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Resentment of Paternalism as System Change Sentiment: Hostile Sexism Toward Men and Actual Behavior in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election

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ABSTRACT. Taking inspiration from Glick and colleagues (2004), this study tested the idea that resentment of paternalism (which is part of the hostile sexism toward men construct) might approximate desire for system change by correlating this variable with actual behavior associated with system change in a single culture. Specifically, voting behavior in the 2008 U.S. presidential election was predicted from political party affiliation, measures of hostile and benevolent sexism toward both women and men, and egalitarian racial attitudes using a U.S. college student sample. Results indicated that the only significant predictors of voting behavior were political party affiliation, resentment of paternalism, and egalitarian racial attitudes. Higher levels of resentment of paternalism were in fact associated with voting for the ticket that represented system change—holding the other predictors constant.

Keywords: ambivalent sexism, attitudes, gender bias, paternalism, voting

GLICK, FISKE, AND COLLEAGUES (Glick et al., 2004) argue that discontent with the status quo can be predicted from certain attitudes about men given the precepts of ambivalent sexism theory (see Glick & Fiske, 2001). Admittedly, discontent with the status quo can also be predicted by relative deprivation theory (Runciman, 1966) and social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981), as Glick et al. (2004) acknowledge. However, relative deprivation and social identity theories rely on the idea that minority groups—for instance, racial and gender minorities—more so than other groups would show this discontent most strongly because minorities are often targets of both prejudice and discrimination. Yet, ambivalent sexism theory can make the unique prediction that even those within the privileged social class(es) can show discontent with the status quo for reasons explained below. As a summary statement, I argue that a desire for system change (what I term system change sentiment) might be viewed as the remaining variance between two types of attitudes: (a) anger toward males’ historic and current abuse of power and (b) ideas about men being naturally stubborn or unwilling to change, but able to be softened by women, a form of heterosexuality complementarity (see Glick & Fiske, 1999, 2001, for definitions of these terms). This study examines whether system change sentiment as defined here is associated with a behavioral outcome—namely, voting to change the status quo in a presidential election.

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Ambivalent Sexism Theory and System Change Sentiment

Ambivalent sexism theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999, 2001) is a broader theory than its predecessors, such as modern sexism theory (see Swim & Cohen, 1997), by considering the socio-structural consequences of gender categorization and the historical context of gender bias—within a single culture and across cultures (see Glick & Fiske, 2001; Glick et al., 2004). Ambivalent sexism refers to the often-opposing content of stereotypes and the underlying characterization of attitudes toward males and females as target groups (Glick & Fiske, 2001). For instance, bias against women can be characterized as hostile (e.g., “women are controlling”), which indicates the traditional view of prejudice as antipathy toward the target group (Glick & Fiske, 2001). In a complementary (and thereby distinct) manner, bias against women can be characterized as benevolent (e.g., “women are fragile and should be protected”), which indicates a view of prejudice as ostensibly positive, but ultimately marginalizing, attitudes—rather than antipathy (see Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001). In either characterization, the consequence is that holding these stereotypes, and behaving covertly or overtly consistently with them, ultimately supports marginalization of women, irrespective of whether the stereotype content can be viewed as hostile or benevolent (see Glick & Fiske, 2001). Likewise, there can be either hostile attitudes toward men (e.g., “most men are pigs”) or benevolent attitudes (e.g., “women ought to take care of men because men would fall apart if they had to fend for themselves”; see Glick & Fiske, 1999, 2001). Each statement conveys a stereotype that supports continued prejudice toward men, even though the packaging of the stereotype and implications for how one represents it and might behave toward men are different.

