereotypical perceptions and reactions to stereotypical content. Based on the focus and outcomes, we classified these articles into three subdomains. The first subdomain included articles examining stereotypical perceptions of women (as a whole). The second subdomain included articles examining stereotypical perceptions of subtypes of women. The third subdomain included articles focusing on jokes depicting stereotypical content. [Table 4](#) summarizes the overall stereotypes domain, and [Table S4](#) (in the online [Supplemental Material](#)) summarizes its subdomains.

Stereotypical Perceptions and Behavior ($n_{\text{articles}} = 17$)

Most of the evidence for associations between ambivalent sexism and stereotypical perceptions of women (as a whole) comes from the cross-cultural investigations of ambivalent sexism (Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 1996). This work administered the ASI in 19 countries and included also semantic differential items aimed at measuring overall evaluations of women (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and valence ratings of traits associated with women,

either fixed (Glick & Fiske, 1996) or spontaneously generated (Glick et al., 2000). Glick and Fiske (1996) grouped these traits into four sets of masculine-positive (e.g., independent, self-confident), masculine-negative (e.g., arrogant, hostile), feminine-positive (e.g., helpful, gentle), and feminine-negative (e.g., whiny, spineless). In Glick et al. (2000), the examples of the generated traits included tender, warm, sweet, and sensitive (all positively valenced) and jealous, sly, touchy, and selfish (all negatively valenced). *HS in both men and women predicts negative evaluations, whereas BS predicts positive evaluations (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and stereotypes about women (i.e., the ascription of negative and positive traits to women, respectively; Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 1996; see also Maitner & Henry, 2018).* Subsequent articles extended this work by examining gender stereotypes that are specific to warmth and competence (see Fiske et al., 2002, for the distinction between these stereotype dimensions). These articles (Delacollette et al., 2013; Ramos et al., 2018; see also Good & Sanchez, 2009, for related experimental evidence) generally point to BS as describing and prescribing warmth to women, whereas the evidence pertaining to competence stereotypes is inconclusive.

Four articles tested the associations between explicit HS and BS (measured by the ASI) and related implicit measures. In general, the findings show that explicit HS and BS are related to implicit sexism (Laux et al., 2015) and implicit gender stereotyping (Ramos et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2019; Ye & Gawronski, 2018), but not always; some results differed.¹⁵ Two other articles reported associations in men between HS and BS and the corresponding sexist behavior, which could be broadly defined as stereotype-consistent behavior.¹⁶ The findings suggest that men's explicit HS predicts hostile sexist behavior (e.g., giving sexist relationship advice to a man confederate; Laux et al., 2015) and less affiliative expressions (e.g., being less approachable and friendly) in cross-gender interactions (Goh & Hall, 2015). By contrast, explicit BS predicts benevolent sexist behavior (e.g., paying a woman confederate's bill at a restaurant; Laux et al., 2015) and more affiliative expressions and greater patience (Goh & Hall, 2015).

The remainder of the articles in this subdomain reported miscellaneous findings linking ambivalent sexism to various stereotype-related outcomes (J. Allen & Gervais, 2017; Carter et al., 2006; Meagher, 2017; Zell et al., 2016).

¹⁵ One article (with a men sample; Laux et al., 2015) operationalized implicit forms of both HS and BS through the implicit association test (see Greenwald et al., 1998). They found that explicit and implicit HS, as well as explicit and implicit BS, were positively correlated. Three other articles assessed implicit gender stereotypes, but defined and measured them differently, and reported different findings. One article found that explicit measures of both HS and BS correlated with implicit gender stereotyping, when measured on a semantic misattribution procedure related to gender-stereotypical occupations (Ye & Gawronski, 2018). The second article found that explicit HS (but not BS) was correlated with implicit gender stereotypes, as evaluated on an IAT related to gender stereotypical attributes (Wang et al., 2019). The third article found that women (but not men) exposed to either HS or BS exhibited less implicit gender stereotype bias (Ramos et al., 2016), when the latter was measured by versions of both the IAT and go/no-go association task (GNAT; see Nosek & Banaji, 2001) related to gender stereotypical content.

¹⁶ Articles in other domains also examined associations between ambivalent sexism and forms of behavior that could be defined as stereotype-consistent but in domain-specific ways (e.g., in the context of prosocial behavior; Bareket et al., 2021).

Table 4
Stereotypes Domain

Subdomains: stereotypical perceptions and behavior ($n_{\text{articles}} = 17$), stereotypical subtypes of women ($n_{\text{articles}} = 14$), stereotypical humor ($n_{\text{articles}} = 22$)		Stereotypes ($n_{\text{articles}} = 53$)	
Primary outcomes	Main findings	Limitations	Recommendations
Evaluations and endorsement of stereotypes about women (as a whole) or subtypes of women. Implicit gender stereotypes. Stereotype-consistent behavior. Reactions and use of stereotypical jokes. HS and BS are treated as outcomes in articles manipulating exposure to subtypes.	Both HS and BS are associated with stereotypical views of women, but with a different focus in terms of the valence and content of the stereotypes, as well as which kinds of women are the target: HS is associated with the endorsement of negatively valenced stereotypes about women, as well as negative evaluations and directed toward nontraditional subtypes of women. BS is associated with the endorsement of positively valenced stereotypes about women that are specific to warmth, as well as positive evaluations and directed toward traditional subtypes of women. The evidence for associations between HS and BS and competence stereotypes is inconclusive. Humor is a primary context manifesting the link between HS and negative stereotypes about women. Limited evidence that HS and BS predict implicit gender stereotypes and men's stereotype-consistent behavior.	Measures mostly assess favorability and valence evaluations rather than the content of stereotypes attributed to women. Few manipulations of either ambivalent sexism (HS and BS) or gender stereotypes. Few articles employing either implicit or behavioral measures related to ambivalent sexism or gender stereotypes. Missing comparisons to men as a target group of stereotypes (but see the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory). Missing comparisons to stereotypical jokes that are not explicitly demeaning. Missing comparisons to the other gender as participants; none of the articles tested stereotype-consistent behavior among women as participants.	Test the specific content of stereotypes about women. Use experimental designs manipulating either ambivalent sexism or gender stereotypes two (including the possibility of a reciprocal relationship). Include either implicit or behavioral measures of either ambivalent sexism or gender stereotypes related to ambivalent sexism, and test their associations with existing (explicit) ambivalent sexism measures. Add comparisons to evaluations of stereotypes about men and subtypes of men. Add comparisons to types of jokes with a seemingly positive tone (e.g., jokes highlighting women's favorable traits). Include both men and women as evaluators of stereotypes and enactors in behavioral studies.
			Does ambivalent sexism (HS, BS, or both) relate to competence stereotypes, and if so, how? Do HS and BS (beyond the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory) differentially relate to stereotypes about men or evaluations of men subtypes? Does BS predict favoring/approval of stereotypical jokes that match its seemingly positive tone? Are the links between ambivalent sexism (HS and BS) and stereotypes about women stronger for men than for women (as evaluators)? Does ambivalent sexism (HS and BS) predict women's stereotype-consistent behavior?

Smaller adjacent domains: gendered prosocial behavior, masculinity, marketing.

Note. If not mentioned otherwise (a) the findings hold for both men and women participants and (b) the associations described are positive. The Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (Click et al., 2004; Glick & Fiske, 1999). HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism.

Stereotypical Subtypes of Women ($n_{articles} = 14$)

Articles in this subdomain assessed the relationship between ambivalent sexism and evaluations and stereotypes about subtypes of women considered traditional (e.g., housewives) or nontraditional (e.g., career women). These were assessed using a range of self-report measures, such as general favorability evaluations, trait valence ratings, and feelings and expected experiences with the targets (Glick et al., 1997, 2015), as well as attribution of positive and negative emotions to the targets (Gaunt, 2013a), attribution of warmth and competence to the targets (Gaunt, 2013a, 2013b), and agreement with stereotypes about the targets (Robnett et al., 2012). The findings overall indicate that *HS predicts negative evaluations and stereotypes about nontraditional women subtypes, whereas BS predicts positive evaluations and stereotypes about traditional women types* (Gaunt, 2013a, 2013b; Glick et al., 1997, 2015; Robnett et al., 2012). One of these articles also found that men's HS negatively predicted evaluations of nontraditional men subtypes (e.g., feminist men; Glick et al., 2015).

Some articles paid special attention to sexual subtypes. These articles tested whether exposure to sexual subtypes of women, via vignettes (e.g., Sibley & Wilson, 2004) or a virtual environment (Fox & Bailenson, 2009), would differentially elicit HS or BS, either directed toward the subtypes (e.g., Fowers & Fowers, 2010) or in general (Fox & Bailenson, 2009). The evidence suggests that nontraditional sexual subtypes (e.g., promiscuous) elicit HS, while traditional sexual subtypes (e.g., chaste) elicit BS (Fowers & Fowers, 2010; Fox & Bailenson, 2009; McMahon & Kahn, 2016; Sibley & Wilson, 2004), with some possible moderators of these effects (e.g., social dominance orientation, race; for conceptually related findings among women only, see J. C. Becker, 2010; Lizzio-Wilson et al., 2021).

The remainder of the articles in this subdomain found effects applicable to both HS and BS. Ambivalent sexism (total score) predicted men's polarized views of women, as indicated by the spontaneous generation of more extremely valenced sets of women subtypes (Glick et al., 1997). In addition, both HS and BS in men and women were associated with the endorsement of polarized perceptions of women's sexuality (i.e., the madonna-whore dichotomy; Bareket et al., 2018; Kahalon et al., 2019). Finally, both ambivalent sexists and nonsexists applied a double standard when judging deviations from gendered family roles, where sexist individuals evaluated traditional targets (primary caregiving mother and breadwinning father) more favorably than nontraditional targets (men caregiver and women breadwinner), whereas nonsexist individuals exhibited the opposite patterns (i.e., evaluated nontraditional targets more favorably; Gaunt, 2013c).

Overall, there is mixed evidence as to whether the patterns observed in this domain apply to both men and women (as evaluators), with some articles finding similar patterns for both (Fox & Bailenson, 2009; Gaunt, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c; Kahalon et al., 2019; McMahon & Kahn, 2016), others finding gender differences (Fowers & Fowers, 2010; Glick et al., 1997), and the remainder testing only men (Bareket et al., 2018; Glick et al., 2015; Sibley & Wilson, 2004) or women (J. C. Becker, 2010; Lizzio-Wilson et al., 2021; Robnett et al., 2012).

Stereotypical Humor ($n_{articles} = 22$)

Articles in this subdomain examined ambivalent sexism in the context of sexist humor that draws on gender stereotypes. Most

articles here tested how exposure to stereotypical jokes affects individuals who endorse ambivalent sexism, either in terms of their evaluations of the jokes or their acceptance of other forms of prejudice. Exposure to stereotypical humor was manipulated by presenting participants with a set of jokes, either written individually (e.g., Eyssel & Bohner, 2007; Hegarty et al., 2018) or as part of written vignettes describing social interactions (e.g., Ford, 2000; Parrott & Hopp, 2020), and others also using an audiotaped conversation (Greenwood & Isbell, 2002; Sriwattanakomen, 2017) or actual interaction with a research confederate (Mallett et al., 2016). Articles manipulated different features of these jokes (e.g., the gender of the joke teller or target of the joke, the type of humor; Riquelme et al., 2021; Romero-Sánchez et al., 2017; Thomas & Esses, 2004) or their ratings (e.g., assessed under time pressure; Eyssel & Bohner, 2007). The content of the jokes was defined as demeaning to women, either in the context of women's intelligence (e.g., "what do you get when a bunch of blondes stand ear to ear?" answer: "a wind tunnel"; Greenwood & Isbell, 2002), sexuality (e.g., "how can you tell if a blonde works in the office?" answer: "a bed in the stockroom and huge smiles on all the bosses' faces"; Greenwood & Isbell, 2002), appearance (e.g., "you can seduce a fat woman by giving her sweets"; Greenwood & Gautam, 2020), or their traditional gender role (e.g., "why haven't any women ever gone to the moon?" answer: "it doesn't need cleaning yet"; Prusaczyk & Hodson, 2020).