Glick and Fiske (1996, 1999, 2001) note that one of the profound structural features of gender bias is its embedding within heteronormativity—or the expectation that men and women interact in close social proximity based on heterosexual sexual dynamics. One can view this structural aspect of gender bias as differentiating it from racial bias or sexual identity bias because these other biases have featured de jure segregation (for racial identities) (Jones, 1997) or functional segregation (for lesbian and gay sexual identities) (Freeman, Johnson, Ambady, & Rule, 2010) as happened in the United States through the 1950s. Given that heterosexual interactions are considered normative, gender bias becomes complex, and this complexity allows for richer predictions than previous analyses of sexism based on the social-structural variables and how they operate in relation to hostile and benevolent attitudes. One such prediction is that female respondents can reject hostile sexism toward women but endorse benevolent sexism toward women, which can serve to promote or maintain gender inequity in a variety of cultures (see Glick & Fiske, 2001; Glick et al., 2000). Also, though not entirely obvious from considering gender by itself, Glick and colleagues (2004) evaluated the argument that high levels of hostility toward men might indicate a system undergoing change when they examined several different national cultures and levels of hostile and benevolent sexism toward both men and women as targets. Glick and colleagues (2004) argued that because men have historically created, endorsed, and directly benefited from the status quo in terms of gender and other social relations, one might consider high levels of hostility toward men (even from male respondents) to be an indication of system change sentiment—or at least, might indicate a discontent with current social or political structure. Similarly, low hostility toward men might be an indication of the perceived inevitability of male-dominance (Glick et al., 2004). Importantly, Glick and colleagues (2004) use ambivalent sexism theory to create nuance for this perspective by pointing out the potential difference in the
meaning of hostility toward men between male and female respondents. Glick and colleagues argue that for female respondents, high levels of hostile sexism may in fact reflect a resentment of men’s power and privilege, whereas, for male respondents, high levels of hostile sexism may reflect a reinforcement of the gender status hierarchy that benefits men. The cross-cultural study by Glick and colleagues (2004) did find consistent negative correlations with hostility toward men and national gender equality indices separately for both male and female respondents. Glick and colleagues (2004) interpreted these results as an illustration of the overarching thesis that high levels of hostility toward men are consistent with the reinforcement of a gender hierarchy, with this summary statement:

Assuming that HM [hostility toward men] is a hierarchy-stabilizing belief helps to explain why men’s (not just women’s) HM scores correlated with gender-traditional beliefs (both within and between samples) and with independently assessed national measures of gender inequality (across samples). HM among women in gender-traditional environments may indicate frustration over men’s dominance. For gender-traditional men, however, we suspect that HM reflects their endorsement of a macho ideal in which men trade off being likable to achieve power and status. (p. 725)

Extension of Glick et al.’s (2004) Results for Single-Culture Samples

When viewed at the level of between-culture comparisons, Glick and colleagues’ (2004) characterizations of hostility toward men and its correlation with gender inequity is likely correct. However, the extension of this argument to a single culture is not entirely clear. For example, would high levels of hostility toward men serve to justify the gender hierarchy within the United States? Interestingly, no published data exist on this particular question (at the time of preparing this article). Glick and colleagues’ (2004) results included the United States as one of the cultures compared but conducted the gender inequity and other relevant analyses between cultures, not within. Additionally, Glick, Fiske, and colleagues (Glick & Fiske, 1999; Glick et al., 2004) have shown that hostility toward men and benevolence toward men are intercorrelated within virtually every culture sampled, and, from this intercorrelation, these authors have asserted that the two forms of prejudice toward men may be viewed as complementary within most cultures.

The shared variance between hostile and benevolent sexism toward men (i.e., their intercorrelation) invites an interesting theoretical possibility. When examined as zero-order correlations (i.e., not removing the shared variance), the gender inequity correlation with either hostile or benevolent sexism is really a combination of the two (see Glick et al., 2004, Table 5). It is worth noting that in other places and for other questions (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1999, Table 3), Glick and Fiske have removed the shared variance that each form of ambivalence toward men has with the other (via partial correlation) to estimate certain relationships. Since partial correlation is a distinct mathematical strategy from zero-order correlation (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003), it stands to reason that removing the shared variance between hostile and benevolent sexism creates distinct constructs for each. For instance, as developed below, one can reasonably assert that removing the benevolence toward men construct from hostility toward men leaves resentment of paternalism for both female and male respondents.
Resentment of Paternalism