The evidence suggests that *HS is associated with positive reactions to stereotypical jokes* (vs. nonstereotypical jokes or nonhumorous communication), as indicated in ratings that find them to be more amusing (e.g., Greenwood & Isbell, 2002; Riquelme et al., 2021) and less offensive (e.g., Parrott & Hopp, 2020; Prusaczyk & Hodson, 2020). There is some evidence that these effects are unique to jokes demeaning women, as indicated in articles providing comparison groups to men-disparaging jokes (Thomas & Esses, 2004), subversive humor against sexism (Riquelme et al., 2021), and more general types of sarcastic humor (Drucker et al., 2014). The effects of BS are less consistent: Of the articles that measured it, one did not find effects (Greenwood & Gautam, 2020), and three found mostly partial and limited effects in men (Eyssel & Bohner, 2007; Greenwood & Isbell, 2002; Thomas & Esses, 2004). As for the effects of participants' gender, articles that included both men and women (Greenwood & Isbell, 2002; Parrott & Hopp, 2020; Riquelme et al., 2021) or only women (Prusaczyk & Hodson, 2020) found effects for both, with one exception that found effects only for men (Greenwood & Gautam, 2020).

Another group of articles here demonstrated that HS (but mostly not BS, in the articles that assessed it) functions as a moderator of the effects of exposure to stereotypical jokes on engagement in other forms of prejudice. Specifically, men high (vs. low) on HS who were exposed to stereotypical jokes showed higher rape myth acceptance (Sriwattanakomen, 2017), rape proclivity (Romero-Sánchez et al., 2017, 2021; Thomae & Viki, 2013; but cf. Romero-Sánchez et al., 2010), beliefs that justify the gender status quo (Ford et al., 2013), tolerance of sexist events (Ford, 2000; Ford et al., 2001; Mallett et al., 2016), harsher judgments of women's behavior in harassment contexts (Greenwood & Gautam, 2020), and behavioral expressions of prejudice against women (e.g., allocating greater relative funding cuts to a women's organization; Ford et al., 2008). Two articles found that the effects of stereotypical humor on high-HS individuals were nullified when the content of the joke was referred to seriously

or critically (Ford, 2000; Mallett et al., 2016), implying HS's sensitivity to social cues rejecting this behavior. Most of these articles examined only men (Ford et al., 2001, 2008, 2013; Romero-Sánchez et al., 2010, 2017, 2021), with those examining also women finding effects also for them (Ford, 2000; Greenwood & Gautam, 2020; Mallett et al., 2016; but cf. Sriwattanakomen, 2017).

The rest of the articles here tested the link between HS and engagement in expressing these jokes as a form of harassment. These articles implemented measures of behavioral intentions (i.e., likelihood of repeating or retweeting sexist jokes; Greenwood & Gautam, 2020; Thomas & Esses, 2004) or behavioral paradigms of gender harassment in which the participants could send stereotypical jokes to a woman partner in a joint task (Diehl et al., 2018; see also the sexual harassment domain). The evidence suggests that HS in men is associated with the likelihood of (Greenwood & Gautam, 2020; Thomas & Esses, 2004) and taking part in (Diehl et al., 2012, 2018; Siebler et al., 2008) releasing stereotypical jokes. These effects did not emerge for BS (Greenwood & Gautam, 2020; Thomas & Esses, 2004) and women (Greenwood & Gautam, 2020).

Summary of Findings Across Subdomains

Overall, both HS and BS (mostly in both men and women) are positively associated with stereotypical perceptions of women, but with a different focus in terms of the valence and content of the stereotypes, as well as which kinds of women constitute the target. *BS is associated with the endorsement of positively valenced stereotypes about women that seem to be specific to warmth* (e.g., helpful, sensitive), thus encouraging cooperation (see Cuddy et al., 2008). By contrast, *HS is associated with negatively valenced stereotypes about women* (e.g., whiny, jealous), although the evidence is scant and mixed as to whether these stereotypes are specific to competence (with the potential of encouraging competition). The differential patterns of HS and BS in terms of stereotypes are oriented toward certain types of women, with *BS associated with positive evaluations and directed toward traditional subtypes of women* (e.g., housewives, feminine women), whereas *HS is associated with negative evaluations and directed toward nontraditional subtypes of women* (e.g., feminists, career women). *Stereotypical humor is a primary context for the link between HS and negative stereotypes about women to manifest, thus creating an implicit norm of tolerance of sexism.* In this sense, the findings pertaining to stereotypical humor are somewhat consistent with findings in the other domains (e.g., violence) in that HS is more likely to manifest when it is approved by societal norms.

Domain-Specific Limitations and Recommendations

The articles in this domain included student and community samples. Several methodological limitations to the measures and designs left key theoretical questions unanswered. The measures of stereotypes mostly tapped general favorability and valence evaluations of women. Although some articles indeed focused on the specific content of the stereotypes (e.g., Delacollette et al., 2013; Ramos et al., 2018), the findings were mixed, especially with regards to competence stereotypes. Thus, future research should aim to provide a more

systematic investigation of the content of stereotypes about women predicted by HS and BS and examine whether this content differs with regard to different kinds of women.

Although experimental designs were regularly employed in the subdomains of stereotypical subtypes of women (e.g., exposure to subtypes of women) and stereotypical humor (e.g., exposure to jokes), almost no articles here (in any of the stereotypes subdomains) included manipulation of ambivalent sexism. Initial evidence suggests that exposure to ambivalent sexism constructs shapes stereotype endorsement (Ramos et al., 2016, 2018) but also that stereotype primes affect the endorsement of ambivalent sexism (Good & Sanchez, 2009). Future research should use experimental designs manipulating either ambivalent sexism constructs or gender stereotypes to enable assessments of causality, including the possibility of a reciprocal relationship.

Not enough articles employed implicit measures related to sexism or gender stereotypes (see Goh & Hall, 2015; Laux et al., 2015; Ramos et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2019; Ye & Gawronski, 2018, for exceptions). Future research should include such measures and test their associations with the existing measures of ambivalent sexism. Furthermore, the only two articles examining stereotype-consistent behavior focused solely on men as actors (Goh & Hall, 2015; Laux et al., 2015); thus, future research should examine how ambivalent sexism leads women to behave in stereotypically consistent ways (e.g., whether BS leads women to act more warmly toward men).

Some articles failed to include comparisons to men as a target group. Future research should assess more carefully whether and how ambivalent sexism constructs differentially relate to stereotypes about men or evaluations of men subtypes. Stereotypes about men (similar to any other dominant group) may be less salient (Fiske, 1998), or perhaps ambivalent sexism (compared to ambivalence toward men; Glick & Fiske, 1999) primarily targets women, and men merely constitute the point of reference (Ramos et al., 2018). Still, the initial evidence suggests that the differential links of HS and BS to gender stereotypes may not be specific to stereotypes about women but also predict at least some stereotypes (Glick & Fiske, 1996 [Study 4]; Ramos et al., 2016) and evaluations (Glick et al., 2015) of men.

The articles in the subdomain of stereotypical humor primarily focused on HS (with some failing to include a BS measure) and on stereotypical jokes that are derogating to women. They overall find a strong link between the two (in terms of favorable reactions and use of such jokes). However, the BS relationship to stereotypical humor has possibilities that have not been explored. Specifically, BS may also favor and use stereotypical humor when the content of the humor "matches" the seemingly kind nature of its sexist ideology. This could include jokes that highlight women's favorable traits, men's paternalistic protection of women, and men's dependency on women's love (see Bowd, 2016, for positive and negative stereotypes depicted in age-related jokes). Thus, future research could distinguish between stereotypical jokes that are either derogating or flattering to women and test whether evaluations or the use of such jokes are differentially related to HS and BS.

Finally, the findings are mixed as to whether participants' gender moderates the associations between ambivalent sexism and stereotype-related outcomes. While the accumulating evidence suggests that the links apply to both men and women, some evidence

also points to gender differences as a function of study design. Furthermore, some articles do not provide a comparison group to the other gender, thus making it hard to detect gender differences. In general, although both genders similarly endorse gender stereotypes (e.g., Eagly et al., 2020), men as the dominant group may be more inclined to use stereotypes (Fiske, 1993). Thus, one might expect that the link between ambivalent sexism (whose endorsement relies on acceptance of gender power and status differences; Glick & Fiske, 2001c) and stereotyping of women would be stronger for men than for women. Future research should include both men and women as evaluators and enactors of gender stereotypes to test this or other predictions referring to gender differences in the associations between ambivalent sexism and stereotyping.

Other Domains Related to Stereotypes

Three other conceptually relevant, smaller domains, which demonstrate the consequences of stereotypes for gendered behavior and society are described in the online [Supplemental Material](#). In brief, in the gendered prosocial behavior domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 8$), *BS (but not HS) promotes prosociality in cross-gender interactions in ways that reinforce gender roles by emphasizing the role of BS in maintaining cooperation (rather than competition) between men and women*. In the masculinity domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 13$), *ambivalent sexism is associated with the endorsement of traditional forms of masculine ideologies, with initial evidence that BS might be more receptive to masculine norms than HS*. In the marketing domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 8$), *ads depicting traditional women (e.g., a woman holding a baby) seem to be appealing to individuals who endorse BS, whereas ads depicting nontraditional women (especially powerful women) appeal less to individuals who endorse HS*.

Intimate Relationships ($n_{\text{articles}} = 50$)

Articles were included in this domain if they examined ambivalent sexism in the context of intimate relationships. The subdomains included articles examining mating preferences,¹⁷ dating and family norms, and relationship processes (perceptions and behaviors within relationships, as well as relationship problems and well-being). [Table 5](#) summarizes the overall intimate relationships domain, and [Table S5](#) summarizes its subdomains.

Mating Preferences ($n_{\text{articles}} = 13$)

Articles assessing mating preferences mostly used self-report measures of importance ratings of various selection criteria for potential partners (e.g., Z. Chen et al., 2009; Travaglia et al., 2009). These criteria varied across articles, with most including some combination of attributes related to warmth (e.g., caring), competence (e.g., ambitious), dominance/submissiveness, labor (e.g., ability to provide resources or being a good homemaker), and (to a lesser extent) appearance (e.g., good looking) or other sex-typed attributes (e.g., sense of humor).

The evidence suggests that *BS is associated with a preference for partners who fit traditional gender stereotypes and roles*, with women prioritizing dominance, competence, and financial prospects in a potential mate, and men emphasizing submissiveness, warmth, and homemaking skills in a potential mate (Z. Chen et al., 2009;

Eastwick et al., 2006 [nine-nation sample]; T. L. Lee, Fiske, Glick, & Chen, 2010; Thomae & Houston, 2016; Travaglia et al., 2009). *HS mostly predicts men's preferences*, with men placing greater importance on traditional traits and skills (Z. Chen et al., 2009; Eastwick et al., 2006; Ross & Hall, 2020) and the appearance of a potential woman partner (T. L. Lee, Fiske, Glick, & Chen, 2010; Travaglia et al., 2009; the latter finding is consistent with the findings on HS and attractiveness ratings in the body/face evaluations domain). Other preferences linked to both HS and BS are the preferred age of a potential partner (with sexist men preferring younger mates and sexist women preferring older mates; Eastwick et al., 2006) and men's preference for chaste partners (Sakalli-Uğurlu & Glick, 2003). A meta-analysis that primarily dealt with samples that were not included in this review, such as unpublished data (Sibley & Overall, 2011 [see Study 1, $k = 32$ for both genders in total]), supports our analysis with respect to mating preferences related to resources and attractiveness. Specifically, their analysis showed that BS in women is associated with greater preferences for high-resource partners, whereas HS in men is associated with stronger preferences for physically attractive partners.

The remainder of the articles tested predictions that are mostly specific to BS. Three articles examined preferences for benevolent sexist partners using exposure to profiles of potential partners with BS attitudes (Cross & Overall, 2018; Gul & Kupfer, 2019), behaviors (Gul & Kupfer, 2019), or embodied ideals (Lau et al., 2008), compared to HS (Cross & Overall, 2018) or nonsexist (Cross & Overall, 2018; Gul & Kupfer, 2019; Lau et al., 2008) profiles. The findings provide some initial evidence that individuals show interest in partners characterized by BS, especially in mating contexts (Gul & Kupfer, 2019 [among women]), and when experiencing threats to the relationship (i.e., among women with attachment anxiety; Cross & Overall, 2018) or the legitimacy of the social system (Lau et al., 2008 [among men]). One of these articles also put forward a potential mechanism to account for this effect on women, namely perceptions of BS mates as willing to invest, despite being perceived as patronizing and undermining (Gul & Kupfer, 2019; see also Good & Sanchez, 2009). Last, for men who score low on mate value, the HS-BS link is curvilinear (i.e., declining BS as HS increases), especially if they do not have a serious relationship partner (Bosson et al., 2022). This finding may hint that HS in the context of mating sheds its mask of ambivalence (associated with BS) and inclines toward pure misogyny.

Dating and Family Norms ($n_{\text{articles}} = 21$)

Articles in this subdomain assessed gender-related norms (prescriptions and proscriptions) in dating (e.g., men are expected to pay for a date; Paynter & Leaper, 2016; it is inappropriate for a woman to make sexual advances toward a man; Viki et al., 2003) and committed relationships (e.g., married women should stay at home and not work when they have young children; Bermúdez et al., 2015; a good man should be able to provide a comfortable life for the woman he loves; Z. Chen et al., 2009). These articles used a variety of self-report measures either referring to men and women in general

¹⁷ Articles measuring attractiveness ratings related to specific beauty norms were classified in the appearance subdomain of the body/face evaluations domain.

Table 5
Intimate Relationships Domain

Intimate relationships ($n_{\text{articles}} = 50$)			
Subdomains: mating preferences ($n_{\text{articles}} = 13$), dating and family norms ($n_{\text{articles}} = 21$), relationship processes ($n_{\text{articles}} = 16$)			
Primary outcomes	Main findings	Limitations	Recommendations
Mating preferences. Dating and family norms. Relationship processes (perceptions and behaviors within relationships, relationship problems, and well-being).	Ambivalent sexism guides men and women across relationship stages—shaping mating preferences, dating and family norms, and relationship processes within committed relationships. However, the focus of HS and BS at every stage is different: HS in relationships acts mostly in men, shaping their preferences, norms, and perceptions in ways that correspond to power and relational concerns, and entailing adverse consequences (e.g., relationship problems, deficits in well-being) for both men and their women partners. BS in relationships acts in ways that closely align with traditional gender roles (e.g., preferring partners who embody gender role ideals, shaping gender role norms and expectations within relationships); it may be functional/beneficial to daily life (e.g., getting along, being satisfied), with higher stakes for women (contingent on whether relationship expectations are realized or not).	Findings in the first two subdomains are based mostly on student samples, even when examining marriage and family norms. Few experimental designs manipulating ambivalent sexism in the context of relationships.	Match the sample characteristics to the relationship stage under examination (see the relationship processes subdomain for a good example). Use experimental designs to further strengthen the causal role of ambivalent sexism in shaping relationships.
			Does ambivalent sexism (HS and BS) predict actual mate selection (beyond mere preferences)? Do HS and BS predict backlash against different kinds of individuals who violate relational norms?

Smaller adjacent domains: women-dominated arenas, reproductive functions, sexuality, health, parental influence.

Note. If not mentioned otherwise (a) the findings described here hold for both men and women participants and (b) the associations described are positive. HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism.

(e.g., Farkas & Leaper, 2016) or to the participants' own preferences (e.g., Hall & Canterbury, 2011).

The evidence indicates that both HS and BS in men and women predict endorsement of traditional norms and scripts in dating (e.g., Cameron & Curry, 2020; Nowatzki & Morry, 2009) and marriage (e.g., Bermúdez et al., 2015), an association that is generalized to deferential family norms that apply to other family members (I. C. Lee, 2013; I. C. Lee et al., 2007). Yet, the evidence for which type of sexism plays a more substantial role is mixed and appears to depend on the type of beliefs examined. *HS seems to operate, more in men than women* (e.g., Paynter & Leaper, 2016), *in relationship power-related norms* (e.g., Z. Chen et al., 2009) *and strategies* (Hall & Canterbury, 2011). By contrast, *BS plays a distinct role in understanding prescriptive norms governing men's paternalism during courtship or dating*. Specifically, BS (but not HS) was positively related to paternalistic chivalry; that is, attitudes that are both courteous and considerate to women but place restrictions on behavior considered appropriate for women during courtship (Viki et al., 2003). In addition, women high on BS prescribed protective paternalistic behavior for men in both romantic and workplace contexts (Sarlet et al., 2012). In committed relationships, BS also seems to operate more in norms related to paternalism, such as women's acceptance of ostensibly protective restrictions imposed by their romantic partners (Moya et al., 2007), but also in traditional marriage preferences, such as in men proposing marriage, women changing surname (Robnett & Leaper, 2013), and women not engaging in premarital sex (Sakalli-Uğurlu & Glick, 2003; see also the sexuality domain in the online Supplemental Material).

There is also some evidence of backlash against individuals who violate relational norms, with more findings referring to HS than BS. To illustrate, men high on HS who were assigned to a high-power role in a joint decision-making task about family relationships rated their woman partner in the task negatively when she did not accept their decisions, whereas they expressed less negative feelings and considered her as conforming to the ideal wife and mother roles when she accepted their decisions (M. C. Herrera, Exposito, & Moya, 2012). In another related finding, acute power increased the expression of HS toward a rejecting woman in a romantic scenario among men with chronic low (vs. high) power (Williams et al., 2017). Among both men and women, HS predicted negative reactions to gender counterstereotypic dating scenarios (i.e., women engaging in chivalrous behavior; McCarty & Kelly, 2015) and rating a man as lower in power when his wife retained her surname (Robnett et al., 2018). Thus, negative reactions to "deviating" women (and sometimes men) in the context of intimate relationships may reflect issues of power and control in HS (especially among men).

More generally, both HS and BS are associated with antagonistic beliefs about relationships, such as endorsement of sexual exchange concepts (the idea that women exchange sex for men's resources; Fetterolf & Rudman, 2017), adversarial heterosexual beliefs (e.g., the belief that sex is a game where one person wins and the other loses; Fetterolf & Rudman, 2017), and beliefs that jealousy is good (Hartwell et al., 2015).

Relationship Processes ($n_{articles} = 16$)

Mostly examining heterosexual couples, articles in this subdomain used dyadic approaches (e.g., Lachance-Grzela et al., 2021) and longitudinal designs to track the endorsement of ambivalent sexism

and relationship processes (e.g., Hammond & Overall, 2013b). These articles examined a variety of relationship outcomes, including perceptions of the relationship (e.g., Cross et al., 2019), perceptions of self (e.g., Hammond & Overall, 2015) or the partner (e.g., Hammond & Overall, 2013b), behaviors toward the partner (e.g., Hammond & Overall, 2015), as well as well-being outcomes mostly related to relationship satisfaction (e.g., Hammond & Overall, 2013a). These outcomes were assessed by self-report questionnaires (e.g., Yakushko, 2005), vignettes describing relationship-related scenarios (e.g., M. I. Fisher et al., 2021), daily diary methods (e.g., Hammond & Overall, 2013a), and coding of recorded couples' interactions (e.g., Overall et al., 2011).

The findings overall indicate that *relationship processes are shaped by power concerns in HS (especially among men) and role-related concerns in BS (especially among women)*.

First, the evidence suggests that HS shapes men's view of the relationship in destructive ways. In particular, HS (but not BS) in men (but not women) is associated with biased perceptions of relationships. When compared to their women partners' actual reports, HS in men predicted men's underestimations of their relationship power (Cross et al., 2019) and dependability-relevant support provided by their partner (Hammond & Overall, 2020), as well as overestimations of the negativity of their partners' daily behavior (Hammond & Overall, 2013b). HS was also associated with a fear of being relationally dependent in men (M. I. Fisher et al., 2021) and with a fear of intimacy in both men and women (Yakushko, 2005).

HS in men (but not women) also predicts a series of negative relationship outcomes for both men and their women partners. In particular, HS (but not BS) in men predicted behaving more negatively (e.g., being critical or insulting; Hammond & Overall, 2013b) and their women partners' experiences of serious relationship problems related to power, dependence, and trust (Cross & Overall, 2019). HS (but not BS) in men (but not women) also predicted greater relationship conflict (Leaper et al., 2020) and produced less successful conflict discussions due to lesser openness and greater hostile communication (Overall et al., 2011). Finally, HS (but not BS) in men (but mostly not women) negatively predicted relationship satisfaction and commitment for men (Hammond & Overall, 2013b; Lachance-Grzela et al., 2021), their women partners (Cross & Overall, 2019), or both (Leaper et al., 2020). Articles employing mediational models suggest that some of these negative relationship outcomes of HS in men stem from the relationship problems experienced by women partners (Cross & Overall, 2019) and men's biased relationship perceptions (Cross et al., 2019; Hammond & Overall, 2013b).

By contrast, BS is associated with positive relationship processes for men that sometimes also extend to their women partners. In particular, BS in men was associated with successfully resolving relationship issues (partially by being more open and behaving in a less hostile manner; Overall et al., 2011), as well as both partners experiencing less relationship conflict and more relationship satisfaction (Leaper et al., 2020; see also Hammond & Overall, 2013b). Furthermore, men received more relationship-oriented support from their women partners if these partners were high on BS, ultimately leading men to perceive greater regard and intimacy in their relationship (Hammond & Overall, 2015).

The association of BS with relationship processes paints a more complex picture for women. On the positive side, BS in women

predicted their own and their partners' relationship adjustment (Lachance-Grzela et al., 2021). In addition, perceiving their partner to endorse BS attenuated highly anxious women's negative reactions to relationship conflict (i.e., their heightened distress and insecurity) because they believed they could rely on their partner to remain invested (Cross et al., 2016).

However, accumulating evidence suggests that when women's expectations from the relationship are not realized, this can trigger negative relationship processes. When women strongly endorsed BS but their men partners did not, they were less open, behaved with greater hostility, and perceived their discussions as less successful during a relationship conflict (Overall et al., 2011). Further, BS in women predicted sharper declines in relationship satisfaction when they faced greater relationship problems and hurtful partner behavior, especially when they were highly invested in the relationship (i.e., in longer relationships; Hammond & Overall, 2013a; see also Leaper et al., 2020). Also, a discrepancy between actual and ideal relationship experiences, as indicated by higher levels of BS along with the rejection of optimistic marriage myths, predicted women's relationship dissatisfaction, decreased psychological well-being, and lower educational expectations (Casad et al., 2015). Similarly, endorsing BS (by both men and women) magnified the extent to which partner-ideal discrepancies related to warmth and trustworthiness were associated with willingness to dissolve relationships (Hammond & Overall, 2014). Women also received dependency-oriented support (i.e., directly providing plans and solutions and neglecting the recipient's own abilities) from their men partners if these partners endorsed BS, ultimately leading women to feel less competent and less positively regarded (Hammond & Overall, 2015). Women's perceived regard and relationship security also relate to their own endorsement of BS, as indicated in the finding that women (but not men) who perceived that their men partner more strongly endorsed BS held greater BS themselves, whereas lower perceptions of partners' BS predicted decreases in women's BS (Hammond et al., 2016).

Summary of Findings Across Subdomains

The findings overall suggest that ambivalent sexism guides both men and women in every stage of intimate relationships: from mating preferences to norms within new (dating) and committed (marriage) relationships, to relationship processes within ongoing, committed relationships.

Both BS (of men and women) and HS (of men) predict mating preferences of traditional partners. BS shapes preferences with a focus on aspects related to traditional gender stereotypes (e.g., higher warmth in a potential woman mate and higher dominance in a potential man mate) and roles (e.g., a preference for a woman homemaker and a man provider). BS also seems to influence initial mate selection, in that individuals tend to show greater romantic interest in partners characterized by BS (under various conditions). By contrast, HS predicts men's (more than women's) traditional mating preferences, with more focus on aspects related to physical attractiveness.

Both HS and BS predict endorsement of traditional dating and family norms: BS operates more frequently in norms related to traditional roles and paternalism, whereas HS operates more frequently in power-related norms (especially in men). There is also initial evidence that HS predicts backlash against individuals who violate relational norms related to power and control.

Both HS and BS predict relational processes in committed relationships but in different ways (see Hammond & Overall, 2017b, for a conceptually similar analysis). HS in men shapes their view of the relationship in destructive ways (e.g., negative, biased perceptions of relationships, fear of being relationally dependent) and predicts a series of negative relationship outcomes for both men (e.g., relationship dissatisfaction) and their women partners (e.g., negativity directed toward them from HS partners). By contrast, BS benefits men's and women's relationship outcomes (e.g., levels of satisfaction). However, when expectations from the relationship are not met, BS is also associated with negative outcomes for women (e.g., being less successful in resolving relationship conflicts). BS (in men or women) also shapes women's relational outcomes in ways that may be professionally restrictive (e.g., perceiving themselves as less competent, having lower educational expectations).

In summary, across the relationship span, both BS and HS shape intimate relationships but in different ways. *BS acts in relationships in ways that closely align with traditional gender roles* (e.g., preferring partners who embody gender role ideals, shaping norms and expectations within relationships), which could potentially be functional in daily life (e.g., getting along, being satisfied), but women have more to lose than men when relationship expectations fail. By contrast, *HS in relationships acts mostly in men, shaping their relationship preferences, norms, and perceptions in ways that correspond to power, dependency, trust, and relational concerns*, and entailing adverse consequences (e.g., relationship problems, deficits in well-being) for both men and their women partners.