According to Glick and Fiske (1999), for female respondents, benevolence toward men purports to measure maternalism, complementary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy, and hostile sexism toward men may measure a resentment of paternalism, compensatory gender differentiation, and heterosexual hostility. With this understanding, one can now consider the theoretical meaning of hostility toward men when its shared variance with benevolent sexism toward men is removed. Though not the only theoretical possibility, the remaining variance for hostile sexism toward men might measure resentment of paternalism. If one aligns the constructs listed above, then complementary and compensatory gender differentiation (benevolent and hostile variants, respectively), on the one side, and heterosexual intimacy and hostility (also benevolent and hostile variants, respectively), on the other side, likely account for most of the shared variance because the hostile and benevolent variants may really be different instantiations of the two larger phenomena: gender differentiation and heterosexual dynamics. The only two constructs that cannot be directly aligned are maternalism (benevolence toward men) and resentment of paternalism (hostility toward men). In this case, removing shared variance might remove everything but resentment of paternalism for the hostility toward men construct. Since male respondents can also endorse both hostility and benevolence toward men, resentment of paternalism may become subjectively “resentment of men’s power and privileges” for this group as well (Glick et al., 2004, p. 716). Taking the balance of these arguments, if all that remains after removing shared variance is some form of resentment of men’s power and status for both female and male respondents, then it appears that this resentment of paternalism by itself could be considered consistent with a system change sentiment within a culture to the extent that in many cultures (including the United States), men have historically benefited from (and continue to benefit from) the status quo of gender relations and other aspects of social hierarchies. Accordingly, I argue that resentment of paternalism as the remaining variance on hostility toward men once benevolence toward men is removed could approximate a desire for system change in a culture where men currently benefit more so than women from the cultural status quo.

Changing the Status Quo, Ambivalent Sexism, and a Validity Criterion

In order to stringently investigate whether resentment of paternalism (as defined above) approximates system change sentiment, one would need some form of predictive validity. Correlations between theoretical constructs would suffice in the abstract, but it would be nice to demonstrate a relationship between resentment of paternalism as measured on a questionnaire with an actual behavior in the world. Consequently, the goal of my investigation is to ascertain whether resentment of paternalism as system change sentiment can be demonstrated via some behavioral outcome. Voting behavior was chosen because it is often cast as a choice between the status quo and a system change in the United States. For example, in the 2008 United States presidential election, candidate Barak Obama campaigned using the slogan “Hope and Change,” while candidate John McCain campaigned using the slogan “Country First.” The former explicitly referenced system change, while the latter implied status quo while still providing a positive message—or was, at the very least, neutral regarding system change. Accordingly, my investigation examined how ambivalent sexism was associated with voting behavior in the 2008 U.S. presidential election to directly test the proposed argument that system change sentiment can be approximated by measuring resentment of paternalism as the remaining variance attributable to hostile sexism toward men when its shared variance with benevolence toward men is removed.
Overview of This Study

This study explored whether resentment of paternalism may be a proxy for system change sentiment by correlating it with actual behavior to change the status quo in a given cultural context. This potential relationship was examined using actual voting behavior in the 2008 U.S. presidential election and levels of ambivalent sexism toward men in a U.S. college student sample. Since previous literature has also identified the contributions of racial attitudes to voting behavior in the 2008 U.S. presidential election (e.g., Dwyer, Stevens, Sullivan, & Allen, 2009; Knowles, Lowery, & Schaumberg, 2009; Payne et al., 2010), these attitudes were also examined in order to determine whether resentment of paternalism (measured via hostile sexism toward men) could contribute unique variance relative to racial attitudes. Also, consistent with the Glick et al. (2004) study, which is the theoretical basis for the present study, measures of ambivalent sexism toward men and women were administered within the same sample to determine the contributions of each type of sexism to voting behavior. Such inclusion allows researchers to estimate the hostility and benevolence toward men effects relative to conceptually related, but distinct, measures of hostility and benevolence toward women to determine whether one differentially predicts behavior to change a system. To the extent that Glick and colleagues (2004) found (a) gender inequity correlations across cultures with each of the subscales for each of the ambivalence measures and (b) discriminant validity for each subscale in terms of the valence of stereotype about men and women as targets (see pp. 723–724), it behooves researchers to estimate their contributions separately within the same sample. Moreover, hostility toward women needs to be included and treated in the same statistical manner as hostility toward men (i.e., removing the shared variance that hostility toward women has with its counterpart benevolence toward women) to determine whether simply residualizing hostility toward any target group correlates with system change action—or whether there is something unique about residualizing hostility toward men. Finally, Bartels (2000) has shown that political party affiliation appears to account for most of the variance in voting behavior in the United States. Consequently, this variable was assessed to contextualize the amount of variance that resentment of paternalism and other ambivalent sexism measures could account for in relation to political party affiliation.