Domain-Specific Limitations and Recommendations

The findings reported in the subdomains of mating preferences and dating and family norms are mostly based on student samples, with no samples of individuals in intimate relationships or couples. Student samples may be appropriate when the goal is to examine preferences and norms relevant to early relationships among emerging adults. Yet, they may limit the generalizability of the findings on family norms because previous research suggests that the roles of HS and BS in norms of committed relationships (e.g., marriage) play out differently than in initial mate selection (Z. Chen et al., 2009). Thus, future research should aim to match the sample characteristics to the relationship stage under examination. The samples in the relationship processes subdomain, which were mostly concerned with outcomes related to committed relationships, provide a good illustration in that almost all the articles examined individuals in an ongoing (heterosexual) romantic relationship. The articles in this subdomain also frequently used dyadic approaches that can shed light on the functions of ambivalent sexism for both partners.

Across the intimate relationships subdomains, there were few articles employing experimental designs manipulating ambivalent sexism (see Cross & Overall, 2018; Gul & Kupfer, 2019; Hammond et al., 2016; Lau et al., 2008; Moya et al., 2007). Although articles in the relationship processes subdomain regularly employed longitudinal designs that made it possible to assess relationship outcomes across the course of relationships, their correlational design precludes drawing conclusions as to causality. Thus, future research should use experimental designs manipulating ambivalent sexism to assess its causal role in shaping relationship preferences, norms, and processes.

Some theoretical questions remained open. Although the findings from the first subdomain showed that both HS and BS predict mate preferences of traditional partners, it remains unclear whether they predict actual mate selection. Future research should document whether the preferences associated with ambivalent sexism translate into partners' choices. Further, the initial findings suggesting that HS predicts backlash against individuals who violate traditional relational norms should encourage future research to examine whether both HS and BS elicit backlash but against different types of norm-deviating individuals. One plausible hypothesis derived from the evidence is that HS should be more sensitive to power-related violations and BS to role-related violations within relationships.

Other Domains Related to Intimate Relationships

The smaller domains of women-dominated arenas and reproductive functions examined topics that are often closely linked to intimate relationships and are discussed briefly below.

Women-Dominated Arenas ($n_{\text{articles}} = 20$). Although we initially generated two subdomains, articles that have examined how ambivalent sexism shapes attitudes and behaviors within women-dominated arenas dealt almost exclusively with outcomes related to the domestic sphere (the home subdomain) rather than traditional feminine professions (the professions subdomain; see also Footnote 14 in the workplace domain).

Home ($n_{\text{articles}} = 17$). Articles included in this subdomain examined explicit and general attitudes and perceptions about domestic roles, assessed primarily by self-reports (e.g., Ogletree et al., 2006; Sudkamper et al., 2020), although one article employed behavioral measures (Bareket et al., 2021). Some articles also used experimental designs to manipulate various contextual factors, such as the target's gender (e.g., Bareket et al., 2021; Gaunt, 2013a) or parental and employment roles and contributions (e.g., Gaunt, 2013c; Gutsell & Remedios, 2016; Swearingen-Hilker & Yoder, 2002).

Although the findings in this subdomain vary considerably, the data suggest that both BS and HS are associated with traditional attitudes toward domestic roles, with some differential patterns. The findings show that *BS embraces women's traditional domestic role at home*. In particular, BS predicted positive perceptions of women (but not men) caregivers (Gaunt, 2013a), satisfaction with the division of family work (Poeschl et al., 2006), acknowledging that women are overcontributing at home when they do (Swearingen-Hilker & Yoder, 2002), and women's (but not men's) higher cleanliness standards (Ogletree et al., 2006). BS also reproduced women's traditional domestic role in a subtle, nonconfrontational way by promoting engagement in dependency-oriented helping behavior (Bareket et al., 2021). Specifically, when men were required to perform domestic tasks (e.g., child care or house cleaning), BS predicted men's seeking and women's provision of dependency-oriented help (direct assistance) instead of autonomy-oriented help (means for independent coping) within cross-gender, but not within same-gender, interactions. This helping dynamic, which maintains men's passivity in the domestic domain, further predicted an unequal division of housework among heterosexual couples (see also the gendered prosocial behavior domain in the online Supplemental Material). Other articles focused on the role of BS in shaping norms about having children. BS predicted negative attitudes toward childless people and perceived children as necessary to form a family (Bahtiyar-Saygan & Sakalli-Uğurlu,

2019; Husnu, 2016). Having a greater number of children was also associated with subsequent increases in BS with no evidence for the reverse direction (Deak et al., 2021 [longitudinal data]).

HS also reinforces women's domestic role but operates to a greater extent through negativity and control than cooperation (as in the case of BS). In particular, HS predicted negative perceptions of a woman (but not a man) primary breadwinner (Gaunt, 2013a) and perceiving under-contributing men at home as acceptable (Swearingen-Hilker & Yoder, 2002). In men, HS predicted less support for gender equality within the home (Sudkamper et al., 2020) and higher support for parental control (i.e., providing less autonomy and more authority to children in parenting; Aikawa & Stewart, 2020; see also the parental influence domain in the online Supplemental Material). In another study, reminding low (but not high) HS men of child-raising intentions decreased their interest in family-unfriendly, demanding occupations (Gutsell & Remedios, 2016). In heterosexual mothers, HS was associated with maternal gatekeeping tendencies (e.g., reluctance to relinquish responsibility for family matters to husbands by setting rigid standards of performance), which, in turn, predicted greater investment and share of childcare tasks relative to the father (Gaunt & Pinho, 2018; but cf. Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2015, for other, stronger predictors of maternal gatekeeping than ambivalent sexism).

The remainder of the articles here reported findings related to ambivalent sexism in general, further demonstrating that both BS and HS play a role in reinforcing domestic roles (Aikawa & Stewart, 2020; Brewsaugh et al., 2018; Gaunt, 2013c; Q. Li et al., 2012; Ogletree et al., 2006).

Traditionally Feminine Professions ($n_{\text{articles}} = 3$). Nursing is the only traditionally feminine profession that has been examined in relation to ambivalent sexism. Consistent with the patterns observed in the home subdomain, BS predicted positive attitudes and stereotypes toward women nurses, while HS predicted negativity toward men nurses (Clow et al., 2014, 2015; see also Park et al., 2019).

Overall, *both BS and HS tend to reinforce women's domestic role and men's low involvement in the domestic sphere*. However, BS and HS preserve domestic roles in distinct ways. *BS predicts positive and idealizing attitudes (and behaviors) toward women's domestic role that build on the cooperation between men and women (e.g., engaging in dependency-oriented helping relations)*. By contrast, *HS reinforces women's domestic role through negativity (in its views about the division of roles) and control at home—in both men (i.e., supporting domestic inequality and parental control) and women (i.e., through maternal gatekeeping)*. Nevertheless, the HS account has less support than the BS account; hence, more studies on domestic mechanisms related to HS are needed to further test these assumptions. For example, it would be interesting to examine whether, despite the perception underlying HS that women seek to control men, women exerting control at home may not pose a threat to men's power because the domestic sphere may be perceived by individuals who endorse HS as the only arena in which women are "allowed" to maintain their power (see Bareket et al., 2022).

In terms of methodology, the vast majority of the articles examined attitudes and perceptions related to domestic roles, and only two articles assessed the division of household labor (Bareket et al., 2021; Gaunt & Pinho, 2018) or behavior in the domestic sphere (Bareket et al., 2021). Future research should examine more diverse outcomes and employ behavioral or diary studies (in samples of real couples) to strengthen ecological validity.

Reproductive Functions ($n_{\text{articles}} = 20$). Articles examined the association between ambivalent sexism and attitudes and impressions related to different reproductive functions and decisions, and dealt with women in general (e.g., Huang et al., 2020) or evaluations of women targets in different reproductive periods of their lives (e.g., Chrisler et al., 2014), mostly through the use of self-reports (but cf. Hebl et al., 2007, for behavioral data).

Articles on menstruation as an outcome found that in women, BS is associated with favorable attitudes toward menstruation (e.g., perceiving it as a natural, pleasant event; Aker et al., 2021; Marván et al., 2014) and favorable evaluations of premenstrual women (e.g., sensitive; Chrisler et al., 2014). Still, BS in women restricts them during menstruation, in that it predicted a set of prescriptions (e.g., taking hot showers) and proscriptions (e.g., not carrying heavy things) for menstruating women and the belief that menstruation keeps women from fully accomplishing their daily activities (Marván et al., 2014). BS also predicted women's (but not men's) perceiving that menstruating women are seeing themselves as less feminine, possibly reflecting the internalization of BS concepts related to female purity (Forbes, Adams-Curtis, White, & Holmgren, 2003). By contrast, HS in both men and women was associated with negative impressions of menstruating women (e.g., perceived as cold, lower on openness and conscientiousness; Chrisler et al., 2014; Forbes, Adams-Curtis, White, & Holmgren, 2003) and menopausal women (Chrisler et al., 2014). In women, HS predicted feelings of embarrassment about menstruation and rejection of it (Marván et al., 2014) and its effects (Aker et al., 2021), with ensuing potential health consequences (i.e., menstrual cycle-related symptoms; Marván et al., 2014).

Articles on breastfeeding as an outcome found that BS (and to a lesser extent HS) predicted more favorable impressions in men (but not in women) of breastfeeding (vs. bottle feeding) women (e.g., as being a better mother, having more favorable personality traits), possibly resulting from the perception that a breastfeeding woman is engaging in her "proper" biosocial role (Forbes, Adams-Curtis, Hamm, & White, 2003). However, this positivity in BS toward breastfeeding seems to be contingent on the breastfeeding location (Acker, 2009; Huang et al., 2020), reflecting expectations for women to breastfeed in a specific way that does not violate gender norms (at home, but not in public); yet, the findings are mixed with regard to gender differences. By contrast, HS in both men and women seems to disapprove of breastfeeding regardless of its location.

Articles focusing on pregnancy have examined either general attitudes toward pregnant women or attitudes specifically toward abortion (see Osborne et al., 2022, for a relevant review and accompanying data). Both BS and HS in men and women were associated with endorsement of proscriptions for pregnant women (e.g., should not work out or consume deli foods; A. O. Murphy et al., 2011). Differential patterns of BS and HS shed some light on the reasons for endorsing these prescriptions. In women, although BS was associated with positive attitudes toward pregnant women (Chrisler et al., 2014), it was also related to willingness to restrict pregnant women's choices (e.g., by refusing to serve them soft cheese or alcohol), an effect that was explained by the perception that various behaviors are unsafe during pregnancy (Sutton et al., 2011). While both BS and HS predicted endorsement of men's exercise of control in medical scenarios (e.g., elective choice to have a C-section, use of painkillers during pregnancy), HS also predicted support for men's right to veto their woman partner's decisions

during pregnancy and childbirth (Pettersson & Sutton, 2018) and the belief that pregnant women who flout proscriptions deserve punishment (A. O. Murphy et al., 2011). This evidence suggests that both BS and HS are associated with pregnancy control, but they may reflect different motives, in that BS tended to lead to behaviors that are overly protective of pregnant women, but HS led to more control of "deviating" pregnant women. A field study lends further weight to this argument by showing that store employees exhibited more benevolent behavior (e.g., touching, overfriendliness) toward pregnant customers but more hostile behavior (e.g., rudeness) toward pregnant applicants, especially when applying for masculine as compared to feminine jobs (Hebl et al., 2007; see also the workplace domain).

In terms of abortion, BS reflects expectations for women to continue a pregnancy to term at any cost. BS predicts opposition to both elective (i.e., motivated by nonmedical/optional concerns) and traumatic (i.e., motivated by medical concerns) abortion (Huang et al., 2014, 2016 [longitudinal data]; Osborne & Davies, 2009, 2012), with one article pointing to beliefs about the importance of motherhood as a potential mechanism (Huang et al., 2016). BS also has a protective effect on women in that it is associated with opposition to financial abortion (the concept that men should have the right to opt-out from the legal and financial obligations of an unwanted child), thus reinforcing the belief that men should support women even in the case of an unwanted child (Pettersson & Sutton, 2018). By contrast, the findings for HS were mixed as to whether it predicts opposition to elective abortion (Osborne & Davies, 2009, 2012), traumatic abortion (Huang et al., 2014), or both (Huang et al., 2016). HS in men and women also predicted stigmatizing attitudes about abortion (Patev et al., 2019), as well as perceptions that men have the right to constrain women's reproductive choices, such as endorsement of men's control over the decision to have an abortion, support for financial abortion, and exerting pressure to change a woman's decision about abortion (Pettersson & Sutton, 2018).

The rest of the articles reported findings applying to ambivalent sexism in general. Ambivalent sexism was associated with antichoice abortion attitudes (Begun & Walls, 2015; Prusaczyk & Hodson, 2019). Further, total ambivalent sexism substantially accounted for the left-right difference in abortion stance (i.e., individuals on the right generally oppose abortion as compared to those on the left of the political spectrum) in samples from New Zealand (explaining 30% of the relation) and the United States (explaining 75% of the relation; Hodson & MacInnis, 2017).

In summary, ambivalent sexism shapes various parts of women's reproductive cycle, with overall consistent patterns across reproductive functions. *BS is associated with favorable attitudes, impressions, and behaviors toward women who fulfill their maternal role, but it comes with a set of prescriptions and proscriptions, protective control over women's decisions, and zero tolerance for women who violate this role* (as indicated by opposition to any kind of abortion). These patterns are somewhat inconsistent with other domains in that BS appears to operate in an explicit and nonsubtle way (e.g., exerting direct control, opposition to abortion). Thus, the idealization of motherhood characteristic of BS also prioritizes restricting women's reproductive rights over their health or well-being. *HS predicts negative and punitive attitudes, impressions, and behaviors toward reproductive women*, with similar patterns to BS in terms of exerting control over women's reproductive functions but without BS's protective

function (e.g., HS opposes and BS supports financial abortion). The patterns for HS and opposition to abortion were less robust than those for BS.

Theoretically, although the findings for BS are overall consistent with an idealization-of-motherhood account, the underlying mechanisms for HS remain unclear, with certain findings implying that it may reflect control-related issues. Nevertheless, the results also lay the groundwork for another plausible mechanism for HS that has not been sufficiently explored. Specifically, the noncontingent negativity of HS toward reproductive women (e.g., in the case of attitudes toward breastfeeding) may stem from a perception (at least for HS men) of an intersection between the maternal and sexual domains of women's reproductive functions, a speculation that should be pursued in future research. Indirect support for this argument comes from research linking HS to polarized perceptions of women's sexuality (Bareket et al., 2018; Kahalon et al., 2019; see the stereotypes domain).

Most of the articles reported effects for both men and women as evaluators (with the exception of the articles examining BS and menstruation outcomes, which dealt primarily with women). This finding is counterintuitive in that one would expect women to be more ambivalent about reproductive issues because they experience them themselves. Nevertheless, it is consistent with the patterns observed in the other domains and may suggest another system-justifying function for women (see the social ideologies domain), a speculation that should be pursued in future research. In addition, the articles centered exclusively on women's reproductive functions. Although previous research has documented that ambivalent sexism is more related to controlling women's bodies than men's (see the body/face evaluations domain), the empirical question of whether and how ambivalent sexism links to perceptions of men's reproductive functions (e.g., producing sperm and insemination) remains open and should be explored in future research (at least as a comparison group).

The patterns observed in the intimate relationships domain also generalize to three other, smaller domains that are described in the online Supplemental Material. In brief, in the sexuality domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 13$), initial evidence suggests that *BS could promote traditional ways of thinking about sexuality, possibly for both women and men, but HS promotes a sexual double standard (especially among men), implying it is more concerned with women's sexual power than purity (compared to BS)*. In the health domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 22$), *HS seems to have more deleterious consequences for mental health, whereas BS seems to be beneficial for well-being (with more qualifications for women than men)*. The parental influence domain ($n_{\text{articles}} = 11$) provides some evidence of intergenerational transmission of ambivalent sexism and the possible outcomes for children's development.

Other Domains

Two more general domains,¹⁸ subtleness and interventions to reduce ambivalent sexism, did not fit into any of the larger domains (i.e., not conceptually or empirically similar).

Subtleness ($n_{\text{articles}} = 19$)

Articles assessing the subtle nature of BS mostly employed experimental designs comparing responses to either HS or BS, where

the latter is manipulated in diverse ways (for notable examples of such manipulations, see the General Discussion section).

The most robust finding is that *compared to HS, BS is perceived as more favorable and less sexist and harmful* (e.g., Bohner et al., 2010; Bosson et al., 2010; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998; Rollero & Fedi, 2012; Swim et al., 2005). Articles that used exposure to sexist protagonists found that the effects are especially pronounced when BS is expressed by men (vs. women) protagonists (e.g., Hopkins-Doyle et al., 2019) and also pointed to several mechanisms to explain this BS–HS subtleness bias. This includes perceiving benevolent sexist men protagonists positively (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005), high on warmth (Hopkins-Doyle et al., 2019), nonprototypical, and with lower intent to harm (Riemer et al., 2014). Moderators considered to exacerbate this bias (i.e., the failure to detect BS) included the participants' own endorsement of BS (Bohner et al., 2010; Brady et al., 2015; Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014; Swim et al., 2005) and when the BS man protagonist was White versus Black (Kirkman & Oswald, 2020; see the intersectionality domain in the online Supplemental Material).

Although the BS–HS subtleness bias is usually found among both men and women as evaluators (e.g., Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Hopkins-Doyle et al., 2019), there is some evidence that women overall are better than men at detecting ambivalent sexism (Goh et al., 2017; Kirkman & Oswald, 2020; Swim et al., 2005);¹⁹ still, it remains unclear whether women fail to recognize the coexistence of BS with HS (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014) or approve of BS despite being aware of its relation to HS (Bohner et al., 2010). Relatedly, two other articles that focused on men's and women's metaperceptions of the other gender's endorsement of ambivalent sexism (Goh et al., 2017; Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014) also pointed to gender differences in terms of bias and accuracy in judging ambivalent sexist attitudes.

Evidence for the subtle nature of BS can also be deduced from articles assessing gender differences in its endorsement. In the cross-cultural investigation by Glick et al. (2000), although women (in comparison to men) rejected HS, they often accepted BS, to the extent that in sexist countries (when societal levels of ambivalent sexism are high), they endorsed BS significantly more strongly than HS. Similarly, women's endorsement of BS (but not HS) increased when they were told that men have hostile attitudes toward women (A. R. Fischer, 2006). Thus, endorsing BS may serve a self-protective function for women from environments they perceive as hostile, possibly because it is perceived as subtler and more pleasant than HS.

Although BS is not perceived as sexist compared to HS, it has a direct link to HS and its outcomes. In the cross-cultural investigation by Glick et al. (2000), BS and HS were positively correlated (see also the demographics domain in the online Supplemental Material for reports of this pattern in most of the articles included in this review), and both BS and HS predicted structural gender inequality across nations. Further support for this evidence comes from the finding that BS heightened the activation of cognitive networks of

¹⁸ Articles that did not specifically match any of the domains identified were classified in the miscellaneous domain ($n = 23$). Interested readers can find these articles in the data file of included articles (<https://osf.io/b6h8x>).

¹⁹ Other articles (Fedi & Rollero, 2016; Rollero & Fedi, 2012, 2014) found that men may be more sensitive to recognizing ambivalent sexism toward their own gender (Glick & Fiske, 1999).

misogynist concepts in ambivalent sexist men (high on HS or BS; Bosson et al., 2020). Further, agreement with antifeminist statements increased if BS (but not HS) was articulated (Beyer et al., 2020). Finally, the warm affective tone of BS, particularly when displayed by men, was shown to mask its diverse ideological functions (e.g., BS men are perceived as more supportive of gender equality, enjoy sexist humor less; Hopkins-Doyle et al., 2019).

In summary, *the nature of BS is subtler than HS because it is considered more favorable and less sexist*, despite the accumulating evidence (presented in the review in general, and this domain in particular) that both BS and HS reflect and perpetuate gender inequality. This subtleness bias is explained primarily in cognitive (rather than affective) terms (e.g., misfit of BS with the mental prototype of a sexist person), is stronger among sexist evaluators, and exhibits some gender differences.

Methodologically, most articles here employed experimental designs manipulating ambivalent sexism, which makes it possible to infer causality between ambivalent sexism and evaluations of its nature. However, most articles compared HS and BS conditions, with only a few including additional (e.g., Bohner et al., 2010; Riemer et al., 2014) or neutral/control (Bohner et al., 2010; Bosson et al., 2020; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998) conditions. Given that HS reflects a blatant and negative ideology, the finding that an ideology with a (seemingly) more positive tone would be preferable may be self-evident. The initial evidence is mixed as to whether BS is perceived as less (Bosson et al., 2020; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998) or more (Bohner et al., 2010; Kirkman & Oswald, 2020) positive when compared to neutral, no-sexism conditions. Thus, future research should employ experimental designs including either these conditions or independent evaluations of BS and HS to gain a better understanding of whether and how the subtleness of BS is relative.

Theoretically, future work should aim to expand the knowledge of the factors that exacerbate or attenuate the BS–HS subtleness bias. For example, by inducing system threats (e.g., Brescoll et al., 2013) or threats to men's dominance (e.g., Bareket & Shnabel, 2020) to test the prediction that these conditions are likely to lead to heightened subtleness bias as a means to restore balance or power.

Interventions to Reduce Ambivalent Sexism ($n_{\text{articles}} = 17$)

Articles classified in this domain almost exclusively used experimental designs to test interventions (e.g., J. C. Becker & Swim, 2012; Lemus et al., 2014) and, to a lesser extent, correlational designs to test factors (Cordón Gómez et al., 2019; Gervais & Hoffman, 2013; Taschler & West, 2017) that may be useful in reducing BS (e.g., Suitner et al., 2017), HS (e.g., Zawadzki et al., 2014), or both (e.g., Yoder et al., 2016).

There is more evidence for the effectiveness of interventions in reducing HS compared to BS. This includes taking part in gender studies (Katz et al., 2004 [among women]; Livosky et al., 2011) or diversity (Case, 2007) courses. Further, an experiential learning-based intervention designed to provide individuals with greater awareness of gender inequity (i.e., The Workshop Activity for Gender Equity Simulation; Zawadzki et al., 2014) was effective in reducing HS (without a comparison to BS) over time in a manner that does not increase reactance, facilitates empathy, and bolsters feelings of self-efficacy, with stronger effects for women than for men. Other interventions/factors that were effective in reducing HS

(more than BS) included social norm interventions (i.e., correcting perceptual distortions of peers' sexism endorsement; Kilmartin et al., 2008 [among men]), exposure to scientific research on sexism and gender-based power (Lemus et al., 2014), and contact with counterstereotypical, high-status women (Taschler & West, 2017).

Relatively few articles have focused solely on BS. They found that exposure to information that BS is harmful (regardless of information about its pervasiveness; J. C. Becker & Swim, 2012) and encouraging women (but not men) to pay attention to sexism using a daily diary method (J. C. Becker & Swim, 2011) led to the rejection of BS, as indicated in less endorsement of it, negative evaluations of BS men described in dating profiles, and more engagement in collective action on behalf of women.

The remainder of the articles reported interventions/factors that were useful in reducing ambivalent sexism in general (both HS and BS, or total score), including exposure to evidence on gender brain similarities (vs. differences; Sahin & Yalcinkaya, 2021), increasing perceived superordinate-group diversity without explicitly drawing attention to gender (Ehrke et al., 2014), greater mindfulness awareness (Gervais & Hoffman, 2013), and incorporating examples in a psychology methods course related to ambivalent sexism (Yoder et al., 2016).

In summary, overall, *HS may respond better than BS to "classic" interventions involving exposure to information about sexism* (e.g., Zawadzki et al., 2014). To reduce BS, interventions that focus on learning about the subtleness and insidiousness of BS (J. C. Becker & Swim, 2012) and increasing awareness of BS in daily life (J. C. Becker & Swim, 2011) might be effective. Although the majority of articles reported findings that apply to both men and women (e.g., J. C. Becker & Swim, 2012; Suitner et al., 2017), some articles found that women may be more sensitive to interventions aimed at reducing sexism than men (J. C. Becker & Swim, 2011; Zawadzki et al., 2014). Others examined only men (Ishii et al., 2019; Kilmartin et al., 2008) or women (Katz et al., 2004; Vernet et al., 2009), or had samples with a majority of women (Ehrke et al., 2014; Lemus et al., 2014; Livosky et al., 2011; Yoder et al., 2016). Thus, future research should aim to incorporate both men and women in studies testing ambivalent sexism interventions to further understand whether the same/different types of interventions are effective for women and men (see Drury & Kaiser, 2014, for a review of the unique role of men in confronting sexism).