Participants in this study were college students who completed all predictor measures two months before the 2008 U.S. presidential election. After the election, participants completed measures indicating the ticket for which they voted as well as their feelings toward the election outcome. This methodology is consistent with a number of published evaluations of the 2008 U.S. presidential election results cited above (Dwyer et al., 2009; Knowles et al., 2009; Payne et al., 2010).

METHOD

Participants

One hundred thirty-two college students were initially recruited from psychology courses at a community college in southern California on the dates of September 8, 9, and 10, 2008, and completed the pre-election measures on these dates. The students received credit in their psychology courses for participating in the study. Participants completed additional measures after the U.S.
presidential election (any time between November 5 and 21, 2008). Owing to attrition and considering only those participants who actually voted, the analyzed sample included 96 participants (62 women, 33 men, 1 transgender). These participants ranged in age from 18 to 41 years ($M = 20.3$, $SD = 3.97$, $Mdn = 19$). Of these 96 participants, 86 provided a racial identity. Participants identified as follows: “White” ($n = 39$), “Hispanic” ($n = 24$), “Black” ($n = 8$), “mixed” ($n = 9$), “human” ($n = 3$), “Asian” ($n = 2$), and “Middle Eastern” ($n = 1$).

Design and Materials

Participants completed two sets of measures, one set before the 2008 U.S. presidential election and one set after the election. The sets of measures were not identical. The pre-election measures were explicit scales tapping racial attitudes, ambivalent sexism, and demographics. The post-election measures ascertained the ticket for which participants voted and their general reactions to the outcome of the election.

Pre-Election Measures

Before the 2008 U.S. presidential election, participants completed the attitude measures and demographic measures in the order listed below. The measures were included within a set of filler scales about susceptibility to suggestion, the importance of revealing certain demographic information (e.g., age, major) in an internet-mediated interaction, and their views about comedy to mask the intent of the investigation.

**Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI).** The ASI is a 22-item scale designed to assess two kinds of attitudes toward the target group women: hostile and benevolent. Participants respond on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (disagree strongly) to 5 (agree strongly). Items assessing hostile attitudes and benevolent attitudes are scored separately (see Glick & Fiske, 1996). After reverse-scoring certain items, higher averages for either dimension indicate greater endorsement of hostile or benevolent sexist attitudes toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

**Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (AMI).** The AMI is a 20-item scale designed to assess two kinds of attitudes toward the target group men: hostile and benevolent. Participants respond on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (disagree strongly) to 5 (agree strongly). Items assessing hostile attitudes and benevolent attitudes are scored separately (see Glick & Fiske, 1999). Higher averages for either dimension indicate greater endorsement of hostile or benevolent sexist attitudes toward men (Glick & Fiske, 1999).

**Modern Racism Scale (MRS).** The MRS is a 14-item scale designed to assess negative attitudes toward targets described as “Black” (McConahay, 1986). Participants respond on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). After reverse-scoring certain items, scores are averaged. Higher scores indicate greater racial prejudice against this group.

**Attitudes Toward Blacks (ATB) scale.** The ATB is a 20-item scale designed to measure egalitarian attitudes toward the target group “Blacks” (Brigham, 1993). Participants respond on
a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). After reverse-scoring certain items, scores are summed to create a total, ranging from 20 to 140. Higher totals indicate more egalitarian attitudes toward the target group (Brigham, 1993).

**Demographics.** Gender was self-reported using a single-question: “What is your gender?” with four response options: Female, Male, Transgender, and Other (please specify). Participants also indicated their political party affiliation in response to the question: “What is your political party affiliation?” This question had six response options: Democrat, Green Party, Independent, Libertarian, Republican, and Other (please specify).

**Post-Election Measures**

Between November 5 and November 21, 2008, participants arrived at the lab and completed measures related to the election itself. Specifically, participants indicated (a) whether they voted in the presidential election, (b) the ticket for which they voted, and (c) their political affiliation (again) in closed-ended response options. Additionally, participants rated how happy they were with the outcome of the election and how hopeful they were for the future of the U.S., each on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very).

**Data Exclusions**

Only participants who voted for either Obama/Biden or McCain/Palin were included in the analysis. Participants who voted for neither the democratic nor the republican ticket (N = 7) were excluded from the analysis presented below. Additionally, missing data were not imputed for any item. Consequently, the following analyses were conducted on 82 participants (52 women, 30 men) who voted for either Obama/Biden or McCain/Palin and had no missing data for any item.

**Exploratory Data Analysis and Model Building**

Consistent with previous literature (Brigham, 1993), the MRS correlated highly with the ATB ($r = -.775$) and the MRS was therefore dropped from analyses because it would be collinear with the ATB. There was no significant relationship between self-reported gender (as female, male) and voting for either ticket, Fisher’s exact $p = .081$, two-tailed. Given the lack of significant association between genders and voting behavior, this variable was excluded from the discriminant function analysis to increase the power of the test given the sample size.²

Hostile and benevolent sexism toward men were correlated $r = .528$, and hostile and benevolent sexism toward women were correlated $r = .386$, across female and male respondents. Consistent with the arguments in the Introduction, when considering hostile and benevolent sexism, each variable was residualized for its counterpart measure.³ Specifically, hostile sexism toward men was residualized to statistically separate it from benevolent sexism toward men. Likewise, hostile sexism toward women was residualized to statistically separate it from benevolent sexism toward women. The residualized hostility variables were used in the analysis below. Additionally, because there are known gender differences in terms of men’s and women’s endorsement of each type of sexism, all values were also residualized for gender to remove the influence of gender differences on the variables created.⁴ Consequently, the effects estimated in
the Results section cannot be influenced by underlying gender differences in the endorsement of the sexism variables.

RESULTS

Zero-Order Intercorrelations

Table 1 shows the zero-order intercorrelations between the attitudinal predictor variables, political party affiliation, and voting behavior.

Discriminant Function Analysis

Discriminant function analysis (DFA) was chosen because it is designed to classify respondents based on their categorical choices given a number of continuous and categorical predictors (see Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Unlike logistic regression, DFA does not assume the independence of predictor variables (cf. Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Given the intercorrelations of some predictors (see Table 1), DFA was most appropriate for these data. The attitudinal variables included in the DFA were the (pre-election) scores for ambivalent sexism toward women (ASI) and men (AMI) and egalitarian racial attitudes (ATB). Political party affiliation was dichotomized as democrat (1) and non-democrat (0). The ticket for which the participant voted was included as the dichotomous categorical outcome variable, as either Obama/Biden (1) or McCain/Palin (0).

The set of attitude measures significantly predicted voting for Obama/Biden (the winning ticket), \( \Lambda = .524 \), \( \chi^2 (6, n = 82) = 49.78, p < .001 \), canonical \( R^2 = .690 \). Examining the contributions of each predictor variable in the DFA, political party affiliation significantly predicted voting for Obama/Biden, \( F(1, 80) = 62.97, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .174 \), within those voting for Obama/Biden, most were democrats (73%), while within those voting for McCain/Palin, only a small percentage were democrats (5.8%). Residualized hostile sexism toward men (removing benevolent sexism toward men and the respondent gender difference) also significantly predicted voting for Obama/Biden, \( F(1, 80) = 8.25, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .032 \), with those who voted for

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hostile sexism toward men(^a)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Benevolent sexism toward men(^a)</td>
<td>– .011</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hostile sexism toward women(^a)</td>
<td>.080</td>
<td>.282*</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Benevolent sexism toward women(^a)</td>
<td>.166</td>
<td>.689**</td>
<td>– .012</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Egalitarian attitudes toward blacks</td>
<td>.137</td>
<td>– .234*</td>
<td>– .303**</td>
<td>.055</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: This table presents the zero-order correlations using listwise deletion \( (N = 82) \). Political party affiliation \( 1 = \) Democrat, all other parties = 0. Voting for Obama = 1, voting for McCain = 0. \(^a\) = residualized for the respondent gender difference, \(^b\) = residualized for benevolence toward men, \(^c\) = residualized for benevolence toward women. **Effects are significant effect at \( p < .01 \). *Effects are significant effect at \( p < .05 \).
Obama/Biden having more residualized hostility toward men ($M = 0.15, SD = 0.63$) than those who voted for McCain/Palin ($M = -0.22, SD = 0.54$). Egalitarian racial attitudes also significantly predicted voting for Obama/Biden, $F(1, 80) = 7.24, p = .007, \eta^2_p = .028$, with those who voted for Obama/Biden having more egalitarian attitudes ($M = 113.29, SD = 14.34$) than those who voted for McCain/Palin ($M = 104.38, SD = 15.35$). It is worth noting that benevolence toward men (removing the respondent gender difference) was trending toward a significant relationship to voting behavior, $F(1, 80) = 3.52, p = .064, \eta^2_p = .014$, with those voting for Obama/Biden showing less benevolence toward men ($M = -0.20, SD = 1.14$) than those who voted for McCain/Palin ($M = 0.23, SD = 0.89$). No other attitudinal predictors significantly discriminated between those who voted for Obama/Biden or McCain/Palin, all $F$s < 0.21, all $p$s $\geq .647$ (see Table 2).