Some articles did not focus solely on ambivalent sexism as their outcome but on an array of measures assessing sexist beliefs (J. C. Becker & Swim, 2011, 2012; Zawadzki et al., 2014) or other gender-related constructs (e.g., warmth toward feminists; Gervais & Hoffman, 2013; Katz et al., 2004; Sahin & Yalcinkaya, 2021; Taschler & West, 2017). Future research should target ambivalent sexism more specifically (rather than targeting sexism or gender-related constructs in general) because interventions tend to be more effective if they are tailored to the specific features of BS and HS (see J. C. Becker et al., 2014), which are somewhat different from those of other similar constructs (McHugh & Frieze, 1997). Other methodological limitations that have been identified and may be overcome in future research were demand characteristics (e.g., J. C. Becker et al., 2011; Kilmartin et al., 2008; Sahin & Yalcinkaya, 2021) and selection bias (e.g., Case, 2007; Katz et al., 2004; Livosky et al., 2011).

All in all, the conclusions here should be treated as hypotheses that have not been examined properly because of the small size of

this domain and the fact that the findings are based on single, different interventions, but also in light of previous work that has cast doubts on the efficacy of general (Paluck et al., 2021) and implicit (Lai et al., 2016) bias/prejudice reduction interventions, as well as educational diversity training programs (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016, 2018; Kalev et al., 2016). Nevertheless, because interventions to reduce sexism (J. C. Becker et al., 2014) in general, and implicit prejudice (Lai et al., 2013) and ambivalent sexism in particular (as indicated by the data in this domain) are rare, future research should make it a priority to test ways to reduce ambivalent sexism. Given its devastating effects on women and men in diverse domains (as indicated by this review), this is an important social goal.

General Discussion

This work systematically reviewed 654 empirical articles on ambivalent sexism published since the concept was first introduced (Glick & Fiske, 1996), using a bottom-up approach to discover the patterns that emerged from this multidisciplinary literature. We identified 27 domains (with 23 subdomains) reflecting the main topics in research on ambivalent sexism. The five largest domains are social ideologies, violence, workplace, stereotypes, and intimate relationships. We synthesized the evidence reported in these domains, provided domain-specific summaries of findings, identified the strengths and weaknesses, and made recommendations for future research. For each of the main domains, we also reviewed findings from associated, smaller domains based on conceptual similarity.

In this section, we put forward the overarching pattern of conclusions that can be drawn across domains. We then list key methodological limitations of the literature, with guidelines for researchers on how to address them, and discuss the limitations of the present review. Finally, we provide a framework for theoretical development and future research in the field.

Integration of the Findings Across Domains

The accumulating evidence demonstrates that ambivalent sexism, as indicated by the complementary ideologies of both HS and BS, predicts a range of outcomes across domains that contribute to and likely reinforce gender inequality. In terms of commonalities, both HS and BS associate with prejudicial ideologies, promote violence against women, undermine women's competence and advancement in the workplace, stereotype women and subtypes of women, encourage restrictive forms of intimate relationships and sexuality, and reinforce traditional gender roles (i.e., women's roles as sex objects and the "fairer sex," their maternal and domestic roles, as well as men's traditional masculine roles). Thus, overall, both HS and BS exert control over women (and sometimes men), potentially with similar consequences for the preservation of gender inequality; yet, the modalities and rationales HS and BS implement to achieve this goal are substantially different. HS acts through envious/resentful prejudices (i.e., primarily hostile) related to power and sexuality, whereas BS acts through cooperative prejudices that enforce traditionality and are primarily characterized by gender-based paternalism and differentiation (see Glick & Fiske, 2001a, for a distinction between envious and paternalistic prejudice). Figure 2 summarizes the within- and cross-domains central findings and processes of ambivalent sexism covered in this section.

The Pathway of HS to Gender Inequality

HS asserts control over women (and less often men) through the direct use of blatant and hostile forms of prejudice, being particularly reactive to social cues related to women's power and sexuality. HS strongly associates with ideologies that reflect power and dominance motives (e.g., social dominance orientation), support for inequality, and values of self-enhancement. HS encourages direct violence and harassment of women at every level of analysis including acting as the perpetrator, accepting various forms of violence on the part of others and the self, evaluating victims and perpetrators in ways that justify violence, refusing to acknowledge violence toward women, and choosing not to take steps to combat violence. HS also directly promotes the objectification of women, primarily through perpetrating it. The close ties between HS and violence have implications for the law (i.e., biased judgments of criminal cases) and the media (i.e., online gaming provides HS with a robust platform to engage in harassment).

In the workplace, HS directly promotes bias and discrimination against women, with the ultimate aim of undermining women's perceived work-related competence, curtailing their ability to break the glass ceiling and enter fields where they are less well represented, while promoting a hostile and masculine work environment. Politics constitutes one research area in which patterns of ambivalent sexism in the workplace are likely to manifest. Prejudicial patterns of HS extend beyond the workplace to more general opposition to rights, policies, and collective action to advance women.

HS negatively stereotypes women in general and nontraditional subtypes of women (e.g., career women) in particular. Humor (and also marketing, although more studies are needed) is a primary arena in which the link between HS and negative stereotypes about women flourishes.

In intimate relationships, HS, mostly in men, is destructive. It shapes men's relationship preferences, norms, and perceptions in ways that justify exerting control and is associated with relational issues related to power, dependency, and trust, which can lead to adverse consequences for both partners in the relationship. The exercise of control over women extends beyond intimate relationships to a more general desire to keep women "in their place" in terms of women's domesticity (e.g., supporting domestic inequality, maternal gatekeeping among women), reproductive functions (e.g., punitive attitudes toward women who flout pregnancy proscriptions), and sexuality (e.g., endorsing a sexual double standard to inhibit women's sexual power).

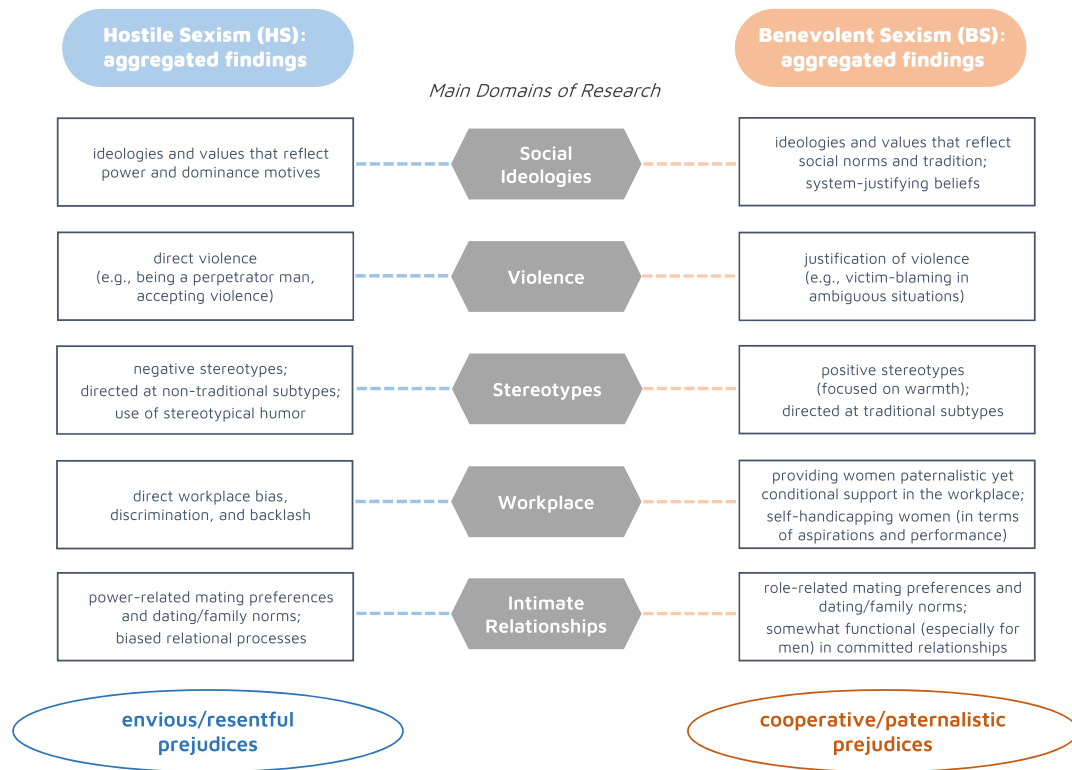
Across domains, HS emerged as associated with misunderstandings of social and intimate situations, consistent with findings that HS (more than BS) has roots in personality related to relational difficulties (see the personality domain in the online [Supplemental Material](#)). This may explain the recurring patterns of HS when it is approved by societal norms, such as when social cues from the environment tolerate sexist behavior (see the violence domain and the stereotypical humor subdomain).

The Pathway of BS to Gender Inequality

BS asserts control over women (and sometimes men) through the enforcement of traditionality in gender relations and paternalistic prejudices, and is especially reactive to social cues

Figure 2

A Model Integrating the Within-Domains and Cross-Domains Central Findings and Processes in Ambivalent Sexism Research



Note. The rounded rectangles represent the two ideologies that encompass ambivalent sexism (hostile sexism and benevolent sexism). The hexagons represent the five main domains of research on ambivalent sexism. The rectangles represent aggregated findings for each ideology within each domain. The ovals represent the central processes that characterize each ideology across domains. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

related to gender roles. BS strongly associates with ideologies that reflect the desire to maintain social roles, norms, and traditions (e.g., right-wing authoritarianism, prejudice toward sexual and gender minorities), “positive” prejudice toward other groups (e.g., the elderly), values of conservation and resistance to change, and system-justifying beliefs and practices (i.e., “disarming” women from resisting sexism).

BS does not directly promote violence against women, but it indirectly justifies it, mostly through victim blaming in ambiguous situations, such as when evaluating acquaintance rape or victims who violated gender roles (with similar, initial evidence in the context of sexual harassment). BS also makes women more vulnerable to violence by failing to acknowledge it. Similarly, BS promotes the sexual objectification of women by making sure women accept objectification directed toward them and engage in self-objectification, with potential costs to their competence. In the context of media and art, BS encourages women to accept violence under the guise of romance. However, BS also protects women against men’s perpetuating violence, sexual harassment, and objectification, because men who endorse BS sometimes exhibit fewer of these tendencies (these effects also extend to overly protective judgments about women in criminal cases). As more evidence accumulates, BS may be more receptive to masculine

norms than HS, with potential links to aggression and violence (see Vandello & Bosson, 2013, for a review).

In predominantly masculine workplaces (including academic-STEM fields) and positions of power, BS does not directly relate to bias and discrimination against women but subtly reinforces women’s lower status by presuming their lower competence and ultimately limiting their advancement to higher ranks in two ways. BS promotes workplace gender-based paternalism, which is mostly directed toward women who conform to gender roles. These paternalistic processes appear to have somewhat protective effects for women politicians and lead to support for rights and policies to advance women (conditional on their advancing in ways that adhere to gender roles). At the same time, BS self-handicaps women by reducing their work-related aspirations and performance. Parallel routes were reported with regard to collective action, in which BS promotes men’s participation in *protective* forms of actions on behalf of women but inhibits women’s participation in actions on their own behalf.

In terms of stereotypes, BS associates with positively valenced stereotypes about women and traditional subtypes of women (e.g., housewives). These stereotypes gravitate around the notion of warmth, which can serve to encourage cooperation (see Cuddy et al., 2008). Prosociality is one of the prime arenas in which this

cooperation occurs (e.g., through dependency-oriented helping), with its associated negative implications for the maintenance of gender roles and status differences. The association between BS and stereotypes also translates into traditional forms of masculine ideologies, as well as consumer–brand interactions (e.g., preferences for products depicting traditional women).

In intimate relationships, BS appears to be romantically appealing for both men and women; BS shapes mating preferences and norms in ways that closely align with paternalism and traditional gender roles. BS may be beneficial in relationships (with similar evidence in the context of general well-being), but women have more to lose than men when relationship expectations are not realized. BS can also shape women's relational outcomes in ways that may be professionally restrictive. Beyond the specific context of intimate relationships, BS embraces women's traditional domestic role in women-dominated arenas (especially at home), idealizes women's maternal role (accompanied by restrictions on women's reproductive rights), and promotes traditional forms of sexuality (possibly for both men and women).