**DISCUSSION**

DFA suggested that the unique variance captured by resentment of paternalism (which is the remaining variance when hostile sexism toward men is statistically separated from benevolent sexism toward men) was an important dimension that distinguished between those in this sample who voted for the Obama/Biden ticket and the McCain/Palin ticket in the 2008 U.S. presidential election. The finding that greater resentment of paternalism predicted voting for the democratic ticket (Obama/Biden)—the one that promised to change the status quo—in context supports the idea that this variable can be a proxy for system change sentiments, as proposed in the Introduction as an extension of Glick and colleagues’ (2004) arguments. The Republican Party dominated the U.S. political landscape for 8 consecutive years and toward the end of his tenure as president, republican President George W. Bush had extremely low approval ratings (Jones, 2008). The finding that those high in resentment of paternalism voted to change the status quo appears to connect the sentiment with actual behavior—a relationship that was implied (but hitherto not empirically supported) by ambivalent sexism theory (see the Introduction).

**TABLE 2**

Predictors of Voting for the Obama/Biden Ticket

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Voted for Obama: M (SD)</th>
<th>Voted for McCain: M (SD)</th>
<th>$\Lambda$</th>
<th>$F$</th>
<th>$\eta^2_p$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political party affiliation</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>.560</td>
<td>62.97**</td>
<td>.174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostile sexism toward men$^{a,b}$</td>
<td>0.15 (0.63)</td>
<td>-0.22 (0.54)</td>
<td>.906</td>
<td>8.25**</td>
<td>.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egalitarian attitudes toward Blacks</td>
<td>113.29 (14.34)</td>
<td>104.38 (15.35)</td>
<td>.917</td>
<td>7.24*</td>
<td>.028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevolent sexism toward men$^a$</td>
<td>-0.20 (1.14)</td>
<td>0.23 (0.89)</td>
<td>.958</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostile sexism toward women$^{a,c}$</td>
<td>-0.04 (0.62)</td>
<td>0.004 (0.87)</td>
<td>.999</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>.0004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevolent sexism toward women$^a$</td>
<td>0.008 (0.89)</td>
<td>.093 (0.71)</td>
<td>.997</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Wilks’ lamba ($\Lambda$) values and associated $F$ values and partial eta-squared values ($\eta^2_p$) are presented for the discriminant function analysis. The smaller the $\Lambda$, the larger the effect. Political party affiliation was coded as democrats = 1, all other parties = 0, which means that the percentages indicate how many democrats voted for either candidate out of the total number of votes. $^a$ = residualized for respondent gender differences, $^b$ = residualized for benevolent sexism toward men; $^c$ = residualized for benevolent sexism toward women. **Effects are significant effect at $p \leq .001$. *Effects are significant effect at $p < .01$. All $df$s = 1 and 80.
The fact that hostility toward women (when residualized for both benevolence toward women and the respondent gender difference) was not significantly or meaningfully associated with voting behavior (see Table 2) is not surprising given the meaning of voting behavior in this cultural context. One might argue that the construct measured by hostility toward women after residualizing is something akin to unmitigated antipathy toward women. It is unclear how those holding such a specific view of women would have voted in the 2008 U.S. presidential election. Given that no party in that election year opposed women’s rights in an overt way, there is conceptually little work to be accomplished by holding this attitude given the choices. However, an interesting possibility would be whether data such as these were collected for the 2012 U.S. presidential election because the Romney/Ryan ticket explicitly endorsed policies that restricted women’s access to abortion and healthcare. In this case, the unmitigated antipathy toward women construct would be logically consistent with either voting for the Romney/Ryan ticket (those high in unmitigated antipathy toward women) or voting against this ticket (those low in this attitude).

Limitations, Implications, and Extensions

As one can see in the foregoing paragraph, a strength of the present investigation is that the explanatory framework offered for the observed effects is powerful enough to make predictions as well. Resentment of paternalism as a proxy for system change sentiment may apply to future U.S. elections and also elections in other countries—the latter implication based on the cross-cultural similarities for ambivalent sexism attitudes as observed by Glick and colleagues (2004). Accordingly, social scientists are encouraged to examine whether hostile sexism toward men can predict other types of behavior that indicate or call for system change or that point out abuses of power (e.g., protests), especially when those who benefit from the status quo are mostly men.

A weakness of this investigation was that the sample size for female and male respondents did not allow for separate DFAs within each group. Separate DFAs would have allowed for the estimation of whether the size of the effects for each group were similar as well as whether the effects were statistically significant for the same variables. Future researchers are encouraged to conduct such analyses. Nonetheless, to mitigate this weakness, the variables of interest were residualized to remove respondent gender differences, which created statistical equivalence at least, and thereby avoided larger conceptual errors such as the commission of a Type IV error (see Footnote 4).

Given that system change sentiment appears to be approximated by resentment of paternalism, and the latter was developed as a statistical property of ambivalent sexism toward men, researchers are encouraged to plumb the additional possibilities that partial correlation and residualization offer for developing new psychological constructs from any of the four distinguishable forms of ambivalent sexism: benevolence toward men, benevolence toward women, hostility toward men, and hostility toward women. This investigation only examined two of these distinguishable forms (as resentment of paternalism and unmitigated antipathy toward women), but undoubtedly more constructs are extractable from the rich framework of ambivalent sexism theory. Mathematically and logically, in addition to pairwise extractions, researchers can, for instance, examine remaining variance when the other three constructs are removed from one form of bias. Moreover, researchers can create interaction terms on any two residualized constructs (since uncorrelated variables are most amenable to moderation; see Baron & Kenny,
1986). Whatever their contours, these new constructs will likely prove to be as useful for future investigations as resentment of paternalism was for this one.

NOTES

1. These data were collected prior to the development of the two-question assessment of gender categories (see Tate, Ledbetter, & Yousef, 2013), accordingly, the current identity of the transgender participant cannot be determined; nor can any participant’s profile as cisgender (i.e., current identity the same as one’s birth-assigned gender category) be determined. The use of the two-question method is encouraged for future studies.

2. Including gender in the discriminant function analysis showed that gender difference (as female, male) did not reach the $p < .05$ cut-off (i.e., $p = .058$), and including gender did not change the results for any of the significant predictors. Also, recall that all sexism predictors have the respondent gender difference removed to estimate these effects.

3. Glick and colleagues (2004, pp. 723–724) used a simultaneous entry multiple regression strategy to evaluate valence of stereotypes toward men and women (criteria) using the four subscales: hostility toward men, hostility toward women, benevolence toward men and benevolence toward women as predictors. However, the procedure for beta-weight estimation in regression is one that estimates the contribution of each predictor to the least squares line holding the other predictors at their respective mean levels (see Cohen et al., 2003)—it does not remove shared variance. The procedure of residualization removes shared variance between the predictors before estimating their contributions to the outcome. The important point here is that residualizing creates the part of hostility toward men that is not correlated with benevolence toward men, which is similar to the partial correlation strategy reported in Glick and Fiske (1999, pp. 530–532).

4. Statistically removing the gender difference that exists avoids a Type IV error, which can be defined most generally as providing the wrong answer to the right problem—or, more concretely, mis-specifying terms in equations (see Umesh, Peterson, McCann-Nelson, & Vaidyananthan, 1996, for a discussion of Type IV error with interaction terms). If the gender difference remained and the null hypothesis were rejected, the part of hostile sexism toward men that is distinct from benevolence toward men, for example, might only reflect the gender difference itself, in which case a different phenomenon than resentment of paternalism exists. In that case, although the null hypothesis would be correctly rejected (because there is a real relationship), the real reason would be because there is a gender difference in hostility toward men, not something specific to the construct of resentment of paternalism; hence, this term would have been mis-specified in the equation.

AUTHOR NOTE

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REFERENCES


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