Across domains, the modes of action of BS are subtler and more insidious than HS, where BS is consistently viewed as more favorable and less sexist by evaluators, despite the accumulating evidence that both BS and HS reflect and perpetuate gender inequality. As described in detail above, part of BS's subtleness is reflected in its provision of "rewards" to women who conform to traditional gender roles, such as offering protection from men's violence, paternalistic treatment in the workplace, positive (yet stereotypical) views of women, and benefits in intimate relationships.

Gender Differences Across Domains

The patterns observed across domains generally apply to both men and women, either as actors endorsing a variety of beliefs, tendencies, and behaviors or as evaluators of a variety of targets and situations; still, some gender differences are worth noting.

HS seems to operate more in men than women. This is especially true for the link between HS and men's violence, sexual harassment, and objectification directed at women. HS also associates more strongly with the endorsement of power-related ideologies and values in men than in women. Within intimate relationships, men's (more than women's) HS shapes their endorsement of power-related norms and is associated with destructive views and outcomes of the relationship. Enforcement of women's sexuality revolves around men's (more than women's) HS.

By contrast, BS seems to operate in both men and women, but its modes of operation can at times differ. BS in men is related to the enactment of protective, albeit conditional, forms of paternalism directed at women (although both men and women agree that paternalism should be enacted by men). BS in women is consistently related to their own subordination through their endorsement of system-justifying beliefs and practices, acceptance of objectification directed toward them, engagement in self-objectification, and reduction of their work-related aspirations, competence, and performance. Women are overall better at identifying ambivalent sexism than men, especially in the context of BS, which may support the findings that their relatively higher endorsement of BS compared to HS reflects a self-protective function from environments they perceive as hostile (see Glick et al., 2000).

Broader Implications for Prejudice

This review identified patterns of ambivalent sexism, which can be placed within a wider theoretical framework of prejudice. Intergroup theorists have long studied how the general structure of group relations gives rise to legitimizing ideologies; that is, systems of belief that justify status and power differences (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). These ideologies are commonly accepted by members of both advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Jost & Hunyady, 2005) and lead them to reinforce existing social arrangements (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Legitimizing ideologies can be ambivalent in nature in that they may be directed toward different groups based on the stereotypes that people hold against them (Glick & Fiske, 2001a). Power/status differences can lead to hostile ideologies toward subordinate group members based on competence-related stereotypes; yet, intergroup interdependence (which often coexists with power/status differences) can result in seemingly benevolent ideologies that depict cooperative subordinate group members as warm (and therefore compliant). This aligns with sociologist Jackman's (1994) argument that the oppression of disadvantaged groups does not only occur through direct force and violence but also through the rewards associated with paternalistic ideologies, which offer protection and affection from advantaged groups to disadvantaged group members who conform to unequal social arrangements.

This perspective is supported by extensive empirical evidence within the framework of the stereotype content model (Fiske, 2018; Fiske et al., 2002), which demonstrates that ambivalent attitudes are not uncommon in other forms of intergroup relations. In fact, some groups are viewed as either competent but cold (e.g., Jews, rich people, feminists) and elicit envious prejudice, while others are seen as warm but incompetent (e.g., the elderly, disabled people, housewives) and elicit paternalistic prejudice. Therefore, similar systems of ambivalence are present in other types of intergroup relations. Yet, gender relations (and the sexist ideologies associated with them) are unique in their strong and universal coexistence of power differences and intimate interdependence (Fiske, 2017; Glick & Fiske, 2001c).

Broad Limitations

This section discusses the scientific quality of the articles and the methodological problems that can limit or bias the ambivalent sexism literature. The methodological limitations of the present review are then discussed separately.

Limitations of the Ambivalent Sexism Literature

The articles included in the review differ considerably in terms of research questions, domains/contexts, designs, and measures. Based on this variability, and given the considerable limitations of existing procedures for determining study quality (see Siddaway et al., 2019), we did not apply objective or empirical quality assessment tools when including or excluding articles. However, the extraction phase included coding of qualitative entities related to the use of ASI and sample characteristics, along with general notes on study design, measures and operationalizations, and quality (see the Method section). This allowed us to identify domain-specific limitations (see

the Results section), but also broader, more common methodological pitfalls across domains. These are detailed below, along with recommendations for researchers.

One common shortcoming relates to the calculation of the ASI score. Some studies average all the ASI items together instead of averaging the items in each subscale (HS or BS) separately. The total ASI score cannot be used in the analyses to infer the differential roles of HS and BS. Depending on the research question, it may even yield null results because the total ASI score is composed of two subscales, which may have opposing relationships with the outcomes examined (especially if the outcomes represent envious vs. paternalistic forms of prejudice; see Glick & Fiske, 2001a). However, there are two exceptions where using a total ASI score is warranted. When the overall ASI score constitutes a measure of ambivalence toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996), it can be used to assess the specific contexts in which this ambivalence may emerge and the outcomes predicted by it (e.g., Glick et al., 1997). Similarly, in cases where HS and BS are expected to operate in the same direction, the total ASI score can be used as a reliable overall sexism measure. Still, researchers should include analyses involving all three scores (HS, BS, ASI), at least in the early stages of a research program, to enable a more careful interpretation of the results (see Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 1996, for notable examples).²⁰

Relatedly, when testing hypotheses about a specific subscale (HS or BS), some studies did not partial out the complementary subscale or made it clear in their analyses that this had been done. This can undermine the interpretation of the data because a significant association between either HS or BS and the outcome of interest could be attributed to the shared relationship between HS and BS (see Glick et al., 2000). As recommended in the ASI scoring instructions (Glick & Fiske, 1996), correlational research should use partial correlations (i.e., removing the effects of the correlation between the subscales) to obtain “purer” measures of HS and BS. Researchers using the ASI should adhere to these guidelines to provide reliable evidence and a better understanding of the differential roles of HS and BS.

Another common methodological issue relates to the measures. Although the type of measures used to examine different research questions varied across articles (see the Results section), the literature heavily relies on the use of self-reports, which creates a limitation on the generalizability and ecological validity of the findings (see Schwarz, 1999, for the limitations associated with self-report measures). In line with the call to pay greater attention to actual behavior in psychological research (Baumeister et al., 2007), ambivalent sexism researchers across domains should incorporate behavioral measures in their paradigms whenever relevant, feasible, and ethically appropriate (see the violence domain for domain-specific ethical considerations; see the stereotypes domain for an example of a potential domain that could benefit from the use of such measures).

Designs are another issue. In articles treating ambivalent sexism (HS or BS) as an antecedent, most of the findings reported are based on cross-sectional, correlational designs, which preclude conclusions as to the causal direction of the role of ambivalent sexism in outcomes of interest across domains. Notably, longitudinal designs are often employed in research on ambivalent sexism in the intimate relationships domain and, to a lesser extent, in the social ideologies domain; these overtime designs make it possible to track changes in sexist attitudes and variables of interest as they unfold. However, due

to their correlational design, these studies cannot fully establish the direction of causality (see Wright & Markon, 2016, for limitations of longitudinal designs).

Experimental designs manipulating situational factors provide a more fine-grained understanding of how and where ambivalent sexism operates.²¹ Nonetheless, relatively few articles use an experimental manipulation of ambivalent sexism (10%; see the Method section). Thus, researchers should attempt to incorporate ambivalent sexism manipulations in their designs. These include priming manipulations involving exposure to ASI items using cover stories (e.g., summarizing the results of a prior study; Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; J. C. Becker & Wright, 2011), ambivalent sexist (HS or BS) messages conveyed in tasks (e.g., scrambled-sentence task; Connor & Fiske, 2019; proofreading task; Jost & Kay, 2005) or tasks’ instructions (e.g., Dardenne et al., 2007), recalling (e.g., Hopkins-Doyle et al., 2019) or imagining (Bosson et al., 2010) sexist experiences, and exposure to sexist acts (e.g., Wakefield et al., 2012) or profiles of sexist protagonists (e.g., Kilianski & Rudman, 1998). When planning new studies, researchers could adapt these ASI manipulations or develop new operationalizations tailored to the specific context of the investigation (see Hammond et al., 2016; Moya et al., 2007, in the context of intimate relationships).

Another methodological limitation: The use of student samples is fairly common across domains (53%; see the Method section), which may bias some of the findings (see Shen et al., 2011). Because of their age, students have a limited range of life experiences, which may make them less representative of the general population for certain domains (see examples in the violence, intimate relationships, and workplace domains). Furthermore, student samples are more homogeneous in terms of education, which may limit generalizability because individuals with higher education generally endorse less sexist attitudes (see the demographics domain in the online Supplemental Material). Thus, researchers should diversify their samples but also aim to match the sample characteristics to the research question or context (the relationship processes subdomain provides a good illustration of how this can be done).

The vast majority of articles focus on and refer to cisgender and heterosexual people, although most of the articles used narrow definitions of gender identity (see Footnote 5) and did not ask participants about their sexual identity. The heteronormative focus provides the most plausible test for the AST, which explains how men and women continue to be interdependent despite persistent inequality in power and status. Indeed, nonheterosexual people show lower endorsement of both HS and BS compared to heterosexual people (e.g., Cowie et al., 2019; see the intersectionality domain in the online Supplemental Material). These existing studies compare ASI endorsement across sexual and gender identity

²⁰ On a more general note, while the AST posits that HS and BS work in tandem, most articles have treated them in an additive manner (see Brownhalls et al., 2021; Thome & Viki, 2013; Valor-Segura et al., 2011b, for exceptions). However, future research should more closely examine whether the ambivalence caused by the *interaction* of HS and BS leads to unique attitudinal and behavioral responses that differ from what each ideology predicts individually.

²¹ In the extraction phase, we did not code for experimental designs other than those manipulating ambivalent sexism (see the Method section); still, throughout the Results section, we refer to many examples of such designs (see the data file of eligible articles at <https://osf.io/b6h8x>, which contains additional notes regarding the use of other measures and operationalizations).

groups (assessed categorically). However, sexual and gender identity can also be conceptualized and measured continuously (Jacobson & Joel, 2018). Future research should further examine how the concept of ambivalent sexism unfolds in relation to sexual and gender identity, using continuous measures of these constructs or developing new measures that would be more suitable to capture sexism, power dynamics, or types of nonheterosexual interdependence among sexual and gender identity diverse groups (see Cross et al., 2021, for a similar suggestion). In line with recent calls for more inclusive and representative social science with regard to gender and sexual orientation (McGorray et al., 2023), these future steps would allow for updating of the theory to ensure that it remains timely and relevant.

The synthesis relies on the integration of findings from studies conducted in numerous countries (see Figure S2 in the online Supplemental Material, for a world map).²² The seminal cross-cultural investigation of the ASI conducted by Glick et al. (2000) laid the groundwork for researchers all over the world to make use of the inventory to study sexist attitudes in their countries. Overall, the cross-cultural nature of ambivalent sexism research emerges as a major advantage, especially given the U.S.-centric sampling bias in psychology (Cheon et al., 2010; Henrich et al., 2010). The endorsement of the ASI constructs consistently across countries (Glick et al., 2000) attests to the universality of ambivalent sexism, and not just a local, U.S. phenomenon. Although cross-cultural studies rarely point to substantial cultural differences in ASI associations with other constructs of interest, most of the articles report samples collected in a single country, which prevents reliable cross-cultural comparisons in the first place. Because countries score differently on gender development and inequality indices (United Nations Development Programme, 2020), the inconsistent findings throughout this review may reflect cultural differences. Relatively few domain-specific, cross-cultural investigations involve ambivalent sexism, and those that have been conducted had broader aims that are not specific to ambivalent sexism (Bosson et al., 2021; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2020). Thus, researchers should conduct cross-cultural investigations of ambivalent sexism in specific domains of interest (see Eastwick et al., 2006, for a good example), which would serve to identify whether the patterns reported here are universally pervasive and whether variations across cultures are systematic and predictable.

This review synthesized the literature on ambivalent sexism that has accumulated over the past 2 decades. In light of the substantial global progress toward gender equality in the last half century (England et al., 2020) and the public's (and participants') growing familiarity with gender-related beliefs (e.g., Scarborough et al., 2019), inconsistencies in patterns reported in the review may be attributed to some extent to time trends. Notably, one article (Huang et al., 2019; see the demographics domain in the online Supplemental Material) found, using seven annual waves of longitudinal panel data from New Zealand, that both HS and BS demonstrated high levels of rank-order stability across time (i.e., individuals' relative position in their level of endorsement of ambivalent sexism remained stable), but that the mean societal levels of HS and BS generally decreased over time (with some gender differences in deceleration rates). Yet, because the endorsement of HS and BS, regardless of its mean levels, appears to be driven by basic power- and role-related motivations, its associations with other psychological constructs of interest may remain stable over time.

Thus, future research should continue to examine the influence of time trends on endorsement of ambivalent sexism, but also on the strength of ASI associations with other constructs of interest.

Limitations of the Present Review

The systematic methodology used in the present review aims to minimize subjectivity, bias, and errors, and increase replicability and transparency across all the review stages. This included registering the working protocol, validating the search strategy, documenting a flow diagram for study selection, taking a bottom-up approach in the synthesis (i.e., without having a priori hypotheses) to reduce authors' bias, and making all research materials and data publicly available. However, several limitations deserve mention.

Although our search strategy was intended to be comprehensive,²³ it was not exhaustive, in that we did not include unpublished work, possibly increasing the risk of publication bias (Siddaway et al., 2019). In addition, our inclusion criteria encompassed articles written only in English, which may restrict the generalizability of our findings to reports written in other languages (B. T. Johnson, 2021). However, we did consider articles that described studies conducted in other languages but reported in English, thus mitigating the potential impact of monolanguage bias.

Due to feasibility considerations, all the review stages were conducted by a single individual (i.e., the first author), except for the synthesis process, which was conducted jointly by both coauthors. Although decisions about borderline cases were carefully discussed and resolved between the coauthors, interrater reliability practices were not implemented in the literature searching and sifting stages, which may limit the replicability of different aspects of the review (Belur et al., 2018). However, according to Siddaway et al.'s (2019) guidelines, a single individual can appropriately conduct a high-quality systematic review, so some flexibility may therefore be permissible on this issue.

Due to the relatively wide scope of the review and the decision to extract data based on the article rather than study/sample as the unit of analysis (see the Method section), we did not extract information about the sample sizes of the eligible articles. Because sample size (and the inferred statistical power to detect effect size) constitutes a primary metric for indexing the quality of empirical research (Cumming, 2014; Fraley & Vazire, 2014), this limited to some extent the quality assessment of the literature. Furthermore, the review's goals—along with the diffuse nature of ambivalent sexism research (in terms of topics, domains, and methodology)—were best suited for conducting a systematic review rather than a meta-analysis. Notably, the existing meta-analyses on ambivalent sexism have focused on specific outcomes related to social ideologies (Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007), violence (Agadullina et al., 2022), workplace discrimination (Jones et al., 2017), mating preferences (Sibley & Overall, 2011), and personality (M. I. Fisher & Hammond, 2019).

²² The inclusion criteria for this review did not include descriptive cross-cultural comparisons (i.e., which do not report associations between the ASI constructs and other constructs of interest; see the Method section).

²³ Although the search validation procedure demonstrated that the search strategy fully identified all the articles included in the validation set, in retrospect, a small portion of relevant articles that have used the ASI may have been missed due to the use of different terms to capture ambivalent sexism (e.g., traditional female gender role; Johannesen-Schmidt & Eagly, 2002).

Nonetheless, further small-scale meta-analyses within specific domains would be valuable to quantitatively validate the more established effects identified in this review (i.e., those with sufficient studies available).

Finally, the conclusions derived in the review were determined based on the majority of articles reporting (conceptually) similar effects. We also added our interpretations throughout to help readers navigate the large scope of findings covered in the review. Thus, although the article-collecting processes employed in this review conformed to strict guidelines, the conclusions derived from each domain (as well as across domains) are more subjective in nature. Other researchers may use the (openly available) data and our description of findings to draw different or additional conclusions.

Theoretical Development

The current review synthesized the literature on ambivalent sexism. Although several well-supported conclusions were drawn across domains, some theoretical issues remain open. Within each domain, we highlighted the open questions and how future research could address them (see the Domain-Specific Limitations and Recommendations sections). In this section, we discuss broader (cross-domain) areas of elaboration that could update and extend the key principles of the original theory. These ideas would benefit from future exploration.

Control as a Recurring Mechanism Across Domains

The desire to exert control over women (and sometimes men) appears to be a recurring thread across domains, which aligns with classic theorizing on how control functions in power relations in general (Fiske, 1993) and gender relations in particular (Brownmiller, 1975). We concluded that both HS and BS revolve around control, but the type of control exerted is inherently different in each form of sexism: HS exerts control to maintain men's power, whereas BS exerts control to maintain traditional gender roles.

Although the differential modes of operation of HS and BS are well established, the evidence for control as a mechanism was mainly inferred indirectly from articles examining outcomes related to restrictions on women's behaviors (e.g., Moya et al., 2007; Sánchez-Hernández et al., 2020) or rights (e.g., Osborne & Davies, 2009; Petterson & Sutton, 2018). However, articles providing a direct assessment of control-related motives are rare (Abrams et al., 2003; Rudman et al., 2013). Notably, the closely related construct of power was assessed in several articles, either by measuring (Cross et al., 2019; Cross & Overall, 2019; Feather, 2004; Feather & McKee, 2012; Overall et al., 2021) or manipulating (Diehl et al., 2018; M. C. Herrera, Exposito, & Moya, 2012; Vial & Napier, 2017; Williams et al., 2017); overall, the findings suggest that HS is more closely linked to power issues than BS (in line with our conclusion). However, future research examining diverse effects related to ambivalent sexism should directly test control as an overarching motivation for both HS and BS by distinguishing between control motives related to HS, such as wanting to keep women in their inferior position, with low power (e.g., Rudman et al., 2013), and control motives related to BS, such as wanting to keep women in their traditional roles (e.g., Abrams et al., 2003).

Ambivalent Sexism as a Reward and Punishment System

The findings (across domains) challenge a key theoretical principle of the AST: that HS and BS act in tandem as a reward and punishment system to maintain patriarchal arrangements (coordinated "carrot and stick" approach), with BS rewarding women who embrace these arrangements (being the "carrot") and HS punishing those who challenge them (being the "stick"; Cikara et al., 2009; Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 2001b).

This original theorizing is far from being empirically established because the findings are to some extent mixed. A few articles provide initial support for the original account (e.g., S. K. Johnson et al., 2014; Sibley & Wilson, 2004). For example, store employees exhibited more hostile behavior toward pregnant working women who were perceived as defying traditional role expectations, whereas pregnant women customers who enact a traditional role evoked benevolent behavior (Hebl et al., 2007; see the workplace domain). Some articles (e.g., Kahn et al., 2021), however, suggest that BS may act by itself (independently of HS) as both the carrot (reward conforming women) and the stick (punish "deviating" women). Other articles point solely to stick (punish) responses directed at women elicited by either HS (A. O. Murphy et al., 2011; Williams et al., 2017), BS (Mazurega et al., 2019; Sakalli-Uğurlu & Glick, 2003; Salerno & Phalen, 2019), or both (McCarty & Kelly, 2015; Ramati-Ziber et al., 2020).

Our synthesis proposes that these inconsistencies in stick (punish) responses may be attributed to the type of violation that elicits the backlash, with initial evidence suggesting that negative reactions to deviating women reflect issues of power in HS, especially among men (M. C. Herrera, Exposito, & Moya, 2012; Williams et al., 2017), and the desire to maintain traditional roles in BS (Kahn et al., 2021; Mazurega et al., 2019; Sakalli-Uğurlu & Glick, 2003; Salerno & Phalen, 2019). Hence, we posit that while HS is involved purely in backlash (rather than reward) responses, BS may be involved in both reward and backlash, thereby reinforcing its insidious power in maintaining gender roles.

Future research should test this new theoretical account to provide further support. This could be done by systematically assessing the role of HS and BS in eliciting different rewards and punishments in response to different types of women's gender-related affirmations or violations (power vs. roles) in different domains (e.g., relationships, sexuality). This type of research program should be complemented by corresponding efforts to understand the role of HS and BS in responses to men who confirm or violate patriarchal arrangements, in line with initial evidence that ambivalent sexism may also be related to monitoring men's behavior (Robnett et al., 2018; Salerno & Phalen, 2019).

What Does Women's HS Mean?

Across domains, the effects of HS emerged as more pronounced for men than women. However, current theorizing and empirical research prioritize understanding the functions of HS in men rather than exploring what may be unique about women's experiences with HS. This approach mirrors the public's limited concern about women's HS: Although women endorse HS to a lesser extent than men across nations (Glick et al., 2000), individuals still tend to underestimate the degree to which women endorse HS (Goh et al., 2017; Waddell & Overall, 2022).

This review provided the opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of the outcomes associated with women's endorsement of HS. Overall, similar to men's HS (though sometimes to a lesser extent), women's HS appears to be linked to a range of outcomes that legitimize men's power (e.g., gender-specific prejudiced beliefs, acceptance of myths about sexual and domestic violence, workplace bias, negative stereotypes and evaluations of women; see relevant domains). However, HS may also elicit reactance among women: Across nations, women's endorsement of HS drops when men endorse HS (Glick et al., 2000), and exposure to HS increases women's participation in social change efforts (see the collective action domain in the online Supplemental Material).

There is also preliminary evidence to suggest that women's HS may be uniquely associated with outcomes that reflect intragender competition, possibly because HS reflects views of women as sexually manipulative and untrustworthy. For instance, women's HS is linked to negative evaluations of highly sexually active women (Zaikman & Marks, 2014) and increased insecurity (M. I. Fisher & Hammond, 2019) and jealousy (Cross & Overall, 2019) in relationships. However, these negative feelings do not appear to consistently translate into relationship outcomes (e.g., Cross et al., 2019; Hammond & Overall, 2020).

Overall, this review offers an integrated perspective on the consequences of women's HS across domains and demonstrates that it serves similar functions to those of men's HS. However, the development of women's HS is not well understood. Initial evidence suggests that women's HS may not necessarily reflect hostility toward their own gender group but rather toward women who do not conform to patriarchal arrangements, such as feminists or career women (J. C. Becker, 2010) or women who use sex as a source of power (Erchull & Liss, 2013). Future research should continue to explore what it means for women to be hostile toward their own gender.

The Consequences of Ambivalent Sexism for Men

According to the AST, women are the primary targets of sexist beliefs and are therefore disproportionately affected by them compared to men. While there have been attempts to develop a theoretical framework to account for ambivalent sexist attitudes toward men (Glick et al., 2004; Glick & Fiske, 1999), these have not been matched by extensive empirical evidence (see Footnote 2). Hence, we propose to develop an underexplored lens: that ambivalent sexism not only harms women, who are the main target of these beliefs (as the original theory suggests), but it can also harm men who endorse and enact ambivalent sexism toward women.

Admittedly, across domains, the consequences of ambivalent sexism for men are extremely underexplored. Throughout this review, we highlighted the domains in which it may be especially relevant, such as the violence-related domains (violence, sexual harassment, body/face evaluations), the stereotypes domain, and the workplace domain. Future research should examine the corresponding (i.e., similar to women's) or specific ways in which men are affected by ambivalent sexism (see the relationship processes subdomain and the health domain [in the online Supplemental Material] for initial evidence). These research efforts are critical because growing evidence, including outside the framework of ambivalent sexism, suggests that gender inequality in general (e.g., Laumann et al., 2006; C. Li et al., 2021), and traditional gender

roles, norms, and stereotypes in particular (e.g., Croft et al., 2015; Wong, Ho, et al., 2017) have detrimental effects on men's well-being. Adding the predictive value and specific characteristics of ambivalent sexism to this equation would contribute to the realization that reducing gender inequality, and the ideologies that support it, is good for everyone—women as well as men.

Conclusions

The paradoxical nature of gender relations, in which power differences (inequality) and interdependence (intimacy) coexist, creates ambivalent sexism in the form of complementary hostile and benevolent ideologies that legitimize patriarchal arrangements. This review explored more than 20 years of empirical research on ambivalent sexism, demonstrated its pervasiveness across diverse contexts and disciplines, and its association with a range of outcomes that contribute to gender inequality. We proposed an overarching framework by identifying, within and across domains, the different ways in which the ideologies of hostile sexism and benevolent sexism work in tandem to maintain control over women (and sometimes men). The integration of empirical evidence strongly suggests that hostile sexism promotes direct and diverse forms of antagonistic prejudices toward women (characterized by violence and discrimination) that are often motivated by a desire to maintain men's power, whereas benevolent sexism promotes subtle forms of paternalistic prejudices (rewarding women who conform to gender norms) that build on men's and women's cooperation to enforce traditional gender roles. The review discussion centered on the domain-specific and cross-domain limitations, recommendations for researchers in the field, and theoretical development. Overall, this review offers, we hope, a fruitful and applicable framework for future research to advance the state of our knowledge on ambivalent sexism.

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